CHAPTER THREE
THE YEARS 1805-1865
A. GRAFIANS BEFORE GRAF

In the group of critics that followed de Wette, several came near to the Grafian position.

In addition to his work on Chronicles, Gramberg in 1829 wrote on the cultus. ¹) Over seven periods of Old Testament history he traced the development of the sanctuary, the offerings, the priesthood, the festivals and other usages—institutions which were to be so often discussed in Grafianism. The tabernacle he found to be a poetic fiction (I, p. 20), and Leviticus post-Josianic, although some of its laws may have been Mosaic (p. 40). Josiah’s law-book was part of Exodus (p. 305), Leviticus and Numbers were from the beginning of the Exile (possibly after Ezekiel), and Deuteronomy from the end (p. xxv). Sacrifice in the earlier time lacked sin and guilt offerings, but these came in with Leviticus (pp. 96, 123-24). In reaching these results, Gramberg worked without source analysis and took the evidence of Genesis as one. This had little adverse affect on his results because of the silence of P on cultic institutions in Genesis and because of the nearness of J and E to each other in time.

In similar fashion, George dealt with the feasts in 1835. ²) In his preliminary section on source criticism, he claimed that the first trace of a law-book in the Old Testament was that of Deuteronomy in Jeremiah. A comparison of the laws of Leviticus and Numbers with those of Deuteronomy clearly showed them to be later. The Sabbath year of the latter was earlier than the Levitical Jubilee Year (pp. 28-37), the demand for centralization in Deuteronomy than its presupposition in Leviticus (pp. 38-44), and the unpropertied and undifferentiated Levitical priests of this book than the Levitical cities and threefold order of Levites, priests and high priests of the Levitical law (pp. 45-69). Deuteronomy was therefore prior to Leviticus and Numbers, and Ezekiel was the middle term between them. In the feasts proper, the Levitical dating to specific days of the month was a late character-

¹) C. P. W. Gramberg, Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des alten Testaments, 2 vols, Berlin (1829-1830).
²) J. F. L. George, Die älteren jüdischen Feste, Berlin (1835).
istic, as was also the idea of sinfulness and the need of atonement. This came in only after the Exile (p. 293), when "the people had reached a consciousness of their sin and declension from God, and through outward gifts and cleanliness now wanted to avert the fearful wrath of God, and with it to bring about atonement, and that for this the priesthood should act as mediators" (pp. 73-74).

The year 1835 was fruitful in criticism, for in it appeared not only the above volume, but two New Testament works—Strauss' Life of Jesus, and Baur's Pastoral Epistles, and two further Old Testament works of the Grafiian type—Vatke's Biblische Theologie and von Bohlen's Genesis.

Vatke followed the by now familiar negative method of arguing from the silence of the historical books of the Old Testament as to Mosaic institutions, to their non-existence, but took a step forward in attempting a positive reconstruction of what the religion of Israel really was in each period. 1) The resultant picture, couched in terms of Hegelian developmentalism, 2) was not a reassuring one. Mosaic religion rose no higher than the star worship of Kaiwan and other nature deities. 3) The antithetic principle of prophetic individualism struggled in vain with this older worship until after the eighth century. It was only after the Exile that the synthesis of the fixed ritual of the Pentateuch became possible (p. 216). 4) So full a system at the beginning was incredible. Israelite religion had a much more lowly origin. Moses was a beginner, not a completer. 5) If he had given a law at all, it was no more than the Ten Commandments. 6) The prophets

1) Perlitt speaks of him as sharing de Wette's passion for both history and systematic theology, and so using his literary criticism to build a Biblical theology (Vatke und Wellhausen, p. 93).
2) Hegel's dialectic of an antithesis of protest challenging the thesis of the status quo and emerging as a synthesis at a higher level, allied itself to the age-long speculation of the Third Reich. Augustine had written of an age before the law (childhood), an age under the law (manhood) and an age beyond law (old age). This "Greisenalter des Geistes", Hegel found in Christianity, the first absolute religion. Vatke saw the three stages of the Old Testament as the nature religion of the pre-history, the Mosaism and prophecy of the eighth century B.C. ff reacting from the nature religion, and the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Exile as the final stage.
4) Ezekiel could not have written Chaps 40-48 if Leviticus and Numbers had been in existence. Instead he had said that the law in the desert was not good. (So H. P. Smith on Vatke in Essays in Biblical Interpretation, London (1921) p. 138).
6) Priests and Levites are not distinguished by the older prophets (Vatke, p. 348).