

7 “Promoting the Common Interest of Christ”

H. W. Ludolf’s “Impartial” Projects and the Beginnings of the SPCK

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The name of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712), like that of his disciple, spiritual heir, and biographer Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722), is closely associated with the early period of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), since he was among its founding members.¹ On 3 February 1712, at St James in London, Böhme delivered Ludolf’s funeral sermon, later published with the title *The Faithful Steward* and “dedicated to the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.”² That same year, Böhme brought out a collection of writings by Ludolf, meaningfully titled *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, which was published by the SPCK printer Downing.³ Ludolf and Böhme were the main mediators in the relationship between the Anglican SPCK and the German Pietist centre in Halle founded by A.H. Francke (1663–1727). Various studies have examined these significant and complex relationships, revealing the harmony achieved between the German Pietists and their English partners, their shared projects, and the forms of cooperation that were promoted in the name of goals that did not always coincide.⁴ Scholars have devoted considerable attention to what Renate Wilson has defined as “the intricate network that had connected the English movement of charity and educational reform to the North German Pietists and their associates in commerce and the nobility,”⁵ reconstructing the modes of these Anglo-German relations and their forms of communication. Various studies have shown that the main issue at stake was the safeguarding of Protestant interests, both in Europe and further afield, in the face of an increasingly global and extremely threatening Catholic offensive.⁶ The Anglo-German network played an active role in protecting threatened Protestant minorities in Catholic countries, sheltering Protestant refugees and actively participating in missions outside of Europe.⁷ To some extent, it was also involved in a number of irenic attempts to unite Protestants.⁸

In the following pages, which focus on Ludolf in particular, I will seek to shed some light on a frequently mentioned aspect that deserves to be studied in greater depth: I am referring to confessional “impartiality,” a category that emerged between 17th and 18th century in the religious discourse.⁹ In the sources that I am

going to analyse, this notion can be considered as the criticism of confessional barriers, or as the refusal to accept dogmatic and doctrinal distinctions, or even as the attempt to establish contacts or a dialogue between individuals and/or groups belonging to different confessions (in some cases existing on the margins of these confessions or even outside of them). I will try to show that this term does not infer mere latitudinarianism or lack of a clear confessional identity.¹⁰ I maintain that confessional impartiality is an important facet of relations between German Pietists and the SPCK, as well as a distinctive feature of the religious vision of some of their protagonists – like H.W. Ludolf, A.W. Böhme, and A.H. Francke – albeit with different emphases and nuances.¹¹

1. A Very Particular “Christian Pilgrim”

Ever since my youth I have wished to talk and travel. . . . To those inquiring about my religion I would reply *Christianus*, and it consists in that [Author’s note: in the sense of the Bible verse]: *induite novum hominem renovatum*.¹² And to those wishing to know more about my origins and homeland, I would reply using the same words that I wrote in a book . . . for the Fathers of the Holy Land in Cairo: *Natus Erfordi in Germania mira providentia transplantatus in Angliam et variis casibus eruditus, viro bono ubique quidem esse Patriam, sed viro regenito extra hunc mundum quaerendam esse Patriam*.¹³

In these few introductory lines, Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf distills the essence of his character and history, and evokes the occasion that was the turning point of his life: the journey that took him to the Holy Land between 1699 and 1700.¹⁴

Ludolf belonged to a patrician family from Erfurt and was the nephew of the famous orientalist Hiob who was a diplomat and agent at the Gotha court, and had contacts with Pietism through Philip Jakob Spener and Francke.¹⁵ Heinrich Wilhelm shared some of his uncle’s interests, studying Oriental languages at Jena, and spent a period in Holland before moving to England, which became his second home. He was secretary to Prince George of Denmark (later Queen Anne’s husband, 1653–1708) from 1686 until 1691, when he stepped down, officially for reasons of health.¹⁶ The prince subsequently paid him an annual pension that allowed Ludolf to live comfortably and devote himself to his studies and travels.¹⁷ He continued serving both English and Danish interests, and – as pointed out by Alexander Schunka – moved in that “grey area between unofficial diplomacy and espionage” typical of the period.¹⁸ Between 1692 and 1693, Ludolf travelled to Russia, where he learned Russian and acquired numerous contacts within the entourage of Peter the Great, as well as with leading politicians, scholars, and members of the Orthodox church.¹⁹ On his return to Oxford in 1695, he published a Russian grammar book intended for merchants. During Peter the Great’s visit to Europe in 1697–98, he became an important liaison figure. Although his journey to Russia was officially made for political and commercial reasons, here as elsewhere, Ludolf was also motivated by his own religious purposes: an interconfessional dialogue aiming to bring about a “universal

church” that would overcome confessional divisions – a project to which he remained devoted all his life.²⁰

In 1697, Ludolf was among the diplomats participating in negotiations leading to the Peace of Rijswijk.²¹ It was during this period that his contacts with Francke in Halle became deeper. The two men shared converging though not identical positions and aims, and were attuned to each other, both on a religious level and with regard to more specific projects for missions and relationships with other Christian churches.²² Ludolf paid a visit to Halle at the start of his journey to Palestine, described in the following, and kept Francke briefed during the various stages of his trip. Their correspondence is extraordinarily full of information on the networks of relations – commercial, diplomatic, and broadly cultural – on the places and people, as well as providing future travellers practical advice on routes, means of transport and the costs involved.²³ The Italian stages of his journey were to prove of vital importance in bringing Ludolf’s plans to fruition. First, he stayed in Venice as a guest of Francke’s brother Heinrich Friedrich, who was a merchant there (1661–1728). From Venice he travelled to Livorno, where he spent the months of August and September 1698, and from where he hoped to embark on the final leg of his journey to Jerusalem: “I went for Venice, from thence to Livorno, and if God granted health. . .²⁴ might pursue my long designed voyage for Jerusalem.”²⁵ After making the acquaintance of local scholars in Livorno, he wrote to Francke with details of contacts that might be of use to future travellers. They included the apothecary and scientist Giacinto Cestoni, who had once had problems with the Inquisition – “he was once put into the Inquisition” – and who was apparently a “lover of strangers [who] can give a good account to those who want information at this place.”²⁶ Then there was Elia, “an old Jew of Constantinople who teaches me Turkish and keeps a coffehouse here, [who] is my very good friend, but speaks little Italian, so that to converse with him one must know Turkish,” as well several Russian merchants, some of whom he had already met in Venice. His relations with the English community were extremely important, especially those with merchants like Jacob Turner and his sons, Edward Gould and Francis Harrimann. Ludolf believed that Livorno’s air and climate were unhealthy, and its prices too high, and advised travellers to spend as little time as possible there. He informed Francke about the links between Livorno and Syria, Egypt and Tripoli, pointing out that anyone wishing to travel to the Orient “hath great need of Italian language.”²⁷ In Livorno, he set sail on a ship heading for Smyrna, where he stayed with the Turner family for two months, devoting himself to his studies of Turkish and modern Greek.²⁸ On 11 March 1699, he arrived in Constantinople where, protected by an Ottoman pass, he boarded an English ship carrying mainly Armenian and Greek pilgrims that took him first to Jaffa (5 October) and from there to Jerusalem (9 October), the final destination on what had been long, exhausting, and perilous journey.²⁹

The importance of Ludolf’s journey to the Holy Land is confirmed by various sources, including an oil portrait by an anonymous painter that is now in the Kunst- und Naturalienkammer of the Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle³⁰ (Figure 7.1). The subject of the painting, convincingly identified as Ludolf, is shown turning his



Figure 7.1 Portrait of Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf

Source: Anon., Kunst-und Naturalienkammer, Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle.

bare right forearm towards us to reveal a tattoo typical of pilgrims to Jerusalem, along with the date 1699. In this same hand, Ludolf held an object with an oriental appearance, probably a bezoar encased in metal or possibly an ampulla. We must not forget that the practice of going on pilgrimages was met with scepticism, if not outright disapproval, in Protestant circles – both Lutheran and Reformed – who held it to be a useless endeavour.³¹ Moreover, several sources indicate that the

custom of tattooing – forbidden in the Old Testament³² – was considered a superstition held by papists or members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The tattoo shown in the centre of this painting consists of two superimposed images: the top³³ image portrays a crucified Christ above the skull of Adam, the first man, while the bottom image shows the holy sepulchre with a Risen Christ holding a banner. Although widespread, this particular design was not the most popular tattoo, which would have been the Jerusalem cross. Robert Ousterhout points out that “the image of Christ’s Resurrection . . . is also significant, for it would qualify as *locus sanctus* art . . . site-specific pilgrimage art.”³⁴ The tattoo, therefore, combines the sacred image of the Resurrection with a reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – a key site in the city of Jerusalem that Ludolf had actually visited.

Writing to Francke from Jerusalem in October 1699, Ludolf dwells at length on those sites and on the Franciscan orders of the Holy Land who had provided him with lodgings during his stay. He underlines that there are friars from different European countries and that “Italian is the *lingua communis*.”³⁵ He reports that the Ottomans often burst into the church, extorting money from the pilgrims, and he adds some details on his stay in the church:

On the 16th of this month, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was opened for me and I let myself be shut in. I spent two nights with the Fathers; in order to make my devotions there but even more so in order to be able to see it better. In fact, when the Turks open the church, it usually stays open for a couple of hours and people rush to visit the so-called *Sanctuaría*, kneeling to kiss them, which is rather irritating.³⁶

Ludolf goes on to write a detailed description of the visitation of the holy places and the emotions displayed by the visitors.³⁷

The symbols present in the tattoo in the foreground of the portrait “evoke” the physical and spiritual experience of Ludolf’s pilgrimage that can be read on several levels: they allude both to the construction of his religious identity as a Christian pilgrim and to his plans for a dialogue between Christians from different groups. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the places linked to it – the “*locus inventionis crucis*,” Calvary, the “*lapis unctionis*,” etc. – symbolise the encounter between Christians from different denominations. He writes that “the majority of the altars and chapels are for use by the Latins, but even the Greeks and Armenians have altars where they can celebrate their masses.” The votive lamps at the Holy Sepulchre belong to different countries and churches.³⁸ At least seven nations were present in that place, all organised according to a specific hierarchy: “Due to their lack of funds, the Abyssinians, Georgians, and Syrians stay outside, and only the Latins, Armenians, Greeks, and a single Copt live inside.” Ludolf tells Francke that he approached Armenian and Greek priests in particular, speaking “in Turkish to the former and in Greek to the latter” and receiving expressions of honour from those “good people.” The Greeks, in particular, who were particularly impressed by the fact that he was well acquainted with several

of their number, including the Archimandrite Chrysanthos, helped him establish contacts with leading members of their church.³⁹ Lastly, he mentioned among “the signs of divine providence” the fact that during his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, the Turks protected him from the Arabs who “act as if they were the rulers” of those places, to the extent of carrying out violent attacks against the Turkish authorities.⁴⁰

The letter ends with a description of the meeting between Ludolf and an Ethiopian residing with the Copts: the two men had an intense, lively exchange concerning several linguistic and religious matters, especially with regard to the translation of a number of terms and passages from the Sacred Scripture.

The vivid accounts of his pilgrimage contained in this letter to Francke showcase some of the key themes of the religious ideas and projects that inspired Ludolf throughout his life: the search for contacts and for a dialogue with Christians of every denomination, the knowledge of languages as a fundamental tool for religious communication – as a means, therefore, and not as an end – and his particular interest in Christians of the Eastern churches.⁴¹

2. Oriental Christianity and the Proposal to the SPCK

From the time of his sojourn in England and during his journey to Russia, Ludolf devoted particular attention to the Orthodox Church and to the Christians in the East in general, especially to those groups and communities considered to be under threat. This is one of the main themes running through his extraordinary multilingual epistolary correspondence.⁴² This was one of the main goals of his journeys and lay at the heart of his collaboration with Francke and the SPCK. The Protestant world had first become interested in Oriental Christianity in the 16th century as part of its efforts to establish an anti-Roman network based on a shared adherence to early Christianity.⁴³ Ludolf’s interest, which concerned all Christians from the East as well as Christian minorities, was expressed above all through his personal individual contacts. It was this approach that informed the way that he built networks of relations that extended beyond confessional barriers and reflected his own particular vision of the church and of religion. During his journey to the Near East, Ludolf became convinced that the Ottoman Empire’s relative openness might favour missions to the Greeks and Abyssinians and allow Greek and Coptic clerics and scholars to travel to Protestant universities in order to study and work as translators.⁴⁴ Francke and Ludolf worked tirelessly to achieve this, motivated as much by their desire to promote the training of these students as by their linguistic expertise and by the possibility of establishing contacts with the Oriental churches through them, and with Greek and Armenian clergy and the Coptic clergy of Ethiopia in particular. We get a distinct sense of the struggle taking place in this terrain with the Church of Rome and with Catholic countries in terms of their patronage and reception of Oriental Christians. In a letter written to Francke in Latin from Smyrna in 1698, Ludolf notes that they should be concerned by the interference in the schooling of young Greeks by Roman clergymen who ran several schools. However, he believed that divine providence was

preparing the way for a “better light to rise in the Oriental Church,” recalling the fact that five Greek youths had been sent to study in England, and hoping that they would acquire a “sound Christianity” there in order to be able to spread it among their own people on their return. He went on to mention that if “one of you went to Oxford, he could learn modern Greek from them,” supporting the type of mission in which he was interested.⁴⁵ In another letter to Francke, written from The Hague in November 1701, Ludolf mentions the Catholic attempts “to caress” the Armenians, writing that “the King of France must have set up a Jesuit foundation for a certain number of young Armenians.”⁴⁶ He returns repeatedly to the subject of competition with the Catholics, as for example, when writing about Ethiopia: in 1702, he writes to Francke that the French consul in Cairo told him that he had sent two Jesuits to Ethiopia in 1698, along with a doctor and a Franciscan sent to the Negus by the Pope.⁴⁷

One of the aims that Ludolf pursued most tenaciously was that of bringing out a new edition of the New Testament in modern Greek to make it accessible to the younger generations who might cross the borders of the Ottoman Empire to go abroad. He eventually managed to carry out this plan, which turned out to be very time-consuming and expensive. It involved overcoming many difficulties and even gave rise to disagreements with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Among those funding this editorial initiative were prominent members of the Anglican clergy along with pious benefactors, most of whom were wealthy London merchants, including Henry Hoare, son of a banker, and eventual supporter of the East India mission; Sir John Philipps; and Dr. Frederick Slare.⁴⁸ Slare was a physician of German origins who, together with his sister, was one of the English benefactors of Francke’s foundations.⁴⁹ A school for Greek students was established in London, rivalling the Oxford school, although both institutions turned out to be short-lived. The Pietist initiatives in Halle were more successful in terms of longevity: as he had done on the occasion of his journey to Russia, Ludolf played on Francke’s interest in Oriental languages and in the possibility of collaborating with native speakers. The Halle foundations played a key role in promoting this aim, both with regard to educational institutions and to the printing press and communicative networks. As their correspondence consistently reveals, both Ludolf and Francke were aware “of the close linkage between their missionary objectives and the use of commercial and diplomatic channels to promote them.”⁵⁰

Trading interests in the Near East mainly involved the English Levant Company and German merchants from cities like Nuremberg, Augsburg, Regensburg, Frankfurt, and even Venice, who were engaged in trade with Smyrna, Aleppo, Tripoli, and other Near Eastern ports. Ministers were sent from England to hold religious services for English merchants living in trading bases in Smyrna, Aleppo, Cairo, and Constantinople. This also gave rise to a flow of clergymen to Europe from the East as well as vice-versa. There was a need to establish “correspondence with well-intentioned people from the English Church” [“eine correspondenz mit wohl intentionirten leuten von den Englischen Kirche zu suchen”], and to prepare young men for ordination and to be sent East as chaplains or preachers

[“Englische Chapplains oder Prediger”].⁵¹ In that area, there were German Pietist Lutheran missionaries trained in Halle and funded by nobles and wealthy citizens with Pietist leanings, who had also used their Danish and English connections to support the Danish-Halle mission in Tranquebar and other English East Indian missions.

Francke showed great interest in the relationships that English merchants had with the East. The most significant example probably concerned the Turner family, especially Jacob, the head of the household, who was an “exceptional English merchant” who entrusted one of his sons to Ludolf on the journey from Italy to the family’s commercial base in Smyrna, and sent other sons to study in Halle at the school for English students.⁵²

We should remember that Ludolf maintained constant close relations with Halle and with the SPCK and its supporters, even while pursuing objectives that did not always coincide. Their collaboration began with the Eastern Christians. The SPCK pursued its own objectives in the context of a far-reaching mission project that was intended to bring about the global diffusion of Christian principles and literature. However, Ludolf’s aim was not to convert Oriental Christians to the Church of England or even Lutheran belief. In fact, his idea of conversion was more of an interior conversion involving the regeneration of true Christians and rebirth of “true Christianity.” Yet he was well aware that this kind of cooperation and relations with England would be key in allowing him and the Halle Pietists to proceed with their projects. In fact, the project, which promoted the translation and publication of a New Testament in modern Greek, led to the foundation, in 1702, of a *Collegium Orientale* in Halle whose aim was to train pastors specialised in Oriental and Slavic languages.⁵³

The pillars of Ludolf’s projects for the East were described and explained in *A Proposal Relating to the Promotion of Religion in the Oriental Churches, offered in the Year 1700 to the Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*.⁵⁴ From the very first lines, Ludolf refers to what he defines as “the Church of Christ” – a church overcoming all denominational divisions. The birth of a society whose declared aim was the promotion of Christian knowledge could only be met favourably by those truly devoted to the only true church. He believed that the more the church of England promoted real Christianity in its relations with other churches, and not just within its own ranks, the greater its glory would be:

The *Correspondencies* which are establishing with some good Souls among the rest of Protestants, will make these Partakers of what Favours God shall be pleased to bestow on his Church here. . . . And should we be induced here to make it part of our Care, that the Brightness of our Light might dart forth some Rays into the Churches in the East, our Charity would then move in a larger Sphere than what is usual in this cold and degenerate Age.⁵⁵

In his premise, Ludolf uses a number of key concepts of his vision of the Christian faith and of the church to explain the meaning of his proposal to the SPCK, beginning with the “correspondencies” at the centre of his thoughts. Seen from

an impartial perspective, “correspondence” refers to the relationship between true Christians who recognise each other and choose to cooperate regardless of their denominations. “Correspondence” is the only way to make the universal church that Ludolf considered the only true Christian church both visible and real. The cooperation he encouraged the SPCK to promote could shine a ray of light into the Oriental churches. The role of the intermediaries, of those not only able to enter profound communication with others so as to bring them the Word of God, but also capable of recognising the seeds of “real Christianity,” is therefore fundamental for bringing the divine plans to fruition.

After this introduction, Ludolf listed five points describing his proposal in practical terms: (1) Given that the prime aim was to earn the respect and love of the Oriental churches, it would be necessary to send them “such patterns of Christian virtues” whose meek behaviour and prudent example would make their conversation acceptable and edifying for Oriental Christians. In order to have a mutual conversation, the knowledge of languages was required. Therefore, it was necessary that: (2) those who are thinking of going to the East acquire a certain familiarity with oriental languages before “they did go on so laudable an errand.” The best way to meet this need would be by creating a kind of Oriental college in England, where it would be possible to choose the people best suited “for serving as chaplains to the factories, which the honourable company, trading in England to the Levant, hath in Turkey.” While attending the college, they would learn modern Greek and possibly also Turkish and Arabic. Writing on the subject of Greek, Ludolf added:

The vulgar Greek will be easie to those that have learned the Book Greek. But they ought to use themselves to the modern pronunciation of the Grecians. This will not only prove useful in quoting some passages out of the New Testament, but will also be more acceptable to the Grecians themselves upon several account.⁵⁶

Should it prove impossible to found a college of this type – he continued – the men planning to travel East would have had to acquire “all such ways and methods as in any manner might prove serviceable for supporting religion and piety among the gentlemen of the factories themselves, and then for scattering also some good seed among other nations in that parts.”⁵⁷ (3) Alongside this, and for the same reason, it would have been necessary to establish a “seminary of young men, chosen out of the Oriental churches themselves,” “for the good of the nations in the East.”⁵⁸ I believe his advice to the person in charge of running the seminary reveals his “impartial” attitude:

the managers of such a constitution, should be entirely concerned about inculcating general and essential principles of christianity, without tampering at all with new *forms, modes, schemes, ceremonies* and *circumstances* of religion; whereby the best contrived methods would be render’d altogether fruitless.⁵⁹

Also, at this point, in the context of this apparently practical guidance, Ludolf introduces his radical criticism of churches and confessions:

For whilst we take the form of worship itself, we must, of necessity, instead of the substance of religion, propagate a bare scheme thereof, which will in no wise be able, to stop the torrent of corruption among the differing parties of Christendom. Not to mention here, that every *particular* church would at this rate engross heaven to herself; consequently no man would be able to do much good without the pales of his own church and party.⁶⁰

While the younger generations belonging to the Oriental churches were to be taught the principles of Christianity: “the fundamentals of religion only,” and “a sound *practice* of evangelical truths, without breaking in upon their external *form*, and peculiar way of their church-worship.” In this way, the younger generations would be more receptive to evangelical truth and suited to “propagate them again among their brethren at home.”⁶¹ (4) The “above-said honourable society” was to appoint a board (“committee”) from among its members that would be responsible for caring about the Oriental churches and charged with “a useful correspondence with some of the most eminent and best disposed men in the East, for carrying on the work of Reformation among them.”⁶² In time, the board would acquire an in-depth knowledge “of the state of these churches, of the various lets and impediments obstructing a sound Reformation, of the causes of their decay,” seeking the means to assist them. On the one hand, it would have to instruct those preparing to travel to such places “as chaplains to the factories there” or with other missionary goals, and, on the other, it would have to “encourage ingenious young men to come from the Levant, amongst us, and then send ‘em back with good instructions, to further the work of God in their native country.”⁶³ (5) One of the indispensable instruments for this missionary endeavour would be “a small scriptural-catechism, containing the principles of sound Christianity, laid down in the very words of Scripture, and distributed among the Levantines, might do good to a great many souls.” A booklet that would be preferable to any kind of confessional book given that “every particular church making it a point both of honour and conscience to stoop too much to another church.”⁶⁴ It’s worth noting that in Ludolf’s original manuscript, the same passage – quoted by Renate Wilson – was quite different:

A small scriptural catechism where the idea of Christianity *is laid down only by passages of the Bible dispersed* among them might do good to a great many souls and would be lyable to less exceptions than books of our Church. Every particular Church for reasons above said making it a point of conscience and honor to stoop to another Church. *The common prayer book printed in Arabick at Oxford and distributed in the Levant*, did not meet with so kind a reception as could have been wished.⁶⁵

The reference to the *Book of Common Prayer* has been deleted by A.W. Böhme in the printed text, addressed to the SPCK. At that very time, the SPCK was involved with the Swiss reformers in promoting a universal adoption of the *Book of Common Prayer* and based its teaching on the Church of England catechism.⁶⁶

According to Ludolf, there was a great need for small books to be used for teaching, so that “the poor school masters are forced to set down in writing the several lessons the children are to read.” And, in order to clarify who was responsible for disseminating that booklet, he suggested adding “a word or two . . . by way of preface, intimating, that some christian souls here, had done this by a motive of hearty love to their brethren of the Greek-Church.” This would have convinced them “of our love and kindness to them, and engage ‘em in a like return of cordial love and friendship; love being always the surest and safest inlet into other people’s minds.” Even the conclusion of the proposal was completely in line with Ludolf’s religious views, describing religion as love and an experiential and experimental knowledge of God: “May the Lord teach us all an experimental knowledge of this divine truth: God is love, and he that abideth in love, abideth in God, and God in him!”⁶⁷

3. Ludolf’s “Universal Church”

Ludolf’s involvement in the SPCK, his links to Halle, and his projects in general should all be interpreted in the context of the “Universal Church” – “Ecclesia Universalis,” “Allgemeine Kirche” – that was at the heart of his religious vision.⁶⁸ He had a Pietist idea of “real Christianity” as inner regeneration and new birth in Christ: the church – the only true church possible – was a universal community of men and women who had been “reborn” in Christ. Ludolf’s universal church was an impartial church: an invisible “imagined” church that could become visible whenever networks and shared projects came into being between “true Christians.”⁶⁹ He believed that the universal church could be found wherever the “converted,” “regenerated,” or true Christians congregated or joined together. Although impossible to attain in this world, it remained a project that he would constantly pursue throughout his life. Therefore, Ludolf’s aim was not proselytism to a universal church structure. His goal was to create links and develop shared actions between true Christians regardless of their confessional membership (or lack of it). He wished to set aside the confessional divisions of the Orthodoxies, the divisions between churches, which he defined as “sects” or “partial churches,” made up of a small number of true Christians, but in which the majority are hypocrites and Pharisees. This idea of impartial or “Universal Church” – to use Ludolf’s definition – that runs through all Ludolf’s letters is also the subject of one of his writings published by Böhme as part of the *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*: the *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*.⁷⁰

From the very first lines, Ludolf makes it quite clear that “The interest of the Church Universal lieth doubtless in the raising, inlarging and adorning of that mystical building, which is called the City of God, Christ’s Spouse, and Christ’s

body.” The single “members” of that mystical body are all joined to each other and to their “head,” Christ, who animates them with his vital spirit. The essence of the universal church is what Ludolf defines as “the real Christianity,” which consists solely of following and imitating Christ’s example:

in following the Steps of our Saviour, and expressing by our Life this Pattern, as far as Divine Grace enables every one of us; we may term true Christianity a Resemblance to Christ, the Restorer of God’s Image in the Soul of Man, and the Beginner and Fulfiller of our Faith.⁷¹

The theme of the imitation of Christ is a recurrent one in Ludolf’s writings and, according to his disciple, friend, and biographer Böhme, on his bedside table during his final days was the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, a book that played a vital role in his life.⁷² Seen in this light, denominational divisions were not just overcome but condemned as an expression of pride, selfishness, and sectarianism: “Though it be one of the greatest absurdities to think, that Christ died for this or that Sect barely, and that Heaven must be stocked only out of one particular Church.”⁷³ Such divisions, which were based solely on external forms of worship and different doctrinal opinions (“the performing of divine worship after this or that Form”),⁷⁴ would have produced inauspicious results. At this point, Ludolf takes a stand on denominational irenicism and the various projects for unification between Protestants that were being discussed at that time.⁷⁵ Despite being promoted by “divers pious souls,” they could only be sterile and useless given that they merely concerned outward forms:

it would not signifie much neither, if all the Men in the World resolved upon using the same external form and expression, and the same church-service, continuing all the while slaves to the Kingdom of Darkness. Whereas Holiness, or real christianity, sincerely pursued, in the several particular Churches, would bring people over to that sweet and heavenly Temper, to which jarring and disquiet is a perfect stranger.⁷⁶

The focus was the salvation of all believers, since “Christ did not die for this or that sect, barely.” This theme often emerges from Ludolf’s correspondence, as in a letter written to G.W. Leibniz from Copenhagen on 19 November 1703, where he writes to be “more and more convinced” that all the projects to unite Christians “in a certain system of opinions and outward worship” will fail.⁷⁷ In fact, Ludolf’s project was an alternative to that kind of irenicism, and was based on other premises:

Instead I felt deeply united with some good souls whom God had led to the centre of the love through an outward worship quite unlike the one in which I have been raised. However, it is a great satisfaction for me to realise that *in almost all the sects God begins to enlighten somebody*, to recognise the absurdity of imagining that heaven is tied to the System of a single sect.⁷⁸

During those same years, Leibniz was engaged in the so-called “negotium irenicum,” aiming at a theological reconciliation among the Protestants, thus Ludolf was taking a critical position towards his project.⁷⁹ Whether Ludolf was also trying to persuade Leibniz of the righteousness of his position through a “missionary” letter, remains – in my opinion – an open question. Ludolf believed that rather than seeking to promote the universal church through denominational irenicism and protestant union – as Leibniz did – they should engage in a continuous endeavour to build contacts and links between the “real” Christians belonging to the different churches. In his *Considerations*, on this point, he stated that it would be far better

if the differing parties, instead of compiling Confessions to be received by all churches, and instead of arguing against one another’s tenets, would vie with one another, who could produce most instances of such souls, as in their several churches, have attained to the glorious renovation of God’s image in the hearth.

This was, for Ludolf, “the sign and effect of that faith, which overcomes the world, and by which Christ dwelleth in us, inabling those that receive him to become children of God.” In his view, the “children of God” are the reborn Christians (“*new creatures*”), united with Christ “who is the Head of the Church,” as “the Christians did of old.”⁸⁰

I maintain that the “*pars construens*” of Ludolf’s proposal – that is, the possibility of creating a universal church by building up links and “correspondences” between individuals – represents the most radical and original aspect of his concept of impartiality, which did not mean neutrality between the different churches, but a relationship between “real Christians,” beyond the confessional boundaries. Ludolf’s transconfessional, universal church is a spiritual rather than an institutional union, based on a voluntary choice by “reborn” Christians. Although numerically few, its members are called upon to be the leaven and “salt of the earth” in their own churches.⁸¹ This is a conception that evokes Spener’s idea of an “*ecclesiola in ecclesia*,” while projecting it into a trans- and inter-confessional dimension.⁸² In his aforementioned letter to Leibniz, Ludolf went on to write:

Though I cannot boast of having met a great number of such Christians to whom one may apply the glorious characters that holy Scripture gives to the true faithful: namely, persons whose deified souls reflects the rays of Divinity united with humanity by a living faith in Jesus Christ. However, even amidst the ignorance of the Eastern Church, I met a Metropolitan in Constantinople, who believed that the bond, which was to unite all Christians as one body, was only in the spirit of Jesus Christ.⁸³

All the churches – or “sects,” in Ludolf’s words – had experienced the same process of corruption during their historic development (“the common corruptions that have spread themselves through all the parties of Christendom”).⁸⁴

However, by establishing correspondences and shared projects, the handful of real Christians within the churches would be able to contribute to the construction of the universal church (“every particular congregation contributing what they can, towards building up the walls of Jerusalem on their side”).⁸⁵ Once again, as in his *Proposal* concerning Oriental churches, Ludolf lists the pillars of his project: 1) religious guides with “an experimental knowledge of the abovementioned real Christianity” and preachers capable of showing the true Christian principles of “repentance and faith” who provide the communities with an example of true Christian living; 2) schools where they could be educated.⁸⁶ In this case too, the emphasis is upon the experiential, inner dimension of faith, while the theological and doctrinal – but also the philosophical – aspect recedes into the background. An anti-intellectualistic streak emerges occasionally in Ludolf’s *Considerations*, along with his impatience with the subtleties of the doctrinal controversies of his time:

If people of differing persuasions did fall into *company*, they should avoid all manner of controversies; the handling whereof seldom betters men, but often inflames animosities to a higher degree. Most men do think it a lessening of their own reputation, and that of their masters, if they should yield but one tittle of their scheme of religion, and of the system of divinity they have received from their fathers.⁸⁷

Ludolf believed that establishing links, dialogues, and connections by focusing on the truths of the Christian faith was the only way of “promoting the common interest of Christ against the kingdom and power of darkness.”⁸⁸

In an apocalyptic perspective, he considered his times as the final phase of a battle between darkness and light whose “signs” could be distinguished in the agitation sweeping through churches of all denominations and shaking their foundations.⁸⁹ In a letter to the Catholic abbot Ivan Paštrić (1636–1708), member of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, with whom he came in contact when he was in Rome, he writes that “in this country, as elsewhere, there is a spiritual ferment of souls”:

Yet only a few make true progress along the road of light. In general, the learned men are more zealous in defending the opinions and external worship of their *sect* than in promoting *the essential practice of Christianity* through their example. . . . The glorious period of the church, when the gospel of Christ is put into practice, will come about on the day when the examples of those who have experienced *metamorphosis* become more frequent.⁹⁰

Ludolf invites the Catholic Paštrić to a cooperation, in spite of their confessional differences, trying to “convert” him to his universal project:

Although our hypothesis may differ on this point, I nonetheless hope that we can practice Christ’s great law by loving one another. The greater light our

light, the greater our reason and our capacity to pray to God and involve the other.⁹¹

Ludolf ends his *Considerations* with a reference to several passages from the *Homilies* of the Oriental monk Macarius, an author he was very fond of and to whom he dedicated another one of his works.⁹² The writings of the Oriental monk Macarius were, for Ludolf, a kind of bridge to the Eastern churches. The quotations from Macarius allow Ludolf to develop his arguments on true Christians as “new creatures” who must seek to follow the celestial image of Christ during their earthly lives.⁹³

This conception of the universal church not only underpins Ludolf’s relations with the Oriental churches, but also with a number of Catholics he considers to be “real Christians.”⁹⁴ During Ludolf’s travels in Italy, he established contacts with a number of people including abbot Francesco Bellisomi, the aforementioned Croatian theologian Ivan Paštrić, and the French consul Benoit Maillet, who all became his epistolary correspondents.⁹⁵ Ludolf held these men to be valid interlocutors with whom he could share his ideas on common projects. Ludolf sent an account on Pietism, written in Latin, to Bellisomi, who entered into contact with Francke and Halle through him.⁹⁶ Writing to Francke in 1700, Ludolf claims that the most significant event during his journey to Rome was his meeting with the Catholic prelate Bellisomi, who “recognises essential Christianity” and who, presumably, with the help of God, is capable of acting as an instrument of much “true knowledge.”⁹⁷ As “real Christians,” these Catholics were fully entitled to become part of Ludolf’s universal church. In a letter sent from London to Benoit Maillet, the French consul in Cairo, on 17 September 1702, Ludolf writes: “I hope you will forgive me for using the word Church with a meaning corresponding to *my hypothesis*, and that is that the Church of Christ is made up of good people, whether Catholic or Protestant.”⁹⁸

The religious network built up by Ludolf, also through his continuous travels as a “Christian pilgrim,” and the correspondences that he sought to establish between Christians from different churches, were all pieces belonging to the impartial universal church that he envisaged and to which he dedicated his every effort throughout his entire life. It was at the same time, from a historical point of view, a utopian project, but also a concrete and realistic one.

The image of Ludolf that Böhme wished to bequeath after Ludolf’s death, both through his funeral sermon and the publication of the *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, was yet again distinguished by a marked confessional impartiality.⁹⁹ Moreover, for Böhme, a dissenting Lutheran with later ties to the Anglican church, translator of numerous works – including Pietist spiritual literature into English, Anglican literature, and Catholic mystical literature into German – impartiality would ultimately result in a kind of religious indifferentism.¹⁰⁰ In his sermon, titled “The Faithful Steward,” dedicated to the SPCK, Böhme recalled the milestones in Ludolf’s earthly journey, presenting this experience above all as a conversion narrative:

I have often wished to see a collection of the lives of the most eminent saints in the several parties and nations of Christendom, together with their inward

trials, spiritual conflicts and agonies, and the whole practice of virtue shining in their life and conversation, whilst they were among us.

It was possibly Böhme’s intention to include the life of Ludolf in a larger collection of lives of regenerated men and women, in line with a Pietistic vision that made “impartial” collections of lives one of its preferred literary genres.¹⁰¹ And it is this perspective that would cause the life of Ludolf to be taken from the funeral sermon and included in the fourth volume of the most celebrated of these collections: the *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* by the radical pietist Johann Heinrich Reitz.¹⁰² Ludolf’s *Lebenslauf* ends with the translation of verses that Böhme put at the end of his sermon:

Now Ludolf rests, who liv’d a true Pilgrim.
And wheresoe’re he went had Heav’n in View.
Like Moses, thro’ the Wilderness he walk’d,
And still to God he look’d, of God he talk’d;
Hence his Seraphic Soul was grown so bright,
He every Object round him ting’d with Light.
From his Instructive Converse none cou’d part.
Without a wiser Head, or warmer Heart
Faithful unto his God, his Prince, his Friend,
Pious his Life, and bless’d and calm his End.
Keep his Exemple, Reader in thine Eye,
And live like him, if thou like him wou’dst die!¹⁰³
(Translated by Oona Smyth)

Notes

1. Robert Stupperich, ‘Ludolf, Heinrich Wilhelm,’ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (1987), S. 304 f. [online version]. www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd115754571.html#ndbcontent (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019); Hermann Goltz, ‘Ecclesia Universa. Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen H.W. Ludolfs zu Rußland und zu den orientalischen Kirchen (Ökumenische Beziehungen des August-Hermann-Francke-Kreises),’ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 28 (1979), 19–37; Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Eamon Duffy, ‘The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumgesellschaft,’ *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 7 (1981), 28–42; Renate Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees and their Protectors in Germany and London. Commercial and Charitable Networks,’ *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 20 (1994), 107–24; Renate Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, August Hermann Francke und der Eingang nach Rußland,’ in *Halle und Osteuropa: zur europäischen Ausstrahlung des hallischen Pietismus*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Verl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Niemeyer-Verl., 1998), 83–108; Alexander Schunka, ‘“An England ist uns viel gelegen.” Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712) als Wanderer zwischen den Welten,’ in *London und das Hallesche Waisenhaus. Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Holger Zaunstöck et al. (Wiesbaden: Verl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, Harrassowitz, 2014), 43–64; Alexander Schunka,

- ‘Zwischen Kontingenz und Providenz. Frühe Englandkontakte der halleschen Pietisten und protestantische Irenik um 1700,’ *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 34 (2008), 82–114; Arno Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673–1722). Studien zum ökumenischen Denken und Handeln eines Halleschen Pietisten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Scott Kisker, ‘Pietist Connections with English Anglicans and Evangelical,’ in *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*, ed. Douglas H. Shantz (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 225–55.
2. *The Faithful Steward: Set Forth in a Sermon, Preach’d at St. James’s, the Third Day of Feb. 1712, on Occasion of the Funeral of Mr. Hen Will. Ludolf, Herefore Secretary to His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, &c. of Blessed Memory; Who Departed This Life at London on the 25th Day of Jan. in the Said Year by Anton Wilh. Boehm, Chaplain to His Royal Highness. Publish’d in English at the Request of Several Friends of the Deceased, and Dedicated to the Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* [. . .] London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close, near Smithfield, 1712. See note 3. The German translation of this sermon was later printed in Anton W. Böhme, [. . .] *Sämtliche Erbauliche Schriften* [. . .] (Altona: Korte, 1731), 787–866.
 3. *Reliquiae Ludolfianae: The Pious Remains of Mr. Hen. Will. Ludolf; Consisting of: Meditations Upon Retirement from the World; Also Upon Divers Subjects Tending to Promote the Inward Life of Faith etc.; Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal; A Proposal for Promoting the Cause of Religion in the Churches of the Levant; Reflections on the Present State of the Christian Church; Homily of Macarius, [. . .]. To Which Is Added, His Funeral Sermon Preach’d by Anthony William Boehm, Chaplain to his late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark.* London, printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close near West-Smithfield, 1712.
 4. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*; Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees’; Sugiko Nishikawa, ‘The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities in Early Eighteenth Century Europe,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56, 4 (2005), 730–48.
 5. Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 113.
 6. Efforts were being made by Catholic missions to recatholicise rural and urban areas in Europe, as well as worldwide outreach. Brunner underlines that the sense of Protestant unity in Europe was “reinforced by the common fear of France and Catholicism, a fear especially common in England after 1688 because of the intermittent warfare with France, which recognised the Catholic Claimant to the throne” (Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 183). England took the role of a protector of the Protestant Interest in Europe, which seemed to be threatened by the aggressive forces of Catholicism.
 7. Nishikawa, ‘The SPCK in Defence of Protestant Minorities’; Kisker, ‘Pietist Connections,’ 236. Through its cooperation with Halle, the SPCK became involved with the resettlement of Protestant refugees from Catholic territories on the continent (particularly in Ireland and the English colonies in America).
 8. Duffy, ‘The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge’; Schunka, ‘Zwischen Kontingenz und Providenz’; Alexander Schunka, ‘Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion in the Early Eighteenth Century,’ in *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany*, eds. David M. Luebke, Jared Poley, Daniel Ryan and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 101–18. Schunka underlines that “Halle Pietists propagated a union of hearts and spirits rooted in the Lutheran faith. They disapproved of anything they considered worldly efforts, such as a modification of liturgy or ecclesiastical administration”, *Ibid.*, 112.
 9. On the emergence of the notion of “impartiality” in the Early Modern Age, see Kathryn Murphy and Anita Traninger, eds., *Emergence of Impartiality* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). The essays in the volume consider the concept of impartiality on a general epistemological level, exploring especially discourses such as philosophy, law, ethics, science, and politics (impartiality as objectivity). The religious field is not addressed more fully

- in this volume. In the German context, the most important example of the use of this notion both in historiographical and religious fields is Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History of the Church and Its Heretics (Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie), vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Fritsch, 1699–1715).
10. This position had some points in common with latitudinarianism, but its goal was not to establish the principles of Christianity on their “rational” foundations and it did not aim at a “Broad Church.”
 11. Adelisa Malena, ‘Ecclesia Universa: “Imparzialità” confessionale e transfer culturali tra Sei e Settecento. Note su una ricerca in corso,’ in *Ripensare la Riforma protestante. Nuove prospettive degli studi italiani*, ed. Lucia Felici (Torino: Claudiana, 2015), 283–309; Erich Beyreuther, *August Hermann Francke und die Anfänge der ökumenischen Bewegung* (Hamburg, Bergstedt: Reich, 1957).
 12. Ephesians 4, 24.
 13. AFSt, H/D 71, fol. 57 (“[. . .] promemoria Comitum itineris d.ni. Rombouts”, in German), quoted in Joachim Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland* (Berlin: Akad.-Verlag, 1955), 21–2; Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 63. After his resignation from the office of secretary, Ludolf received an annual pension of 500 Reichstaler by Prince George.
 14. On Ludolf’s journey to the Holy Land, see: Hendrik Budde and Mordechay Lewy, eds., *Von Halle nach Jerusalem. Halle – Ein Zentrum der Palästinakunde im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Druckerei der Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg, 1994); Anne Schröder-Kahnt, ‘“beym Ümgange mit allerhand nationen und religionen ein und ander Vergnügen bescheret”. Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolfs Reise in den Orient,’ in *Durch die Welt im Auftrag des Herrn. Reisen von Pietisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Anne Schröder-Kahnt and Claus Veltmann (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2018), 161–76.
 15. On Hiob Ludolf, see Eike Haberland, ‘Ludolf, Hiob,’ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 15 (1987), S. 303–4 [online version]. www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118817167.html#ndbcontent (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019).
 16. On this point, see Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,’ 89–91.
 17. See note 10.
 18. Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 46: in einer epochentypischen Grauzone zwischen “offizieller” und “inoffizieller Diplomatie”.
 19. Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*; Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf.’
 20. Goltz, ‘Ecclesia Universa.’
 21. Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,’ 86; Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 47.
 22. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 43, on Ludolf’s project of a “universal church”: “The work most accurately modelling this dream of a pan-confessional, inward Christianity was that of Francke at Halle, for whom he became an enthusiastic ambassador. His missionary endeavours took him to Russia in the early 1690s and to the Levant later in the decade, from which he developed a deep interest in and concern for Russian and Greek Orthodox Christianity.”
 23. See especially AFSt/H D 23; AFSt/H D 71.
 24. Illegible due to damaged paper.
 25. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 18 Aug. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9r, in English).
 26. *Ibid.* On Giacinto Cestoni (1637–1718) see Ugo Baldini, ‘Cestoni, Giacinto,’ in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 24 (Roma, 1980), online edn. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacinto-cestoni_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacinto-cestoni_(Dizionario_Biografico)) (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019). On Livorno merchants, see Matteo Giunti: mercantilivornesi.wordpress.com/home/leghorn-merchants/ (Last accessed: 7 Jan. 2019). On Russians in Livorno: Stefano Villani, ‘Ambasciatori russi a Livorno e rapporti tra Moscovia e Toscana nel XVII secolo,’ *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, XIV (2008), 37–95.

27. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 18 Aug. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9r).
28. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Den Haag 18 July 1697 (AFSt/H A 112 fols. 19–22, in Latin) and H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Livorno 10 Sept. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71 fol. 9v, in English). Turner's son John had accompanied him on his journey from the Netherlands to Livorno. Ludolf spent much of his stay in Smyrna recovering from a fever.
29. During the crossing, the ship also stopped at Chios, Cyprus, and Jaffa. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 68–74. On Jerusalem in the Protestant imagination, see: Judt A. Hayden and Nabil I. Matar, eds., *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517–1713* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); in particular: Joachim Östlund, *A Lutheran in the Holy Land: Michael Eneman's Journey, 1711–12* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 207–24.
30. The identity of the painter and exact date of its execution are currently unknown – as is the identity of the person who commissioned the portrait – we know only that it dates to the early 18th century. We do not even know whether it was painted before or after Ludolf's death. It may have been commissioned either by Ludolf himself or by his pupil and spiritual heir, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, or even by Francke. The identification of the sitter as Ludolf was made by M. Lewy.
31. On the Protestant criticism towards pilgrimages, see Östlund, *A Lutheran in the Holy Land*, 26.
32. Leviticus 19, 28.
33. Copyright: "Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle/Saale, Foto: Klaus E. Göltz."
34. Robert Ousterhout, 'Permanent Ephemera: The "Honourable Stigmatisation" of Jerusalem Pilgrims,' in *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, eds. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 94–109, 104. In fact, Christ is not shown rising from a tomb with the stone rolled away as described in the Gospels, but from "the *aedicula* of the tomb of Christ as it existed in the early modern period. The image is an anachronistic combination of the historical/biblical event and the pilgrim's experience in situ [. . .].", *ibid.*
35. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 70. Ludolf also explains that: "The chief custodian or superior is always Italian, the custodial vicar is French, the Father procurator is a Spaniard, and a Swabian German is currently the *praeses* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where there is always a group of a dozen or so *Franciscan friars* who celebrate their masses and divine offices there."
36. *Ibid.* "Often the door is opened by the Turks – who hold the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – and then you have to give them a sequin or two and a half thaler. Moreover, on their first visit, pilgrims are required to pay them fifteen thalers if they are Franks and seven and a half if they are Levantines."
37. *Ibid.* "visitors to the place on Mount Calvary where the Cross of Christ was erected and to the very tomb in which our Saviour was laid for us, cannot fail to be moved given that everyone taken there inevitably experiences a feeling of devotion in the depth of their hearts, even though many attribute the emotions they feel [visiting them] to the sanctity of these places."
38. *Ibid.* "At the Holy Sepulchre only the Latins can say mass although other nations are free to pray there and keep their lamps there: the lamps of the European potentates hang in the centre, on the right are those of the Tsar and the Greeks, and on the left [the ones] belonging to the Armenians. In the mornings, after the Latins have celebrated their mass in the Holy Sepulchre, the others enter with their thuribles to diffuse the burning incense."
39. The Archimandryte Chrysanthos Notaras was the nephew of Dositheos Skarpetis (Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1669 to 1707). Both of them were among Ludolf's correspondents. Ludolf met Chrysanthos for the first time during his travel to Russia

- (1692–1694). Goltz, ‘Ecclesia Universa,’ 26; Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 75–89.
40. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Jerusalem, 19–29 Oct. 1699 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 26r–27v, in German) published in Budde and Lewy, *Von Halle nach Jerusalem*, 71. “Some time ago an official of the Turk Governor of Palestine has been attacked, and some months ago the Ramah Governor has been murdered in his district; moreover, after my arrival here three persons have been murdered in a Jewish house.”
 41. H.W. Ludolf, *Meditations Upon Retirement from the World, in Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 1–124; 51. “If a man learned all the languages of the world, they would signifie nothing to him, unless he learns God’s language, thereby to converse with him.”
 42. In his polyglot correspondence, Ludolf uses many languages: German, Latin, English, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Russian, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Ottoman, etc.
 43. Research has shown that Ludolf was very well-informed about ecclesiastical politics in the early Petrine age, about the impact of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in some of the border territories, and about the Lutheran community in Moscow and the presence of Greek prelates at the Russian court. These aspects have been analysed in depth in various studies, especially those examining relationships with Russia. See: Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*; Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf.’ See also: Asaph Bentov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity: Melancthonian Scholarship Between Universal History and Pedagogy* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der theologische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der württembergischen Kirche und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchen Jeremias II. in den Jahren 1574–1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Dorothea Wendebourg, ‘Eastern Orthodoxy and Lutheranism,’ in *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*, eds. Timothy J. Wengert et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2017), 196–9.
 44. Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,’ 102.
 45. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Smyrna, 14–24 Nov. 1698 (AFSt/H D 71, fols. 11v–12r, in Latin). On Ludolf’s contacts with Benjamin Woodroffe in Oxford, see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 156–7.
 46. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, The Hague, 11 Oct. 1701 (AFSt/H D 71 fols. 87–88); Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 113.
 47. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, London, 18 Sept. 1702 (AFSt/H D 71, fol. 112v, in German). A quotation of this letter in: Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 114. As already noticed by Renate Wilson, Ludolf uses the designations Ethiopia and Abessynia interchangeably.
 48. Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 115. A list of financial contributors is contained in AFSt/H D 23, fols. 7–9. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 156–8.
 49. Alexander Schunka, ‘Libri, formaggio e vino. Oggetti in viaggio nell’Europa protestante del primo Settecento,’ *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, 30 (2017), 91–120.
 50. Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 113.
 51. Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 57.
 52. Wilson, ‘Continental Protestant Refugees,’ 115. Jacob Turner’s sons were sent to Halle to be trained in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental tongues; see also Wilson, ‘Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf,’ 102.
 53. In 1710, Ludolf tried also to establish a “Seminarium oder Collegium” in Jerusalem to promote the “real Christianity” in the East, opposing to the Catholic offensive. This project failed. See Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 58. On the Collegium Orientale in Halle, see also Ulrich Moennig, ‘Die griechische Studenten am Halenser Collegium orientale theologicum,’ in *Halle und Osteuropa: zur europäischen Ausstrahlung des hallischen Pietismus*, ed. Johannes Wallmann (Tübingen: Verl.der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Niemeyer-Verl., 1998), 298–329.

54. *A Proposal Relating to the Promotion of Religion in the Oriental Churches, Offered in the Year 1700 to the Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge*, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 145–52. This writing, presented by Ludolf to the SPCK, was published by Böhme after Ludolf's death.
55. *Ibid.*, 146.
56. *Ibid.*, 148.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, 149.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, 150.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, 151.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Wilson, 'Continental Protestant Refugees,' 115. See also Duffy, 'The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge,' 38.
66. On Irenicism, German Protestants and Great Britain, see: Eamon Duffy, 'Correspondence Fraternelle: The SPCK, The SPG, and the Churches of Switzerland in the War of the Spanish Succession,' in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500–1750*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 251–80; Alexander Schunka, *Ein neuer Blick nach Westen. Deutsche Protestanten und Großbritannien, 1688–1740* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019).
67. *Ibid.*, 152.
68. Duffy, 'The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge'; Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*, 133–49.
69. Malena, 'Ecclesia Universa.'
70. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 126–42. In the frontispiece the text is presented as "second edition": the first edition must have been published by Ludolf himself. Until now, I was not able to find the first edition of this work. A Latin translation was printed (probably in Halle) in 1731: Henrici Guilelmi Ludolfi, Aulæ Anglicanae Secretarii, *Consilium de Universae Ecclesiae Salute Procuranda. Collegit atque Illustravit Christianus Pamphilus* ([s.l.], 1731).
71. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 128.
72. *The Faithful Steward*. See also Goltz, 'Ecclesia Universa,' 31.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, 129.
75. Such as the projects involving the reformed theologian Daniel Ernst Jablonski and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. See D.E. Jablonski, 'Kurtze Vorstellung der Einigkeit und des Unterscheides, im Glauben beyder Evangelischen so genandten Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirchen (1697),' published by Hartmut Rudolph in *Labora diligenter*, eds. Martin Fontius, Hartmut Rudolph and Gary Slimith (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 128–64; Joachim Bahlcke and Werner Korthaase, *Daniel Ernst Jablonski. Religion, Wissenschaft und Politik um 1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008); Alexander Schunka, 'Daniel Ernst Jablonski, Pietism, and Ecclesiastical Union,' in *Pietism, Revivalism and Modernity. 1650–1850*, eds. Fred van Lieburg and Daniel Lindmark (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 23–41; Schunka, 'Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion'; Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age: The Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648,' in *Conciliation and Confession: The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, eds. Howard P. Louthan and Randall C. Zachman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 228–85. On Leibniz and Jablonski see Maria Rosa Antognazza, *Leibniz. Una biografia intellettuale* (Milano: Hoepli, 2009), 421–3, 449–61. On projects of unification among Protestants see also Maria Cristina Pitassi, "'Nonobstant ces petites differences": enjeux et présupposés d'un

- projet d’union intra-protestant au début du XVIIIe siècle,’ in *La Tolérance. Colloque international de Nantes, Quatrième centenaire de l’édit de Nantes*, eds. Guy Saupin, Rémy Fabre and Marcel Launay (Rennes: PUR, 1999), 419–26. Alexander Schunka noticed that whereas Leibniz and the Lutheran theologian Johann Fabricius considered an inner Protestant union “only as a starting point for a confessional unity that would include Roman Catholics. Prussian irenicists such as Daniel Ernst Jablonski aimed at unifying Lutherans and Calvinists in order to strengthen Protestantism against the threat of Popery” (Schunka, ‘Irenicism and the Challenges of Conversion,’ 103).
76. *Ibid.*, 129–30.
 77. H.W. Ludolf to G.W. Leibniz, Copenhagen, 19 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 140v–143, in French) published in Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 134–5: “And I am more and more convinced that all those projects conceived by the human spirit in various places to unite Christians in a certain system of opinions and outward worship will go up in smoke.” The letter is published also in: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin: Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990); Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Allgemeiner politischer und historischer Briefwechsel*, Reihe 1 (Leibniz: Forschungsstelle Hannover, 1970); Nora Gädeke, *Januar-Dezember 1703*, Bd. 22 (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 2011), 685–7.
 78. H.W. Ludolf to G.W. Leibniz, Copenhagen, 19 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 140v–143, in French) published in Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 134–5.
 79. Antognazza, *Leibniz*, 449–61; Wolfgang Hübener, ‘Negotium irenicum. Leibniz’ Bemühungen um die brandenburgische Union,’ in *Leibniz in Berlin*, eds. Hans Poser and Albert Heinekamp (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 103–12; Mogens Laerke, ‘Leibniz et le Ius circa sacra,’ *Bulletin Annuel. Institut d’Histoire de la Réformation, Genève*, XXXVIII (2016–2017), 35–52. On Leibniz’ view of a “universal church” see Antognazza, *Leibniz*, 383–4.
 80. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 130.
 81. *Ibid.*, 138: “Those few that really know Christ as the Power and Wisdom of God in the Faithful, and feel by this knowledge eternal Life springing up in them, and have thus attained to the blessed Experience of being one Spirit with Christ, may endeavour to get acquainted together, and settle a Correspondence with one another on account of carrying on the Work of Religion, though Providence hath Provinces of the Lord’s Vineyard.”
 82. On P.J. Spener see M. Brecht, ‘Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen,’ in *Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, eds. M. Brecht, K. Deppermann, U. Gäbler and H. Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 281–389; Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986). On this relation between Ludolf’s and Spener’s view of the church see Goltz, ‘Ecclesia Universa,’ 21.
 83. Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 135 (see note 61). He concluded this passage with a rhetorical question: “But how to convince Ecclesiastics of all confessions, with the exception of a very small number, that in all those fine talents they are so proud of, there is more human spirit than the Spirit of God [?]”
 84. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 131.
 85. *Ibid.*, 139.
 86. *Ibid.*, 132–3.
 87. *Ibid.*, 137. He continued: “Whereas some have done good even upon Men of a differing persuasion, by declining on purpose controverted points, and grounding their discourse upon such subjects as are agreed on by all hands, and which, as essential to salvation, are owned by all parties, though practiced but by very few.”
 88. *Ibid.*, 139.
 89. On Ludolf’s apocalypticism, see Schunka, ‘An England ist uns viel gelegen,’ 51–4.

90. H.W. Ludolf to I. Paštrić, Copenhagen, 26 Nov. 1703 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 142v–143v, in Italian). On Ivan Paštrić, see Tomislav Mrkonjić, *Il teologo Ivan Paštrić (Giovanni Pastrizio) (1636–1708): Vita, opere, concezione della teologia, cristologia* (Roma: Seraphicum, 1989); Tomislav Mrkonjić, ‘Pastrizio (Paštrić), Giovanni (Ivan),’ in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani*, vol. 81 (Roma, 2014), online edn. [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-pastrizio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-pastrizio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (Last accessed: 17 Jan. 2019).
91. *Ibid.*
92. *The Substance of the XLV: Homily of Macarius*. Translated from Greek by H.W. Ludolf, in *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 171–86. On the meaning Ludolf attributed to Macarius’ writings, and on Ludolf’s translation of the XLV Homily, see Goltz, ‘Ecclesia Universa,’ 29.
93. *Considerations on the Interest of the Church Universal*, 140–2 (“Some Passages out of Macarius his Homilies, not altogether unsuitable to the foregoing Discourse”).
94. Although I cannot develop this aspect in this essay, I believe it warrants at least a brief mention.
95. See Ludolf’s epistolary and in particular: AFSt/H D 23; AFSt/H D 71; AFSt/H F 14. On the diplomat, natural historian and writer Benoit de Maillet, see: Harriet D. Rothschild, ‘Benoit de Maillet’s Leghorn Letters,’ *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 30 (1964), 351–75; ‘Benoit de Maillet’s Marseilles Letters,’ *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 37 (1965), 109–45; ‘Benoit de Maillet’s Letters to the Marquis de Caumont,’ *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 60 (1968), 311–38; ‘Benoit de Maillet’s Cairo Letters,’ *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 169 (1977), 115–85. On his evolutionist theory of the origin of the Earth, see Benoit de Maillet, *Telliamed: ou entretiens d’un philosophe indien avec un missionnaire francais sur la diminution de la mer* (Paris: Fayard, 1984; 1st edn., 1748).
96. AFSt/H D 23, fols. 1–3. I am working on a longer essay on this subject, and on the edition of Ludolf’s account. On Francesco Bellisomi, see: *A Short Account, of the Many Extraordinary Mercies, God in His Infinite Goodness Has Conferred Upon Franciscus Bellisomus, as Well in His Almost Ten Years Imprisonment in the Inquisition at Rome, as in His Unexpected Deliverance* (London: Printed, anno 1712); *Species Facti/In Sachen des Herrn Marchesen Francisci Bellisomo, abtens ad S. Mariam ad Perticas, Römischen Prälatens/und Referendarii utriusque signaturae in Rom, mit der Congregation des heil. Officii der Inquisition, vom Jahr 1701 biß 1727*. Jena, gedruckt bey Peter Fickelscherrn, 1728; Berthold Schmidt and Otto Meusel, eds., *A. H. Franckes Briefe an den Grafen Heinrich XXIV. J.L. Reuß zu Köstritz und seine Gemahlin Eleonore aus den Jahren 1704 bis 1727 als Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1905); Gustavo Costa, ‘Documenti per una storia dei rapporti anglo-romani nel Settecento,’ in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento* (Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1968), 371–452; On Bellisomi’s relationships to Halle see Malena, ‘Ecclesia Universa.’ On Bellisomi’s life and networks see now Nicholas Mithen, ‘Mystical theology, ecumenism and church-state relations: Francesco Bellisomi (1663–1741) at the limits of confessionalism in early eighteenth-century Europe’, *History of European Ideas*, 45:8 (2019), 1089–1106 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2019.1653353> (Last accessed: 11 Jun. 2020). By the time Mithen’s article came out, this chapter had already been submitted for publication.
97. H.W. Ludolf to A.H. Francke, Amsterdam, 2 Sept. 1700 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 45–48). The letter has been published by Tetzner, *H.W. Ludolf und Russland*, 115–21.
98. H.W. Ludolf to Benoit Maillet, London, 17 Sept. 1702 (AFSt/H D 23, fols. 113–114). Benoit de Maillet (1656–1738) was a French diplomat and natural historian. He was French consul at Cairo (1692–1708) and at Livorno (1712–1717). In his aforementioned letter to Leibniz (see note 61), Ludolf wrote about Maillet: “Mr. de Maillet, French Consul in Cairo was the most curious man I found in these districts. He worked hard to restore the correspondence between Abessenie and those of his Church. He

- wrote me last year, that he made two other Jesuits pass there after the one who had accompanied the French physician, who went to Abessinie in 1698, and who provided the Abessine Embassy, who had to go to France, but who was arrested in Cairo. If Mr. de Maillet will publish the observations he made during several years of stay in Egypt, we will find several very pleasant curiosities.”
99. On Anton Wilhelm Böhme, see: Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*; Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*.
 100. On Böhme’s “impartial” translations, see: Sames, *Anton Wilhelm Böhme*, 100–5, 114–17; Adelisa Malena, ‘Migrazioni della mistica. Note sulla fortuna di Caterina da Genova nel pietismo tedesco,’ in *Scritture, carismi, istituzioni. Percorsi di vita religiosa in età moderna. Studi per Gabriella Zarri*, eds. Concetta Bianca and Anna Scattigno (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2018), 389–412. Böhme translated Francke’s *Segensvolle Fußstapfen* into English with the title *Pietas Hallensis: Being an Historical Narration of the wonderful Foot-Steps of Divine Providence in Erecting, Carrying on, and Building the Orphan-House, and Other Charitable Institutions, at Glaucha Near Hall in Saxony* [. . .] (London: Downing, 1705). He also translated Francke’s *Nicodemus* and the letters of the Danish/Halle missionaries Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau. Kisker suggested that the translation and “publication of missionary letters was intended to generate English support for the endeavour”, see Kisker, ‘Pietist Connections,’ 237. On Böhme’s translation of Johann Arndt’s *True Christianity* see Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 141–8.
 101. Adelisa Malena, ‘Imparzialità confessionale e conversione come “rigenerazione” nel pietismo radicale. La ‘Historie der Wiedergebohrnen’ di J.H. Reitz (1698–1753),’ in *Les modes de la conversion confessionnelle à l’époque moderne. Autobiographie, altérité et construction des identités religieuses (XVII^e – XVIII^e siècles)*, eds. M.C. Pitassi, D. Solfaroli Camillocci (Firenze: Olschki, 2010), 63–83.
 102. Johann Heinrich Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen, oder Exempel gottseliger so bekandt- und benant-, als unbekandt- und unbenanter Christen, Männlichen und Weiblichen Geschlechts, in allerley Ständen. Wie Dieselbe erst von Gott gezogen und bekehret, und nach vielem Kämpfen und Aengsten, durch Gottes Geist und Wort, zum Glauben und Ruh ihrer Gewissens gebracht seynd. Ins hochteutsche übersetzt*, Offenbach am Main, Druckts Bonaventura de Launoy 1698 [Anastatic edn., ed. Hans-Jürgen Schrader (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), 4 vols]. On this work and its genesis see Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des radikalen Pietismus. Johann Heinrich Reitz’ “Historie Der Wiedergebohrnen” und ihr geschichtlicher Kontext* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) On this literary genre see: H.J. Schrader, *Nachwort des Herausgebers*, in Reitz, *Historie*, 4, 127–203. Ludolf’s life is contained in *Historie*, 2, IV (Idstein: Johann-Jacob Haug, 1716), 221–9: “Fünffzehnde Historie/von Henrich Wilhelm Ludolff/Gewesenem Secretario des Printzen Georgs von Dänemark in Engeland/und Mitglied der Societät de propaganda fide”.
 103. *Reliquiae Ludolfianae*, 187.