

## Learning to Network: H. W. Ludolf and International Networking

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In the second half of the seventeenth century, diplomatic practices, including the way in which communication was conducted, changed in dramatic way in both diplomatic practices and the conduct of personal communication. The diplomat was no longer a “high-born aristocrat,” but instead a trained professional who was better equipped for the role of communicating with a foreign power.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, an international network of private individuals, who emphasized intellectual progress over traditional concerns with wealth and prestige, began forming. This forming of the Republic of Letters also changed how people communicated and the expectations associated with communicating, both in person and especially in writing. These trends improved relations between nations at both the official and personal levels, and allowed for more groups to gain influence abroad and find support far from their centers of operation. Both diplomacy and the Republic of Letters functioned in similar ways, with the chief difference being their different conversation topics. Most previous scholarship on the topics has focused on the conversational differences, and ignored the similarities.

At the end of the seventeenth century, international, intellectual networks were present in Europe, such as the Society of Jesus and Dutch East India Company. Such groups relied upon not only confessional support, but also state support to survive and grow. In Brandenburg-Prussia, a similar organization formed under August Hermann Francke; and concerned itself with education and spiritual reform. Francke, however, relied largely upon others to spread news of

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<sup>1</sup> Hampton, Timothy. *Fictions of Embassy*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 3

his work and gather international support; Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf was one of these men. His travels and gift exchanges allowed for contacts to form across Europe, with a particular focus in England thanks to their shared Protestant heritages, and helped to endear the Francke's efforts to others. Ludolf also worked as more of a political diplomat by providing information about foreign lands for others to use and advising on what courses of action to take.

Until the late sixteenth century, state leaders did not consider diplomacy important to ruling a nation. Starting in the middle fifteenth century, this outlook began changing, so that by approximately 1600 it was then that "the successful prosecution of diplomacy became, for the first time, a central theme in theories of statecraft."<sup>2</sup> As diplomacy became more important, individuals who understood the intricacies of negotiation replaced the aristocrats who previously served as diplomats. The new diplomats were those who could do more than just speak effectively; they could write effectively.<sup>3</sup> By using these skills, a diplomat connects two foreign powers while also keeping them separate from one another. In turn he creates an understanding of the other nation for his homeland.<sup>4</sup> In order to accomplish these tasks, a diplomat needed to be well educated and, preferably, be able to speak several languages. Humanist education helped prepare diplomats for a host of new social situations that could potentially arise while working in a foreign country.

There were limitations for diplomats while negotiating, namely only possessing partial information from rulers at home, as well as speaking in a foreign country with foreign

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 7

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 8

expectations.<sup>5</sup> A diplomat therefore could discuss and negotiate, but only within the limitations of what he knew. It was left to the discretion of the ruler to determine what to tell a diplomat, with some electing to withhold information while others told everything known about the situation.<sup>6</sup> Understanding how to negotiate within these often unknown limitations as well as foreign behavioral expectations compounded the need for education and speaking skills.

Ideally, the presence of a diplomat enabled mutual understandings to form between foreign powers. Such considerations became particularly feasible since engrained concepts of rivalry had undergone changes from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century. Simple violence against an enemy was no longer seen as the most viable solution to conflicts, and instead “more sophisticated combinations of courage, talent, and linguistic mastery [became] the index of accomplishment.”<sup>7</sup> Prestige could now be found off the battlefield. This shift meant the traditional emphasis on military valor for aristocrats was no longer as heavily weighted, and that new skill sets, such as public speaking, were more valued. The change of emphasis also helped open the door to the trained diplomat.

Once dialog with a foreign power was opened, it could not always be maintained in person. Diplomats, therefore, needed to be effective writers in addition to speakers, maintaining communication and relationships from a distance. The same was true for private individuals as well. In the scholarly realm of the Republic of Letters, the beginning of a correspondence carried the notion that one would reply after receiving a letter.<sup>8</sup> Not only was responding

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 17-20

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 46-51

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 45

<sup>8</sup> Goldgar, Anne. *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 18

considered polite, but it also ensured that a continuous network formed. However, a balance needed to be found so that the correspondents could maintain a written relationship without pressuring one another to respond. This balance was one of several characteristics of the Republic of Letters.

A crucial standard to the members of the Republic of Letters maintained “communal standards,” such as consideration when corresponding.<sup>9</sup> They considered themselves “separate from the rest of society” and aimed to “ignore distinctions of nationality and religion.”<sup>10</sup> Without anything concrete binding the members together, they relied upon each other’s politeness and sense of community to maintain the Republic. The most common concern across all its members was their conduct and treatment of one another. Politeness and gentlemanly behavior helped members earn credibility and reflected the rise of civil codes across Europe as nations solidified in the late seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Both political and scholarly life were simultaneously becoming more dependent on long distance communication. In order to cope with the distance, these two forms developed similar mechanisms to ensure that letters were well received. Gentlemanly behavior was only one such mechanism, as well as humility. In diplomacy, humility was crucial, especially since diplomats were guests in a foreign land and employed by someone of a high status at home. French philosopher Montaigne even went so far as to describe the diplomat’s relationships as that of a servant to master.<sup>12</sup> Although, for those in the Republic of Letters, arrogance was seen not only

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>10</sup> Ibid,3

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 6-7

<sup>12</sup> Hampton, 49

as rude, but as an attack on the Republic as a whole, especially when editing another's work.<sup>13</sup>

One must earn their reputation, and while one could advance through the ranks and become a respected scholar, respect from peers could only be earned through contributions to the community and their contacts.

This backdrop of politeness, contributions, and effective verbal and written communication was the world in which Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf operated. After spending several years in the Danish court, Ludolf fully understood how to effectively network and connect contacts across national borders.<sup>14</sup> Towards the beginning of his career, Ludolf spent five years in the service of the Danish royal court then traveled to Russia in 1692.<sup>15</sup> The years with the Danish court provided Ludolf with his initial forays into courtly manners and networking. After spending two years in Russia visiting Peter the Great's court and writing his *Grammatica Russica*, one of the first dictionaries to translate Russian to Latin, Ludolf moved back to Brandenburg- Prussia, where his uncle Hiob had developed a series of connections with a group of social reformers, affiliated with the University of Halle, who were endeavoring to set up a new philanthropic organization. These contacts led Ludolf to stay with Francke while travelling to the Orient from London. Following this stay, the two men began a two year correspondence where Ludolf applied his networking skills to attract supporters for Francke's education programs and universal church.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Goldgar, 141-142

<sup>14</sup> Schunka, Alexander. "An England ist uns viel gelegen." Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655-1712) als Wanderer zwischen den Welten. Appears in: *London und das Hallesche Waisenhaus: Eine Kommunikationsgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2014), 65-68 Note: This is the work referred to as simply "Schunka, page number" throughout. For more on the diplomatic situation around Ludolf's trip to Russia, see Tetzner, Joachim. *H. W. Ludolf und Russland*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), 23-25

<sup>15</sup> "Ludolf, Heinrich Wilhelm." <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd115754571.html#leben>

<sup>16</sup> Schunka, 69

However, gathering support for the school in Halle was not Ludolf's main undertaking. He assisted in putting people in contact with others in Halle so that they could communicate and then become supporters. This contact creation can be seen in a letter from Venice on May 29, 1698, written to Francke, when Ludolf stated,

“Having contracted acquaintance with a Grecian, that teacheth at the Greek school, I inquired after several Countrymen of his, with whom I had been acquainted; naming at last Archimandrite Chrysanthos, Nephew to the Patriarch of Jerusalem... You can not imagine what joy this news was unto me, for I esteem him very much... I have not met with him yet, because he hath been out of town... but when I see him, I shall endeavor [sic] to persuade him to make you a visit at Hall[e].”<sup>17</sup>

Chrysanthos had been in Russia at the same time as Ludolf, and his reputation carried over to the time when both men were in Italy. Chrysanthos' high position in the Eastern Church, an Archimandrite being only one rank below bishop, coupled with his reputation was enough for Ludolf to recommend him to Francke as a useful individual. The idea of travelling to Halle and meeting with Francke in person was also an attractive offer to Chrysanthos, who “hath promised me [Ludolf] to make you [Francke] a visit in Germany.”<sup>18</sup> A second Grecian who possessed “principles of true Christianity, and a concern for the Universal Church”<sup>19</sup> was also suggested to Francke at the same time. He, however, was of a lower rank in the Eastern Church and as such simple correspondence was recommended as an alternative to hosting in Halle.

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<sup>17</sup> Halle, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen (Archive of the Francke Institutes, Halle. Referred to as “AFSt“ throughout) AFSt/H A112 271-274

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

Also present is a correlation between rank and what degree of contact to being with others. For someone of a higher rank, like Chrysanthos, Ludolf considered it worthwhile to meet in person first, which would have been far costlier than simply sending a letter. For someone lower ranking, but still useful, hosting in Halle was considered, but correspondence was also a viable and acceptable alternative. This distinction shows the perceived usefulness of those within Ludolf's network. With hopes of establishing a universal church, upper church officials were of much greater use than low members. Ludolf and Francke were aware of this differentiation, and naturally tailored their efforts to match.

Not every acquaintance was immediately recommended as someone to host in Halle or to begin exchanging letters. Especially in these earlier years of his service, Ludolf directly approached others and informed them of Francke's work before proposing correspondences. "I have reason to think him [a Mr. Andreas Wille Diacony] sincere, wherefore I could wish you would renew your acquaintance and settle a correspondence with him," wrote Ludolf to Francke in April 1698. "I left him a table of your institutions, the printed account with Dr. Spencer's sermon he had seen already [sic], and seemed desirous to initiate [sic] your undertakings."<sup>20</sup> Ludolf's direct approach was helped by the fact that Francke and Diacony were friends many years earlier who had lost contact with one another. Additionally, the possession of printed materials detailing Francke's work were of aid to Ludolf. These materials would add a level of professionalism to what otherwise would have been a solely verbal and more casual transaction. Ludolf was able to leave Diacony with a physical reminder of their conversation.

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<sup>20</sup> AFSt/H D71, B7-8

Leaving someone with a printed document was far from normal for Ludolf, who generally simply sent handwritten letters. But sometimes letters themselves became the exchanged good,

“I hope that Mr. Turner delivered unto you Mr. Carpzow[‘s] paquet [sic] which may have informed you of my having delivered unto him your letter. I found him very courteous to me, and possest [sic] with very good potions against the obstructers of piety and real Christianity; I shall think it a happiness if upon my occasion you come to a good understanding and intimacy with him, for he may be very useful to us.”<sup>21</sup>

The letter delivery also allowed Ludolf to use Turner, clearly a trusted individual if tasked with delivering a letter in a similar manner as one delivered a gift or package, to Carpzow. This choice turns Francke’s original letter into a gift of sorts and an enabler of the communication between Francke and Carpzow. It additionally created a link with Turner.

This tactic was not unique to Ludolf but was a common practice within the Republic of Letters as well. Using colleague to deliver a letter reinforced the concept of a community and, more importantly for Ludolf, created new contacts.<sup>22</sup> The receiving of a letter became more personal when hand delivered, even when done by someone other than the original author. It would also open the door to new conversations between the deliverer and recipient, as they potentially discussed the contents of the delivery. In order to converse, both in person as well as in writing, both parties needed to understand the same language. For Ludolf, that was hardly an

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<sup>21</sup> AFS/H D71, B1

<sup>22</sup> Goldgar, 23



issue; he communicated in over ten languages.<sup>23</sup> This total was exceptional in the seventeenth century, just as it still is today.

In order to bridge the language gap between Francke and individuals who were still useful, many of the Pietist network members practiced writing in foreign languages to one another, which meant Ludolf often corrected and annotated their writings. “According to your desire I send you herewith back Mr. Scharschmids letters, Mr. Gosens Russish [sic] letters you shall have likewise... If I add part of it written by my hand and explained, that will help you to read and understand the rest,” wrote Ludolf to Francke in March 1698.<sup>24</sup> Gosen’s Russian skills were weak enough for Ludolf to question his ability to translate Francke’s works into Russian, but still considered the work to be worthwhile and a good exercise for Gosen.<sup>25</sup> Making Gosen improve his Russian would benefit the network as a whole by giving Francke an additional Russian speaker to assist with communicating with members of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Educating those in Halle about foreign languages would be a continuous task for Ludolf, and evidence of his efforts appear in many of his letters. Notes such as the aforementioned encouragement are but one example and show the network supported itself and its members in learning. Ludolf also provided notes on pronunciations for those who already held a basic understanding of an additional language.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Schunka, 72- “...Ludolf hat Schreiben und Notizen in mehr als zehn Sprachen...” [“...Ludolf had writings and notes in over ten languages...” Schunka goes on to name them as German, English, Dutch, Russian, Italian, French, Greek, Spanish, Hebrew, Ethiopian, and Turkish. There are also notes in Latin, bringing the total to eleven.]

<sup>24</sup> AFSt/H D68 B357

<sup>25</sup> “There is a great deal of false Russish in it, which maketh one doubt of his ability in translating your books into that langage. But neverthelesse I shall endeavour to incourage [sic] him in it, for his translation may afterwards be mended with ease, and it will be good imployment [sic] for him.” AFSt/H D68 B357

<sup>26</sup> AFSt/H D71 B20r-21v

Such language training was complemented by travel advice notes. With his vast travel experience, Ludolf was the perfect man to advise others on international voyages. His travel advice covered the practicalities and the nature of being in new, exotic lands, "...the air is unwholesome, so that I would not advise one to stay here longer than he needs must.... One of our climate will endanger his health by coming all of a sudden into the hearts of Syria or Egypt."

<sup>27</sup> Climate warnings were just one concern for travelers; more important was deciding where to stay while abroad.

"My Landlord master Claude Ainean, a French... who hath lived amongst protestants is an honest fellow and may be serviceable to any body that should hereafter bring him a salute from me," relayed Ludolf to Halle from Livorno.<sup>28</sup> Even though his landlord was French, and most likely Catholic, he had been deemed a worthy contact for Pietists far from Halle. However, not anyone from Halle could simply walk up and expect a place to stay; one needed to know Ludolf and bring his greetings. There was a personal element to travel, a neighborly facet that brought in a new member to Ludolf's network, even though Ainean only appears as the landlord, nothing more. Ainean is never offered a continued correspondence, let alone a place to study in Halle, but a network of contacts needed men like him. Ludolf explicitly stated that in travel advice notes from 1699, "For correspondence with the Orient one must have gut friends in Nurnberg, Augsburg, Venice, and especially in Livorno."<sup>29</sup> Through these notes and his letters, Ludolf painted a picture of foreign lands so that those in Halle had a general sense of what to

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<sup>27</sup> AFSt/H D71 B9v

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

<sup>29</sup> AFSt/H B71a B95 The original German reads, "Zur Correspondert nach Orient müssen Sie gute freunde in Nurnberg, Augsburg, Venedig, und absonderlich zu Livorno haben"

expect after completing their education.<sup>30</sup> Without men like Ainean, even the letter writer was helpless, and the traveler had nowhere to stay should he leave to visit; and thus the “friend” fulfills a vital role in this international network.

Nearly as important as locating a place to stay was the ability to communicate with locals. Of particular interest was learning common Greek, referred to as “Vulgar Greek,” and Turkish so that the Eastern Orthodox Church could be more easily and thoroughly accessed. While staying with Ainean, Ludolf made efforts to learn Turkish from one of the other tenants, a Jew by the name of Elia.<sup>31</sup> Even with him there were language barriers; Elia spoke little Italian. These efforts spent travelling and overcoming language barriers were not without benefit. Making contacts and improving language skills in this manner were impossible while staying in Halle, a German city full of German speakers.

The letters sent back to Halle showed Ludolf’s first sets of reactions and thoughts about his travel, since they were written not long after he completed each step of a journey. However, these are not the only thoughts he recorded about being abroad. Ludolf collected his thoughts about travelling and corresponding with England, Russia, and the Orient in collected notes in 1699. Ludolf organized these materials so that they could advise those considering taking up similar work as he had done.

Instead of naming every individual Ludolf had met and used in his travels and correspondences, he instead outlined where to make contacts in order to reach distant cities and

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<sup>30</sup> Schunka, Alexander. “England als Erfahrungsraum im frühen Halleschen Pietismus.“ Appears in, *Aus Gottes Wort und iger Erfahrung gezeiget*. (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle, 2012). 826

<sup>31</sup> AFS/H D71 B9v

mentions only a handful of key individuals. After suggesting which German cities and having named Venice and Livorno as critical bases on the Italian peninsula, Ludolf went on to point out that these cities were just the first stop for correspondence. Livorno, for example, had frequent ships to Alexandria.<sup>32</sup> Outlining a network's physical location in this manner allowed Ludolf to help others form their own network of contacts without interfering in the formation of these new contacts. Anyone new could follow his instructions and create their own personal connections instead of relying on Ludolf's. This way the same unique touches within Ludolf's contacts could be made fresh and therefore would be more personal.

To complement his travel advice notes Ludolf also maintained a "Catalog of Friends."<sup>33</sup> The contacts are broken down by location with categories for England, Oxford, the Orient, the Low Countries, and Moscow, among several other locations.<sup>34</sup> Each contact is named, and a brief description with address often accompanied each entry. Just as his advice pages only specify so much of how to establish contacts, these lists do not contain every person with whom Ludolf corresponded. A student trying to follow his footsteps would have a general sense of where and what sorts of individuals to contact but would only be given a partial picture. This feature helped fuel the creation of a personal network along with the general location list.

Ludolf was more specific about recommending what books one should bring while travelling, such as both the Psalms and New Testament in Turkish and Slavonic, Anglican Liturgy in Greek, and an Arabian language guide.<sup>35</sup> These works were not only for the traveler:

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<sup>32</sup> AFSt/H B71a B96

<sup>33</sup> AFSt/H A112 271-274 Ludolf did not title the list as such, he does refer to it as his "Catalogue of my friends" in this letter to Francke from May 29, 1698

<sup>34</sup> AFSt/H B71a 2-9

<sup>35</sup> AFSt/H B71a B37

they were also for those he would meet and would form the core of a small, mobile library. Not only did the traveler need to be, and would be, educated, but he would also be educating while abroad. The effort of traveling with so many heavy volumes could be perceived as a sign of sincerity. The action showed the traveler intended to form a relation more personal than simply renting a room or viewing Roman sites; he was investing in the new land as was done in the classrooms of Halle.

The value and potential impact of others in foreign lands was recognized by Ludolf. “What effects might not we hope from due care in our education and schools, to train youth up in the ways that tend unto the attaining of that happynesse [sic]. What esteem would such merchant, be in the remotest Countreys [sic].”<sup>36</sup> Lutheran youth could not simply be sent to the Orient and expected to accomplish their goals. Instead they needed a training regimen to prepare them for work while abroad. Bringing books on journeys to distant lands would therefore not only show sincerity, but also help complete this educational program. Founding libraries with these books also showed the investment abroad. Works were constantly being located and donated from across Europe, such as a Russian edition of Luther’s Catechism.<sup>37</sup> Works were brought and given to these lands; this gift was greater than if books were brought by a traveler, and then taken back with him later. However, learning how to approach foreigners and explain the Lutheran faith as well as languages could only be done to a certain degree in the class room. The rest would best be done in the field.

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<sup>36</sup> AFSt/H A112a S.1-223, entry for 5 February 1701

<sup>37</sup> AFSt/H D71 B2

The materials required for such education were available, for a price. Especially with the proliferation of academic letter writing, book trading became increasingly common. However, shipping costs could become prohibitive. This high cost was seen even with letters, with senders finding new ways of delivering for less than normal letter post rates.<sup>38</sup> Because of his constant travels, Ludolf was unable to support the education programs in Halle financially himself. Instead he aided locating individuals who could provide funds. Ludolf did provide one significant financial contribution at his death; he left over a quarter of his estate to Francke to support the teaching efforts in Halle.<sup>39</sup> Even though the Pietists had a massive network of contacts across Europe cultivated by Ludolf, it would have been meaningless without funds to educate and support the students and school in Halle.

Securing financial support was but one material needed to maintain operations in Halle; materials, especially books, and students were needed as well. For Ludolf, though, books and other scholarly material were tools for networking. In the late seventeenth century news of publications traveled through the veins of the Republic of Letters, but not always the work itself. The ability to deliver books between members helped endear members to one another.<sup>40</sup> Books and other gifts are not sold; instead they are swapped in a barter system with the expectation of the favor being returned later, which also helped to forge friendships. The ability to do so

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<sup>38</sup> Goldgar, 16-17, and AFSt/H D23 B145v, in which Ludolf writes to a Mr. Walkling, "I hope you will take as willingly care [sic] of the letter to her, I here enclose, though the penny post is safe enough for that as well as for the other to Mr. Joy." Though affordable postage rates were available, they apparently were not always reliable enough for important messages.

<sup>39</sup> Nachlass Francke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Francke Estate, State Library, Berlin. Referred to as „NL Francke“), NL Francke, 30/22:10

<sup>40</sup> Goldgar, 25-26

reliably would create a continuous relationship between two parties and show the sincerity of one to the other.

Ludolf was well aware of this trend and used it in his network building. “Yours [referring back to a letter from Ludolf] mentions that you sent word of the Chinese History of which I had no notice... I am heartily glad of the book and hope the Providence of God will conduct it safe to me with some other...,” wrote Theophilus Dorrington, an English rector with whom Ludolf corresponded frequently, to Ludolf in April, 1699.<sup>41</sup> The delivery of a book was noteworthy enough to warn the receiver before sending, although the surprise could be a more effective way to endear oneself to another. In order to send books and materials required knowing one another fairly well, otherwise the effort and expense would have been wasted. This intimacy helped forge relationships that would be more beneficial than if they were for purely economic reasons.

Delivery was not always prompt, and when trying to sort out how to obtain a book a closer relationship with the sender was helpful. “I am lamenting that I should give you and Mr. Ludolf so much trouble about the Bidavdi Historia Simica, and yet misse of it at last,” wrote Dorrington to Francke in July, 1699.<sup>42</sup> “It is indeed a book I have very greatly desired, but the person who promised you to bring it me has forgotten his promise, or his direction, for as yet I have heard nothing of it.” On one hand, Dorrington understands the challenges associated with the delivery; on the other there is the chance that the agreement between him and Francke and

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<sup>41</sup> NL Francke, 30/13:1

<sup>42</sup> NL Francke, 30/13:2

Ludolf has not been upheld. A successful delivery shows respect for Dorrington, especially after his repeated letters to acquire the work, and helps secure him in the network.

Two years earlier, Ludolf achieved just that, through the gift of his own *Grammatica Russica* for Benjamin Furly, an English Quaker living in the Netherlands. “I cannot omit to return you my most humble thanks for the honour of this present your hand bode pleased to make [sic] and of your Slavonian Grammar, and to testify the great satisfaction I have in your most seasonable Dialogue concerning Religion...”<sup>43</sup> The book and the conversation in this case became gifts for Furly. Both were so noteworthy as to be mentioned in writing, instead of just the physical reminder, the *Grammatica Russica*, which stayed with Furly after his and Ludolf’s conversation ended. This book served the same function as the printed page given to Diacony, only this time it was in a more concrete sense. A whole book, versus a single page, would have felt more permanent; it would also have lasted and fulfilled its role longer than a single page. This gift was considerate, not only because books were expensive and difficult to deliver, but also because it was a current work. Ludolf’s *Grammatica Russica* was among the first Russian grammars and was only a year old at the time.<sup>44</sup>

The emotional attraction of gift exchangers between one another was certainly experienced by Ludolf as well. He made this clear while writing to Richard Steele, addressed to Steele’s penname Mr. Bickerstaff. Steele had given Ludolf a copy of his magazine *Tatler*, which covered London social stories. In his letter thanking Steele for the copy, Ludolf wrote that he

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<sup>43</sup> AFS/H C 714:1

<sup>44</sup> “Greetings from the Orient: H. W. Ludolf as a central figure in 17<sup>th</sup>-cent. Language study” <http://hiphilangsci.net/2013/05/08/greetings-from-the-orient-h-w-ludolf-as-a-central-figure-in-17th-cent-language-study/>



hoped to send something “which might affect your soul towards me as the aforesaid Tatler affected my soul towards you...”<sup>45</sup> Receiving a gift made the physical distance between the two men feel smaller for Ludolf and tightened the connection. Both men saw the benefit of having one another as contacts and used the exchange of gifts as a way to show that.

An additional method to encourage endearment between contacts was to exchange services. With so many international interests and language skills, Ludolf was well poised to serve as a translator for those who knew him. Translating was distinct from teaching languages since in these cases Ludolf did not provide commentary as he did with language exercises. This role was one he fulfilled for those learning in Halle as well as men as prominent as the Bishop of Bristol, John Robinson.<sup>46</sup>

The exchange of books, other gifts, and services were all part of a greater plan. Ludolf made this goal apparent in a memorial address to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge around 1700. “As the main business will be to obtain the esteem and love of the Oriental Church so the chief care will consist in sending such patters of Christian virtues amongst them...”<sup>47</sup> Providing materials and services to aid members of the Oriental Church was not conducted out of charity. They were delivered with the aim of finding allies and forging connections against Catholic Europe. The creation of understanding between the two churches would allow both to support one another moving into the eighteenth century. The rivalry between the Protestant faiths and Catholicism ran too deep, and the memory of the Thirty Years

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<sup>45</sup> AFSt/H D 23 B 22

<sup>46</sup> AFSt/H D 23 B91v- 92

<sup>47</sup> AFSt/H D23 B4

War was too fresh, especially for Germans, for the differences between the two denominations to be reconciled and to begin a positive relationship.

Even though the Pietist's goal of a universal church did not necessarily extend to include Catholics, there were still many others with whom the Pietists did wish to conduct business. With a network that reached from England to Russia, the evaluation of network members, advising on what course of action to take, and who to correspond with was a crucial role of Ludolf's. His experiences with many individuals of different backgrounds made him well suited to this task. Coupled with providing recommendations, Ludolf was well poised to relay information back to Francke, especially about potential new contacts.

While translating letters from Russian for Francke in the spring of 1698, Ludolf noted that,

“Though Mr. Goshen's [sic] letter is very faulty both in words and sense, wherefore his is not fitt [sic] for interpreting of your books he had some disorder in his understanding once, but I know that people ought not presently to be thrown away upon that account.”<sup>48</sup>

Gosen's Russian was lacking. His language deficiency was putting his position as a translator within the network at risk. Nevertheless, Ludolf intervened and recommended that Gosen be kept. Even though Gosen could not complete the task assigned to him, Ludolf recognized the potential of keeping him. Having a contact that held even basic Russian skills was far more

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<sup>48</sup> AFSt/H D71 B4-5. The Goshen referenced here is the same man, Gosen, referenced earlier, simply misspelled by Ludolf here

beneficial than having no one, and Ludolf had recommended only a few weeks earlier that Gosen undertake additional Russian exercises, thus investing the time and effort to create an additional Russian speaker.<sup>49</sup>

This judgement of Gosen is provided with the update on Ludolf's receiving of the originals which needed translating. As the diplomat for the Halle Pietists, Ludolf recognized the potential of Gosen and the need to immediately recommend him to Francke. If Ludolf had waited to be prompted for his thoughts on Gosen, he would have lost valuable time waiting for letters to be delivered. With his familiarity of Russian, Ludolf could easily decide what to suggest for Gosen and his Russian skills.

Ludolf's recommendations were not limited to language issues and even extended to matters more directly related to the educational programs in Halle. In an undated letter from Frederick Slare to Francke, Slare noted "we have only sent those four... boy, because... of the Invasion which afrightened [sic] their parents, and also Mr. Ludolf was somewhat discouraging in his Letters, which caused me not to fill up the whole number..."<sup>50</sup> Despite the risks due to an invasion, Slare had intended to send more than four students from England to Halle at this point. After exchanging letters with Ludolf, however, that number was reduced. Ludolf's travel prowess made him a trusted figure, even when his recommendations went against the hopes of those asking for advice.

Recommendations hugely facilitated the creation of contacts across Europe. When distance prevented introducing individuals in person, recommending letter writing became the

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<sup>49</sup> AFSt/H D68 B357

<sup>50</sup> NL Francke, 30/47:9

next best alternative. “Being Encouraged [sic] by my good friend Mr. Ludolf to begin a Correspondance [sic] with you and in the English tonge [sic] from me...,”<sup>51</sup> opened Henry Hoare in a July 1708 letter to Francke. He and Ludolf were clearly on good terms, which no doubt helped Ludolf encourage him to write in this letter. Without this suggestion to write, even though as the letter progresses it becomes clear that Hoare has direct interests in several of the students in Halle, Hoare would not have begun his correspondence. Ludolf was the catalyst in the formation of yet another contact for the Halle Pietists.

Relaying information about the movement of others through letters was only natural and often provided insights into potential difficulties in foreign lands. “They writ me last summer from Cairo that an Abessine Embassy designed for France was arrived there, but having been plundered upon the Arabian shore, whether they were driven by stormy weather, the French Consul there would not let them go as beggars into France...,”<sup>52</sup> wrote Ludolf in 1703 to a German colleague from the Danish Court, Johann Hugo von Lente. The episode reminded the reader of the inherent dangers of travel and warns that the Catholic French also held interest in the Orient. “...the Court of France... brought a confession of the Abessinian faith with him, as they send such a Confession when they sought formerly the friendship of Phil. II King of Portugall [sic].”<sup>53</sup> Delivering information without passing judgement, as Ludolf has done here, allowed von Lente to come to his own conclusion about the French behavior in Egypt.

In his later years, Ludolf admitted that,

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<sup>51</sup> NL Francke, 30/22:3

<sup>52</sup> AFSt/H23 B121v

<sup>53</sup> Ibid

“I have made it my businesse to persuade my friends of differing nations and persuasions, that the best Forms and notions signifies nothing, unlesse watching fasting and praying we fight the good fight and receive at last through Christ the Crown of Life or the inheritance of the Kingdom of God. It is true that everyone thinks his persuasion best, but in those persuasions, which I thought the worst, I found some few souls, that had more charity and humility, that the generality have either in the Church of England or the Lutheran church, which two I allwayes thought best of.”<sup>54</sup>

Not only were his travels purposeful and towards a goal, but they were also surprising. Ludolf found individuals who showed him the best behavior and piety, even though they were not of a Protestant faith. However, their devotion convinced him that they were good people, and found common ground with them. The surprising locations of piety helped keep Ludolf interested in travel and correspondence. He marked the piety of individuals when writing with Francke on several occasions, such as in March 1698, when Ludolf wrote about the work of a mathematics professor, “Mr. Hamberger...being not only ingenious and clear in teaching, but likewise of a temper inclined to Piety.”<sup>55</sup> Not only were his academic works noteworthy and attractive to Ludolf, but the potential to make him even more pious showed promise.

Piety was not limited to one faith or another; it was a characteristic of all faiths and took such a similar form across confessions, that it could be seen by Ludolf, who came from a completely different background.

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<sup>54</sup> AFSt/H D23 B189v-190

<sup>55</sup> AFSt/H D71 B2

In his private notebook, Ludolf had mused upon this very topic briefly eight years earlier,

“It is a great pity that most Christians rather study to prove who hath the best system of Divinity, than thoroughly to know what Christianity itself is, and what that faith is... It is ridiculous to confine God to our schemes, men generally dote upon their own schemes, and forget the design for which the schemes were made.”<sup>56</sup>

His frustration with religion was not the faith systems themselves but rather those who practiced them. For Ludolf, religion had a greater purpose than simply appearing truer than another. Instead there was work to be done in the world, which cut across confessional boundaries and echoed common themes in different faiths. Religion had a higher end than what most individuals saw, in Ludolf’s view, and this end was not confined to one faith or another and did not disappear when men missed it. Therefore Ludolf continued networking and traveling with the hope of bringing these likeminded individuals together.<sup>57</sup>

This vision was not one that Ludolf could simply point out to the various churches across Europe and expect to be taken seriously. Instead, steps needed to be taken to show sincerity, “to obtain the esteem and love of the Oriental Church”<sup>58</sup> in particular. However, the Oriental Church was only one other church; the Church of England as well as other Lutherans were also viable targets. Diplomatic courtship was the result. This method was necessary due to the unique nature of Ludolf’s set of contacts. With so many of unrelated cultural backgrounds as well as

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<sup>56</sup> AFSt/H A112a S1-223, entry for 5 January 1702

<sup>57</sup> Schunka, 70 Travel took on a metaphysical dimension for Ludolf, who considered it part of his duty as a true Christian, much like a pilgrimage

<sup>58</sup> AFSt/H D23 B4

differing faiths, one needed to be polite and considerate when communicating; there was no common thread holding these contacts together other than their friendship.

The same mechanisms which drove personal, scholarly communication in Europe assisted Ludolf in the creation of an international and multicultural network of contacts and friends. His training as a diplomat taught him how to communicate with those who did not agree with him at first, opening the door to further discussions and the development of mutual understanding. The culture of gift exchanging and politeness aided Ludolf as well, by helping to endear him and his efforts to his new contacts. These features combined to allow a network unique in its multicultural nature to form and flourish at the turn of the eighteenth century.