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Zurich’s Militia Records in the Fifteenth Century
by Albert Winkler, Ph.D.

Introduction

One of the perplexing aspects of doing genealogy is locating sources relating to the Middle Ages. Few records are available, and many that are obtainable present few names. Equally frustrating is the fact that most materials give no information aside from a name, and many sources deal solely with noble families. An exception to these problems are some civic documents. When towns gained control of their governments in the high Middle Ages in places like the German Empire, the city councils began to keep their own records. These materials tend to differ from those found in the archives of the nobles or in Church repositories. Since the leaders in the communities seldom received a Latin education, they had their materials recorded in the vernacular. In addition, the materials often deal with the activities and policies of people of the lower classes giving the modern researcher essential information regarding the nature of these persons’ lives and activities.

An example of what can be learned about individuals in the fifteenth century are the military records of Zurich, Switzerland, largely from 1443 to 1444. These items include information that greatly expands our knowledge of the lives of the people of Zurich in the late Middle Ages. One of the most important sources are the muster lists of the civic militia probably in 1443. The manuscript records the names of 2760 of men under arms at that time, and it gives information on the soldiers’ social status, occupation and guild affiliations, family relationships, weapons they carried, and position in military formations.

Zurich’s early Democracy and Record Keeping

The development of Zurich as a state had a direct impact on how and why it kept records in the 15th century. Zurich or Turicum was originally a small town with a population of approximately 200 persons that functioned as a toll station in the Roman Empire for traffic across Lake Zurich. When Rome was hard pressed military north of the Alps, it built a fortress for the town. After the collapse of Rome, the stronghold was used by an invading Germanic tribe, the Alamanni, as a defensive position, and the location remained important for local trade across the lake. The site became more important when an abbey was established there in the 9th century bringing prestige, wealth, and Church influence to the area. The greatest boon to Zurich’s economic importance came in the middle of the 13th century when the St. Gotthard pass was opened to commerce from Italy because a new and important trade route developed immediately. Merchants soon followed the road over the pass and across lakes Luzern and Zurich to the city which became much larger and economically significant.

During much of the 13th century, Zurich had no wall to surround and protect it or to define its boundaries. But its new importance and the increased violence of the era meant that it had to construct effective defenses. The expansion of the city brought large numbers of people who wanted to look after their own affairs. As was the case with many cities of the German Empire during the Middle Ages, Zurich staged a social revolution in the early 14th century. Led by Rudolf Brun, an upper-class revolutionary, the city drove the Church largely out of politics and restricted the influence of the local nobles. Following the example of many German cities, most notably Strasbourg, Brun established city councils comprised of two bodies. The large (Gross) city council consisted of 200 men elected by vote of adult, male members of guilds. From the greater council, the all-important small (Klein) council was selected. Initially, the small council was comprised of both lower-class residents of the town and local nobles, but, by the end of the century, the nobles had been excluded, and the city government operated without them. The small council chose a mayor from its members, but this person could only serve in that capacity for 6 months and had to be replaced by another man after his tenure of office. This form of government was so effective it operated in Zurich for 500 years and was only replaced in the mid-19th century. Much like Cleisthenes in ancient Athens, Rudolf Brun expanded Zurich democracy, defended it against all enemies, oversaw its operation, and then left the scene allowing it to function on its own.

Zurich was then in the hands of the elected leaders of guilds, and record keeping reflected their interests and abilities. Civic officials wanted records they could easily understand, and they discarded writing in Latin preferring all materials to be in German. At the same time, the city council hired secular scribes, keepers of the city seals, notaries, archivists, chroniclers, and clerks for record keeping. These persons formed a highly professional group that produced what manuscripts the city councils thought were important. Many of the most well known of these record keepers had some background in the priesthood, where they got much of their education, but had given up formal Church affiliations to produce secular manuscripts. Their profession was so demanding that many of them went to advanced schools for record keeping often in Basel, Strasbourg, or centers of learning in Italy.

The Zurich War and the creation of Militia Records

The city councils of Zurich had territorial ambitions for most of the 14th and 15th centuries. The men in government saw other states nearby gain lands, power, and influence and tried to expand as well. Most of this growth came at the expense of the local nobility, many of whom had fallen on hard times financially, and the city was able to acquire nearby lands through purchase, confiscation after unpaid loans, and by taking as an inheritance. The most notable success was Zurich’s acquisition of the lands of the Kiburg family which the city had been able to seize in the 15th
century after the male side of the line had died out. However, Zurich’s territorial ambitions remained unsatisfied, and the civil authorities kept looking for more opportunities to take land.

A potential problem among members of the Swiss Confederation that became a grave international crisis in the 15th century was the question of the Toggenburg inheritance. The dilemma developed around the question of the disposition of lands owned by Count Friedrich VII of Toggenburg. The Count had no heirs, but he owned large areas of land to the southeast of Zurich which the city councils wanted badly to acquire at his death. He had been a citizen of the Zurich for 36 years, but he had also served as a high public official of Schwyz, another prominent Swiss state. In the last years of his life, Friedrich was constantly surrounded by distant relatives and emissaries from various states hoping that he would favor them in his will. Notably, representatives from both Zurich and Schwyz frequently tried to wring concessions out of the elderly and ailing man. By the time he died in 1436, both Zurich and Schwyz claimed the old Count had left each of them his holdings. As one contemporary Zurich historian, Gerold Edlibach, wryly commented, Friedrich had tied the “tails” (Schweinze) of Schwyz and Zurich together like a pair of angry dogs.

Schwyz probably had the better claim to the inheritance, but Zurich soon sent troops to occupy key positions in the area. The failure of diplomacy to bring a favorable outcome to both parties led to war, and fighting broke out in 1439. Schwyz had gathered support from other members of the Swiss Confederation effectively isolating Zurich, and the city soon felt isolated and in need of allies. In what was seen as a great betrayal of the Confederation, Zurich joined an alliance with the Austrian Habsburgs, the traditional enemy of the Swiss. Despite the pact with the hated Habsburgs, the war went badly for Zurich, and it was soon forced to fall back on its own resources. In 1443, the city was defeated by a Confederated army just outside its walls at the battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl, and was forced to withdraw its forces inside the town to prevent the seizure of the city. A truce was hastily arranged, but it was short lived, and the following year, 1444, Zurich was besieged and bombarded by the armies of the Confederation. The Swiss forces conducted the siege in a leisurely manner, and the city was never seriously threatened with collapse. The people of Zurich even left the gates to their cities open and frolicked unarmed outside the town walls. They taunted their adversaries with “unchristian” gestures and openly invited them to attack. No such attempt was made, and the bombardment was almost totally ineffectual. In fact, the only casualties of the shelling reportedly were a priest, a lookout in a tower, and a hen and her chicks. After 10 weeks and three days, the Confederation gave up its fruitless siege and withdrew.

Despite the successful resistance to the attacks by other members of the Swiss Confederation, Zurich had cause for concern. The war cost the city much of its trade, and the town fell into an economic depression which forced many of its citizens to seek employment elsewhere. Additionally, the threat of a successful attack by the other Swiss states remained. The defeat at the battle of St. Jakob an der Sihl and the fact the town was besieged at all reminded the city councils that defensive preparations must be made in earnest. In what appears to have been a rare occurrence by a Swiss state, Zurich’s government began organizing the military. To do so, the leaders of the city carefully drew up plans for the militia including who would stand in what position, carry which weapons, and deploy in relation to others. This included a muster list of 2760 men, and it listed their occupations, status, names of leaders, and weaponry they used. Not only is this a very valuable list of names, but it also expands our ability to understand the development of infantries in the late Middle Ages.

The Zurich Militia Muster Lists from 1442 or 1443

The item is a ten-page manuscript in the Zurich state archives with the designation Stadt und Landschaft (city and countryside). C1, Schachtel (box) 55, Nr. 1748. More recently, it has been found in Aktenabteilung (document section) A 30.1 Reisrödel (ancillary documents) Nr. 3. The document cannot be dated with certainty, but it was composed most likely between June 1442 and June 1443 because only the areas then controlled by Zurich are mentioned in the item.

The leaders of Zurich’s forces are always given as höftman (Hauptmann). While the German word Hauptmann may be translated as captain, the rank structure of Zurich’s army defies a modern interpretation. The term höftman is used for the commander of the entire state or for leaders of several men. By modern standards, the term could be translated as anything from brigade commander to squad leader. In the following lists, I have elected to translate the word simply as “leader.” The only other officers listed were the men gehörend zü dem paner (belonging to the banner) or “under paner” (under the banner). These men probably carried the banner and may be considered important officers. While the term Venner (banner carrier) was used in other Swiss documents at this time, the muster lists for Zurich do not use the word.

The Swiss scribes of the 15th century were not using consistent rules of spelling, and this is evident in the document. Even the most simple words like und (and) could be spelled und, unnd, or uni in various sources. Names also presented problems. For example, the White Book of Sarnen, in 1471, was the first document to mention the legendary Swiss hero, William Tell. In a single page of the manuscript, the man’s name is spelled Tell, Täl, and Tell. These problems also appear in the Zurich muster lists. Even a simple name such as Uli (usually short for Ulrich) is spelled Uli, Úli, or Úli. Similar names also have variant spellings like Schneider, Schindere, and Schnyder.

The militiamen were placed in categories on the basis of the guild with which the men were associated if they lived in the city. The troops were also arrayed with others from the same locality or village if they resided in the countryside. The soldiers were also placed in categories by which
weapons they wielded. The terms for some of these devices are difficult to translate. They include schützen which was an early version of the musket. These weapons were similar to the harquebus used later which was a match-lock device where a powder charge in a tube was ignited by inserting a burning cord through touch hole, the resulting explosion sent a ball at the target. In the middle of the 15th century, these firearms were not as well developed as were the harquebus that were used later, so I have translated this term as “hand cannon.”

Other weapons used include lange spieße (long pikes), spieße (pikes) kurtze gewere (short weapons), armbruste (cross bows), schützen (harquebus or hand cannon), büchsen (cannon or another kind of hand cannon). The pike was a pole with an iron point on it, very much like a large spear, that was often used to keep attacking men on horseback from crashing into a line of infantry. Long pikes were often 18 feet in length. Short weapons were often called heldebarde or halberds, and were variations of pole axes from 5 to 8 feet in length. These arms were versatile weapons. They often had an point on the end for thrusting, an ax blade on the side for slashing, and a hook opposite the blade for snagging armor, so a rider could be pulled from his horse. I have chosen to call these devices, “short weapons.”
Zurich's Miliary Personnel during the Zurich War, circa 1443

**Names of Men from the City**

**Civic Leaders**

*Overall leader:* Johanns Swend

*Banner carriers:* Jacob Benn and Pentelly Hagnower

**Men carrying hand cannon:**
- der Swegler (leader)
- Erhart Thyg
- Ulrich Moser
- Rüdy Baldinger
- Hanns Sidenfaden
- Cunrat am Wasen
- Sigmund Graff
- Winant Zoller
- Rüdy Imbach
- Werder
- Heine Weibel
- Uly Gelter
- Hanns Zeller

**Men with the long pikes:**
- Gilg Brunner (leader)
- Hein Brunner
- Kilchmeyer
- Nagel
- Issinger
- Hanns Friess
- Hanns Leman
- Titzler
- Hanns Weber
- Peter Schorly
- Hanns Nier
- Hanns Abalbis

**Men carrying short weapons who are well supplied:**
- Götz Escher (leader)
- Jacob Murer
- lang (tall) Swend
- Rüdolf Benn
- Rüdolf Meis
- Rüdolf Schulthes
- Jacob Swartzmurer (struck out)
- Rüdolf Kilchmatten
- Hanns Thumm
- Torberg
- Ächtertinger
- Heinrich Escher

**Well supplied men with short weapons:**
- Hanns Studer (leader)
- Hanns Kösch
- Appenzeller
- Master Jörg Sidennäyer (leader)
- Rüdolf Moser
- Heine Tünger
- Uly Rietman
- Hanns Tugginer (struck out)
- Heine Leinbacher
- Claus im Grund
- Rüdy Wetteswiler
- Heini Toman
- Schennikon
- Heini Meyer
- Heinrich Obrost (leader)
- Hanns Hagnower, also known as Bopp

**Well supplied men with short weapons:**
- Jacob Hagnower (leader)
- Heini Störy
- Herman Zoller
- Brütter
- Röder
- Notisen
- Messerschmid
- Salabach
- Zeiner

**Wine Producer’s Guild**

*Overall leader:* Jacob Brunner

*Banner carriers:* Marx Röiber and Hanns von Loppen

**Men with hand cannon:**
- Jacob Ochsen (leader)
- Amptz
- Brunner
- Jos Schmid
- Eberly Wüst
- Knödly
- Scholtz
- Ram
- Büchenegger
- Ströily
- Oberdorf
- Zäyg

**Pike men:**
- Felix Öry (leader)
- Hans Öry
- Habersat
- Hagnower
- Mall
- Rütschman, from Usikon
- Clewy von Burg

**Men with short weapons:**
- Hanns Kiel (leader)
- Müssikon
- Johannis Keller
- Cunrat sin sun (his son)
- Wüst
- Zeyg
- Kilchman

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*Well supplied men with short weapons:*
- Hanns Studer (leader)
- Hanns Kramer
- Heini Kramer
- Uly Kramer
- Wetteswiler
- Thomas Studer

*Well supplied men with short weapons:*
- Heini Klotter
- Uly Schik

*Men with short weapons:*
- Jacob Hagnower (leader)
- Heini Störy
- Herman Zoller
- Brütter
- Röder
- Notisen
- Messerschmid
- Salabach
- Zeiner

*Well supplied men with short weapons:*
- Master Jörg Sidennäyer (leader)
- Rüdolf Moser
- Heine Tünger
- Uly Rietman
- Hanns Tugginer (struck out)
- Heine Leinbacher
- Claus im Grund
- Rüdy Wetteswiler
- Heini Toman
- Schennikon
- Heini Meyer

*Well supplied men with short weapons:*
- Jacob Hagnower (leader)
- Heini Störy
- Herman Zoller
- Brütter
- Röder
- Notisen
- Messerschmid
- Salabach
- Zeiner

*Men with short weapons:*
- Jacob Ochsen (leader)
- Amptz
- Brunner
- Jos Schmid
- Eberly Wüst
- Knödly
- Scholtz
- Ram
- Büchenegger
- Ströily
- Oberdorf
- Zäyg

*Pike men:*
- Felix Öry (leader)
- Hans Öry
- Habersat
- Hagnower
- Mall
- Rütschman, from Usikon
- Clewy von Burg

*Men with short weapons:*
- Hanns Kiel (leader)
- Müssikon
- Johannis Keller
- Cunrat sin sun (his son)
- Wüst
- Zeyg
- Kilchman
Rudolf von Cham
Tirer

Pike men:
Heinrich Sutter (leader)
Hanns Sutter
Sattler
Scholtz
Tub
Schönman
Müller
Rotthan
Sigrest

Blacksmith’s Guild

Overall leader: Meister (master) Burger
Banner carriers: Meister Stammely and Cuntz Kraft

Men carrying hand cannon:
[C. leader not listed]
Heuman Rechberger
Hanns Hürnüz
Hanns Schollenberg
Beringer Halbisen
Hanns Glögly
Hanns Widerhopf
Jacob Springindes
Büschnen
Hanns Bader
Faber

Men with the short weapons:
Rudolf Bader (leader)
Wibland
Rudolf Logisen
Rudy Sitz
Cuntz König
Hanns Kügelly
Schuhmeister

Men with short weapons:
Heini Albrecht (leader)
Meister Nüwiler
Üly Winkler
Thöny Scherer
Üly von Keiserst 1
Wolrower
Bürkly Schmid
Petter Scherer
Federnly
Merk Bader
Üly von Wangen
Herman Scherer
Hanns Bosshart
Üly Bleicher
Hamerschmid

Baker and Miller Guild

Overall leader: Cnrrat von Cham
Banner carriers: Ott Wermüller and Hanns von Cham

Men carrying hand cannon:
Cuni Spenly (leader)
Schönennenberg
Heini Küng
Hanns von Wil
Heini von Wil
Mertz
Schlig
Üli Tollikon uf Dorf [Üli Tollikon in the village]
Hensly Röist
Widerker
Cunrat Wermüller

Men with cannon (bächsen) and pikes:
Heini Uttinger (leader)
Hensly Petter
Hensly Gamlikon
Üly Tollikon in Niderdorf [“in Niderdorf”—probably to differentiate
him from the man of the same name
“in the village” listed above]
Jos Büler
Hensly Brunner
Frowenfeld
Ulmant Sager
Bertschy Scherer
Hensly Tägen
Hanns von Uster
Heini Frig
Raflenspurp

Men with short weapons:
Heini im Werd (leader)
Jekly Hirt
Bosswil
Honberger
Heini Gruner
Heini Kramer
Küng in Niderdorf
Heini Föisy

Men with short weapons:
Hans von Räk (leader)
Vorster
Bürgy
Rudy Gamlikkon

Weapons Maker Guild

Overall leader: Hanns Rosenstok
Banner carriers: Wernly Schürmeyer and Hanns Heintz

Men with the small cannon and the men
with long pikes:
Hanns Hirse (leader)
Rudy Abhül
Weninger
Üly Studer
Hensly Am-Bül
Hanns von Cappel
Claus Gröber
Rudy Hüler
Kager
Heini Meiger

Men with short weapons
Cuni Studer (leader)
Frik
Bilgry
Niefergalt
Wüst
Rudy Heintz
Heini Cünrat
Tachelshöcker
Buss

Butcher Guild

Overall leader: Meister (master) Reig
Banner carriers: Üly Holtzhalb and Jos Cuntzeller

Men with hand cannon, cannon and long pikes:
Hanns zer Kinden (leader)
Politt
von Eich
Riem
Nussbom (name crossed out)
Schmid
Winterthurer
Schiltknecht
Augustiner
Wüst
Hänneman

Men with short weapons:
Rudolf Ochen (leader)
Claus Hirt
Jacob
Bamser
Petter
Münch
Mutz
Heini Hirt
Winninger
Metzger
Frölich

Shoemaker Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Meyer
Banner carriers: Vittel and Grüninger
[this may be surnames of two men or one man's name--Vittel Grüninger]

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Eingern (leader)
Hanns Aspar
Rott
Frig
Nier
Schuchdenstich
Schrüer
Seiler
Ackly
Rüdolf
Goldschmid
Thöny
Felix Meiger
Troger
Gilgenzyw
Naggel

Men carrying the pikes:
Fritag (leader)
Klügl
Schürmeyer
Löwenberg
Zender
Strüly
Andres Schmid
Lütschg
Switzer

Men with short weapons:
Üly Lienhart (leader)
Franz Lienhart
Ülrich da hindan (Dahindan)
Hanns Meyer
Jos Gerhart
Petter Sutter
Blochsutter
Hoffstetter
Führing
Hanns Kopff
Griffense
Peter Mösy
Jacob Schmid
Kaber

Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Jung (leader)
Rüdy Ungericht
Glattfelder
Rosenblatt
Mengel
Rudy von Rinow
Wignand
Nassmutter
Andres von Ulm
Heini Kneller
Ris
Heini Egly
Bachs
Bruchly

Roofer and Carpenter Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Binder
Banner carriers: Hanns Switter and Rüdy Hilprand

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Her (leader)
Erhart Walder
Hanns Walder
Thoman
Frik
Salman
Fritag
Pur
Müßler
Hensly Binder
Lieb
Rüdy Nussbom
Üly Weber

Men with the hand cannon:
Hans von Sant Gallen (leader)
Burkart Hetzog
Hanns Libenstal
Üly Libenstal
alt [old] Swartz

Men with short weapons:
Heini Silv (leader)
Hanns Winzurn
Frig
Büler
Cüni Hoffmann
Fässler
Nürsch
Schätty
Cüni Hug

Men with short weapons:
Cünnut Hilprand (leader)
Petter Tischenmacher
Kessman
Knup
Jekly Neff
Ülrich Krappf
Hantlinger
Heini Kull
Cüni Müller
Üly Keller
Morgenstern

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Blüwel (leader)
Heinrice Switter
Volmarc
Mitlenberg
Triumpy
Steffan Binder
Cüni Müller
Petter Hoffman
Iberg
Hafner

Fisher and Boatmen Guild

Overall leader: Jacob Bachs
Banner carriers: Hanns Frig and Cüni Rigler

Men with the hand cannon:
Altenweger (leader)
Hensly Knöidly
Rüdy Jung
Jekly Langenörly
Heini Wernly
Üly Billitter
sin brüder [his brother]
Scheffmacher
Baghart
Heini Schmidly
Hensly Bachs
Hans Hold
Üly Kalcher
Götz Schurter

Pike men:
Hans Wirtz (leader)
Wunderlich
Röschly
Swab der elter [the older]
Swab der jünger [the younger]
Rüdy Bank
Merkly Waser
Hansy Neggelly
Frechenman
Schürman
Volmer

Men with the short weapons:
Hans Jung (leader)
Hans Schorer
Rüüssegger
Rüdy Meyer
Lochman
Hensly Cünrat
Rüdy Sumervogel
Hansy von Hasel

Men with the short weapons:
Hans Pfudler (leader)
Bertschy Schanolt
Jekly Bachs
Rüdy Bank
Hansy von Lindow
Jung Landöös
Wernly Hofman

Taylor and Cloth Cutter Guild

Overall leader: Heinrich Schmid
Banner carriers: Lienhard Münich and Hansy Beltaer

Men with hand cannon:
Claus Zimmerman (leader)
Schennikon
Ulrich Schmid
Cünrat von Haln
Cünrat Burgdorf
Hansy Hofman
Ulrich Kemel
Steffan Kümberly
Petter Tachelshoffer
Wernly Schitterberg
Steffan Schulthes

Pike men and cannon:
Felix Uttinger (leader)
Springiskle
Poule Küsiner

Switzer
Kupferschmid
Esterman
Riff
Uly Schmid
Torwart
Struss
Hansy Ezentzberger

Men with short weapons:
Meister Erlisholtz (leader)
Bentelly Kürsiner
Sumervogel
Cünrat Cün
Frischly
Franz
Fuchs
Moser
Bürgy Wider
Hansi Amman
Hüüs
Sidenräuber

Men with short weapons:
Hans Frig (leader)
Hansy Gon
Cüní Gon
Tuttwil
Bachmeyer
Hansi Ernest
Lüttels
Merky
Bertschy Schnider
Hansy Rubly
Thoman
Widmer

Men with short weapons:
Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Hansy Gründelley
Hansy von Costentz
Felix Bilbnit
Strömeyer
Hansy Amman
Swertzenbach
Jörg Lantzenrein
Hansy Lantzenrein
Frank
Claus von Mentz
Jekly Bilbnit

Shop Owner Guild

Overall leader: Heinrich Effinger
Banner carriers: Heini Müller and Uly Seiter

Men with the hand cannon:
Hansy Hofman (leader)
Erhart Griessenberg

Heini Meyer emhelg[?]
Müllman
Schweiger
Bünschinder
Leum

Men with the pikes:
Abel Silg (leader)
Hegnower
Ellend
Heini Bünschinder
Zimberman
Zäyg

Men with shirt weapons:
Rüüdolf Nitfürer (leader)
Heini von Jonen
Sumer wer
Schmid
Spreitenbach
Stüb
Jacob Trinkler
Stupply
Honrein
Jekly Hirt
Uly Widmer

Men with short weapons:
[Leader not listed]
Hansy Bosshart
Hansy Sidler
Hansy Münch
Jekly Sidler
Uly Sidler
Vollenweider
Uly Hirt
Heini Meyer

Wool and Linen Weaver Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Rättiner
Banner carriers: Niclaus Wiss and Jörg Dingnower

Men with the hand cannon:
Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Waltherr Engenshein
Gupfer
Tuner
Merkly
Stichdenast
Stachelman

Men with the long pikes:
Hansy zer Eich (leader)
Clewy Blahor
Heini Thoman
Burkart Sennhuse
Selholtzer
Jacob Cün
Rüdy Lantrikon
Men with short weapons:
Petter Keller (leader)
Hans Weber
Hans Hofman
Hans Keller
Stachelman
Hans Hüttmacher

Men with short weapons:
Lütty Kamrer (leader)
Turst
Rüdy Egenschein
Michel
Lienhart
Heini Lober

Names of Men from the Countryside

**Erlibach**
Overall leader: Johanns Brunner der jung
[the young]

Men with hand cannon:
Hans Wirtz der jünger (the younger)
(leader)
Üly von Rüfs
Hensly Schneider
Hensly Kaltbrunner
Clewly Büler
Clewly Hoffstetter
Hensly Hoffstetter
Clewly Ustrer
Üly Hohstrasser
Hans Wallwiler
Üly Wisman
Heini Anman
Hensly Wetlich

Pike men:
Hans Störy (leader)
Heini Liggy
Heini Wider
Rüdy Anman
Hensly Keller
Hans von Rüfs
Hans Ulman
Pentelly in der Wisen [in der Wisen - in the meadow]
Üly in der Wisen
Jekly in der Wisen
Hans Guggotz
Vischen Rüdy
Üly Guggotz
Hanns Bruggbach

Men with short weapons:
Hans Bindschedler (leader)
Hans Eberly
Clewly Eberly
Hans von Meilan

Jos Ströily
Rüdy Ustrer
Claus Meyer
Üly Brugger
Rüdy Hofstetter
Jekly Ströily
Heini Störy
Hensly Gattikon

Küssnach
Overall leader: Johanns Dietschy

Men with hand cannon:
Hans Rottenswiler (leader)
Scherer
Rüsseggler
Hensly von Künschen
Üly Artler
Hensly Wisman
Neini Nögggy
Rüdy Kaltbrun
Heini Körnly
Hensly Werder
Hensly Jeny

Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Cünz (leader)
Rüdy Güntherr
Heini Sidler
Heini Sigrist
Üly Andrer
Cünl Graff
Rüdy von Cünshen
Fölmly
Hensly Sidler
Jekly Walterminger
Rützmann von Künschen

Men with long pikes:
Hans Jegly (leader)
Stoker
Gilg
Üly von Künschen
Jegly Nussbüm
Cünl Nordikon
Cünrat Leser

Küssnach
Overall leader: Johanns Dietschy

Men with hand cannon:
Hans Rottenswiler (leader)
Scherer
Rüsseggler
Hensly von Künschen
Üly Artler
Hensly Wisman
Neini Nögggy
Rüdy Kaltbrun
Heini Körnly
Hensly Werder
Hensly Jeny

Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Cünz (leader)
Rüdy Güntherr
Heini Sidler
Heini Sigrist
Üly Andrer
Cünl Graff
Rüdy von Cünshen
Fölmly
Hensly Sidler
Jekly Walterminger
Rützmann von Künschen

Herdiberi:

Men with hand cannon:
Lütty im Grüt (leader)
Bürgy Knopfly
Jos im Grüt
Welty Zendhuser
Grossshans Kramer
Hensly Sigrist

Men with the long pikes:
Hans Münch (leader)
Rüdy Kramer
Cuni von Herdiberg
Hensly von Herdiberg
Uly Zendhuser
Jorg Ströly
Hensly Erner
Hensly Süss

Men with short weapons:
Hans von Herdiberg (leader)
Hintz im Selholtz
Hans Ströly
Pentelly Widmer
Hartman im Schafflin
Hans im Grütt
Filips Münch
Heini Wetlich
Heini Leman
Heini Knopfly
Hans Fietz
Rüdy Guggelman
Hensly Jörg
Herman Fogler
Total 21 (actually 29)

Zollikon

Men with long cannon:
Hans Hofman (leader)
Hüber
Wiss
Schümacher
Buman
Weber

Men with pikes:
Heini Hottinger (leader)
Cuni Hensler
Heini Bükter
Bertschy Leinhacher
Hensly Rebmesser
Uly Hüber

Men with short weapons:
Cuni Kienast (leader)
Ulrich Ritter
Jekly Kienast
Leman
Toman
Schiltknecht
Frik
Heini Obrist
Egeshan
Hans Lochman
Uly Wüst

Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Hensler (leader)
Claus Rüdger
Uly Ernst
Clewy Schad
Lochman

Thoman
Jos Murer
Uly Murer
Hans Schad
Bachman
Uly Brunner
Hensly Spey

Men with short weapons:
Hans Eberhart
Heini Toman
Heini Hottinger
Böny
Breititter
klein [small, young] Breititter
Cuni Brunner
Hans Kienast
Heini Bükter
Heini Knöbbly
Cuni Bükter
Ochsner
Studer
Total 48

Höttingen, Oberstraff, und Understraff

Men with the hand cannon:
Hans Berner (leader)
Hans Fröidwiler
Rüdy Frig
Heini Meyer im steig
Hansly Meyer sin brüder (brother)
Hans Tempelman
Heini Rebman
Hartman Meyer
Jekly Bieger
Heini Hottinger

Men with pikes:
Hans Rüdger (leader)
klein [little, young] Hans Rüdger
Hans Förbas
Uly Hün
Heini Meyer
Hans Süler
Uly Täk
Andres Friman
Rosenstok
Hans Güller

Short weapons:
Wernly Süler (leader)
Rüdy Küler
Hans Holenweg
Hans Meyer
Cuni Lindner
Hans Sprüngli
Hans Wagner
Hansly Wasser
Uly Amman

Hans Kessler
Cuniat Kessler
Heini Hertly

Men with the short weapons:
Hansly Cünzt (leader)
Felix Meyer
Hans Notz
Rüdy Süller
Hans Küng
Heini Klöthy
Hanss Andres
Hanss Meryer
Heini Küng
Uly Scherer
Hensly Hottinger

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Ackly (leader)
Hans Lindiner
Jekly Burkart
Heini Frank
Claus Amman
Goldknopf
Fridly Müller
Cuni Güller
Heini Eberly
Heini Widmer
Jbberg Schmid

Leader of the men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer
Rüdyer Kipenhen
Hans Ringger
Heini Frig
Cuni Kipenhen
Heini Waltherr
Hanss Jung
Peter Küng
Cuni Stifel
Cuni Süry

Men with the short weapons:
Ludwig Rebman
Swartzenbach
Föömy
Uly Meyer
klein (short, young) Hanss Meyer
Bertschy Fübas
Hansly Vogt
Meini Müller
Keiser
Cuni Kessler

Men with the short weapons:
Uly Hertzog (leader)
Herman Rüdger
Bertschy Notz
Rüdyer Waser
Rüdy Her ing
Rüdy Meyer
Rüdy Bertschy
Jegly Andres
Fritschy Studer
Hanns Keller

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Cuntz (leader)
Wilhelm Kasper
Heini Scholtzer
Clewy Hirt
Rüdy Hottinger
Jörg Cuntz
Heini Lindiner
Rüdy Hertt
Spiry
Hans Hirt
Total 93 (actually 94)

Wippchini:en
Men carrying crossbows:
Rüdger Schwend (leader)
Rüdy Metzger
Sparberg
Wingarter
Hanns Müller
Bürgy Wiss
Heini Burkart
klein [small, young] Dietschy
Fritschy
Rüdy Keller
Heini Ockenfiess
Rüdy Jeger
Rüdger Schwend [repeat of above]

Men with the short weapons:
Cuni Strüwmeyer (leader)
Cuni Burkart
Hanns Kemnatter
Hanns Kessler
Hanns Schubinger
Appenzeller
Zinmer
Weber
Total 20

Schwamendingen, Ötlikon, Sebach und Oberhusen

Men with crossbows or pikes:
Keller der jung [the young] (leader)
Bintzmüller
Brogely
Keller
Ringger
Herman
Meyer
Hanns Meyer
Bertschinger
Üly Meyer
Herman

Men with the short weapons:
Heintz Meyer (leader)
Wüst
Aber Wüst
Meyer knecht
Widmer
Bertschinger
Hüscher
Üly Meyer
Schmid
Studer
Grüniger
Rümpfl
Cuni von Wil
Leman
aber Leman
Meyer
aber Meyer
Gering
Total 33

Rümlang
Men with crossbows or pikes:
Hanns Häggeler (leader)
Heini von Rüty
Keiser
Eggentswiler
Kilchherr
Stierly
Cuni Strüwmeyer
Jung Brogly
Kofel
Cuni da hinden [from behind]
Üly Kofman
Rüdy Hirt
Büchler

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer (leader)
Zöllgy
Stricher
Wüst
Vischer
Zannger
Gering
Total 20

Wollishoffen

Men with the hand cannon:
Hartmann Bog (leader)
Üly ab Asp
Rüdy Lindiner
Fridrich Böliss
Hanns Müller

Heini Honrer
Hanns Meiser

Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Gimper (leader)
klein [little, young] Rüdy Tempelman
Hussherr
Brunner
Schorer
Jekly Bülter
Üly Tempelman
Clewy Rieder
Heini Bollinger
Jekly Friman
Klotter (Klotter’s son)
Üly Trapy

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Eschwurm (leader)
Hanns Honrein
Bertschy
Hanns Aspar
Üly ab Engy
Welty Rieder
Hensly Lütty
Hensly Hagen
Crosshans Kilchmeyer
Welty Tempelman
Heintz Studer

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Rott (leader)
Bog
Klotter
Heini uff Asp
Emmy Petter
Riss
Cuni Bürger
Heintzman Krutt
Heini am Horn
Rüdy Lussten wer
Total 40

Vogty zu Meilân

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Burgman (leader)
Üly Kreps
Bürgy Weber
Heini Burgman
Hanns Hug
Bernhart Ustrer
Rüdy Megter
Rüdy Knüty
Hensly in der Hab

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Schmorff (leader)
Hanns im Bümgarten
Heini Leser
Rüdy Fürenwang
Üly Schnorff
Men with the short weapons:
Heini Wernly (leader)
Heini Bilyen
Brisenman
Heini Müry
Heine Bühenstoss
Petter Bühenstoss
Hanns Fürenwang
Hanns Schorff
Üly Leman
Heini Meyer

Men with the short weapons:
Giger Meyer (leader)
Hensly Rehman
Petter Meyer
Üly Meyer
aber (also another) Üly Meyer
Rüdy Guldiner
Cuni Biber
Üly Scheffer
Jekly Sutz
Fluguff

Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Ustrer (leader)
Heini Gir
Rüdy Andres
Herman Mury
Heine Meyer
sin sun [his son]
Rüdy Stapfer
Heini Müller
Jekly Schümacher
aber [also another] Schümacher
Hanns in der Hab
Cunrat Schnider

Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Neff (leader)
Heini Senn
Heini Peyer
Herman Ziegler
Heini Knöly
Üly Bubenstoss
Hensly Schmid
Hanns Hartman
Heini in der Hab

Men with the long pikes:
Jekly Burgman (leader)
Heini Singer
Hanns Kess
Hanns Münchly
Hanns Löhly
Hanns in der Hab
Hanns in der Hab
Hanns Leman
Hanns Senn
Üly Schmid

Men with the long pikes:
Bertschy Vischtüry (leader)
Hanns Stapfer
Cuni Mor
Üly Has
Swartz
Heini Weber Swartz
Heini Scherer
Claus Schmid
Heini Weber
Hanns Wirt
Total 89

Ütikon
Men with the short weapons:
Üly Iring (leader)
Hensly Iring
Eberly Guggenbüll
Heini Guggenbüll
Bürgy Singer
Cuni Meyer
Claus Rin
Heini Sleipfer
Üly Jos
Hensly Singer

Hirslanden
Men with the hand cannon:
Rütschman Hirt (leader)
Heini Merier
Üly Sumer wer
Hensly Fritag
Heinz Schlig
Iberg Fritag

Men with the long pikes:
Claus Hirt (leader)
Felix Fritag
Cuni Fritag
Hanns Walder
Üly Rosenstock
Heini Ackerman

Men with the short weapons:
Burghalder (leader)

Rispach und Flun
Men with the hand cannon:
Heini Wüst (leader)
Hanns Wüst
Heini Stamler
Üly Spründly
Rebknecht
Murer

Men with the long pikes:
Hensly Gossower (leader)
Heini Tuggtner
Hug Tugginer
Weikon
Hanns Schnider
Hanns Meyer
Iminer

Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Wettlisch (leader)
Heini Gossower
Hanns Gossower
Hanns Hirt
Hanns Bürger
Bertschy Schneider
Hanns Ochsner
Erhard Meyer
Hanns Hartman
Heini Mig
Eberly Scherer
Total 24

Winingen und Enstringen
Men with the hand cannon:
Rüdiger Klotty (leader)
Hensly Ersam
Lüty Ersam
Heini Müller
Dasch
Cuni Dossenbach
Rüdy Dahinden
Hollenweger
Rüdy Tossenbach
Goldsknopf
Heini Richiner
Claus Hofman
Zubler

**Men with the long pikes:**
- Cäni Richiner (leader)
- Claus Meiger
- Hanns Meyer
- Rüdy Klötty
- Hensly Klötty
- Holenweger
- Rüdy Bader
- Cäni Offner
- Üly Ersam

**Men with long pikes:**
- Üly Degen (leader)
- Hensly Bürgy
- Cäni Bader
- Rüdy Müller
- Hensly Klötty
- Welty Köchly
- Rüdy Holenweger [Holenweger?]
- Heini Dahinen
- Heini Holenweger [Hollenweger?]

**Men with the short weapons:**
- Heini Ersam (leader)
- Rüdy Junkher
- Üly Hug
- Rüdy Ersam
- Jop
- Roder
- Hensly Gessler
- Heini Rüscher
- Lütty

**Büllach die vogtye**

**Men with the hand cannon:**
- Waltherr Klinger (leader)
- Schening
- Jekly Kern
- Hanns Kern
- Hanns Hiltbrand
- Meder
- Heini Spiller
- Hanns Cünzter
- Scherer
- Grosshanns Schmid
- Heini Weber
- Heini Glattfelder

**Long pikes:**
- Üly Meyer (leader)
- Rüdy Sesser
- Rüsser
- Smid
- Büntzly
- Jegly Schmid
- Ber
- Heini Mag
- Cäni Núchom
- klein [small, young] Hanns Smid

**Rüdy Mag**
- Hanns Mag
- Pauly
- Petter Wetzel
- Bertschy Binder
- Cäni Glattfelder
- Hanns Sider
- Grosshanns Smid
- Cünzly Früisly

**Men with the hand cannon:**
- Weibel von Ottelfingen (leader)
- Hanns Fröwler
- Hanns Fröwler
- Hensly Senn
- Hensly Schmid
- Hensly Meyer
- Cünrat Swab
- Hanns Tuttwil
- Hensly Kleinman
- Heini Müller
- Üly Schmid

**Long pikes:**
- Rüdy Frig von Tachsnaren (leader)
- Hensly Brem

**Men with the long pikes:**
- Rüdy Schön von Buchs (leader)
- Heintz Widmer
- Hanns Widmer
- Heini Meyer
- aber (also) Heini Meyer
- Üly Bürgler
- Heini Clewis
- Wernly Süssly
- Üly Süssly
- Hensly Kessler

**Men with short weapons:**
- Cäni Graff von Ottelfingen (leader)
- Hensly Bopp
- aber (also) Hensly Bopp
- Heini Bügler
- Heini Meyer
- Büler
- Üly Senn
- Bertschy Bapst
- Üly Teppeller
- Üly Rüdis

**Men with short weapons:**
- Hanns Keller von Schöfelfdorf (leader)
- Heintz Frig
- Heini Frig
- Hensly Müller
- Hensly Frig
- Üly Kulper
- Üly Sigrest
- Heini Nerracher
- Cäni Stresler
- Heini Merkly
- Cäni Merkly

**Men with short weapons:**
- Cäni Koch von Steimmur (leader)
- Hanns Welty
- Hensly Meyer
- Hensly Schmid
- Wernly Kempf
- Üly Hüpt
- Hensly Bömler
- Heini Swab
- Hanns Müller
- Rüdy Meyer

**Andelfingen**

**Men with the hand cannon:**
Men with the pikes:

Hansl Has (leader)
Cûni Meyer
Rûdy Klett
Gross Hans
Hêring
Etter, Hans
der Spar
Löber
Frisch
Rûdy Kûchly

Men with the pikes:

Rûdy Meyer von Torlikon (leader)
Leîngrûber
Wôlfler
Frîg
Kumbrer
Widmer
Bûrhorh
Fuch
Rûdy Stûky
Höltzer

Men with short weapons:

Rûdy Schmid (leader)
Ûly Kûchly
Lattstein
Öchên Satheis
Ülman Rûtschy
Ülty Rûtschy
Fûsser
Hansl Sigg
Hansl Burk
Hansl Swartz

Ossingen

Men with the hand cannon:

Hansl Sigg (leader)
der Schnider
Kûbler
Nottestan
Bîagg
Brott
Rader
Fatz
Heîsen vôn Alten
Wiseringer

Men with pikes:

Hansl Rûtschy (leader)
Moser, weber [Moser, the weaver]
Hüphammer
Buman
Hansl Senn

Waltenlingen

Men with the pikes:

Claus Müûlîr (leader)
Hansl Schmid
Pflîg
Petter Müûlîr
der Schûbel
Petter Müûrêr
Cûnrat Glesîng
Schoîblî
Rebman
Hug Müûlîr

Men with the short weapons:

Heînrich vôn Rûtîy (leader)
Rûdy Örîtly
Cûnrat vôn Rûtîy
Observations on the Names in the Zurich Muster List for 1443

The practice of giving two names was probably begun in Zurich and the surrounding areas when they became necessary in the 13th and 14th centuries. The names on the list indicate that the process was complete by the middle of the 15th century in Zurich. Most of the designators in the document have both first and last names. The names with only one designator seem to be surnames probably meaning the scribe who created the document did not have access to their given names. People often took surnames to reflect their occupation or where they lived, but there is little evidence of last names following guild occupations in the city of Zurich at this time. For example, only one man from the blacksmith guild (Schmiden-Zunft) has the name Schmid even though 41 men are listed. But 5 men among the smiths have the name Scherer (shearer). Few times do the men from the guilds standing in ranks next to each other share the same surname.

The situation is different with the men from the villages around Zurich, and more men share the same last name of the soldiers in ranks with them. Some of the surnames indicate that there were still noble lines in the countryside. While such nomenclature is relatively rare in the city itself, the countryside had many names of men with “von” as a title which accompanies their surname. This is particularly true of Regensperg which lists von Buchs twice, von Ottelfingen twice, as well as von Tachsnaren, von Schöffelstorf, and von Steimmur. In fact, these men comprise all the leaders of the entire area. This probably indicates that some knights were participating in the war on the side of the state of Zurich even though they are not represented as leaders in the militia in the city itself.

Fig. 2 - Swiss halberds (short weapons) from the fifteenth century, housed at the Swiss State Museum, Zurich

Not surprisingly, the surname Schmid (Smid) appears at least 30 times in the record. However, Meyer, Meier (Meiger) is listed at least 50 times. Other important names include Müller 20 times, Keller 16 times, Scherrer (Scherer) 14 times, and Frei (Frig) 13 times. The three most prominent names, Schmid, Müller, and Keller, therefore, comprise only 100 of the 2760 names or less than 3% of the total. This indicates that there were many different names in Zurich at this time. Clearly the first name Hanns was used more than any other, but there are a number of other popular first names such as Rüdy, Üly, and Heini. As is well known, the name Hanns is a variation of Johannes which comes from the Biblical name John. The popularity of Hanns tends to support the theory that old Germanic names were becoming less common before the Reformation while the use of names with Christian origins was on the upswing.

Fig. 3 - Points of Swiss pikes from the mid fifteenth century, housed at the Zurcih armory
Endnotes

1 Dr. Winkler did his PhD dissertation on Swiss social and military history in the Middle Ages and has published five books and a dozen articles on history. He currently works at the archives at Brigham Young University.


10 The names have been arranged according to guild, administrative district, and community. The first letter of all proper names have been capitalized even though they were in the lower case in the manuscript.

11 *So ist Hanns Scherer diser schützen, büchsen und spiessen h ptaxn.* The terms schützen and büchsen are potential problems. As mentioned earlier, schützen probably means some kind of harquebus or hand cannon, but büchsen might mean another kind of hand cannon or larger artillery pieces. I will translate büchsen as cannon and hope this is not misleading.

12 Even though the author shares the same last name as this blacksmith, he has been unable to prove any relationship to him. Since the author’s ancestry comes from the state of Zurich, however, it is a near mathematical certainty that he is related to the vast majority of the men on this list, no matter what their names, who had surviving issue.

13 The names of the villages and areas have not been updated with their modern equivalent. The designations are given as they were presented in the document.

14 Total for Erlenbach. Actually 51 men are listed.

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Fig. 4 - 1444 Swiss battle scene from Werner Schodoler’s Chronicle (1519). Swiss troops are on the right.