Developments in Postexilic Judaism*

Walter E. Rast / *Associate Professor of Theology, Valparaiso University*

There are two reasons why the appearance in English of this work by the Heidelberg Old Testament scholar is timely. First, it presents material relevant to one of the stimulating theological efforts currently being undertaken, the so-called theology of hope. If, as Moltmann and others have stressed, eschatology has more than a peripheral role to play in faith, then Plöger has assembled some valuable data for this discussion from postexilic Judaism. Secondly, biblical scholarship has long observed that the postexilic period is particularly critical in respect to the faith of Israel. In this period adjustments and reformulations of the older traditions of Israel occur. Here we have the provisional attempts at a "commonwealth," as well as various apocalyptic movements. In setting himself the task of looking closely at the limited textual data of this period, Plöger is able to provide some suggestive interpretations of the tensions buried within the documents of this time. And since, for various reasons, light is badly needed on just these movements and on the documentary evidence for them, his work can be said to be highly welcome.

The concern on which the book is focused arises from the Book of Daniel, but this specific interest leads to an examination of a wide range of material and to a broad hypothesis involving, besides the Book of Daniel, a considerable part of the postexilic period. The starting point for the work is a twofold problem: On the one hand, Plöger is convinced at the outset that the Book of Daniel is a product of the beliefs of the Hasidim, and his effort is to demonstrate this more clearly. On the other hand, it is necessary to elucidate who these men are who are called Hasidim, where they seemed to arise, and what their ideological basis is on the grounds of surviving textual data. Plöger sets his study before us, therefore, not as a full-scale work, but as a hypothetical reconstruction based upon a selection of representative texts.

I

It is necessary, first of all, to trace the fundamental threads which run through Plöger's work. This is important because the book moves in a considerable number of directions, and often fixes on intricate historical and exegetical questions. At times, in fact, this detailed analysis provokes the reader to ask

* Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1968). The English translation is based on the second edition of *Theokratie und Eschatologie*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, vol. 2, (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962). viii + 123 pages. $4.95.

in what sense it contributes to the basic hypothesis and interpretation. Here and there the reader may find himself slipping away from the main argument toward a fascination with Plöger's views on the unity and fragmentation of particular biblical sections. This is not without its own usefulness, and one of the contributions of the work is in this sometimes tangential discussion of specific textual problems. Yet, on the whole, the main line of thought is picked up again and again so that no part considered is left unrelated to the basic effort of the study.

The book is comprised of five sections. Chapter 1 is entitled "Historical Introduction"; chapter 2, "The Book of Daniel"; chapter 3, "Reflections on the Rise of Apocalyptic"; chapter 4, "Analysis of Selected Eschatological Passages" (devoted to Isaiah, chapters 24–27; Zechariah, chapters 12–14; and the Book of Joel); and chapter 5, "Theocracy and Eschatology."

The Seleucids and the Hasidim

The "Historical Introduction" offers some significant fresh insights into the times of Antiochus IV, the period in which the Book of Daniel was produced in its final form. Plöger's attention is fastened first on the problem which has often provoked historians of this period: What factors lay behind the policy of Antiochus in relation to the region of Palestine in the second century B.C.? The Jewish response to these events is found in the biblical Book of Daniel as well as the apocryphal First and Second Maccabees, and represents a memory which conceived of Antiochus's work as a particularly vicious attack on the religious commitment of the Jews. Other and quite divergent assessments of these events were offered, however. The ancient historian Polybius saw the cause for Antiochus's action in "the chronic financial difficulties of the Seleucids," while Diodorus and Tacitus held that "Antiochus acted as the champion of Hellenistic civilization against Jewish barbarism" (p. 1). In one of the fairly recent and important works on this period, Elias Bickermann interpreted these occurrences from the perspective of biblical prophecy, viewing the crucial factor as "Israel's disobedience."[1] Important for his interpretation were such sections in the Book of Daniel as the "prayer of Daniel" in Dan. 9:4–19, which Bickermann treated as a key element in the understanding of these events by at least some groups.

Plöger's contribution to this question lies in his effort to penetrate anew the complicated set of social and political circumstances arising during the latter part of the third and the first quarter of the second century B.C. In actuality three centers of political power maneuvered to produce the political events of this period. These are, in addition to Rome, the two dynastic groups which earlier fell heir to Alexander's Near Eastern kingdom, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. With the former controlling Syria and, at times, areas much

[1] Elias Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937).

farther to the northwest and east, and with the latter controlling Egypt, the area of Palestine served as a buffer province between these two competitors. Only in the second century B.C. at the battle at Banias (198 B.C.) did Palestine pass into the hands of the Seleucids, but not without continued challenge from Egypt as well as from the third party in the game of political chess, Rome. Since the Ptolemies were closely allied with Rome and since the Romans were in no small way suspicious of the advance of the Seleucids into the south after Banias, Antiochus IV was forced to operate with some astuteness in a tense political situation.

Plöger proceeds to show that certain of the nobility in the circles of Judaism were aware of this developing political situation and appear to have shaped their stance accordingly. The powerful Tobiad family's internal strife after the death of Joseph is best explained in the light of these events, for the elder sons of Joseph seemed eager to ally with the Seleucids, while the younger son, Hyrcanus, was more directly oriented toward the Ptolemies (p. 5).

Just the uncertainty of this entire situation prompted Antiochus IV, upon taking over the Seleucid throne, to meddle in the internal affairs of Palestine. This probably best explains his interference with the cherished practices around the temple, as well as his readiness to seize upon the opportunity to appoint a new high priest in place of the scandalously displaced Onias III. The appointee, Jason, evidences the amenable and opportunistic attitude that certain Jews had in the face of these events.

Plöger writes thus in answer to the problem of what provoked Antiochus's tactic toward Palestine: "In view of all this we are probably justified in assuming that the relation of Antiochus to the Jewish community was determined, in the first instance, at any rate, by political considerations"(p. 6). Other factors, such as the financial and ideological ones, entered subsequently.

The crux of this chapter for the larger study in the book is Plöger's interpretation of various Jewish reactions to this state of affairs, especially the reaction of the Hasidim. In 1 Macc. 2:42 it is suggested that the latter joined hands with the Maccabees in active resistance to Antiochus and the Hellenizing Jews who supported him. Nevertheless, this was probably a decision undertaken in desperation, for the more ordinary practice of ths group was one of passive resistance and waiting. After the political restoration of the Maccabees, this coalition of forces splintered, and at least some of the Hasidim made a "swift reversal to a policy of waiting passivity" (p. 9). This group renounced all political ties and maintained itself by a much stronger eschatological point of view.

The Hasidim and the Book of Daniel

Starting with this group of Hasidim, Plöger attempts to delineate as far as possible their lineage. And he begins with the Book of Daniel, for in this

apocalyptic work may be seen a carefully executed witness to this point of view. In other words, Plöger not only accepts the view, most notably presented by Bentzen, that the Book of Daniel was produced by the Hasidim, but goes on to examine more closely their ideology and the pedigree of this whole movement.

Plöger's discussion of the Book of Daniel is intricate, but the gist of it is to show how the pre-Maccabean strata, especially the stories in chapters 1–6, are incorporated into a structure shaped by the ideology of the group to which the writer belongs. The Book of Daniel's viewpoint accords well with the passive and loyal attitude of the Hasidim mentioned in 1 Macc. 2:42. That the expression in Dan. 11:34, "a little help," refers to the apocalyptist's doubtful acceptance of the military efforts of the Maccabees has long been recognized. The writer of the Book of Daniel and the group to which he belongs have a much more theocentric viewpoint, and one which is more consciously eschatological. In fact, phrases such as the wise "who help many to insight" (Dan. 11:33) are to be taken as references to the special eschatological viewpoint of the group to which the apocalyptist belongs (p. 17).

Such intense apocalyptic convictions, then, were nurtured among sectarian groups who refused to accept any noneschatological answer to the present dilemma of the Jews. With regard to the Book of Daniel, Plöger writes that it "reveals the conventicle-spirit of deliberate separatism in that membership of the 'true' Israel is made to depend on the acknowledgement of a certain dogma, namely the eschatological interpretation of historical events, which meant, in effect, membership of a particular group" (p. 19).

Among such groups there was a particular interest in preserving the old prophetic traditions, and Plöger makes a suggestive observation that they may with plausibility be seen as having had a significant hand in the collection of the prophetic books for the canon (p. 23). In any case, he now makes an attempt to push back beyond the Book of Daniel to discern even earlier antecedents of these eschatologically minded conventicles.

The Rise of Apocalyptic

The chapter entitled "Reflections on the Rise of Apocalyptic" is valuable just because it does not follow the usual procedure of tracing the genesis of apocalyptic from purely foreign influences. Rather, it is seen as a consequence of the internal tensions in the restructuring of the old faith in the postexilic age. I wonder whether Plöger's study, viewed in this manner, does not make it possible to see apocalyptic as a genuine effort within ancient Israel to appropriate the faith rather than as a deflective and almost erroneous movement such as seems to be implied in some assessments.[2]

[2] Cf. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 2:301 ff.

This judgment certainly seems to be sustained when we follow Plöger's investigation in this chapter. For what produced the apocalyptically minded orientation of certain groups within postexilic Judaism was the belief that not all of Israel's old traditions, especially those emanating from the prophets, were being given adequate recognition in the faith. The apocalyptic groups arose to carry on beyond the prophets the interpretation about Israel's future which the latter had repeatedly sought to proclaim. To be sure, there is a considerable difference between the "return eschatology" as preached by the prophets and the radically dualistic eschatology of the apocalyptists (pp. 28–29). Nevertheless, the apocalyptic groups felt compelled to take up that mentality of patient "waiting on the Lord" which was set forth so profoundly by such a prophet as Isaiah.

But this reactivation of the old prophetic viewpoint came about in this period as a challenge to other viewpoints which were fast becoming established as the orthodox faith. Plöger tries to plumb the theological motives behind the composition of both the Priestly history and the books of Chronicles which appeared in this period. Each of these arose under the conviction that all of the past history and tradition of Israel found its fullest meaning in the community of the present, which was, above all else, a "cult community" (pp. 30 ff.). Everything in the past now served to legitimate this "congregation" (*edah*), which was primarily given over to the "true cult and proper obedience" (p. 42). The Priestly writing is determined to set forth how the present community and its observances were indeed established in the Mosaic age.

Such beliefs, however, brought simultaneously a virtually noneschatological version of the faith. The growth of the latter down into Hasmonean times leads Plöger to relate this to the situation in the times of the Seleucids:

> This indifference to eschatology among the priestly aristocracy at Jerusalem had serious consequences, it should be noted. A certain emptiness or aimlessness must have been noticeable, since there was no expectation of anything further that could have imported new vitality to the religious life. Hence, the circles of the higher priesthood were prone to follow any attractive possibility from outside that entered their range of vision. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts at Hellenization in the first decades of Seleucid rule fell on fertile ground in Jerusalem. The gradual decline of eschatological expectation, which was regarded as superseded rather than crushed, undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to the secularization of certain influential groups within the priesthood (p. 44).

As a countermove in the face of these developments, it is possible to visualize the rise of Jewish groups given over to much more intense reflection on the future orientation of the prophetic utterances. Plöger postulates that in the long interval between 400 and 200 B.C. the later apocalyptic view began to be established (p. 47). By historical coincidence, perhaps, it so happened that it was just in this period that foreign ideas of a cosmic-dualistic nature became available and were naturally seized upon by the

apocalyptic groups to fill out their profound preoccupations with the future of Israel.

This future, as envisioned by the apocalyptists, would bring forth the revelation of the "true Israel," and here we have one of the most critical transformations implicit in the thought of these groups. Not the nation of Israel but rather the "people of Yahweh," viewed in the light of a deepened conception of the "remnant" of prophetic thought, would be the recipients of salvation. Such notions went on to find different homes in groups as wide apart as the sectarians at Qumran and the Pharisees. But these represent some of the latest uses of this kind of thinking.

Three Eschatological Sections

The chapter in which Plöger carries out a close examination of three biblical sections is the longest in the book. It is probably also the most tentative, as will be noted below. In the three sections he treats, he claims to find evidence of earlier forms of that kind of apocalyptic mentality and interpretation which was given fuller development in the Book of Daniel and among the Hasidim of the Seleucid era. As he proceeds with his investigation, it becomes clear that his three biblical sections represent for him the chronological development of this type of thought in reverse, Isaiah, chapters 24–27, being the latest of the three, Zechariah, chapters 12–14, somewhat earlier, and the Book of Joel the earliest of all.

The "Isaiah Apocalypse" (Isaiah, chapters 24–27) is made up of a considerable number of units, mostly prophecies and thanksgiving hymns. Much of this material is traditional, and close parallels for it can be found in the prophets and psalms. Nonetheless, what Plöger seems convinced of is that this material is presented under an intensive eschatological viewpoint in these chapters. And by following closely the manner in which the units are interconnected and at times in tension with each other, an insight can be attained into the origins of that kind of perspective which is beginning here to develop into apocalypticism. That is to say, the "Isaiah Apocalypse" is, in the final analysis, the product of a group which could not accept the facile viewpoint of Chronicles or, indeed, any perspective that cut short the trust that the future could only be wrought by the initiative of Yahweh.

Several examples will illustrate Plöger's investigations of Isaiah, chapters 24–27. According to Plöger, the unit in Isa. 24:14–20 represents a rejection of "premature rejoicing which sees the great turning-point already arriving in preliminary events which are not yet eschatological" (p. 75). The eschatologists from whom this apocalypse comes were wary of placing too ready weight on events happening at the time. Those who were inclined to see in such events some signs of the final deliverance thus came into conflict with the apocalyptist circles. We may thus trace in these chapters a tension within

the ranks of the eschatological groups themselves (p. 76). It is from the apocalyptists, that in those who were minded to carry much farther the eschatological predictions of the prophets, that we get the profoundly calamitous and cosmic descriptions of these chapters.

Again, Plöger sees the usage of the old division between the righteous and godless in a traditional unit in these chapters as indicative of the new slant on things gained by the apocalyptists. His words on Isa. 26:7–11 are worth citing:

> The traditional contrast of righteous and godless is used, but it is clear that this contrast has been given a contemporary meaning; the righteous are those who accept the eschatological insight revealed in the preceding description, namely the fact that history is hastening to its end, while the godless are included among the enemies of Yahweh because they refuse to acknowledge this same insight. This obviously refers to an internal (Jewish) division between a section of the Jewish community that has an eschatological outlook and a section that is not interested in the eschatological faith, although specific characteristics which would facilitate a more precise determination of the two groups cannot be given (p. 76).

Thus there can be traced in this "Isaiah Apocalypse" a strand of the mentality of the Book of Daniel. As Plöger views it, the "Isaiah Apocalypse" is not too far distant in time from the Book of Daniel. His suggestion is that at least chapters 24–26 fall somewhere in the latter part of the Ptolemaic control of Palestine and the beginning of the reign of Antiochus the Great (p. 77). Only Isaiah, chapter 27, may be somewhat earlier, for it is held by Plöger to be a supplementary chapter, preserving the old "reunification" theme concerning the two parts of the old kingdom, an aspect of earlier eschatological thought which persisted beyond the exile and was felt to be necessary to incorporate into the expectations of this apocalypse.

Plöger's treatment of Trito-Zechariah (Zechariah, chapters 12–14) begins with the observation, for which he acknowledges an indebtedness to Elliger, that chapters 12–14 of Zechariah are more markedly eschatological than the earlier chapters of this book. By pursuing this insight Plöger claims that we can again see in these chapters a further link backward in the development of the apocalyptic intensification of eschatology. These chapters can be contrasted with the viewpoint of Zechariah, chapters 9–11, where a more traditional eschatology is present, centered in the motif of "restoration." The "shepherd allegory" in Zech. 11:4–17, however, is a noteworthy section, for it seems to depart from the way the earlier sections portray the hopes for restoration and proceeds with "a stricter delineation of the eschatological aspect" (p. 82). For this reason Plöger sees this as a transition unit, linking the more traditional eschatological section in Zechariah, chapters 9–11, with the more sharply developed one in Zechariah, chapters 12–14.

Particularly interesting are Plöger's suggestions that Zechariah, chapters 12–14, are more closely oriented toward the dogma of the postexilic cultic community, even though these chapters betray the effort of a group which

desires to intensify the eschatological consciousness of this community. But, in contrast to the "Isaiah Apocalypse," where there is definite hostility evidenced in relation to the viewpoints of the apocalyptists, here the relation of these eschatologists to the cult community is still de facto, even if there is an effort to make the official church more aware of the eschatological situation (p. 94).

For these reasons Plöger proposes that Zechariah, chapters 12–14, should be dated back behind Isaiah, chapters 24–27. More specifically he suggests a time after the presumed date of the Samaritan schism (ca. 350–300 B.C.). Several decades after the latter it may be possible to conceive of the production of this work. He underscores that it would in any case have had to be after the composition of the Chronicler's work, since Trito-Zechariah is engaged in the effort to make just the views of this latter work more consciously sensitive to an eschatological interpretation of events.

The point of departure for Plöger's interpretation of the Book of Joel is the last two chapters, 3 and 4 (according to the Hebrew division). Both of these chapters with their apocalyptic-eschatological motifs suggest to him that the Book of Joel, as we now have it, may be brought into the consideration of the rise of apocalyptic. He seems to concede that Joel, chapters 1–2, has an earlier history which may have been more closely related to the cult, a concept which is the basis of Kapelrud's interpretation of the whole book (p. 97). Nevertheless, the apocalyptic sections in chapters 3–4 provide the clearest perspective for us as the book now lies before us.

In fact, Plöger proposes that the motif of the day of Yahweh, found in an eschatological framework in earlier prophets, was adapted to a noneschatological bent of mind in the postexilic period. Joel, chapters 1–2, may evidence such usage. The day of Yahweh "now serves as a graphic illustration of contemporary distresses and afflictions and seeks to point expressly to the fact that in harmony with the faith of the old prophets, now consummated in the cult, Yahweh's help and his gracious, protecting presence should be entreated" (p. 100).

But circles continued to exist, even in this period, who were desirous of preserving the eschatological meaning of some of these words of the prophets; and the addition of chapters 3–4 to the Book of Joel evidences just this frame of mind. Chapter 4 represents an intensification of the day-of-Yahweh motif in apocalyptic terms, while chapter 3 highlights a special concern of the eschatologists, the division within the community itself between those who accepted the eschatological faith and those who would pass into destruction before the terrific events coming. Plöger remarks that the motif of the outpouring of the spirit became a necessary visible sign by which the true eschatological Israel would be named. And this motif is closely related to the oracle in Joel 3:5 that there would be those on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem who would "escape," a clear suggestion of a con-

venticle-type limitation on the participants in the eschatological salvation (p. 104).

The date which Plöger ascribes to the Book of Joel is somewhere between the establishment of the Jewish community around the times of Ezra and Nehemiah and before the composition of the Chronicler's history. Thus, Plöger reckons that a date between 400 and 330 B.C. would adequately fit the Book of Joel in its present form, apart from a small number of glosses (p. 105). This places it earliest, therefore, of the three sections considered.

Theocracy and Eschatology

This chapter, which has the same title as the book, attempts to draw together the implications of the examination of the three biblical sections and to round out the hypothesis of the book. Plöger notes that his program has been to try to find guiding points leading from the earlier restoration eschatology to the dualistic and apocalyptic eschatology found later (p. 108).

It is not possible to note here all of Plöger's suggestions and proposed conclusions, but he seems to draw his material together around the following main points. First, in the wake of the very confused events following the exile, we can suppose that the scattered community lived on adaptations of the restoration eschatology. When in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah Israel experienced a transformation in the direction of a theocracy, or cultic community, the tension with the older restoration eschatology interpreted in a genuinely historical sense began to be felt. Rather than rejecting the restoration eschatology, however, the cultic community buried it in its own foundations, viewing itself as a special divine creation and employing the pictures of restoration eschatology in relation to itself (p. 109).

Toward the end of the Persian period, however, an inner struggle within Israel began to manifest itself. Now, among some groups who viewed themselves as the true community, the idea of theocracy was wedded to the dualistic-apocalyptic idea of eschatology. At this point a sharp cleavage begins to emerge between what must have been the more widely accepted interpretation, the theocracy, and the apocalyptically minded conventicles. The tensions which Plöger claimed to find in Trito-Zechariah over against the Chronicler's viewpoint appear here.

But the most critical period is the half century between Antiochus the Great's coming to power and the Maccabean revolt. As the Seleucids took over Palestine, a clearly more militant spirit than that shown by the Ptolemies certainly was present. Here Plöger returns to his points of the first chapter: "But this almost militant feature in the conduct of the Seleucids, which should not be over-emphasized, no longer encountered close resistance in the influential circles of the Jerusalem theocracy. It seems to me that long and growing neglect of the eschatological faith, sterile persistance [*sic*] in an

outdated position and the lack which this entailed of a relevant witness gave considerable assistance to the penetration of Hellenism" (p. 113).

With the crisis around the Seleucid treatment of Onias III, the Maccabean resistance was marshalled, drawing also momentarily into its ranks some of the eschatological groups, who in 1 Maccabees are called Hasidim and whose antecedents have been traced in this work. Yet, their spirit of passivity could not result in a deep and long-term commitment to the resistance movement, which may help to account for the fact that the Maccabean revolt fell into decline after only a few years.

II

In a number of places in his book Plöger stresses that his work is an attempt to test a hypothesis. Thus, one of the important places where it must be put to critical examination is in regard to the way he relates his hypothesis and the texts.

To do this adequately would require an intricate examination of those texts upon which Plöger places most weight as well as others in addition to these. The present review can hardly claim that kind of basis. Nevertheless, a general question does arise concerning the degree to which Plöger's hypothesis of apocalyptic-eschatological conventicles is one strongly suggested by the texts and the degree to which the hypothesis may be imposed upon the texts so that the latter become pressed into supporting it. This is a matter of great importance, although it is true that every interpretation is deeply involved with just this interrelation of hypothesis and textual data.

Particularly Plöger's treatment of Isaiah, chapters 24–27, and Trito-Zechariah raises this problem. To cite one example, I find intriguing Plöger's interpretation of Isa. 24:14 ff. as a rejection by the eschatologists of premature rejoicing in the face of a supposed final deliverance and salvation. Such an interpretation suggests the conflict of several groups and their ways of thinking. Yet, the presence of the motif of joy in the midst of this otherwise largely lament-type section has been explained on other grounds by various interpreters. Plöger discusses various views on this text, and it is significant that his own interpretation is suggested, to some degree, at least, by the interpretative rendering of the Septuagint. Using the latter, he prefers to see a specific contrast in this section which is crucial for his larger interpretation, and he translates as follows: "Others raise their voices and rejoice in the majesty of Yahweh . . . but I must say" (p. 57). Such a translation, of course, accords beautifully with his effort to find a viewpoint in the "Isaiah Apocalypse" fundamentally at odds with a noneschatological conviction about the finality of the establishment of the community at the present. Still, we might question how much of a contrast between actual groups is in this section and whether the text bears as much weight as Plöger puts upon

it to find such groups here. Regarding his treatment of Zechariah, chapters 12–14, his close identification of Trito-Zechariah with a conscious polemic against the official cultic community, whose ideas are voiced in the Chronicler's history, needs to be carefully examined in terms of the textual data of both Chronicles and the last chapters of Zechariah.

Yet, it appears to me that Plöger's basic hypothesis has a good chance of standing. Even with the paucity of sources to work with from this period, few could deny that there are profound conflicts within the Jewish community of this period, conflicts which seem to lurk behind the texts. There seems to be little doubt that the nature of these conflicts is very visible in the books of Daniel and Maccabees, and Plöger's work here is on sound ground. The problems arise in tracing these conflicts back into the scanty earlier texts. Nevertheless, it is quite probable that, even if not all the texts which he uses and interprets in this work can pass careful scrutiny, the basic conclusions can remain. Plöger himself senses this and promises in his preface to the English edition to continue the study of other texts which may well lend stronger support to his effort.

There is a broad importance to this small book. It makes excellent contributions to our understanding of the Persian and Maccabean periods of Jewish history, and it provides some sharpened insights into the rise of apocalypticism. Plöger himself briefly suggests that there are problems here which are quite relevant to the world of the New Testament (p. 114). And, perhaps, in a more oblique way his work may have something to contribute to Jewish-Christian dialogue and understanding, as well as to the problem of the relation of church and society.