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# La Masonería en el mundo - Eslovenia

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# The Grand Lodge of Slovenia

## THE FIRST BEGINNINGS OF FREEMASONRY IN SLOVENIA

From the historical point of view respectively at the time of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, most of the today's Slovenia was a part of the Inner Austria. In the 18th century, Masonic ideas reached Slovenia from Vienna. In 1998, a Slovenian historian of the younger generation collected comprehensive data from the newly discovered archival sources, and published a report on Freemasonry in Inner Austria in the 18th century (Matevž Košir: Freemasonry in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 18th Century, and the Masonic Lodges "Zu den vereinigten Herzen" in Maribor and "Zur Wohltätigkeit und Standhaftigkeit" in Ljubljana. *Kronika, periodical for Slovenian local history*, XLVI, 1998)

In his report the author states that, according to written sources, the first Lodge in these parts was consecrated in Trieste in 1773 under the name "La Concordia". In 1774, it had 12 members and, in the same year, obtained its Constitution from Prague, as the first true Scottish Lodge in these parts. Some years later, most probably in 1776, the Lodge "L'Harmonie et la concorde universelle" respectively "Zur wahren Eintracht und Harmonie" was established. Among its members was the well known Count of Turjak. We believe that there were several other Lodges in Trieste, but after 1785 probably only the Lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht und Harmonie" was still active.

In Gorizia, the Lodge "Zur Freimüthigkeit" was working; in 1785 it had 15 members. The list is being kept among the "*Vertrauliche Akten*" in the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv" in Vienna. The Lodge in Gorizia was probably founded in 1784, and closed two years later, i.e. in 1786.

In Maribor, the Lodge "Zu den vereinigten Herzen" was consecrated in 1782. Its first Worshipful Master was the retired administrative councillor of the province Banat Johann Wenzl Maria Count Pötting, who moved to Maribor in 1782. He was the Worshipful Master of a Lodge in Temisoara (Romania), and president of a circle of Knights of the Pelican and Eagle and Princes Rose-Croix in Bohemia. On 15 November 1782 the Lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" from Vienna acknowledged the Maribor Lodge "Zu den vereinigten Herzen" as a true and perfect St. John's Lodge. The Maribor Lodge also applied for a foundation patent. Its members met in the castle Radvanje close to Maribor. The membership list that was written on 27 March 1783 and sent to the Austrian regional Lodge, states 14 names.

The Lodge, however, was established rather in a hurry, and soon dissents emerged, resulting in mistrust in the Worshipful Master. It appears that Pötting and "the weird ceremonies" in the castle were the talk of the entire neighbourhood of Maribor. This was probably the reason that, in August 1783, Pötting started to think it would be the best to move the Lodge to Graz (Austria). Through a go-between he asked the Kaiser to allow him to found a Lodge in Graz. The Emperor's office gave its permission, provided that Pötting discloses to the authorities all the Masonic secrets. What, if at all, Pötting

answered, is not known. It is only known, that by the end of 1783 he resigned and left the Lodge. Soon afterwards he died in Vienna. After that, an important part in moving the Lodge to Graz was played by the artillery major Aleksander Ender of noble birth, who was a member of two Lodges in Prague, and came to Graz in 1783. Upon his recommendation, two members of the Lodge "Zu den vereinigten Herzen" (Sauer and Schwitzen) were accepted into the membership in one of the Prague Lodges. These two Brethren then played an important role in the Lodge "Zu den vereinigten Herzen". Early in June 1783, the Lodge obtained the foundation patent from Prague. On 24 June 1783 it has been solemnly consecrated, and Baron Žiga Schwitzen was elected its Worshipful Master. In 1785, when the Emperor Joseph II issued his Masonic patent, the Lodge had 82 members. Let us add that a Lodge of the same name is still working in Graz.

In 1783, the Lodge "Zur wohltätigen Marianna" was founded in Klagenfurt. The Archduchess Maria Ana who moved to Klagenfurt after her mother, Empress Maria Theresia, died in 1781 played an important part in its foundation. The Archduchess had close contacts with the Lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" in Vienna, particularly with its member Ignac of Born. The Lodge in Klagenfurt was closed in 1786, a year after the imperial Masonic patent has been issued. Information on this Lodge can be found in the book *Kärnten und die Freimaurerei* by R. Cefarin, published in 1932 in Vienna.

Information on the Lodge "Zur Wohlttigkeit und Standhaftigkeit" from Ljubljana is rather sparse. Matevž Košir reports that the Lodge has been mentioned by France Kidrič, Vodopivec, Nenezić and others. Kidrič, who mentions it several times, writes that it has been established on 5 April 1792 in Ljubljana, and ceased to work even before having obtained its constitution from Berlin. Kidrič does not list members of this Lodge; he just mentions that the first Slovenian historian and playwright Anton Tomaz Linhart was probably one of them. Nenezić understands the report on the French-Illyrian Lodge by Kidrič wrongly, and declares its members from 1813 to be the members the Lodge "Zur Wohlttigkeit und Standhaftigkeit" from 1792.

Košir found new, so far unknown information on the Lodge in question in the report "Die Loge "Zur Wohlthetigkeit und Standhaftigkeit" im Orient von Laibach" (5793) by Gustave Brabbé, published in the *Allgemeine Österreichische Freimaurer Zeitung*, III, Vienna 1876 (pages 30-35). Brabbé mentions in his introduction that he has written his report on the basis of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. Various documents, kept in the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv" in Vienna and in the "Landesarchiv" in Graz, prove that his data, for example on former membership of Brethren from Ljubljana in other Lodges, are extremely accurate.

On 1 May 1792 the Lodge "Heiliger Joseph" from Vienna wrote a letter to the Grand Lodge of Germany, reporting that it has introduced preparations for establishing the Lodge "Zur Wohltätigkeit und Standhaftigkeit" in the Orient of Ljubljana. Probably April 1792, several Masons met in Ljubljana, and expressed their wish to establish a regular Lodge. Each participant had to produce a document, proving that he is a Mason and has been accepted into a regular Lodge, and stating his Masonic Degree. 13 Brethren - eight Masters Masons, one Fellow Craft and four Apprentices, attended the meeting. Baron Bernard Rosetti was elected a temporary Worshipful Master, and Alois Kappus of Pichelstein a temporary Secretary of the Lodge. The original minutes of the meeting, unfortunately not dated, were sent to the Lodge "Heiliger Joseph" to Vienna with a request for Constitution.

On 2 June 1792 the Brethren from Vienna forwarded the request, received from Ljubljana, together with a bill of exchange for 18 gold coins and their warmest recommendation, to the Grand Lodge of Germany. Since the matter was not taken very seriously in Berlin, the Lodge in Ljubljana only got its Constitution in summer 1795. And it hardly began to work, when - the very same year - the Austrian Emperor Franz I issued a decree, forbidding Freemasonry. In fact, the Lodge in Ljubljana only worked sporadically, because many of its members were soldiers, and spent a lot of their time on duty out of town. In 1795 the Lodge probably ceased working.

In the nineties of the 18th century, the local police in Ljubljana suspected the existence of an independent Lodge. In spite of that, the then Governor of the Province Carniola, Count Gaisruck wrote a letter to the Minister of the Interior, dated 23 September 1793, and stated that there is no Lodge in Carniola, and that the police are not able to report as to how many Masons might live in the province. The Governor either did not believe the informers or, alternatively, wanted to protect Masons. The Worshipful Master of the Lodge, Baron Rosetti (born in Ljubljana in 1756, died in Trieste in 1817) was marked as a Mason in police files. At the same time, he was a very influential personality and often holder of important positions in the administration of the Province. It can thus be assumed that being a Mason did not necessarily harm a man's career even after 1795, if only he was not a too obvious Francophile.

The Lodge in Ljubljana was established at a time that was extremely unfavourable for Freemasonry. It was consecrated as the last Lodge in the Austria of the 18th century, when in Vienna all Lodges went dormant. Due to uneasy circumstances and due to the already mentioned fact that almost one half of members were soldiers, the activities of the Lodge in Ljubljana probably were rather modest anyway. On the other hand, it was one of the last active Lodges in the Habsburg Monarchy of the 18th century.

In his report, Košir states that he wants to mention first of all those Masons who were born in Slovenia or were closely linked with the Province. He lists approximately 40 proven Masons of the 18th Century. There were 24 of them in the Lodge that worked in Graz, 14 in the Lodge in Maribor, 13 in the Lodge in Ljubljana, 10 in several Lodges in Vienna, three in the Lodge in Trieste, two in the Lodge in Klagenfurt and one in Lodges in Budapest, Linz, Prague, Munich, Gent, Ebenau and Amsterdam each. Membership lists of the first two Lodges in Graz and Maribor are well preserved (the Lodge in Maribor: membership list for 1783; the Lodge in Graz: membership lists for the period 1784-1786). As to the Lodge in Ljubljana, Košir used the information from the report by Brabbé. There are also several membership lists of Lodges in Vienna, written under the reign of Emperor Joseph II. It is possible that those lists contain some further Slovenian names.

The author could not check the membership lists of Lodges in Trieste, Klagenfurt and Gorizia yet, which means that the above summary of Slovenian Masons of the 18th century is not final. To state the detailed lists that the author included into his book would go beyond the scope of this memorandum.

## **THE FRENCH-ILLYRIAN LODGE "FRIENDS OF KING OF ROME AND NAPOLEON"**

## ("LES AMIS DU ROI DE ROME ET DE NAPOLEON")

Most data that can be used to write the history of Freemasonry in Slovenia, can be found for the period of time, when in Ljubljana, the capital of the Napoleonic Illyrian Provinces, the Lodge "Friends of King of Rome and Napoleon" was working.

The first to write about this Lodge was the Slovenian literary historian France Kidrič who published his dissertation in the periodical *Slovan* in 1914. His second paper "Masonic Lodges in Croatian Regions of the Napoleonic Illyria" was published in the anthology *Rad jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umetnosti* in 1915 in Zagreb. Both dissertations were based on documents from the police archives in Vienna and a number of confidential reports on members of Illyrian Lodges that several civil servants and officials were sending to the Police Headquarters in Vienna in the period 1813 to 1833.

Kidrič himself warned that caution should be applied when evaluating police reports. Thus the final picture of the echo of Masonic ideas in areas, occupied by the French, can be painted only when archives of the Grand Orient of Paris are accessible, since most Lodges in Illyrian Provinces worked under its jurisdiction.

A very valuable contribution to the history of this Lodge is the paper "The Masonic Lodge 'Friends of King of Rome and Napoleon' in Ljubljana in the Light of the French Documents", published by the historian Peter Vodopivec in the periodical *Kronika* (1988). Because his sources are very reliable, the description of the history and operation of this Lodge is based on this particular paper, and the most important data in it.

Historians of the former Yugoslavia did not notice for quite a long period of time that, after the World War II, the French Grand Orient opened a large part of its archives to the public. This also applies to documents on Lodges in the Illyrian Provinces. In 1945 and 1946, these documents were moved to the National Library in Paris.

Vodopivec states that Zoran Nenezić was the first to use these documents, when writing his book "Masons in Yugoslavia in the period 1764 to 1980". In his book, Nenezić dedicated a shorter chapter to Illyrian Provinces, and listed the membership of the Illyrian Lodges according to the Paris documents. However, these lists were published without any critical comment. In fact, they are a transcript that Nenezić uncritically compared only with police records, known from the dissertations by France Kidrič, without taking into account documents, reporting the foundation of individual Lodges, and their correspondence with Paris and other Lodges. For some Lodges, archival documents are very well preserved, and can be used to supplement the Kidrič papers. This also applies to the Lodge "Friends of King of Rome and Napoleon" from Ljubljana.

Initiators and founders of the Lodge in Ljubljana first met on 12 June 1811 in the Orient of Ljubljana, and decided to establish a new Lodge "in a country that only recently became an area of Freemasonry" (quotation from a letter). On 29 July 1811 they sent a letter to this end to the Grand Orient of France, asking for support and protection, and

enclosed the collected membership fee (3 francs per person) and as well as two membership lists. There is no evidence in the archival documents that, on the occasion of the establishment of the Lodge, the Statutes, dated 8 June 1811 were discussed, as Kidrič states in his paper. It is, however, evident from the letter to the Grand Orient that, at the end of July 1811, the Lodge already had its seal.

All founding members of the Lodge in Ljubljana were French. According to the membership list from 1811, of which two copies, written with the same hand are preserved, there were 36 founding members, mostly French officials and military persons. Other professions were represented by one surgeon, one apothecary and two merchants. The most eminent on the membership list of 1811 was Charles Godfray Redon de Belleville, commissary general of the Illyrian Provinces, who had the title "Vénérable d'honneur" though he was only a Master Mason of the 3o Laurent Etienne Carré d'Haronville, deputy inspector of the imperial treasury, who was the Worshipful Master ("Vénérable") of the Lodge, however, was a Knight of the Pelican and Eagle and Prince Rose-Croix. The same list states Victor Germain as the First Inspector; he was a military commissioner by profession, and a "Sovereign Prince Rose-Croix", which according to the French Rite that the Lodge in Ljubljana has adopted, was the highest possible - seventh – degree.

The representative of the Lodge with the Grand Orient was Jacques Mercier, a high ranking official and member of the Lodge "Immortal Peace" ("La Paix Immortelle") in Paris. He made his best efforts to obtain the recognition of the Lodge in Ljubljana and a confirmation of its Constitution as soon as possible.

The Grand Orient obviously did not find the name of the Lodge in Ljubljana Masonic enough, and it took quite long before the Lodge was installed. It was only on 7 July 1812 when David, the speaker of the Grand Orient, notified Mercier that "yesterday, when I caught a favourable moment, I managed to obtain a confirmation for the Constitution of the Lodge in Ljubljana, in spite of some irregularities" (quotation from his letter). Even then some months had to pass before the solemn installation took place. It happened on 12 October 1812 according to the prescribed Ritual and in presence of guests from some other Lodges from Illyrian Provinces. A comprehensive report on this installation, dated 20 October 1812, was sent to Paris. In his dissertation, Vodopivec quotes this document in detail.

The first locals - "Illyrians" - appear in the list, dated (in pencil) 7 January 1812. Three of them were Fellow Crafts: Sigismund Pagliarucci, a known Francophile and owner of the castle Cekinov grad during the French occupation, Jože Globočnik, listed as a "garde magasin du casernement", and Anton Kalan, attorney and councilor at the court of appeal. Further two Illyrians are listed as Apprentices: Franc Xaver Repeschits, notary public in Ljubljana, and Johann (Jean) Kupferschein, born in Triest, also a councilor at the court of appeal. The next Illyrian, Lustrig (Luštrek?) is listed among affiliated members (affiliés) of the Lodge; the only information about him is that he was born in Illyria. Later lists do not mention him any more, while the other five also appear in the lists of October 1812 and June 1813. On the list that was written on the day of the solemn installation of the Lodge, they all are Master Masons already. The same list states two additional Illyrians from the Province Carniola: Apprentice Bernard Klobus, secretary to the mayor, and Master Mason Bruno Müller, official in the then Road

Administration. As members at the time of foundation of the Lodge three Croatian respectively Serbian officers are mentioned as well, originating probably from the military frontier: Simeon Todorović, Fran Ilinić and Vasilij Ostojić. In the report on the solemn installation of the Lodge another name from the Province Carniola appears: on 12 October 1812 Johann (Jean) Wondraschek, apothecary, was accepted into the Lodge.

The last membership list of the French-Illyrian Lodge, kept in the archives of the Grand Orient of Paris, is dated 26 June 1813. This list shows that some Masons from Carniola were elevated very fast: Repeschitz, for example, is already a "Sovereign Prince Rose-Croix"; Kupferschein, too, was a Master Mason of a high degree, and Kalan and Pagliarucci as well probably were not just Master Masons any more, though their higher degrees are not mentioned specifically.

Among Master Masons, all "Illyrian" members of the Lodge appear, who were accepted in 1812 - Globočnik, Klobus, Müller and Wondraschek, as well as new members, Maksimiljan Wurzbach, "procurer impérial" of the first degree, Janez Pohlin, parish priest of St. Jakob, and Rudolf (?), banker and merchant, who were obviously accepted in 1813. Another three Carniolans are listed among Apprentices: Anton Heberle, as well as the brothers Matevž and Anton Babnik, all three of them famous musicians, mentioned in the Masonic membership list as "artist" ("artistes").

All three membership lists (dated from January 1812 till June 1813) of the Lodge in Ljubljana combined state 14 "Illyrian" Masons (or 15, taking into account Lustrig-Luštrek as well). The list that Kidrič put together on the basis of police reports from Vienna, shows 64 names or 65, if Pagliarucci "as the only doubtlessly proven" Mason is added. The comparison of both lists proves again the old truth that police often see ghosts behind every bush when they are looking for adversaries or enemies. Austrian officials and police informants squeezed among Masons many individuals who were in favour of the French government, and were listed as Francophiles. This, however, did not make them necessarily Masons, as Vodopivec points out. On lists that are being kept in the archives of the Grand Orient of Paris, there are no Franc and Jožef Abborghetti, Baron Codelli, coffee-house owner Colloredo, merchant Gale, printer Korn, castle housekeeper Perko and tax-collector Rosman. Similarly we would look in vain for 42 other suspects, especially for Valentin Vodnik.

Vodopivec states that documents from the archives of the Grand Orient of Paris put the assumed membership of Valentin Vodnik in the French-Illyrian Lodge definitively under a question mark. Allegations as to his close connections with Masons were probably a result of an overgreat zeal of the police. On the other hand it has to be admitted that police informants did, in spite of their exaggeration, correctly identify all the "Illyrian" Masons, stated in the French lists; the same 14 "Illyrian" members of the Lodge in Ljubljana also appear on the Kidrič's list. Even more so: the police rightly suspected of Freemasonry some other officials, serving the French, for example Bosizio from Gorizia, the Italians Comarolla, Crivellio and Lombardi, and Jager from Tirol. From the suspected Frenchmen only the police commissioner Toussaint actually was a member of the Lodge in Ljubljana. Surprisingly, however, the police missed Charles Nodier, chief editor of the *Télegraphe officiel*, the leading newspaper of the Illyrian Provinces, who appears among the members of the Lodge in Ljubljana in 1813.

According to the correspondence, lists of members of the Lodge in Ljubljana, sent to the

Grand Orient of Paris in 1812 and 1813, are not preserved in full. It may be assumed that the Lodge also had several temporary members who do not appear in lists available, and who just visited the Orient of Ljubljana for a shorter period of time, and then left the capital of Carniola, as their military units were moved somewhere else. According to rules, quoted by Kidrič, the Lodge in Ljubljana would only be able to have 60 members at the most, and among them at least 12 "Illyrians". The Lodge came close to this ratio only in 1813. In January 1812, among a total of 74 members there were 6 "Illyrians", in October 1812 there were 7 out of 44, and in June 1813 14 out of 42.

Kidrič describes in detail the organization of the Lodge, its way of operation and its rules. His description is based upon the Statutes of the Lodge that, however, can be found neither in Paris nor in Ljubljana. It seems that the only existing copy is the one in the police archives in Vienna. Vodopivec adds some new data: the Lodge in Ljubljana in fact got the "Constitutions" for a Ritual system of three degrees. In spring 1813 it applied to the Grand Orient of France for being allowed to operate according to the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite", and to work in higher degrees. A positive reply to this end from France could not be found in any archives.

Vodopivec presumes very freely that the Grand Orient might have granted this permission on the eve of the downfall of the Illyrian Provinces, because the Festival of St. John on 26 June 1813 (which is, in addition to the installation ceremony, the only Ritual of the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana that is described in detail) was carried out according to the French Rite. In favour of the presumption that the Lodge worked according to the then Scottish ritual of the Knight of the Pelican and Eagle and Prince Rose-Croix, is the jewel of the eighteenth Masonic Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, decorated with precious stones, kept by the National Museum of Slovenia.

In the Paris archives there are only letters, membership lists and the correspondence by J. Mercier, but no working tools of the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana. The seal of the Lodge is preserved in full on only one letter. As to symbols, working tools and printed matters, except for the Statutes, which Kidrič found in the police archives in Vienna, everything that still exists is kept by the National Museum in Ljubljana. The modest collection consists of a seal that has already been described by the Austrian historians H. Costa and A. Dimitz, several invitations to meetings, an acceptance certificate and two aprons (Apprentice and Fellow Craft).

The last object of this collection is listed as "insignia of the Grand Master of the Illyrian Masonic Lodge". Together with some other Masonic symbols of unknown origin it was donated to the Museum by the Baroness Antonija Codelli, born Schmidburg, in 1884. She found them in the legacy of her father. There are no data available as to how and where from they came into his possession.

We know nothing about the fate of the members of the French-Illyrian Lodge after the downfall of the Illyrian Provinces. Except for Pagliarucci, who continued to show openly his sympathies for Freemasonry after the French have left Carniola, the "Illyrians" kept silent after the Austrian restoration. We do not know what was their attitude towards their membership in the former Lodge, after the Austrian restoration took place. Was Freemasonry only a short episode for them, which they tried to forget as soon as possible because of some pressure or possible difficulties? Or did they, on the contrary, still maintain contacts with their Brethren and continued to meet secretly?

Perhaps some day in some forgotten file in some archives new documents will be found that can answer these questions . . .

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in 1812 - Globočnik, Klobus, Müller and Wondraschek, as well as new members, Maksimiljan Wurzbach, "procurer impérial" of the first degree, Janez Pohlin, parish priest of St. Jakob, and Rudolf (?), banker and merchant, who were obviously accepted in 1813. Another three Carniolans are listed among Apprentices: Anton Heberle, as well as the brothers Matevž and Anton Babnik, all three of them famous musicians, mentioned in the Masonic membership list as "artist" ("artistes").

All three membership lists (dated from January 1812 till June 1813) of the Lodge in Ljubljana combined state 14 "Illyrian" Masons (or 15, taking into account Lustrig-Luštrek as well). The list that Kidrič put together on the basis of police reports from Vienna, shows 64 names or 65, if Pagliarucci "as the only doubtlessly proven" Mason is added. The comparison of both lists proves again the old truth that police often see ghosts behind every bush when they are looking for adversaries or enemies. Austrian officials and police informants squeezed among Masons many individuals who were in favour of the French government, and were listed as Francophiles. This, however, did not make them necessarily Masons, as Vodopivec points out. On lists that are being kept in the archives of the Grand Orient of Paris, there are no Franc and Jožef Abborghetti, Baron Codelli, coffee-house owner Colloredo, merchant Gale, printer Korn, castle housekeeper Perko and tax-collector Rosman. Similarly we would look in vain for 42 other suspects, especially for Valentin Vodnik.

Vodopivec states that documents from the archives of the Grand Orient of Paris put the assumed membership of Valentin Vodnik in the French-Illyrian Lodge definitively under a question mark. Allegations as to his close connections with Masons were probably a result of an overgreat zeal of the police. On the other hand it has to be admitted that police informants did, in spite of their exaggeration, correctly identify all the "Illyrian" Masons, stated in the French lists; the same 14 "Illyrian" members of the Lodge in Ljubljana also appear on the Kidrič's list. Even more so: the police rightly suspected of Freemasonry some other officials, serving the French, for example Bosizio from Gorizia, the Italians Comarolla, Crivellio and Lombardi, and Jager from Tirol. From the suspected Frenchmen only the police commissioner Toussaint actually was a member of the Lodge in Ljubljana. Surprisingly, however, the police missed Charles Nodier, chief editor of the *Télegraphe officiel*, the leading newspaper of the Illyrian Provinces, who appears among the members of the Lodge in Ljubljana in 1813.

According to the correspondence, lists of members of the Lodge in Ljubljana, sent to the Grand Orient of Paris in 1812 and 1813, are not preserved in full. It may be assumed that the Lodge also had several temporary members who do not appear in lists available, and who just visited the Orient of Ljubljana for a shorter period of time, and then left the capital of Carniola, as their military units were moved somewhere else. According to rules, quoted by Kidrič, the Lodge in Ljubljana would only be able to have 60 members at the most, and among them at least 12 "Illyrians". The Lodge came close to this ratio only in 1813. In January 1812, among a total of 74 members there were 6 "Illyrians", in October 1812 there were 7 out of 44, and in June 1813 14 out of 42.

Kidrič describes in detail the organization of the Lodge, its way of operation and its rules. His description is based upon the Statutes of the Lodge that, however, can be found neither in Paris nor in Ljubljana. It seems that the only existing copy is the one in the police archives in Vienna. Vodopivec adds some new data: the Lodge in Ljubljana in fact got the "Constitutions" for a Ritual system of three degrees. In spring 1813 it

applied to the Grand Orient of France for being allowed to operate according to the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite", and to work in higher degrees. A positive reply to this end from France could not be found in any archives.

Vodopivec presumes very freely that the Grand Orient might have granted this permission on the eve of the downfall of the Illyrian Provinces, because the Festival of St. John on 26 June 1813 (which is, in addition to the installation ceremony, the only Ritual of the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana that is described in detail) was carried out according to the French Rite. In favour of the presumption that the Lodge worked according to the then Scottish ritual of the Knight of the Pelican and Eagle and Prince Rose-Croix, is the jewel of the eighteenth Masonic Degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, decorated with precious stones, kept by the National Museum of Slovenia.

In the Paris archives there are only letters, membership lists and the correspondence by J. Mercier, but no working tools of the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana. The seal of the Lodge is preserved in full on only one letter. As to symbols, working tools and printed matters, except for the Statutes, which Kidrič found in the police archives in Vienna, everything that still exists is kept by the National Museum in Ljubljana. The modest collection consists of a seal that has already been described by the Austrian historians H. Costa and A. Dimitz, several invitations to meetings, an acceptance certificate and two aprons (Apprentice and Fellow Craft).

The last object of this collection is listed as "insignia of the Grand Master of the Illyrian Masonic Lodge". Together with some other Masonic symbols of unknown origin it was donated to the Museum by the Baroness Antonija Codelli, born Schmidburg, in 1884. She found them in the legacy of her father. There are no data available as to how and where from they came into his possession.

We know nothing about the fate of the members of the French-Illyrian Lodge after the downfall of the Illyrian Provinces. Except for Pagliarucci, who continued to show openly his sympathies for Freemasonry after the French have left Carniola, the "Illyrians" kept silent after the Austrian restoration. We do not know what was their attitude towards their membership in the former Lodge, after the Austrian restoration took place. Was Freemasonry only a short episode for them, which they tried to forget as soon as possible because of some pressure or possible difficulties? Or did they, on the contrary, still maintain contacts with their Brethren and continued to meet secretly?

Perhaps some day in some forgotten file in some archives new documents will be found that can answer these questions . . .

## **THE MASONIC LODGE "VALENTIN VODNIK" IN LJUBLJANA (1940)**

In his dissertation, the Slovenian historian Peter Vodopivec writes that there was much guessing in the last years before the World War II as to how many Masons are there in Slovenia, who are the members of this secret brotherhood, and does a Masonic Lodge in fact exist in Ljubljana (Peter Vodopivec: Masonic Lodge Valentin Vodnik in Ljubljana

(1940), *Kronika, periodical for Slovenian local history*, XL, 1992). The question was very much on the map in 1940, when the first wave of attacks on Masonry swept the country (the former Yugoslavia), and the Grand Lodge in Belgrade, faced with the extreme pressure of the ban on Masonic associating and on Masonic press, had to take the decision of stopping its operation.

The campaign against Masons was started by Dr. Anton Korošec who, in his New Year's address published in the newspaper *Slovenec* at the end of 1939, threw communists, Jews and Masons into the same pot. He described them all as destructive, subversive and treacherous organizations, in other words as archenemies of the country. Korošec, of course, did not speak as a private person - he was the voice of the "President of the Senate", as the editor of the newspaper pointed out. The government press in Belgrade and, in particular, catholic newspapers in Croatia and Slovenia grabbed his accusations against Masonry, and intensified them further in July and August 1940. They "discovered" Masons among politicians, scientists and artists, as well as in liberal professional, economical and cultural institutions.

But even the most fervent adversaries of Masonry somehow did not mention names or stated them just by way of exception. It seems that Masonic Lodges and their members managed to keep the majority of their secrets for themselves, and to conceal them from authorities and the public.

Thus it is no surprise that the information about the establishment of the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" in Ljubljana - the only Slovenian Masonic Lodge that was established in the "old" Yugoslavia - as well took three months to reach the ears of the editorial staff of the *Slovenec*: on 24 August 1940 the newspaper published an unsigned article, quoting Croatian sources, which reported that a Masonic circle, called "Valentin Vodnik", was set on foot in spring in Ljubljana. *Slovenec* never managed to learn more about Masons of Ljubljana, and their "circle". In his booklet *Freemasonry* (published in Ljubljana in 1941), Dr. Ivan Ahčin, who was Chief Editor of the newspaper for a number of years, just repeats the meagre information about the "Vodnik Circle" and innocently adds that "Slovenian Masons are mostly members of Serbian and Croatian Lodges".

The Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" became independent as late as on 21 May 1940, as Evgen Lovšin states in a short memorandum. Two written sources confirm the date of its solemn installation: a document, issued for the occasion by the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, and signed by the Grand Master Andrija Dim. Dinić, and the dedication in the Bible (translation by Karadžič and Daničić) that was bestowed on the newly installed Lodge by the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia.

Sources, discovered so far, do not mention whose idea it was to call the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik". The choice, however, was obviously based on the speculation by the literary historian and academician France Kidrič who published a paper on the French-Illyrian Lodge "Friends of King of Rome and Napoleon" (literary periodical *Slovan*, 1914), and mentioned among its members the first Slovenian poet Valentin Vodnik. Vodopivec,

however, deems it clear now almost beyond any doubt that Vodnik was never a member of the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana. This means that this Lodge was named after a profane personality and not after a Brother Mason.

It is not known where, in 1940, the Lodge had its premises respectively its Temple. Evgen Lovšin reports that its members met in private apartments. In most instances their host was the Civil Governor of Slovenia Marušič who lived at the Resljeva Street. According to data, collected after the World War II, they also met in a separate room of the pub "Novi svet" in Ljubljana.

In spite of the small number of its members, the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" was a true and perfect Masonic Lodge and not just a "circle" of Masonic enthusiasts, as their adversaries in the prewar editorship of *Slovenec* wanted to know. It, however, operated for just a few months. According to Professor Furlan, its activities decreased soon upon its foundation, not that much because of political pressures and the prohibition of Masonry, imposed in 1940, but rather because of the lack of enthusiasm of in its own ranks. Nevertheless, it has been actually dissolved only after the fascist and Nazi occupation in 1941, when most members joined the Resistance, as Lovšin reports. The decision that each member should enter separately his nearest organization of the Liberation Front, was taken in a meeting "in a separate room of a pub in the Ljubljana quarter Gradišče".

Catholic circles continued to attack the Slovenian Masons throughout the war. They accused them of being closely linked with bolsheviks and communists, which was already a permanent constituent part of the prewar clerical propaganda and in no connection whatsoever with the reality. Masons who joined the Liberation Front or supported the Resistance in some other way, did not do it because of their liking for the communism, but for purely patriotic reasons, and because they strongly opposed to anything that was connected with both the fascism and Nazism.

Communists themselves were better aware of this than the clerical circles, and submitted Masons to police hearings as soon as they seized power in 1945. In the years after the World War II the Ljubljana administration of the military intelligence service (OZNA, later UDBA) compiled several files on Masonry, Masonic history, Masonic echoes in Slovenia, and prewar members of Masonic Lodges. These files are crowded with unverified, even completely false data, showing that communists were afraid of Masons, as they were afraid of any other opposition. The list of the members of the Ljubljana Lodge and of other Slovenian Masons, put together by the police and their informants, was much longer than their actual number.

The broad public knew nothing about the attention that OZNA and UDBA paid to Masonry after the war. Generally, there was not much talking or writing about Masonry in the entire Yugoslavia till 1984, when Zoran Nenezić first published his book *Masons in Yugoslavia (1974-1980)*. He was the first to offer more accurate data on Slovenian Masons and the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik". His also listed four addition Slovenian Masons who were not members of the Lodge in Ljubljana, but joined other Croatian and Serbian Lodges. These are Dr. Bogumil Vošnjak, Dr. Niko Zupančič, Dr. Gregor Žerjav and Dr. Albert Kramer.

After the book by Nenezić has been printed, it seemed at first that it would not be

possible to collect more data on Masonry in Slovenia than the author from Belgrade already did. But - as Vodopivec wisely says in his dissertation - a historian must never give way to despair. In 1989, the president of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts Janez Milčinski handed over to the National Museum in Ljubljana a collection of items, owned by the Masonic Lodge "Valentin Vodnik", which its last surviving member Evgen Lovšin entrusted him with, shortly before he died. This collection comprises some insignia and some documents that - together with files, kept by the Ministry of the Interior - contribute substantially to the picture of the Masons of Ljubljana and their Lodge.

In the prewar Yugoslavia, Masonry was relatively well developed in Serbia and Croatia. In Slovenia, it was limited to individuals. In his book, Nenezić states approximately 2,300 members of a number of prewar Lodges; the Lodge in Ljubljana had 18 or (perhaps) some more. The fear of Masonry in Slovenia that pervaded both the clerical circles and communists, was obviously greatly exaggerated ... Nevertheless, there were some important personalities of the Slovenian cultural and political history among the members of the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik". Because of them, and because of their mission and the role that they played on the political and cultural scene in Slovenia, the short prewar Masonic episode with the Lodge in Ljubljana is worthy of being included into our Masonic history.

## **REVIVAL OF MASONRY IN SLOVENIA AFTER 1991**

After 13 April 1941, when the Masonic Lodge "Valentin Vodnik", consisting of 18 active members, ceased to operate, there was no organized Masonic activity in Slovenia. The first Masons in Slovenia after the World War II were three Brethren who have been accepted into the Lodge Pobratimthat, in 1991, worked in Belgrade in the frame of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia.

When Yugoslavia fell apart, and Slovenia and Croatia became internationally recognized countries, the deputy Lodge Illyria has been established in Vienna on 21 March 1992. It operated under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Austria with the objective to introduce Masonry to Slovenia. The first Worshipful Master of the Lodge Illyria was Brother Čedo Kirchner who, in the meantime, already went to the Eternal East.

The Lodge worked, jointly for Slovenia and Croatia, in Temples in Klagenfurt and Graz, and occasionally also in Vienna. On 26 September 1992 the Lodge had its first meeting in Ljubljana.

Both the Slovenian and Croatian Brethren had to enjoy the hospitality of Temples in Austria; we from Slovenia worked mainly in Klagenfurt, and our Croatian Brethren mainly in Graz. Separated work, and, first of all, the growing number of Brethren resulted in the necessity of dividing the Deputy Lodge Illyria into two parts respectively of founding a separate Deputy Lodge for Slovenia. On 18 December 1993 a Deputy Lodge has been founded for the Slovenian Brethren, while the Croatian Brethren continued to work in the Deputy Lodge Illyria.

One of the typical features of the Deputy Lodge was that it often worked bilingually (Slovenian-German), since Brethren from Slovenia worked together with their Austrian

Brethren. As a matter of fact, the Deputy Lodge Illyria has already worked in this way, sometimes even in three languages, German, Slovenian and Croatian. In this connection it has to be mentioned that there was no Masonic literature available when we started so that everything had to be translated into Slovenian language. Nevertheless, we find it extremely important to be able to work in several languages, and have introduced this practice also into the Lodge Quatuor Coronati, when it hosts Brethren from Austria, Italy, Croatia and Slovenia.

Slovenia has a reasonably long Masonic tradition, though in the period from World War II till 1991, Masonry was non-existent in our country. Being the legitimate successor to the French-Illyrian Lodge "The Friends of the Roman King and Napoleon", founded in Ljubljana in 1812, and to the Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" that worked in Ljubljana till 1941 our organisation is now officially registered with the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia.

The number of Slovenian Brethren who have embraced the Masonic ideas has quickly grown to such a level that all the conditions were met to found the first Grand Lodge in the entire history of Slovenia. On 16 October 1999 the Grand Lodge of Austria brought the Light to the Grand Lodge of Slovenia. When the first Slovenian Grand Master was offered the hammer, the Masons of Slovenia started their independent Masonic li

## **TIMELINE OF THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN SLOVENIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD**

- 1773 First written record of lodge in Trieste by the name of "Unity" ("La Concordia"). In 1774 it had twelve members. In 1774 it got its first Book of Constitutions as the first Scottish Lodge.
- 1776 Most probably the year of foundation of the lodge by the name of "First Harmony and Unity" ("L'Harmonie et Concorde universelle" or "Zur wahren Eintracht und Harmonie").
- 1782 The lodge "United Hearts" ("Zu den vereinigten Herzen") was founded in Maribor. It moved to Graz in 1783 where it has operated intermittently until today.
- 1785 The lodge "By Courage" (Zur Freiem Uthigkeit) operated in Gorica. It had fifteen members in 1785. Most probably it was founded in 1784 and lasted only until 1786.
- 1792 In Ljubljana the lodge by the name of "Charity and Stability" ("Zur Wohltätigkeit und Standhaftigkeit") was founded. Gustav Brabbe published a paper on the lodge in the "Allgemeine österreichische Freimaurer Zeitung, III, Wien 1876". The source for his paper was a correspondence of this Lodge from the end of the 18th century.
- 1812 In Ljubljana the French-Illyrian lodge "Friends of the Roman King and Napoleon" ("Les Amis du Roi de Rome et de Napoleon") was founded. It ceased to exist with the demise of the Illyrian Provinces in the fall of 1813.
- 1940 The Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia founded the lodge "Valentin Vodnik" on 21st May in Ljubljana.

- 1941 Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" was put to sleep at the Occupation in 1941.
- 1992 Freemasonry was brought back to life after a long pause of fifty years on 21st March 1992 when the Designated lodge "Illyria" was founded in Vienna.
- 1993 On 18th December the first separate Designated lodge for Slovenia by the name of "Illyria" was founded with the permission of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria.
- 1994 Light was brought to the Designated lodge "Dialogus" on 5th March.
- 1996 On 2nd April two Lodges were constituted, "Dialogus" and "Žiga Zois" originating from the Designated lodge "Dialogus".
- The Temple was erected in Slovenia. Light was brought in regular lodges "Dialogus" in "Žiga Zois" on 26th October in Orient Ljubljana.
- 1998 Light was brought to the regular lodge "Arcus" on 17th October in Orient Ljubljana.
- 1999 The Grand Lodge of Slovenia was founded on 16th October, when Light was brought to the Lodge.
- 2002 Light was brought in Designated Lodge "Hospitality" on 14th September in Orient Ljubljana.
- Light was brought in the regular Lodge "A.T. Linhart" on 16th November in Orient Bled.
- 2005 Designated Lodge "Hospitality" was abolished on 12th June.
- Lodge "A.T. Linhart" was abolished on 12th October in Orient Bled.
- 2006 Light was brought in the Designated Lodge "Združena srca" (United hearts) on 25th March in Orient Maribor after 224 years.