

not so much a biography as a thematic consideration, and often rebuttal, of charges that were made against Wolsey at the time, in the later sixteenth century, and by modern professional historians. Schwartz-Leeper's quotations and commentaries raise, as he says, interesting questions, but rather more is needed to offer substantial answers to them.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

G. W. BERNARD

John Calvin. The Strasbourg years (1538–1541). Edited by Matthieu Arnold (trans. Felicity McNab). Pp. xvii + 245. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2016. \$52 (paper). 978 1 4982 3962 2
JEH (69) 2018; doi:10.1017/S0022046917000860

We have long known that John Calvin's years in Strasbourg (1538–41), after he and William Farel were expelled from Geneva, were significant. There Calvin became a pastor, theological lecturer, wrote a second edition of his *Institutes of the Christian religion* (1539) along with a commentary on Romans (1540), and saw first-hand the workings of a city church striking its Protestant path into what became the 'Reformed' church tradition. Most significantly, Calvin learned from Strasbourg's leading reformer, Martin Bucer. Scholars have seen Bucer's influence in Calvin's developing theology; and have also noted Calvinian influences on the great reformer.

Now we can gain an even wider and deeper picture of Calvin's formative years in Strasbourg through this collection which emerged from the 2009 Symposium in the city, 'When Strasbourg Welcomed Calvin, 1538–1541'. The publication of sources since the great work of Émile Doumergue at the beginning of the twentieth century, on which much of the Calvin story in Strasbourg was based, has enabled new looks to fresh dimensions of Calvin and Strasbourg. This book brings the work of the symposium into an accessible form. It features fourteen pieces from mainly Strasbourg-based teacher-researchers who are experts in various disciplines.

Marc Lienhard's 'Strasbourg in Calvin's time' admirably sets the stage for the coming contributions. Lienhard explores the Strasbourg context, its leaders – Bucer and Wolfgang Capito(n) – and major lineaments of the Church. Bucer believed that 'a Christian magistrate had the duty to promote true religion and to punish everyone who was against it' (p. 10). He had close ties with Luther, Melancthon and Zwingli and in his tireless quest for Christian unity, 'Bucer's horizon was truly Europe' (p. 11). Tensions emerged with city leaders as Bucer 'pleaded for a church discipline, which was required according to him in order to improve the life of Christians' (p. 21). Calvin saw this as he participated in the city's full church life. He also saw that Bucer's theology was 'always attentive to the church' (p. 17).

Through Christopher Burger's work on Calvin's correspondence up to 1538, we see Calvin adapting to his new city, but always with an eye toward Geneva, by which the deep wound of expulsion had been inflicted. He participated in a number of religious colloquia, enabling him to see the complexities of the growing reform movements. Calvin was to return to Geneva in September 1541 to help meet the city's needs. But the Strasbourg pastors emphasised that 'once the Reformer had finished his task Geneva could send Calvin back to Strasbourg' (p. 37).

Two chapters examining the Strasbourg Psalter of 1539 (Philippe François) and Calvin and church music (Robert Weeda) describe the distinctive Psalm-singing tradition that Strasbourg helped foster in Calvin. Calvin's own attempts as 'poet' in rendering the Psalms for singing were overshadowed by the poet Clement Marot who went on with Theodore Beza to develop the famous Genevan Psalter.

Calvin's commentary on Romans (1540) emerged from his lectures at the Haute École. Christian Grappe notes that Calvin's commitment to 'the *perspicua brevitatis*, of precision and clarity' is teamed with 'in a constant background, the search for the author's intention' – a dedication Calvin maintained through all his commentaries (p. 84).

Stephen Buckwalter's examination of Calvin's 1539 *Institutio* finds influences of Bucer in terms of theological themes, especially in the development of Calvin's views on the Anabaptists, a deepening assessment of the lord's supper, and in Calvin's enhanced recognition of the beauty of creation and the joys of life. These express the goodness of God (p. 105).

Olivier Millet's 'Books by the Reformer printed or read in Strasbourg' is an illuminating piece on the images of Calvin that Calvin presented through his works; and what his Strasbourg readers perceived.

The final chapters in this volume consider Calvin's participation in efforts to find agreements among Evangelicals and with the traditional faith. Among these, as Volkmar Ortmann details in 'Calvin and the religious colloquia of 1539–1541', is the Frankfurt Meeting (1539) to seek a union on religious questions among emerging Protestants. Here Calvin met Melancthon and discussed holy communion. The meeting led Calvin to try to be a 'mediator between the Swiss and the League of Schmalkalde' (p. 172). The Colloquium of Hagenau (1540) brought Calvin into contact with the main evangelical theologians. The Colloquium of Worms (1540–1) was where he sought 'to find for the German Protestants their support for their French co-religionists' (p. 175). Calvin's concern for the persecuted French Church was strong, a disquiet he continued to act upon at the meeting in Ratisbon where he tried to 'win the support of the evangelicals with the French Protestants' (p. 182).

An important theological piece is studied in Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard's 'Consensus and disagreement in the *Little treatise on holy communion* (1541)'. This was the first work in French which Calvin wrote under his own name (p. 183) and was published in Geneva after he had left Strasbourg. Carbonnier-Burkard says that in the treatise, Calvin announced his aim which was a pastoral in nature. He wanted to declare to the 'faithful people' in their own language 'a common doctrine, a consensus on holy communion' (p. 184). Yet, Calvin was also aiming to reach a wider public, beyond homes within the Church that he served. He wanted to speak to 'his French people' (as Beza indicated) – those who had stayed in France. Calvin considered the communion's foundations and then its usefulness for believers. He clearly indicated the major mistakes of the mass and then went on to propose a statement of agreement: 'we are truly made participants in the proper substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ' (p. 207). This shifted ground from the contentious idea of 'substance' in itself to the relationship of the believer with Christ. Calvin's proposal did not meet with success. Eucharistic agreement came closer with Calvin and Bullinger's *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549).

This splendid collection certainly succeeds in its aim of stimulating ‘Calvinian historiography, in the tradition of the Jubilee of 2009’ (p. xvi).

GERMANTOWN,
TENNESSEE

DONALD K. MCKIM

Pragmatic toleration. The politics of religious heterodoxy in early reformation Antwerp, 1515–1555. By Victoria Christman. Pp. xiii + 241. Woodbridge–Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015. £75. 978 1 58046 516 8
JEH (69) 2018; doi:10.1017/S0022046917001968

Antwerp in the first half of the sixteenth century was awash with heterodox religious sentiments. Its evangelicals organised conventicles, its presses pumped out illicit publications, its chambers of rhetoric performed dramas that openly challenged the Catholic Church, and its communities of foreign merchants included Portuguese ‘New Christians’ suspected of Judaizing. As Victoria Christman shows, all of this had the tacit consent of the city magistrates, who did their utmost to circumvent or at least mitigate the harsh anti-heresy edicts of Charles v. Why the magistrates shielded Antwerp’s heterodox inhabitants is proclaimed by Christman in the title of her book: out of a ‘pragmatic toleration’ whose motivations, she argues, were purely economic and political: to promote the prosperity and defend the autonomy of their city. Their toleration was accordingly selective, extending only to ‘their most (usually economically) valuable inhabitants, while allowing the less valuable to be harshly prosecuted’ (p. 11). The Anabaptists, in her argument, were the exception that proves the rule: of scant economic value, they were proactively prosecuted and promptly executed by the local court – partly as a diversionary tactic to protect others. Through this and other forms of ‘pragmatic toleration’, the magistrates sought constantly ‘to appease their emperor without disturbing the social and mercantile health of their city’ (p. 2). Not that they succeeded always, but it required heavy pressure from Brussels to bring the magistrates to execute several non-Anabaptists in the mid-1540s. Christman shows that Charles v’s regent, Mary of Hungary, was personally responsible for much of this pressure, and that she was more implacable than Charles in her stance against ‘heresy’. Christman’s book concurs with other recent historiography that finds religious toleration being practised earlier and more widely than once was thought; indeed, Christman shows that economic arguments for toleration were being made in Antwerp as early as the 1520s. Her findings are also in line with recent work that sees the practice of toleration as not dependent on any principled commitment to tolerance as an ideal. At times, though, Christman goes to an unwarranted extreme in reducing the magistrates’ motivations to economic and political interest. Her chapter on the chambers of rhetoric suggests that a different kind of value – the honour and prestige of the city – motivated Antwerp’s magistrates to shield the city’s unorthodox rhetoricians, and one might ask whether this was not a consideration too in their shielding of others, for example printers and publishers. It is not clear either whether it was economics that weighed most heavily in the magistrates’ refusal to protect Anabaptists, who were perceived as uniquely violent and seditious. Not everyone whom the magistrates protected was well-to-do; in fact, one gets the impression that the magistrates