

ations. The *Convertimini* from the same period, was another aid to preachers (although his authorship of this work is now disputed). There are also extant sermons from throughout his active career, and a fragmentary *Ecclesiastes* commentary. He was probably lecturing on *Ecclesiasticus* when he died of the plague in 1349 in Northampton. The exact dating of his works has been the subject of much debate, arguably still unresolved (for the most recent discussions, see Tachau 1995: 3–27; Gelber: 92–98; Rivers 2010: 216–19).

His exegesis follows the typical scholastic *quaestio* method of giving a general introduction, a division of the text, a brief literal exposition of the text, then treating questions and *dubitaciones* arising from the text itself. In so doing, he often details the moral and allegorical interpretations of the text. Although his arguments were not as rigorously pursued as in his *Sentences* commentary, it is nevertheless clear that he intended not only to elucidate the text but also to train preachers. However, occasion did arise to address serious topics, particularly in the Wisdom commentary, and this further fueled charges of skepticism. For example, he maintained in the context of Wis 7, that since all wisdom comes from God, man can have no natural knowledge of God. In the context of Wis 13, he argued that man cannot prove the existence of God through reason alone, although it can be inferred. More recent discussions of Holcot's use of the phrase *facientibus quod in se est*, (translated by Oberman as "to do one's very best" [Oberman 2000: 468], but literally means "to do what is in one's self"), however, maintain that Holcot held that as long as one uses all one's faculties, including reason, to their utmost, God will not deny his grace, thus refuting the charge of skepticism (Oberman esp. 1996; 2000). Holcot also dealt with politics and the morality of rule, topics inherent in the texts, particularly the Wisdom commentary, often commenting on politics of his own time as well. He was arguably one of the first to use Aristotle's *Politics* in biblical exegesis.

Holcot was well known for his "classicizing" style. A "proto-humanist," he cited quite a range of ancient writers (although often incorrectly), a trait he probably developed further as a member of Richard de Bury's household. De Bury was a well-known collector of books and Holcot possibly edited de Bury's *Philobiblon*. Holcot's "word pictures," part of his classicizing style, also contributed greatly to his fame. Although he was not the first to use them, he developed them to a greater degree than his predecessors. His sense of humor was also evident in his biblical works (Smalley 1956: 5), particularly a love of puns (Tachau 1991), including puns on his own name, thus eschewing anonymity, a trait uncommon in the period (Smalley 1956: 5; Smalley 1950–51: 134).

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Kimberly Georgedes

Hölderlin, Friedrich

Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) is arguably one of the greatest of German poets. Hölderlin initially studied Lutheran theology, with plans to become a minister. At the seminary in Tübingen the philosophers Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Friedrich Schelling were among his friends. Although Hölderlin finished his studies, he had grown to doubt his calling and worked instead as a private tutor at various locations in Germany, Switzerland, and France. By 1802 he began to show signs of mental illness; in 1807 he was entrusted to the care of an admirer, Ernst Zimmer, at whose home in Tübingen Hölderlin resided until his death thirty-five years later. Hölderlin wrote a beautiful and complex epistolary novel *Hyperion* (1797–99), an ambitious tragedy fragment *Empedokles* (written 1797–1800), and various philosophical

and poetological essays. He also undertook translations, primarily from Pindar and Sophocles. But he is known above all for his poems, including odes, elegies, and hymns, some in classical meters and others in free rhythms. They are lyrical, philosophical, and often elusive; a dominant motif is the longing for harmony, which is not always achieved. Only in the 20th century did his reputation rise to the highest levels.

Hölderlin's knowledge of the Bible was significant. As part of his early education he learned Hebrew, Greek, and Latin and preached on biblical passages. His published works contain abundant biblical allusions. He also comments on the Bible in his letters, criticizing, for example, interpretations that remove its inner life and existential meaning (Hölderlin 1994: 3:336–37). Distinctive about Hölderlin's reception of the Bible and of Christianity is that he interweaves that reception with his interest in idealist philosophy, to which he himself contributed; his elevation of the beauty of nature; and his love of Greek antiquity. The early advent of historical biblical criticism in Germany led to an unsettled theological context that helped make possible this unorthodox interweaving.

It has long been known that Hölderlin's works integrate the Bible in subtle but recognizable ways. In 1919 Grolman listed close to thirty echoes of Luther's biblical language in *Hyperion*. Allusions to the HB/OT surface but are less common than references to the NT. Above all, one finds many echoes of the gospel of Matthew and the letters of Paul. Overlooked in Adolf von Grolman's philological approach is the broader theoretical connection to the pneumatic gospel of John, which greatly appealed to the idealist Hölderlin. Mark Ogden sees in *Hyperion* a latent Christology, in particular an account of the incarnation and the Trinity. The death of the divine person (in this case, Diotima) releases divinity from its specific embodiment so that it can infuse the wider spiritual community. Empedocles, too, has aspects of a self-sacrificial Christ figure, and the drama contains clear biblical references, for example, to Jesus' preparations for his departure (John 13; 15:11–15; 16:22).

Many of the later poems struggle with the role of Christianity in an enlightened age. Prominent examples include the elegy "Brod und Wein" (written 1800–1801, Bread and Wine) and the hymns "Friedensfeier" (Celebration of Peace), "Der Einzige" (The Only One), and "Patmos," all of which were written ca. 1801–03. The most prominent term in "Friedensfeier," "Prince of Peace" draws on Isa 9:6. Exemplifying the richness of biblical allusions, "Friedensfeier" also contains extensive and specific allusions to Matthew, John, Acts, the letters of Paul (1 Cor and Heb) and Revelation (Schmidt). In these poems Christ is present, but not as the exclusive god who mediates between God and world,

as in 2 Cor 5:18; instead, Christ mediates, on the one hand, between God the Father and humanity and, on the other hand, between the various gods. The gifts of God come from the Greek gods and Christ. "Patmos" is layered with references to John 4, culminating in the idea of God as spirit. Jesus' death is the turning point from a sensuous concept of divinity to a pneumatic one. For such speculative "Abgründe der Weisheit" (abysses of wisdom) Hölderlin alludes indirectly to 1 Cor 1:18–2:16 (Hölderlin 1994: 1:353).

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Mark Roche

See also → Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich;
→ Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph

Holdheim, Samuel

Samuel Holdheim (1806–1860) served as a rabbi successively in Frankfurt (Oder), Mecklenburg-Schwerin (as *Landesrabbiner*), and the radical reform community of Berlin. By the 1840s Holdheim had published his controversial book *Ueber die Autonomie der Rabbinen*, in which he denied the authority and relevance of rabbinic Judaism. Influenced by the harsh judgments of Immanuel Kant, Bruno Bauer, and others who dismissed Judaism as statutory law and mindless ritual devoid of morals, Holdheim sought to reform Judaism. His rejection of the rabbi echoed 18th- and 19th-century Protestant biblical scholarship that differentiated between an earlier, prophetic Mosaic-Israelite religion and a later, priestly-rabbinical Jewish religion: The latter was particularistic, hierarchical, and tyrannical and was at best misguided if not corrupt (entartet). Holdheim criticized the rabbi's failure to distinguish between national and religious law despite the absence of a Jewish state in which the former had once been applicable. He envisaged a Judaism based on the eternal and unchanging, i.e., the religious, rather than the political and temporary.

Holdheim located the source of morality (Sittlichkeit) and thus the religious (duty), in the Mosaic or pure biblical positive religion of revelation without the troubling and rationalizing rabbinic explanations. However, in *Ueber die Beschneidung zunächst in religiös-dogmatischer Beziehung* (Holdheim 1844a: 20, 22), Holdheim deduces on the basis of "historical analysis" that even Mosaic injunctions were not necessarily valid for generations. Thus unlike baptism, the mark of circumcision was not con-