

Fencing and shooting in the city of Solothurn during the 15th and 16th century : a closer look into regulations for martial contests

Autor(en): **Jaquet, Daniel**

Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte = Revue suisse d'histoire = Rivista storica svizzera**

Band (Jahr): **73 (2023)**

Heft 2

PDF erstellt am: **13.09.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-1046609>

Nutzungsbedingungen

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Inhalten der Zeitschriften. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern. Die auf der Plattform e-periodica veröffentlichten Dokumente stehen für nicht-kommerzielle Zwecke in Lehre und Forschung sowie für die private Nutzung frei zur Verfügung. Einzelne Dateien oder Ausdrucke aus diesem Angebot können zusammen mit diesen Nutzungsbedingungen und den korrekten Herkunftsbezeichnungen weitergegeben werden. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. Die systematische Speicherung von Teilen des elektronischen Angebots auf anderen Servern bedarf ebenfalls des schriftlichen Einverständnisses der Rechteinhaber.

Haftungsausschluss

Alle Angaben erfolgen ohne Gewähr für Vollständigkeit oder Richtigkeit. Es wird keine Haftung übernommen für Schäden durch die Verwendung von Informationen aus diesem Online-Angebot oder durch das Fehlen von Informationen. Dies gilt auch für Inhalte Dritter, die über dieses Angebot zugänglich sind.

Fencing and shooting in the city of Solothurn during the 15th and 16th century. A closer look into regulations for martial contests

Daniel Jaquet

This article focuses on martial contests (that is competitive activities involving the handling of weapons) in the city of Solothurn in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The case study demonstrates how martial displays are connected with associations of citizens and networks of urban competitors, and how they play an essential role within the formation of town identity and of «martial ethics» (Ann Tlusty). It examines fencing and shooting contests based on regulations and documents from the city authorities. It then shows where and how they took place in urban spaces. Finally, it showcases a few examples of its extant material culture.

On 10th February 1577, the city of Solothurn renewed its *combourgeoisie* (*Burgrecht*) and its alliance with Bern with two days of celebration, including shooting (*Schießen*), sword dancing (*Schwertertanz*), funny language contests in Latin and German (*lustiger Spielen auf Latein und Deutsch*), and many other entertainments and musical performances (*viel andere Kurzweil and Musikspiel*).¹ Such «festivals» – as series of contests and games –, can be documented from the second half of the 15th century on and occurred increasingly during the 16th century, notably in Swiss towns.² It also demonstrates how the different competitive activities – martial disciplines of shooting and fencing – are intertwined with each other, while other examples may include as well lotteries, wrestling contests, foot races, stone throwing, tournaments, etc.

The town of Solothurn represents an interesting case for the study of competitive activities. The relation between these martial contests with town authorities and its political and religious implications are especially relevant and documented from early on. Indeed, not only the state of the town archives allows continuous investigation from the 15th century onward, but also material culture related to competition in the collection preserved in the Old Arsenal (*Museum Altes Zeughaus*) can be showcased.

Acknowledgment: The research has been conducted in the context of the research project «Martial Culture in Medieval Town» (University of Bern, 2018–2022, supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation). It is connected to a temporary exhibition at the Museum of the Old Arsenal of Solothurn, entitled «Alarm! Culture, possession and use of weapons in the late medieval town» (15 October 2022–29 May 2023). The author thanks Miente Pietersma for reviewing the transcriptions; Regula Schmid, Jürg Gassmann, Jean-Dominique Delle Luche for helping with the translation of the primary sources; and Iason Eleftherios Tzouriadis for helping with the English version of the article.

1 Johann Haller, Abraham Musculus [Müslin], *Chronik aus des hinterlassenen Handschriften des Joh. Haller und Abraham Müslin von 1550 bis 1580, Zufugen ca. 1800*, p. 205–206.

2 Based on the investigation by Walter Schaufelberger, *Der Wettkampf in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft: zur Kulturgeschichte des Sports vom 13. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert*, Bern 1972.

The town of Solothurn acquired relatively large territories from the mid-fourteenth century on. It evolved through a network of alliances, first with Bern (1308), followed by Murten, Fribourg and Bienne (1318), then with the leagues of the Rhineland (1327) and Swabian cities (1385), and finally Basel (1400).³ This territorial expansion provoked some distrust on the part of the rural allies within the Swiss Confederation mostly, which denied the accession of Solothurn to a full member in 1411, 1453 and 1458. Only in 1481, after the crisis that followed the Burgundian wars, did Solothurn enter the Old Confederation (treaty of Stans). Around 1500, Solothurn was a small town of 2'500 inhabitants, and the burghers were very influential. Even the mayor (*Schultheiss*) was named among burghers after the decline of the last knightly families (1459). Its territorial possessions then included the range of the five mountain tops of the chain of the Jura and a large part of the plateau south of the river Aare. Such a well-connected town, both towards Swiss towns, and outside (duchy of Burgundy, duchy of Savoy, Swabia and Rhinelands) played a crucial role within urban competition networks, notably shooting, as noted by Delle Luche and Jäggi.⁴

This article will focus on regulations of such martial contests, based on documents (relevant examples transcribed and translated in appendices), dating from the second half of the fifteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century. This time span represents an early phase for the competitive activities, usually studied in the second half of the sixteenth century when they appear more regularly on preserved documentation. It will also look into where and how the martial contests took place in the urban space and draw attention to some related preserved objects to illustrate its material culture. Finally, it puts in perspective martial activities with civic duties and societal recreations in the urban fabric of the late medieval town.

Eine lobliche manßzucht (laudable civic activity) – fencing in the city

A «laudable civic activity»,⁵ so is presented fencing with specific swords (Fig. 3) in a 1546 document (App. 1, art. 9), a copy of a petition from a fencing master (actually a furrier) to the town council for holding fencing schools (*fecht-*

³ Urs Martin Zahnd, Bündnis- und Territorialpolitik, in: Rainer C. Schwinges (Hg.), Berns mutige Zeit: das 13. und 14. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt, Bern 2003, p. 469–509.

⁴ Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, Des amitiés ciblées: Concours de tir et diplomatie urbaine dans le Saint-Empire, XV^e–XVI^e siècle, Turnhout 2022, esp. chap. 3 and 4. See also the monograph of Louis Jäggi, 500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft der Stadt Solothurn, 1462–1962: Die Entwicklung des Schützenwesens der Stadt Solothurn von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Solothurn 1962.

⁵ *Manßzucht*, actually means more than just «activity», as the term refers etymologically to the «training» of the man and is connected to body culture as it translates literally to «how the body

schulen). Such fencing activities, opened to «whomsoever» (App. 1, art. 0) were common in Solothurn. Indeed, as early as 1463, the town council «forbids anyone whomsoever to fence in front of the townhall»,⁶ meaning that these activities had happened there before. And of course, they continued to take place within the walls, being potential sources of unrest, as would any gathering of young men involving drinking and weapons in the eyes of public authority. For example, in 1489 an incident in a fencing school was reported to the town council of Luzern, where a tailor apprentice lost an eye.⁷ His fencing companion was fined to cover the expenses of medical care and the tailor's lost worktime. According to Peter Schwyzer von Bern, a travelling fencing master documented between 1485 and 1518 in Baden, Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau and Frankfurt am Main, these fencing matches in «a friendly and good company» were played «for money or to the highest bleeding wound».⁸ These ritualised confrontations between two fencers were ruled by professional customs (*schulrecht*, see app. 1, art. 2) and played with specific equipment. The fencers did not wear any protective gear and were equipped with «fencing swords» (*fechtschwert*, see below, part. 4).

A rare example and more details about those norms are to be found in the 1546 petition of the furrier Hans Tägenschler (App. 1).⁹ Indeed, the fencing masters were usually craftsmen or burghers, teaching fencing as a side activity.¹⁰ This document explains what is to be taught and for what price, and how the participants should behave. This is a rare example of a complete petition (usual-

should be disciplined». It also bears the meaning of manhood. I thank Regula Schmid for the comment on this term.

6 «Item vff fritag nach sant partholomeustag Anno Dm LXIII Jar. Hand sich Rätt vnd Hundert bekent, dz niemann me fürhin vff dem Ratthuss sol schirmen oder fechten, er sy wer der wel [...].» Rathsprotokoll von Luzern (1463). Luzern Stadtarchiv, V B, 209. Quoted by Schaufelberger, *Der Wettkampf in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft*, vol. 1, p. 141.

7 «Jtem alß die mit ein andern geschafftet hand uff der schirm schül und Peter Tanman dem schnider knecht zü einem oug gestossen hätt, dz der schnider knecht vermeint, er sye umb dz oug komen, und begertt, [...] also dz Peter Taman sol geben dem schnider xxj guld. Fuer sumselle, schmerzlin, wirt und artzitt und alle ander sachen. Und sol dannenthin vom schnider gantz entprosten sin.» Reproduced according to Konrad Wanner, *Rechtsquellen des Kantons Luzern*, 1 Teil: *Stadtrecht*, Basel 2005, vol. III, p. 369.

8 «[...] ob jemand, wer der wer, so mit mir in güter fründ- und gsellschaft umb ein krenzly ffry streich, umb ein par guldin oder umb ein frye blütrunde [sic] rür zü fechten begerte, dann sol es von mir unverseit, sonder frischlich bestanden [werden, DJ].» Quoted in Daniel Jaquet, *Die Kunst des Fechtens in den Fechtschulen. Der Fall des Peter Schwyzer von Bern*, in: Uwe Israel, Christian Jaser (Hg.), *Agon und Distinktion. Soziale Räume des Zweikampfs zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Berlin 2016, p. 243–257, cit. p. 254.

9 I thank Jürg Gassmann to have drawn my attention to this document.

10 As noted by Ann Tlusty, *Martial Ethic in Early Modern Germany*, Eastbourne 2011, p. 211, and Christian Jaser, Ernst und Schimpf – Fechten als Teil städtischer Gewalt- und Sportkultur, in: Jaser, Ernst und Schimpf, p. 223.

ly not preserved), allowing insights into the earnings, the duration, and more importantly, the content of the teachings.

To participate in the fencing school, one has to pay 4 shillings to attend (art. 1 and 2), and then 1 guilder at the end if he is satisfied, otherwise he can leave without paying (except the entry fee, art. 3). The master shall teach only the defined program for 1 guilder, so that one cannot say that he has taught all his art for this price (art. 4). However, if a pupil is interested to learn more, he can do so, but subject to an «appropriate remuneration» (art. 5), not defined in the document. These advanced teachings take place later in another venue, but regularly («twice a week, on Tuesday and Thursday»), so that the pupils «don't forget fencing» (art. 8). The fencing school is therefore a product meant to entice consumers to more regular lessons for the benefit of a resident or travelling fencing master. That is of course then a matter to bring to the attention of the town council if one wants to operate within the walls. These fencing schools happened regularly throughout the year, but especially before larger competitions or martial festivals.¹¹

The content of the teaching (art. 2) consists of close to twenty techniques. The technical vocabulary is obscure to the 21st century reader but must have been commonly understood even by non-practitioners, such as city officials. The first ones are named the «five strikes» and probably refer to the five master-cuts (*Meisterhau*) belonging to the tradition of Johannes Liechtenauer. Indeed, this martial tradition related to the handling of the longsword is documented in the corpus of fight books, a technical literature about fighting.¹² The Germanic fight books related to Johannes Liechtenauer span over three centuries (1389–1679),¹³ and a copy produced in the same period as the petition has been found in Solothurn (fig. 4). This program is meant for the longsword, which was the most popular weapon in fencing competitions (and in the technical repertoire of fight books). However, it does not represent the other disciplines documented in the fencing competitions of the time (at least *dussack* – i. e., one handed weapon

11 According to my study of the town council books (*Rathsprotokoll*), the following masters received approval from the town council between the years 1530 and 1560: Meister Andresen (1532) Fechtmeister Jacoben murer von Zurich (1532), Fechtmeister Hans Tägenschler, kürsiner (1546, 1547), Freifechter Urs Rüdolffe von Wengen (1547), Fechtmeister Urs Blumenstein (1559), Freifechter Thomas Müller von Kempten (1559, 1560), Freifechter Christoffell Schmidmeyer von München (1560), Fechtmeister Lorenz ki(?)ex (1560).

12 For an introduction into the Germanic fight books' tradition, see Dierk Hagedorn, German Fechtbücher from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, in: Daniel Jaquet, Karin Verelst, Timothy Dawson (eds), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books: Transmission and Tradition of Martial Arts in Europe (14th–17th centuries)*, Leiden/Boston 2016, p. 247–279, and Patrick Leiske, *Höfisches Spiel und tödlicher Ernst: das Bloßfechten mit dem langen Schwert in den deutschsprachigen Fechtbüchern des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Ostfildern 2018.

13 Regarding the last witness ascribed to the tradition (1679), see Daniel Jaquet, *Martial Arts by the Book: Late Medieval and Early Modern European Martial Arts*, in: Paul Bowman (ed.), *Martial Arts Studies Reader*, London/New York 2018, p. 41–56.

with a curved blade, usually made of wood or leather – and staff).¹⁴ This might be part of the more advanced teachings evoked in the document.

The rest of the document is comparable to other types of regulations for martial associations of citizens, such as shooting association (see below, part. 2). It consists of a list of penalties for bad behaviour, like swearing, being late, lying, etc. (art. 6), except for one being more technical and related to fencing: «throwing a weapon or not laying it down properly». The money gathered is to be put in a box and consumed by the pupils.

Zu eren und zu dienst (for honour and service) – shooting in the city

«For honour and service», so is described the purpose of shooting in the city during a contest, according to a 1461 document (App. 2, art. 1). Shooting associations of citizens (shooting societies) can be documented as early as the late fourteenth century, and their structure is inspired from those of religious brotherhoods and of corporations of craftsmen.¹⁵ In Solothurn, the shooting companions under the patronage of Saint Sebastian (patron of archers) and Saint Ursus (patron of the city) are documented since 1378 and were financially supported by the city authorities since 1442.¹⁶ Large regional and trans-regional networks of shooting contests can be documented as early as the late fourteenth century, but are more regular in the second half of the fifteenth century,¹⁷ and the Solothurner shooting companions are competing in all their allied towns, in the Swiss Old Confederation, in the Rhineland and in Swabia. Schmid and Delle Luche recently demonstrated that these networks played an important political and social role.¹⁸ They were used to display civic duty, power and values (see the

¹⁴ Jaquet, *Die Kunst des Fechtens in den Fechtschulen*. For German and Italian cities, see Jaser, Ernst und Schimpf, and Ann Tlusty, *Martial Identity and the Culture of the Sword in Early Modern Germany*, in: Daniel Jaquet, Karin Verelst, Timothy Dawson (eds), *Late medieval and early modern fight books: transmission and tradition of martial arts in Europe (14th–17th centuries)*, Leyden/Boston 2016 p. 547–570.

¹⁵ About brotherhoods in Solothurn, see Max Egger, *Die Schlacht bei Dornach im Brauchtum der Solothurner Sankt-Margrithen-Bruderschaft*, in: *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 72 (1999), p. 247–256.

¹⁶ Jäggi, *500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft*, p. 9.

¹⁷ A list of more than 35 contests with high price for that period in those regions can be found in Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, *Sportliches Engagement und städtischer Wettbewerb. Schützenfeste als Ausdruck der Konkurrenz im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, in: Julia Schmidt-Funke, Matthias Schnettger (Hg.), *Neue Stadtgeschichte(n). Die Reichsstadt Frankfurt im Vergleich*, Mainz 2018, p. 361–386, here p. 371.

¹⁸ Regula Schmid, «Liebe Brüder.» *Empfangsrituale und politische Sprache in der spätmittelalterlichen Eidgenossenschaft*, in: Peter Johaneck, Albert Lampert (Hg.), *Adventus: Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, Köln 2008, p. 75–102 and Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, *Sociétés et concours de tir dans les villes du Saint Empire (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)*, PhD dissertation, Paris 2015,

banner, fig. 2), to strengthen political alliances, but also to contest political decisions. For example, in 1462, after the second application of Solothurn to join the Confederation was rejected, the town organised a shooting contest during the Federal Diet in Baden. The town council used this competition as an excuse not to attend the Diet where they were invited.¹⁹

From early on, these competitions drew attention of the city authorities. In the fifteenth century, it represented the main festivities for interurban communication, and as soon as 1477 early printing devices were used to send letters of invitation to other towns.²⁰ An early example (1461) of such a letter is preserved in the city archive of Solothurn (App. 2).²¹

In this copy of the letter addressed to the mayor and the council of Bern and then to the local shooting society of crossbowmen, the date of the shooting and the list of prizes with their value are first mentioned (art. 2). There are seven different contests with prizes ranging from twenty-four to three guilders (three horses, two beakers, one crossbow and a ring), alongside open games of shooting (art. 9). This type of prize ranges is generous in comparison to other competitions.²² The town also offers a pair of breeches and a mantel to each shooter.²³ A free market and side competitions are organised, such as stone throwing and a five-hundred steps run (art. 10). Such contests represent a large investment from the town, which is probably why lotteries were organised during competitions.²⁴ The most well-known example is the shooting contest of Zurich in 1504, which is very well documented,²⁵ but other examples as early as

vol. 1, p. 534. About the tensions between Solothurn and the Confederation, see Jonas Huggenberger, «Ir sind Herren, wir Puren sind aber Meister!»: Der Kampf um «Altes Recht» und neue Pensionen in den Solothurner Unruhen 1513–1515, in: *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 88 (2015), p. 277–388, esp. p. 289–291.

19 Letter mentioned in Jäggi, 500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft, p. 16.

20 See Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, «vmb vnsern willen euwer schieß gesellen her zu vns senden.» La communication entre les villes du Saint-Empire à l'occasion des concours de tir (XV^e siècle), in: Ralf Lützelshwab (Hg.), *Formen mittelalterlicher Kommunikation*, in: *Discussions: Colloquien und Tagungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris und seiner Partner* 11 (2015), np. Also Delle Luche, *Sportliches Engagement*, p. 369–398.

21 Transcribed and commented in Jäggi, 500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft, p. 12–16. See also Michael Schmid, *Einladung zu einem solothurnischen Schützenfest im Jahre 1461*, in: *Volk und Heimat. Zeitschrift für Kultur und Bildung* 14/8 (1961), p. 7–8.

22 *Ibid.*

23 This is similar to the competition organised in Zurich, according to the copy of the letter of invitation kept in Solothurn. See Friedrich Fiala, *Das Freischießen und der Glückshafen zu Zürich im Herbstmonat 1465*, in: *Wochenblatt für Freunde der Literatur und vaterländischen Geschichte* 16 (1845), p. 143–145. I thank Silvan Freddi and Jean-Dominique Delle Luche for this information.

24 Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, *La fortune du pot. Les loteries municipales en Allemagne (XV^e–XVI^e siècles): divertissement collectif, prestige municipal et concurrence urbaine*, in: *Revue Historique* 687/3 (2018), p. 553–591.

25 Friedrich Hegi, *Der Glückshafenrodel 1504 Zürich*, Zürich 1942, 2 vol.

1465 are recorded in the archives of Solothurn.²⁶ The role and presence of the mayor, the council and the officials of the town are detailed (notably insuring the fairness of the pointer, art. 8), as well as the attendance of a representative of the aristocracy, namely the Junker Hartmann von Stein (?–1473) (art. 11).²⁷ Indeed, everything is done to display power and wealth of the town.

Technical details about the contest are mentioned as well: the duration of the competition (App. 2, art. 3), the distance between the shooters' shelter and the target (art. 4), the distribution of the shooters during sequences (art. 4), and the procedure of the shooting sequences (art. 5 and 6). To avoid unrest and potential disputes, several rules are also detailed, such as the correct ways of shooting and technical details about equipment (art. 7). Any disputes will be resolved by the shooting companions (art. 7), who are the main organisers and who notably have to measure the steps (distance to target) with representatives of other shooting teams (art. 4), to insure fairness.

Many other types of documents inform about the life of the shooting companions, their role and status within the town and their activities. At the same period of the ordinance for fencing aforementioned, several shooting ordinances (*Schützenordnungen*) are preserved, one in 1545 and one in 1555 (App. 3). The latter is dated thirty years before the dissolution of the shooting society of crossbowmen (1584), whose capital was transferred to the gunner society. The document is signed by the town secretary.

It is comparable to the fencing ordinance in its form and content, except that the document is regulating a more established group of town inhabitants for activities happening within the walls for more than a century at the time of the writing. As with the fencing ordinance, it is a sworn ordinance for the shooting companions (art. 1). The yearly fee (5 schilling) is to be paid before the beginning of the year, as well as a measure of wax. In exchange, the shooting companion is allowed to take part in the activities of the society and receives a box for drinking (*ürtin*), probably to be used in the society's assembly room (*Stube, stüb*). The first articles govern the obligation to take part in the procession on the day of the patron saint (Saint Sebastian) and the amount to be given for the competition for the breeches, with details regarding the participation in these contests (art. 1–4). Article 5 is most interesting, since it states that a companion missing his shooting equipment and clothing should be allowed to shoot if someone is able to lend him shooting equipment for campaign (warfare). That means that the crossbows used for the competition were not weapon for war. Articles 7 to 14 lists penalties for bad behaviour or misconduct, similar to the

²⁶ Fiala, *Das Freischießen und der Glückshafen zu Zürich im Herbstmonat 1465*.

²⁷ Hartmann von Stein is the Schultheiss of Solothurn (former Vogt zu Bechburg), he moved to Bern in 1462. Peter Walliser, *Das Einlager der Bürgen im solothurnischen Recht*, in: *Archiv des Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern* 44 (1957), p. 661–684, here p. 680.

fencing ordinance. Articles 15 to 19 details the repartition of the winnings when shooting for the breeches.

The Shooting house and the Merchants' hall

Thanks to an early 16th century engraving, precise enough to offer a landscape view of the town, and to the detailed information in the archival documentation, one can visualise the urban spaces used for martial activities. Fencing schools usually happened in open skies spaces, such as the marketplace or the town hall square, which we know authorities forbade in 1463. We do have records of fencing schools taking place indoors in several other towns, in taverns, or in market halls, or even in religious or clerical spaces such as church squares, convents' gardens or universities.²⁸ Many fencing schools also happened along the walls or adjacent to urban spaces where martial festivals took place. In 1532 there is a record of the granting of the merchant's hall (*khouffhus*) for the fencing schools of Jacob Murer of Zurich,²⁹ which we can locate precisely in the old town,³⁰ in front of the shooting society's hall (*schutzenstueb*) (Fig. 1).

The shooting society received a stove room (*stueb*) in the ancient building of the town hall when it moved in 1476.³¹ The society was then at the heart of the city, which tells us a lot about their importance. They trained in a large open space alongside the walls in the eastern part, north of the river Aare (Fig. 1), where they also had a permanent house since 1443.³² A new house was built in 1555 after the accidental explosion of the gunpowder magazine (1546), and one for the gunners in 1585.³³

Material culture of shooting and fencing

The choice of the city of Solothurn for this case study is justified not only because of the rare and early documents about martial contests in the archive and the library, but also because of the well-preserved objects to illustrate the material culture of these competition. The arsenal of Solothurn (today a museum)

²⁸ Jaquet, *Die Kunst des Fechtens in den Fechtschulen*, p. 243–257.

²⁹ Dem fächtmeister jst das kouffhuß vergonnen daruff zufächten, darum ein zedell an die brottschal, sich darumb niemand parthy [?] go [?], by miner herren straff. Staatsarchiv Solothurn, A1, 22, fol. 420.

³⁰ According to the work of Benno Schubiger, *Solothurns Stadtgestalt im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Solothurn. Beiträge zur Entwicklung der Stadt im Mittelalter*, Zürich 1990, p. 265–286.

³¹ Jäggi, *500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft*, p. 68.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³³ Georg Carlen, Markus Hochstrasser, Markus Schmid, *Denkmalpflege im Kanton Solothurn 1989*, in: *Jahrbuch für solothurnische Geschichte* 63 (1990), p. 137–223, here pp. 172–179. See also Jäggi, *500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft*, p. 49–50.

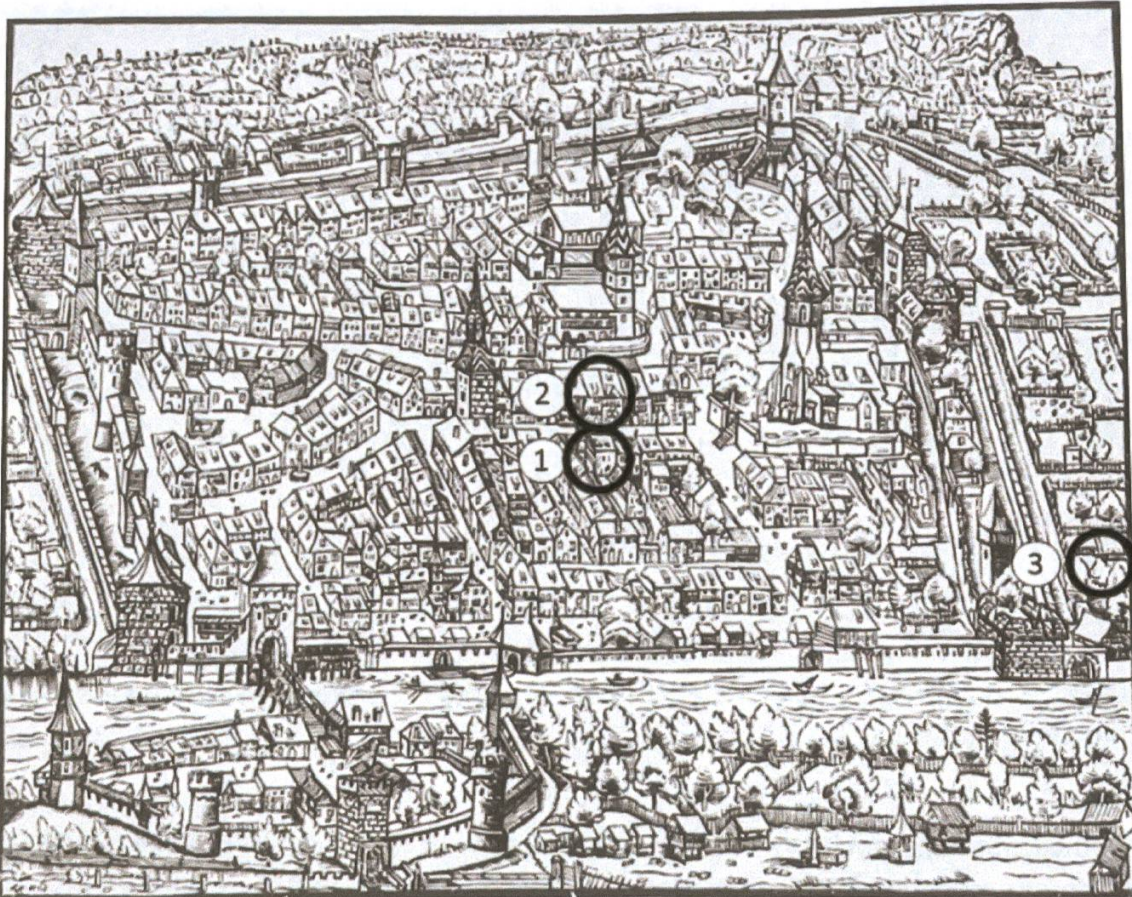


Figure 1: Landscape view of Solothurn from the South, woodcut after Hans Asper in Johannes Strumpf chronicle, 1547. Legend: 1. Hall used for fencing (*Kouffhuß*) – 2. Shooting society's hall (*Schützenstueb*) – 3. Shooting house (*Schützenhus*)

was built between 1609 and 1614,³⁴ but the several buildings served as storage area for armours and hafted weapons as early as 1463 (a *harnischhüsli* and a *Spiesshaus*).³⁵ It allowed the preservation of good samples of representative objects related to the local martial culture.

A rare bannerette (fig. 2) of the shooting society of the town can be precisely dated to 1514 with accounting documents.³⁶ It is made of silk damask with the dimensions of 80x132 cm. It bears both the crossbow and the firearms, at a time where the shooting society comprised both.³⁷ Such bannerettes are also depicted

³⁴ Nicolo Vital, *Altes Zeughaus in Solothurn*, Bern 1976.

³⁵ Stephen Blank, Markus Hochstrasser (Hg.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Solothurn*, Bern 2008, vol. 2, p. 211.

³⁶ Jäggi, *500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft*, p. 144.

³⁷ 1463 is the first time where a contract between the town and a *Büchsenmeister* exists (Jäggi, *500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft*, p. 37). One can assume that both weapons were handled by the shooting companions, until 1584.

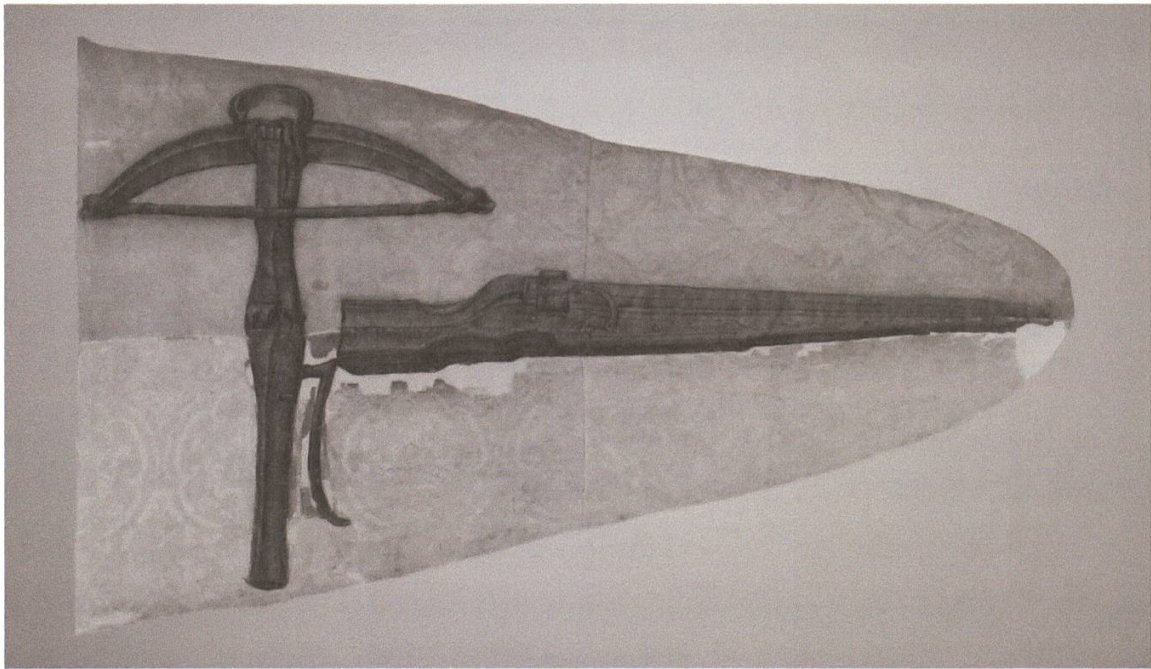


Figure 2: Shooting society bannerette, 1514 (MAZ 1126). Picture of *Museum Altes Zeughaus*, Solothurn.

in illustrated chronicles of the time, to identify armed groups in times of war.³⁸ Although several examples can be found, we have to underline that participating in military campaigns was exceptional for shooting societies.³⁹ The first purpose of such a bannerette was to display the town's identity during shooting contests outside the walls, or inside the walls for processions.

Regarding fencing activities, there are several so-called «fencing swords» (*fehtschwert*) kept in Swiss museums.⁴⁰ These swords appeared at the end of the fifteenth century and were designed to lower the risk of injury while fighting in a competition without additional protective gear, but still allowed blood to be drawn. Their main characteristics are a flexible blunt blade, larger at the tip than at the shield (large section after the crossguard), and a rounded tip, flattened. One is kept in the Arsenal of Solothurn (Fig. 3), dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, which matches the beginning of the depiction of such swords in the corpus of fight books (Fig. 4). Made of steel, wood and leather, with the

³⁸ See Hugo Schneider, *Schweizer Schützenfähnchen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 32 (1975), p. 242–262.

³⁹ The only example found for Solothurn is the mention of *schützen* in the campaign roll (*Auszugsrödel*) of 1475. See Michael Schmid, *Staat und Volk im alten Solothurn: Ein Beitrag zur Propopographie und zum Volkstum des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Basel/Stuttgart 1964, p. 90. See also the discussion in Delle Luche, *Sociétés et concours de tir dans les villes*, vol. 1, p. 240–246.

⁴⁰ Daniel Jaquet, «... schirmen mit Federklingen» Towards a terminology of fencing swords (1500–1600), in: Lisa Deutscher, Mirjam Kaiser, Sixt Wetzler (eds), *The Sword: Form and Thought*, Woodbridge 2020, p. 24–42.



Figure 3: Fencing sword (MAZ 313). Picture *Museum Altes Zeughaus*, Solothurn.

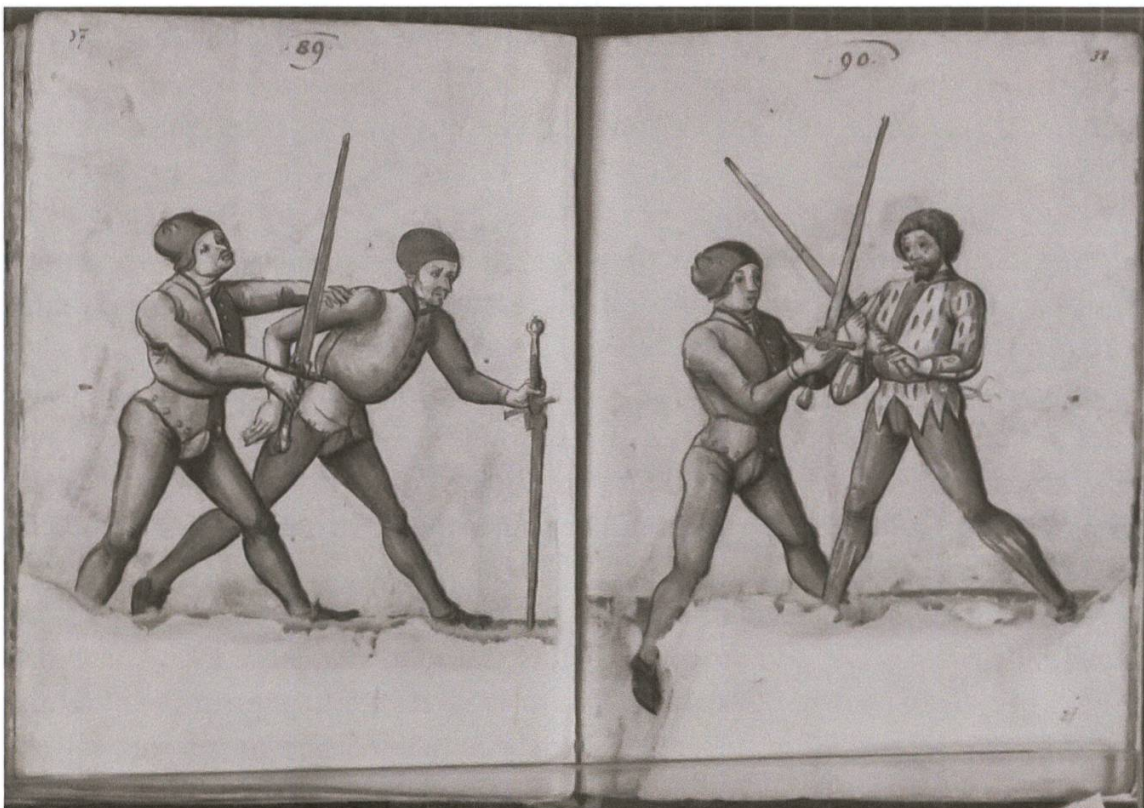


Figure 4: Anonymous, [Solothurner Fechtbuch], 1504–1512 (ZBS, S.554, fol. 18v and 19r). Picture: *Zentralbibliothek Solothurn*.

dimensions 1348x305 mm and weighing 1674 g, it is a very good example of such swords and bears the marks of intensive use.⁴¹

Lastly, the only fight book (manuscript) kept in a Swiss library is also in Solothurn.⁴² It was found in 1884, by the later bishop of Basel Friederich Fiala in a collapsed ancient house.⁴³ It consists of a re-worked copy of a manuscript dated to 1470s, attributed to Paulus Kal (München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*,

⁴¹ See the description in Stefan Mäder, *Beseelte Klingen*, Solothurn 2013, p. 84–87.

⁴² There are several printed fight books from the 16th century onwards kept in the Swiss libraries but no manuscript except this one.

⁴³ Charles Studer, *Das Solothurner Fechtbuch*, Solothurn 1990, p. 5.

Cgm 1507). Its state is deteriorated. It consists today of 30 pages with 57 illustrations, whereas the original state comprised 62 pages with 120 illustrations, dated by watermark to 1506–1514. The ex-libris on the document informs us that this book was in Solothurn at least since 1689, but most probably earlier, pinpointing the interest for fencing culture in this town.

Conclusion

Different types of martial contests have been outlined in this article. They implied different levels of outreach, funding and organisation. They did not serve the same purpose or provide the same income, social capital or display of skills to the same institutional or private body. They had different level of interaction with the town authorities and left different kind of traces in the documents.

Shooting training was conducted throughout the year, interspersed with by internal competitions within the shooting society. The shooting companions regularly attended large shooting competitions outside the walls, financially supported by the town council. They also played the main role in organising large shooting contests, which we can call «martial festivals», since they implied other types of concurrent competitions, as for example in Solothurn in the year 1462, 1517 and 1577. The shooting societies are usually tied with the power circles of the governing bodies of the city, and they benefit from political, financial and social support.⁴⁴

Fencing happened regularly throughout the year, mainly organised by individual fencing masters, few of them residing in the town. These individuals had a main profession not necessarily related to weapon manufacturing or fighting, and they gained their title through fencing guilds operating in interurban networks. The fencing schools took place with permission of the town authorities, mainly for the benefit of the fencing master. Some of them were open training or open competition, with larger attendance, but most of them remained limited to the travelling fencing master and his pupils for training. Fencing competitions however usually attracted less participants and spectators than the shooting competition. A few exceptions put aside, fencing masters received less recognition and support from the urban elite circles, and usually returned to their main trade.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ For German and Swiss cities, see Delle Luche, *Des amitiés ciblées*. For the Lowlands, see Jean-Marie Cauchies, «Service» du prince, «sûreté» des villes. À propos de privilèges délivrés aux confréries ou serments d'archers et d'arbalétriers dans les Pays-Bas au XV^e siècle, in: *Revue du Nord* 395/2 (2012), p. 419–434.

⁴⁵ Tlusty, *Martial Identity and the Culture of the Sword*, p. 562.

Such martial contests are not to be considered tied with military obligations. The association of citizens organising them are not part of the reserve, nor are its participants, also coming from outside the walls. The city authorities do not enlist them, nor do they rely on them for guarding duties or military expeditions (except in time of need and based on the decision of the society). Even the weapons used in contests differ from weapons used on the battleground.⁴⁶ This is not only true for Solothurn, but also for the cities of the old Swiss Confederation and the free cities South of the Empire.⁴⁷ The martial festivals are highly regarded events, supported by the town authorities because they allow a display of wealth and power in the context of interurban communication.

This article focused on fencing and shooting as martial contests in Solothurn. The opening example of 1577 also included other martial activities (sword dancing), as did the martial festival of 1462 (stone-throwing and running). Several other examples in the area also included wrestling and fencing. Such martial activities (physical games, wrestling, fencing, shooting and sword dancing) would deserve a broader investigation to see how they interrelate with one another.⁴⁸

Appendix I: Ordinance for fencing

The following text is kept in the City Archive of Solothurn. It is reproduced based on its edition (Mandate, Verordnungen, Satzungen des Standes Solothurn von 1435 bis 1604, ed. by Charles Studer (SSRQ SO I/2, 1987, p. 373–374)), and standardised. I have added the article number in brackets.

⁴⁶ Mentioned in the shooting ordinance of 1555 (App. 3, art. 5) and illustrated by the fencing sword (Fig. 3).

⁴⁷ Jean-Dominique Delle Luche, *Une association d'intérêt public: les sociétés d'arbalétriers et arquebusiers dans les villes du Saint-Empire (XV^e–XVI^e siècles)*, in: Olivier Richard, Gabriel Zeilinger (dir./Hg.), *La participation politique dans les villes du Rhin supérieur à la fin du Moyen Âge = Politische Partizipation in spätmittelalterlichen Städten am Oberrhein*, Berlin 2017, p. 241–277, here p. 243–244.

⁴⁸ Some relations between fencing, shooting and wrestling were outlined in the work of Schaufelberger, *Der Wettkampf in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft*. Further research on this topic was included in the research project «Martial Culture in Medieval Town» (University of Bern, funded by SNF, 2018–2022). See Daniel Jaquet, Iason Tzouriadis, Regula Schmid (eds), *Martial Culture in Medieval Towns: An Anthology*, Basel 2023, and Daniel Jaquet, Regula Schmid (eds), *Martial Culture in European Towns*. Conference proceedings, University of Bern 19–21 Nov. 2021, Woodbridge (forthcoming).

**Ordnunge des fächtsens halb
(23. Juli 1546)**

***Ordinance for the benefit of fencing
(23rd July 1546)***

[fechtschuel] Es ist vor Schultheß und Rat erschi-
nen der ersam Hans Tägenschler der kürsiner unnd
angezoygt, wie er willens ein fächtschule zehallt-
ten unnd mencklich umb sin gellte in nach-
folgender gestaltte zeleren:

[*Fencing School*] Appeared before the mayor and
council the honourable Hans Tägenschler, furrier,
and announced that he was willing to open a fenc-
ing school and to teach whomsoever for money in
the following manner:

[1 4 ß auf das schwärtschild legen] Unnd anfenk-
lich, wollicher lust habe von ine fechten zeleren,
derselb sol zu dem ersten vier schilling uff das
schwärtschiltt legen.

[1 *Lay 4 ß on the Sword-Shield*] And firstly, who-
ever desires to learn fencing from him, he shall
first lay 4 shillings on the sword-shield.

[2 schulrecht] Darnach so wil er im die fünff how,
darzû ein uffheben, ein niderlegen, vier nieder-
stellen, dry usgang, drü stuck vor dem mann, wol-
lichs zu einem schulrecht gehören, leren. Von sol-
lichen stucken sol ime ein jeder einen guldin ze
lone geben.

[2 *Rules on School*] Thereafter he shall teach him
the five strikes, additionally one lifting up, one
laying down, four putting down, three exits and
three techniques in front of the man, all of which
belong to the rules on school. For these techniques
everyone shall give him one guilder as remunera-
tion.

[3] Lernet aber er die fünff how nitt, oder ver-
meyndte, er wäre nit so geschickt, das er sy lernen
konnte, so ist er im nützit schuldig.

[3] But if he does not learn the five strikes, or
believes, that he not skilful enough to learn them,
then he owes him nothing.

[4] Er has sich auch erlutrott, das er niemande
dhein andere stücke, dann wie obgemelltt, umb ein
guldin wil leren, damitte einer hinach nit mochte
sprechen, er müste einen alle kunst umb einen
guldin leren.

[4] He also explained that he shall not teach any-
one any techniques other than the ones mentioned
for a guilder, so that no-one can later say that he
has to teach a pupil all his art for one guilder.

[5] So aber einer andern stücke darzû von ime ler-
nen wolte, den wil er gern wytter umb sin zimlich
gellte underrichten.

[5] But if someone wants to learn additional tech-
niques, he shall gladly teach him further for appro-
priate remuneration.

[6] Und darmitte mencklich der sich ergibt, obge-
mellte mannszucht zeleren, sich dester bas wüsse
zehalltten, sind diß nachvollgende straffen, denen
so sich ungehorsam erzoygten, oder sumig wür-
den, uffgesetzt:

[6] And so that everyone who is keen to learn the
abovementioned civic discipline shall know how to
comport themselves all the more appropriately, the
following penalties are stated for all who are disobe-
dient or dilatory:

[strafen des schwerens] Namlich wollicher by
Gottes namen in zornes wyse schweren, der ist ein
Fryburg schilling zûbüß verfallen.

[*Penalty for Swearing*] Who takes God's name in
anger, he is liable of a fine of one Fribourg shilling.
And one who throws a weapon or does not lay it
down properly, is also liable for a Fribourg shilling.

Und so einer ein gewer mütwillig hinwäg werfft,
oder nitt recht niderlegt, ist ouch ein Fryburg
schilling verfallen.

[*Lying*] Also Anyone who induces the other to lie,
shall pay the stated fine.

[liegen] Wöllicher ouch den andern heyß liegen,
sol ouch jetz gemellte büß geben.

[*Being late*] If someone farts or belches, or misses
the appointed time and does not appear in the *fenc-*

**Ordnunge des fächters halb
(23. Juli 1546)**

***Ordinance for the benefit of fencing
(23rd July 1546)***

[ze spat komen] Unnd so einer ein unlutt oder koppen lasst, deßglychen die bestimpte stunde ver-sumpt unnd nitt in der fächtschul erschint, ist ouch, so dick es zeschulden kompt, ein Fryburg schilling verfallen, und sol das gelt in ein buchsen gelegt und durch die schüler verzert werden.

ing school, shall – if it is by his fault – pay one Fribourg shilling. The money shall be laid in a box and be consumed by the pupils.

[7] Und so einer in einem gleeer uffhört, sol er die andern ligen lassen, biß er außgelertt hatt, alls dann mag er in einem andern wol anfachen.

[7] And if someone stops during a course, so he shall let the others be, until he has finished teaching them, and after that he may start again with someone else.

[8] Und so der fächmeyster si all hatt außgelert, wil er sy in der wochen zwen tage, nämlich uff dem zinstage unnd donstage, damitte sy des fächters nit vergässen, widerum üben.

[8] And when the fencing master has finished the course, he shall continue to practice with them twice a week, to wit on Tuesday and Thursday, so that they don't forget fencing.

[9 gehorsam] Und diewyl fächten eine lobliche manßzucht ist, und der jugend wol anstatt, wollen obgemellten min herrn, das wollich sich in die fächtschule ergeben, in all obenannten stücken gerhorsam syen; dan si den fächmeyster darby handhaben unnd schützen werden, deßhalb mag sich ein jeder darnach wüssen zeschicken.

[9 *Obedience*] And since fencing is a laudable manly discipline, and befitting of the youth, the abovementioned gentlemen who wish to attend the fencing school shall be obedient in all respects; so that they support and protect the fencing master, each and everyone shall comply with the above.

Appendix 2: Invitation letter for a shooting competition

The following text is kept in the City Archive of Solothurn (Copienbuch n.4, fol. 210–213). It is reproduced based on the edition by Louis Jäggi (500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft, p. 12–15). The text is standardised and translated. The paragraphs are numbered.

[1] Den fürsichtigen und wisen, dem schulthn und ratt zû Bern unsern lieben herren und besundern gûten fründen enbieten wir die schiessgellen der statt Solotorn, unser früntlich willig dienst und waz wir eren und gûtz vermögen allezeit zuvoran bereit und tûnd üwer fürsichtigkeit zûwissen, daz unser gnedig lieb herren schulthn und rât der obgenannten statt Solotorn und wir mit inen fürsten und herren üch und andern stetten und lenden zu eren und zû dienst siben fry aventüren ussgeben

To the respected and wise mayor and the council of Bern, our dear lords and especially good friends. We, the shooting companions of the city Solothurn offer our friendly and willing service and what we consider honour and good behaviour always ready and before all. We let you, our respected addressees, know, that our gracious and beloved lord mayor and council of the abovementioned city of Solothurn and we, with them organise seven free prize-shootings for honour and

und darumb mit dem armprost schiessen lassen
wöllen uff sonntag vor dem heiligen Pfingsstag

service of princes, lords, yourselves and other
towns and commonwealths, and therefore would
like to have shooting with the crossbow the Sun-
day before the Holy Pentecost [16.05.1461].

[2] nechstkünfftig namlich ein verdeckt pherit für
zweintzig vier guldin, aber ein verdeckt pherit für
xx guldin, ein verdeckt pherit für xvj guldin, ein
verdeckten becher für xij guldin, ein veerdeckten
becher für viij guldin, ein wolgeiert armprost für
fünff guldin und einen guldin ring für dry guldin
oder für jeglich aventür sovil in gold als vorstat
und die bestimet ist.

Henceforce and namely: a furnished horse of
twenty-four guilders, a furnished horse of twenty
guilders, a furnished horse of sixteen guilders, a
furnished beaker of twelve guilders, a furnished
beaker of eight guilders, a well strung [?] crossbow
of five guilders and a golden ring of three guilders
or for any contest as much in gold as aforemen-
tioned and stated.

[3] Und wirt man umb dieselben aventüren uff
den vorgenanten sunnentag anvahen ze senden so
die glogg zwelffe schlecht und darnach alle tag
zesenden so es zechne schlecht und uffheren so es
viere schlecht und darinne niemants zû warten
ungevarlich

And one would begin these prize-shootings at the
aforementioned Sunday when the bell strikes
twelve and after that every day when it strikes ten,
and stops when it strikes four and at that time no
one is waiting unnecessarily.

[4] So wirt och ein jeglichs armprost einen guldin
in den toppel legen und werdent den toppel und
aventür mit einander ussgan (?) und haben je
sechs die nechsten drü armprost uff und wirt der
sitz zum toppel und aventür hundert zweintzig
und fünf schritt witt zû den halben schützen und
die andern halben sölle jeglicher zechen schritt
hinder sich rücken, und wirt einer von den ver-
rensten statt die schritt mit einem von Solotorn
messen

So will also each crossbowman pay one guilder [as
fee for] the [competition programme], and all
participants in the specific competition will shoot
together. Competitions will be shot in groups of
six; the first three crossbowmen will take the seats
[at the shooting bench] at the ready. The shooting
stool for the relevant programme in the relevant
competition will be distant from the shooting shel-
ter by hundred and twenty-five steps. This is for
the first half of the participants [in the group of
six]; the second half should move back ten steps
further. One coming from outside town will mea-
sure the steps with one coming from Solothurn.

[5] Ourt wirt man lossen umb den sitz und wie
sich der sitz nach dem losz jeglichem git, daby söl-
len er und sy beliben und die endlüt zu letsch
schiessen und wirt den nechsten und ersten im zil
bim zweck ein guldin voruss geben

Also one shall draw the seat by lot, and as the seat
is assigned by the lot, so he shall stay. The [umpi-
res] shall shoot last. The runners-up and first in
the target centre shall have a gulden in advance.

[6] Welcher dann daz beste getan hat mit dem
armprost dem git man die besten aventür und dar-
nach je dem besten die besten aventür biss daz es
zû einem ende komet oder daz gelt dafür als abge-
stimet ist

The one who would have done the best with the
crossbow would receive the best competition
[rank] and after that the following best receives
the following competition [rank] until it comes to
an end or until the money to that purpose as is
defined runs out.

[7] Es sol ouch jeglicher sin geschriben boltz schiessen uffrechtlich mit schwebendem arme ane alle uffsätz und vorteil und also daz die armprostsüllen die achsel noch der schlüssle die Brust nit berüren ungevarlich denn welicher daz nit tätte oder eins zwen böltz schuss der wer umb den selben schutz und dartzu umb sinen schiesszüg allen komen und dennoch stan zu erkantnus der gesellen

Each one should also shoot his written bolt standing with extended arms without any support or advantage. The crossbows should not touch the armpit and the ends [should not touch] the chest at all. For anyone who does not follow this or shoots two bolts, he shall lose his turn, also his shooting device and still stand to the judgment of the companions.

[8] Ouch so werden unser herrn von Solotorn zwen isr ratz zü dem geschwornen zeiger geben und da menglichem glich und gemein zu sind und jedem daz im daz messe und recht gitt zugeben getrürlich und ungevarlich

Also our lords from Solothurn will give two people from their council as appointees to the sworn marker, so that he stays fair and honest to everyone and gives measure and justice to everyone in good faith and without prejudice

[9] Es sol ouch menglichem erlopt sin all redlich offen spil by dem schiessen redlich und ungevarlich zetriben als lang daz schiessen weret

Open straight games at the shooting will be permitted to everyone straight and without prejudice, as long as the contest proceeds.

[10] Ouch so geben unsser herren von Solotorn dem schützen so von der versten end harkompt mit globlicher underwisung vorusz einen rock ouch menglichem ein par hosen oder ein guldin dafür den stein uff daz verrest zu stossen und dartzu einen hartz umb den fünff hundert schritt zu loffen So wirt ouch die zit gehalten fryer merckt nach fryen mercktes recht alles ungevarlich

Also, our lords from Solothurn should give to the shooters coming from the farthest place as this will be indicated and verified, one mantle and also, for everyone a pair of breeches or a gulder for throwing the stone the farthest and in addition a hartz (money) to run the five hundred steps. Also, during the same time, a free market would be held according to the regulation of the free market without exception.

[11] Harumb fürsichtige lieben herren und guten fründ umb söllich unser fürnemen und kurtzwile so wir fürgenomen haben bitten wir üwer fürsichtigkeit vllisslich mit ernst daz ir üwern schiessgesellen umbsössen und andern üwern guten fründen verkünden und fürdrung tun daz wir ouch in einem semlichen gern tun wellen wan üwern schiessgesellen und wer mit inen kumpt guot fry sicher geleit haben sollen die zitt so daz schiessen weret by uns ze wandlen und wider von uns gan ir gewarsamy für unser herren von Solotorn und alle die iren doch ussgenomen all schedlich lüt und den die statt Solotorn verboten ist ane geverd Geben und mit des [fromen vesten juncker Hartmans von Stein edelknecht] fürnemen wisen Ulrich Bysen schulthn. zü Solotorn insigel versiglet im und sinen erben ane schaden am nechsten

Therefore solicitous dear lords and good friends for whom our concern and the entertainment we have sought, we bid your solicitude intently in earnest that you should announce and promote [this event] to all your shooting companions, subjects and all your good friends, which we shall likewise do. Your shooting companions and those who travel with them, and their families, by the guarantee of our lords of Solothurn shall have free and secure passage for the time during which the shooting takes place, to move around here and to travel back, but excepting all noxious persons and those to whom the city of Solothurn is forbidden unless this has expired. Given by, and with the egregious consent of the right honourable master Hartmann von Stein, knight, Ulrich Byss, mayor in Solothurn, sealed and delivered without prejudice to him and his heirs next Monday before saint Marc's day

mentag vor [stricken: sant Vallentin, Antonien]
marxen tag anno etc. LXprimo [21.04.1461]

[stricken: St. Valentine's/Anthony's] Wednesday
in the year 1461. [21.04.1461].

Appendix 3: Ordinance for shooting (crossbow)

The following text is kept in the City Archive of Solothurn (*Weissbuch*, fol. 129). It is reproduced based on its edition (Mandate, Verordnungen, Satzungen des Standes Solothurn von 1435 bis 1604, ed. by Charles Studer (SSRQ SO I/2, 1987, pp. 373–374), and augmented with a version kept in the book of the shooting society of the brotherhood of saint Sebastian (*Sebastiansburderschaft*), edited by Louis Jäggi (500 Jahre Schützengesellschaft, p. 21–22). The White Book contains copies of mandates, and this version contains only five articles, the last being different of the version of the society. The version of the White book is chosen for the five first items, the rest is from the version of the society.

Schützenordnung (16. April 1555) W. Saler, secretarius

Ordinance for shooting (16th April 1555). W. Saler, secretary

[1] Wellicher ein schießgesell well werden, sol geloben, dise ordnung zehalten und dem schützenmeister sin trüwe geben, den schützen in allen iren anligen gehorsam zesind und fünff schilling geben und 1 firlig wachs, drus sol man im ein ürtin schencken.

[1] Whoever wants to be a shooting companion shall swear to follow this ordinance and to give the shooting master his fealty to obey the shooters in all their concerns and to give 5 shillings and 1 [measure] of wax, from this he shall be sponsored a drink.

[2] So denne sol ein jeder jährlich mitt den schießgesellen uff sant Sebastianstag zekilchen gan by straff 5 schilling, doch ussern harin nit gezwungen.

[2] Then everyone shall every year on St. Sebastian's day go to church with all the shooting companions, subject to a penalty of 5 shillings, but apart from that he shall be under no compulsion.

[3] Denn sol ein jeder, der in der statt gessen, jährlich ein halben batzen zum guten jar geben

[3] Then everyone who has been resident in the city shall give half a batzen (money) on New Years Day.

[4] Wellicher jährlich umb die hosen schiessen wöll, ußgenommen schießgesellen in der statt, de sol zu anfang des jars, so man schützt, 5 schilling geben und darnarch durch dasselb gantz jar nit wytters schuldig sin.

[4] Whoever wants to shoot yearly for the breeches, except the shooting companions from the city, shall give 5 shillings at the beginning of the [shooting/competition] year and thereafter not be charged more the same year.

[5] Es sol auch, wellicher umb di hosen oder gaben schiessen wil, sin eygnen schießzüg haben; so ime aber uff der zillstatt abgienge, mogen unnd gewer geben, wie man einen kryeg uffrüstet, so es sovill vorhanden ist unnd nitt mer. Und uß der übrigen

[5] Whoever wants to shoot for the breeches or the prizes shall also have his own shooting gear. But if he is on the target range and missing something, let him have weapons such as those we keep for campaign, if it be available and not more. Also

Schützenordnung (16. April 1555)**W. Saler, secretarius****Ordinance for shooting (16th April 1555).****W. Saler, secretary**

bekleydung ouch also, wo es vorhanden ist, doch nitt das best, noch das löst.

from the other clothing as it may be available, but not the best nor the worst.

[6] Dartzuo sol ouch einer dry Sonntag nach einandern schiessen, so man umb sontaghosen schützt, sonst sol man im die hosen nitt geben, es wäre dann das inn herren-oder lybsnot haran sumpte oder so einer das nit tuhn welle, mag er 5 schilling erlegen und dan der dryen sontagen ledig sin.

[6] Also a shooter shall shoot three Sundays one after another, if one is in the competition for the Sunday breeches, otherwise one shall not give him the breeches, except if an emergency caused by our lords or by health or if one does not want to do it, he should pay 5 shillings and then he is quit of the three Sundays.

[7] Es sol ouch dheiner unerlaupt zum schützenrein gan, by 6 pfennig bus.

Also no one shall go to the shooting range without permission, by penalty of 6 pennies.

[8] Wellicher einem für den schutz loufft, sol geben 6 pfennig.

Anyone walking in front of a shooter, shall give 6 pennies.

[9] Wellicher uff der zillstat schisse, seiche, furtz oder koppen liesse, sol geben 1 schilling.

Anyone who lets go a crap, piss, fart or belch on the target range shall give one shilling.

[10] Wellicher sein schiesszüg im zorn hinwäg würffe, sol geben 1 schilling.

Anyone throwing down his shooting equipment in anger shall give 1 schilling.

[11] Wellicher uss verdachtem mütt schwüre, sol geben 1 schilling.

Anyone swearing outside of acceptable limits shall give 1 schilling.

[12] Wellicher freffel begienge, wellen min meistern hallten wie die büchenschützen von minen herren gefryet sin.

Anyone committing a petty crime, will be held by our Lords as the way of our gunmen are privileged.

[13] Es sol dheiner uff dem tag, so man schiessen wil versuchen, sonst lasse man inn denselben tag nit schiessen

[13] No one should try out on the day on which one intends to shoot, otherwise one should not let him shoot the same day.

[14] Es sol auch dheiner busschütz haben, unerlaupt der schützenmeistern und vierern, so sich aber einer nit gforlich versumpfte, und schiessen wellte, so sol er geben 1 schilling.

[14] No one also should have punishing shot, absent leave of the shooting master and the officers. However, if one has not deliberately offended and would like to shoot, he shall give 1 schilling.

[15] Wellicher die hosen gwinnt, sol am nechsten tag darnach anschiessen by straff 1 schilling.

[15] The one who wins the breeches shall shoot the next day with a penalty of 1 schiling.

[16] Wellicher die hosen gwinnt, gibt usshin 12 sch. u. der gesellschaft 1 pf. käs.

[16] The one who wins the breeches gives 12 sch. to the society and cheese up to 1 penny.

[17] Es mag ouch dheiner mer im jar dann ein par sonntag hosen gewinnen, dartzu ouch die ubrigen gaben jede allein zweymal gewinnen, ussgenomen

[17] Also, no one shall win more than one pair of breeches per Sunday, therefore the rest of the winnings – one alone winning two times – are free,

Schützenordnung (16. April 1555) W. Saler, secretarius	<i>Ordinance for shooting (16th April 1555).</i> <i>W. Saler, secretary</i>
die 6 schilling, sind fry, mag einer gwinnen wie offt er mag.	except for the 6 schillings, if one want to win as often as he wishes.
[18] Wellicher die sonntag hosen gwinnt, gibt dem zeyger 20 pfennig.	[18] The one who wins the breeches gives the pointer 20 pennies.
[19] Denne von einem fryen parhosen 3 schilling, demnach von jedem schilling 1 pfennig. Die Gaben sind den hosen nach wie volgt 8 sch., 7 sch., 6 sch., sind 5 sch., 4 sch., 3 sch.	[19] Also from one pair of free breeches 3 schilling, from which each schilling 1 penny. The winnings are the breeches after the following 8 sch., 7 sch., 6 sch. are free 5 sch., 4 sch., 3 sch.

Daniel Jaquet, Universität Bern, Länggassstrasse 49, 3012 Bern, daniel.jaquet@unibe.ch