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 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 cite 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.²

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.³

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.⁴

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
Schwyz and Zurich together like a pair of angry dogs. Its citizens to seek employment elsewhere. Additionally, the town fell into an economic depression which forced many of its citizens to seek employment elsewhere. The war cost the city much of its trade, and the members of the Swiss Confederation, Zurich had cause for concern. 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 Swiss state. Despite the pact with the hated Habsburgs, the traditional enemy of Zurich had gathered support from other 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” (Schwänze) 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 höftmann (Hauptmann). While the German word hüftmann may be translated as captain, the rank structure of Zurich’s army defies a modern interpretation. The term hüftman 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 ünd, unnd, or unt 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 Tel, Tîl, 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 Üli. Similar names also have variant spellings like Schneider, Schrieder, and Schryder.

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) kurze 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 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.”

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)
- Heini 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 Kilchmatten
- Hanns Thumm
- Torberg
- Ächtertinger
- Heinrich Escher

**Well supplied men with short weapons:**
- Hanns Studer (leader)
- Hanns Kösch
- Appenzeller
- Jos Studer

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

**Shopkeepers Guild**

*Overall leader:* Hanns Hagnower, also known as Bopp

*Banner carriers:* Jekly Hagnower and Hanns Nadler

**Hand cannon, cannon, and pikes:**
- Hanns Scherer (leader)
- Herman Bischof
- Tormann
- Cünrat Kleinn
- Hanns von Naw
- Claus Keller
- Mathis Schmid
- Stichdenast
- Halbschütz
- Cündt Bopp
- Hanns Pfulwendorn
- Petter Iring
- Hanns von Egre

**Well-supplied men with short weapons:**
- Heinrich Obrost (leader)
- Harscher
- Fridrich Einsideller
- Hanns Mellinger
- Nifurer
- Stettfurt
- Felix von Egre
- Jung Nadler

**Wine Producers Guild**

*Overall leader:* Jacob Brunner

*Banner carriers:* Marx Röiber and Hanns von Loppen

**Men with short weapons:**
- 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
- Maller
- Rütschman, from Usikon
- Clewy von Burg

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

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

Blacksmith’s Guild

Overall leader: Meister Iburger
Banner carriers: Meister Stemmely and Cünrat Kraft

Men carrying hand cannon:
[Leader not listed]
Heuman Rechberger
Hanns Hüruß
Hanns Schollenberg
Beringer Halbisen
Hanns Glögly
Hanns Widerbisen
Jacob Springindes
Büschemen
Hanns Bader
Faber

Men with the long pikes:
Rüdolf Bader (leader)
Wibland
Rüdolf Logisen
Rüdy Sitz
Cünrat Kúng
Hanns Kögelly
Schülmeister

Men with short weapons:
Heini Albrecht (leader)
Meister Nüßler
Üly Winkler¹²
Thöny Scherer
Üly von Keiserst l
Wolower
Bürkly Schmid
Petter Scherer
Federly
Merk Bader
Uly von Wangen
Herman Scherer
Hanns Bosshart
Uly Bleicher
Hamerschmid

Burkart Scherer
Teryns Scherer
Röchly
Hanns Hertt
Hanns Glatt
Erhart Scherer

Baker and Miller Guild

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

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

Men with cannon (büschen) and pikes:
Heini Uttinger (leader)
Hensly Petter
Hensly Gamlikon
Uly 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
Raffenspurg

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

Men with short weapons:
Hans von Räk (leader)
Vorster
Bürgy
Rüdy Gamlikikon

Men with short weapons:
Heini Spenly (leader)
Lenhart Sessler
Müller im Werd
Osterwald
von Widen
Meyer von Birch
Marty
Bropst
Hanns Werdmüller
Helman

Weapons Maker Guild

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

Men with the hand cannon and the men with long pikes:
Hanns Hirss (leader)
Rüdy Abbül
Weninger
Uly Studer
Hensly Am-Bül
Hanns von Cappel
Claus Grüber
Rüdy Hüwiner
Kager
Heini Meiger

Men with short weapons:
Cüni Studer (leader)
Frik
Bilgry
Niefergalt
Wüst
Rüdy Heintz
Heini Cünrat
Tachelshoffer
Buss

Butcher Guild

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

Men with short weapons:
Hanns zer Kinden (leader)
Politt
von Eich
Riem
Nussbom (name crossed out)
Schmid
Winterthurer
Schiltknecht
Augustiner
Wüst
Hänman

**Men with short weapons:**
Rüdolf Ochen (leader)
Claus Hirt
Jacob
Bamsner
Petter
München
Mutz
Heini Hirt
Wininger
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
Schüchdenstich
Scriber
Seiler
Ackly
Rüdolf
Goldschmid
Thöny
Felix Meiger
Troger
Gilgenzwy
Naggl

**Men carrying the pikes:**
Fritag (leader)
Klügly
Schürmeyer
Löwenberg
Zender
Ströily
Andres Schmid
Lütschegg
Switzer

**Men with short weapons:**
Üly Lienhart (leader)
Franz Lienhart
Ulrich da hindan (Dahindan)
Hanns Meyer
Jos Gerhart
Petter Sutter
Blochsutter
Hoffstetter
Füring
Hanns Kopff
Griffense
Peter Föisy
Jacob Schmid
Knaber

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

**Roofers and Carpenter Guild**

*Overall leader: Johanns Binder*
*Banner carriers: Hanns Switter and Rüdy Hiltptrand*

**Men with the hand cannon:**
Hanns Hber (leader)
Erhart Walder
Hanns Walder
Thoman
Frik
Salman
Fritag
Pur
Müsseler
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

**Fisher and Boatmen Guild**

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

**Men with the hand cannon:**
Altenweger (leader)
Hensly Knödly
Rüdy Jung
Jekly Langenörly
Heini Wernly
Üly Billitter
sin brüder [his brother]
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
Merkly Waser
Heini Neggelly
Frechenman
Schürman
Volmer

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

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Pfudler (leader)
Bertschy Schanolt
Jekly Bachs
Rüdy Bank
Hanns von Lindow
Jung Landös
Wernly Hofman

Taylor and Cloth Cutter Guild

Overall leader: Heinrich Schmid
Banner carriers: Lienhard Münch and Hanns Beltzer

Men with hand cannon:
Claus Zimmerman (leader)
Schennikon
Ülrich Schmid
Cünrat von Hahn
Cünrat Burgdorf
Hanns Hofman
Ülrich Kemel
Steffan Kümberly
Petter Tachelshoffher
Wernly Schitterberg
Staffan Schulhes

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

Switzer
Kupferschmid
Esterman
Riff
Uly Schmid
Torwart
Struss
Hans Ezentzberger

Men with short weapons:
Meister Erlisholtz (leader)
Bentelly Kürsiner
Sumervogel
Cünrat Cün
Fransly
Frantz
Fuchs
Moser
Bürgy Wider
Heini Amman
Hüss
Sidennäyer

Men with short weapons:
Hanns Frig (leader)
Hanns Gon
Cünì Gon
Tuttwil
Bachmeyer
Heini Ernest
Lütpolt
Merkly
Bertschy Schnder
Hans Rubly
Thoman
Widmer

Men with short weapons:
Heichrich Schitterberg (leader)
Hanns Gründelly
Hanns von Costentz
Felix Blibnit
Strorrowmeier
Hanns Amman
Swertzenbach
Jörg Lantzenrein
Hanns Lantzenrein
Frank
Claus von Mentz
Jekly Blibnit

Shop Owner Guild

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

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

Heini Meyer emhelg[?]
Müliman
Schweiger
Bünscsinder
Leman

Men with the pikes:
Abel Silg (leader)
Hegnuower
Ellend
Heini Bünschider
Zimberman
Zäyg

Men with shirt weapons:
Rudolf Niffter (leader)
Heini von Jonen
Sumer wer
Schmid
Spreitenbach
Stüb
Jacob Trinkler
Stuply
Honrein
Jekly Hirt
Uly Widmer

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

Wool and Linen Weaver Guild

Overall leader: Johannis Rüttiner
Banner carriers: Niclaus Wiss and Jörg Dingnower

Men with the hand cannon:
Heichrich Schitterberg (leader)
Walther Engenshein
Gupfer
Tuner
Merkly
Stichenest
Stachelman

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

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

Names of Men from the Countryside

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

Men with hand cannon:
Hanns Wirtz der jünger [the younger] (leader)
Üly von Rüts
Hensly Schinder
Hensly Kaltbrunner
Clewy Büller
Clewy Hoffstetter
Hensly Hoffstetter
Clewy Ustrer
Üly Hohstrasser
Hanns Wallwiler
Üly Wisman
Heini Amman
Hensly Wetlich

Pike men:
Hanns Störy (leader)
Heini Liggy
Heini Wider
Rüdy Amman
Hensly Keller
Hans von Rüts
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
Clewy 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 von Künschen
Üly Arter
Hensly Wisman
Heini Nöggly
Rüdy Kaltbrun
Heini Körnly
Hensly Werder
Hensly Jeny

Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Cünts [Cünztes] (leader)
Rüdy Güntherr
Heini Sidler
Heini Sigrist
Üly Andrer
Cüni Graff
Rüdy von Künschen
Fölmly
Hensly Sidler
Jekly Walterminger
Rützman von Künschen

Herdiberg

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

Men with the long pikes:
Hanns Münch (leader)
Rüdy Kramer
Men with short weapons:
Hans von Herdiberg (leader)
Hans Ströly
Hans in der Egg
Pentelly Widmer
Hartmann im Schaflin
Hans im Grüt
Philips Münch
Heini Wettlich
Heini Knopfly
Hans Fietz
Rüdiger Guggelman
Hans Jörg
Hans Fietz

Total 21 (actually 29)

Zollikon
Men with hand cannon:
Hans Hofman (leader)
Hüper
Wiss
Schmächer
Buman
Weber

Men with pikes:
Heini Hottinger (leader)
Cunrat Hensler
Heini Bücher
Bertschy Leinbacher
Hans Rebmesser
Üly Hämmer

Men with short weapons:
Cunrat Kienast (leader)
Ulrich Ritter
Jekly Kienast
Leman
Toman
Schieltknecht
Frik
Heini Obrist
Egeshan
Hans Lochman
Üly Wüst

Men with short weapons:
Rüdiger Hensler (leader)
Claus Rüdiger
Üly Ernst
Clewy Schad
Lochman

Thoman
Jos Murer
Üly Murer
Hans Schad
Bachman
Üly Brunner
Hansly Spery

Total 21 (actually 29)

Hottingen, Oberstraf, und Understraf

Men with the hand cannon:
Hansly Berner (leader)
Hans Fröödol
Rüdiger Frig
Heini Meyer bim steg
Hans Meyer sin bruder (brother)
Hans Tempelman
Heini Rebman
Hartmann Meyer
Jekly Bieger
Heini Hottinger

Men with pikes:
Hans Rüdiger (leader)
klein [little, young] Hans Rüdiger
Hans Fürbas
Üly Hämmer
Heini Meyer
Hans Süller
Üly Täk
Andres Friman
Rosenstok
Hans Schuler

Short weapons:
Wernly Süler (leader)
Rüdiger Kiefer
Hans Holenweg
Hans Meyer
Cunrat Lindner
Hans Sprungli
Hans Wagner
Hansly Wasser
Üly Amman

Total 21 (actually 29)

Leader of the men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer
Rüdiger Kippenhein
Hans Ringger
Heini Frig
Cunrat Kippenhein
Heini Waltterm
Hans Jung
Peter Küng
Cunrat Stifter
Cunrat Süri

Men with the short weapons:
Ludwig Rebman
Swartenbach
Fölmey
Üly Meyer
klein (short, young) Hans Meyer
Bertsch Fubas
Hansly Vogt
Meini Müller
Keiser
Cunrat Kessler

Men with the short weapons:
Üly Hertzog (leader)
Herman Rüdiger
Bertsch Notz
Rüdiger Waser
Rüdiger Hering
Rüdiger Meyer
Men with the short weapons:
Heini Cünz (leader)
Wilhelm Kasper
Heini Seholtzer
Clewy Hirt
Rüdy Hottinger
Jörg Cünz
Heini Lindiner
Rüdy Hertt
Spiry
Hans Hirt
Total 93 (actually 94)

Wippchingen

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 Kemmater
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
Ringer
Herman
Meyer
Hanns Meyer
Bertschinger
Úly Meyer
Herman
Men with the short weapons:
Heini Widmer (leader)
Zöllgy
Stricher
Wüst
Vischer
Zannoger
Gering
Total 20

Vogtve zu Meilan

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Burgman (leader)
Úly Kreps
Bürgy Weber
Heini Burgman
Hanns Hug
Bernhart Ustrer
Rüdy Megter
Rüdy Knöily
Hensly in der Hab
Men with the long pikes:
Heintzman Gimper (leader)
klein [little, young] Rüdy Tempelman
Hussherr
Brunner
Schoner
Jekly Bülver
Úly Tempelman
Clewy Rieder
Heini Bollinger
Jekly Friman
Klotters sun (Klotter’s son)
Úly Tralpy
Claus Stattman
Hanns Swab
Wernly Schorer
Hanns Meyerhof

Men with the short weapons:
Heini Wernly (leader)
Heini Bilyen
Brisenman
Heini Müry
Heine Bübenstoss
Petter Bübenstoss
Hanns Fürenwang
Hanns Schnorff
Üly Leman
Heini Meyer

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

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
Cünrat Schnider

Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Neff (leader)
Heini Senn
Heini Peyer
Herman Ziegler
Heini Knööly
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 Löby
Hanns in der Hab
Heini in der Hab
Hanns Leman
Hanns Senn
Üly Schmid

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

Üttikon

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

Hirslanden

Men with the hand cannon:
RÜTsCHMAN Knööly (leader)
Heini Merier
Üly Sumer wer
Hensly Fritag
Heintz Schlig
Iberg Fritag

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

Men with the short weapons:
Burghalder (leader)

Rispach uncl Flun

Men with the hand cannon:
Heini Wüst (leader)
Hanns Wüst
Heini Stamer
Üly Springly
Rebknecht
Murer

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

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

Winingen uncl Enstringen

Men with the hand cannon:
RÜüDger Klötty (leader)
Hensly Ersam
Lüty Ersam
Heini Müllier
Dasch
Cüni Dossenbach
Rüdy Dahinden
Hollenweger
Rüdy Tossenbach
Goldsknopf
Heini Richiner
Claus Hofman
**Men with the long pikes:**
- Cüni Richiner (leader)
- Claus Meiger
- Hanns Meyer
- Rüdy Klötty
- Hensly Klötty
- Holenweger
- Rüdger Bader
- Cüni Offner
- Üly Ersam
- Men with long pikes:
  - Üly Degen (leader)
  - Hensly Bürgy
  - Cüny Bader
  - Rüdy Müller
  - Hensly Klötty
  - Welty Köchly
  - Rüdy Hollenweger [Hollenweger?]
  - Heini Dahinen
  - Heini Holenweger [Hollenweger?]
- Men with short weapons:
  - Heini Ersam (leader)
  - Rüdy Junkher
  - Üly Hug
  - Rüdy Ersam
  - Jop
  - Roder
  - Hensly Gessler
  - Heini Rüscht
  - Lütty

**Büllach die vogtye**

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

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

**Das Ampt Regensperg**

**Men with the crossbows:**
- Hensly Schön von Buchs (leader)
  - Üly Schön
  - Cünrat in der Widen
  - Hensly Süsly
  - Hensly Meyer
  - Cünri Nerracher
  - Rüdy Müller
  - Hensly Wisser
  - Merkly Meyer

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

**Men with the long pikes:**
- Rüdy Frig von Tachsnaren (leader)
  - Hensly Brem

**Andelfiffingen**

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

Men with long pikes:
Cüni Schnewly (leader)
der Doman
der Keller
Frymúller
Warttman
Hug Künger
Wagner
Schmutz
Beringer
Hanns Gasser

Men with short weapons:
Arnolt (leader)
Cüni Stuky
Hanns Schneider
Hensly Sigg
Hanns Basler sun [Hanns Basler’s son]
Üly Basler
der Stucky von Oberwilla
Üly Amman von Adlikon
Albrecht Stucky
Hanns Cünrady

Ossingen

Men with the hand cannon:
Hanns Sigg (leader)
der Schnider
Kübler
Notestan
Bäigg
Brott
Rader
Fatz
Henisen von Alten
Wisinger

Men with pikes:
Hanns Rütschy (leader)
Moser, weber [Moser, the weaver]
Huphamer
Buman
Hanns Senn
Hölöd
Kraft
Beringer
Welty Mosser
Rüdy Rütschy

Men with the pikes:
Hensly Has (leader)
Cüni Meyer
Rüdy Klett
Gross Hans
Höring
Etter, Hans
der Spar
Lober
Friess
Rüdy Küchly

Men with the pikes:
Rüdy Meyer von Torlikon (leader)
Leingrüber
Wolffer
Frig
Kumber
Widmer
Borhoh
Fuchs
Rüdy Stuky
Hölßer

Men with short weapons:
Rüdy Schmid (leader)
Üly Küchly
Latstein
Öchen Satheis
Ulman Rütschy
Üly Rütschy
Fässer
Hensly Sigg
Hanns Burk
Hanns Swartz

Waltenlingen

Men with the pikes:
Claus Müller (leader)
Hanns Schmid
Pflüg
Petter Müller
der Schäbel
Petter Murer
Cünrat Glesting
Schöbly
Rebman
Hug Müller

Men with the short weapons:
Heinrich von Rüttly (leader)
Rüdy Örttly
Cünrat von Rüttly

Tallwil

Men with the hand cannon:
Heini Mülicher (leader)
Petter Ris
Hanns Ras
Hartman von Gattikon
Heintzman Swartzenbach
Rüdy Graftenegger
Rüdy Zimberman
Hensly Tüffenbach
Rüdy Vogel
Cüni Ernst

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

Men with the short weapons:
Rüdy Tüffenbach (leader)
Henni Tüffenbach
Cüni Ossinger
Hensly Lütold
Üly Lütold
Heini Neff
Üly Friman
Hartman Ritzer
Heini Swartzenbach

Men with the short weapons:
Hensly von Gattikon (leader)
Rüdger Stüb
Jekly Trottmann
klein (small, young) Uly Vogel
Jörg Húrs
Heinrich Schmid
Felix Vorster
Hensly Húrs
Rüdy Friman
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 Otelfingen 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, 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.
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 Dändliker, 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 Oechsli, 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 Hanns Scherer diser schützen, büchsen und spiessen 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.

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