Editor's Foreword

Peter C. Hodgson

Baur published *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* in 1853. It was followed by a second, revised edition in 1860 (the year of his death), which was reprinted as a third edition in 1863 with a revised title, *Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*.[1] The title was revised to accord with the issuing of the remaining volumes of his church history by his son Ferdinand Friedrich Baur and his son-in-law Eduard Zeller. The last two volumes (from the Reformation to the middle of the nineteenth century) were based on Baur's lecture notes; the third volume (on the middle ages) on a manuscript Baur prepared for the press before his death; and the first two volumes on his own published editions.

Allan Menzies (1845–1916), a Scottish pastor and later a professor of divinity and biblical criticism at the University of St. Andrews, translated the third edition of the first volume as *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*.[2] Menzies, who a few years earlier had translated Baur's *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, revised and completed an earlier version of the church history started by the Oxford philosopher T. H. Green.[3] The Menzies translation is written in a rather stilted Victorian English, and it often uses circumlocutions or introduces terms into the translation that are not found

1. *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1st ed. (Tübingen: Fues, 1853); 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Fues, 1860); 3rd ed., identical with the 2nd, published under the title *Kirchengeschichte der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen: Fues, 1863). Reprint of the 2nd ed. in *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Klaus Scholder, vol. 3 (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann, 1966). For a bibliography of works by and about Baur, see *Ferdinand Christian Baur and the History of Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Bauspiess, Christof Landmesser, and David Lincicum; trans. Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 391–401. The German edition, without a bibliography, is *Ferdinand Christian Baur und die Geschichte des frühen Christentums* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2014).

2. 2 vols., London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1878–79.

3. On Green's involvement, see the "Note by the Translator" at the beginning of vol. 2, and the remark by James Carleton Paget in *Ferdinand Christian Baur and the History of Early Christianity* (n. 1), 319.

in the German text, most notoriously in a few instances the category of "race."[4] Its translation of the title of the third edition obscures the fact that Baur himself intended to distinguish between "Christianity" as the original phenomenon and the "church" as the institution that arose from it.[5] For these reasons, we have decided it would be worthwhile to prepare a new translation of the first volume, called *Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries*, based on the second edition of 1860, to accompany our translation of the final volume, called *Church and Theology in the Nineteenth Century*.[6] Another consideration is that a group of German, British, and American scholars has recently produced a volume of essays that we have brought out in English as *Ferdinand Christian Baur and the History of Early Christianity* (see n. 1). It has reawakened interest in the way Baur interprets the period covered by the present book.

In his Preface to the First Edition, Baur says he holds to the convictions set forth the previous year in *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtsschreibung*,[7] which is intended as an introduction to the present work and explains the general principles that guide his treatment of church history. In his other historical studies, whether of the history of Christian dogma, or of specific doctrines, or of the New Testament, Baur provided an introduction that surveys the history of the discipline in question. In the case of the church history, he published a separate book that identifies six "epochs" in the writing of church history: the supernaturalist or old Catholic view of history (from Hegesippus to the Middle Ages, with a focus on Eusebius), the Reformation and the old Protestant view of history (the *Magdeburg Centuries*, written by Matthias Flacius and others), Catholic and Protestant opposition to the *Centuries* (Caesar Baronius and Gottfried Arnold), the gradual transition from a dualistic worldview to a conception of historical development (J. L. Mosheim, J. S. Semler, C. W. F. Walch), the pragmatic method of historiography (L. T. Spittler, G. J. Planck, H. P. K. Henke), and the quest for an objective view of history (Philipp Marheineke, August Neander, J. K. L. Gieseler, Karl Hase). While the focus is Germanic, the work does provide information not generally accessible to English readers. The final chapter of "conclusions and suggestions" sets forth Baur's own methodological principles.

4. Compare Menzies' translation of a passage on pp. 17–18 of vol. 1 with the German text on pp. 16–17 and our version below, p. 17.

5. In the Preface to the First Edition, Baur writes that the church "takes shape" from Christianity (p. xxiv); and in Part Three that the idea of a catholic church "emerges" from Christianity (p. 142).

6. *Kirchengeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Eduard Zeller, 1st ed. (Tübingen: Fues, 1862); 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisland], 1877). Reprint of the 1st ed. in *Ausgewählte Werke* (n.1), vol. 4 (1970). ET of the 1st ed.: *Church and Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Peter C. Hodgson; trans. Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2018).

7. Tübingen: Fues, 1852. Reprint in *Ausgewählte Werke* (n. 1), vol. 2 (1963). Translated by Peter C. Hodgson as *The Epochs of Church Historiography* in *Ferdinand Christian Baur: On the Writing of Church History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). The translation has deficiencies but is still usable.

In his Preface to the present volume, Baur says that he simply deals "with what is purely historical, what is historically given, insofar as it is possible to understand it in its pure objectivity." As a summary of his interpretation of history, this statement is very limited and misleading. The question is what constitutes the "pure objectivity" of the historically given. From the *Epochs* it becomes clear that this objectivity does not simply consist of empirical facts as opposed to the subjective biases and interests of "pragmatic" historiography. The objectivity of history is constituted by the interweaving of what is called "the idea" with the various historical materials in which it manifests itself. "The history of the Christian church is the movement of the idea of the church, and therefore consists of something more than a succession of changes following one another at random." This idea "must possess within itself the living impulse to go out from itself and to become actualized in a series of manifestations."[8] The difference between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation historiography is that, in the pre-Reformation period the idea of the church simply merges into identity with the historical Catholic Church, while after the Reformation there is an endeavor "just as much to retract the idea from the reality of the visible church" and to hold idea and reality both together and apart in a dialectical tension.[9] This tensive relationship of idea and reality (or manifestation) is the key to Baur's historiography.

What is the idea of the church? The following passage from the *Epochs* provides a crucial explanation:

> The church is the real form (*reale Form*) in which Christianity is made manifest (*zu seiner Erscheinung kommt*). If we inquire about the idea of the church, we inquire, therefore, about Christianity itself. . . . Christianity can be essentially nothing other than that which the Christian consciousness of all times, in whatever form it may have occurred, has perceived (*angeschaut*) in the person of Christ: the unity and union (*Einheit*) of God and the human being. However else we may conceive the essence of Christianity—as everything it is intended to be for human beings in its various aspects, such as the revelation of absolute truth, the establishment of redemption, reconciliation, blessing—it has its absolute conception and expression in the unity and union of God and

8. *Epochs*, 241–42. In a footnote Baur says that this view represents a progression from the "empirical" standpoint to what Schelling called the "universal" or "absolute" standpoint. He quotes a lengthy passage from Friedrich Schelling's *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studium* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Gotta'schen, 1803), 216 ff., which ends as follows: "History does not satisfy reason until the empirical causes that satisfy the understanding have served to disclose the works of a higher necessity. Treated in this way, history cannot fail to strike us as the greatest and most marvelous drama, which only an infinite spirit could have composed" (translation from *On University Studies*, trans. E. S. Morgan [Athens: Ohio University Press, 1966], 107). This quotation demonstrates the extent to which Baur was influenced by Schelling's interpretation of history (see esp. chaps. 8 and 10 of the *Vorlesungen*) before he found confirmation and elaboration of it in Hegel. On Schelling, Hegel, and Baur, see Martin Wendte, "Ferdinand Christian Baur: A Historically Informed Idealist of a Distinctive Kind," in *Ferdinand Christian Baur and the History of Early Christianity* (n. 1), ch. 3.

9. *Epochs*, 243.

> the human being, as that unity is perceived in the person of Christ, and in this perception becomes a fact of Christian consciousness.[10]

The church is the "real form" in which Christianity is made manifest or comes into historical appearance. Actually, the person of Christ is the paradigmatic form, to which all the others are subordinate. Baur goes on to say that the major components in the historical development of the church are also "forms" in which the idea realizes itself. These major forms are *dogma* (doctrine, theology, thought), *institutional governance* (*Verfassung*, meaning the episcopal hierarchy for the Catholic Church and congregational-synodal governance for the Protestant churches), *external relations*, and *moral-religious and cultic practices*. All of these forms are present in every period of the church, but one predominates in each period. As we shall see, this becomes a structuring device for the church history as a whole.[11]

So the idea of the church is the idea of Christianity itself, the idea of God in reconciling communion with human beings as perceived in Christ. This idea does not float above history or intervene in the historical nexus as a supernatural or miraculous causality. Rather it is *constitutive* of Christian history itself, indeed of history as such because the idea is perceived in other forms and figures as well. Baur's conception is remarkably similar to what Hegel says in his philosophy of world history, that the divine idea and human passions "form the weft and the warp in the fabric that world history spreads before us." The divine idea is like a shuttle that drives back and forth across the warp of human passions, weaving the fabric of world history, which gradually assumes the pattern of ethical freedom. History is a divine-human production in which the idea provides the guiding propulsive power and the passions the material substrate.[12] The "perception" (*Anschauung*) human beings have of this idea is not a sensible perception but rather an intellectual vision or intuition, a spiritual knowing that entails faith.

Baur rarely if ever makes reference to Hegel's philosophy of world history, and in *Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries* he downplays his philosophical views because here he wants to stress his historical-critical, scientific method. He is sensitive to the charge of "Hegelianism," and he defends the Tübingen School against the accusation that it constructs history a priori. The rigor of his historical approach is evident in all his writings. He is able to follow the historical evidence wherever it leads him because he is confident that history is the medium of divine revelation and the manifestation of divine purpose, no matter how tragically

10. *Epochs*, 244, slightly revised.

11. *Epochs*, 244–45. In the *Epochs*, only the first two forms are mentioned, but it became evident as Baur wrote the first volume of the church history, and as he acknowledged in the Preface to the First Edition, that an analysis focusing on dogma and governance alone is insufficient.

12. G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, vol. 1, *Manuscripts of the Introduction and the Lectures of 1822–3*, ed. and trans. Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011), 147.

entangled it becomes as a result of human frailty. In this sense his Schellingian and Hegelian "panentheism" is a liberation that allows him to engage freely in New Testament criticism and church-historical research.

Baur famously wrote in an early publication that "without philosophy, history remains for me forever dead and mute."[13] An eloquent elaboration of this conviction is found much later in his lectures on church and theology in the nineteenth century.

> What would the metaphysical truth be without its historical mediation, if it did not actualize itself in the consciousness of humanity by appearing in history, and doing so not merely in scattered individuals but in the organic nexus of historical development, thus emerging out of the abstract region of philosophy into the concrete life of religion, and becoming part of the collective consciousness of a religious and ecclesial community? And what, on the other hand, would the historical aspect be—everything that has objectified itself in such a broad scope in the history of humanity and has been incorporated into human consciousness—how subjective and contingent would it be in all its external objectivity if it could not also be grasped in its true objectivity, and thus in the final analysis as a metaphysical truth grounded in the essence of God himself? Thus it is always a matter here of the vital conjunction of the two opposed aspects, the metaphysical and the historical.[14]

Metaphysical truth is historically mediated, and historical events are metaphysically grounded. Expressed in theological terms, God is in history, and history is in God. God is in history as the ideality that moves history (non-coercively) toward freedom, redemption, and reconciliation. History is in God as an aspect of the divine milieu in which the ideality of God assumes real form. Contingency and chance play a role in history, but they do not define its meaning and purpose. Human passions and interests often disrupt the trajectory of history, but they cannot permanently reverse it. History is animated by conflicts, struggles, and resolutions between competing positions. God is not an abstract supreme being externally related to the world but its inner ideal power, its beating heart. This metaphysical interpretation remains for the most part behind the scenes in Baur's historical-critical writings. It makes an appearance in prefaces, polemical writings, and rare passages such as the one quoted above. It is more evident as a structuring device than in the detailed examination of evidence.

Baur published a revised second edition of *Christianity and the Christian Church* in 1860. It adds about thirty pages of text, mostly through revisions to Part 2 and 3 and additional footnotes. The Preface to the Second Edition evidences a certain weariness of conflict on Baur's part. His health was failing and he died later the same year. He notes that critics do not object in principle to understanding Christianity as a historically given phenomenon, but when it comes to its origins they are reluctant

13. *Symbolik und Mythologie oder die Naturreligion des Althertums*, pt. 1 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1824), xi.

14. *Church and Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (n. 6), 64.

to surrender a supernatural causality. Baur insists on the consistent application of scientific principles; for him *Wissenschaft* (science) includes both empirical research and a philosophical worldview. He does not describe the latter here but says merely that "genuine historical actuality exists only where there is life and movement, coherent and progressive development, and a more profound disclosure of the antitheses that first have to be undergone through struggle and conflict if they are to be overcome and reconciled." In the latter part of the Preface he becomes entangled in a not-very-edifying dispute with Heinrich Ewald over the origins of Christianity and its relation to the history of Israel. Ewald, a former colleague in Tübingen and now at Göttingen, attacked him quite viciously and personally, and Baur shows that he is a masterful polemicist himself.

Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries comprises six major parts. Part One treats the historical emergence of Christianity as a new world religion out of its historical context and background: the pre-Christian religions, Greek philosophy, and Judaism. The teaching and person of a Jew, Jesus of Nazareth, appeared as something new in this context and served as the essential foundation of Christianity. This new thing was not supernatural or miraculous but rather a radical appeal to moral-religious consciousness and a proclamation of God's righteousness and the coming of God's kingdom—assertions for which Jesus was crucified. These factors led early Christian believers to perceive in Christ the reconciling unity of God and humanity. This perception constitutes the origin of Christianity along with the figure of Jesus himself.

Parts Two and Three describe the transition from Christianity to the Catholic Church in terms of two epic conflicts. As we have noted, history is not based on harmonies and happiness but comes about through conflicts, struggles, and resolutions. These resolutions eventually break down and new issues arise. Baur discovered this truth about history through historical research and did not first learn it from Hegel's philosophy.[15] The principal conflict in the earliest church was between Jewish-Christian and Gentile-Christian interpretations of salvation. The concrete issue concerned whether Christians must be circumcised. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, argued that Christianity offers universal salvation and is open to believers from all nations without the specific ritual requirements of Judaism. He was opposed by the Apostle Peter, who not only insisted on circumcision but also questioned Paul's credentials as an apostle since he had not known Jesus in the flesh. Baur describes this conflict and then shows how it was "mediated" in the second century, when baptism replaced circumcision as the initiating ritual, and when the roles of Peter and Paul were eventually reversed,

15. See his discussion of factions in the Corinthian Church, "Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christenthums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom," *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie* 4 (1831) 61–206 (reprinted in *Ausgewählte Werke* [n. 1], vol. 1 [1963]). Hegel wrote that "in history the periods of happiness are blank pages, for the object of history is, at the least, change" (*Lectures on the Philosophy of World History* [n. 12], 172).

especially in the Book of Acts and later writings. The conflict could be resolved only when it was believed that the principal antagonists themselves resolved it. The Gospel of John is treated as a synthesis, achieved toward the end of the second century, that surpassed both Jewish and Pauline Christianity in a universal, idealized vision of God as love and Christ as the incarnate Logos. But in the process the concrete historical figure of Jesus was obscured.

The other major conflict was over the ideality and historicality of the church and is based partly on the influence of pagan ideas. The Gnostics and Montanists argued, in different ways, that Christianity is a world-principle and that its true existence is not found in an empirical institution. Baur explains the difference between Parts Two and Three as follows:

> The issue is no longer whether Christianity is one particular principle of salvation, or is instead a universal principle of salvation. The concern is no longer the condition for a person to gain the blessedness that Christianity imparts. The issue is no longer merely one of breaking through, and setting aside, the barriers preventing Christianity from evolving in a freer and more universal way. The horizon is quite different here. People now see themselves in a setting where the concepts and antitheses are those of God and world, spirit and matter, absolute and finite; of the world's origin, its development, and how it will end. In short, Christianity is to be understood as a world-principle rather than as a principle of salvation.

The Catholic Church, through the development of its hierarchical institution, had to resist this tendency toward historical evaporation:

> The church has the important task of holding fast to what are positive elements in Christianity. It is a "catholic" church as such, only inasmuch as it is a central, focal point reconciling all the different perspectives, a center staying just as far from one extreme as it does from the other. On the one hand, if the idea of a catholic church, an idea emerging from Christianity, had not overcome the particularism of Judaism, Christianity itself would have become just a Jewish sect. On the other hand, the threat posed to Christianity by paganism was the equally great danger of generalizing and watering-down its contents by ideas so boundlessly expanding Christian consciousness that it would have had to completely lose its specific, historical character.

These two statements, found at the beginning of Part Three, are as clear a summary as any of Baur's perspective on the formation of the early Catholic Church. Catholicism played an indispensable role in the history of the church until its internal tensions and immoral excesses led to a breakdown in the late Middle Ages. This is quite a different view from that which postulates a "fall" of the church with the emergence of early Catholicism and its recovery only in the Reformation. The view also obviously differs from the Catholic Church's own self-understanding.

Parts 4, 5, and 6 of our text treat the major forms by which the idea of Christianity takes shape: thought, governance, external relations, and practices. (Governance or institutional hierarchy is actually already addressed at the end of Part Three.) In the ancient period thought or dogma was the principal form, and it is elaborated in Part Four under the theme of "Christianity as the highest principle of revelation and as dogma." At the beginning of Part Four Baur provides another helpful summary of his argument:

> In reviewing the presentation thus far, we see that in this sphere there are two outlooks or ways of thinking in which the idea immanent in Christianity realized itself in Christian consciousness. The limitation that the particularism of Judaism wanted to impose on the Christian principle of salvation had above all to be overcome, and Christian universalism established. This could only happen by doing away with the wall of separation between Judaism and paganism or the Gentile world, and by regarding the entirety of humankind as both needing Christian salvation and being receptive to it—as the wide domain in which the idea of Christianity should actualize itself. In this regard, however, just as Christianity had from the outset the tendency to expand into a universal movement, it on the other hand had, from this universal standpoint, an equal concern to hold firmly to its specific content and character. In wanting to be just as specific—that is, personal, individual, and historically concrete—as it was universal, Christianity had to relate these two aspects adequately to each other.

In Part Four the presentation is no longer chronological but thematic. It argues that christology was the major focus of dogmatic development during the first three centuries, and it traces this development from its beginning in the Synoptic Gospels and Paul (a still substantially "Jewish form of christology") through the formation of the Catholic dogma of Christ (the incarnation of the divine Logos) to the controversies that led to the Council of Nicaea in 325.

Part 5 treats Christianity as a "power dominant in the world." In order to realize the "absolute idea" that is its "essential content," and to become a universal religion accessible to all peoples, Christianity had to become a dominant world power. This power put it into conflict with paganism, and into both competition and cooperation with the Roman Empire. Baur discusses these two relationships in terms of their internal and external aspects. Internally he highlights Christianity's critique by and defense against philosophical opponents, and externally, its engagement with Roman politics and emperors up until the conversion of Constantine.

Regarding the conversion of Constantine, Baur offers a helpful glimpse into his way of understanding the relationship between individual figures and the objective course of events. He cites the historian August Neander, who explains the conversion through a psychological interpretation of the legend that Constantine perceived the sign of the cross in the shape of the clouds. Baur comments: "Those who set more

emphasis on minor personal matters than they do on the larger course of history, and give more weight to what is fantastically miraculous than they do to the simple truth of historical facts, may find this account satisfactory." But the historian cannot. The simple truth is that Christianity had become an objective force by this time and could no longer be constrained or persecuted. What made Constantine a world-historical figure is simply that he recognized this fact and understood the age in which he lived. He knew how to reconcile his own personal convictions with the spirit of Christianity, even though his principal motive was political—reestablishing the threatened unity of the Roman Empire. For the achievement of unity the episcopal system of the Catholic Church was the ideal instrument.

Part 6 takes up Christianity as a moral and religious principle and its cultic practices. By "moral and religious" Baur means a religious principle with a moral focus or emphasis. Religion proves its truthfulness by the moral transformation it is capable of producing in the world, and Christianity did so to an eminent degree. It brought about an inward renewal of consciousness in relation to God and produced a genuine community of the faithful. It had an aversion to shows and spectacles, withdrew from pagan politics, and emphasized marriage and domestic life. Baur writes: "The aristocratic and despotic spirit of the ancient world, which considered the individual to be simply an instrument serving the general purposes of the whole, . . . had to give way to a more humane and less harsh way of thinking, one recognizing that all had equal rights and respecting the human dignity of even the humblest and lowliest ones." In this respect the new religion contributed to the abolition of ancient slavery.

But in the early centuries especially, Christian morality also exhibited a one-sided and limited character, as evidenced by superstition, a widespread fear of demons, the moral rigorism exhibited by Tertullian in particular, and a dualistic, ascetic view of life. Marriage was often interpreted in terms of the antithesis of matter and spirit, with the sensuous dimension pitted against the spiritual, and chastity defended as the higher ideal. These "catholic" tendencies are contrasted with "the purer moral principles of evangelical Christianity" on the part of Clement of Alexandria, who set forth a moral vision without Montanist fanaticism. But as time went on, more lenient moral practices settled into place; martyrdom was no longer considered a virtue, and people turned their attention "to what was feasible in practice and suited to their circumstances."

Finally, the origins of the Christian cultus are explored, including the Eucharist understood not as a sacrament but as an agape or love-feast in remembrance of the Lord's death, the complex issues related to the Passover (a summary of the earlier discussion), the relative values of Sunday and the Sabbath, more developed cultic forms (incorporating pagan and Jewish practices), and the creation of a cult of saints (also influenced by paganism).

The organizing structure of thought, governance, external relations, and religio-ethical practices is carried over into subsequent volumes of the history of the Christian

Church, with modifications. Volume 2, which covers the period from the fourth through the sixth centuries, is divided into four main parts: Christianity's relationship to paganism; dogma; hierarchy; the Christian cultus and ethical life.[16] Volume 3, on the Middle Ages, has the same four parts, presented in two main periods divided by the papacy of Gregory VII. In the second main period, hierarchy attains ascendency over dogma as the principal form.[17] In Volumes 4 and 5, from the Reformation to the middle of the nineteenth century, the forms are still present, but are accommodated to the division between Catholicism and Protestantism.[18] With Protestantism the emphasis shifts from dogma and hierarchy to faith and spiritual communion with God. It is true that Baur's church history is written from a Protestant perspective, but he attempts to do justice to the Catholic Church in its historically essential role. In this respect his approach is quite different from subsequent Protestant historians such as Adolf Harnack,[19] who regarded Catholicism to be an expression of an alien Greek spirit in opposition to the faith of "the Gospel." Baur in fact is seeking a mediation between the objectivity of Catholicism and the subjectivity of Protestantism. He seems to be looking toward a time when the truth of Protestantism becomes an integral part of the church universal.[20]

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Robert F. Brown is mostly responsible for the translation of this volume. The hundred pages I contributed have been revised and improved by him. My efforts have been directed rather to editorial and publication matters. *Church and Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (n. 6), the final volume in the church history series, was based on Baur's manuscripts and published posthumously by Eduard Zeller. Consequently, most of the footnotes are editorial, and others are designated as coming from [*Baur*] or [*Zeller*]. By contrast, the present volume was published by Baur himself with a good many footnotes, and editorial notes are designated as such, either by [*Ed.*] for our own notes or additions to Baur notes, or simply by square brackets for insertions into Baur notes. (We supplement Baur's bibliographic information silently.) With this exception, the two volumes are edited similarly. We have introduced subheadings into the text from the table of contents, and have broken up Baur's long paragraphs into shorter ones. We have included some Greek and Latin in the text, but with longer

16. *Die christliche Kirche vom Anfang des vierten bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts in den Hauptmomenten ihrer Entwicklung* (Tübingen: Fues, 1859).

17. *Die christliche Kirche des Mittelalters in den Hauptmomenten ihrer Entwicklung*, ed. Ferdinand Friedrich Baur (Tübingen: Fues, 1862).

18. *Kirchengeschichte der neueren Zeit, von der Reformation bis zum Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ferdinand Friedrich Baur (Tübingen: Fues, 1863). For vol. 5, see n. 6.

19. See Daniel Geese in *Baur and the History of Early Christianity* (n. 1), ch. 14.

20. See *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Fues, 1858), 56–58. ET: *History of Christian Dogma*, ed. Peter C. Hodgson, trans. Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 87–89.

quotations of passages in Greek or Latin only an English translation is provided. For citations of patristic writers, see the bibliography in our translation of Baur's *History of Christian Dogma*.[21] References to *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*[22] are abbreviated *ANF*, although these translations are often modified by us into more contemporary English, so the references are given partly just for informational purposes. Loeb Classical Library editions, which we occasionally cite, are abbreviated LCL.[23] We hope this new version of one of Baur's most important books will make it more accessible to the public.[24]

I end on a personal note. The book we have translated was published in 1860, just before the beginning of the American Civil War, and the remaining volumes of Baur's church history appeared during the War. Whether Baur would have attended to this tragic and bloody conflict on another continent is unknown since he also died in

21. *History of Christian Dogma* (n. 20), 372–79.

22. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 10 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867–73). American edition by the Christian Literature Company, reprinted by Eerdmans and other publishers. A few references to the First and Second Series of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 14 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886–1900), are abbreviated *NPNF*[1] and *NPNF*[2].

23. They were published in Cambridge, Mass., and London, and are referenced by volume name rather than series number. The volumes containing Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* appeared in 1926; and those containing Tacitus' *Histories* appeared in 1951–52.

24. Brown contributes the following remark: The term *Religionsphilosophie* (literally, "philosophy of religion") in Baur's works can pose a problem for someone translating them into English. He uses this same term for two somewhat different things that, in some contexts at least, are best kept distinct. — (1) Philosophy of religion as a topic to which someone who is primarily a philosopher might chose to give attention, by analyzing and/or criticizing religion or particular features of it. The philosopher assuming this role can incidentally be (but may not be and often is not) a religious believer or someone sympathetic to religion. In this sense of the term, and in this role, the philosopher is not operating as a believer any more than a philosopher of art is, or operates as, an artist. Examples of such philosophers of religion from the ancient world discussed by Baur here include Plato, Epicurus, and Plotinus.—(2) The same term, *Religionsphilosophie*, Baur (and others) often apply to the work of a religious believer or sympathizer who uses philosophical concepts and methods to describe and/or construct the beliefs or belief system of that specific religion, as well as defending it against criticism. This practice might just as well be called "religious philosophy" or "philosophical religion" or "philosophical theology." In fact, we frequently use the term "religious philosophy" for it in translating Baur into English here, and in our previous Baur translation, *Church and Theology in the Nineteenth Century* as well. — Most Anglo-American philosophers of religion practice the first type of philosophy of religion, and regard it as significantly different from this second type. Hence the value of having a separate term for the latter when making an English translation. Of course, the boundary between the two types is not always clear-cut, and individual judgment is called for regarding the use of terminology. For instance, consider Schelling and Hegel. With his right-leaning Hegelianism, and his almost exclusively religious focus on the works of these two philosophers, Baur might regard them in the second sense as philosophers of religion who are "religious philosophers" or "philosophical theologians." On the other hand, someone of a different mindset, and with a more wide-ranging interest in the other works of these two philosophers, might say they are simply doing philosophy of religion in the first sense.—In the big picture, it is all indeed "philosophy of religion" in the broadest sense. However, in translating Baur into English, we think it important to be clear about this difference between two uses made of the term *Religionsphilosophie*, and to reflect that difference in the translation.

1860, but his focus, in addition to religion, was always on antiquity and Europe.[25] This war and its aftermath certainly tested Baur's Hegelian-inflected views about the role of the idea in history, but Lincoln seems to have come to a similar conclusion when he proclaimed at Gettysburg "a new birth of freedom." The struggles following the Civil War and up to the present day illustrate how difficult a birth this has been. The same is true of the birth of Christianity and the Christian Church many centuries ago.

25. See his remarks on ancient slavery in Part Six, n. 15.