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Zurich's Militia Records in the Fifteenth Century

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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 cité 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 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” (Schweine) 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 höpftmann (Hauptmann). While the German word Hauptmann may be translated as captain, the rank structure of Zurich’s army defies a modern interpretation. The term höpftmann 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 zu 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, und, or un 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, Üli, or Uli. Similar names also have variant spellings like Schneider, Schneider, 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), *büschen* (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 *hellebarde* 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."

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**Fig. 1 - Map of Zurich in 1504**
Zurich's Military 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
- Cünrat 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
- Petter 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 Kilchmattern
- Hanns Thumm
- Torberg
- Ächtertinger
- Heinrich Escher

Well supplied men with short weapons:
- Hanns Studer (leader)
- Hanns Kösch
- Appenzeller
- Well supplied men with short weapons:
  - Jacob Hagnower (leader)
  - Heini Störy
  - Herman Zoller
  - Brütter
  - Röber
  - Notisen
  - Messerschmid
  - Salabach
  - Zeiner

Wine Producer's Guild

Overall leader: Jacob Brunner

Banner carriers: Marx Röiber and Hanns von Loppen

Men with hand cannon:
- [Leader not listed]
- Sussenbretly
- Oswald Schmid
- Billy
- Reig
- Hüber
- Ströily
- Griesenberg

Pike men:
- Jacob Ochsner (leader)
- Amptz
- Brunner
- Jos Schmid
- Eberly Wüst
- Knödly
- Scholtz
- Ram
- Büchenegger
- Ströily
- Oberdorf
- Zäyg

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

Men with short weapons:
- Hanns Kiel (leader)
- Müssikon
- Johanns Keller
- Cünrat sin sun (his son)
- Wüst
- Zeyg
- Kilchman
Pike men:
  Heini Sutter (leader)
  Hanns Sutter
  Sattler
  Scholtz
  Tub
  Schönman
  Müller
  Rotthan
  Sigrest

Blacksmith’s Guild

Overall leader: Meister Ilburger
Banner carriers: Meister Stemmler and Cuntz Kraft

Men carrying hand cannon:
  [Leader not listed]
  Heuman Rechberger
  Hanns Hünnü
  Hanns Schollenberg
  Beringer Halbisen
  Hanns Glögly
  Hanns Widerhopt
  Jacob Springindes
  Büsschen
  Hanns Bader
  Faber

Men with the long pikes:
  Rüdolf Bader (leader)
  Wibland
  Rüdolf Logisen
  Rüdy Sitz
  Cuntz Küng
  Hanns Kugelly
  Schülmeister

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

Baker and Miller Guild

Overall leader: Cnut von Cham
Banner carriers: Ott Werdmüller and Hanns von Cham

Men carrying hand cannon:
  Cüni Spenly (leader)
  Schönnenberg
  Heini Küng
  Hanns von Wil
  Heini von Wil
  Mertz
  Schlig
  Üli Tollikon uf Dorf [Üli Tollikon in the village]
  Hensly Rööst
  Widerker
  Cunrat Werdmüller

Men with cannon (büchsen) 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
  Ulman Sager
  Bertschy Scherer
  Hensly Tägen
  Hanns von Uster
  Heini Frig
  Raffenspurk

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

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)
Men with short weapons:
- Ulry Lienhart (leader)
- Frantz Lienhart
- Ulrich da hindan (Dahindan)
- Hanns Meyer
- Jos Gerhart
- Petter Sutter
- Blochsutter
- Hoffstetter
- Furting
- Hanns Kopff
- Griefensee
- Peter Föisy
- Jacob Schmid
- Knauber

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

Shoemaker Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Meyer
Banner carriers: Vittel and Grüniger
[This may be surnames of two men or one man’s name—Vittel Grüniger]

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

Men carrying the pikes:
- Frig (leader)
- Klügly
- Schürmeyer
- Löwenberg
- Zender
- Ströly
- Andres Schmid
- Lütcheg
- Switser
- Jung [young] Swartz
- Ott Aber
- Hanns Bressly
- Sigrost
- Blüwel
- Rott Michel
- Rüdger Witzig

Men with pikes:
- Heini Sil (leader)
- Hanns Winzurn
- Frig
- Büler
- Cuni Hoffman
- Fässler
- Nürsch
- Schätty
- Cuni Hug

Men with short weapons:
- Cunrat Hilprim (leader)
- Petter Tischenmacher
- Kessman
- Knup
- Jekly Neff
- Ulrich Krappf
- Hartlinger
- Heini Kull
- Cuni Müller
- Ully Keller
- Morgenstern

Roofers and Carpenter Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Binder
Banner carriers: Hanns Switer and Rüdy Hilprim

Men with the hand cannon:
- Hanns Hber (leader)
- Erhart Walder
- Hanns Walder
- Thomand
- Frik
- Salaman
- Fritag
- Pur
- Museller
- Hensly Binder
- Lieb
- Rüdy Nussbom
- Uly Weber

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

Fisher and Boatmen Guild

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

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

Pike men:
Hanns Wirtz (leader)
Wunderlich
Röschly
Swab der elter [the older]
Swab der jünger [the younger]
Rüdy Bank
Merky Waser
Heini Negelly
Frechenman
Schürman
Volmer

Men with the short weapons:
Hanns Jung (leader)
Hanns Schorer
Rüsegger
Rüdy Meyer
Lochman
Hensly Cûnrat
Rüdy Sumervogel
Heini von Hasel

Taylor and Cloth Cutter Guild
Overall leader: Heinrich Schmid
Banner carriers: Lienhard Münch and Hanns Betszer

Men with hand cannon:
Claus Zimmerman (leader)
Schennikon
Ulrich Schmid
Cûnrat von Hahn
Cûnrat Burgdorf
Hanns Hofman
Ulrich Kemel
Steffan Kûmberly
Petter Tachelshoffer
Wernly Schitterberg
Steffan Schulthes

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

Switzer
Kupferschmid
Esterman
Riff
Uly Schmid
Torwart
Struss
Hanns Ezentzberger

Men with short weapons:
Meister Erlisholtz (leader)
Bentelly Kûrsiner
Sumervogel
Cûnrat Cûn
Frischly
Frantz
Fuchs
Moser
Bûrgy Wider
Heini Amman
Hûss
Sidennäyer

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Frig (leader)
Hanns Gon
Tuttwil
Bachmeyer
Heini Ernert
Litpolt
Merky
Bertschy Schnider
Hanns Rubly
Thoman
Widmer

Men with short weapons:
Heinhich Schitterberg (leader)
Hanns Gründelly
Hanns von Costentz
Felix Blihnit
Stroumeyer
Hanns Amman
Swertzenbach
Jög Rantzzenrein
Hanns Lantzzenrein
Frank
Cûs von Mentz
Jékly Blihnit

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

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Hofman (leader)
Ehrt Griessenberg

Wool and Linen Weaver Guild
Overall leader: Johanns Rûttiner
Banner carriers: Niclaus Wiss and Jörög Dingnower

Men with the hand cannon:
Heinhich Schitterberg (leader)
Walherr Engenshein
Gupfer
Tuner
Merky
Stichdenast
Stachelman

Men with the long pikes:
Hanns zür Eich (leader)
Clewy Blahor
Heini Thoman
Burkart Sennhuser
Selholtzer
Jacob Cûn
Rûdy Lantrikon
Men with short weapons:
Petter Keller (leader)
Hanns Weber
Hanns Hofman
Hanns Keller
Stachelman
Hanns Hüttmacher

Men with short weapons:
Lüty Kamrer (leader)
Turst
Rüdy Egensheim
Michel
Lienhart
Heini Lober

Names of Men from the Countryside

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

Men with hand cannon:
Hanns Wirtz der junger [the younger][leader]
Üly von Rüüs
Hensly Schneider
Hensly Kaltbrunner
Clewly Büllcr
Clewly Hofstetter
Hensly Hofstetter
Clewly Ustrer
Üly Hohstrasser
Hanns Wallwiler
Üly Wismann
Heini Anman
Hensly Wetlich

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

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Bindschedler (leader)
Hanns Eberly
Clewly Eberly
Hanns 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:
Hanns Rottenswiler (leader)
Scherer
Rüssegger
Hensly Wisman
Üly Artter
Hensly von Künschen
Heini Körnly
Hensly Werder
Hensly Jeny

Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Cünztz (leader)
Rüdy Günther
Heini Sidler
Heini Sigrist
Üly Andrer
Cüni Graff
Rüdy von Cünshen
Fölmly
Hensly Sidler
Jekly Walterminger
Rützman von Künschen

Herdiberg

Men with hand cannon:
Lüty im Grütt (leader)
Bürge Knopfly
Jos im Grütt
Welty Zendhuser
Groshanns Kramer
Hensly Sigrist

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

Jos Butsch
Rüdy Müller
Hanns Büler
Heini Jekly

Men with short weapons:
Heini Nussbümmer (leader)
Üly Lang
Cüni von Cünshen
Hanns Knopfly
Hanns Krig
Rütschman Hüsler
Horner
Rüdy Schmid
junkherr [young nobleman] Ulrich
Heini von Meilan

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Segwiler (leader)
Rüdy Berger
Hensly Lang
Hensly Nussbüm
Hensly Wettlich
Hanns Rottenswiler
Heine Ströily
Cüni Rengger
Heini Nordikon
Üly Wettlich
Hensly Rottenswiler
Heini Bücher
Hanns Sutter

Men with short weapons:
Hensly von Cúshein (leader)
Hanns Wettlich
Üly Lochman
Schenikon
Öchman
Heini von Künschen
Rüdy von Cünshen
Heini Wissling
Küssnach
Jacob Spiss
Bentelly Burkart
Cüni Werder
Heini Göich
Heini Büler

Total 72
Men with short weapons:
- Hanns von Herdiberg (leader)
- Hintz im Selholtz
- Hensly in der Egg
- Pantelly Widmer
- Hartman im Schafflin
- Hensly im Grütz
- Filips Münch
- Heini Wettlich
- Heini Leman
- Heini Knopfly
- Hanns Fietz
- Rüdy Guggelman
- Hensly Jörg
- Herman Fogler

Total 21 (actually 29)

Zollikon

Men with hand cannon:
- Hanns Hofman (leader)
- Hüber
- Wiss
- Schümacher
- Buman
- Weber

Men with pikes:
- Heini Hottinger (leader)
- Cunrat Hensler
- Heini Bücher
- Bertschy Leinbacher
- Hensly Rebmesser
- Ully Hüber

Men with short weapons:
- Cüni Kienast (leader)
- Ulrich Ritter
- Jckly Kienast
- Leman
- Toman
- Schiltknecht
- Fri
- Heini Obst
- Egashan
- Hanns Lochman
- Ully Wüst

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

Thoman
Jos Murer
Ully Murer
Hanns Schad
Bachman
Ully Brunner
Hensly Spery

Hottingen, Oberstrass, und Understrass

Men with the hand cannon:
- Hanns Berner (leader)
- Hanns Fröidwiler
- Rüdy Frig
- Heini Meyer bim steg
- Hensly Meyer sin brüder (brother)
- Hanns Tempelman
- Heini Rebman
- Hartman Meyer
- Jckly Biegger
- Heini Hottinger

Men with pikes:
- Hanns Rüdger (leader)
- klein [little, young] Hanns Rüdger
- Hanns Fürbas
- Ully Hüny
- Heini Meyer
- Hanns Süller
- Ully Täk
- Andres Friman
- Rosenstok
- Hanns Güller

Short weapons:
- Werner Süler (leader)
- Rüdy Küssler
- Hanns Holenweg
- Hanns Meyer
- Cüni Lindner
- Hanns Sprungli
- Hanns Wagner
- Hensly Wasser
- Ully Amman

Hanns Kessler
Cunrat Kessler
Heini Hertly

Men with the short weapons:
- Hensly Cuntz (leader)
- Felix Meyer
- Hanns Notz
- Rüdy Süller
- Hanns Künig
- Heini Klötly
- Hanns Andres
- Hanns Meyer
- Heini Künig
- Ully Scherer
- Hensly Hottinger

Men with the short weapons:
- Heini Ackly (leader)
- Hanns Lindiner
- Jckly Burkart
- Heini Frank
- Claus Amman
- Goldknopf
- Fridy Müller
- Cüni Guller
- Heini Eberly
- Heini Widmer
- Jbberg Schmid

Leader of the men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer
- Rüdger Kipenh
- Hanns Ringger
- Heini Frig
- Cüni Kipenh
- Heini Waltherr
- Hanns Jung
- Peter Künig
- Cüni Stiefel
- Cüny Süry

Men with the short weapons:
- Ludwig Rebman
- Swartzenbach
- Fümy
- Ully Meyer
- klein (short, young) Hanns Meyer
- Bertschy Fübas
- Hensly Vogt
- Meini Müller
- Keiser
- Cüni Kessler

Men with the short weapons:
- Ully Hertzog (leader)
- Herman Rüdger
- Bertschy Notz
- Rüdger Waser
- Rüdy Hering
- Rüdy Meyer
Rüdy Bertschy
Jegly Andres
Fritschy Studer
Hanns Keller

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

Wippchini:

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:
Cüni Strüwmeyer (leader)
Cüni Burkart
Hanns Kennatter
Hanns Kessler
Hanns Schubinger
Appenzeller
Zeinner
Weber
Total 20

Schwamendingen, Örlikon, 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
Grüninger
Ringgly
Cüni von Wil
Leman
aber Leman
Meyer
aber Meyer
Gerung
Total 33

Rümlang

Men with crossbows or pikes:
Hans Häggeler (leader)
Heini von Rüty
Keiser
Eggentswiler
Kilchherr
Stierly
Cüni von Wil
Jung Brogly
Kofel
Cüni da hinder [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 Blöiss
Hanns Müller
Heini Honrer
Hanns Meiser
Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Gimper (leader)
klein [little, young] Rüdy Tempelman
Hus herr
Brunner
Schorer
Jekly Buller
Üly Tempelman
Clewy Rieder
Heini Bollinger
Jekly Friman
Klotter's sun (Klotter's son)
Üly Trapy
Men with short weapons:
Hans Eschwurm (leader)
Hanns Honrein
Bertschy
Hanns Aspar
Üly ab Engy
Welty Rieder
Hensly Lütty
Hensly Hagen
Grosshanns Kilchmeyer
Welty Tempelman
Heintz Studer
Men with short weapons:
Hanns Rott (leader)
Bog
Klotter
Heini uff Asp
Emny Petter
Riss
Cüni Bürgler
Heintzman Krutt
Heini am Horn
Rüdy Lussten wer
Total 40

Vogts zu Meilan

Men with the hand cannon:
Hans Burgman (leader)
Üly Kreps
Bürgy Weber
Heini Burgman
Hanns Hug
Bernhart Üstrer
Rüdy Megter
Rüdy Knüly
Hensly in der Hab
Men with the hand cannon:
Hans Schnorr (leader)
Hanns im Bümorgen
Heini Leser
Rüdy Fürenwang
Üly Schnorr

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Claus Statteman
Hanns Swab
Wernly Scherer
Hanns Meyerhof

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Wernly (leader)
Heini Bilyen
Brisenman
Heini Mury
Heine Bühnenstoss
Petter Bühnenstoss
Hanns Fürenwang
Hanns Schornfl
Üly Leman
Heini Meyer

Men with the short weapons:
Giger Meyer (leader)
Hensly Rebman
Petter Meyer
Üly Meyer
aber (also another) Üly Meyer
Rudy Guldiner
Čuni Biber
Üly Scheffer
Jekly Sutz
Flüguff

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

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

Men with the long pikes:
Heini Neff (leader)
Bürgy Neff
Rudy Knecht
Bertschy Knopfly
Hensly Knöly
Rudy Königstein
Hensly Schmil

Vischer Hans
Rättschman Knöly
Peter Scherer

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

Heini Meyerhof

Men with the long pikes:
Bertschy Vischtüry (leader)
Hanns Stafiler
Čuni Mor
Üly Has
Swartz
Heini Weber Swartz
Heini Scherer
Claus Schmil
Heini Weber
Hanns Wirt
Total 89

Üttikon

Men with the short weapons:
Üly Iring (leader)
Hensly Iring
Eberly Guggenbül
Heini Guggenbül
Bürgy Singer
Čuni Meyer
Claus Rin
Heini Schleifer
Üly Jos
Hensly Singer

Hirslanden

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

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

Men with the short weapons:
Burghalder (leader)

Heini Weber
Meyer
Ochsner
Fritag
Hanns Sumeröwer
Hanns Etter
Jekly Ringlikon
Schüh
Jekly Kull
Müller
Ocker
Total 24

Rispach und Flun

Men with the hand cannon:
Heini Wüst (leader)
Hanns Wüst
Heini Stamler
Üly Springly
Rebnknecht
Murer

Men with the long pikes:
Hensly Gossower (leader)
Heini Tugginer
Hug Tugginer
Weikon
Hanns Schneider
Hanns Meyer
Iminier

Men with the short weapons:
Rudy Wettelich (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:
Rüdgér Klötti (leader)
Hensly Ersam
Lütty Ersam
Heini Müller
Dasch
Čuni Dossenbach
Rudy Dahinden
Hollenweger
Rudy Tossenbach
Goldsknopf
Heini Richiner
Claus Hofman
Zubler

Men with the long pikes:
Cuni Richiner (leader)
Claus Meiger
Hans Meyer
Rudy Klöty
Hansl Klöty
Hollenweger
Rüdiger Bader
Cuni Offner
Üly Ersam

Men with long pikes:
Üly Degen (leader)
Hansl Bürgy
Cuni Bader
Rüdy Müller
Hansl Klöty
Walty Köchly
Rüdy Hollenweger [Hollenweger?]
Heini Dahinen
Heini Hollenweger [Hollenweger?]

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Ersam (leader)
Rüdy Junker
Üly Hug
Rüdy Ersam
Jop
Roder
Hansl Gessler
Heini Rüsch
Lüty

Büllach die vogtye

Men with the hand cannon:
Waltherr Klinger (leader)
Schening
Jekly Kern
Hansl Kern
Hansl Hilbrand
Meder
Heini Spiller
Hansl Cünntz
Scherer
Grosshanns Schmid
Heini Weber
Heini Glattfelder

Long pikes:
Üly Meyer (leader)
Rüdy Sesser
Rüsser
Smid
Büntzly
Jegly Schmid
Ber
Heini Mag
Cuni Núchomm
klein [small, young] Hansl Smid

Rüdy Mag
Hansl Mag
Pauly
Petter Wetzel
Bertschy Binder
Cuni Glattfelder
Hansl Sider
Grosshanns Smid
Cünztly Früisy

Men with short weapons:
Künter (leader)
Hansl Meyer
Heini Glattfelder
Jekly Sider
Claus Wetzel
Hansl Kofman
Breitenstein
Heints Hert
Heini Sider
Rundy

Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Kern (leader)
Heini Sewer
G thanns
Götz
Zander
Hansl Glattfelder
Hansl [struck out] Rüggensperg
Hansl Klinger
Hansl Rott
Jekly Frig

Das Amt Regensperg

Men with the crossbows:
Hansl Schön von Buchs (leader)
Üly Schön
Cünrat in der Widen
Hansl Süssly
Hansl Meyer
Cuni Nerracher
Rüdy Müller
Hansl Wesser
Merkly Meyer

Men with the hand cannon:
Weibel von Ottelfingen (leader)
Hansl Fröwler
Hansl Senn
Hansl Schmid
Hansl Meyer
Cünrat Swab
Hansl Tuttwil
Hansl Cünntman
Heini Müller
Üly Schmid

Men with the long pikes:
Rüdy Frig von Tachsnaren (leader)
Hansl Brem

Cuni Meyer
Stuky
Hansl Senn
Bertschy Inry
Rüdy Marquart
Heini Meyer

Men with the long pikes:
Rüdy Schön von Buchs (leader)
Heints Widmer
Hansl Widmer
Heini Meyer
aber (also) Heini Meyer
Üly Bürgler
Heini Clewis
Werly Süssly
Üly Süssly
Heini Kessler

Men with short weapons:
Cuni Graff von Ottelfingen (leader)
Hansl Bopp
aber [also] Hansl Bopp
Heini Buğler
Heini Meyer
Büler
Üly Senn
Bertschy Bapst
Üly Teppeller
Üly Rüdis

Men with short weapons:
Hansl Keller von Schöffelstorf
(leader)
Heints Frig
Heini Frig
Hansl Müller
Hansl Frig
Üly Keller
Üly Sigrest
Heini Nerracher
Cuni Stresler
Heini Merkly
Cuni Merkly

Men with short weapons:
Cuni Koch von Steinmurr (leader)
Hansl Weilty
Hansl Meyer
Hansl Schmid
Werly Kempf
Üly Hüpt
Hansl Bömler
Heini Swab
Hansl Müller
Rüdy Meyer

Andelfingen

Men with the hand cannon:
Der Knöppfly (leader)
Bürgy Rikenbach
Münch
Thoman
Schmid
Oberkeller
Heini Güssel
Heini Petter
der Himel von Henhart
[the man Himmel from Henhart]
der Himel von Humlikon
[the man Himmel from Humlikon]

**Men with the pikes:**
Hensly Has (leader)
Cüni Meyer
Rüdy Rütschy

**Ossingen**

**Men with the hand cannon:**

Heintzly Harder
Rüdy Harder
Heintz Keller
Medler
Claus Stuky
Cüni Saller
der Meyer von Allen

**Tallwil**

**Men with the pikes:**
Heini Müllercher (leader)
Petter Riss
Hanns Ras
Hartman von Gattikon
Heintzman Swertzenbach
Rüdy Graffenegger
Rüdy Zimberman
Hensly Tüffenbach
Rüdy Vogel
Cüni Ernst

**Men with the short weapons:**
Jos Marr (leader)
Heini Hüber
Hensly Tüffenbach
Hensly Graffenegger
Hensly Swab
Cünrat Snider
Hensly Cuntz
Jörg Cuntz
Rüdy Bollinger
Rüdy Englischach
Jekly Ringgenberg, der alt (the elder)
Jekly Ringgenberg, der jung (the younger)

**Waltenlingen**

**Men with the pikes:**
Claus Müller (leader)
Hanns Schmid
Pflug
Petter Müller
der Schübel
Petter Murer
Cünrat Glesting
Sööby
Rebman
Hug Müller

**Men with the short weapons:**
Heinrich von Rüttly (leader)
Rüdy Örtlly
Cünrat von Rüttly
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.

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, Úly, 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.
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.

2 The standard histories of early Zurich include: Karl Dandliker, Geschichte der Stadt und des Kantons Zürich, vol. 1 (Zürich, 1908). See also Anton Largiader, Geschichte von Stadt und Kanton Zürich, vol. 1 (Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1945).


5 Gerold Edlibach, Chronik (Zürich: Meyer und Zeller, 1847). The classic account of the Zurich War is Wilhelm Oechsl, Der Streit um das Toggenburger Erbe. (1885). For a recent account of the war from the perspective of the Habsburgs see: Alois Niederstaetter, Der alte Zürichkrieg: Studien zum österreichisch-eidgenössischen Konflikt sowie zur Politik König Friedrichs III. In den Jahren 1440 bis 1446 (Wien: Böhlau, 1995).


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 Hans Scherer dieser schützen, büchsen und spiesen h ptman. 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.