



Freemasonry in Southeast Europe from the 19th to the 21st Centuries

Editor Slobodan G. Markovich

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FREEMASONRY IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

FROM THE 19th TO THE 21st CENTURIES

Edited by
Slobodan G. Markovich

THE GRAND ORIENT OF ITALY AND THE FREEMASONRIES OF BALKAN AND DANUBIAN EUROPE

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, in which some famous representatives of the local cultural and political life participated. Italian Freemasonry looked sympathetically towards the local nationalist movements and encouraged their anti-Habsburg and anti-Turkish actions. The First World War, 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 Napoleon'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 extended 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 Napoleon, 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 Napoleon's downfall and the restoration of absolutism, Freemasonry was banned in all Italian states, unleashing a kind of witch hunt against the Masons.² Freemasonry was identified as a source of inspiration for revolutionary forces, harshly opposed by the Catholic Church with reiterated excommunications by all popes starting with Clement XII in 1738 and persecuted by the police.

The Grand Orient of Italy was reconstituted only in 1859, after the end of the Second War of Independence and a few months before Gar-

1 Gian Mario Cazzaniga, "Nascita del Grande Oriente d'Italia", in Gian Mario Cazzaniga (ed.), *Storia d'Italia, Annali 21, La Massoneria* (Torino: Einaudi, 2006), pp. 545–558.

2 Fulvio Conti, "Massoneria e Risorgimento: fra storia e leggenda", in Mario Isnenghi, Eva Cecchinato (eds.), *Gli Italiani in guerra. Conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, vol. I, *Fare l'Italia: Unità e disunità nel Risorgimento* (Torino: Utet, 2008), pp. 164–171.

ibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand (*Spedizione dei Mille*), two events that should have marked 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 in supporting the new Kingdom of Italy and its government. They considered Freemasonry as having essentially political aims, which can be summed up as the will to uphold the United State under Piedmontese leadership and to favour the affirmation of lay and moderately progressive liberalism. In 1860, in Palermo, another order was established – the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, which instead gathered lodges of democratic and republican tendencies, generally located throughout the southern regions. In the space of a few years, however, the control of the Grand Orient was taken over by the followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini, namely, by democratic- and republican-minded figures, creating the premises for the unification of the two Orders which took place in 1872.

In any event, the significant fact is that Freemasonry took no part in the Risorgimento for the simple reason that it did not exist as an organised body either on the national level or with individual active lodges at the local level. Moreover, after the unification of Italy, a large number of those who had participated in the Risorgimento, both liberal monarchists and, above all, Garibaldian democrats, entered Masonic lodges. Some of the ideals of the Risorgimento narrative – love for one's country, the Romantic cult of heroic achievements, volunteerism, the myth of progress – became an integral part of Italian Freemasonry's framework of ideals.

Garibaldi was the most famous exponent of Italian 19th-century Freemasonry. In 1864, for a short time, Garibaldi himself was elected a Grand Master, although he remained an inveterate Freemason until his death.⁴ For him, Masonic membership was a significant and committed choice. He made Freemasonry a special means of political action. Above all, Garibaldi thought that Freemasonry could be used as a tool to implement his last grand political design: bringing together all the scattered forces of the Italian democratic left to form a united front.

3 Fulvio Conti, Marco Novarino (eds.), *Massoneria e unità d'Italia. La Libera Muratoria e la costruzione della nazione*. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011).

4 Fulvio Conti, "Il Garibaldi dei massoni. La libera muratoria e il mito dell'eroe (1860–1926)", *Contemporanea*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2008), pp. 359–395.

In the last years of his life, there was an almost perfect congruence between his positions and those of Freemasonry. It will be sufficient to recall his commitment to the pacifist movement, universal suffrage, women's emancipation, the spread of compulsory, lay and free education for all. All these ideals constituted the common heritage of the Italian democratic left and were included in the Masonic programme. Evidence of the close correspondence even with the notions of positivistic rationalism and militant anticlericalism was Garibaldi's endorsement of the movement to spread the idea and practice of cremation in Italy, a movement openly promoted by the Masonic lodges.

From the age of Garibaldi until the birth of fascism, Italian Freemasonry had a strong democratic and progressive connotation. The numerous representatives of left-wing parties included republicans, radicals, socialists, and even anarchists.⁵ While they all strove to socially and politically modernise the country and secularise society, another common element, however, was a strong sense of patriotism, an obstinate defence 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 recognise its legitimacy.⁶ For some time,



Adriano Lemmi, the Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy from 1885 to 1895 (Rivista massonica, May 31, 1906).

- 5 Fulvio Conti, *Storia della massoneria italiana. Dal Risorgimento al fascismo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003).
- 6 Fulvio Conti, "Laïcité et légitimation de l'État dans l'Italie libérale: le rôle de la

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 to become a great power and play an important role in southern Europe and the Mediterranean. This is one of the possible interpretations of the Grand Orient of Italy's creation 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 the First World War.

With the founding of these lodges, the Italian brothers favoured Freemasonry's spread to countries where it was persecuted or where no regular lodges existed. Nevertheless, at the same time, this was a way to extend 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 were 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, to a certain extent, 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 the political and social fronts.⁸

Franco-maçonnerie", in Patrick Fournier, Jean-Philippe Luis, Luis P. Martin, Navidad Planas (eds.), *Institutions & représentations du politique. Espagne – France, Italie, XVIe-XXe siècles* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2006), pp. 199–207.

7 Fulvio Conti, "Fra patriottismo democratico e nazionalismo. La massoneria nell'Italia liberale", *Contemporanea*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999), pp. 221–248; Idem, "Les liturgies de la patrie. Franc-maçonnerie et identité nationale dans l'Italie unie", in Luis P. Martin (ed.), *Les francs-maçons dans la cité. Les cultures politiques de la Franc-maçonnerie en Europe, XIXe-XXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2000), pp. 77–96.

8 Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L'Europe des francs-maçons, XVIIIe-XXIe siècles* (Paris: Belin, 2002); Fulvio Conti, "Massoneria e radicalismo in Europa dall'età dei Lumi alla Grande Guerra", in Maurizio Ridolfi (ed.), *La democrazia radicale nell'Ottocento euro-*

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 pure Masonic brotherhood of its origin, when Italian Masons offered their support in a 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 that had been founded under Italian influence came under the control of the Hungarian Freemasonry. Later, especially with the approach of the Great War and with nationalisms 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 co-operation between some European and American freemasons that had led to the birth of the *Bureau international des relations maçonniques* in 1902 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 organisation of reference in the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, Greece, the birthplace of the European civilisation, had been a key symbol of progressive and cos-

peo. *Forme della politica, modelli culturali, riforme sociali* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2005), pp. 33–56.

- 9 Joachim Berger, "Between universal values and national ties: Western European Freemasonries face the challenge of 'Europe', 1850–1930", *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, No. 1 (2010), pp. 205–226; Idem, "European Freemasonries, 1850–1935: Networks and Transnational movements", in *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2010–12–03. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/bergerj-2010-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20100921522;.
- 10 Fulvio Conti, "The Masonic International and the Peace Movement in XIX and XX Centuries", in Justin Quinn Olmstead (ed.), *Reconsidering Peace and Patriotism during the First World War* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 15–30.

mopolitan 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 which had, in the meantime, become stronger, six other lodges, all affiliated to the Grand Orient of Italy – five on mainland Greece (Piraeus, Chalcis, Patras, Argos, 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 co-operation so that the new lodge was recognised 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 Vathy, on the island of Samos, and accepted both Greeks and Italians. In 1883, then came the turn of Corfu’s *Progress* Lodge. Moreover, in this case, it was founded by a group of Italians and Greeks who had left the 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 soon ceased to show any sign of life.¹³

From 1884 on, there were no longer any Italian Masonic lodges in Greece. It is nonetheless true that one called the 4th May was founded on Rhodes in 1913. However, at that time, the island, which is today part of Greece, had recently been conquered by the Kingdom of Italy in the victorious war fought against Turkey between 1911 and 1912.

11 Daniel Ligou (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), pp. 559–562.

12 Luigi Polo Friz, Domenico Mammone, *Francesco De Luca. Rivoluzionario, Deputato, Gran Maestro della Massoneria* (Cosenza: Brenner, 2003), p. 132.

13 Grande Oriente d'Italia, *Elenco generale per categorie delle Loggie e Corpi massonici componenti la Comunione italiana* (Roma: Grande Oriente d'Italia, 1884).

Moreover, the name given to the lodge recalled the date in 1912 when 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 the Italian Unification, several lodges in Italy had made this choice: the 11th May in Marsala, the 20th July in Milazzo, the 29th September in Ancona, the 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 the First World War, 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 dynamic, with a population consisting mainly of Sephardic Jews. Founded in Thessalonica in 1864, the *Macedonia* Lodge 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 ascent to the throne in 1876, almost all of these lodges were forced to close. Unlike his predecessor Murad V, who was 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

14 Fulvio Conti, "L'Italia dei liberi muratori: memorie, identità, rappresentazioni (1860–1914)", *Rivista storica italiana*, vol. 122, No. 1 (2010), pp. 78–102.

15 Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *La République universelle des francs-maçons. De Newton à Metternich* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 1999).

16 Angelo Iacovella, "Fratelli in migrazione. Il caso di Costantinopoli", *Hiram*, No. 2 (2002), pp. 37–52; Fulvio Conti, "Les loges maçonniques en Méditerranée entre le XIX^{ème} et le XX^{ème} siècles", in Marta Petricoli (ed.), *L'Europe méditerranéenne – Mediterranean Europe* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 111–121; Emanuela Locci, *Il cammino di Hiram. La massoneria nell'Impero ottomano* (Foggia: Bastogi, 2013).

of Italy, Ettore Ferrari, who went to Turkey with the explicit mandate of re-launching the Italian lodges.¹⁷ One Thessalonian lodge, *Macedonia Risen* ("Macedonia Risorta"), assumed particular importance by becoming the gathering place and a sort of organisational 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 enrolment of numerous individuals who held top positions in both the Committee of Union and Progress and the government 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 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 the *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

17 Ettore Ferrari, "La Massoneria italiana e la rivoluzione turca", *Acacia*, No. 2 (1910), pp. 21–131; S. Loi, "La missione di Ferrari nel Medio Oriente", *Hiram*, No. 1 (1987), pp. 83–85.

18 Şükrü Hanioglu, "Notes on the Young Turks and the Freemasons (1875–1908)", in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 25, No. 2 (1989), pp. 186–197; Angelo Iacovella, "Ettore Ferrari e i Giovani Turchi", in Anna Maria Isastia (ed.), *Il progetto liberal-democratico di Ettore Ferrari. Un percorso tra politica e arte* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1997), pp. 90–113; Idem, *Il triangolo e la mezzaluna. I Giovani Turchi e la Massoneria italiana* (Istanbul: Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Istanbul, 1997).

19 Emanuela Locci, "La figura di Emanuele Carasso nei rapporti fra Italia e Turchia", *Hiram*, No. 4 (2011), pp. 83–96.

20 "Alla giovine Turchia", *Rivista massonica*, Vol. 40, Nos. 9–10 (1909), pp. 218–219; "Onoranze ai Fratelli turchi a Venezia, a Torino, a Novara, a Livorno", *Rivista massonica*, Nos. 11–12 (1910), pp. 270–278; "La massoneria e la rivoluzione turca", *Acacia* (ottobre 1910).

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 lending 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 Treaty 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, the *Labor et Lux*, another Italian lodge that was 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

21 Barbara De Poli, "Il mito dell'Oriente e l'espansione massonica italiana nel Levante", in Gian Mario Cazzaniga (ed.), op. cit., p. 650; Daniel Ligou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 1232–1237; Eric Saunier (ed.), *Encyclopédie de la Franc-Maçonnerie* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), pp. 869–870.

22 Fulvio Conti (ed.), *La massoneria italiana da Giolitti a Mussolini. Il gran maestro Domizio Torrigiani* (Roma: Viella, 2014).

was Giacomo Carasso, who had long been 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 largely due 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 precondition for the birth of an independent Romanian state. Cuza, who was a Mason and Worshipful Master of a Bucharest lodge, implemented a secular modernisation policy. Monastic property of the Orthodox Church was confiscated; civil and penal codes inspired by the Napoleonic ones were adopted. Free public education and the University of Bucharest were instituted. However, above all, an 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 Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, leading to the creation of the Principality of Romania.

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, an 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* stated 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 fate 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 on the exchange for some territories with Russia, the Kingdom’s constitution was officially proclaimed

23 Santi Fedele, *La massoneria italiana nell'esilio e nella clandestinità, 1927–1939* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2005), pp. 50–51.

24 “Notizie massoniche della Comunione”, *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, No. 12 (1876), pp. 6–7.

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



Ettore Ferrari, the Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy from 1904 to 1917.

25 José Gotovitch, “Franc-maçonnerie, guerre et paix, in *Les internationales et le problème de la guerre au XXe siècle*”, Actes du colloque de Rome, 22–24 novembre 1984 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1987), pp. 75–105; Nadine Lubelski-Bernard, “Freemasonry and Peace in Europe, 1867–1914”, in Charles Chatfield, Peter Van den Dungen (eds.), *Peace Movements and Political Cultures* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988), pp. 81–94; Fulvio Conti, “De Genève à la Piave. La franc-maçonnerie italienne et le pacifisme démocratique, 1867–1915”, in Marta Petriconi, Alessandra Anteghini, Donatella Cherubini (eds.), *Les États-Unis d’Europe. Un projet pacifiste* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 213–240; Fulvio Conti, “La Franc-maçonnerie et le mouvement pour la paix en Europe (1889–1914)”, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, No. 91 (Décembre 2015), pp. 87–99.

26 “Rumenia”, *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, No. 2 (1879), p. 28.

The conquest of 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 previously belonged to foreign lodges. The initiative took form in 1879 and led to the establishment of the Grand Orient of Romania, to which the three Italian lodges in Bucharest also belonged. In 1878, one of these, the *Alexandru Ioan Cuza* lodge, 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 it revealed atheistic tendencies. Moreover, it seemed to echo the same choice made shortly before by the Grand Orient of Belgium and of France. Another shift in Masonic rituals and symbols was the decision to modify the tripartite motto “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 guaranteed “full equality of race and religion”. Above all, they contained anti-Jewish discriminatory rules.²⁸

In December 1880, the Grand Orient of Romania ended its short existence, and in 1881 its membership was absorbed by a new grand 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 highly centralised, idiosyncratic management style and for the excessive generosity 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

27 Daniel Ligou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 1072–1080.

28 “La Massoneria in Rumenia”, *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, No. 15 (1879), pp. 231–233; “Il Grande Oriente di Rumenia”, *ibid.*, 1879, No. 19, pp. 289–290; “La Massoneria in Rumenia”, *ibid.*, 1880, Nos. 1–2, pp. 17–18.

were formed in an equal number of Moldovan towns: the *Trajan* in Adjud, the *Star of Bârlad* in Bârlad, the *Costachi Negri* in Bacau, the *Lucia* in Bozieni, and the *Stephen the Great* in Roman. The last one was named after 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, the *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: the *Dochia* and *Bistritza* Lodges in Piatra Neamt (the ancient Petrodava), the *Instructioneana* and *Virtutea* Lodges in Focșani, the *Vitorul* in Botoșani, which took an active part in the Grand Orient of Italy's various initiatives and was dissolved in 1902, and the *Alexandru Cel Bun* in Fontanele, a small town near Bacau.³⁰ In 1884, it merged with the *Costachi Negri* Lodge, creating the new *Sapientia* Lodge, whose Worshipful Master for several years had been Prof. Friedrich Muller, the head physician in the city hospital. The *Fraternitatea Romana* Lodge was established in 1882 in Brăila, an important port town on the Danube, and the *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 the *Petru Rares* in Târgu Ocna, a town in the district of Bacau, in 1884.³¹

One interesting case was represented by the *Žur Bruderkette* and *Montefiore* Lodges, founded in 1884 at Marmornitza and in 1885 in Mihăileni, two towns of Bucovina, which, among their affiliates, had many brothers from neighbouring Austria where Freemasonry was poorly tolerated. The latter 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 the lodge *To Friendship*, most likely so as not to clash too much with the Romanian political and intel-

29 "Bucharest", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, No. 6 (1881), p. 91; "Massoneria in Romania", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 23–24 (1881), pp. 362–363.

30 "La Massoneria in Rumenia", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, No. 4 (1882), pp. 51–52; "Bacau", *ibid.*, Nos. 12–13 (1882), p. 207.

31 "Notizie massoniche della Comunione", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 17–19 (1883), p. 300.

32 "Notizie massoniche della Comunione", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 3–4 (1885), p. 59; Nos. 13–14, p. 221; Nos. 17–20, pp. 314–315.

lectual 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, characterised by a legitimist principle and fidelity to institutions and the political regime in power. After 1885, the push for the establishment 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 southeastern Romania, founded in 1893 and in existence until 1902, the *Romania Prudenta*, established in Bucharest in 1893 and dissolved in 1899, and the *Unirea-Virtutea*, founded in 1895 in Focșani by the merger of the two pre-existing lodges and shut down 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 tribulations of the First World War, 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 the First World War, 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 (now Ruse), a town on the Danube River whose Worshipful Master was the pharmacist Ugo Dunzinkiewicz.³⁴ The second lodge *Acacia* was much 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 recog-

33 Emanuela Costantini, *Nae Ionescu, Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran. Antiliberalismo nazionalista alla periferia d'Europa* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2005), pp. 40–46.

34 Grande Oriente d'Italia, 1884, op. cit.; Daniel Ligou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 174–176.

35 *Annuario massonico del Grande Oriente d'Italia* (Roma: Stab. Tip. Civelli, 1908).

nised by the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913. After the defeat of Bulgaria in the First World War, with the 1920 Treaty of Neuilly, 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 made financial contributions 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 called *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 and was severely suppressed by the Ottoman governors. This led to the Serbian request for an intervention from the Russian Empire and the resulting outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. The



Domizio Torrigiani, the Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy from 1917 to 1925.

³⁶ *Annuario massonico del Grande Oriente d'Italia. XX Settembre 1920* (Roma: Società Poligrafica Nazionale, 1920); *Annuario massonico del Grande Oriente d'Italia* (Roma: La Poligrafica Nazionale, 1923).

1878 Congress of Berlin ratified the final independence of the Principality of Serbia, later transformed into a kingdom in 1882. However, at the same time, it put an end to its expansionist designs in Bosnia-Herzegovina by deciding that it would become a military protectorate of Austria-Hungary. The Belgrade lodge, called *The 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 bringing Italy into the political-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 Djordje Milovanović.³⁸ In February 1882, it was joined by a second lodge, the *Serbian Co-operative* (*Srbska Žadruga*), also affiliated with the Grand Orient of Italy.³⁹ It was a highly politicised lodge whose Worshipful Master was Svetomir Nikolajević, one of the founders of the Serbian Radical Party and the local Red Cross. Nikolajević served as the Mayor of Belgrade and, in 1894, as Prime Minister. 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, Labour, and Perseverance* (*Sloga, Rad i Postojanstvo*) Lodge under the patronage of the Grand Orient of Italy, of which the previously mentioned Mihailo Valtrović was the Worshipful Master.⁴⁰ In 1885, when the Lodge *Serbian Co-operative* 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 made a dependent of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary.⁴¹ In fact, this lodge officially began its

37 Bratislav Stamenkovic and Slobodan G. Markovich, *A Brief History of Freemasonry in Serbia* (Belgrade: Regular Grand Lodge of Serbia, 2009), p. 38; Velimir-Bata Zugic, *Light on the Balkans* (Belgrade: Cicero, 2011); Marco Cuzzi, "Serbia", *Massonicamente*, No. 4 (2015), pp. 11–16; Antonio Spadaro, "Svetlost Balkana – Luce dei Balcani", *Massonicamente*, No. 2 (2016), pp. 16–18.

38 "Belgrado", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 1–2 (1878), p. 32; "Belgrado", *ibid.*, No. 3 (1879), pp. 46–47; "Belgrado", *ibid.*, No. 19 (1879), p. 298; "Belgrado", *ibid.*, Nos. 10–11 (1880), p. 172.

39 Bratislav Stamenkovic and Slobodan G. Markovich, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 41; "Notizie massoniche della Comunione", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 17–19 (1883), p. 300.

41 Bratislav Stamenkovic and Slobodan G. Markovich, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–46.

work in February 1891 and was a remarkable success. It was led until 1899, when it had more than 90 members, by Djordje Vajfert (George Weifert), a mining entrepreneur, owner of the famous Weifert Brewery, and later governor of the National 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, Labour, and Perseverance* Lodge, decreed by the Grand Orient of Italy in 1905.

However, it should be said that, at that time, the 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, but 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 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

42 Luigi Polo Friz, "Ludovico Frapolli, un gran maestro nei rapporti con esuli ungheresi e polacchi", in Aldo Alessandro Mola (ed.), *La liberazione d'Italia nell'opera della massoneria* (Foggia: Bastogi, 1990), pp. 93–112; Idem, "Lodovico Frapolli e l'emigrazione ungherese nel Risorgimento italiano", *Rassegna storica toscana*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1993), pp. 265–286; Idem, "Lodovico Frapolli, la loggia massonica Dante Alighieri e l'emigrazione ungherese", *Rivista di studi ungheresi*, No. 13 (1998), pp. 103–116; Idem, *La massoneria italiana nel decennio post-unitario. Lodovico Frapolli* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1998); Janos György Szilágyi, "A Forty-Eighter's Vita Contemplativa. Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1889)", *The Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. 39, No. 149 (Spring 1998), pp. 3–17.

43 Daniel Ligou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 599–603; Eric Saunier (ed.), op. cit., pp. 411–412.

44 "Massoneria ungherese", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 16–18 (1897), p. 263.

45 "I Magiari a Torino", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 9–11 (1889), pp. 153–154.

when the Italians refused to support 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 to the Grand Orient of France and the second to 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 Supreme Councils of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite held in Washington.⁴⁶ Almost all the Serbian lodges associated with foreign Masonic lodges became its dependencies, among them the "Italian" *Concord, Labour, and Perseverance*, which was reconstituted in March 1912.⁴⁷

With this act, however, the presence of Italian lodges in Serbian territory did not end. In 1909, a lodge of the Grand Orient of Italy (called *Earth and Sun*) was founded in Monastir, a city now part of North Macedonia. However, in 1913, after the Balkan wars, it was taken from the Ottoman Empire and assigned to Serbia, taking the name of Bitolj.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, had 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 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 Serbian and Italian Masons in the common interests that the two states had in the Adriatic and Balkan areas: the aim of reducing Ottoman influence and of containing Austrian expansionism.⁴⁹ An article by Stanoye Michailović (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 Bal-

46 Bratislav Stamenkovic and Slobodan G. Markovich, op. cit., pp. 48–66.

47 "La Massoneria in Serbia", *Rivista massonica*, No. 2 (1916), pp. 42–43.

48 *Annuario massonico del Grande Oriente d'Italia* (Roma: Stab. Tip. Civelli, 1909).

49 "Discorso pronunciato dall'Aggiunto Oratore della Loggia Luce dei Balcani (Serbia) la sera in cui furono rese onoranze funebri al Grande Maestro Giuseppe Mazzoni", *Rivista della Massoneria italiana*, Nos. 23–24 (1880), pp. 373–376.

kan 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 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 European Freemasonry, a patriotism that could still fall into humanitarian and universalist terms, at the outbreak of the First World War, which was the cause of the unhealable lacerations and fractures. In particular, with both defending their own national interests, Serbo-Croatian and Italian freemasons collided on the methods of how to allocate the upper Adriatic territories after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and 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 of 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, however, asked that Trieste be internationalised and that there be a plebiscite for the other territories where the majority of the population was Slovenian-Croatian.⁵² The Congress of Paris approved a preliminary document, which was interpreted in Italy as caving 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

50 "La Massoneria in Serbia. Sua storia, suo scopo attuale", *Rivista massonica*, Nos. 3–4 (1913), pp. 78–86.

51 Grand Orient de France – Grande Loge de France, *Congrès des Maçonneries des Nations Allées et Neutres les 28, 29 et 30 Juin 1917* (Paris: Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1917).

52 *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. Lodge n. 288 Cosmos* (Paris: Printing L'Émancipation, 1919); Matevž Košir, *Žgodovina prostozidarstva na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2015), pp. 188–202.

53 Anna Maria Isastia, "Ettore Ferrari, Ernesto Nathan e il congresso massonico del 1917 a Parigi", *Il Risorgimento*, No. 3 (1995), pp. 603–643; Fulvio Conti, "From Universalism to Nationalism: Italian Freemasonry and the Great War", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, No. 5 (2015), pp. 640–662; Marco Cuzzi, *Dal Risorgimento al mondo nuovo. La massoneria italiana nella prima guerra mondiale* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 2017); Aldo Alessandro Mola, "La massoneria europea per la nascita della Società delle Nazioni (1917)", *Nuova Antologia*, Vol. 152, No. 2281 (2017), pp. 285–310.

6. The “Adriatic question” continued to trouble Italian Freemasonry even after the end of the war. Moreover, the demarcation of the eastern border, established only with the Treaty of Rapallo in November 1920, and the rhetoric of a “mutilated victory” were at the centre of public discussion in Italy. Freemasonry’s contribution to Gabriele D’Annunzio’s Rijeka (Fiume) expedition is well-known and there is no need to discuss it again here. It is enough 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 Italianisation 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, and the new Obedience (called *Piazza del Gesù*) emerged from a split of 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: the *Fifth November 1918*, *Homeland*, *Pola Liberated*, and *Light and Labour*. One was founded in Zara (the *Premuda* Lodge) in March 1920, one in Postumia in April 1921 (the *Italian Lookout*), one in Abbazia in November 1921 (the *Carnaro*), and two in Fiume, respectively in August 1922 (the *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 (the *Twelfth September 1919* Lodge, the date of D’Annunzio’s expedition). Lastly, one was established at an unknown date in Isola d’Istria; it was named after the *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.

54 Aldo Alessandro Mola, “L’ultima impresa del Risorgimento: la Massoneria per D’Annunzio a Fiume”, in Aldo Alessandro Mola (ed.), *La liberazione d’Italia nell’opera della massoneria* (Foggia: Bastogi, 1990), pp. 261–303; Ljubinka Karpovicz, “La massoneria a Fiume. Contributo per la storia dello Stato libero di Fiume”, *Archivio trimestrale*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1984), pp. 313–331; Eadem, *Freemasonry, politics and Rijeka (1785–1944)* (Washington: Westphalia Press, 2017).

55 Luigi Pruneti, *Annali. Gran Loggia d’Italia degli A.L.A.M., 1908–2010* (Bari: Edizioni Giuseppe Laterza, 2010), pp. 541–560.

Even the Grand Orient of Italy contributed to populating Istria and Dalmatia with Masonic lodges, beginning with the *Francesco Rismondo*, founded in Sibenik 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: the *Fourth November* in Zara in 1920, the *Concord* in Abbazia in 1922, the *Nazario Sauro* in Pola in 1923, and the *New Italy* in Fiume in 1923.

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 practising the Scottish Rite, joined to form 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 the *New Era*, and in 1920, one in Poland called the *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 the country's expansionist aspirations and of the nationalist sentiment largely held by the ruling class. Despite Freemasons also being 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 briefly outlined with reference to the countries in Danubian and Balkan Europe. I hope that there will be future occasions to take this subject up again in order to carry out wider and very important in-depth analyses.

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