

BERCHTOLD HALLER: THE FORGOTTEN REFORMER OF BERN

by

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to the city of Bern, Switzerland and its people, and especially to all those who remember the past beauty of Brückfeldstrasse 19.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the sixteenth century, Bern was one of the most powerful and influential city republics of the Swiss Eidgenossenschaft, or Confederation. Though the actual urban population was small by modern standards, its domain extended throughout the greater part of central and western Switzerland.¹ This city was a power not to be underestimated nor reckoned with lightly.

Despite, this, however, Bern's contribution to sixteenth-century history, particularly to Reformation history, has been of little concern to all but Swiss historians. The great majority of non-Swiss scholars refer only fleetingly or not at all to Bern's contribution, for their knowledge of it is either incomplete or seen only in the light of the Reformation movement elsewhere. This is unfortunate, because Bern's impact on the history of the Reformation in Switzerland was substantial. However, one non-Swiss historian, E. William Monter, has at least conceded Bern's considerable contribution to Reformation history by maintaining that it was due to Bern's "decisive impetus" that Geneva was able to carry out its own political and religious "revolutions."²

Nor was this Bern's only contribution. Its acceptance of the Reformation in 1528 assured the continuing influence of Zwinglian reforms after Ulrich Zwingli's death in 1531. Though Emil Lüthi, in his discussion of Bernese politics in the Wars of Kappel, may have exaggerated in

stating that the Reformation in Switzerland would have suffocated before germination had it not been for Bern's mediation,³ his view contains considerable truth.

With the atrophy of Bern's territorial and political power in later centuries, its contribution to the Swiss Reformation waned. By itself, Bern's Church was to bear no lasting international fruits for, by the end of the sixteenth century, it was assimilated into the larger Helvetic Reformed Church, the main focal point of which was increasingly at Geneva.

It is therefore not surprising that Bern and its chief reformer have attracted so little attention from Reformation scholars. Nonetheless, its contribution to the Reformation should not be overlooked, nor be left solely to Swiss historians. Though Swiss scholars have done extensive studies on Zwingli, Calvin, Bullinger and Beza--to name but a few they claim as their own--one important individual has largely escaped their notice: Berchtold Haller (ca. 1492-1536), the reformer of Bern.⁴

After undertaking my own studies of the Bernese Reformation, I continually found references to this man, who quite frequently was confused with a later Bernese minister, Johannes Haller the younger, although the two were not related. As the first reformer of one of the most powerful republics of the sixteenth century, surprisingly little is known about Berchtold Haller. Subsequent investigation of his life only increased my interest in him because he was not of the same cloth out of which reformers like Luther, Zwingli or Calvin were cut. Haller did not have a commanding personality or possess charisma. Nor was he the author of any tracts of consequence which would either establish his reputation or give historians a clear picture of his political and theological

position. Yet I immediately respected him for what a prominent Swiss historian, Emil Blösch, termed "his lack of love for dogmatic sophistry."⁵ It was not that Haller cared little about correct interpretations of the Scriptures or of Christianity, but he was typically a reformer in the tradition of the Sermon on the Mount.

Despite my own interest in Haller, there persists the question of why this Bernese reformer has remained so long in obscurity. Outside of several outdated biographies of dubious scholarship, modern historians most often relegate Haller to footnotes. It might be said that this man and his letters deserve no better, but I maintain that he became a "foot-note reformer" not because he is unimportant, but because not enough is known about him to establish his value as a "Christian" and a "reformer"--in the true and deepest sense of those two words.

In retrospect, it is understandable that Haller has been virtually forgotten. His religious counterparts in Germany, Geneva and Zürich won acclaim because of their prolific scholarship and their intellectual and political activities. Haller was neither an outstanding scholar nor a political activist. On the contrary, "Herr Berchtold" is of interest because he does not at first glance appear to be the type of individual to sustain a reform movement in one of the most important cities of sixteenth-century Switzerland. He was too mild-mannered and too unsure of his intellectual ability to have thought that he one day would be a standard bearer of the evangelical faith.

Because Haller left no monumental attestations to his relatively short life, it is not surprising that most Reformation scholars pass him by and turn to studies of the better known reformers. If scholars

neglected him in the past, why should he deserve more attention by present-day historians?

The unquestionable power of sixteenth-century Bern and its subsequent influence upon European and Swiss political and religious affairs would alone justify further study of its first reformer. Yet apart from any other reason, Haller himself was an example of an unusual type of reformer. He could be categorized, in a sense, as a reformer by circumstance, for at first he was an unwitting one. Or he might deserve the title of cautious reformer. Most of all, however, he was a gentle and irenic reformer whose concern was not with dogma and debate, but with love of God and neighbor and the Christian way of life.

The key, then, to Haller's success and contribution to the Reformation, which justifies a closer look at him by modern historians, lies in his personality, with which the unique Bernese mentality found resonance, and in the paradox, that despite the fact that he was a gentle and retiring man, he was as successful a reformer in Bern as Zwingli was in Zürich, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito in Strassburg, or Oecolampad in Basel. L. Caflisch, in his study of Haller's iconography, said aptly of him:

Berchtold Haller did not belong to the figures who stood in the front lines of the great intellectual movement of the sixteenth century. In questions of systematic theology, he often sought support from his friends Zwingli and Bullinger. Yet thanks to his sacrifices and effectiveness as preacher, the Bernese established church soon developed into a power that in the crucial moment meant a decisive help for the Zürich Reformation.⁶

Because Haller always felt that his schooling was inadequate, he frequently sought advice and guidance from other reformers, especially Zwingli. Though these colleagues exerted a great influence upon Haller,

it is an oversimplification to maintain, as does the nineteenth-century historian Paul Flückinger, that "Haller has received his meaning and consecration as Bernese reformer exclusively through his intimate connection with Zwingli."⁷ Haller's effectiveness and influence in Bern did not cease with the untimely death of the Zürich reformer in 1531 as this view might suggest. To a great degree, Haller's efforts bore fruit of their own accord. His personality suited his flock, whose respect and honor he came to receive. Even after nearly all of the reform-minded clerics of Bern had either left Bern, been expelled or had fallen into disfavor in the early 1520's, Bern continued to employ Haller's services.⁸ This is especially noteworthy since Haller was not a native of this powerful city, which jealously guarded its autonomy from any outside power--whether political or religious.

In the early 1520's when the reform movement gained momentum, many people in Bern took a cautious position, for they did not want to give up old friends and deep-rooted political affiliations and privileges which were tied so closely to the religion of their ancestors. In addition, though they might sympathize with a Zwingli's attacks on religious corruption, his interference in political life and his firebrand approach to reform would never have been tolerated within Bernese gates. Thus in Bern, the mild-mannered and fatherly Haller was not at all an unlikely representative of the new evangelical faith of the Reformation. In his quiet, yet persistent, manner he moved the Bernese more easily than perhaps ten Zwinglis could. Even Zwingli himself was aware of Haller's potential influence in Bern. He wrote to Haller on 29 December 1521:

In the meantime, do yourself what you demand of me so that your somewhat obstinate bears hear the teachings of Christ and become ever more tame; one must, however, undertake this work gently. One may not proceed with you [Bernese] in the

same manner as with us, for the ears of your people are more sensitive. For this reason, one may not hurt them with the biting truth so directly Therefore one must stroke such wild creatures softly and show oneself ready to yield a little while they purr, until they, by our patience, have the steadfast assiduity that comes from the heart and have been overcome and tamed So I beg of you, be all things to all men that Christ, along with you, is not rejected.⁹

In my search for Haller material, I often had the impression that because of the general lack of knowledge of this reformer, his role in introducing the Reformation in Bern has been largely disregarded and underestimated in favor of crediting the Bernese government. It is no doubt true that the Reformation could not have taken root in Bern as it did had it not been for the magistracy. Yet there is also the question whether or not it could have succeeded without the patient efforts of Haller.

Generally speaking, Bern along with other European states in the latter Middle Ages began assuming more and more control over ecclesiastical affairs in its own territories. Bern, for example, came to regulate matters of marriage and morals which according to Canon Law were solely under the jurisdiction of the Church. It did so either because the Church did not fulfill its duty as guardian of faith and morals, or because the Bernese government deemed it necessary in order to uphold its own supremacy and independence. Whatever the reason, Bern sought to eliminate the Church as competition, in that the republic desired the Church to become part of and serve the purposes of the state. As Gustav Tobler, in his treatise on the relationship of state and church in Bern in the years 1521-1527, aptly remarked:

. . . thus the Bernese government, using a ten-year-long logically effected Politik, brought matters so far that the Church had to bend to the purpose of the state and take her place as a member of the state machinery. The Reformation, and with it

the building of a state-church, appears as a necessary result of an historical development.¹⁰

Bern in the 1520's was ripe for reform, but reform of its own type. Its idea of reform was essentially conservative, and Bern's government was forced to consider more than religious issues. Perhaps this is why Tobler's belief that the Bernese Reformation "appears as a necessary result of an historical process" is a bit too simple. Had this been the case, Bern probably would have espoused the Reformation earlier than it did.

As it was, there were many men from wealthy and aristocratic families within Bern's government who did not wish to give up the religion of their ancestors which had brought them privilege and power. Nor did many in Bern wish to break with the old inner cantons, most of which remained Roman Catholic.

To a great degree, the little push which became a shove behind the government to accept the Reformation officially, came not from the leading families as a whole, but from a few individual members of these families, from men and women from more ordinary walks of life and from the regular clergy and intellectuals. It was these individuals who most warmly befriended the city preachers and who on more than one occasion protected Haller so that, by his preaching and example, he might draw more of the Bernese to the side of the Reformation.

Viewed in this light, the acceptance of the Reformation in Bern was more than simply a necessary historical development. Movements are nothing without individuals, and though Haller's life and work cannot be divorced from the political history of Bern, neither can the Bernese Reformation receive just treatment if separated from the story of Haller.

As Zwingli admonished him, Haller always saw that his "somewhat obstinate bears" heard the teachings of Christ. He undertook his work gently and with patience, as was his nature. It is significant that the Bernese statesman and poet, Niklaus Manuel, in a 1522 poem-play chose Haller in the guise of Lüpold Schüchnit to epitomize what a true pastor should be during a time when many church leaders were ignorant and corrupt.¹¹

Though Haller left few literary artifacts and did not give his name to any theological system, he still, through his letters, provided an excellent picture of himself as a very human and dedicated reformer, whose desire it was to help better mankind. He once wrote his friend, Joachim van Watt (Vadian), the burgermeister of St. Gallen, that the world had need of a cleansing no matter in what way it should be accomplished.¹² Most well-known reformers contributed to this cleansing with their pens. Haller in his kind, unpretentious manner did so by his example.

What his literary legacy lacks in theological exegesis, it makes up for as a rich source of information about the people and events of the turbulent sixteenth century. Haller's letters mirror and record the character of the people--their goodness and their pettiness. His epistles include observations on many major first-generation reformers, the Anabaptists, and war, as well as provide extensive commentaries on political, social and religious events in Europe. In addition, they speak volumes about Haller himself and attest to a deeply interested and informed man.

Haller is also noteworthy to modern historians because he knew and corresponded with most major reformers of the first generation. He

sought their advice, confided in them and even cajoled them on occasion. In addition, though he may not have been one of the foremost fathers of the Reformation, he was in many ways the godfather of much that came after him. He saw to it that talented young men like Johannes Haller the younger, the children of the Mai family, and Simon Sulzer were encouraged to further their education.

Because Haller, as Bern's chief preacher, was overseer of all the ministers and churches within Bern's extensive territories, he was also responsible for much of the fundamental and initial character of the Bernese Reformed Church. In this sense he might also be considered the godfather of the Reformation in the Waadtland and, as such, also of the Reformation in Geneva. When William Farel was engaged as a preacher in Bern's French-speaking lands under an assumed name so that the pro-Catholic party in Bern would not notice, Haller followed closely and encouraged Farel's activities.¹³

Besides supporting the man who would upbraid the young Calvin for shirking God's designs in Geneva, Haller also used his influence and position in Bern to motivate his city to aid the Genevans in their fight for freedom from Savoy's dominance. He was undoubtedly aware that Bern's motives included self-serving ones and though he was generally opposed to war and violence of any type, he must have known that freeing Geneva could only be accomplished by the sword. In any case, in a sermon given in Bern in 1535, he so praised the Genevans and recommended aid for their plight that most of his listeners were deeply moved.¹⁴ Bern probably would have freed Geneva with or without Haller's support, but his sermon was a reminder to the Bernese government of its responsibility to see that God's work was furthered in this area.

Since the Bernese Reformation was of major importance to the movement as a whole in Switzerland and beyond, and since Haller was the central figure in its infancy, a fresh and more thorough study of the reformer of Bern is justifiable.

Because most published information on Haller is inadequate and outdated, the purpose of this paper will be to re-introduce Berchtold Haller to Reformation scholars in an effort to awaken interest in a man who greatly deserves closer examination. This essay on Haller's importance for future Reformation studies will include a short biography of Haller's life, in which I hope to dispel some of the misconceptions which have crept into past scholarly literature. Following this, ideas for future research and selected sources according to topic will be given, as well as an annotated list of sources pertaining to Haller and his activities which can serve as the basis for a study of Haller in the future. Therefore in order to place all of this in an understandable historical context, I will turn in the next chapter to a brief sketch of Haller's life and work.

CHAPTER II

BERCHTOLD HALLER: HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Though there is some speculation and disagreement among scholars about the exact year and place of his birth, Berchtold Haller was born, in all probability, in 1492 in the town of Aldingen in the vicinity of the Reichsstadt of Rottweil, not far from Stuttgart.¹

Little, if anything, is known about Haller's childhood, and his surviving works contain no unequivocal references to his early years. In a 1527 letter to Valerius Anshelm, Haller sent greetings to his "brothers" and requested knowledge of their well-being. Though this request was sufficiently personal to be an inquiry about his own blood brothers, it also could have been a reference to Haller's Rottweil "Brothers in Christ" who were, at the time, suffering persecution for their beliefs.² A second letter from Haller to Anshelm in Rottweil dated 19 March 1527 is thought by some authors to refer to Haller's father.³ There is, however, no solid foundation for this contention.

Nonetheless, someone provided for Haller's education, because he attended the Latin School in Rottweil near Aldingen where he was the pupil of the learned Michael Rötlin, or Rubellus. From this scholar, young men such as Heinrich Loriti (Glarean),⁴ Melchior Rot (Volmar) and Berchtold Haller received their first introduction to the intellectual and religious life of the sixteenth century.

Haller's activities at Rottweil are for the most part obscure. Nevertheless it was here that he became acquainted with the nephew of Rubellus, Melchior Volmar, who later distinguished himself as Professor of Philology in Bourges and Tübingen and had the distinction of being a teacher of Calvin and Beza.⁵ It is also probable that while at Rottweil Haller met Oswald Myconius who later (in 1520) arranged a meeting between Haller and Zwingli. Among his friends, Haller, also found a fatherly figure in August Bolster, a friend of Rubellus and chaplain of Rottweil. Bolster, it appears, took an interest in the young Haller and acted as his kindly advisor.⁶ Perhaps this older man, in conjunction with Rubellus, played an instrumental part in procuring a position for Haller in Bern in 1513.

From Rottweil, Haller went to the school in Pforzheim which flourished under the tutelage of Georg Simler of Wimpfen, later professor in Tübingen.⁷ Simon Grynäus from Vehringen in Hohenzollern, may have been Haller's classmate here, as was the younger Philipp Melanchthon, the nephew of the learned Johann Reuchlin whose home was Pforzheim. It is entirely possible that Melanchthon and Haller knew each other, but that they were and remained intimate friends, as many authors suggest, is dubious. Except for a frequently cited letter, which Haller supposedly wrote Bullinger in 1535 about his friendship with Melanchthon, I have found no mention by Haller of the well-known German reformer.⁸ One thing, however, is certain. Both Haller and Melanchthon had the advantage of studying with Simler, who was one of the better teachers in the sixteenth century.⁹ Simler's major field was Latin, but he gave private lessons in Greek to his more promising students. Whether Haller learned the rudiments of Greek from him cannot be determined, but Haller no doubt

acquired some knowledge of grammar, arithmetic, rhetoric, dialectic, history and geography, which were subjects usually taught in the Latin schools at the time.¹⁰

At the age of about eighteen, Haller arrived in Cologne, where according to the annals of the university, he matriculated on 8 May 1510.¹¹ After two years of study, he received a Baccalaureate in theology. Next to nothing is known about Haller's life as a student, but it is reasonably certain that he studied the Scriptures and the Sentences of Peter Lombard, the two books most frequently used by the bacalarii. In his study of "Die Statuten der theologischen Fakultät an der alten Universität [Cologne]," Franz Gescher notes that the bacalarii were divided into cursores and biblici, the latter of which he believes were members of the four mendicant orders.¹² Because Haller does not seem to have been a member of any order, it is highly probable that he was numbered among the cursores.

It is not known why Haller did not continue his studies until he attained the degree of Magister. He may have become disillusioned with the educational atmosphere in Cologne, for in August 1509, Emperor Maximillian gave the converted Jew, Johann Joseph Pfefferkorn, a mandate allowing him to destroy any Jewish literature that was not of a Christian nature. This move was resisted by Johann Reuchlin and others. Pfefferkorn drew support from the Dominican Inquisitor Jakob van Hoogstraten and the monks of Cologne, as well as the universities of Louvain, Cologne and Erfurt. In 1511 Reuchlin published the Augenspiegel in defense of Jewish literature and, though accused of heresy, he was acquitted at the court of the Bishop of Speyer.¹³

The stormy clouds of this affair hung over the University of Cologne while Haller was there, and if he were cognizant of them at all, which he must have been, he probably sympathized with Reuchlin, who was his countryman. Even if Haller was indifferent concerning this matter, a certain uncomfortable antagonism existed among the faculty, which may have accounted for his departure.

After studying in Cologne, Haller returned to Rottweil in about 1512 where he may have served as an assistant in the church or school there.¹⁴ According to biographer Samuel Scheurer and other authors, Haller spent some time after 1512 in Basel instructing the young before going to Bern in 1518. Haller was certainly in Bern before 1518, for he appears there as apostolic notary in November of 1517.¹⁵ If Scheurer is mistaken about the date of Haller's arrival in Bern, he might also be mistaken about Haller's stay in Basel. If Haller was in Basel, he did not tarry there long, for he planned to go to Freiburg in Breisgau to study and teach. Indeed, some months after his return from Cologne, a friend of Haller's, Johann Wolfgang Egen, a lawyer in Freiburg, mediated plans for Haller to come to Freiburg and reside in the private home of a certain Master Caesareus.¹⁶ However, these plans were never realized. With the approval of his friends in Rottweil, Haller followed a call from his former teacher, Michael Rubellus, to go to Bern in 1513. His position as school helper to Rubellus, who had directed the Latin School in Bern since 1510,¹⁷ was certainly a modest one. Though little evidence exists, it appears that Haller was appointed apostolic notary around 1517 and chaplain of the bakers at about the same time.¹⁸

In a town of approximately 5000 inhabitants, it is not surprising that various scholars and clerics, as well as most of the townspeople of

Bern, became acquainted with Haller. His circle of friends included Valerius Anshelm, Dr. Sebastian Meyer, Niklaus Manuel, Bartholomäus Mai and Zwingli's brother-in-law, Leonhard Tremp.¹⁹ Haller also became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Wittenbach, a humanist and reform-minded preacher in Bern who had been Zwingli's and Leo Jud's teacher at the Hohe Schule in Basel. From 1515 to about 1520, Wittenbach held the post of Chorherr [similar to a canon] and was Custos [Keeper or Attendant] and Leutpriester or Lütpriester [literally People's Priest or Preacher] of the chapter church of St. Vincent which was the cathedral, or Münster, in Bern.²⁰ Wittenbach had several helpers and preachers to assist him, including Haller, who was certainly influenced by the great man, whom Zwingli called "my very beloved teacher."²¹ Because Haller's association with Wittenbach remained close even after the latter left Bern about 1520, Wittenbach's opinions and humanistic attitudes about the necessity of reform certainly left their mark on Haller.

Although there is no evidence that Haller was ever ordained a priest,²² he undoubtedly was, because he became Leutpriester in 1519 and Chorherr in May 1520.²³ Very soon thereafter, he began to preach on the Ten Commandments and to bring religious abuses to the attention of the public.²⁴ By this time, Luther had already begun reforming parts of Germany and his literary works were being sent to the press. Although the Bernese church historian, Kurt Guggisberg, believes it was Luther's and not Zwingli's works which were first effective in Bern, it was to be Zwingli, and not Luther, who had the greater influence on Haller.²⁵ However, Luther's call for a general church purification and Wittenbach's friendship with Zwingli may have focused Haller's attention on the events taking place in Zürich. Whatever the reason, something instilled in

Haller the desire to meet Zwingli, and Myconius communicated this wish to the Zürich reformer.²⁶ Haller traveled to Zürich in December 1520, and from this visit there arose a friendship and correspondence between Zwingli and Haller that was to last until the former's death in 1531.²⁷

Not long after Haller and Zwingli met, the people's religious attitudes and circumstances fluctuated so much in Bern that Haller seriously contemplated leaving the city and following Wittenbach to Basel.²⁸ What changed his mind, however, was a letter from Zwingli dated 29 December 1521. In what was one of the most encouraging and personal letters the Zürich reformer ever wrote Haller, Zwingli pledged his services in thanks for Haller's friendship. Zwingli encouraged the younger man to be patient with his "wild bears" in Bern. "We can fulfill the commands of the apostles," Zwingli wrote comfortingly, "when we carry each other's burdens."²⁹

Although Haller never spoke of experiencing a religious conversion, this letter was probably the turning point in his life. Only one other time in 1526 was he to think of leaving the city entrusted to his ministerial care. Even then it was not because he wished to escape an uncomfortable situation, but because he did not want to be the cause of dissension among his people. Encouraged by Zwingli and convinced of his own mission, Haller wrote his friend six months later on 8 July 1522 that many from the Rat [Council]³⁰ and many of the general populace were becoming versed in the gospel because of Haller's instruction.³¹

Events in 1522 gave reform-minded individuals in Switzerland every reason to feel optimistic. Georg Brunner, a priest in the pilgrim center of Klein-Höchstetten, voiced and upheld views that were decidedly reform oriented. As a result, he was accused before the Rat in Bern by

his chapter in Münsingen of false preaching. A hearing was called in August 1522 at which, among others, Haller, Meyer, and Wittenbach appeared, perhaps in the capacity of advisors. Brunner justified his stance so well that he was allowed to remain in his post.³²

Then in January 1523, Sebastian Meyer attended the first Zürich disputation and returned greatly strengthened by what he saw and heard.³³ For various reasons Haller did not go with him. The Bernese Rat may have requested that Haller, as official People's Preacher of Bern, not attend, because it was not pleased with Zwingli. In 1522 the Zürich reformer spoke out against mercenarianism in "A Godly Admonition" addressed to the inhabitants of the Canton Schwyz. This tract, Haller reported to Zwingli, was not well received by the Bernese because they resented only the Schwyzer being mentioned.³⁴ Bern may also have been upset because it, at the time, profited exceedingly from foreign monies,³⁵ so it is understandable that it would not wish to send official representatives to a meeting where mercenarianism might be condemned. Meyer, as a member of a religious order, would not necessarily be considered representative of Bern, but Haller, as People's Preacher, would have been. In addition, Haller's health also may have prevented him from going. He was probably already suffering from a hernia, and the long journey would have proved difficult.³⁶

In March of the same year, the evangelical party had additional cause to rejoice. It was strong enough to effect the vindication of Meyer when he was charged with maligning the Roman Catholic Church on St. Anna's Day (26 July 1522) in the cloister of Fraubrunnen. When Meyer's order decided to assign him elsewhere, the Franciscan provincial received an official letter from the Bernese Rat requesting that Meyer remain.³⁷

Despite these early victories, the succeeding years until 1528 were years of uncertainty for the Reformation in Bern. Many Europeans longed for a new order and for a reform of the political and religious malpractices of the time. Discontent had long been smoldering, but with the appearance of religious reformers, many saw that their discontent could at last be channelled into new movements, not only against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church but also against the state. More than one Bernese magistrate recognized this inherent danger to the political order. It is therefore not surprising that the Bernese government vacillated between change and maintaining the status quo in attempts to cement its authority.

On 15 June 1523, the Bernese magistrates passed the first of what was to be a series of mandates which they thought expedient in the face of growing disunity and unrest in the religious sphere. This so-called Viti and Modesti Mandate ordained that only what could be upheld by the Scriptures was to be preached.³⁸ In Zürich this mandate would have been interpreted as a victory for the Reformation. In Bern, it was decreed for one purpose only: to strengthen what was unquestionably Roman Catholic and to stop permanently reformed views in general.³⁹ Since it did not have the desired effect, the next step was to drive the reform-minded preachers from the land--legally if possible. An occasion to try this soon presented itself.

On St. Michael's Day (29 September) 1523, a day of celebration for the sisters of the Dominican Order in Bern, Haller, Meyer and Wittenbach were among the many guests who went to the cloister on St. Michael's Insel. Haller reputedly conversed with one of the nuns, Clara Mai, and her grandmother Prüglerine, explaining to them that if the nuns

remained in their order, they were in the "devil's state." Marriage was ordained by God and closed to no one.⁴⁰ This was sufficient to convince many Bernese that the three pastors were trying to lead the entire cloister into error. In accordance with an old law in Bern, which stated that any foreigner leading a nun from the Insel astray should automatically deserve the death sentence, Haller, Meyer and Wittenbach were secretly accused before the Small Rat in which Roman Catholic sympathies had the upper hand. This Rat decided that if the three men left the city within the hour, nothing further would be undertaken.

The matter, however, came to the attention of the Large Rat of the citizens, which soon established the identity of the accused. Having heard Haller's view of the episode, Bernhard Tillmann defended the preachers, and Venner Krochtaler suggested that Clara Mai's grandmother be questioned to determine the validity of the accusation. Undoubtedly to appease both the pro-Catholic and the reformed-minded camps, the Large Rat decided to believe both sides and allowed the three preachers to retain their posts.

It was expedient for the Reformation movement in Bern that reformed-minded preachers remain in the city to counterbalance the influence that the strong Roman Catholic cantons exerted on Bern to remain with the old order. Though it was obvious that reformed ideas were beginning to attract men in positions of importance in Bern, the St. Michael's Day episode points out the delicate factional balance which was to last until even after the decisive Disputation of 1528. In the months following September 1523, other friends of the Reformation were not to receive such grace from the Rat. Valerius Anshelm, city doctor and court secretary, was fined and had his salary reduced because his wife

voiced reformed opinions, and Dietrich Hüpsche, Meinrat [Steinbach?] and Hans Schwytzer all lost their prebends in 1524 because they married.⁴¹

Eventually even Meyer had to leave Bern. Disagreements between the Franciscans and Dominicans, Meyer's own Retraction booklet of 1524,⁴² and the presence of the adamant Roman Catholic prelate, Dr. Hans Heim from Mainz, brought matters to a head. The Rat reprimanded Meyer and Heim for their fiery sermons, but finally ordered in October 1524 that both leave the city.⁴³ With Meyer gone, many Bernese hoped the work would prove too overwhelming for Haller and that he also would leave. Haller remained, however, even though, as Anshelm reports in his chronicle, there were threats to his life.⁴⁴ By late 1524, Haller was the sole remaining evangelical preacher of any note in the city.

Haller's position was made even more tenuous by the government's frequent release of mandates and its inability to reach a majority decision concerning the Reformation. When Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, Unterwalden and Zug pledged themselves at Beckenried (April 1524) to eradicate reformed ideas and requested that Bern join their undertaking, Bern's government asked the citizens what action should be taken. A mandate of 28 April 1524 was the result. It upheld the 1523 Viti and Modesta Mandate but placed additional limitations on free preaching. Then in May 1524, when Zürich forbade the saying of the Mass and the displaying of images and permitted marriage of the clergy, the Bernese found themselves in a difficult position. Many of them did not want to break with either Zürich or the Catholic cantons. Yet tradition dictated that Bern uphold the religious status quo which the government buttressed with new mandates of November 1524 and April 1525.⁴⁵

Though the government's policy at this time was hostile to the reform movement, its attitude toward Haller appears to have been more favorable. A member of one of the most powerful Bernese patrician families, Claudius Mai, wrote Zwingli shortly before Christmas 1525 that "our government and citizens have confirmed once again that our Herr Berchtold may preach. There are intrigues to drive him away; but I hope to God, it will not occur."⁴⁶ Even more surprising than the confirmation of his permission to preach is the fact that nothing appears to have been said when Haller ceased to say Mass after the Christmas holidays of the same year.⁴⁷

At about this same time, a new threat to the religious stability of Bern emerged with reports of growing Anabaptist influence in the canton. Though there is some disagreement among scholars concerning the date when the Anabaptist movement first attracted attention in Bern's territory,⁴⁸ Haller appears to have known about the sect at least by August 1525, and he turned to the Basler reformer Oecolampad for more information. In a letter to Haller dated 8 August 1525, Oecolampad explained their possible origins and referred to Zwingli's "Von dem touff, vom widertouff unnd vom kindertouff" of May 1525.⁴⁹ In a letter from 5 October 1525 to Joachim von Watt (Vadian), burgermeister and lay reformer of St. Gallen, Haller mentioned the Anabaptists as if he had had direct contact with them.⁵⁰ At least by November, Anabaptism must have gained a following in Bern for Haller wrote Zwingli on 29 November 1525 that he feared Leonhard Tremp, Zwingli's brother-in-law, might fall victim to its tenets.⁵¹ Though mention is sometimes made in the Haller literature that Haller and Wittenbach at one time may have had Anabaptist leanings, there is no evidence to support this view. However, it is

possible that Haller knew Konrad Grebel, because in a 9 May 1523 letter to Zwingli, he sent greetings to Jud and Grebel.⁵²

Though Haller rejected Anabaptist theology, it appears that he did not wish to see them persecuted for their beliefs. That he preferred to deal with them through disputations rather than persecution is evident from the minutes of a Chorgericht [consistory] meeting from 24 January 1533. The minutes record Haller's comments as follows: "It is not possible to eliminate error; then, for many reasons, it is in God's hand, and when one persecutes them, the common man believes they are in the right." Haller remarked further that if the Anabaptists kept their faith to themselves and did not actively seek to preach or gain a following, they should be left in peace.⁵³ In keeping with his hope that disputations might convince them of their errors, he participated in many such public discussions with them and never called for their death when persuasion failed.⁵⁴

Even before Anabaptism surfaced in Bern, the Roman Catholic regions of Switzerland--in conjunction with the Catholic theologians Johannes Eck, vice-chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt; Johannes Faber, vicar of Bishop Hugo of Constance; Conrad Treyer, Provincial of the Augustinian Order in Freiburg in Üchtland and representative of the Bishop of Lausanne; and Thomas Murner, preacher in Lucerne--began to plan a way to undermine the reform movement in Switzerland. The result was the 1526 Disputation of Baden, which Leonhard von Muralt has characterized as "the Swiss Diet of Worms."⁵⁵ Besides being a major Roman Catholic tactic that failed, it was one of the most important turning points in the religious history of Bern. That Zwingli declined to attend gives an idea of the outcome the disputation was to have. Other than Haller, the

only well-known representative of the Reformation present was Oecolampad, and even he must have known that there could be but one outcome: total victory for the Roman Catholic side. It is therefore not surprising that Haller may not have been overly anxious to appear. The Bernese Rat did not decide to send him and Peter Kunz, pastor of Erlenbach, until after the disputation had already begun.⁵⁶ On 21 May 1526, Bern's government, in the presence of uninvited representatives from the Catholic Swiss regions, decreed what is called the Pfingstmontag Mandate.⁵⁷ This mandate promised to uphold a strict Roman Catholicism, and also threatened to punish anyone who spoke contrary to its tenets. In addition, the representatives appear to have pressured the Bernese government into sending Haller and Kunz to Baden to give account of their preaching.⁵⁸

Once in Baden, Haller found himself in the debater's arena. Although he was not indisposed to dispute Eck's other articles, he consistently refused to discuss Eck's first proposition concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.⁵⁹ Even repeated pressure from the Catholic representatives and permission from Bern to speak freely despite the Pfingstmontag Mandate, did not change Haller's mind. Though he wished to dispute other articles, Haller finally was ordered to depart in peace because he would not discuss the first proposition.⁶⁰

Perhaps because it appears that Haller acted somewhat cowardly at Baden, no historian has undertaken a close examination of the reasons for his refusal to discuss the real presence. In footnoting Thomas Murner's "Heretic Calendar" of 1527, Johann Salat, city secretary of Lucerne and recorder for the Catholic troops in the Freiamt, called Haller a taciturn defender of his faith.⁶¹ After reading the protocol of the disputation

and Haller's discussion of the second article, I am not inclined to believe that Haller was reluctant to defend his faith. He did not decline to discuss the other articles, but why did he refuse to discuss the first?

Haller probably had more than one reason for his stance. Perhaps he did not trust his own ability to speak upon such a fundamental dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. Many in the past had been burned as heretics for less. In addition, he probably knew that Zwingli's brother-in-law, Leonhard Trempe of Bern, had warned Zwingli not to go to Baden because he feared for the Zürich reformer's life, and, indeed, the Catholic regions had originally planned not to guarantee safe conduct for the losing side.⁶² If Zwingli could not feel certain that protection would be afforded him during and after the Baden Disputation, surely Haller, considered a disciple of Zwingli, could not be sure of the repercussions either. Baden was to be like the Diet of Worms, and as it happened with Luther there, the Catholic party from Germany and Switzerland hoped to brand Zwingli as a heretic and thus use the bull of ban of the pope and the Edict of Worms against him, or at least move the Swiss Tagsatzung [meeting of the representatives of the Swiss cantons] to take comparable measures.⁶³

Since Haller could not rely on a guarantee of safe conduct, his only safeguard would have to come from Bern. Haller was sure of the protection of the Bernese Rat as long as he defended only that which he had preached in his sermons. As one spectator reported in a note to Lucerne on 3 June 1526, Haller "held to his reasons in the second article, did not, however, wish to discuss the first 'as not having preached it.'"⁶⁴ Haller himself wrote to Anshelm that "the representative from Bern,

Caspar von Müllinen, excused us [by saying] we had not preached about the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament."⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, Haller had not preached on the subject, otherwise von Müllinen, a confirmed Catholic himself, would not have defended him.

After Haller's initial refusal to discuss the first article, the Catholic regions complained to the Rat in Bern demanding that Haller be given permission to express his views.⁶⁶ Bern's Rat wrote Haller that he might speak openly, unhindered by the Pfingstmontag Mandate, but as Haller later informed Anshelm, this request was "too difficult for me and disadvantageous for my church."⁶⁷ Haller was surely aware that any disputing he might do could bring no victory under any circumstances for the reformed party. Why, then, should he risk his reputation and position as preacher in Bern? Bern was not Zürich. Bern was not yet won for the Reformation, and the Catholic party there was by no means inactive. If the pro-Catholic faction could prove that Haller transgressed against the new mandate (and it tried to do so upon Haller's return) and thus have cause to drive him from the city, the Reformation could lose what ground it had gained.

The risk was too great to take when a certain victory for Eck and the Roman Catholic side could be expected. Haller had nothing to gain and everything to lose by venting his personal views. His church in Bern was his primary concern, and he was, after all, almost alone as spiritual leader and religious representative of the reformed movement in Bern. Wittenbach was gone, as were Meyer and Anshelm. Franz Kolb was not to return until 1527.

Haller simply could not jeopardize this tremendous responsibility at Baden. When he could no longer use his past preaching and the

Pfingstmontag Mandate as excuses, he refused a second time to discuss the real presence, claiming that he had not heard the initial discussion because of his late arrival, and therefore could not form an opinion. In reality, Haller probably had a view on this subject since he had not held Mass nor therefore celebrated the Eucharist in the Catholic tradition since Christmas. This leads me to believe that he, in fact, had an opinion. In addition, perhaps he felt that he could say little on the subject that Zwingli's refutations of Eck's articles had not said already.

According to Kurt Guggisberg, Haller also may have refused to answer because he suspected Eck wanted to use the question of the Lord's Supper to drive a wedge between the German and Swiss reformers.⁶⁸ Whether Haller was aware of this more general danger or not, he knew that he was a thorn in the side of many within Bern and elsewhere. I believe he simply weighed the circumstances of his situation and knew what he had to do in Baden. It is a tribute to him that he chose to be humiliated in Baden rather than to jeopardize his work and effectiveness in Bern.

Upon returning to Bern, Haller was allowed to preach "usque ad finem disputationis," which ended 9 June.⁶⁹ Before deciding what to do with Haller, Bern's government seems to have wanted to wait until it received the official minutes and decision of the Baden Disputation. Probably because Bern did not receive an original exemplar within the next two weeks, Haller was called before its Small Rat and the Sixty to explain his failure to celebrate Mass.

No doubt, Haller's enemies hoped that a further refusal on his part would constitute grounds for expulsion. Haller must have perceived the one chance left him and requested to be heard before the Large Rat of the citizens, which included many of his friends and advocates of the

Reformation. After some discussion, the Small Rat granted his wish, and he appeared on the following day before the Rat of Two Hundred. Townspeople, hearing that Haller might be banished, created a tumult, but tempers soon cooled. Declaring himself more willing to leave the city than be a cause of disharmony, Haller defended his stand on the Mass and announced that if the Rat was not satisfied with his explanation, he would willingly relinquish his prebend for the honor of God was of greater importance to him than his own financial well-being.⁷⁰

Haller's decisive and honorable conduct, reports Anshelm, moved many to tears. The Rat decided that Haller should lose his prebend as Chorherr but be given the salary another two years. This was a shrewd decision because, if Haller held no prebend, he could not be expected to say Mass. Yet his presence and influence in religious matters was further assured. When not burdened with other duties, he was asked to help with the choir and to preach. For these activities he received 80 Gulden and an allotment of wine and grain.⁷¹

Haller's participation in the Disputation of Baden and the loss of his prebend were not unfortunate episodes. As Haller wrote Zwingli on 17 December 1526, the Rat asked him to preach three additional sermons on Sundays in Advent and Lent, and he was also encouraged to engage a helper.⁷² Although Haller feared that his choice, Franz Kolb, might not be acceptable to some embittered Bernese, Kolb was recalled to Bern in 1527.⁷³

In addition to this small victory, the evangelical party won yet another. Some Roman Catholic magistrates were so disgruntled by the government's protection of Haller, that they threatened to give up their offices and citizenship. Antagonisms reached a high point when

reform-minded officials initiated new election laws in early 1527.

Anyone not born and raised in Bern and anyone whose marriage had not been rightfully performed could not serve in the government. Because the law was made retroactive, members of various old pro-Roman Catholic families, who had moved to Bern from their landed estates, could no longer serve on the Rat.⁷⁴ These new laws made it possible for the pro-reform Large Rat to rid the government of some of the most outspoken Catholic partisans.⁷⁵

In part, these measures were attributable to a concern that the preaching of the gospel not be lost,⁷⁶ but certainly political expediency also played a role. Bern always tried to assume a diplomatic position when there was disunity in the Eidgenossenschaft, but it soon became clear where its loyalties lay. Bern, as well as Basel, was deeply angered that the Catholic regions did not deem it necessary or possible to grant its frequent requests for an official record of the 1526 Baden Disputation. Either the Catholic cantons did not see the stupidity of their actions, or they overlooked the growing weakness of the Roman Catholic following in Bern. Finally the Bernese magistracy ordered that Bern not be mentioned in the introduction or conclusion of the printed exemplars which would have implied their acceptance of the decisions reached by the Catholic cantons.⁷⁷

The extent of Haller's direct involvement in these events is difficult to determine. A contemporary of Haller's, Johann Salat, wrote in his Chronik der schweizerischen Reformation that Haller, after his return from Baden, had been able to convince the Bernese government that the minutes of the disputation had not been recorded correctly, and thus was able to strengthen opposition to their acceptance.⁷⁸ Such political machinations appear out of character for Haller, and undoubtedly his

greatest contribution to Bern's change of heart came from his preaching. His following grew steadily and became so large that when the idea of holding another disputation in Bern cropped up, the community was strong enough to force the Small Rat to call one.⁷⁹

In late 1527, then, Bern issued invitations to its own disputation which included ten articles for discussion compiled by Haller and Kolb.⁸⁰ Though Zwingli was to read and correct these articles if necessary, the Catholic cantons nevertheless held Haller, and to a lesser degree Kolb, responsible for Bern's decision to hold a disputation.⁸¹ In a letter from 18 December 1527, they wrote Bern's Rat that it "had given its new rebellious, erring preachers too long a rope and had placed too much faith in them." Bern's reply upheld Haller's and Kolb's reputations as preachers and chided the regions for thinking that it acted incorrectly in allowing the Word of God to be preached in its lands.⁸²

Thus the Berner Disputation was held, as Laurencius Bosshart from Winthertur reports in his chronicle, by "Her Berchtold Haller . . . with Uolrich Zwingli," 6-25 January 1528.⁸³ Although such learned men as Zwingli, Oecolampad, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito were present, Haller did not leave all the disputing to them. He discussed the nature and meaning of the church, upheld man's dependence on God for salvation, and maintained that the Mass was not an offering but a general commemoration. He also took part in the discussion on saints' mediation and on the concept of purgatory and Masses for the dead.⁸⁴ On 26 January Haller closed the Disputation, thanking and praising Bern's government for having made it possible.⁸⁵

Because of the widespread preoccupation with political matters and the gathering storm clouds between the Reformed and Catholic cantons,

many of Haller's activities following the Bernese Disputation remain obscure. Nonetheless, he played a major role in organizing and founding the newly-reformed Bernese Church. As principal preacher of the Münster, Haller was its principle religious head and official representative, and the responsibilities of religious renewal fell largely into his hands.

With so much work to be done, especially in the realm of re-education of pastors and people, Bern thought it expedient to call teachers to assist Haller in effecting the total reformation of its lands. On 12 February 1528 Haller wrote Zwingli and requested that he encourage Caspar Megander (Grossman), Sebastian Hofmeister (Oeconomeus) and a teacher from Chur to accept Bern's invitation. Within a few weeks, Megander, Hofmeister and Johannes Rhellikan entered the city.⁸⁶

In order to see that the new Protestant ministers in Bern's territory were fit to carry out reform, Haller prepared a short homiletic instruction manual, or Deacon Regulation, for their edification.⁸⁷ Among other things, this manual required that every deacon meet with the other ministers in his chapter, or parish, once or twice a year. However, because these chapter meetings proved inadequate, the Bernese preachers undertook visitations of the chapters from time to time. Johannes Landsberger carried out the first one in the spring of 1528.⁸⁸

Perhaps because of the undesirable outcome of this first visitation or because of tensions in the Eidgenossenschaft, the next visitation was not held until 1530 when Haller and Megander took this responsibility upon themselves as they did in 1532, 1534 and 1535.⁸⁹ In addition, Haller presided at synods held in Bern almost yearly after 1530.⁹⁰ These visitations and synods were time-consuming and strenuous, especially for

Haller. His health and other obligations kept him from attending some of them.⁹¹

One of the greatest charges Haller had was preaching. Although I have found no evidence for Johann Jacob Frickart's contention that Haller, upon taking up his duties as preacher, explicitly asked to preach every day, there is no evidence that he did not do so.⁹² In the city of Bern proper, church services were held almost daily, and in a letter to Zwingli on 31 March 1528 Haller reported that four (later three) sermons were given on Sunday. During the week Haller, Megander and Kolb each preached twice.⁹³

As far as Haller's mode of preaching is concerned, much can be deduced from a volume of outlines of sermons he gave in the Münster in Bern from January to August 1532. These outlines are the oldest sketches of sermons made by a minister of the Reformed Bernese Church. If they fail to give a clear picture of existing conditions, as Johann Jacob Frickart suggests in his book on church customs in Canton Bern, this would not be surprising.⁹⁴ Undoubtedly Haller's major purpose for preaching was to bring God's word to his people, not to use the pulpit for social or political comment, which could give historians a better idea of political and social conditions in Bern at that time. Yet Haller, it appears, was not afraid to speak out on social and political affairs when necessary. He did not hesitate, for example, in a sermon given in 1535 to remind the Bernese of their political and military obligations to a distressed Geneva.⁹⁵ Haller not only used the pulpit to preach and admonish but also to inform his people of their commonplace duties. Steck and Tobler's Aktensammlung contains many small notes from the Rat to Haller, requesting him to announce such things as the abolishment of Fastnacht or to declare

that no one may hang wash on the church square or drink Schnaps before breakfast.⁹⁶

Yet, preaching the Gospel and testing the new ministers were not Haller's only duties. Before Easter 1528, he and Kolb redesigned the liturgy and designated which days were to remain feast days.⁹⁷ In addition, the planning of the school organization appears to have been Haller's work, as was the alteration of a confession in 1529.⁹⁸

Because the government was so overwhelmed with activities concerning the reformation of its lands and an uprising in Bern's highlands, it established a Chorgericht [which was also called a Kammergericht (chamber court) or Ehegericht (marriage court)]. Set up in May 1528, it received a set of regulations in March of 1529 which stipulated that two of the members were to be preachers of Bern, two (later four) members of the Large Rat, and two members of the Small Rat. One of the two from the Small Rat acted as director or judge at the proceedings held about two or three times a week. Niklaus Manuel was the first director and Haller and Megander the first preacher members.⁹⁹ Although not as strict as the Genevan consistory was to be, Bern's Chorgericht was given sufficient powers not only to punish an evildoer with imprisonment but also to excommunicate him in the name of the church.¹⁰⁰ It regulated feast days, planned the use of public alms, decided what was to be done with donations and gifts to churches and cloisters, and acted as the supreme authority in matters of marriage and morals.

With so many burdens and responsibilities, Haller's physical condition worsened. He suffered with a hernia, swollen legs and probably gout. Bern's government, realizing that Haller's health was endangered,

sought in April 1529 at least to alleviate any financial worries he might have by confirming his salary for life.¹⁰¹

At about this same time, Haller took a wife, Apollonia von Graben, about whom little is known. It is certain, however, that she was illegitimate because about a month before Haller's death, Bern gave her legitimacy which allowed her to oversee her own property and possessions. After Haller died, she married in succession three widowers, all highly respected men, who preceded her to the grave.¹⁰²

Though Haller had suffered from ill health since early manhood, he did not let it interfere with the execution of his duties. Besides undertaking visitations outside Bern, he also went on several occasions to preach or oversee some activity in other towns.¹⁰³ Of greatest interest to scholars was Haller's involvement in an attempt to introduce the Reformation into Solothurn's territory.

As early as 1522 some Solothurnese showed interest in the reform movement, and later Bern was won for the Reformation and the First Land Peace of 1529 gave the Reformed cantons a decisive advantage over the Catholic Eidgenossen, it appeared that Solothurn's acceptance of the Reformation was but a matter of time. Even as late as October 1530, Haller reported to Zwingli that out of forty-six church communities in Solothurn's countryside, only fourteen still honored the Mass and images.¹⁰⁴ In the city of Solothurn itself, however, this was not the case. Of three hundred citizens, only about a hundred or fewer sympathized with the reform movement and they had little influence in the Rat or with the priests or people in general. In addition, as Haller observed, most of those sympathetic to the Reformation were thought to have learned their gospel from the Anabaptists.¹⁰⁵

Nonetheless, the evangelical party became sufficiently strong by late 1529 to force the Solothurn government to engage a second reform-minded preacher. Reformed church services with Psalm singing were permitted daily in the Barfussen (Franciscan) church and a Protestant preacher gave a sermon on Sundays in St. Urs' church although Mass was still said there. At an appropriate time a disputation was to be held so that both parties could justify their beliefs.

Why Haller was specifically requested by the government of Solothurn on 13 January 1530 to come to preach is not definitely known, but perhaps it was in part because Bern held the hohen Gericht (literally, high jurisdiction, competent in malifizia) in most or all of Solothurn's territory. The only reason Solothurn officially gave was that it could not agree on any one permanent candidate for second preacher, so it asked Bern's government to lend Haller for a time.¹⁰⁶

Thus it was that Haller journeyed in late January 1530 to Solothurn where he stayed either in the Franciscan church or with Philipp Grätz, giving about thirty sermons in all.¹⁰⁷ He found, much to his dismay, that matters were worse than he had anticipated. The two parties opposed each other vehemently, and Haller himself remarked how stubbornly and hard-headedly they dealt with one another.¹⁰⁸ Emissaries from Bern and other cantons were often needed in the city to keep the peace.

On 4 February 1530, after almost two weeks in Solothurn, Haller wrote Anton Noll that he planned to attack the celebration of the Mass on the following Sunday (6 February).¹⁰⁹ Haller anticipated hot tempers either because of his sermon or because of a Rat meeting to be held on the same Sunday. The Rat, however, did not meet until Monday when the Reformed citizens demanded that the priests dispute with the preachers.

On Wednesday, the Catholic party consented to a disputation and also requested that Haller be recalled to Bern.¹¹⁰ On the following day, an event occurred which may have been one of the prime reasons for Haller's eventual lack of success in Solothurn. Roman Catholics maintained that a miracle had taken place as a sign to them to remain faithful to the Roman Church. Though Anshelm in his chronicle does not specify the date, he does explain what this "miracle" was. One morning as the reform-minded gathered in the Franciscan church, a cry arose from people in St. Urs' that the head of their patron saint's statue had begun to sweat. According to Anshelm, superstitious persons believed that St. Urs was showing his concern for what the "Lutheran heretics and their fat-bellied preacher [Haller]" were undertaking in Solothurn. Anshelm himself maintains that he observed this episode and thought the sweat to be holy water, melted ice, or salt.¹¹¹

Haller did not mention this event, nor did he relate that a Rat member's wife threatened to twist a knife in his stomach.¹¹² Afraid for Haller's safety, Bern requested his return, and Haller soon left Solothurn without having won a majority for the Reformation. Not only was his stay too short to effect much change, but the evangelical party helped him little in winning the Catholics' favor. Haller wrote of one of its leaders, Seckelmeister Stark: "he is, curiously enough, sympathetic to the Anabaptists and hounds those who are in error. Me, who was present, he hurt more than he helped."¹¹³

Even after his return to Bern, the disputation to be held in Solothurn in the fall of 1530 (which never took place) was a cause of concern for Haller, because it was rumored that the Catholic party might invite Conrad Treyer or even Erasmus of Rotterdam.¹¹⁴ Haller hoped that

Zwingli or Oecolampad might attend, but he realistically remarked to the former that "it is my opinion that even if the ministers of the Word would overlook nothing and dispute excellently, in the moment when something must be decided, what could they really decide?"¹¹⁵ Haller continued to follow the events in Solothurn closely, though in the long run, the city remained Catholic.

The years after 1530 were not easy for Haller. Clouds of war hung heavy over the Eidgenossen. Haller knew that war among the Swiss or in Geneva was imminent, because he wrote Zwingli in January 1530 that during a week there was never more than a Krone in Bern's coffers, and for this reason the Bernese absolutely feared the prospect of war.¹¹⁶ There was also unrest as early as 1528 in the Bernese highlands because many did not wish to continue paying tithes and taxes to Bern. Others desired to reintroduce the Mass.¹¹⁷ On many occasions, Bern was forced to compromise or to send troops to keep the peace. With less income from tithes and taxes and increased military expenditures, the money in Bern's coffers dwindled. Bern's involvement in the Waadtland where war threatened between Geneva and Savoy did not improve its financial position either.

After years of furious activity on behalf of the Reformation, it is not surprising that many Bernese grew tired of change. As Haller reported to Zwingli in August 1529, one of the most important men in the government had more time for farming than for the responsibilities of the respublica.¹¹⁸ Even some of the preachers forgot the message they were to bring. There was rivalry between Hofmeister and Megander, the latter of whom did not always ingratiate himself with the Rat and people. Even

Zürich and Bern after the Second War of Kappel harbored ill feelings toward each other.¹¹⁹

How Haller felt about the death of Zwingli during this 1531 war is not known, but it must have touched him deeply. Perhaps as no other reformer of the first generation who befriended Zwingli, Haller remained attached to him and to the simplicity of his theology. Megander was called "Zwingli's ape," but even he was not the disciple of Zwingli that Haller was.¹²⁰ Because of the undeniable kindredness between Haller and Zwingli, most authors consider Haller to have been a Zwinglian to the core. In many respects, this is true and might explain why no attempt has been made to examine Haller's own theology or his views on pressing issues of the day. Yet the depreciating picture many historians have painted of Haller for what they consider his chronic dependency upon other reformers, especially Zwingli, is misleading.¹²¹ A movement's momentum in the early stages of its life and the amount of respect it earns from the populous is often directly proportionate to the harmony and unity among its leaders. Franz Kolb, in a letter to Zwingli from 5 May 1527, remarked that the Anabaptists offered no greater argument than that the Reformed ministers themselves were divided.¹²² Haller recognized the great effort that men like Zwingli, Oecolampad, Heinrich Bullinger and others had expended so that the Gospel might be heard by the people, and though he might not have been the theologian they were or possessed their more forceful character, he must be commended for accepting his limitations and seeking their advice, thereby contributing to the unity in their ranks.

When Haller could no longer consult with Zwingli, he did so with Bullinger and Oecolampad. Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to take a

stand against them when he felt it was necessary, as he did in the quarrel over the interpretation of the Lord's Supper.

Haller's involvement in this argument has seldom been mentioned. Samuel Scheurer and Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn do not mention it at all, and Samuel Fischer and Karl Pestalozzi have little to say on the subject. Melchior Kirchhofer deals with it, but his work must be read with caution. Emil Blösch makes only the totally incorrect statement that "Haller felt personally little interest [in the concordia question]. He had effected his life work, the cleansing of the Bernese Church, and became old and tired of life."¹²³ The only evidence Blösch gives for his contention is that in 1536 at the conference in Basel when the First Helvetia Confession (Second Basler) was accepted, Bern was represented by Megander and not Haller. What this author fails to mention is that at the time, Haller lay mortally ill. Blösch also errs in his statement that Haller became "tired" of keeping up on the events of the day because his life's work was complete. Even a month before he died, Haller wrote Vadian how disappointed he was that he could not attend an upcoming meeting of the evangelical cities.¹²⁴ In like manner, Blösch is wrong that Haller was not interested in the concordia question. Perhaps a lack of knowledge of Haller's, Oecolampad's and Bullinger's letters (most of which have never been, or are just being, published in their entirety) may account for this false assumption.

Because my own studies on the extent and meaning of Haller's involvement in affairs such as the unification of the Swiss evangelical cities with the Schmalkaldic League and the unification of these cities with Luther in the interpretation of the Eucharist are still in the

infant stage, I can only introduce the subjects and suggest sources of further information.

When the Holy Roman Emperor set about planning the coronation of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans, Elector John of Saxony conceived plans of his own to unite the German Protestant estates into a political alliance. For this purpose, their representatives met in Schmalkald on 22 December 1530. On 31 December the princes suggested to Jacob Sturm of Strassburg that Bern, Zürich and Basel also be included in the union. However, if these cities joined, they were expected to accept the Tetrapolitana, a confession of faith signed by Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau in Augsburg.¹²⁵

Less than a week later (3 January 1531) Zwingli wrote Haller and Megander about the Schmalkalders intention of creating "friendships" or "alliances."¹²⁶ In the middle of February, the cities of the Christliches Burgrecht met in Basel where the question of joining such an alliance was a key concern. The representatives asked the theologians present--Jud, Oecolampad, Bucer, a Berner and a St. Gallener--for their opinion. The theologians concluded that the Tetrapolitana complied with Scripture if its exegesis was undertaken correctly. Bucer prepared a written explanation of this confession and gave it to the lay representatives for their governments' illumination.¹²⁷

On 5 March, at a meeting in Zürich, both Bern and Zürich rejected joining the Schmalkaldic League if it meant accepting the Tetrapolitana. Basel, not wishing to accept this answer, wrote the two cities on 15 March urging them to join the union. Oecolampad sent personal letters in the same vein to Zwingli and the Bernese preachers.¹²⁸

According to Carl Bernhard Hundeshagen, the Bernese magistrates were not, in general, opposed to the idea of entering into a more intimate relationship with the German Schmalkaldic League. It was the theologians in Bern--Haller, Kolb and Megander--who resisted. They, as was true of their brothers in Basel and Zürich, desired unification, but neither political considerations nor personal respect and friendship with the Strassburgers, which was especially strong in Haller, could bring about an acceptance.¹²⁹

Perhaps Hundeshagen is incorrect in his estimation of Bern's magistracy, but it is true that Haller, Megander and Kolb did not sanction the unification because of the Tetrapolitana. They rejected it twice because they could not accept it "without damage to the [Bernese] church and the community."¹³⁰ On 17 March 1531 Haller wrote Zwingli that anything could be achieved more easily than that they would undersign "the dark and dubious confession."¹³¹ As a result, Bern, Zürich and Basel reported to Strassburg on 24 March 1531 that although they did not reject the Tetrapolitana, they could not sign it either. If they could join the Schmalkaldic League without it, they would continue to negotiate. Thereafter, the Elector of Saxony rejected Swiss entrance into the League.¹³²

Even more closely than this union, Haller followed the Strassburger's attempt at a unification of the Protestant Swiss with the Lutherans, especially in their interpretation of the Eucharist. Exactly how much influence Haller had in determining Bern's eventual rejection of this unification will probably always remain obscure. There is no question that he knew what Bucer, Capito, the Blaurers, and Simon Grynäus, among others, were doing in Germany and Switzerland to effect this union.

He was not opposed to unification as such, but he hoped it might be in accord with Zwingli's theology.¹³³

At the Disputation of Marburg in 1529, Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampad and Melanchthon had taken the first steps toward a unification of Swiss and Lutheran interpretations of the Eucharist. Bucer's and Capito's interest in such a union may have been given momentum by Strassburg's entrance into the Christliches Burgrecht with Bern, Basel and Zürich. With Zwingli's influence removed after his death during the 1531 War of Kappel the Strassburgers may have thought a union might be effected even more easily.

While at Marburg, the Swiss and German parties could not come to a complete agreement on the correct understanding of the Lord's Supper. Upon returning home, the Swiss theologians were accused of agreeing to tenets not found in their earlier teachings, and Haller wrote to Oecolampad for elucidation. On 16 January 1530 the Basler reformer replied, justifying the wording of the criticized articles and explaining his stand.¹³⁴

In the meantime, Strassburg's theologians were not inactive. In November, Zwingli wrote Haller and Megander that Bucer had sent him a copy of a letter to Herzog Ernst of Lüneburg containing both Lutheran and Zwinglian views of the Eucharist and ideas for unification. Zwingli voiced concern about the ambiguity he found in Bucer's letter.¹³⁵ Then on 2 March 1531, Haller and Megander requested that Zwingli send a copy of Zürich's view of the Eucharist so that it could be sent to Strassburg. Zwingli replied that Bern's observance was much like his own.¹³⁶

In the following months of 1531, the eyes of the Eidgenossen were turned inward upon their own affairs, and by the end of the year both

Zwingli and Oecolampad were dead. With their passing, the Strassburgers may have felt even more assured of a unification, but Bern especially continued to view such attempts with reserve. Nevertheless, according to Otto Erich Strasser, Bucer came to Bern in March 1533 on Haller's request and found a "good welcome," although he experienced no direct success. Even Zürich's "Confession super Eucharistia sancta ad Martinum Bucerum" of 15 December 1534 which was accepted by Basel, Schaffhausen, and St. Gallen, was rejected by Bern and "not only Megander, but also Haller, declined their agreement."¹³⁷

There were various reasons for Bern's government and its preachers to take a negative view. Their earlier rejection of the Tetrapolitana, and Zwingli's and Oecolampad's deaths may all have contributed to a mistrust of any novel interpretation of the Eucharist. The Bernese Church had introduced Zwingli's interpretation, and Haller appears to have been satisfied with it because the common folk could easily understand and accept it.¹³⁸

In addition, Haller may not have trusted Capito in matters as important as the understanding of the Eucharist, because he knew that the Strassburg reformer had what was considered at the time to be Anabaptist tendencies. It was no secret that Capito befriended such men as Michael Servetus and Casper Schwenkfeld, and Haller had already written to Bucer in October 1531 of his concern for Capito.¹³⁹ While Capito was in Bern during the Synod of 1532, he may have spoken to Haller about Servetus with such enthusiasm that Haller's distrust was reenforced.¹⁴⁰ Whatever the case, about two months later Haller wrote Capito himself warning him of the Spaniard.¹⁴¹

Another reason that the Bernese may have taken such a dim view of Strassburg's attempts to effect a German and Swiss unification in the matter of the interpretation of the Eucharist may have had to do with their own changing domestic politics. The Bernese in particular, and the Swiss in general, began to focus their attention more and more on their own internal affairs and the events in the Waadtland--and less and less on Germany. This may explain why Bern's government continued to resist Strassburg's insistence upon unification in the interpretation of the Eucharist, although it did not reject a unification with the other Swiss Protestant cantons in the First Helvetic Confession (the Second Basler) early in 1536--about the same time it was helping to liberate Geneva. The ministers from Bern and Zürich may have also realized that it was more important for the Swiss to be unified in religious matters among themselves than with the Germans, for at a meeting in Brugg on 29 April 1535, Megander and Jud seconded their governments' decisions to resist Strassburg's pressure.

Soon after the unification of the Swiss in the matter of the interpretation of the Eucharist, Haller died. He did not live to hear of the Wittenberg Concordia, or to attend the synod held in October 1536 to which Calvin was invited. He was not to know that Bern finally accepted the Wittenberg Concordia, although no unification with Luther ever took place.¹⁴²

With Haller's passing on 26 February 1536, an era in the Bernese Reformation came to an end. In retrospect, it seems fitting that Haller died in the same year that Calvin became a pastor in Geneva. Haller's labors laid the foundation of a bridge that would span reformed Bern and Calvin's Geneva. Though the Genevans would have frequent cause to resent

Bern's intervention, the Bernese made it possible for this French-speaking city to sever its ties with Catholic Savoy. In this way, Bern prepared the soil that Farel and Calvin would seed. Because Haller reformed the city that made the Reformation in Geneva possible, he was, in an indirect yet important way, the godfather of the Protestant movement in the Waadtland.

More directly, however, Haller's greatest contribution to Reformation history was the role he played in reforming the most powerful city-state in the western Eidgenossenschaft. Where another type of reformer might have failed, Haller was successful. Bern retained his services within the city because his personality suited that of his people. Though from Rottweil, Haller became one of Bern's own children--again not to be the case until Johannes Haller the younger became pastor years later.

Because Haller was Bern's first Protestant reformer, it is important to discover how and why Haller was able to accomplish so much to further the Reformation in so short a time and with so little help. The foregoing biographical sketch provides clues, but does not really answer the question. Most other successful Protestant reformers were armed with their great learning, with a drive that defied any obstacle laid in their paths, and with powerful personalities. Haller was not an outstanding scholar, nor had he been schooled in the humanist tradition. Different from his colleagues, he was softspoken and modest. Because the scope of this essay only allows a re-introduction to a forgotten reformer, I hope other historians will pursue the question of the reason for Haller's success. There are other aspects of Haller's life that are yet unexplored and which offer historians ample opportunities for future

investigation. Suggestions for new avenues of research on Haller according to topic follow in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

FUTURE RESEARCH AND SOURCES BY TOPIC

As anyone considering research on Haller soon will discover, there is a lamentable lack of secondary literature on him. What exists is most often outdated, unscholarly and perpetrates misinformation about Haller, or is written to the tune of the author's religious convictions. This is not surprising since people often wish to recapture their heritage and justify their confessional positions with laudatory prose about the leading individuals of their group's history. For this reason, a modern scholar can understand that adherents of the Reformation like Valerius Anshelm, who was a personal friend of Haller's, and authors sympathetic to Protestantism like Samuel Scheurer, Melchior Kirchhofer, Gottlieb Jacob Kuhn and Samuel Fischer all reflect biases in Haller's favor.

Furthermore, Roman Catholic and Swiss authors from other cantons do not view Bern's acceptance of the Reformation and its reformer in the same light as the Bernese themselves do. No Bernese, for example, would give the impression that Zwingli calculatingly manipulated the proud city of Bern as if it had no mind of its own or assert that the Bernese Disputation of 1528 was "entirely Zwingli's work" as did Elsa Beurle in her book Der politische Kampf um die religiöse Einheit der Eidgenossenschaft 1520-27.¹

In the literature on the better-known reformers, religious, political and social biases have been tempered by the work of non-partisan scholars. This, unfortunately, has not, in general, been the case with research on Haller. Too few scholars have examined his life and meaning critically to allow for this "tempering" process. This is yet another reason why a re-examination of Haller's life and works is justifiable. Any scholar contemplating research on Haller would best be advised to begin with a study of Valerius Anshelm's Berner-Chronik and Michael Stettler's Annals which are the earliest secondary sources on Haller. Though both these authors are sympathetic to Haller and the Reformation, the small amount of information they provide is still, for the most part, reliable.

Regretably, the authors succeeding them were less scholarly, more partisan, and, to the detriment of a better understanding of Haller, most often cited by recent historians. Samuel Scheurer in his Bernerisches Mausoleum of 1740-1742 based some of his information on Anshelm and Stettler, but he also added misconceptions of his own. Gottlieb Jacob Kuhn found the wording of the Bernerisches Mausoleum outdated, so he virtually rewrote Scheurer without correcting, however, many of Scheurer's inaccuracies. Melchior Kirchhofer borrowed heavily from Ludwig Wirz, whose propensity to fictionalize is notorious. What Kirchhofer did on his own appears initially to be commendable, but upon closer inspection, any scholar would have difficulty following up his references. Karl Pestalozzi's book gives the impression of being a scholarly treatise on Haller, but he does not footnote his work, preferring rather to refer his readers primarily to Kirchhofer and Kuhn. Even Friedrich Trechsel's and Emil Blösch's joint attempt at a critical and

fair presentation of Haller's life in the Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche falls short of expectations because, besides a few published and unpublished archivalia, these authors cite predominantly Kirchhofer, Kuhn and Pestalozzi.

The works of these previously mentioned authors all contain some sound elements, but they also perpetrate falsehoods about Haller's place and date of birth, the number of universities he attended, and Haller's close friendship with Melanchthon. They also cloud Haller's personality and contribution to the reform movement of the sixteenth century by surrounding his biography with laudatory prose of dubious validity. Unless a scholar researches Haller for himself, he will have difficulty making distinctions between the myths and the actual facts which these earlier authors have included in their works. For this reason, I believe a healthy mistrust of these books and a new critical evaluation and examination of the facts on Haller is badly needed.

In the foregoing pages, I have sought to re-introduce Berchtold Haller to the world of modern scholarship. In the following final pages, I have included a list of sources by topic to serve as the foundation for further works on Haller. These lists in no way include all the sources available on any particular aspect of Haller's life. However, I think they will provide interested scholars with introductory materials. In addition, I do not mention all unexplored topics. Some aspects of Haller's life will only open up when a scholar begins to explore Haller's own correspondence. The avenues for research on Haller are numerous and challenging. I hope this monograph will act as a catalyst for future interest in a man who well deserves the attention of scholars.

A. HALLER'S PARTICIPATION IN THE DISPUTATION OF BADEN AND HIS
SUBSEQUENT HEARING BEFORE THE LARGE AND
SMALL RAT IN 1526

Swiss scholars have written much about the Baden Disputation, but it has virtually escaped the attention of foreign historians. In addition, no scholar has attempted an in-depth examination of Haller's participation which had far-reaching consequences for Bernese Reformation History. Helpful sources for a work on this subject follow.

1. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

Anshelm V: 143-70. General information concerning the planning and holding of the Disputation; and V: 171-74 for Haller's defense of his refusal to hold Mass.

Edig. Absch. IV, 1a, Nr. 27-30. Much of this information also found in Stürler.

Stürler I:

- 21 May 1526: Pfingstmontag Mandate, pp. 156-59.
- 24 May : "H. Berchtold, Cüntzis (Peter, pastor in Erlibach) Disputation," pp. 161-62. See also p. 40 (24 May).
- 31 May : "Boten zu Baden," concerning Haller, pp. 162-63.
- 31 May : "Müllinen. Disputatz Baden (Knight Caspar von Müllinen)," pp. 163-64.
- 31 May : "Predicant (Haller). Disputatz." Haller allowed to speak free and open "unhindered by the mandate." pp. 40 and 164.
- 18 June : "Des Predicanten halb--soll predigen nach lutt des Mandats, also das nūw und alt Testament."
- 8 June : "An Her Berchtold, dass er uf den Cantzel stan und predigen (sölle) nach Lutt des letst geschwornen Mandats," p. 50.
- 26 June : Haller relieved of his Chorherr post, pp. 166-67n.
- 29 June : Decision concerning Haller restated. Ludwig von Diesbach and Anthon von Erlach wish to give up citizenship, pp. 42-43.
- 30 June : Note to Haller that no one should buy books contrary to the Pfingstmontag Mandate.
- 11 July : Haller-Anshelm in Rottweil, pp. 571-82. Letter provides the best summary in Haller's own words of his appearances in Baden and before the Rat in Bern. See also Stürler's notes and U.P. 71/73.

"Protocol der Badener Disputation." Because no one has done a work on Haller's participation at the Baden Disputation, these acts are the best source of information on Haller's dispute with Johannes Eck and also of Haller's theology in general.

Salat, Chronik der schw. Reformation. See pp. 172-73 for Johannes Eck's letter to "Der edlen, vesten, Für. [nehmen], er. [samen], wysen herren von stetten vnd lendren des alten punds hoch tütscher nacion der eidgnossen, minen gebietenden groszügigen herren," and his opinion of Haller's participation at the Baden Disputation.

2. LETTERS:

16 April 1526	Zwingli-Rat from Bern	<u>Zw. opera VII: 497ff.</u>
18 May "	Oecolampad-Zwingli	<u>Zw. VIII, Nr. 483.</u>
23 May "	Oecolampad-Zwingli	<u>Zw. VIII, Nr. 488.</u>
13 June "	Vadian-Haller	<u>Vad. IV, Nr. 461.</u>
20 June "	Haller-Vadian	<u>Vad. IV, Nr. 462.</u>
11 July "	Haller-Anshelm in Rottweil	<u>Stürler I: 571ff.</u>
17 Dec. "	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw. VIII, Nr. 559.</u>
24 Dec. "	Haller-Vadian	<u>Vad. IV, Nr. 475.</u>
After 19 March 1527	Haller-Anshelm in Rottweil	<u>Stürler I: 582ff.</u>
May 1527	Haller-Anshelm in Rottweil	<u>Stettler, Annales Part I: 668f.</u>

3. BOOKS:

Baechtold, Niklaus Manuel. See Manuel's "Eck and Faber's Baden-Fahrt" of 1526 in which Haller appears as the "bear from Bern," pp. 208ff.

Beurle, Der politische Kampf. See especially Chapters 2 and 4.

Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch. See pp. 92ff.

Humbel, Ulrich Zwingli. See Chapter 7, pp. 201ff. for Haller's place in the popular song-poems of the day which mention his appearance at Baden.

von Muralt, Baden. Disp.

B. HALLER AND THE ANABAPTISTS

Because I cannot hope to provide all the information on the Anabaptists that such authors as Ernst Müller, Theodor de Quervain, Claus-Peter Clasen, and Delbert L. Gratz have spent years compiling, I shall only indicate the literature and sources which best show Haller's relationship and contact with this sect.

1. ARCHIVALIA:

a. Staatsarchiv Bern

- U.P. 77/167: 24 May 1529. Hearing of several Anabaptists. See Steck and Tobler, #2306.
- U.P. 79/107: Beginning of July 1532. "Gemeiner predicanten uss unser g.h. statt und land ze Zofingen versamlet, anligen, unser g.h. fürzetragen." Written after the 1532 meeting in Zofingen with the Anabaptists. Original in Haller's hand. See Quervain, Zustände, Beilage Nr. 4, pp. 198ff. who publishes it in its entirety. Good summary of Haller's attitude toward the Anabaptists.
- U.P. 79/108: July 1532. Listing of the representatives and ministers ordered by the government of Bern to the Anabaptist meeting in Zofingen.
- U.P. 79/119: Report of the Rat representatives at the Anabaptist meeting in Zofingen 6 July 1532. Concerning the proceedings.
- U.P. 79/124: 6 August 1532. Testament of the four presidents of the Anabaptist meeting in Zofingen. Concerning the authenticity of the Acta. Compare with Quervain, Zustände, p. 131.
- U.P. 80/1: 21 May 1527. Summary of the results of the Anabaptist meeting in Bern on the same date. "Endtliche [?] Bekantnus der widertöffer . . . in dem fruntlichen gesprach so mit . . . Petter von Worb, Bernhard Dylman . . . Meyster Janns Tubi . . . Meyster Frantzen [Kolb] unnd Her Berchtold. . . ." See U.P. 80 in general for other documents concerning the Anabaptists that have little to do with Haller directly.
- U.P. 80/2: Protocol of Peter Cyro concerning a hearing with Hans Seckler und Hans Drier (Treyer). No date but listed as 1529. Published by Müller, Berner Täufer, pp. 42-43. See further, Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nrs. 2298, 2341, 2423; Quervain, Zustände, p. 122, note 6.

- T. Miss. T pp. 484-86: Friday, last day of May, 1532. Two letters ordering the "predicanten" to the disputation in Zofingen. Haller is not directly mentioned by name.
- T. Miss. Q p. 253: 6 September (no year). Anabaptist Mandate. No direct mention of Haller, but might be worth investigating for general reference.

b. Stadtbibliothek Zofingen:

Manuscripts Pb 26: Johann Jakob Frickart, "Geschichtliche Nachrichten über die ehemaligen Wiedertäufer im Kanton, besonders in the Gegend von Zofingen." 1832.

Although terse and based on meager sources available to him, Frickart provides one of the earliest summaries of meetings between the Bernese clergy and the Anabaptists. Perhaps of greater interest is the fact that his short monograph covers the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

c. Burgerbibliothek Bern:

Mss. Hist. Helv. III 58 (2): Täufergespräch.

Mss. Hist. Helv. XII 20, pp. 104-105. Report on the meeting in Zofingen 6 July 1532.

Mss. Hist. Helv. III 59, Nr. 1, pp. 1-5: "Quomodo agendum et disputandum sit cum Catabaptistis" from Bullinger to Berchtold Haller [not Johannes Haller, as it appears in the "Verzeichnis" of the manuscripts in the Burgerbibliothek].

2. LETTERS:

8 August 1525	Oecolampad-Haller	Oek. I, Nr. 269.
5 October 1525	Haller-Vadian	<u>Vad.</u> III, Nr. 434.
29 November 1525	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> VIII, Nr. 414.
16 October 1526 (1527)	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw. opera</u> VII: 548-49 dates it 1526; cf. <u>Zw.</u> IX, Nr. 662 which dates it 1527.
25 April 1527	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> IX, Nr. 608.
28 April 1527	Zwingli-Haller and Kolb	<u>Zw.</u> IX, Nr. 610
5 May 1527	Kolb-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> IX, Nr. 616.
16 May 1527	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> IX, Nr. 620.
22 May 1527	Zwingli-Brothers in Bern	<u>Zw. opera</u> VII: 71-72.
Tuesday before Ascension 1527	Haller-Anshelm in Rottweil	Stettler, <u>Annales</u> , Part I: 668-69.

August 1527	Oecolampad's "Antwort auff Balthasar Hubmeiers buchlein wider der predicanten gesprach zuo Basel von dem Kindertouff" goes to the press (Andreas Cratander) and appears along with an assessment of Carlin's thesis. Both dedicated to Haller and Kolb. See <u>Oek.</u> II, Nr. 509.	
14 June 1529	Haller-Vadian	<u>Vad.</u> VII, Nr. 25.
11 August	Haller-Bucer	<u>Simler Samml.</u> Unpublished to my knowledge.
9 December 1529	Zwingli-Brothers in Bern	<u>Zw.</u> X, Nr. 940.
14 February 1530	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> X, Nr. 977.
15 August 1530	Haller-Zwingli	<u>Zw.</u> X, Nr. 1075.
4 October 1531	Haller-Bucer	<u>Thes. Baum.</u> IV 141.
16 March 1532	Haller-Capito	<u>Thes. Baum.</u> V 48-49.
3 June 1532	Haller-Bullinger	<u>E II</u> 343/6.
8 September 1532	Haller-Bullinger	<u>E II</u> 360/51-52.
12 September 1532	Haller-Bullinger	<u>E II</u> 343/45, and Füssli, Nr. XXII.
14 December 1532	Haller-Bullinger	<u>E II</u> 343/8a.
16 November 1534	Haller-Bullinger	<u>E II</u> 343/30, and Füssli, Nr. XLVIII.

3. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

Anshelm V: 74-5 (1525), 185-86 (1527) and 238 (1528).

"Ein christenlich gespräch gehalten zu Bernn zwüschen den Predicanten und Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw den Widertauß, Eyd, Oberkeyt und andere Widertöufferische Artickel betreffende."

"Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation und Gespräch zu Zofingen inn Berner Biet mit den Widertöuffern." (Zürich: Froschauer, 1532).

Stettler, Annales. See especially Part I: 635 passim wherein Stettler places the sect's beginnings in the years 1521-22 in Sachsen. Only later when its leaders came to Switzerland were they joined by Grebel and Mantz. For Haller's and Kolb's meeting with various Anabaptists in 1527, see p. 668. See Part II: 5 for the January 1528 meeting with them.

Stürler I: 31, 53, 60, 62, 65-66, 201, 311-18 for general background; and II: 172, 182 and 184 for Haller and the Anabaptists.

4. BOOKS:

Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 87 ff. The author presents the bare essentials in information, but does give an overall view of the Anabaptist movement in Bern and in the Swiss Confederation in general. Blösch believes that Haller advised against

persecution (p. 87) and quotes Haller's estimation of Marti Weniger (Zinggi) although he does not date or place the letter.

Clasen, Anabaptism. An excellent and scholarly book which compares Bern's relationship to the Anabaptists with that of other cities and states. In contrast to Gratz's depiction of Bern as a merciless persecutor, Clasen brings statistics to show that relatively few executions took place in this city.

Feller, Täuferturns in Bern. See bibliography.

Gratz, Bernese Anabaptists. See bibliography.

Müller, Berner Täufer. See bibliography.

Quervain, Zustände. Was and remains the most comprehensive examination of Anabaptism in Bern. Excellent use of sources with frequent mention of Haller and his correspondence.

Strasser, "Schw. Anabaptismus." In Beiträge, pp. 168-246. See bibliography.

Strasser, Capito. Author views Capito's minimal participation at the Berner Disputation of 1528 as a result of his Anabaptist tendencies. For Haller's attitude toward Capito's sympathies and his relationship to Schwenkfeld and Servetus, see Chapters 3, III and 4, I. Author has evidently misdated Haller-Bucer letter on p. 71. Thes. Baum. IV 141 dates it 4 October 1531, not 3 October.

5. ARTICLES:

Bender, "Again, on Bernese Anabaptist Origins." See bibliography.

Fast, "Research on the Beginnings of Bernese Anabaptism." See bibliography.

Fluri, "Das bernische Täufermandat vom 2. März 1533." See bibliography.

Gratz, "Bernese Anabaptist Origins," and "Codicum Bernensium, 464." See bibliography.

_____. "Bernese Anabaptist Beginnings." See bibliography.

von Muralt, "Das Gespräch mit den Wiedertäufern am 22 January 1528 zu Bern." See bibliography.

Staedtke, "Die Anfänge des Täuferturns in Bern." See bibliography.

C. HALLER'S ACTIVITIES AS REFORMER OF BERN

Only when more is known about Haller's activities as pastor and reformer, will historians be able to assess his true contribution to the Bernese Reformation and to the sixteenth-century Reform movement in general. Because information on this topic is scattered throughout Bernese and Swiss Reformation literature, I have sought to provide below a listing of the more important sources which shed light upon Haller's duties.

1. CHAPTER VISITATIONS

a. ARCHIVALIA:

U.P. 79/52: Haller's "Ordnung der Dechan in unser g. h. stetten, landen und gebietten."

R.M. 233/189: Haller and Megander's visitation of April 1532.

R.M. 249/8: October 1534 visitation.

R.M. 251/162: Megander's visitation of April 1535?

Stiftsrechnung for 1534-35. Haller reportedly spent six and Megander fifteen days visiting the chapters. This information should be verified.

b. LETTERS:

1 May 1528 Kolb-Zwingli Zw. IX, Nr. 719.
Visitation by Johannes Landsberger.

3 June 1532 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/6.
Chapter meetings over.

9 November 1532 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/7. See Quervain, Zustände, p. 17.

c. BOOKS:

Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 96. However, Blösch's contention that the first visitation was held in 1532 is false.

Quervain, Zustände. See chapter on synods and visitations. Excellent source of references to other works.

2. SYNODS

a. ARCHIVALIA:

R.M. 226/251: 3 September 1530. When the deacons arrive, Haller and Kolb are to find out which ones are financially needy.

R.M. 226/277: 10 September 1530. Haller's admonition and speech to the preachers on the last day of the 1530 synod.

b. LETTERS:

16 January 1532 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/100.
Explains why the 1532 Synod acta will be published in Basel by Froben and not in Zürich by Froschauer.

16 January 1532 Haller-Bucer Thes. Baum. V 12-13.
Megander has accused Bernese Rat of betraying Zwingli and Zürich. Capito helped bring unity among the preachers and Megander and the Rat, due to his presence at the Synod. Published in entirety by Strasser, Capitos, Beilage II, pp. 175-76.

29 January 1532 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Supplement, Nr. 663.
Synod of 1532 and acta.
Capito's participation.

13 February 1532 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Supplement, Nr. 670
Haller will send acta when they appear.

11 March 1532 Haller-Bullinger E II 360/39. See Quervain, Züstande, p. 15.
Latin text of the acta will be acquired by Grynäus through Simon Sulzer and probably corrected by Cratander.

16 April 1533 Haller-Bullinger E II 360/53.
Haller hopes that Bullinger will take part in the 1533 Synod.

31 January 1533 Haller-Bucer Thes. Baum. VI 22-23.
Haller wishes Bucer to appear [to discuss the unification with Luther?].

2 May 1533 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/42.
Bucer expected at the Synod of 1533 and Haller hopes both Bucer and Bullinger might effect unity among the preachers.

29 May 1533 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/94. See Quervain, Züstande, p. 9.
Haller's reports Bucer's success, for Megander has returned and reconciled himself with Bern's government.

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|---------------|------------------|--|
| 18 April 1534 | Haller-Bullinger | Simler Sammlung.
Report of Synod to be held on 22 April. |
| 3 May 1534 | Haller-Bullinger | E II 360/11, and see
Quervain, <u>Zustände</u> , p. 11. |
| 22 April 1535 | Haller-Bullinger | E II 360/21-22, and see
Quervain, <u>Zustände</u> , pp. 11,
17-18. |

c. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

"Handlung der Berner Synodus gegeben zu Bern den 14 Januar 1532."

d. BOOKS:

Billeter, "Die Berner Synodus vom Jahre 1532." This synod--originally planned for 16 October, four days before the second Kapeller War--was held in January 1532. Capito made an unexpected appearance.

Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 69ff.

Quervain, Zustände. See chapter on synods.

Realencyclopédie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. 3rd ed.
S. v. "Berner Synodus." Brief summary of the 1532 Synod with literature.

Strasser, Capitos. See Chapters 4 and 5.

3. CHORGERICHT

a. ARCHIVALIA:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| U.P. 79/43: | 7 November 1530. Advice of the representatives concerning regulation of the <u>Ehegericht</u> . |
| U.P. 79/45: | 13 November 1530. New regulation of the <u>Ehegericht</u> in Bern (see printed mandates, Vol. 17, Nr. 10). |
| U.P. 79/125: | 14 October 1532. Desire for illumination of an article of the <u>Ehegerichtssatzung</u> by the judges of the <u>Ehegericht</u> . |
| U.P. 79/126: | 8 November 1532. Explanation of the <u>Ehegerichtssatzung</u> by representatives of the Rat and the judges of the <u>Ehegericht</u> . |

Spruchbuch:

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|---------------|--|
| 8 March 1528: | Reportedly contains the first printed <u>Ehegerichtssatzung</u> of September 1528, written by Haller and Megander. |
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b. LETTERS:

Because the Chorgericht wielded limited powers of excommunication, some of the letters below discuss the ban and whether and to what extent it should be employed.

- 31 May 1528 Haller-Zwingli Zw. IX, Nr. 727.
Chorgericht. Emanuel (Niklaus Manuel) has been elected judge of the consistorium. [Manuel was sent to Zürich to obtain a copy of Zürich's regulation of its Chorgericht.]
- 18 January 1529 Haller-Zwingli Zw. X, Nr. 799, note 6.
Zw. opera VIII: 256-57 dates it from 1528. Haller seeks information concerning marriage.
- 22 January 1529 Oecolampad-Haller Oek. II, Nr. 632.
Oecolampad answers Haller's inquiry about marriage and remarriage.
- 21 October 1529 Kolb-Zwingli Zw. opera VIII: 370f.
Kolb now sits in the Chorgericht.
- 15 August 1530 Haller-Zwingli Zw. X, Nr. 1075.
Brief mention of the Chorgericht.
- 5 October 1530 Haller-Zwingli Zw. XI, Nr. 1112.
Haller gives valuable information about Bern's Chorgericht. Excommunication introduced in Bern as task of the Chorgericht.
- 25 October 1530 Haller-Zwingli
Haller asks about excommunication.
- 1 August 1531 Haller and Oecolampad meet in Aarau to discuss excommunication and church discipline. See Oek. II, Nr. 901.
- Summer or beginning of September 1531 Oecolampad-Haller Oek. II, Nr. 925a.
Concerning Bern's Ehegerichtordnung and the Basler excommunication regulation. Oecolampad refers to Bullinger's letter to Haller from 6 July. Contrary to Bullinger, Oecolampad feels the ban is sometimes necessary. See Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, pp. 526-27.
- 28 December 1531 Haller-Bullinger Füssli, Nr. XIX.
Haller discusses the question of excommunication and mentions that the people do not like the idea that pastors sit on the Chorgericht. Although some preachers would like to introduce the ban, Haller apparently is against it. Cf. above letter: Haller-Zwingli, 5 October 1530.

- 6 July 1531 Bullinger-Haller E II 342/8-9.
Haller asked Bullinger in Bremgarten about his view of excommunication and Bullinger answered against it. See Köhler, Ehegericht I: 354.
- 9 July 1533 Bucer-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 739.
A copy of a monograph on the ban will be sent to Haller via St. Gallen.
- 23 September 1533 Haller-Bullinger Simler Samml.
According to Quervain, the original is found in the Stadtbibliothek Zürich Ms. F [E?] 62/322 (Zustände, pp. 65ff.). Haller relates duties of the preachers.
- 3 May 1534 Haller-Bullinger E II 360/11-12.
At the 1534 Synod, the commandments, justification, predestination and the sacraments were discussed and two shortcomings in the excommunication policy were found.

c. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml. See Nrs. 1705, 1718, 1740, 1741, 1829, 1875, 2038, 2096, 2098, 2104, 2117, 2153, 2188, 2190 [not 2199 as in Register], 2596, 2597, 2687, 2768, 2929, 2934, 2918, 3056 and 3074.

Stürler II: 35, 42, 56 and 70.

d. BOOKS:

Köhler, Ehegericht. See especially Vol. I: 308ff. for an examination of Bern's Chorgericht in light of Zürich's; and Vol. I: 352ff. for Haller's view of the ban.

Quervain, Zustände. See chapter on Chorgericht and Beilage Nr. 21, pp. 231ff., especially article 8, for the country people's complaint about the Chorgericht.

Realencyclopédie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. 3rd ed. S. v. "Chorgericht." Short summary of the Bernese Chorgericht and comparison with the consistories of the Waadtland.

Feller, Die Sittengesetze der bernischen Reformation. See bibliography.

4. CHURCH SERVICES AND PREACHING

a. ARCHIVALIA:

Stadtbibliothek Zofingen

Manuscript Pa 43: Berchtold Haller, "Conciones in Exodum."
Handwritten Latin notes of Haller's sermons held in Bern in 1532. Free Frickart, Beiträge, Part 5.

b. LETTERS:

- 11 November 1522 Meyer-Zwingli Zw. VII, Nr. 248.
Meyer is teaching Paul's epistles in the school.
- 6 Id April (8 Haller-Zwingli Zw. VIII, Nr. 293.
April 1523
Sebastian von Stein accuses Sebastian Meyer and Haller of
erroneous preaching.
- Tuesday before Haller-Anshelm in Stettler, Annales, Part
Ascension 1527 Rottweil I: 668-69.
Sermons are held thrice during the week, twice on Sundays and
feastdays.
- 4 November 1527 Haller-Zwingli Zw. IX, Nr. 664.
Haller has imitated ten sermons [based on Oecolampad's ideas(?)].
- 31 March 1528 Haller-Zwingli Zw. IX, Nr. 706.
Insight into the organization of preaching.
- 23 September 1523 Haller-Bullinger Ms. F [E?] 62/322. See
Duties of the preachers. Quervain, Zustände, pp.
65ff.

c. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES:

Haller, Ratsmanuelen, p. 76 (26 February, 4 April) and p. 21
(October 1528).

Stürler I: 86 (12 February 1528); and II: 12 (26 March 1528) and
117 (30 December 1528).

d. BOOKS:

Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 97ff.

Frickart, Beiträge, Part 5: "Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift beim
Gottesdienst: von Predigen," pp. 50-65.

Quervain, Zustände, pp. 34ff.

D. SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE AND THE TETRAPOLITANA;
CONTROVERSY OVER THE EUCHARIST

Although the Strassburgers' attempts to effect a theological and political unification of the Protestant Swiss and Germans should be distinguished from one another, both included as stumbling blocks the acceptance of a confession of faith. Therefore, they will be considered together.

1. LETTERS:

- 16 January 1530 Oecolampad-Haller Oek. II, Nr. 719.
Oecolampad explains and justifies his stand on the Marburg articles.
- 28 July 1530 Haller-Zwingli Zw. XI, Nr. 1070.
Haller will read Zwingli's pamphlet addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor and also that of Luther.
- 30 November 1530 Zwingli-Haller, Zw. XI, Nr. 1141.
Megander
Zwingli finds Bucer's letter to Duke Ernst von Lüneburg unclear.
- 3 January 1531 Zwingli-Haller, Zw. XI, Nr. 1155.
Megander
Schmalkald wishes to establish alliances.
- 22 and 24 February 1531 Bern-Strassburg See Steck and Tobler, Aktensaml., Nr. 2962 and 2965; Strasser, Capitos, p. 124.
Bern's view of the Tetrapolitana
- 2 March 1531 Haller, Megander-Zwingli Zw. XI, Nr. 1174.
Concerning Tetrapolitana. Zwingli requested to send a copy of Zürich's view of the Eucharist so that it may be sent to Strassburg.
- 7 March 1531 Zwingli-Haller Zw. XI, Nr. 1177.
Zwingli remarks that Bern's celebration of the Eucharist is much like his own.
- 15 March 1531 Oecolampad-Haller, Oek. II, Nr. 830; Zw. XI, Nr. 1180.
Megander, Kolb
Oecolampad seeks to convince the Bernese ministers to accept the Tetrapolitana, and thus remove the stumbling block to entrance into the Schmalkaldic League.
- 17 March 1531 Haller-Zwingli Zw. XI, Nr. 1180.
Rejection of the "dark and dubious" confession of the Strassburgers. This is undoubtedly the letter that Otto Erich Strasser misdates as 24 February 1531 (Strasser, Capitos, p. 124).

- 31 January 1533 Haller-Bucer Thes. Baum. VI 22-23; Cf. Strasser, Capitos, p. 125.
Haller desires that Bucer come to Bern to discuss unification with the Lutherans.
- 9 July 1533 Bucer-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 739.
Bucer will send treatise on excommunication to Haller and information concerning Hofmann's errors and the Eucharist.
- 3 August 1533 Haller-Bullinger Füssli, Nr. XXIV.
Haller's views on the Lord's Supper. Discussion of Thomas Blaurer's and Schnepf's activities concerning the same.
- 3 January 1534 Bullinger-Vadian Füssli, Nr. XXX.
Mention of Bern's view of a theological unification(?)
- 26 February 1534 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 756.
Hope that Vadian's Epitome on the Eucharist will soon be published.
- 3 July 1534 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 774.
Mention of the continuing controversy over the interpretation of the Eucharist and Bucer's efforts to effect a consensus. Luther's non-reconciliation. Hears that Vadian has finished the Epitome.
- 9 August 1534 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 783.
Haller expresses hope that Ambrosius Blaurer and Simon Grynaeus will work in Zwingli's theological spirit.
- 16 November 1534 Haller-Bullinger Füssli, Nr. XLVIII.
Important letter mentioning the concordia.
- 10 December 1534 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/49, see also Köhler, Zw. und Luther II: 369n and 370.
Haller's judgment on the second Zürich confession.
- 18 December 1534 Myconius-Brothers Simler Samml.; see Köhler, Zw. und Luther II: 370.
in Bern
Writes the Bernese to effect their cooperation.
- 22 December 1534 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 804.
Important letter concerning Zürich's interpretation of the Eucharist which, however, Bern cannot accept though Basel has given its signature. Reasons for rejection.
- 3 January 1535 Jud-Brothers in Bern Simler Samml.
Concerning the "confessio Tugur [Zürich]: de Eucharistia."
- 4 January 1535 Bullinger-Brothers Simler Samml.; See Köhler, Zw. und Luther II: 372n.
in Bern
Mention of the second Zürich Confession which Basel, St. Gallen and Schaffhausen have accepted.

- 14 January 1535 Bullinger-Myconius See Hess, Lebensgesch. Bullinger I: 198n.
According to Hess, Bullinger supposedly wrote the following about Bern's and Haller's stand on Bucer's confessio:

Bertholdum vix in culpa esse eredo quo minus procedat negotium, alios quosdam, nescio quid vel molere vel suspicari existimo, qui si tam essent humiles et pii, quam sunt feroces et arroganter curiosi, melius haberent res notrae. --at ferenda quorundam morositas et curandum, ne quae amarulentiae radix in nobis suppullulet.

- 22 April 1535 Haller-Bullinger E II 360/21-22; see Quervain, Zustände, p. 11.
Megander will travel to Brugg to meet with Jud to discuss unification with Luther.

- 6 May 1535 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/75.
In this letter Haller supposedly voices disappointment that Bullinger did not meet him in Zofingen [to discuss unification with Luther(?)]. This information need verification.

- 28 August 1535 Haller-Bullinger E II 360/29-30.
Gereon Sailer's success with Luther surprises Haller. This information should be substantiated.

- 15 November 1535 Haller-Vadian Vad. V, Nr. 847.
Haller anxiously awaits Vadian's treatise on the Lord's Supper.

- 14 January 1536 Haller-Bullinger E II 343/115.
Since this is one of Haller's last letters, its contents are worth investigating.

2. SUGGESTED INTRODUCTORY LITERATURE:

Anshelm VI, especially pp. 1-4, 12-15, 51-7, 236-41 and 243.

Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 182ff.

Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche: in authentischen Texten mit geschichtlicher Einleitung und Register. Edited by Ernst Friedrich Karl Müller. Provides easy references to various confessions.

Escher, Hermann. Die Glaubensparteien.

Hundeshagen, "Parteiwesen" [also under the title: Die Konflikte des Zwinglianismus, Luthertums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558].

Köhler, Zw. und Luther. See Vol. II.

Pollet, Jacques V. Martin Bucer: Études sur la Correspondance. See Vol. II, Chapter XV: "Bucer et Bern."

Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads. See especially pp. 606-7, 616ff. and the corresponding documents in Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads, edited by Staehelin.

Strasser, Capitos. See Chapters 6 and 7.

Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2962 and 2965.

Strickler, Aktensamml. III, Nr. 244.

3. ARTICLES:

Strasser, Otto Erich. "Die letzten Anstrengungen," Zwingliana (1934), Nr. 1: 5-15.

CHAPTER IV

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVALIA

BERN. BURGERBIBLIOTHEK.

- Mss. Hist. Helv. I 116: "Usszug uss der Statt Bern Chronik durch Berchtold Haller, säligen ersten Predicanten zu Bernn." Copy. Original: reportedly in the Staatsarchiv Biel. Another copy: in the Staatsarchiv Bern.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. III 58 (2): Report of a meeting with Anabaptists.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. III 59, Nr. 1, pp. 1-5: "Quomodo agendum et disputandum sit cum Catabaptistis." H. Bullinger and B. Hallerum. Copy in G.E. v. Haller's handwriting. The Katalog der Handschriften zur Schweizergeschichte der Stadtbibliothek Bern (Edited by Emil Blösch. Bern: K.J. Wyss, 1895) lists this document as H. Bullinger and Joh. Haller, but from the end salutation, only Berchtold Haller can be meant. See Müller, Bern. Täufer, p. 24.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. III 77, Nr. 25: Moritz von Stürler's notes on Haller's wife, Apollonia von Graben.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. III 258, Nr. 15: Haller from Solothurn to Bernhard Tillmann of the Rat in Bern, 6 February 1530. Original letter. Published by Blösch, "ungedruckter Brief," pp. 181-82.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. XII 20
- p. 53: Haller from Solothurn to Anton Noll of the Rat in Bern, 26 or 28 [difficult to decipher] Jenner [January] 1530. Copy. Original in Staatsarchiv Bern, U.P. 86b/47, dated 26 January 1530.
 - p. 53: Undated Haller letter from Solothurn to Anton Noll of the Rat in Bern. Published in Blösch, "ungedruckter Brief," p. 180 and dated 4 February 1530.
 - p. 54: Haller from Solothurn to Bernhard Tillmann of the Rat in Bern, 6 February 1530. Copy. See above, Mss. Hist. Helv. III 258, Nr. 15.

- pp. 54f.: Haller from Solothurn to Bernhard Tillmann, 7 February 1530. Copy.
- pp. 55f.: Two reports from Niklaus Manuel from Solothurn, February [(1) Tags nach Liechtmess, and (2) Donstag vor Valentini] 1530.
- pp. 56f.: Report from Bernese emissaries in Solothurn, 14 February 1530.
- pp. 57f.: Not a letter to Haller in Kriegsstetten, as the Katalog der Handschriften zur Schweizergeschichte der Stadtbibliothek Bern suggests, but from reform-minded people in Kriegsstetten to Haller requesting his help in finding them a preacher. Ash-Wednesday 1530.
- p. 58: Report from Solothurn, 2 February 1530.
- p. 59: Report from Solothurn, 9 February 1530. Haller mentioned.
- pp. 104f.: Report dated 6 July 1532 concerning meeting with the Anabaptists in Zofingen (held 1-9 July 1532).
- p. 129: Letter to Melchior Volmar, 16 April 1533. As an ex-classmate of Haller's, this might be worth investigating.
- Mss. Hist. Helv. XIV 151: Haller from Solothurn to Anton Noll of the Rat in Bern. Original. Not dated in the card catalogue of the Burgerbibliothek Bern, but it is the same letter published by Blösch, "ungedruckter Brief," p. 180, dated 4 February 1530. In copy in Mss. Hist. Helv. XII 20, p. 53.
- Cod. 657: De ratione studii Bullingerus ad Berchtoldum Hallerum, 1532. Original. Fol. 80a-84b. Parts 5-7 have supposedly been published, but I do not know where.

BERN. STAATSARCHIV.

De Moribus antiquarum Incolarum in Ditione. For Haller see pp. 101ff., 108, 110ff., 115ff., 125-26, 139, 147 and pp. 273ff. for a short biographical sketch of Haller.

R.M. (Ratsmanuele).

Spruchbücher. Spruchbuch having the entry from 8 March 1528 reportedly contains the first Ehegerichtssatzung written by Haller and Megander. Because of inadequate citation by past scholars, I have not to date been able to verify this information.

T. Miss. (Teutsches Missivenbücher).

U.P. (Unnütze Papiere). Includes what some authors cite as "Kirchliche Angelegenheiten."

- 70/75: April 1530. Bernese preachers' report to the Rat on fornication contrary to the satzung [Ehegerichtssatzung by Haller and Megander(?)].
- 71/4: Haller to Anshelm in Rottweil, written after 19 March 1527. Published in Stürler I: 582-84.
- 71/63-66, 67, 68: Concerning Haller and the Baden Disputation.
- 71/73: Haller to Anshelm in Rottweil, 11 July 1526. About the Baden Disputation. Published in Stürler I: 571-81.
- 77/25, 27, 38, 39, 44, 45, 52, 63, 66, 67: Haller at the Bernese Disputation.
- 77/167: 24 May 1529. Meeting with several Anabaptists. See Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2306.
- 79/1 and 2: 8 and 10 February 1530. Report from Bernese emissaries in Solothurn. See Eidg. Absch. IV, 1b, p. 540.
- 79/5: Reform-minded Solothurnese to Haller concerning a preacher for Kriegssetten. See Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2738.
- 79/43 and 45: 7 and 13 November 1530. Concerning the Ehegericht "regulation."
- 79/52: "Ordnung betr. die Dekane in Stadt u. Land." Undated, but probably the 26 March 1528 Deacon Regulation compiled by Haller. In Haller's handwriting. See Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2928.
- 79/107: "Gemeiner predicanten uss unser g.[nädigen] h.[erren] statt u. land ze Zofingen versamlet, anligen, unser g.h. fürzetragen." July 1532. In Haller's hand. Published in Quervain, Zustände, Beilage 4, pp. 198ff.
- 79/51: 1530. "Artikel, so gmein pfarrer in statt u. land an unser gn. herren begerend." See Quervain, Zustände, Beilage 2, pp. 193ff. Quervain dates it 3 April 1530 and believes it was written by Haller.
- 79/108, 119, 124: Concerning the meeting with the Anabaptists in Zofingen from 1-9 July 1532.
- 79/128: Admonition of the Schultheiss and Rat in Bern from the Strassburg preachers (26 November 1532).

- 80/1: 21 May-9 August 1527: Summary of the events of the meeting with the Anabaptists on 21 May 1527 in Bern.
- 80/2: Undated (1529?). Peter Cyro's protocol of a meeting of the preachers with Hans Seckler and Hans Treyer. See Müller, Berner Täufer, pp. 42-43; Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nrs. 2298, 2341, 2423; and Quervain, Zustände, p. 122n.
- 80/12 and 13: Concerning the 1532 Zofingen meeting with the Anabaptists.
- 81/25: 12 January 1535. Conrad Zwick to Haller, concerning the Emperor's politics in Germany and warning of an attack by the Emperor and Savoy against Bern and Geneva.
- 81/59: Ca. 4 February 1536. Confessio Helvetica. Cf. Eidg. Absch. IV, 1c, pp. 618ff.
- 86b/47: Haller from Solothurn to Anton Noll (26 January 1530). Original. See Burgerbibliothek Bern, Mss. Hist. Helv. XII 20, p. 53.

BIEL. STADTSARCHIV.

"Usszug uss der Statt Bern Cronik durch Berchtold, säligen ersten Predicanten zu Bernn." In 1534 Haller hand-copied Valerius Anshelm's Chronik to the year 1522. Presumably the original. Copies in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, Mss. Hist. Helv. I 116 and in the Staatsarchiv Bern. See Anshelm VI: XXIn-XXIIn and von Haller, Bibliothek d. Schw.-Gesch. IV, Nr. 619.

ST. LOUIS CENTER FOR REFORMATION RESEARCH.

On microfilm: (1) the Simler Sammlung from the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.
 (2) the Thesaurus Baumianus from the Kaiserliche Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Strassburg.
 See below, under "Strassburg."

STRASSBURG. KAISERLICHE UNIVERSITÄTS-UND LANDESBIBLIOTHEK.

See Thesaurus Bauminus: Verzeichnis der Briefe und Aktenstücke. Edited by Johannes Ficker. Strassburg: Selbstverlag der Bibliothek, 1905. Under "Haller, Berchtold," is a listing of letters from Haller to Bucer and/or Capito, one letter each to Bullinger, Oecolampad, Vadian, and one from Bucer to Haller.

STRASSBURG. ARCHIVES DU CHAPITRE DE SAINT-THOMAS.

- 158, Nr. 3-6, 8-17: Letters from Haller to Bucer and/or Capito, and one from Bucer to Haller. See J.V. Pollet, Martin Bucer II, Chapter XV: "Bucer et Berne," p. 402n.

ZOFINGEN. STADTBIBLIOTHEK.

- Pa 43: Haller, Berchtold. "Conciones in Exodum 29 december Anni [15]32." Latin notes of sermons held by Haller in Bern in 1532.
- Pb 26: Frikart, Johann Jakob, "Geschichtliche Nachrichten über die ehemaligen Wiedertäufer im Kanton, besonders in der Gegend von Zofingen." 1832. Handwritten notes on the Anabaptists from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Provides a short introduction to the relationship and meetings of the Bernese clergy with the Anabaptists based on sources available to the author. For a Haller biography, offers little that de Quervain and Müller do not mention. However, the information on Anabaptist activities in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be of interest to Anabaptist scholars.

ZÜRICH. STAATSARCHIV.

- E II Collection of original Haller correspondence with Zwingli, Bullinger, Johann Wolfgang Egen, August Bolster and others.
- E II 335-381 Personen Register zu den Reformatoren-und Humanisten-Briefen. Under the entry "Haller" is a listing of letters in the E II Collection which mention Haller. Caution is necessary, for the compilation often confuses Johannes (father and son with this name) and Berchtold Haller.

ZÜRICH. ZENTRALBIBLIOTHEK.

- Simler Sammlung. Johann Jakob Simler Collection of letters and documents (mostly in copy) pertaining to Swiss Reformation History. Much of Haller's correspondence found here is in the original in the E II Collection of the Staatsarchiv Zürich.

EDITED CORRESPONDENCE

(Oek.) Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads: zum vierhundertjährigen Jubiläum der Basler Reformation. 2 vols. (Vols. 10 and 19 of Quellen und Forschung zur Reformationgeschichte). Edited by Ernst Staehelin. Herausg. von der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Basel. Leipzig: M. Heinsuis Nachfolger, 1927-1934.

Excellent editing and explanatory material. Contains correspondence between Haller and the Basler reformer. Use in conjunction with Staehelin's Das Lebenswerk J. Oekolampads. See under Other Works and General References: Staehelin.

Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blauer 1509-1548. 3 vols. Herausg. von der Badischen Historischen Kommission. Edited by Traugott Schiess. Freiburg im Breisgau: Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld, 1908-1912.

Because these brothers were personally involved in the quarrel over the interpretation of the Eucharist, their letters on this subject are useful. Also see Vol. I, No. 765, Capito-Amb. Blauer, 19 December 1535, for Capito's estimation of Haller.

(Herminjard). Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue Française Recueillie et Publiée avec D'autres Lettres Relatives à La Réforme et des notes historique et biogrophyques. 9 vols. Edited by A. L. Herminjard. Geneve: H. Georg, 1806-1897.

In Vol. III see the index of names for letters in which Haller is mentioned. Besides several letters to Bullinger, Zwingli and Vadian from Haller, this collection also prints a letter from Farel to Haller from 5 March 1533 and Haller to Bucer from 22 September 1534.

(Füssli). Füssli, Johann Conrad. Epistolae ab ecclesiae helveticae reformatioribus vel ad eos scriptae. Quibus multa Theologica, Historica, Politica, & maxime Ecclesiastica continentur. Zürich: n.p., 1742.

Without doubt the first attempt at a compilation of the more important letters of the Swiss reformers. Several letters to Bullinger from Haller are found in Latin. Latin summaries of the letters' content are helpful.

(Vad.) Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen. 7 parts in 5 vols. (Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte. Vols. XXIV-XXXa). Edited by Emil Arbenz and Hermann Wartmann. Vol. I, part 1: St. Gallen: Verlag von Huber & Comps. (E. Fehr); Vols. I, part 2 and remaining vols.: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung (vormals Huber & Co.), 1890-1903.

As a personal friend and medical advisor to Haller, Vadian's and Haller's correspondence is rich, human and extensive. Explanatory material, however, is not as extensive as could be wished. Letters in their original format.

(Zw.). Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke. Vols. VII-XI (=Corpus Reformatorum. Vols. XCIV-XCVIII; =Zwinglis Briefwechsel. Vols. I-V). Edited by Emil Egli, Georg Finsler, Walther Köhler, Oskar Farner, Fritz Blanke and Leonhard von Muralt. Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1911-35.

Contains correspondence between Haller and Zwingli. This collection is an improvement over Zwinglis Werken, Vols. VII and VIII (edited by Schuler and Schulthess) because the letters are extensively edited and explained.

(Zw. Opera). Zwinglis Werken. (=Huldrici Zuinglii opera: completa editio prima). 8 Vols. Edited by Melchior Schuler and Johann Schulthess. Zürich: bei Friderick Schulthess, 1828-42. Supplement, 1861.

Although the letters between Haller and Zwingli are published in their original format (usually Latin) in Vols. VII and VIII, the editors make no extensive attempt to provide background or explanations of the letters' content.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Vol. II. Basel: Verlag der historisch-und antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Karl Werner, 1933.

Anshelm, Valerius. Die Berner-Chronik des Valerius Anshelm. 6 vols. Herausg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1884-1901.

The author was commissioned by the city of Bern to write this official history of Bern in 1529, and it still remains one of the most reliable works on Haller by a man who knew him. See especially Vols. V and VI for the years 1522, 1526, 1528 and 1530.

Bosshart, Laurencius. Die Chronik des Laurencius Bosshart von Winthertur 1185-1532. Edited by Kaspar Hauser. Basel: Basler Buch-und Antiquariatshandlung, vormals Adolf Geering, 1905.

In general of little use for a Haller biography, except as background for the Berner Disputation 1526.

Bullinger, Heinrich. Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographen. 3 vols. Herausg. auf Veranstaltung der vaterländisch-historischen Gesellschaft in Zürich. Edited by Johann Jakob Hottinger and Hans Heinrich Voegeli. Frauenfeld: Druck und Verlag von Ch. Beiel, 1838 and 1840.

See especially Vol. I, Nrs. 191, 194, 360, 216-221, and 224-230 for mention of Haller.

Durr, Emil and Roth, Paul, eds. Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Vol. II: Juli 1526 bis Ende 1527. Basel: Verlag der historisch-und antiquariatischen Gesellschaft, Karl Werner, 1933.

See p. 331 for Adelberg Meiger's and Urban von Brun's report concerning the Disputation at Baden. Haller mentioned.

Eidgenössische Abschiede aus dem Zeitraume vom 1521 bis 1528. Vol. 1a (1521-28), 1b (1529-32), 1c (1533-42). Edited by Johann Strickler (von Hinzl, Zürich). Druck von Fisch, Wild und Co., 1873.

Protocols, documents and correspondence of the Swiss Eidgenossen concerning military, political and religious affairs. Essential as historical background for any work on Switzerland. For Haller, see especially the years 1526 (for Baden Disputation), 1528 (Bernese Disputation) and 1530 concerning Haller's stay in Solothurn).

"Ein Christenlich gesprach gehalten zuo Bernn swüschen den Predicanten unn Hansen Pfyster Meyer von Arouw, den Widertouff, Eyd, Oberkeyt, und andere Widertöufferische Artikel, Anno MD XXXI, an dem viv tag Aprilis." Zürich: (Froschauer?), 1531.

In the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek Bern, A.D. 127. Absolutely essential for any work on Haller's relationship to the Anabaptists.

Haller, Berchtold, ed. Bern in seinen Ratsmanualen. 3 vols. Herausg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1900-1903.

The editor is not related to Berchtold Haller, the reformer. Many of these published documents from the Bernese Ratsmanuale are also in Stürler's Urkunden. In addition, see Vol. 3: 448 and 528 for mention of Haller's wife, Apollonia.

"Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation und Gespräch zu Zofingen inn Berner [Ge]biet mit den Widertöuffern." Zürich: Frochauer, 1532.

Minutes of the 1-9 July 1532 meeting with the Anabaptists in Zofingen. Because Haller participated, this document should be consulted for any work on Haller and the Anabaptists.

"Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zuo Bern in Uechtland, 1528."

Official acta of the Bernese Disputation and as such an excellent source of information on Haller's theology and mode of disputing.

"Protocol der Badener Disputation."

In the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek Bern and in Xerox in the Historisches Institut Bern. Because no scholar has published a work on Haller's participation in the Baden Disputation, these acta are still the best sources of information on Haller's dispute with Johannes Eck and on Haller's theology in general.

"Die Regesten der Klöster und Kirchlichen Stifte des Kantons Bern." Vol. I, Heft 2 of Die Regesten der Archive in der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Edited by Friedrich Stettler. General Editor Theodor von Mohr. Chur: Druck und Verlag von G. Hitz, 1849.

"Die Regesten der Klöster" provides the conclusive proof that Haller was in Bern before 1518 in the capacity of apostolic notary (Vol. I, Heft 2, p. 9, Nrs. 48 and 49).

Salat, Johann. Johann Salat Chronik der Schweizer Reformation: von deren Anfängen bis und mit Ao. 1534. (Im Auftrag der Katholischen Orte.) n.p., n.d.

Because this chronicle was commissioned in the sixteenth century by the Catholic regions of Switzerland, its view of the religious reformers is anything but sympathetic. However, as a contemporary of Haller, Salat's estimation of him is invaluable. In addition to Salat's own historical record, he also records such interesting treatises as Thomas Murner's "Ketzer Calendar" (pp. 155ff.) and a letter by Johannes Eck dated 18 December 1527 (pp. 172f.) in which Haller is mentioned.

Steck, Rudolf and Tobler, Gustav, eds. Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner-Reformation 1521-1532. 2 Parts in 1 vol. Bern: K.J. Wyss Erben, 1923.

Invaluable to a Haller biography for its published documents pertaining to Haller and the Bernese Reformation in general.

Stettler, Michael. Annales oder Grundliche Beschreibung der fürnembsten geschichten unnd Thaten, welche sich in ganzen Helvetia, den jüngsten Jahren . . . bis auff das 1627 Jahr durch Michael Stettler. 2 Parts in 1 vol. Bern, 1627. In the Burgerbibliothek Bern. See especially pp. 629, 658, 660; Part 2: pp. 34-35, 77.

Of special interest is a letter in German to Valerius Anshelm from Haller, dated Tuesday before Ascension, 1527. Although Stettler provides the only known record of this letter, which is not found in the large handwritten chronicle, its authenticity is not doubted. See Stürler I: 584, who dates this letter 28 May 1528.

Strickler, Johann, ed. Actensammlung zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-1532: im Anschluss an die gleichzeitigen eidgenössischen Abschiede. 5 vols. Zürich: In Commission bei Meyer Zellen, 1878-1884.

Because it is based on original archival sources and protocols recorded after official meetings, this collection of acta is reliable and contains some of the best data on Haller. See the Index which refers to all volumes.

(Stürler). von Stürler, Moritz, ed. Urkunden der Bernischen Kirchenreform. Herausg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern. Bern: gedruckt in der Stämpflischen Buchdruckerei. 1862 and 1873.

The documents of this collection are based on the minutes of the Small and Large Rat of Bern and contain, besides official business, also the more human and mundane protocols pertaining to the everyday life of the city from the years 1520 to 1528. Many references to Haller are found in this collection and provide the best insights into Haller as an individual and preacher of Bern. Organization according to topic results in poor continuity and confusion, but the book is essential to a Haller biography.

MOST FREQUENTLY CITED BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS ON HALLER

Cardauns, Herman. De Reformatione Bernensi. Diss. Bonn: Formis Carthausianis, 1868.

Written in Latin, it is the first attempt at a non-partisan examination of Haller in the larger context of the Bernese Reformation. Although incomplete, the author provides what is probably the first listing of Haller letters and where they might be found. Cardauns provides proof that Haller was in Bern before 1518 and his treatment of Haller's appearance at Baden in 1526 is excellent for its time.

Fischer, Samuel. Geschichte der Reformation in Bern. Bern: bei Chr. Albr. Jenni, Buchhändler, 1827.

Undoubtedly the forerunner to his 1828 book on the Disputation and Reformation in Bern. Fischer admits that his book was not meant to be a learned, historical tract, but the fruits of his leisure hours. Author erroneously maintains that Haller was born in Rottweil and was schoolmaster in Basel. He repeats Anshelm's information that the Bishop of Lausanne wished to have Haller and Meyer handed over to him in 1522, and then he falsely links this information with Haller's letter to Zwingli of 28 January 1522, which he therefore misdates. For a Haller biography, too unscholarly to be useful.

. Geschichte der Disputation und Reformation in Bern. Bern: bei Chr. Albr. Jenni, Buchhändler, 1828.

The inexactness and faulty information present in Fischer's 1827 book are repeated here. Of little use for a Haller biography except as introductory material. Should be read with caution.

Kirchhofer, Melchior. Bertold Haller oder die Reformation von Bern. Zürich: bei Orell, Füssli und Co., 1828.

Most frequently cited work on Haller besides Pestalozzi. After a ten page long introductory religious sermon, even the wide reference to Haller's correspondence fails to convince the reader of Kirchhofer's scholarship and lack of partisanship. Nor does the author say where cited Haller letters are to be found. Since Kirchhofer provided the continuation of the flawed Helvetische Kirchengeschichte by Wirz, his book, though still the most comprehensive work on Haller, should be read discriminately.

Kuhn, Gottlieb Jacob. Die Reformatoren Berns im XVI Jahrhundert nach dem Berner'schen Mausoleum umgearbeitet. Bern: In der L.R. Walther'schen Buchhandlung, 1828.

Though the author is correct that Scheurer's Bernerisches Mausoleum has become difficult to read, Kuhn's rejuvenation of it is not much of an improvement. Though he does make some use of Haller's correspondence, he has not re-evaluated Scheurer's sources. Like Scheurer, he believes incorrectly that Haller attended several German universities and maintains the close Haller-Melanchthon friendship. Kuhn's own estimation of himself--that he "neither

wanted to, nor could [he], have written a learned book (p. VII)"--is correct but unfortunately his work is still frequently cited.

Pestalozzi, Carl. Bertold Haller nach handschriftlichen und gegenzeitigen Quellen. Elberfeld: Verlag von R.L. Friderichs, 1861.

The most recent attempt at a biography of Haller, and along with Kirchhofer's book, the most often cited work on Haller. However, Pestalozzi purposely does not footnote his book because he refers his reader to Kirchhofer, Stürler, Fischer, Kuhn, Hundeshagen, and Friedrich Trechsel's Beiträge. Unfortunately, these other works are in part unscholarly, poorly footnoted, and biased. In places, Pestalozzi paraphrases almost exactly Scheurer or Kuhn, neither of whom are totally reliable.

Scheurer, Samuel. Bernerisches Mausoleum oder vorderst Gott zur Ehr, Lob, und Danck: demnach berühmten, und sonderlich um die Kirchen Gottes in diesem Land hochverdienten Männern zu ruhmlichem angedencken aufgerichtetes Ehren-Waal in ihrer kurtzen Lebens-beschreibung, darbei die Kirchen-geschichten, ihrer zeiten eingebracht werden von einem der schweizerischen Theologen. 6 Parts in 3 vols. Bern: bei Wit. Bondelin, 1740-42.

See Vol. II, Part 3: Lebens-Beschreibung Berchtold Hallers des Reformators von Bern mit einlauffen der Kirchen-Geschichten seiner Zeit und sonderlich seines Orts. [Note that Vol. II contains Parts 3 and 4, and that many authors, when citing 3-4 do not mean Volume, but Part.]

First attempt at a biography of Haller. Though the author's overly laudatory and biased prose makes it difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between fact and fiction, it has been the basis for almost every later work on Haller. Great care should be exercised in using Scheurer. See also Vol. I, Part 1 and 2 for biographies of Thomas Wittenbach and Sebastian Meyer; Vol. II, Part 2 for Franz Kolb; Vol. III, Parts 5 and 6 for Niklaus Manuel and Johannes Haller, whose lives, in part, overlap with Haller's.

OTHER WORKS AND GENERAL REFERENCES

Baechtold, Jakob. Niklaus Manuel. (Vols. 2 of Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz und ihres Grenzgebiets. Edited by Jakob Baechtold and Ferdinand Vetter.) Frauenfeld: Verlag J. Huber, 1878.

One of the most essential references for any work on Niklaus Manuel. Of importance for a Haller biography is Manuel's "Ecks und Fabers Badenfahrt" of 1526 in which Haller appears as "the bear from Bern" (pp. 208-10). See also pp. 72-73 and 99 for Doctor Lüpold Schüchtnit in Manuel's "Fassnacht spyt" of 1522 who represents the Lütpriester Berchtold, who should "shy not" (Schüchtnit).

Bähler, Edward. Bern und die Reformation. Bern: Verlag A. Francke, 1917.

Originally written as a speech, this treatise is short and without footnotes. However, Bähler offers worthwhile insights into the reasons for Bern's acceptance of the Reformation and the consequences thereof. His view of Haller is well-balanced. He admits that Bern lacked the reformer who sought to alter the outer and inner political, churchly and governmental situation according to his own ideals, but notes that such a reformer was an impossibility in Bern.

Beurle, Elsa. Der politische Kampf um die religiöse Einheit der Eidgenossenschaft 1520-27: ein Beitrag zu Zwinglis Staatspolitik, Linz a/D: Buchdruckerei- und Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1920.

Though this book is not about Haller, the author gives a well documented history of the events leading up to the Baden Disputation of 1526. Her chapter on the consequences of this disputation is well worth reading. Beurle, however overexaggerates the power and influence Zwingli had outside of Zürich and her contention that the Berner Disputation, a result of the Baden Disputation, was "entirely Zwingli's work" (p. 129) bespeaks a certain prejudice and is not defensible.

Billeter, Max. "Der Berner Synodus vom Jahre 1532." In Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Reformations-Kirchen, pp. 84-167. Gen. ed. Friedrich Nippold. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1884.

Though poorly footnoted, the author makes excellent use of primary sources. He publishes Haller's Reformation Edict of 7 February 1528, examines the religious reorganization of reformed Bern, introduces Haller's relationship to Megander and the events that led up to the 1532 Synod. The religious offspring of the Synod, the Berner Synodus, which was primarily the conception of Capito, receives good treatment. Useful as reference to post-1528 Bern and to Haller's relationship to Capito.

Blösch, Emil. Die Vorreformation in Bern. Separate printing from Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte 9 (1884): 1-107. Zürich, 1884.

A well-researched examination of the pre-reformation period in Bern. Although Haller is not dealt with per se, Blösch represents the position that "the preacher Berchtold Haller can only

conditionally be considered the reformer of Bern" (p. 3), for he believes it was the Bernese republican, communal government that finally ushered in the Reformation which was no break with the Bernese historical past.

. Der eigenartige Charakter der Reformation in Bern. Separate printing from Volksblatt für die reformierte Kirche der Schweiz. Bern: Stämpfli'sche Buchdruckerei, 1885.

A thoughtful and thought-provoking examination of Bern's pragmatic reasons for accepting the Reformation. According to Blösch, the establishment of a state church in Bern was not the consequence of the Reformation (as it was with the Zwinglian and Lutheran reform), but the actual goal of the Reformation. He believes that the leaders and carriers of it were the laymen, although the preachers', especially Haller's, sermons were indispensable and gave the Reformation depth and power (p. 15). Because Blösch's purpose is not to glorify the Bernese Reformation, his portrayal of Haller within the larger context of a political movement is more objective than that of Haller's earlier biographers.

. Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirchen. 2 vols. Bern: Verlag von Schmid & Francke, 1898-99.

For its time, a well researched work on the Reformed Churches in Switzerland. This author discusses religious practices, visitations and synods, manner of preaching, the Eucharistic dispute, and provides comparisons of the Reformed churches. For mention of Haller, see Vol. I in which the churches of Bern and Solothurn are discussed. See also Vol. I, Parts 1 and 2 concerning the Bernese Synod of 1532 for insight into Haller's relationship to Capito. Because the book often lacks depth, other works should be used in conjunction with it.

Bourquin, Werner. "Die Reformation in Biel." In Gedenkschrift zur Vierhundertfeier der bernischen Kirchenreformation I: 347-88. Bern: Kommissionsverlag von Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1928.

Because Haller was befriended, and perhaps lived with, Dr. Thomas Wittenbach, this book is of interest for a Haller biography in that the latter's life and reform efforts in Biel are tersely examined. Improvement over Samuel Scheurer's biography of Wittenbach.

Clasen, Claus-Peter. Anabaptism: a Social History, 1525-1618: Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Dierauer, Johannes. Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Vol. 3: 1516-1648. Authorized reprint of the 5 vols. edition, Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.G., 1887-1917. Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang and Co., 1967.

See Chapter 3. A good reference book for background of the Swiss Reformation. Author's view of Haller is more positive than most more recent scholars. Though he is cognizant of Haller's limitations, he acknowledges Haller's ability to bring his mission to a successful conclusion.

Escher, Hermann. Die Glaubensparteien in der Eidgenossenschaft und ihre Beziehungen zum Ausland, vornehmlich zum Hause Hapsburg und zu den deutschen Protestanten, 1527-1531. Frauenfeld: J. Huber, 1882.

Provides excellent introductory material for such topics as the Eucharistic controversy and the relationship of the Swiss Protestants to the German Lutherans.

Feller, Richard. Der Staat Bern in der Reformation. Vol. 2 of Gedenkschrift zur Vierhundertfeier der bernischen Kirchenreformation. Bern: Kommissionsverlag von Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1929.

Feller, one of the most prominent Bernese Reformation scholars, provides an excellent look at the state Bern during the Reformation period and the necessary political and religious background of the city where Haller was reformer. See especially Chapters IV and V for a good introduction to the church as it existed in Bern before and after Haller's arrival.

_____. Die Anfänge des Täuferturns in Bern. Separate printing from the Festgabe für Bundesarchivar Heinrich Türlcr, pp. 105-21. Bern: Kommissionsverlag Paul Haupt, 1931.

Because it is lacking in traceable references, this book should be used as an introduction to Ernst Müller's and Theodor de Quervain's examinations of the Anabaptist. Feller, as opposed to Gottlieb Strasser and Müller, presents the view that Haller, due to Zwingli's "hate" of Anabaptism, saw it from the beginning as a discovery of Satan (p. 112), yet Feller gives no source for his contention.

_____. Die Sittengesetze der bernischen Reformation. Separate printing from the Festschrift E. Welti, pp. 54-82. Aarau: n.p., 1937.

Besides providing insight into the Chorgericht (or Ehegericht) in Bern, Feller gives an interesting view of the relationship of the Bernese government to the moral and religious life of its people with mention of Haller in passing. Useful for a study of Haller's activities as reformer and member of the Chorgericht.

_____. Geschichte Bern's. 4th corrected edition. 4 vols. Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang and Co., 1946-60. 1974.

See Vol. II: von der Reformation bis zum Bauernkrieg 1516-1653. Unfortunately, Feller does not footnote at all although he does give a listing of sources at the back of the volume. Helpful as a reference book and for an overall view of Haller in the larger context of Bernese Reformation.

Flückiger, Paul. "Zwingli's Beziehungen zu Bern." In Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Reformations-Kirchen. pp. 1-83. Gen. ed. Friedrich Nippold. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1884.

Part I provides interesting insight into the religious and lay intelligentsia of Bern before 1520. In Part II, the author's examination of Zwingli's relationship to the Reformation in Bern is weak, especially his treatment of Haller. Flückiger maintains that

"Haller received his meaning and consecration as Bernese reformer only through his intimate relationship to Zwingli" (p. 14) but his only evidence is that Haller often wrote Zwingli for advice and guidance. Though he relies too heavily on Pestalozzi and Kuhn, he does make use of Haller's correspondences. See Bullinger's poem about the Baden Disputation mentioning Haller (p. 29).

Fluri, Adolf. Die Beziehungen Berns zu den Buchdruckern in Basel, Zürich and Genf 1476-1536. Bern: Verlag der Schweizerischen Gutenbergstube, Historisches Museum, 1913.

Gives reproductions and description of the major Bernese mandates and other documents as well as translated letters from Haller to Zwingli concerning the Bernese Disputation of 1528 and meetings with the Anabaptists in 1531 and in Zofingen in 1532.

Frickart, Johann Jacob. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchengebräuche im ehemaligen Kanton Bern seit der Reformation. Aarau: H.R. Sauerländer's Sortiments-Buchhandlung, 1846.

See especially Part t: "Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift beim Gottesdienst: von Predigen" (pp. 50-65) in which Haller's sermon notes (in Latin) from 1532, as well as his manner of preaching, are examined.

Fritzsche, Otto Fridolin. Glarean: sein Leben und seine Schriften. Frauenfeld: Verlag von J. Huber, 1890.

Of interest for a Haller biography only because the author suggests that Haller and Glarean were fellow pupils at the school in Rottweil. Also Glarean reportedly learned Greek in 1510 at the University of Cologne with J. Caesarius, who may in some way be connected with the Caesareus with whom Haller was to have stayed had he gone to Freiburg.

Gedenkschrift zur Vierhundertfeier der bernischen Kirchenreformation.

3 vols. Bähler, Edward; de Quervain, Theodor; Lindt, Karl; Gerber, R.; Simon, Charles; Bourquin, Werner; Feller, Richard; and Hadorn, Wilhelm, gen. eds. and contributors. Herausg. vom Evangelisch-reformierten Synodalarat des Kantons Bern. Bern: Kommissionsverlag von Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1928-29.

See Feller, Bourquin, Lindt and Quervain under book listings.

Geiger, Franz. Bemerkungen über die Disputation und darauf erfolgte Reformation in Bern. München: bei Jakob Giel, 1828.

As Chorherr in Lucerne, his "remarks" could have stemmed from a very prejudiced Roman Catholic of the sixteenth century. Because he is biased, his otherwise unscholarly examination of the acta of the Bernese Disputation allows a picture of Haller as his sixteenth-century opponents might have seen him.

Gescher, Franz. "Die Statuten der theologischen Fakultät an der alten Universität." In Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Gründung der alten Universität Köln im Jahre 1388. Introduction by Hans von Haberer. Köln: Kurt Schröder Verlag, 1938.

Glutz-Blotzheim, Robert. Darstellung des Versuches die Reformation in Solothurn einzuleiten. From the Schweizerisches Museum (1816). Solothurn: gedruckt bei Joseph Tschan, 1838.

Though of historical interest as one of the earliest monographs on the efforts to introduce the Reformation into Solothurn, in light of Schmidlin's and Steck's works on the subject, it is completely outdated. His contention, for example, that Haller named his own emissaries to accompany him back to Bern is not defensible (p. 27).

Gratz, Delbert L. Bernese Anabaptists and their American Descendents. (Nr. 8 of Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History. Edited by Harold S. Bender, Ernst Correll, Melvin Gingerich, Guy F. Herstberger, Silas Hertzler and John Wenger. Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1953.) Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953.

Gratz's childhood in a Bernese Anabaptist settlement in America helps explain the author's slanted sympathies. His critique of Bern's treatment of the sect is harsher than Claus-Peter Clasen's. Chapters I and II on sixteenth-century Anabaptists offer little that Müller and Quervain have not researched more adequately. Treatment of Haller shows lack of knowledge of him and of a pertinent article by Adolf Fluri, "Das bernische Täufermandat vom 2. März 1533."

Guggisberg, Kurt. Bernische Kirchengeschichte. Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1958.

Though Guggisberg is an expert in Bernese Reformation history, his book suffers from the same malady as Dierauer's: lack of footnoting. Nonetheless, his book provides excellent reference material to the Reformation in Bern with references to Haller and his duties as reformer.

Haefliger, Hans. Solothurn in der Reformation. Diss. Solothurn: Buchdruckerei Gassmann A.G., 1940.

See especially Chapter III which includes an examination of Haller's stay in Solothurn according to Solothurn Ratsmanuale. Lack of use of Haller's own letters, however, weakens the author's book although several letters are mentioned fleetingly in Chapter V on the Anabaptists.

von Haller, Gottlieb Emanuel. Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte und aller Theile, so dahin Bezug haben. 6 vols. Bern: in der Hallerschen Buchhandlung, 1786.

See especially Vol. 3, Nr. 724: basing his contention on a letter from Haller to Bullinger, 25 December 1535, the author maintains that Haller wrote the tract Apologiam omnium Dogmatum & Rituum ecclesiae Tigurinae. Vol. 3, Nr. 168: records of the existence of the "Handlung zwischen dem Decan und Capitel von Münsingen und Herrn Geörg Brunner von Landtensperg, Pfarrer zu Kleinhöchstetten . . . 1522." Four original Acta with comments which Haller sent Zwingli. Reportedly signed by Brunner and found in the Simmler Sammlung in the Zentralbibliothek at least in copy. Vol. 4, Nr. 619: refers to the "Auszug uss der Statt Bern Chronik, durch Berchtold Haller säligen,

ersten Predicanten zu Bern" to be found in the possession of Meyer Scholl in Biel. [Either the original now reported in the Stadtarchiv Biel or the copy found in the Staatsarchiv Bern. Cannot be the copy in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, because G.E. von Haller's description of the format does not appear to fit.]

Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte. Vol. I (of two vols. in print.)
Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972.

See especially "Renaissance und Reformation: Die Reformation in der deutschen Schweiz," by Leonhard von Muralt, who gives a short and concise summary of the Reformation in Bern to the end of 1528. Excellent for its footnotes and a good place to start for preliminary information about Haller.

Hottinger, Johann Jacob. Helvetische Kirchengeschichten: mit nohtwendigen anmerkungen von der Lehre, gebräuchen, und Regierung der Helvetischen Kirch, und den darinn vorgefullenen Veränderungen. Auss bewährten, getruckten und geschriebenen Documentis, unpartheyisch zusammengetragen in richtiger Jahrordnung bis auf gegenwertige Zeiten aussgeführt und in sibem Bücher abgetheilt. Zürich: In der Bodmerischen Truckerei, MDCCIIIX [sic].

See Book 6. Though a frequently cited work, it is difficult to read, is based primarily on Stettler's Annales, and as far as Haller is concerned, offers less than Stettler. See pp. 54, 61, 87, 192, 332 and 713. Haller's friendship with Melanchthon is buttressed with a reference to a letter from Haller to Bullinger dated 3 October 1535. This should be verified.

Humbel, Frida. Ulrich Zwingli und seine Reformation im Spiegel der gleichzeitgen, schweizerischen volkstümlichen Literatur. [Also Vol. I (IV of the entire series) of Quellen und Abhandlungen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte (II. Serie der Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte).] Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1912.

See especially Chapter 7. Here the author brings new insights to Haller's place in the popular song-poems of the day in view of his appearance at the Baden Disputation. Well researched and scholarly work.

Hundeshagen, Carl Bernhard. Die Konflikte des Zwinglianismus, Luthertums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558: nach ungedruckten Quellen. Bern: Verlag von C.A. Jenni, Sohn, 1842.

First appeared under the title "Das Parteiwesen in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558," in Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirchen: zunächst derjenigen des Kantons Bern, Heft, 2, 3, 4. Bern: Verlag von C.A. Jenni, 1841-42.

Hundeshagen's overall contribution to the study of the unification of the German and Swiss Protestants may be "according to unpublished sources," but his treatment of Haller's relationship to unification efforts in Chapter 2 is taken almost entirely from Kirchhofer. Both these authors attribute Haller's stand on

unification to his earlier closeness with Zwingli. Nonetheless, as one of the few works that mention Haller's involvement with the concordia question, it should be consulted.

Kirchhofer, Melchior. Oswald Myconius, Antistes der Baslerischen Kirche. Zürich: bei Orell, Füssli und Co., 1813.

Interesting for the relationship Kirchhofer tries to establish between Haller and Myconius. On pp. 115 and 117, the author mentions a letter from Myconius to Haller from 19 November 1532 and one from 16 January 1533 to Haller and Megander. He refers his reader to his Bertold Haller, p. 183n in which another letter from Myconius to the Bernese from 31 May (1533?) is cited. Due to reoccurring inexactitudes and dubious and unclear footnoting, this book by Kirchhofer should also be read with caution.

Köhler, Walter. Zwingli und Bern. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1928.

In general, provides a scholarly examination of the political and religious differences between Zürich and Bern. In particular, the author's view of Haller portrays him "always as the student [of Zwingli] who sought dependence on the Master," and who meekly signed his letters to Zwingli as "your littlest coin." Though Haller did sign his letters to Zwingli in this manner, and there is some truth to Köhler's contention that Zwingli became the reformer of Bern due to his role at the Berner Disputation, both views ignore Haller's position in Bern and are too simplistic. Nonetheless Köhler's work provides an excellent starting point for a work on Haller's relationship to Zwingli. Helpful footnotes and bibliography.

_____. Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Consistorium. 2 vols. (Vols. 10 and 13 of Quellen und Abhandlung zur schweizerischen Reformationgeschichte). Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1932-42.

See Vol. I: "Das Zürcher Ehegericht und seine Auswirkung in der deutschen Schweiz zur Zeit Zwinglis." Though Haller is mentioned only in passing, the author, in comparing Bern's Chorgericht with Zürich's provides valuable information about Haller's duties as member of the same. This work looks at Haller's view of excommunication and is good reference material for the Haller-Zwingli correspondence concerning marriage and morals.

_____. Zwingli und Luther. 2 vols. Vol. 1: Leipzig: Vermittlungsverlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1924; Vol. II: Gutersloh: C. Birtelsmann Verlag, 1953.

For excellent insight into Haller's involvement in such matters as the Schmalkaldic League and Tetrapolitana, see Vol. 2.

Lauffer, Jacob. Genaue und umständliche Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte. 18 vols. and Register. Zürich: Conrad Orell und Co., 1737.

For its time a tremendous undertaking and one of the more frequently cited works by nineteenth-century Swiss Reformation scholars. Now outdated. See Vol. 8, Book 2 for one of the earliest

descriptions of Haller's appearance before the Rat after the Baden Disputation. No sources are cited, but the author's information appears to have come from Anshelm and Stettler. See also Book 5 in the same volume for Haller's stay in Solothurn.

- Ley, Roger. Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli. Diss. (also Vol. 2 in Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Protestantismus. Zürich: Druck A.G. Gebr. Leeman and Co., 1948). Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1948.

Very important to a Haller biography because Haller's view of excommunication is examined (see p. 70 *passim*). Since Haller was so concerned with the question of church discipline and letters in the Haller-Zwingli correspondence mention the subject, the book provides good background for this correspondence.

- Linder, Gottlieb. Simon Sulzer und sein Anteil an der Reformation in Lande Baden, sowie an den Unionsbestrebung. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1890.

A study of a man well deserving of further research. For a Haller biography interesting for mention of Haller's relationship to Sulzer (p. 12).

- Lindt, Karl. "Der theologische Gehalt der Berner Disputation." In Gedenkschrift zur Vierhundertfeier der bernische Kirchenreformation I: 303-44. Bern: Kommissionsverlag von Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1929.

A Swiss-Reformed opinion of the theological content of the Berner Disputation and thus somewhat biased. Nonetheless, the author's estimation of Haller is of interest: that Haller's dependence on Zwingli was not demeaning because it was through Haller's fully unselfish devotion to the reformation that he could become Bern's reformer (p. 315).

- Luthi, E. Die Bernische Politik in den Kappelerkriegen. 2nd ed. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1880.

In the years after the two wars of Kappel, Haller's letters often refer to hard feelings between Zürich and Bern. Luthi's book helps explain these references. According to Köhler (Zwingli und Bern, p. 40, note 8) Luthi plays Zwingli and Haller against one another, although I found no evidence to substantiate this.

- Manschreck, Clyde Leonhard. Melanchthon: the Quiet Reformer. New York: Abingdon Press, 1958.

For a Haller biography interesting for the insight it gives into the school of Pforzheim during the time Melanchthon and Haller were there. See especially pp. 32-33.

- Monter, William E. Calvin's Geneva. New York: Wiley, 1967.

Though not of direct interest for a Haller biography, Monter's book mentions Bern's involvement and influence in Geneva.

Müller, Ernst Friedrich Karl, ed. Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche: in authentischen Texten mit geschichtlicher Einleitung und Register. Leipzig: A. Delchert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Georg Böhme), 1903.

An excellent book for easy reference to the major German, Swiss, Hungarian, Dutch and English confessions in the years 1523 to ca. 1900. See the 1528 Bernese disputation theses, the 1532 Synod articles, the 1530 Tetrapolitana and the 1534 Basler Confession.

Müller, Ernst. Geschichte der Berner Täufer nach den Urkunden dargestellt. Frauenfeld: J. Hubers Verlag, 1895.

Contrary to Gottlieb Strasser, Müller believes that the Anabaptists have their beginnings before the Reformation and are closely related to the Waldensians. With regard to the Bernese Anabaptists, Müller's work is more detailed than Strasser's and provides a better examination of Haller's connection and meetings with them. Müller takes over Strasser's opinion that Haller manifested a mildness toward the sect. Citations of Haller's letters could be more scholarly but the author incorporates Bernese Staatsarchival information well.

Von Muralt, Leonhard. Die Badener Disputation 1526. [also Vol. III (IV of the entire series) of Quellen und Abhandlung zur schweizerischen Reformationgeschichte (II. Serie der Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationgeschichte). Herausg. von Zwingli Verein in Zürich.] Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1926.

First part appeared as a dissertation. Zürich: same publisher, 1925-26. Excellent source of information for events leading up to the disputation, the disputation itself, and the subsequent results. Good chapter on source material. Author includes other scholars' theories to arrive at the conclusion that the Baden Disputation was to be the Swiss Diet of Worms. Treatment of Haller, is, however, sketchy and cannot replace an examination of the disputation's protocol and Haller's own letters.

_____. "Renaissance and Reformation: die Reformation in der deutschen Schweiz." In Vol. I of Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte. Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972.

Naf, Werner. Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen. 2 vols. St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, 1944-57.

The most recent, comprehensive study of Joachim von Watt (Vadian) as mayor and lay reformer of St. Gallen. Because of his religious and political connections with many other areas and all major reformers of the Swiss Eidgenossen, including Haller, this work provides important information about the century in which Haller lived as well as his friendship with Vadian. See especially Vol. 2, chapters 4, 5 and 6 for mention of Haller.

Nippold, Friedrich, gen. ed. Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Reformationskirchen. Bern: Druck und Verlag K.F. Wyss, 1884.

See under Flückiger, Billeter, and Gottfried Strasser.

Pfister, Rudolf. Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz. 2 vols. Zürich: theologischer Verlag, 1964-1974.

Provides interesting, but doubtful, information on the time and place Haller is to have met the Glarner, Heinrich Loriti. See Vol. II: 16-17.

Pollet, J.V. Martin Bucer: Études sur la Correspondance. 2 vols. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958-62.

See Vol. II, Chapter XV: "Bucer et Berne." For a work on Haller's relationship to Bucer and Capito absolutely essential. The author's work is well documented and his use of Haller's correspondence gives insight into Haller's letters to the Strassburg theologians, which, to my knowledge, have never been published. Excellent bibliography.

De Quervain, Theodor. "Geschichte der bernischen Kirchenreformation." In Gedenkschrift zur Vierhundertfeier der bernischen Kirchenreformation I: 1-300. Bern: Kommissionsverlag von Dr. Gustav Grunau, 1928.

General introduction to Haller and events in Bern from ca. 1450 to 1532. Treatment of Haller is, however, unoriginal and poorly referenced.

Kirchliche und sociale Zustände in Bern unmittelbar nach der Einführung der Reformation (1528-1536). Bern: Buchdruckerei Gustav Grunau, 1906.

Without doubt the most scholarly and well-documented book dealing with the period directly following the official acceptance of the Reformation in Bern. Provides the best and most comprehensive study of Haller's duties as reformer. Makes excellent use of archival sources and Haller's own letters to examine such topics as church organization and schools, synods and visitations, and Haller and the Anabaptists.

Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. S. v. "Haller, Berchtold," by Friedrich Trechsel and Emil Blösch.

For its purpose, a good, but not excellent, short summary of Haller's life, listing the most common works on Haller. A friendship between Melancthon and Haller is maintained but no evidence is given. Haller's letters, when cited, are not footnoted. Though generally unoriginal, it is of interest for its summary of Haller's later years which few authors mention.

Schmidlin, Ludwig Rochus. Solothurns Glaubenskampf und Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert. Solothurn: Buchdruckerei C-Gassmann, 1904.

See especially Part 6: "Das Sturmjahr 1530" Though not the first work on the Reformation movement in Solothurn, it is perhaps the first successful attempt at a documented and scholarly monograph on the subject. As a monsignore of the Roman Catholic Church, the author's biases show now and then in his polemic, but only rarely in his treatment of the facts. His book, when supplemented with Steck's review of it and Blösch's publication of Haller's Solothurn letters, is still the foundation of any work on Haller's stay in Solothurn in 1530.

Specker, Hermann. Die Reformationswirren im Berner Oberland 1528: ihre Geschichte und Folgen. Diss. Freiburg in Switzerland: Paulusdruckerei, 1951.

Provides a useful bibliography and a good political and religious background to the unrest in Bern's territories mentioned in Haller's correspondence.

Staehelin, Ernst. Zwei private Publicationen über die Badener Disputation und ihre Autoren. Separate printing from the Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 37, Heft 3 and 4: 378-405. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes Aktengesellschaft, 1918.

Staehelin seeks to establish the identity of the author of two publications describing the proceedings at the Baden Disputation. Well researched. Haller fleetingly mentioned. Useful for a Haller biography only as background to Haller's letters concerning the Baden Disputation.

_____. Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads. (Vol. XXI of Quellen und Forschungen zur Kultur und Geschichte der Reformation). Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1939.

With the two volumes of correspondence which accompany this work, it is the most recent and comprehensive study of the Basler reformer. Because Haller and Oecolampad knew one another and corresponded, Haller is also mentioned. See especially pp. 380, 388, 526-27, 539, 606ff., 622 and 624.

_____, ed. Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads: zum vierhundertjährigen Jubiläum der Basler Reformation. 2 vols. [also Vols. 10 and 19 of Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte (früher Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte der Reformation)]. Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger and Siever, 1927-34.

Accompanies Staehelin's Das theologische Lebenswerk J. Oekolampad. These two volumes include letters from Oecolampad to Haller. Provides excellent explanatory material.

Steck, Rudolf. Zwingli und Bern. Printed from the Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde 15 (1919), Heft 1 and 2: 1-18. Bern: Druck und Verlag von Gustav Grunau, 1919.

Provides a good introduction to Zwingli's relationship to Bern. Steck portrays Zwingli as the leader and Haller as the follower, though his picture of Haller as an individual is more positive than in Köhler's book of the same title. Köhler is primarily interested in Zwingli's relationship to the Bernese government, whereas Steck examines more closely Zwingli's relationship to the Bernese preachers and lay representatives of the Reformation in Bern.

Strasser, Gottlieb. "Der schweizerische Anabaptismus zur Zeit der Reformation." In Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerische Reformationskirchen, pp. 168-246. Gen. ed. Friedrich Nippold. Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1884.

Although the author offers little information about Bernese Anabaptism in general, his contention that Haller showed empathy toward the Anabaptists and detested use of the sword influenced Müller.

Strasser, Otto Erich. Capitos Beziehungen zu Bern. [also Vol. IV (VII of the entire series) of Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte (II. Serie der Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte).] Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1928.

Although the author's treatment of Capito's relationship to Bern often appears secondary to a simple character study of this Strassburg reformer, Strasser does present an excellent picture of Capito in the years 1526-1537. Of greatest interest is the author's examination of Capito's Anabaptist sympathies and the Strassburger's participation in the Bernese synod of 1532. Haller's relationship with the Strassburg theologians receives no direct attention, but this book offers good introductory material for a work dealing with their friendship and with Haller's later years.

Tobler, Gustav. Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Bern in den Jahren 1521-1527. Separate printing from the Festgabe für Gerold Meyer von Kronau, pp. 343-57. Zürich: Berichthaus, 1913.

This work is based solely on governmental protocols (Ratsmanuale) to establish the relation of church and state before the Reformation in Bern. Interesting for a Haller biography in that it explains the political atmosphere in which Haller had to work. According to Tobler, "The Reformation [in Bern] and with that the establishment of a state-church appeared as a necessary result of an historical development" (p. 357).

Treschsel, Friedrich. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schweizer-reformierten Kirche: zunächst derjenigen des Kantons Bern. Parts 1-4. Bern: Verlag von CA. Jenni und Sohn, 1841-42.

See above under Hundeshagen.

Türler, Heinrich. Die Frau des Reformators Haller. Separate printing from the Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde 3 (1907): 3-8. Bern: Typ G. Grunau, 1907.

A scholarly and well-researched biographical study of Apollonia von Graben who became Haller's wife in 1529. The author maintains that Haller mentioned his marriage in a letter to Bucer dated 11 August 1529 (p. 3). This should be verified.

Vulliemin, Louis. Le Chroniqueur recueil historique et journal de l'Helvetie romande en l'an 1535 et 1536. Lausanne: G. Bridel, 1836.

Although I have not been able to examine this work, Nr. 6 and 7 reportedly contains a treatise on "Berchtold Haller et l'eglise Berne." It might be worth investigating.

Weidling, Julius. Ursachen und Verlauf der Berner Kirchenreform. Diss. Bern: Stampfl'sche Buchdruckerei, 1875.

This book gives, for its time, a fairly well-researched background to the Bernese Reformation and a summary of Haller's early years based on Kuhn, Stürler and Anshelm. Although Haller's letters are cited, the author does not say where they might be found.

Wirz, Ludwig. Helvetische Kirchengeschichte aus Johann Jakob Hottingers älterem Werke und andern Quellen neu bearbeitet. 5 vols. (Vols. IV and V carry the title Neure Helvetische Kirchengeschichte von der Reformation an bis auf unsre Zeiten. Vol. V is the second part of Vol. IV continued by Melchior Kirchhofer). Zürich: bei Orell, Füssli and Co., 1808-19.

Vols. IV and V were widely cited by authors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and contributed to the confusion surrounding Haller's early life. Wirz has misdated Haller's arrival in Bern and the date of his becoming a preacher. Both Wirz and Kirchhofer's continuation in Vol. V should be read with caution.

ARTICLES

Blösch, Emil. "Die Vorreformation in Bern." Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte 9 (1884): 1-107. Also published as a book. See under Other Works and General References.

_____. "Der eigenartige Charakter der Reformation in Bern." Volksblatt für die reformierte Kirche der Schweiz (1885). Also published as a book. See under Other Works and General References.

_____. "Ein ungedruckter Brief des Reformators Berchtold Haller." Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift 3 (1886): 178-83.

Blösch publishes for the first (and only) time two letters written by Haller during his stay in Solothurn in 1530: Haller-Anthon Noll, 4 February; and Haller-Bernhard Tillmann, 6 February. He also quotes two letters (8 and 19 February) from the Bernese emissary in Solothurn and one note to them (found in the Deutsch Missiven R, fol. 481b), which give insight into the conditions in Solothurn during Haller's stay.

Bender, Harold S. "Again, on Bernese Anabaptist Origins." Mennonite Quarterly Review 31 (1957): 295.

Excellent contribution to the question of the origins of Bernese Anabaptism, which acts as a supplement to Gratz's book and article [see Gratz below]. Though the author tends to believe that Bernese Anabaptism "was at least indirectly of Zürich origin," he does not deny that Waldensianism "may have helped to prepare the soil for Anabaptism in many places, not only in Switzerland." The author mentions that Haller's letter to Zwingli (29 November 1525) might also be one of the earliest documentary evidences for the existence of the sect in Bernese territory. Cf. Fast's article below.

Caflisch, L. "Zur Ikonographie Berchtold Hallers." Zwingliana IV (1928): 455-470.

Of interest for a Haller biography are the author's references to the reformer's appearance and maladies, as well as for the description of medallions made of Haller. See Tables I-VII for pictures of Haller.

Egli, Emil. "Berchtold Haller und Theodor Beza." Zwingliana I (1897): 10-17.

Mentioned here only for its misleading and too promising title. The author has nothing to report about the relationship of Beza and Haller except that Beza was in the possession of an exemplar of the "Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zur Bern in Uechtland" which had on it a short handwritten history of Haller's life.

Fast, Heinzold. "Research Notes on the Beginnings of Bernese Anabaptism." Mennonite Quarterly Review 31 (1957): 292-93.

Re-examination of the question whether Bernese Anabaptism goes back to the Waldensians or has its roots in the movement in Zürich.

Fast looks at various arguments and concludes that a letter from Bullinger to Heinrich Simler of late 1525 or early 1526 "proves rather than disproves the dependence of Bernese Anabaptism on the movement in Zürich" (p. 293). He makes no mention, however, of the letters Oecolampad-Haller (8 August 1525), Haller-Zwingli (29 November 1525), or of Haller-Vadian (5 October 1525), any of which could prove to be the earliest proof that Anabaptism had already found roots in Bernese territory.

Fluri, Adolf. "Das bernische Täufermandat vom 2. März 1533." Zwingliana I (1901): 196-200.

Author regives the protocol of a Chorgericht meeting of 24 January 1533 which provides the best exposé of Haller's attitude toward treatment of the Anabaptists. Author comments that "Haller's remarks [at the meeting] are a beautiful testament of his gentleness and mildness. He wants no persecution, indeed he demands tolerance of silent Anabaptists who do not advertise their belief" (p. 199). In addition, Fluri believes that this meeting was responsible for the milder Anabaptist mandate of 1533 in comparison to previous ones.

_____. "Die erste Berner Synode." Zwingliana I: 144-45.

Besides offering proof that the first Berner Synod was held in 1530 and not in 1532 as long thought, this article offers nothing to a Haller biography.

Glutz-Blotzheim, Robert. "Darstellung des Versuches die Reformation in Solothurn einzuleiten." Schweizerisches Museum (1816). Also published as a book. See under Other Works and General References.

Gratz, Delbert L. "Bernese Anabaptist Origins," and "Codicum Bernensium, 464." Mennonite Quarterly Review 31 (1957): 294-95.

Short supplementary defense of his book on Bernese Anabaptism and its origins. Concludes that Bullinger's letter to Simler can still not prove that its origins must be sought in Zürich. Also does not mention Oecolampad's letter to Haller (8 August 1525) nor Haller to Vadian (5 October 1525) or to Zwingli (29 November 1525). See the above critique of Fast's "Research Notes."

_____. "Bernese Anabaptist Beginnings." Theologische Zeitschrift 14 (1958): 136-37.

This article has not yet come into my possession, but it reportedly takes issue with Joachim Staedtke's article on Anabaptism in the same journal from 1955.

Köhler, Walther. "Zwingli's Beziehung zu Bern." Zwingliana IV (1928): 450-55.

Presents a short but interesting view of the relationship of Bern and Haller to Zürich and Zwingli, although it attests too strongly to Köhler's bias in favor of Zürich. He maintains that "Bern's dependency on Zürich is embodied in Haller, because as much as Haller led the Bernese Reformation, it followed in Zwingli's footsteps" (p. 451).

Muralt, Leonard von. "Bern's Westpolitik von 1525-1531." Zwingliana IV (1928): 470-76.

Interesting for a Haller biography as background for Haller's references to the political and religious situation in the Waadtland in the late 1520s and early 1530s.

_____. "Das Gespräch mit den Wiedertäufern am 22. January 1528 zu Bern." Zwingliana V: 409-13.

It has long been known that on 22 January 1528 many Swiss evangelical preachers--assembled for the Berner Disputation--held a meeting with eight Anabaptists. Documentary evidence, however is scarce. Von Muralt not only publishes for the first time notes by the Bernese secretary Peter Cyro of this meeting but he also provides the first evidence of Haller's participation. "Ein Berner, Berchtold" can only refer to Haller.

Schuhmann, Georg. "Die grosse Disputation zu Bern." Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte 3 (1909): 81-101, 210-15, and 241-74.

Because the Berner Disputation is most often seen through Swiss Reformed eyes, Schuhmann seeks to play the devil's advocate and examines criticism of the Disputation, whether Roman Catholic or otherwise, to see if it is well-founded. The author provides an excellent list of sources, evaluates Haller's and Kolb's disputation articles and the Disputation in general, and should be in the bibliography of any work on the Berner Disputation.

Staedtke, Joachim. "Die Anfänge des Täuferturns in Bern." Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel) 11 (1955): 75-78.

Though I have not yet been able to critique this article, it could prove useful to a Haller biography by helping to establish when Haller first had contact with the Anabaptists.

Staehelin, Ernst. "Zwei private Publicationen über die Badener Disputation und ihre Autoren." Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 37, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 378-405. Also printed as a separate work. See under Other Works and General References.

Steck, Rudolf. Review of Solothurns Glaubenskampf und Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert, by Ludwig Rochus Schmidlin. Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift 22 (1905): 174-83.

Essential for any work on Haller's stay in Solothurn in 1530. It points out Schmidlin's mistakes and acts as a supplement to the book reviewed. See below for Waldburger's critique of this book.

Strasser, Otto Erich. "Die letzten Anstrengungen der Strassburger Theologen Martin Bucer und Wolfgang Capito, eine Union zwischen den deutschen Lutheranern und den schweizerischen Reformierten herbeizuführen." Zwingliana (1934): 5-15.

Although Haller is not mentioned, this article provides information about unification attempts following his death.

- _____. "Zwingli und Bern." Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde 15 (1919): 1-18. Also printed as a separate work. See under Other Works and General References.
- Türler, Heinrich. "Die Frau des Reformators Haller." Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde 3 (1907): 3-8. Printed as a separate work. See under Other Works and General References.
- Waldburger, Paul. Review of Solothurns Glaubenskampf und Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert, by Ludwig Rochus Schmidlin. Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift 22 (1905): 183-88.
 Though less helpful for a Haller biography than Steck's review of the same book, this essay should also be consulted in connection with Haller's stay in Solothurn in 1530.
- Wyss, J.R., der ältere. "Berns Reformatoren: in vier Sonnetten." Alpenrosen: ein Schweizer-Taschenbuch (1829): 191-95. Found in the Bürgerbibliothek Bern.
 In commemoration of the fourth centennial celebration of the Bernese Reformation, Wyss wrote poems about Bern's reformers, including Haller. They are of little use to scholars, although of historical interest is the fact that Wyss compares Haller to Berchtold of Zähringen, who is considered to be the founder of Bern.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

"Von den Bildnissen Berchtold Hallers: zum bernischen Reformations-jubiläum." Solothurner Wochenblatt, 18 February 1928, Nr. 7, Beilage des Solothurner Tagblatt zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung.

Intended for light entertaining reading, this article is still of interest for its description of the pictures and medals made in Haller's likeness. When the author deduces Haller's personality from the likenesses, his discourse is less reliable.

Grunau, Gustav. "Die Berner Reformationsmedaillen 1728-1928." Der Kleine Bund, literary supplement of the Bund 9, Nr. 6, 5 February 1938, pp. 47-8.

Of interest for its description of medals of Haller and/or Franz Kolb for centennial celebrations of the Reformation.

Hadorn, Wilhelm. "Die Reformation in Bern." Berner Tagblatt: supplement, 4 February 1928, p. 8.

Offers little original or new. It is an article in celebration of the fourth centennial of the Bernese Reformation and for the general public's illumination. Haller only briefly mentioned. Article of little use for a Haller biography.

NOTES: CHAPTER I

1. E. William Monter, Calvin's Geneva (New York: Wiley, 1967), p. 23n, estimates Bern's city population at 4000 to 5000 although it ruled over 70,000 inhabitants in its territory.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

3. Emil Lüthi, Die Bernische Politik in den Kappelerkriegen, 2nd ed. (Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1880), p. 101.

4. Although Doctors Thomas Wittenbach and Sebastian Meyer both began preaching reform in Bern earlier than Haller, both left the city in the early 1520s. Thus justifiably Haller may be considered the first Protestant reformer and preacher in Bern.

5. Emil Blösch, Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirchen, 2 vols. (Bern: Verlag von Schmid und Francke, 1898-1899), I: 198.

6. L. Caflisch, "Zur Ikonography Berchtold Hallers," Zwingliana IV (1928): 470. All translations from German sources are my own.

7. Paul Flückiger, "Zwingli's Beziehungen zu Bern," in Berner Beiträge zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Reformationskirchen, gen. ed. Friedrich Nippold (Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1884), p. 14.

8. Dr. Thomas Wittenbach, former teacher of Zwingli and Leo Jud at the Hohe Schule in Basel, left Bern in 1520 and became the reformer of Biel. Dr. Sebastian Meyer later left his order, married, and continued his preaching in Schaffhausen, Basel, Augsburg and then Strassburg until he was recalled to Bern after Haller's death. For Meyer, see Moritz von Stürler, Urkunden der bernischen Kirchenreform, 2 vols. (Bern: gedruckt in der Stämpflischen Buchdruckerei, 1862/1873), I: 126. Although not a preacher, Valerius Anshelm (a physician and commissioned by Bern to write the Berner-Chronik) had his wages halved because his wife boldly defended priestly marriage. They then went to Rottweil, returning to Bern only in 1529 after this city became reformed. See Valerius Anshelm, Die Berner-Chronik des Valerius Anshelm, Vols. III-VI (1507-36), herausg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern (Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1888-1896), V: 26-27; Eidgenössische Abschiede IV, 1a (1521-1528), ed. Johanne Strickler (Brugg: Druck von Fisch, Wild und Co., 1873), p. 386; and the Rat order from 6 January 1524 in Rudolf Steck and Gustav Tobler, eds., Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner-Reformation 1521-1532, 2 parts in 1 vol. (Bern: K.J. Wyss Erben, 1923), p. 87, Nr. 338.

9. Zwingli-Haller, 29 December 1521. Though this letter is frequently quoted by authors, it has often been misdated. See below, Notes: Chapter II, n. 29. The letter is correctly dated and published in

Latin in Heinrich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke, vols. VII-XI [=Corpus Reformatorum, vols. XCIV-XCVIII or Zwinglis Briefwechsel, vols. I-V], ed. Emil Egli et al. (Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1911-1935), VII, Nr. 194. An older publication of Zwingli's correspondence may also be found in Zwinglis Werken [often cited Huldrici Zuinglii opera], 8 vols., eds. Melchior Schuler and Johann Schulthess (Zürich: bei Friderick Schulthess, 1828-1842; Supplement, 1861). In my paper Heinrich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke [Zw.] will be used predominantly.

10. Gustav Tobler, Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Bern in den Jahren 1521-1527, Sonderabdruck aus der Festgabe für Gerold Meyer von Kronau (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1913), p. 357.

11. For Niklaus Manuel's poem, see Jacob Baechtold, Niklaus Manuel, [Vol. II of Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz und ihres Grenzgebiets, herausg. von J. Baechtold und Ferdinand Vetter] (Frauenfeld: Verlag J. Huber, 1878), pp. 72-73 and 99. Lütpriester Berchtold Haller is represented by Doctor Lüpold Schüchnit ["shy not"] in Manuel's Fassnachtspyl of 1522.

12. Haller-Vadian, 3 July 1527, in Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen, 7 parts in 5 vols., eds. Emil Arbenz and Hermann Wartmann (St. Gallen: Verlag von Huber & Co. [Vol. I] and Fehr'sche Buchhandlung [vormals Huber & Co.], 1902-1903) IV, Nr. 488.

13. Correspondance des Réformateurs, 9 vols., ed. A. J. Herminjard (Genève: H. Georg, 1866-1897) I, Nr. 183 (hereafter cited as Herminjard), dates their friendship from about November 1526, although already on 25 October of that year, Farel mentioned Haller in a letter to Capito and Bucer. For Haller about Farel, see Haller-Vadian, 3 July 1527, Vad. IV, Nr. 488. See also Herminjard III: 22n, 75n, Nr. 422 and Nr. 453 for further references to Haller's relationship to Farel.

14. See Ami Porral to the Genevan Council, 10 July 1535, Herminjard III, Nr. 516 and Eidg. Absch. IV, 1c, p. 526, Nr. 302.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

1. Samuel Scheurer, Bernisches Mausoleum, 6 parts in 3 vols., Vol. II, Part 3: Lebens-Beschreibung Berchtold Hallers des Reformators Bern mit Einlauffen der Kirchen-Geschichten seiner Zeit und sonderlich seines orts (Bern: bei Wit. Bondeli, 1741), Vol. II: 319, states that Haller was born in either Aldingen or Rottweil in 1492. Gottlieb Jakob Kuhn, Die Reformatoren Berns im XVI Jahrhundert nach dem Berner'schen Mausoleum umgearbeitet (Bern: In der L. R. Walther'schen Buchhandlung, 1828), p. 134, repeats this information, for his book is a re-working of Scheurer's. The date 1491 in Rottweil is given by Samuel Fischer, Geschichte der Disputation und Reformation in Bern (Bern: bei Chr. Albr. Jenni, Buchhändler, 1828), p. 85. No doubt one of the sources of uncertainty of Haller's birth is due to a poured silver medal of 1535, whereon Haller's age is given at forty-one. That would lead to the conclusion that Haller was not born in 1492. L. Caflisch, "Zur Ikonographie Berchtold Hallers," Zwingliana IV (1928): 455-70, has done an interesting study addressed in part to this question and speculates that this medal was made from a likeness of Haller of 1531, which however still does not point to the year 1492 which is nonetheless accepted by recent historians.

2. Haller-Anshelm, Tuesday After Ascension, 1527, in Michael Stettler, Annales oder Gründliche Beschreibung . . . (also often cited Schweizer or Berner Chronik (Bern: 1626-27), Part I: 668-69. See also Haller-Anshelm, 11 July 1526, in Stürler I: 581. Two early letters of Haller's to Johann Wolfgang Egen (22 February 1513) and to August Bolster (15 September 1515), which have never been published, might shed more light on his past (found in the Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II 341/3478 and 3479). About the persecution in Rottweil, see Anshelm V: 186.

3. Haller-Anshelm, written after 19 March 1527, in Stürler I: 582-84.

4. Rudolf Pfister, Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz, 2 vols. (Zürich: theologischen Verlag, 1964/74), II: 16-17, implies that Glarean, born June 1484 in Mollis, met Haller at Rottweil after Rubellus left Bern to return to Rottweil sometime after 1513. This could not have been the case, for Haller remained in Bern from 1513 until he died in 1536. Either the two met in Rottweil before 1506 (when Glarean matriculated at Köln) or they met at the University in Köln after 1510.

5. On Melchior Volmar, see Haller-Vadian, 17 May 1535, Vad. V, Nr. 816. Haller said of him: "Fuimus uterque ab ovo collectanei, unius praeceptoris Rubelli, leviri sui, condiscipuli ad annos ferme decem et Rotvile et Bern."

6. See Haller-Bolster, 15 September 1515, E II 341/3479 in the Staatsarchiv Zürich.

7. Scheurer, Bern. Maus., Vol. II: 321, calls him Peter Simler, but notes that Camerarius in the life of Melanchthon, called him Georg Simler of the Simlers of Zürich. Hermann Cardauns, de Reformatione Bernensi, Diss. (Bonn: Formis Carthusianis, 1886), p. 36, also calls him Georg.

8. According to Carl Pestalozzi, Bertold Haller nach handschriftlichen und gegenzeitigen Quellen (Elberfeld: Verlag von R. L. Friderichs, 1861), p. 44, Haller wrote Bullinger in a letter from 3 October 1535 about his friendship with Melanchthon. The letter bearing this date may be found in E II 360/47-48 in the Staatsarchiv Zürich.

9. Clyde Leonard Manschreck, Melanchthon: the Quiet Reformer (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), p. 32.

10. Ibid., p. 33.

11. Cardauns, de Reformatione Bernensi, p. 36, note 5: "Liber immatr. Univers. Colon. N. 4, 8. Mai, 1510: Bartholdus Haller de rotwyla Dyoceseos Constantiensis ad artes iuravit et voluit."

12. Franz Gescher, "Die Statuten der theologischen Fakultät an der alten Universität," in Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Gründung der alten Universität Köln im Jahre 1388, introduction by Hans von Haberer (Köln: Kurt Schroder Verlag, 1938), pp. 54-65.

13. Manschreck, Melanchthon, pp. 24-26.

14. In the Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II Collection index, Haller, as the sender of the letter to Johann Wolfgang Egen, is characterized as "subordinate teacher in Rottweil."

15. Scheurer, Bern. Maus., Vol. II: 322; Samuel Fischer, Gesch. d. Disp. u. Ref., p. 91, mentions this also. However, "Die Regesten der Klöster und kirchlichen Stifte des Kantons Bern," Vol. I, Heft 2 of Die Regesten der Archive in der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, ed. Friedrich Stettler, gen. ed. Theodor von Mohr (Chur: Druck und Verlag G. Hitz, 1849), p. 9, Nr. 48 (18 November 1517) and Nr. 49 (23 November 1517), give two notes issued by Haller as an apostolic notary.

16. See Haller-Johann Wolfgang Egen, 22 February 1513, E II 341/3478. This Master Caesareus might be the humanist J. Caesarius (or possibly a relative) from whom Glarean learned Greek at Cologne in 1510. Since Haller matriculated in this same year, it is possible that he knew Glarean's teacher and was to live with him, or a relative of his, in Freiburg. See Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, Glarean: sein Leben und seine Schriften (Frauenfeld: Verlag J. Huber, 1890), pp. 5-6.

17. The Latin School in Bern had been directed by such illustrious men as Heinrich Lupulus (Wölflin) from 1494-1498; Valerius Anshelm, 1505-1508; and Michael Rubellus after 1510. See Kurt Guggisberg,

Bernische Kirchengeschichte (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1958), pp. 49-50. It was here at the Latin School in Bern that Zwingli studied with Lupulus after his schooling in Wesen and Basel. See Flückiger, "Zwingli's Beziehungen zu Bern," p. 4.

18. "Die Regesten der Klöster," p. 9, Nr. 48 and 49.

19. For Valerius Anshelm, see Emil Blösch's introduction to Anshelm VI. Sebastian Meyer von Neuenburg on the Rhine was born about 1467. Mentioned in the fall 1521 as Custos in Basel and Lesemeister in Bern, he began to teach Paul's letters in the early 1520s in Bern and should be considered, along with Haller, one of Bern's first reformers. On 26 October 1524 he was asked to leave Bern. He moved to Schaffhausen where he again had to leave, this time to Basel and then to Strassburg. After Haller's death, he was recalled to Bern. Bartholomäus May (or Mai) was a member of one of the most prestigious families in Bern. Leonhard Tremp married Zwingli's only sister Anna. Niklaus Manuel was the well-known poet and Bernese diplomat.

20. According to Bern's cathedral statutes, the Custos was the People's Priest (Leutpriester, in Swiss dialect, Lütpriester) of St. Vincent's. See Stürler I: 4.

21. Zwingli-Haller, 29 December 1521, Zw. VII, Nr. 194.

22. Nowhere have I been able to find mention of Haller's ordination to the priesthood. In a personal conversation with Dr. Kurt Guggisberg, Professor of Theology at the University of Bern before his death, I posed the question to him. He admitted that the thought had never occurred to him, but he did not believe Haller ever had been. It is known, however, that Haller was saying Mass up to the end of 1525, which, from a Roman Catholic standpoint, would have required his ordination.

23. Berchtold Haller, ed., Bern in seinen Ratsmanualen 1465-1565, 3 vols., herausg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern (Bern: Druck und Verlag von K.J. Wyss, 1900-1902), I: 86 (20 May 1520). Haller was made a Chorherr in place of the "Kirchherr von Walperswills" and not, as it would appear, because Wittenbach left Bern.

24. Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 60. See also Haller-Zwingli, 6 Id. [8 April] 1523; and Sebastian Meyer-Zwingli, 11 November 1522 (Zw. VIII, Nr. 293 and Zw. VII, Nr. 248) for insight into Haller's and Meyer's activities as preachers in the early 1520s.

25. Guggisberg, Ibid., pp. 56-57. According to Guggisberg, as early as 23 September 1518 a bookdealer from Basel brought a substantial number of Luther's monographs to Bern, and the Stadtbibliothek still has some of these original editions which had been in private hands. For a brief but interesting look at Bern's relationship to publishers, see Adolf Fluri, Die Beziehungen Berns zu den Buchdruckern in Basel, Zürich und Genf 1476-1536 (Bern: Verlag der Schweizerischen Gutenbergstube, Historisches Museum, 1913).

26. Oswald Myconius-Zwingli, Luzern, 13 December 1520, Zw. VII, Nr. 165.

27. Walther Köhler, Zwingli und Bern [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1928], p. 10, dates their meeting December 1520.

28. Haller-Zwingli, 28 January 1522, Zw. VII, Nr. 196.

29. Zwingli-Haller, 29 December 1521, Zw. VII, Nr. 194. Two of Haller's biographers, Scheurer and Pestalozzi, suggest that Haller desired to leave Bern because his and Dr. Sebastian Meyer's mode of preaching had become the object of displeasure for several Bernese clerics as well as the Bishop of Lausanne, Sebastian von Motfaulcon, who then summoned Haller and Meyer for a hearing. [This demand would not have been unusual, because Bern and some of her territories lay within the jurisdiction of this bishop, as well as in that of the bishops of Constance, Basel, and Sitten.] Anshelm may have been the source of these biographers' contention, because he mentions in his chronicle (V, Introduction to the year 1522) that Haller was to be handed over to the bishop, although the editors of the Historischer Verein edition note that they find no evidence for this. Anshelm, although in Bern in 1521, had to leave in 1524 or 1525 and only upon his return in 1529 was he contracted to write the chronicle. At that time, he may have found a document dated 24 May 1521 pertaining to the "presentation of Haller" to the Bishop of Lausanne by the Prost and Stiftskapitel of Bern [see Rudolf Steck and Gustav Tobler, eds., Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner-Reformation 1521-1532, 2 Parts in 1 vol. (Bern: K.J. Wyss Erben, 1923), Nr. 23 (24 May 1521)]. Forgetting what actually happened years before, he may not have noticed that this note referred to Johannes Haller the elder, whose acceptance as a pastor in Bern's territory would naturally be announced to the bishop. Whatever Scheurer's and Pestalozzi's source of information, Zwingli's letter to Haller of 29 December 1521 and Haller's letter of 28 January 1522, mentioning his desire to leave Bern, have often been misdated (Scheurer dates Zwingli's letter 4 January 1523 and Fischer, Gesch. d. Disp. u. Ref., 28 December 1522). Scheurer (Bern. Maus., Vol. II: 329) also claims that, in response to criticism of their preaching, Haller and Meyer wrote a defense and sent it to Zwingli to be published. This is most probably a myth, although Meyer did indeed mention in a letter to Zwingli dated 11 November 1522 that he was preparing a tract against a letter of admonition from the bishop of Constance not, however, from that of Lausanne (Zw. VII, Nr. 248).

30. For Bern's governmental organization, see Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972), I: 550.

31. Haller-Zwingli, 8 Id. Iul. [8 July] 1522, Zw. VII, Nr. 214.

32. Haller reported these proceedings to Zwingli by sending the minutes in four original acta with his own comments. See Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller, Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte und aller Theile so dahin Bezug haben, 6 vols. (Bern: in der Hallerschen Buchhandlung,

1786), 3: 73, Nr. 168, wherein he maintains that they were signed by Brunner. Haller's comments published in Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 129 and see also Nr. 106 and 121. Acta found in the Simler Sammlung in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, at least in copy.

33. Haller-Zwingli, 8 April 1523, Zw. VIII, Nr. 293.

34. Haller-Zwingli, 8 Id. Iul. [8 July] 1522, Zw. VII, Nr. 214. Zwingli's tract entitled: "Eine göttliche Vermahnung an die ältesten Eidgenossen zu Schwyz, dass sie sich vor fremden Herren hüten and entladen." For an examination of its political implications, see Elsa Beurle, Der politische Kampf um die religiöse Einheit der Eidgenossenschaft 1520-27: ein Beitrag zu Zwinglis Staatspolitik, Diss. (Linz a/D.: O.-ö. Buchdr.-u. Verlags-Ges., 1920), pp. 21-23.

35. It is Paul Flückiger's contention that foreign powers turned especially to "the war-knowledgeable, noble families of Bern," for help recruiting mercenaries (Flückiger, "Zwinglis Beziehungen zu Bern," p. 8).

36. In many letters throughout his short life, Haller spoke of his hernia, of swollen legs, and gout and frequently asked his friend and doctor, Joachim von Watt (Vadian) for advice. See Caflisch, "Zur Ikonographie," pp. 455-470, for a discussion of Haller's illnesses and his general appearance. See also "Von den Bildnissen Berchtold Hallers: zum bernischen Reformation-jubiläum," Solothurner Wochenblatt, 18 February 1928, Nr. 7, Beilage des Solothurner Tagblatt zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung.

37. Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 197, 198 and 212: Frauenbrunnen episode; and Nr. 218: Bern to the Franciscan provincial.

38. Printed in Stürler I: 101 (15 June 1523). See particularly Fluri, Buchdruckern, pp. 20ff. for pictures of this mandate, and a discussion of it in light of the Basler Mandate of 1523 that served as its model.

39. Proof that the mandates were not meant to be advantageous to the Reformation is found in a letter to Vadian from Sebastian Appenzeller after a visit in Bern: "Bern ist willens in irn landen und gebietten das evangelium sampt das sich biblischer und h. geschrift vergliche zuo predigen lassen; wellend ouch nit kains wegs, das sollichs luotterisch leren genempt noch gehaissen sigend nach wurden" (Vad. III, Nr. 406).

40. For this St. Michael's Day episode, see Anshelm V: 24-27. As far as I can tell, Haller never mentioned the event in any of his letters as he was not to mention a similarly dangerous situation during his stay in Solothurn in 1530.

41. For Anshelm's misfortune, see Anshelm V: 26-27; VI: VIII for Emil Blösch's comments, and Stürler I: 10. Regarding loss of prebends, see Stürler I: 12.

42. On 6 October 1524 Meyer dedicated his "D. Seb. Meyer, etwann Predicant zum Barfussen zu Strassburg, widerruffung an ein löblich Freystat Strassburg" to Strassburg. Otto Erich Strasser, Capitos Beziehung zu Bern (Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger; 1928), pp. 5-7 believes that this retraction monograph was meant to be an answer to Conrad Treyer.

43. Anshelm V: 57-60. See also Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 360 (18 February 1524) which records that Heim should not preach; Nr. 491 (September? 1524); and Nr. 498 (26 October 1524). Note also Nr. 499. Meyer left his order, married and preached in Basel, Augsburg, Strassburg and, reports Anshelm, Schaffhausen.

44. Anshelm mentions that Haller was to be handed over to the Bishop of Lausanne, but Bern would not hear of it. In addition, he records two episodes in which Haller was in danger: (1) one time at night as he was called to the bed of an ill person, he was to be attacked and led away. The stone mansions became suspicious and warned him to remain at home; (2) another time, his friends had to protect him with weapons so that he remained unharmed. When or why these episodes took place, Anshelm does not say, nor does he give further information.

45. The Mandate from 28 April 1524 was followed by one from 22 November 1524 and another on 7 April 1525. The last two mandates represent a return to harsher adherence to Roman Catholicism. See Stürler I: 116-17 (28 April 1524), I: 128 (22 November 1524); I: 135ff. (7 April 1525). It is interesting to note that the Rat released the last mandate to usher in a "reformation" but not, as Stürler remarks, to usher in the Reformation as we now understand the word. He believes the idea to use the word may have come from Cardinal Osti's urgent plea of 29 August 1522 to pope Adrian VI to reform the church (Stürler I: 143).

46. Claudius Mai-Zwingli, Thursday before Christmass, Zw. opera VII, pp. 451-52 (Latin) and p. 452 (German).

47. Anshelm V: 172. See also Haller-Anshelm, 11 July 1526, in Stürler I: 579, "non enim a natalitis feriis missaveram."

48. See Claus-Peter Clasen, Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525-1618: Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 16, remarks that Anabaptist doctrines spread to Basel in August and in November 1525 to Bern. Delbert L. Gratz, Bernese Anabaptists and their American Descendants [No. 8 of Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, ed. Harold S. Bender et al. (Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1953)] (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1953), p. 7, reports that the first written evidence of Anabaptists in Bernese territory was a letter from Bullinger to Heinrich Simler in Bern at the end of 1525 or the beginning of 1526. Yet, he mentions a letter from Haller to Zwingli dated 29 November 1525 which may be the first written report mentioning Anabaptist activity in Bern. In addition, Vad. III, Nr. 434 records a letter from Haller to Vadian from 5 October 1525 in which Haller mentions the Anabaptists as if he had direct knowledge of them. Either he has had

personal contact or he is repeating information perhaps gained from a letter from Oecolampad dated 8 August 1525 (Oek. I, Nr. 269).

49. Oecolampad-Haller, 8 August 1525, Oek. I, Nr. 269.

50. Haller-Vadian, 5 October 1525, Vad. III, Nr. 434.

51. Haller-Zwingli, 29 November 1525, Zw. VIII, Nr. 414.

52. Haller-Zwingli, 9 May 1523, Zw. VIII, Nr. 302.

53. Chorgericht meeting from 24 January 1533, published by Adolf Fluri, "Das bernische Täufermandat von 2. März 1533," Zwingliana I: 196-200.

54. For disputations with the Anabaptists and Haller's relationship to them, see below Chapter III, B.

55. Leonhard von Muralt, Die Badener Disputation 1526 [Vol. III (IV of the entire collection) of Quellen und Abhandlung zur schweizerischen Reformationgeschichte (II. Serie der Quellen zur schweizerischen Reformationgeschichte), herausg. von Zwingli-Verein in Zürich] (Leipzig: Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1926). Muralt's book examines, and agrees with, Walther Köhler's original contention that the Baden Disputation was the Swiss Diet of Worms.

56. See Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 894, 896, 898 for documents concerning the Rat's order for Haller to go to Baden. It appears that Bern had not originally planned to send Haller, for the order came 23 May 1526 after the Disputation had already started (21 May). See also Oecolampad-Zwingli, Zw. VIII, Nr. 483 (Baden, 18 May 1526), and Nr. 488 (Baden, 23 May 1526: Haller is expected).

57. Pfingstmontag Mandate in Stürler I: 158-59 (21 May 1526). In general, this mandate reaffirmed the mandate from 7 April 1525.

58. See Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534, Vol. II (Basel: Verlag der historisch-und antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Karl Werner, 1933), p. 331.

59. For Eck's articles, see Eidg. Absch. IV, 1a, p. 927 (24 May 1526).

60. For the best information concerning Haller's mode of disputing and his theological arguments at Baden, see the "Protokolle der Disputation zu Baden" in the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek Bern. See also, Haller-Ansheim, 11 July 1526, in Stürler I: 571-82.

61. Quoted in Johann Salat's Chronik der Schweizerischen Reformation: von deren Anfängen bis und mit Ao. 1534 (im Auftrage der Katholischen Orte), (n.p., n.d.), p. 157n.

62. Tremp-Zwingli, end of March 1526, Zw. VIII, Nr. 461 and Zwingli-Rat in Bern, Zw. opera VII, pp. 496ff. (German Translation). Concerning safe conduct, see Beurle, Der politische Kampf, Chap. 2: "Die Vorgeschichte der Badener Disputation."

63. Von Muralt, Baden. Disp., p. 28.

64. Edig. Absch. IV, 1a, p. 912.

65. Haller-Anshelm, 11 July 1526, Stürler I: 573.

66. For the Catholic regions' complaint to Bern, see Eidg. Absch. IV, 1a, p. 910 (30 May 1526) and p. 910 (31 May 1526) for Bern's letters to Haller and the Catholic regions.

67. Haller-Anshelm, Stürler I: 578.

68. Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 95.

69. Haller-Anshelm, 11 July 1526, Stürler I: 579.

70. See Anshelm V: 171ff. for Haller's appearance before the Small and Large Rat.

71. Ibid., p. 580.

72. Haller-Zwingli, 17 December 1526, Zw. VIII, Nr. 559. See also Haller-Vadian, 24 December 1526, Vad. IV, Nr. 475.

73. Franz Kolb (ca. 1465-35) from Intzlingen near Lörrach, was field preacher in 1507 for the Swiss mercenaries of Emperor Maximilian in Italy. Afterwards, he became an outspoken opponent of mercenarianism for which reason he had to leave Bern in 1512. See also Haller-Anshelm, Tuesday after Ascension 1527, in Michael Stettler, Annales, pp. 668-69: "Meister Frantz Kolb und ich sind in einem Haus, und führen das Wort einmütig." See also Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 1278 and 1279.

74. Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 96, says that not fewer than eighty magistrates left their offices in the government and some were even ready to give up their citizenship. See also Anshelm V: 217-18: "Ordnungen" for the new election regulation of Rat members.

75. See Zwingli-Vadian, 11 May 1527, Vad. IV, Nr. 483: Zwingli reports that Caspar von Müllinen is no longer in the Rat in Bern--information he received from Haller on 25 April 1527 (Zw. IX, Nr. 608).

76. Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 96.

77. Anshelm V: 174.

78. Salat, Chronik, p. 146.

79. Leonhard von Muralt, "Renaissance and Reformation: die Reformation in der deutschen Schweiz," in Vol. I of Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972), p. 482.

80. For the ten articles to be disputed, see Haller-Zwingli, 4 November 1527, Zw. IX, Nr. 664 in German and Latin. See also Georg Schuhmann, "Die grosse Disputation zu Bern," Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte 3 (1909): 81-101, 210-15, and 241-74, in which Schuhmann discusses the possible sources of the ideas incorporated in the articles (p. 96ff.).

81. Bishop Hugo of Constance to Bern, 31 December 1527, in Stürler I: 525-33.

82. Stürler I: 515. Bern's reply in Stürler I: 224.

83. Laurencius Bosshart, The Chronik des Laurencius Bosshart von Winthertur 1185-1532, ed. Kaspar Hauser (Basel: Baster Buch-und Antiquariatshandlung, vormals Adolf Geering, 1905), p. 128.

84. Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zuo Bern in Uechtland (Zürich: Chr. Froschauer, 23 March 1528), passim.

85. Eidg. Absch. IV, 1a, p. 1262, Nr. 108 (January 1528: Disputation zu Bern).

86. See Haller-Vadian, 15 February 1528, Vad. IV, Nr. 507; and Haller-Zwingli, 12 February 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 688. Hofmeister did not remain long in Bern, because Bern sent him to Zofingen, where he continued his work as preacher and reformer.

87. This "Ordnung betr.[effend] die Dekane in Stadt u.[nd] Land" can be found in the Unnütze Papiere (U.P.) 79/52 in the Staatsarchiv Bern under the year 1530. Theodor de Quervain, Kirchliche und sociale Zustände in Bern unmittelbar nach der Einführung der Reformation (1528-1536) (Bern: Buchdruckerei Gustav Grunau, 1906), p. 12n, remarks that this "Dekanen-Ordnung" is not dated but may be considered the homiletic instruction manual which was accepted by the government on 26 March 1528.

88. Kolb-Zwingli, 1 May 1528, Zw. opera VIII: 173. As Kolb reports, this visitation was something of a fiasco. In some places Landsberger was welcomed, but in others some of the landsmen complained to the Chorgericht that he had taken liberties with their women--which Kolb simply did not believe. See also Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 96. Blösch is incorrect that the first visitation was held under Haller's leadership in March of 1532.

89. Concerning the 1532, 1534 and 1535 visitations, see Chapter III, C.1.: Visitations.

90. For Synods, see Chapter III, C.2.

91. Haller reportedly did not participate in the spring 1535 visitation because he had left for Zofinger to confer with Bullinger or Jud. See Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 197 and cf. Kirchhofer, B. Haller, pp. 189ff. Kirchhofer cites a letter from Haller to Bullinger from the beginning of May 1535. The Staatsarchiv Zürich has two letters (6 and 10 May 1535, E II 343/75 and 360/17-18) which might contain further information.

92. Johann Jacob Frickart, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchengebräuche im ehemaligen Kanton Bern seit der Reformation (Aarau: H.R. Sauerländer Sortiments-Buchhandlung, 1846), p. 55.

93. Haller-Zwingli, 31 March 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 706. See also Haller-Bullinger, 23 September 1533, cited in part by Quervain, Züstände, pp. 65-67. Original in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Simler Sammlung. The letter also concerns lectures and Haller's comments about his colleagues.

94. Frickart, Kirchengebräuche, in the section "Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift beim Gottesdienst: von Predigen," pp. 50-65, examines the manner of preaching in Bern. According to him, Haller's sermons deal with the second book of Moses, have no introduction, no special topic sentence, and no logical subdivisions. Haller appears to have given a verse to verse explanation, which he then clarified and applied to daily life. According to Frickart, these discourses were not held from the main pulpit, but were given near the baptismal front so that the preacher could make better use of the vernacular. Frickart further remarks that this practice corresponded closely to the Prophesei which Zwingli employed (see Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 98).

95. See Ami Porral to the Council of Geneva (Bern, 10 July 1535) in Herminjard III, Nr. 516; and Eidg. Absch. IV, 1c, p. 526, Nr. 302 (10 July 1535), Ami Porral-Geneva.

96. For examples of these notes, see Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 191 (20 February 1523); Nr. 713 (18 August 1525); Nr. 598 (23 March 1525); Nr. 722 (8 September 1525); and Nr. 2112 (22 January 1529).

97. Ibid., Nr. 1517 (12 February 1528) and Nr. 1715 (15 June 1528). The church service was set up so that it served not only as a commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross, but also as a time of instruction for the community. It began with a confession of sin, the Our Father and recitation of the apostolikum, followed by the reading of the words of consecration which were then explained. After an admonition to partake worthily, the bread and wine were distributed, during which a passage from the Bible was read as a commentary to the Mysterium (see Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 160).

98. Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2247 (17 April 1529): "Hern Berchtold die bekanüs (!)[sic] endern, wie ers begert"; and Nr. 1517 (12 February 1528): "Der predig und Schuol halb soll bestan, wie her Berchtold das anesehen hatt"

99. See Quervain, Zustände, p. 27 and pp. 208ff., Beilage 12. See also Haller-Zwingli, 31 May 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 727, and Stürler II: 35 (29 May 1528), II: 42 (21 June 1528), II: 56 (10 August 1528) and II: 70 (11 September 1528). The first Ehegerichtsatzung is reportedly in a Bernese Staatsarchiv Spruchbuch, dated 8 March 1529. Because this citation is not exact, I have not been able to find this document, but it may be related to the eessatzung of June 1528 prepared by Haller and Megander. See Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 1740 (21 June 1528). cf. U.P. 79/43 (7 November 1530), U.P. 79/45 (13 November 1530) and U.P. 70/75 (April 1530).

100. See Haller-Zwingli, 5 October 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1112. To what extent the Chorgericht was actually able to excommunicate is not clear, for though Haller's letter mentions it, Guggisberg, Bern. Kirchengesch., p. 178, maintains that this body was a governmental agency, not a churchly institution, with no ability to excommunicate. For a helpful introduction to Haller's involvement with the question of excommunication, see Roger Ley, Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli, Vol. 2 of Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der schweizerischen Protestantismus (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1948), pp. 70ff. See also Haller-Bullinger, 28 December 1531. Haller mentioned excommunication and that the people did not like the fact that clerics sat on the Chorgericht. In Johanne Füssli, Epistolae ab Ecclesiae Helveticae Reformatoribus vel ad eos Scriptae (Zürich: Heideggeri et Sociorum, 1742), Nr. XX.

101. Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2248 and 2249.

102. For Apollonia von Graben, see Haller, Ratsmanualen II: 448 [28 Jenner (January) 1536]; and III: 528 (21 December 1536); and Heinrich Türlér, Die Frau des Reformators Haller, special printing from the Blättern für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde 3 (1907): 3-8 (Bern: Typ G. Grunau, 1907; as well as Mss. Hist. Helv. III 77, Nr. 25: notes by Moritz von Stürler on Apollonia (found in the Burgerbibliothek Bern.)).

103. Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 1591 (1 April 1528): "An hern Berchtold. Gan Jegisdorf ze predigen."; Nr. 1712 (3 June 1528): "Her Berchter morn gan Belp mit Runsy, uffzeichnen der capell gütter"; and Nr. 1734 (19 June 1528): "Gan Sumisswald Archer, Berchter, den pfaffen pfründen ze bestimmen." See also Haller, Ratsmanualen I: 87 (3 June 1530): "Her Berchtold, predicant gan Schwarzenberg." Perhaps Haller was sent to Schwarzenberg because it was a stronghold of the Anabaptists. See Delbert L. Gratz, "Bernese Anabaptist Origins," Mennonite Quarterly Review 31 (1957): 294. Besides meeting the Anabaptists in Bern in 1527 and 1531, Haller, Megander, Hofmeister, and others, also held a disputation with them in Zofingen in 1532. See Chapter III, B.

104. Haller-Zwingli, 29 October 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1126.

105. Ibid.; and Haller-Zwingli, 15 August 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1075.

106. Johann Strickler, ed., Aktensammlung zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-1532: im Anschluss an die gleichzeitigen eidgenössischen Abschiede, 5 vols. (Zürich: In Commission bei Meyer Zeller, 1878-84), II: 416, Nr. 1060.

107. Anshelm VI: 21 (1530), calls Grätz, "Kretzen" and estimates the number of sermons Haller gave while in Solothurn at about thirty. Haller's letter to Anton Noll from 4 February 1530, published in Emil Blösch, "Ein ungedruckter Brief des Reformators Berchtold Haller," Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift 3 (1886): 180, makes mention of a Herr Krepser, who must be the same Grätz.

108. For Haller's remarks about the Solothurnese, see Haller-Bernhard Tillmann, 6 February 1530 (regiven in Blösch, "ungedruckter Brief," p. 181); Haller-Zwingli, 29 October 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1126; and Haller from Solothurn-Zwingli, 14 February 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 977.

109. Haller-Noll, 4 February 1530, in Blösch, "ungedruckter Brief," p. 180.

110. For these events, see Strickler, Aktensamml. II: 422, 438ff.: Nr. 1075, 1121 and 1123, from 7, 9, and 10 February respectively.

111. Anshelm VI: 22. The date of this "miracle" has been long a topic of discussion. See Ludwig Rochus Schmidlin, Solothurns Glaubenskampf und Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert (Solothurn: Buchdruckerei C-Gassmann, 1904), p. 166; Rudolf Steck's review of Schmidlin's book in Schw. theol. Zeitschrift 22 (1905): 174-83, as well as the review of it by Paul Waldburger which follows Steck's, pp. 183-88. Steck especially offers proof that it must have occurred on 7 February, though it is my contention that it could also have happened on 8 February, the day after the Large Rat met. No mention is made of it on Monday, the seventh (see Strickler, Aktensamml. II: p. 422, Nr. 1075) but on Thursday there are allusions to it (Strickler, *Ibid.*, p. 440, Nr. 1123). Though Anshelm gives no dates, he implies that the St. Urs event happened on the day after the reform-minded demanded that the priests participate in a disputation. This demand corresponds with Nr. 1075 in Strickler, dated 7 February. Thus the event, following Anshelm's clues, would have happened on Tuesday, 8 February.

112. Anshelm, *Ibid.*

113. Haller-Zwingli, 14 February 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 977.

114. That Treyer or Erasmus might come to the Solothurn Disputation, see Haller-Zwingli, 15 August and 25 October 1530, Zw. XI, Nrs. 1075 and 1121.

115. Haller-Zwingli, 29 October 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1126.

116. Haller-Zwingli, 21 January 1530, Zw. X, Nr. 963.

117. See for information on the highlands: Haller-Vadian, 17 November 1528, Vad., Nr. 542, published also in Strickler Aktensamml. I: 690-93, Nr. 2173. Haller-Zwingli, 31 May 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 727. Haller-Zwingli, 31 March 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 706. Haller-Zwingli, 17 May 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 725. Haller-Vadian, 1 June 1528, Vad. IV, Nr. 552. Haller-Zwingli, 4 November 1527, Zw. IX, Nr. 664. Haller-Zwingli, 26 October 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 770. See also Hermann Specker, Die Reformationswirren im Berner Oberland: ihre Geschichte und Folgen, Diss. (Freiburg in Switzerland: Paulusdruckerei, 1951).

118. Haller-Zwingli, dated 11 [but should be 21 August 1529?], Zw. opera VIII: 347-48; cf. Zw. X, Nr. 898.

119. See Haller-Zwingli, 31 March 1528, Zw. IX, Nr. 706, in which Haller mentioned the rivalry between Hofmeister and Megander. For ill feeling between Bern's government and Megander, see Haller-Vadian, 29 January 1532, Vad. V; Nr. 663; Haller-Bucer, 16 January 1532, Thes. Baum. V: 12-13 (published in Strasser, Capitos, pp. 175-76, Beilage II); and Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2533 (20 Sept. 1529) and Nr. 3279 (12 January 1532). For Bern's and Zürich's estrangement, see Haller-Vadian, 13 February 1532, Vad. V, Nr. 670.

120. For Megander as "Zwingli's ape," see Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 198. See also Zwingli-Haller and Megander, 6 June 1530, Zw. X, Nr. 1039.

121. Flückiger, "Zwingli's Beziehung zu Bern," p. 14, remarks that "Haller has received his meaning and consecration as Bernese reformer exclusively through his intimate relationship with Zwingli." Walther Köhler, Zwingli und Bern, p. 11, believes that Haller "remained the pupil of Zwingli, who sought to lean on the master."

122. Kolb-Zwingli, 5 May 1527, Zw. IX, Nr. 616.

123. Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I: 197.

124. Haller-Vadian, 28 January 1536, Vad. V, Nr. 871.

125. See Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, pp. 616-17.

126. Zwingli-Haller and Megander, 3 January 1531, Zw. XI, Nr. 1155.

127. Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, pp. 617-18.

128. Oek. II, Nr. 829, footnote 2; and Nr. 830: Oecolampad-Haller, Megander and Kolb.

129. According to Staehelin, Bucer differentiated between a theological unification in the concordia, and a political unification, which would unite the protestant Swiss with the Schmalkaldic League (Oek. II, Nr. 820, note 1). For the Bernese preachers' stand, see Carl Bernhard Hundeshagen, "Das Partheiwesen in der Bernischen Landeskirche

von 1532-1558," in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schweizerisch-reformierten [sic] Kirchen zunächst derjenigen des Kantons Bern, Heft 2, 3 and 4, gen. ed. Friedrich Trechsel (Bern: Verlag von C.A. Jenni, 1841-42), pp. 62-63 [also appeared as a book: Die Conflictte des Zwinglianismus, Luthertums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-1558: nach ungedruckter Quellen (Bern: Verlag von C.A. Jenni, Sohn, 1842)].

130. Strickler, Aktensamml. III: 118.

131. Haller-Zwingli, 17 March 1531, Zw. opera VIII: 586 and see also Zw. XI, Nr. 1180.

132. Staehelin, Lebenswerk Oekolampads, p. 618. See also Steck and Tobler, Aktensamml., Nr. 2962 (22 February 1531), Nr. 2965 (24 February 1531).

133. For Haller's mention of the activities of the Blaurers, Erhard Schnepf and Simon Grynäus, see Haller-Bullinger, 3 August 1533, in Johann Conrad Füssli, Epistolae ab ecclesiae helveticae reformatoribus . . . (Zürich: n.p., 1742), Nr. XXIV; and Haller-Vadian, 9 August 1534, Vad. V, Nr. 783.

134. Oecolampad-Haller, Oek. II, Nr. 719.

135. Zwingli-(Haller, Megander?), 30 November 1530, Zw. XI, Nr. 1141.

136. Haller, Megander-Zwingli, 2 March 1531, Zw. XI, Nr. 1174. Also Zwingli-Haller, 7 March 1531, Zw. XI, Nr. 1177.

137. Otto Erich Strasser, Capitos, pp. 125f.

138. See Haller-Zwingli, 17 March 1531, Zw. XI, Nr. 1180.

139. Strasser, Capitos, p. 71, gives the date of this letter as 3 October 1531, but it can only be the letter of 4 October 1531, listed in Thes. Baum. IV: 141.

140. Strasser, Ibid., p. 75.

141. Haller-Capito, 16 March 1532, Thes. Baum. V: 48-9.

142. See Hundeshagen, "Partheiwesen" and Blösch, Gesch. d. schw.-ref. Kirchen I, for events concerning unification after Haller's death.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

1. Beurle, Der politische Kampf, p. 129.

BERCHTOLD HALLER: THE FORGOTTEN REFORMER OF BERN

by

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In the sixteenth century, Bern was one of the most powerful and influential city republics of the Swiss Eidgenossenschaft, or Confederation, and, as such, its contribution to sixteenth-century history and to Reformation history, in particular, was substantial. However, with the atrophy of Bern's territorial and political power in later centuries and the assimilation of its Reformed Church into the larger Helvetic Reformed Church, whose center became Geneva, Bern's contribution to the Swiss Reformation waned.

It is therefore not surprising that Bern and its chief reformer, Berchtold Haller (ca. 1492-1536), have attracted so little attention from Reformation scholars. Nonetheless, the unquestionable power of sixteenth-century Bern and its subsequent influence upon European and Swiss political and religious affairs would alone justify a study of its first reformer. In addition, however, Haller himself is an interesting example of an unusual type of reformer, for he was not of the cloth from which most well-known sixteenth-century religious reformers were fashioned. At first glance he does not appear to be the type of individual to sustain a reform movement in the most powerful city-state of the western Eidgenossenschaft, because he was neither an outstanding scholar nor a political activist. Yet in his mild-mannered and gentle way, he was as successful a reformer in Bern as Zwingli was in Zürich, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito in Strassburg, or Oecolampad in Basel.

Haller is also noteworthy because he knew and corresponded with most major reformers of the first generation. His correspondence provides a largely untapped and unpublished source of insight into the turbulent sixteenth century, other reformers, the Anabaptists, war, the

Schmalkaldic League and the controversy over the interpretation of the Eucharist--to name but a few.

With Haller's death in 1536, an era in the Bernese Reformation came to an end. In retrospect, it seems fitting that Haller died in the same year that Calvin became pastor in Geneva. Haller's labors laid the foundation of a bridge that would span reformed Bern and Calvin's Geneva. Bern's intervention in the Waadtland made it possible for Geneva to sever its ties with Catholic Savoy. Because Haller reformed the city that made the Reformation in Geneva possible, he was, in an indirect yet important way, the godfather of the Protestant movement in the Waadtland.

It is for these reasons that a study of Haller's life and works is justifiable, yet there is a lamentable lack of secondary literature on him. What does exist is, for the most part, biased, of dubious scholarship, and too often perpetrates false information which was first recorded in early biographies. Therefore, the purpose of this essay is to provide a fresh re-introduction of Berchtold Haller to Reformation scholars and serve as a reference for future works. In order to place Haller in an understandable historical context, a brief sketch of Haller's life and major undertakings is included, which corrects some of the misconceptions and false information which have crept into past literary sources. Following this, ideas for future research and selected sources according to topic are given, as well as an annotated list of Haller sources which can serve as a basis for future works on a man who well deserves closer examination.