

Zurich's Militia Records in the Fifteenth Century

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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 Kiburgh 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" (*Schwänze*) of Schwyz and Zurich together like a pair of angry dogs.⁵

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 Confederate 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.⁶

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.⁷

The leaders of Zurich's forces are always given as *höptman* (*Hauptmann*). While the German word *Hauptmann* may be translated as captain, the rank structure of Zurich's army defies a modern interpretation. The term *höptman* 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 zû 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.

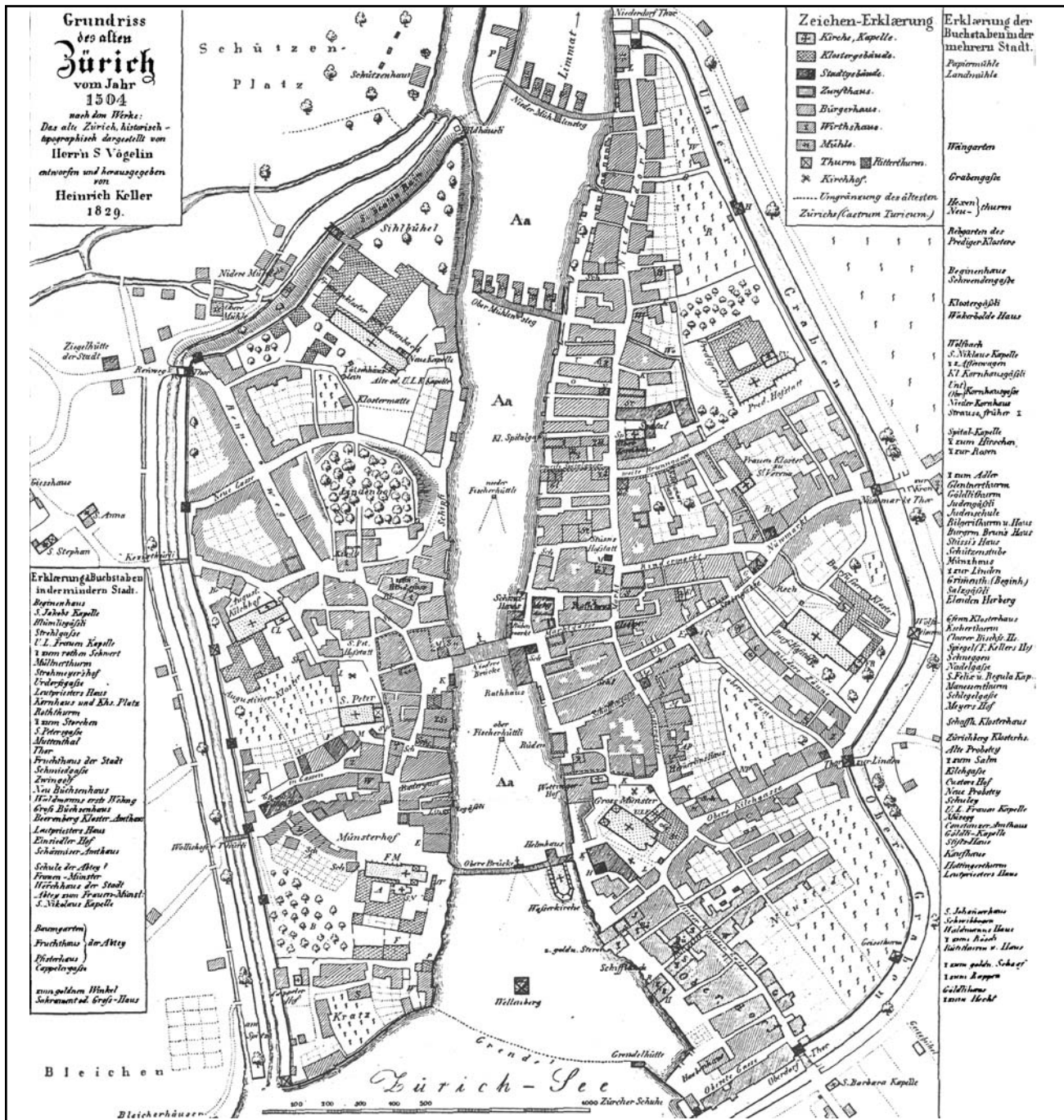
The Swiss scribes of the 15th century were not using consistent rules of spelling, and this is evident in the document. Even the most simple words like *und* (and) could be spelled *und*, *unnd*, or *unt* in various sources. Names also presented problems. For example, the *White Book of Sarnen*, in 1471, 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, Täl, and Tell.⁸ 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, Schnider, 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

Other weapons used include *lange spiesse* (long pikes), *spiesse* (pikes) *kurtze gewere* (short weapons), *armbruste*

armor, so a rider could be pulled from his horse. I have chosen to call these devices, “short weapons.”⁹

Fig. 1 - Map of Zurich in 1504



Zurich's Military Personnel during the Zurich War, circa 1443¹⁰

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
Cûnrat 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 Abalbiss

Men carrying short weapons who are well supplied:

Götz Escher (leader)
Jacob Murer
lang (tall) Swend
Rûdolf Benn
Rûdolf Meis
Rûdolf Schulthes
Jacob Swartzmurer (struck out)
Rûdolf Kilchmutter
Hanns Thumm
Torberg
Ächtertinger
Heinrich Escher

Well supplied men with short weapons:

Hanns Studer (leader)
Hanns Kramer
Heini Kramer
Ûly Kramer
Wetteswiler
Thomas Studer

Jos Studer
Hanns Kösche
Appenzeller

Well supplied men with short weapons:

Master Jörg Sidennäyer (leader)
R dolf Moser
Heine Tünger
Uly Rietman
Hanns Tugginer (struck out)
Heine Leinbacher
Claus im Grund
Rüdy Wetteswiler
Heini Torman
Schennikon
Heini Meyer

Men with short weapons (wood cutters):

Klingnower (leader)
Bûrgy Widmer
Heini Friman
Salman
Bûrgy Klinger
Heine von Gachnang
Heini Swager
Kleinbröttly (struck out)
Bartlome
Wettler

Shopkeepers Guild

Overall leader: Hanns Hagnower, also known as Bopp

Banner carriers: Jekly Hagnower and Hanns Nadler

Hand cannon, cannon,¹¹ and pikes:

Hanns Scherer (leader)
Herman Bischof
Torman
Cûnrat Klein
Hanns von Naw
Claus Keller
Mathis Schmid
Stichdenast
Halbschütz
Cûntz Bopp
Hanns Pfulwendorf
Petter Iring
Hanns von Egge

Well-supplied men with short weapons:

Heinrich Obrost (leader)
Harscher
Fridrich Einsideller
Hanns Mellinger
Nitfurer
Stettfurt
Felix von Egge
Jung Nadler

Heini Klotter
Ûly Schik

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
Hûber
Ströily
Griessenberg

Pike men:

Jacob Ochsner (leader)
Amptz
Brunner
Jos Schmid
Eberly Wüst
Knöidly
Scholtz
Ram
Bûchenegger
Ströily
Oberdorf
Zäyg

Pike men:

Felix Öry (leader)
Hans Öry
Habersat
Hagnower
Maller
Rûtschman, from Usikon
Clewy von Burg

Men with short weapons:

Hanns Kiel (leader)
Müssikon
Johanns Keller
Cûnrat 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
Cüntz Kraft

Men carrying hand cannon:

[Leader not listed]
Heuman Rechberger
Hanns Húruß
Hanns Schollenberg
Beringer Halbisen
Hanns Glögly
Hanns Widerhopt
Jacob Springindes
Büschmen
Hanns Bader
Faber

Men with the long pikes:

Rüdolf Bader (leader)
Wibland
Rüdolf Logisen
Rüdy Sitz
Cüntz Kúng
Hanns Kúgelly
Schúlmeister

Men with short weapons:

Heini Albrecht (leader)
Meister Núwiler
Üly Winkler¹²
Thöny Scherer
Üly von Keiserst 1
Wolrower
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: C nrat von Cham

Banner carriers: Ott Werdmüller and
Hanns von Cham

Men carrying hand cannon:

Cüni Spenly (leader)
Schönnenberg
Heini Kúng
Hanns von Wil
Heini von Wil
Mertz
Schlig
Üli Tollikon uf Dorf [Üli Tollikon in
the village]
Hensly Röist
Widerker
Cünrat 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 Tügen
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 Gamklikon

Cüni Röist
Peyer
Funk
Burdy
Pur
Oberly
Ruf

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
Üly Studer
Hensly Am-Bül
Hanns von Cappel
Claus Grüber
Rüdy Húwiner
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
Cüntzeller

*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
 Hänman

Men with short weapons:

Rüldolf Ochen (leader)
 Claus Hirt
 Jacob
 Bamser
 Petter
 Münch
 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
 Schriber
 Seiler
 Ackly
 Rüldolf
 Goldschmid
 Thöny
 Felix Meiger
 Troger
 Gilgenzwy
 Naggel

Men carrying the pikes:

Fritag (leader)
 Klügly
 Schürmeyer
 Löwenberg
 Zender
 Ströily
 Andres Schmid
 Lútschgg
 Switzer

Men with short weapons:

Üly Lienhart (leader)
 Frantz Lienhart
 Üldrich da hindan (Dahindan)
 Hanns Meyer
 Jos Gerhart
 Petter Sutter
 Blochsutter
 Hoffstetter
 Furing
 Hanns Kopff
 Griffense
 Peter Föisy
 Jacob Schmid
 Knaber

Men with short weapons:

Rüdy Jung (leader)
 Rüdy Ungericht
 Glattfelder
 Rosenblatt
 Mengel
 Rudy von Rinow
 Wignand
 Nassmatter
 Andres von Ulm
 Heini Kneller
 Ris
 Heini Egly
 Bachs
 Bruchly

Roofer and Carpenter Guild

Overall leader: Johanns Binder

Banner carriers: Hanns Switter and Rüdy
 Hiltprand

Men with the hand cannon:

Hanns H ber (leader)
 Erhart Walder
 Hanns Walder
 Thoman
 Frik
 Salman
 Fritag
 Pur
 Múseller
 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

jung [young] Swartz
 Ott Aber
 Hanns Bressly
 Sigrost
 Blúwel
 Rott Michel
 Rüdger Witzig

Men with pikes:

Heini Silg (leader)
 Hanns Winzúrn
 Frig
 Büler
 Cüni Hoffman
 Fässler
 Nürsch
 Schätty
 Cüni Hug

Men with short weapons:

Cünrat Hiltprand (leader)
 Petter Tischenmacher
 Kessman
 Knup
 Jekly Neff
 Üldrich Krappf
 Hantlinger
 Heini Kull
 Cüni Müller
 Üly Keller
 Morgenstern

Men with short weapons:

Hanns Blúwel (leader)
 Heinrice Switter
 Volmare
 Miltenberg
 Trúmpy
 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
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
Schúrman
Volmer

Men with the short weapons:

Hanns Jung (leader)
Hanns Schorer
Rússegger
Rüdy Meyer
Lochman
Hensly Cûnrat
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 Múnch and
Hanns Beltzer

Men with hand cannon:

Claus Zimmerman (leader)
Schennikon
Ülrich Schmid
Cûnrat von Haln
Cûnrat Burgdorf
Hanns Hofman
Ülrich Kemel
Steffan Kúंबरly
Petter Tachelshoffer
Wernly Schitterberg
Staffan Schulhes

Pike men and cannon:

Felix Uttinger (leader)
Springiskle
Poule Kúsiner

Switzer
Kupfferschmid
Esterman
Riff
Uly Schmid
Torwart
Struss
Hanns Ezentzberger

Men with short weapons:

Meister Erlisholtz (leader)
Bentelly Kürsiner
Sumervogel
Cûnrat Cûn
Frischly
Frantz
Fuchs
Moser
Búrgy Wider
Heini Amman
Húss
Sidennäyer

Men with short weapons:

Hanns Frig (leader)
Hanns Gon
Cûni Gon
Tuttwil
Bachmeyer
Heini Ernest
Lútpolt
Merkly
Bertschy Schnider
Hanns Rubly
Thoman
Widmer

Men with short weapons:

Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Hanns Grúndelly
Hanns von Costentz
Felix Blibnit
Strowmeyer
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[?]
Múliman
Schweiger
Bûnschinder
Leman

Men with the pikes:

Abel Silg (leader)
Hegnower
Ellend
Heini Bûnschinder
Zimberman
Zäyg

Men with shirt weapons:

Rúldolf Nitfurer (leader)
Heini von Jonen
Sumer wer
Schmid
Spreittenbach
Stúb
Jacob Trinkler
Stuply
Honrein
Jekly Hirt
Üly Widmer

Men with short weapons:

[Leader not listed]
Hanns Bosshart
Hanns Sidler
Hanns Múnch
Jekly Sidler
Üly Sidler
Vollenweider
Üly Hirt
Heini Meyer

Wool and Linen Weaver Guild

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

Men with the hand cannon:

Heinrich Schitterberg (leader)
Waltherr Engelshein
Gupfer
Tuner
Merkly
Stichdenast
Stachelman

Men with the long pikes:

Hanns zer Eich (leader)
Clewy Blahor
Heini Thoman
Burkart Sennhuser
Selholtzer
Jacob Cûn
Rüdy Lantrikon

Men with short weapons:

Petter Keller (leader)
Hanns Weber
Hanns Hofman
Hanns Keller
Stachelman
Hanns Hüttmacher

Men with short weapons:

Lútty Kamrer (leader)
Turst
Rüdy Egenshein
Michel
Lienhart
Heini Lober

Names of Men from the Countryside¹³

Erlibach

Overall leader: Johanns Brunner der jung
[the young]

Men with hand cannon:

Hanns Wirtz der jünger [the younger]
(leader)
Üly von Rûfs
Hensly Schnider
Hensly Kaltbrunner
Clewý Büller
Clewý Hoffstetter
Hensly Hoffstetter
Clewý 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 Rûfs
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
Clewý Eberly
Hanns von Meilan

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

Men with short weapons:

Lang [tall] Hanns Guggotz (leader)
Alt [old] Hanns Wirtz
Heinrich Schnider
Hensly Ustrer
Rüdy Oswald
Cüni Guggotz
Klein [short, young] Rüdy Guggotz
Vischer Heini
Siglisegger
Hanns Zúricher
Hanns Lang
Total 50¹⁴

Kússnach

Overall leader: Johanns Dietschy

Men with hand cannon:

Hanns Rottenswiler (leader)
Scherer
Rússegger
Hensly von Kúnshen
Üly Artter
Hensly Wisman
Neini Nöggy
Rüdy Kaltbrun
Heini Körnly
Hensly Werder
Hensly Jeny

Men with the long pikes:

Heintzman Cúntz (leader)
Rüdy Gúntherr
Heini Sidler
Heini Sigrist
Üly Andrer
Cüni Graff
Rüdy von Cúnshen
Fölmly
Hensly Sidler
Jekly Walterminger
Rútzman von Kúnshen

Men with long pikes:

Hanns Jegly (leader)
Stoker
Gilg
Uly von Kúnshen
Jegly Nussbûm
Cüni Nordikon
Cúnrat Leser

Jos Butsch
Rüdy Müller
Hanns Büler
Heini Jekly

Men with short weapons:

Heini Nussbûmer (leader)
Üly Lang
Cüni von Cúnshen
Hanns Knopfly
Hanns Krig
Rútschman Húser
Horner
Rüdy Schmid
junkherr [young nobleman] Ülrich
Heini von Meilan

Men with short weapons:

Hanns Swegler (leader)
Rüdy Berger
Hensly Lang
Hensly Nussbûm
Hensly Wettlich
Hanns Rottenswiler
Heine Ströily
Cüni Rengger
Heini Nordikon
Üly Wetlich
Hensly Rottenswiler
Heini Bücher
Hanns Sutter

Men with short weapons:

Hensly von Cúshein (leader)
Hanns Wettlich
Üly Lochman
Schennikon
Öchman
Heini von Kúnshen
Rüdy von Cúnshen
Heini Wissling
Kússnach
Jacob Spiss
Bentelly Burkart
Cüni Werder
Heini Göich
Heini Büler
Total 72

Herdiberg

Men with hand cannon:

Lútty im Grútt (leader)
Búrgy Knopfly
Jos im Grútt
Welty Zendhuser
Grosshanns Kramer
Hensly Sigrist

Men with the long pikes:

Hanns Múrch (leader)
Rüdy Kramer

Cüni von Herdiberg
Hensly von Herdiberg
Üly Zendhuser
Jörg Ströily
Hensly Erner
Hensly Süs

Men with short weapons:

Hanns von Herdiberg (leader)
Hintz im Selholtz
Hanns Ströily
Hensly in der Egg
Pentelly Widmer
Hartman im Schaflin
Hensly im Grütt
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
Schûmacher
Buman
Weber

Men with pikes:

Heini Hottinger (leader)
Cûnrat Hensler
Heini Bûcher
Bertschy Leimbacher
Hensly Rebmesser
Üly Hüber

Men with short weapons:

Cüni Kienast (leader)
Ülrich Ritter
Jekly Kienast
Leman
Toman
Schiltknecht
Frik
Heini Obrist
Egeshan
Hanns Lochman
Üly Wüst

Men with short weapons:

Rüdy Hensler (leader)
Claus Rüdger
Üly Ernst
Clewy Schad
Lochman

Thoman
Jos Murer
Üly Murer
Hanns Schad
Bachman
Üly Brunner
Hensly Spéry

Men with short weapons:

Hanns Eberhart
Heini Toman
Heini Hottinger
Böny
Breittiner
klein [small, young] Breittiner
Cüni Brunner
Hanns Kienast
Heini Büler
Heini Knöbelly
Cüni Bûcher
Ochsner
Studer

Total 48

Hottingen, Oberstraß, und

Understraß

Men with the hand cannon:

Hensly Berner (leader)
Hanns Fröidwiler
Rüdy Frig
Heini Meyer bim steg
Hensly Meyer sin brüder (brother)
Hanns Tempelman
Heini Rebman
Hartman Meyer
Jekly Biegger
Heini Hottinger

Men with pikes:

Hanns Rüdger (leader)
klein [little, young] Hanns Rüdger
Hanns Fûrbas
Üly Hûny
Heini Meyer
Hanns Süller
Üly Täk
Andres Friman
Rosenstok
Hanns Güller

Short weapons:

Wernly Süler (leader)
Rüdy Kuffer
Hanns Holenweg
Hanns Meyer
Cüni Lindiner
Hanns Sprüngli
Hanns Wagner
Hensly Wasser
Üly Amman

Hanns Kessler
Cûnrat Kessler
Heini Hertly

Men with the short weapons:

Hensly Cûntz (leader)
Felix Meyer
Hanns Notz
Rüdy Süller
Hans Kúng
Heini Klötty
Hanns Andres
Hanns Meryer
Heini Kúng
Üly Scherer
Hensly Hottinger

Men with short weapons:

Heini Ackly (leader)
Hanns Lindiner
Jekly Burkart
Heini Frank
Claus Amman
Goldknopf
Fridly Müller
Cüni Güller
Heini Eberly
Heini Widmer
Jbberg Schmid

Leader of the men with the short weapons:

Heini Widmer
Rüdger Kipenhen
Hanns Ringger
Heini Frig
Cüni Kipenhen
Heini Walther
Hanns Jung
Peter Kúng
Cüni Stifel
Cüny Sûry

Men with the short weapons:

Ludwig Rebman
Swartzenbach
Fölmy
Üly Meyer
klein (short, young) Hanns Meyer
Bertschy Fúbas
Hensly Vogt
Meini Müller
Keiser
Cüni Kessler

Men with the short weapons:

Üly 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 Seholtzer
Clewy Hirt
Rüdy Hottinger
Jörg Cüntz
Heini Lindiner
Rüdy Hertt
Spiry
Hans Hirt

Total 93 (actually 94)

Wippchingen

Men carrying crossbows:

Rüdger Schwend (leader)
Rüdy Metzger
Sparberg
Wingarter
Hanns Müller
Búrgy 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 Kemnatter
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

Broglis sun [Brogly's son, *seq.*]
Brogly
Keller
sin sun [his son]

Men with the short weapons:

Heintz Meyer (leader)
Wüst
Aber Wüst
Meyer knecht
Widmer
Bertschinger
Hüpscher
Üly Meyer
Schmid
Studer
Grüninger
Ringgly
Cüni von Wil
Leman
aber Leman
Meyer
aber Meyer
Gerung
Total 33

Rúmlang

Men with crossbows or pikes:

Hanns Häggeler (leader)
Heini von Rütty
Keiser
Eggentswiler
Kilchherr
Stierly
Cünrat Hägeller
Jung Brogly
Kofel
Cüni da hinden [from behind]
Üly Kofman
Rüdy Hirt
Büchler

Men with the short weapons:

Heini Widmer (leader)
Zölgy
Stricher
Wüst
Vischer
Zanngger
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
Husherr
Brunner
Schorer
Jekly Büller
Üly Tempelman
Clewy Rieder
Heini Bollinger
Jekly Friman
Klottes sun (Klotter's son)
Üly Traply

Men with short weapons:

Hanns 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
Ernny Petter
Riss
Cüni Bürger
Heintzman Krutt
Heini am Horn
Rüdy Lussten wer
Total 40

Vogtye zû Meilan

Men with the hand cannon:

Hanns Burgman (leader)
Üly Kreps
Búrgy Weber
Heini Burgman
Hanns Hug
Bernhart Ustrer
Rüdy Megter
Rüdy Knöily
Hensly in der Hab

Men with the hand cannon:

Hanns Schnorff (leader)
Hanns im Bûmgarten
Heini Leser
Rüdy Fûrenwang
Üly Schnorff

Claus Stattman
Hanns Swab
Wernly Schorer
Hanns Meyerhof

Men with the short weapons:

Heini Wernly (leader)
Heini Bilyen
Brisenman
Heini Mûry
Heine Bûbenstoss
Petter Bûbenstoss
Hanns Fûrenwang
Hanns Schnorff
Ûly Leman
Heini Meyer

Men with the short weapons:

Giger Meyer (leader)
Hensly Rebman
Petter Meyer
Ûly Meyer
aber (also another) Ûly Meyer
Rûdy Guldiner
Cûni Biber
Ûly Scheffer
Jekly Sutz
Flûguff

Men with the short weapons:

Rûdy Ustrer (leader)
Heini Gir
Rûdy Andres
Herman Mury
Heine Meyer
sin sun [his son]
Rûdy Stapfer
Heini Mûller
Jekly Schûmacher
aber [also another] Schûmacher
Hanns in der Hab
Cûnrat Schnider

Men with the short weapons:

Rûdy Neff (leader)
Heini Senn
Heini Peyer
Herman Ziegler
Heini Knöily
Ûly Bubenstoss
Hensly Schmid
Hanns Hartman
Heini in der Hab

Men with the long pikes:

Heini Neff (leader)
Bûrgy Neff
Rûdy Knecht
Bertschy Knopfly
Hensly Knöily
Rûdy Kûngstein
Hensly Schmid

Vischer Hanns
Rûtschman Knöily
Peter Scherer

Men with the long pikes:

Jekly Burgman (leader)
Heini Singer
Hanns Kess
Hanns Mûnchly
Hanns Löby
Hanns in der Hab
Heini in der Hab
Hanns Leman
Hanns Senn
Ûly Schmid

Men with the long pikes:

Bertschy Vischtûry (leader)
Hanns Stapfer
Cûni Mor
Ûly Has
Swartz
Heini Weber Swartz
Heini Scherer
Claus Schmid
Heini Weber
Hanns Wirt
Total 89

Ûttikon

Men with the short weapons:

Ûly Iring (leader)
Hensly Iring
Eberly Guggenbûl
Heini Guggenbûl
Bûrgy Singer
Cûni Meyer
Claus Rin
Heini Slepfer
Ûly Jos
Hensly Singer

Hirslanden

Men with the hand cannon:

Rûtschman Hirt (leader)
Heini Merier
Ûly Sumer wer
Hensly Fritag
Heintz Schlig
Iberg Fritag

Men with the long pikes:

Claus Hirt (leader)
Felix Fritag
Cûni Fritag
Hanns Walder
Ûly Rosenstock
Heini Ackerman

Men with the short weapons:

Burghalder (leader)

Hensly Weber
Meyer
Ochsner
Fritag
Hanns Sumerówer
Hanns Etter
Jekly Ringlikon
Schûb
Jekly Kull
Mûller
Ocker
Total 24

Rispach und Flun

Men with the hand cannon:

Heini Wüst (leader)
Hanns Wüst
Heini Stamler
Ûly Sprûngly
Rebknecht
Murer

Men with the long pikes:

Hensly Gossower (leader)
Heini Tugginer
Hug Tugginer
Weikon
Hanns Schnider
Hanns Meyer
Iminer

Men with the short weapons:

Rûdy Wettlich (leader)
Heini Gossower
Hanns Gossower
Hanns Hirt
Hanns Bûrger
Bertschy Schnider
Hanns Ochsner
Erhard Meyer
Hanns Hartman
Heini Mig
Eberly Scherer
Total 24

Winigen und Enstringen

Men with the hand cannon:

Rûdger Klötty (leader)
Hensly Ersam
Lûtty Ersam
Heini Mûller
Dasch
Cûni Dossenbach
Rûdy Dahinden
Hollenweger
Rûdy Tossenbach
Goldsknopf
Heini Richiner
Claus Hofman

Zubler
Men with the long pikes:
 Cüni Richiner (leader)
 Claus Meiger
 Hanns Meyer
 Rüdý Klötty
 Hensly Klötty
 Holenweger
 Rüdger Bader
 Cüni Offner
 Üly Ersam

Men with long pikes:
 Üly Degen (leader)
 Hensly Búrgy
 Cüny Bader
 Rüdý Müller
 Hensly Klötty
 Welty Köchly
 Rüdý Hollenweger [Holenweger?]
 Heini Dahinen
 Heini Hollenweger [Hollenweger?]

Men with the short weapons:
 Heini Ersam (leader)
 Rüdý Junkher
 Üly Hug
 Rüdý Ersam
 Jop
 Roder
 Hensly Gessler
 Heini Rúsch
 Lútty

Búllach die vogtye

Men with the hand cannon:
 Walther Klinger (leader)
 Schening
 Jekly Kern
 Hanns Kern
 Hanns Hiltbrand
 Meder
 Heini Spiller
 Hanns Cüntz
 Scherer
 Grosshanns Schmid
 Heini Weber
 Heini Glattfelder

Long pikes:
 Üly Meyer (leader)
 Rüdý Sesser
 Rüsser
 Smid
 Búntzly
 Jegly Schmid
 Berr
 Heini Mag
 Cüny Núchomm
 klein [small, young] Hanns Smid

Rüdý Mag
 Hanns Mag
 Pauly
 Petter Wetzell
 Bertschy Binder
 Cüni Glattfelder
 Hanns Sider
 Grosshanns Smid
 Cüntzly Fröily
Men with short weapons:

Lamparter (leader)
 Hanns Meyer
 Heini Glattfelder
 Jekly Sider
 Claus Wetzell
 Hanns Kofman
 Breittenstein
 Heintz Hert
 Heini Sider
 Rundy

Men with short weapons:
 Rüdý Kern (leader)
 Heini Sewer
 G thanns
 Götz
 Zander
 Hanns Glattfelder
 Hanns [struck out] Rüggenberg
 Hensly Klinger
 Hanns Rott
 Jekly Frig

Das Ampt Regensperg

Men with the crossbows:
 Hensly Schön von Buchs (leader)
 Üly Schön
 Cûnrat in der Widen
 Hensly Süssly
 Hensly Meyer
 Cüni Nerracher
 Rüdý Müller
 Hensly Wissler
 Merkly Meyer

Men with the hand cannon:
 Weibel von Ottelfingen (leader)
 Hanns Fröwler
 Hensly Senn
 Hensly Schmid
 Hensly Meyer
 Cûnrat Swab
 Hanns Tuttwil
 Hensly Cleinman
 Heini Müller
 Üly Schmid

Men with the long pikes:
 Rüdý Frig von Tachsnaren (leader)
 Hensly Brem

Cüny Meyer
 Stuky
 Hensly Frig
 Bertschy Inry
 Rüdý Marquart
 Clewy Senn
 Hensly Schönn
 Heini Meyer

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

Men with short weapons:
 Cüni Graff von Ottelfingen (leader)
 Hensly Bopp
 aber [also] Hensly Bopp
 Heini Búrgler
 Heini Meyer
 Büler
 Üly Senn
 Bertschy Bapst
 Üly Teppeller
 Üly Rüdís

Men with short weapons:
 Hanns Keller von Schöffelstorf
 (leader)
 Heintz Frig
 Heini Frig
 Hensly Müller
 Hensly Frig
 Ülman Keller
 Üly Sigrest
 Heini Nerracher
 Cüni Stresler
 Heini Merkly
 Cüni Merkly

Men with short weapons:
 Cüni Koch von Steimmur (leader)
 Hanns Welty
 Hensly Meyer
 Hensly Schmid
 Wernly Kempf
 Üly Hûpt
 Hensly Bömler
 Heini Swab
 Hanns Müller
 Rüdý Meyer

Andelffingen

Men with the hand cannon:

Der Knöppfly (leader)

Búrgy Rikenbach

Múnc

Thoman

Schmid

Oberkeller

Heini Gússel

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

Frymüller

Warttman

Hug Kúnger

Wagner

Schmutz

Beringer

Hanns Gasser

Men with short weapons:

Arnolt (leader)

Cüni Stuky

Hanns Schnider

Hensly Verr

Hanns Baslers 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

Kúbler

Nottestan

Bäigg

Brott

Rader

Fatz

Henisen von Alten

Wisinger

Men with pikes:

Hanns Rüttschy (leader)

Moser, weber [Moser, the weaver]

Huphamer

Buman

Hanns Senn

Höld

Kraft

Beringer

Welty Mosser

Rüdy Rüttschy

Men with the pikes:

Hensly Has (leader)

Cüni Meyer

Rüdy Klett

Gross Hanns

Höring

Etter, Hanns

der Spar

Lober

Friess

Rüdy Kúchly

Men with the pikes:

Rüdy Meyer von Torlikon (leader)

Leingrüber

Wolffer

Frig

Kumber

Widmer

Borhoh

Fuchs

Rüdy Stuky

Höltzer

Men with short weapons:

Rüdy Schmid (leader)

Üly Kúchly

Latstein

Öchen Satheis

Ülman Rüttschy

Üly Rüttschy

Fässer

Hensly Sigg

Hanns Burk

Hanns Swartz

Waltenlingen

Men with the pikes:

Claus Müller (leader)

Hanns Schmid

Pflüg

Petter Müller

der Schübel

Petter Murer

Cünrat Glesting

Schöbly

Rebman

Hug Müller

Men with the short weapons:

Heinrich von Rütty (leader)

Rüdy Örtly

Cünrat von Rütty

Heintzly Harder

Rüdy Harder

Heintz Keller

Medler

Claus Stuky

Cüni Saller

der Meyer von Alten

Tallwil

Men with the hand cannon:

Heini Mülcher (leader)

Petter Ris

Hanns Ras

Hartman von Gattikon

Heintzman Swertzenbach

Rüdy Graffenegger

Rüdy Zimmerman

Hensly Túffenbach

Rüdy Vogel

Cüni Ernst

Men with the pikes:

Jos Marr (leader)

Heini Hüber

Hensly Túffenbach

Hensly Graffenegger

Hensly Swab

Cünrat Snider

Hensly Cuntz

Jörg Cüntz

Rüdy Bollinger

Rüdy Englisbach

Jekly Ringgenberg, der alt (the elder)

Jekly Ringgenberg, der jung (the
younger)

Men with the short weapons:

Rüdy Túffenbach (leader)

Heini Túffenbach

Cüni Ossinger

Hensly Lúttold

Üly Lúttold

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 Hürns

Heinrich Schmid

Felix Vorster

Hensly Hürns

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 (*Schmid*-*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

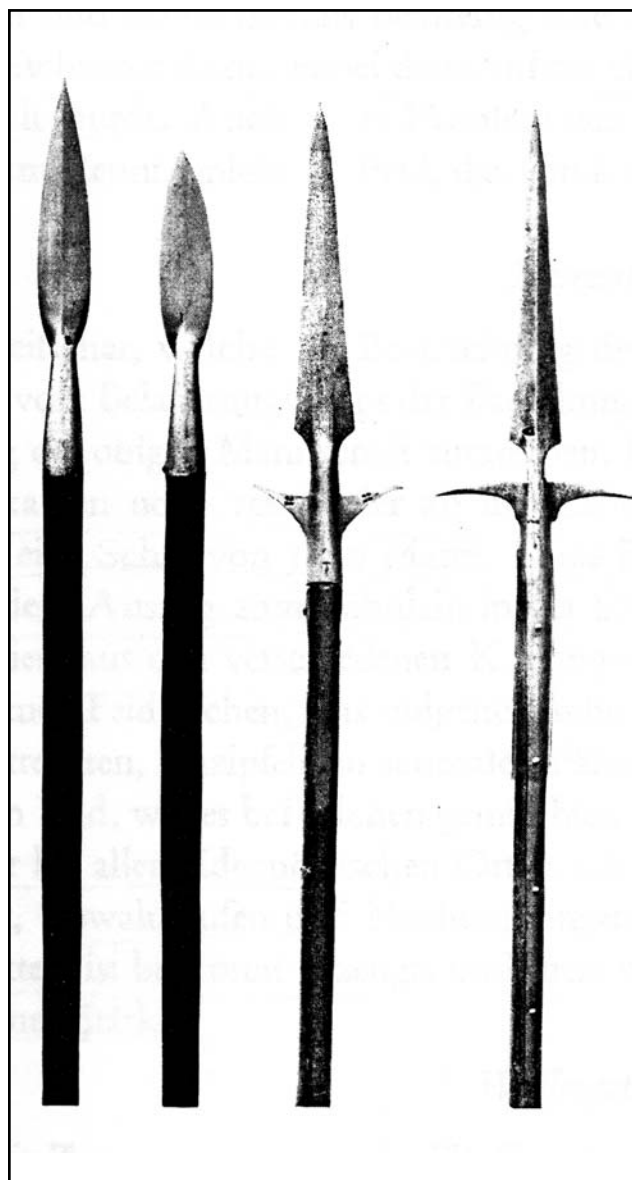


Fig. 3 - Points of Swiss pikes from the mid fifteenth century, housed at the Zurich armory

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 Rüdý, 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).

³ For more on Rudolf Brun see: Anton Largiader, "Bürgermeister Rudolf Brun und die Zürcher Revolution von 1336," *Mitteilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* vol. 31 (1936) Heft 5: 1-206.

⁴ See Richard Feller and Edgar Bonjour, *Geschichtsschreibung der Schweiz: vom Spätmittelalter zur Neuzeit* vol. 1 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhan, 1979). For compilations of Zurich documents in print see: Werner Schnyder ed., *Quellen zur Zürcher Zunftgeschichte* vol. 1 *13. Jahrhundert bis 1604* (Zürich: Berichthaus, 1936) and H. Zeller-Werdmueller ed., *Die Zürcher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1899-1906).

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).

⁶ Heinrich Brennwald, *Schweizerchronik* 2 vols. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung, 1910) 2: 126.

⁷ See Johannes Hanne. *Militärisches aus dem Alten Zürichkrieg: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Infanterie* (Zürich: Arnold Bopp, 1928).

⁸ *Das Weiße Buch: die älteste Chronik die das Werden der Eidgenossenschaft erzählt*. Edited by Albert Züst. (Zürich: Züst, 1939). For a good discussion of Tell's historicity see: Otto Marchi. *Schweizer Geschichte für Ketzer: oder die wundersame Entstehung der Eidgenossenschaft*. (Zürich: Praeger, 1971).

⁹ For a discussion of the Medieval Swiss military see: Carl von Elgger *Kriegswesen und Kriegskunst der Schweizerischen Eidgenossen in XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Lucerne: Militärischen Verlagsbureau, 1873). For a discussion of early Zurich weapons see: Hugo

Schneider. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der zürcherischen Bewaffnung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Schulthess, 1942).

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 hptman*. 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.

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

