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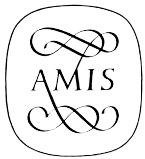

Identifying and Defining the *Ruszpfeif:* Some Observations and Etymological Theories

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Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511)[1] has long been recognized as a significant primary source of information on European musical instruments of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The value of this treatise lies in its classification of the entire corpus of instruments, its woodcut illustrations of a large number of examples, and its specific treatment of the notation and basic playing techniques of keyboards, lute, and recorder. In spite of the limitations of Virdung's book (to cite just two, he included an unplayable intabulation for lute and allowed the pictures of keyboard instruments—suggestive representations at best—to be printed backwards), his illustrations of contemporary instruments nevertheless display the basic features of the items that serve as models. This is especially true in the case of winds, and his woodcuts of the shawm, pommer, three-hole pipe, transverse flute, recorders, gemshorn, straight cornett, crumhorns, bladder pipe, bagpipe, trombone, and trumpets (although not drawn to scale) clearly show the essential characteristics of the instruments in question.

Among the wind instruments named and depicted by Virdung, there is one whose identity is elusive: the little fipple-flute shown at the top center of a group (on fol. B4r) illustrating members of the category of instruments with hollow tubes, blown by human breath, and having fingerholes (see fig. 1). The four items making up this group correspond to the four terms printed at the left: *ruszpfeif*,[2] *Krumhorn, Gemsenhorn,* and *Zincken.* In spite of the order in which these words are presented,

1. See the facsimile edition, ed. Klaus Niemöller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970). The existence of two different printed versions of this treatise (referred to as "printing A" and "printing B") has been demonstrated by Edwin M. Ripin, "A Reevaluation of Virdung's *Musica getutscht,*" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29, no. 2 (1976): 189–223.

2. In the present article, the *es zet* in German words cited from sources dating from the early seventeenth century and earlier will be rendered as *sz.* This method, chosen here for typographical convenience, is employed in the monumental *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm,* 16 vols. in 32 (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1854–1954; reprint edition, including vol. 33, "Quellenverzeichnis" [1971], Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984). The *es zet* in modern German words will be rendered here in the usual way as *ss.*

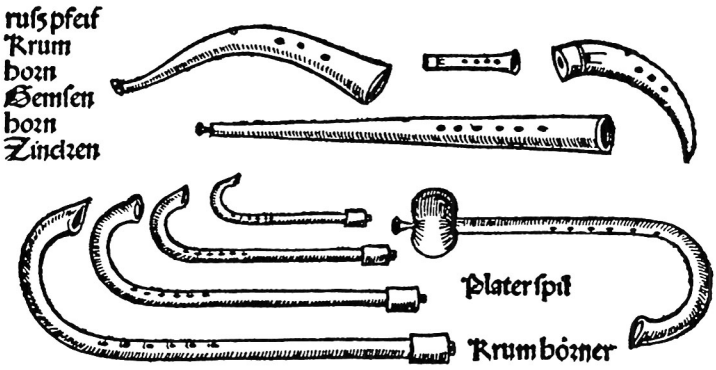

FIGURE 1. Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511), fol. B4r (detail). From the facsimile edition of "printing A," ed. Klaus Niemöller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

the last three are easily matched with their illustrated counterparts (*Krumhorn* in this case referring to the curved animal horn shown at the upper left), and there can be no doubt that the little fipple-flute is meant to be identified as the ruszpfeif.[3]

Unfortunately, like most of the wind instruments pictured in Virdung's book, the ruszpfeif is not mentioned in his text. It is no surprise, therefore, that Virdung's woodcut of the four instruments in question is

3. A different interpretation of the meaning of the heading *ruszpfeif* is suggested by Gerhard Stradner, *Spielpraxis und Instrumentarium um 1500 dargestellt an Sebastian Virdung's "Musica getutscht" (Basel 1511),* Forschungen zur älteren Musikgeschichte: Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Musikwissenschaft der Universität Wien, vol. 4 (Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1983), pt. 1, 289–91. Stradner offers the hypothesis that the fipple-flute in question might have been intended as a member of the group of four recorders (*Flöten*) illustrated on the previous page. The term *ruszpfeif* could then be taken (assuming that it was supposed to have been printed at the bottom of the left-hand column of four names) as a generic indication of the wind-cap instruments on the same page—the *Platerspil* and the four *Krumhörner*—and perhaps also the *Sackpfeiff* on the following page. Stadner himself dismisses this theory, however, citing several pieces of evidence against it, including the fact that it would require the reordering of printed names (and therefore the acknowledgement of a significant printer's error) to degree unsupported by the otherwise generally close coordination of names and illustrations of instruments demonstrated throughout the treatise. In his discussion, Stradner observes that in "printing B" of the book the term *ruszpfeif* appears twice as large as in

reproduced (although printed upside-down), with no additional information given, by Ottmar Luscinius in his *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (Strassburg, 1536), a work written as early as 1518, based directly on *Musica getutscht,* and including Virdung's illustrations printed from the same woodblocks. Luscinius renders the name of the instrument as *Ruspfeiff* (p. 20).

Virdung's ruszpfeif also found its way into another, far more important book based on material taken from *Musica getutscht:* the first edition of *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529), by Martin Agricola.[4] Identified by the name *Rüspfeyff,* the instrument is shown together on the same page (fol. 11v) with pictures of the gemshorn and the bagpipe (see fig. 2). These woodcuts are among the many illustrations in Agricola's book that are copied from Virdung's. Unlike Luscinius, Agricola did not have access to the original woodblocks, but his artist nevertheless reproduced the essential details of the models. The little fipple-flute is also cited in Agricola's text in a passage (fols. 4v–5r) that lists examples of the category in question and reveals the extent of Agricola's reliance on the work of his predecessor:

Dis erste geschlecht disser Instrument
Wird gemacht mit holen rören behent.
Und durch den wind geblasen gantz künstlich
Welchs zweyerley art ist, als es dünckt mich.
Etliche werden durch des menschen wind
Geblasen, als sie ytzt gebrauchlich sind.
Und werden auch zweyerley art gesport
Etliche mit finger löchern gebort.
Durch welche der laut und die Melodey
Wird geleytet und abgemessen frey.
Als sind, Flöten, Zincken, Bomhart Schalmeyn
Kromhörner, Querpfeiffen, ynn der gemeyn.
Schwegel, klein Flöt, Platerspiel, Sackpfeiffen
Mus man all durch fingerlöcher greiffen.
Zigen hörner, Rüspfeiff nicht vergessen
Denn sie werden dissen gleich gemessen.

(The first type of instruments now to be shown
Is made out of pipes that are hollow, and blown

"printing A," but the same is true of the word *Platerspil,* and the size of type selected by the printer can have little bearing on this issue.

4. Presented in facsimile (although taken from an incomplete copy of the book) as one of the appendices to the facsimile edition of Agricola's *Musica figuralis deudsch* (1532) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969).

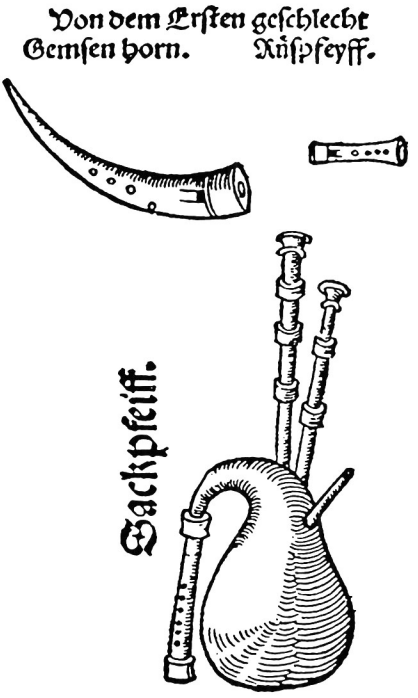

FIGURE 2. Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529), fol. 11v. Courtesy of New York Public Library.

By wind that's applied with a great deal of art.
This type is of two kinds; I know, for my part.
There are some that are blown by the breath of the player,
For such is the current procedure, and they're
Considered, in turn, in two species divided:
The first features fingerholes, duly provided,
Which allow for the sound and the music with ease
To be channeled and measured. Examples are these:
First the shawms and the pommers, cornetts, and recorders,
And then come the crumhorns and flutes, and what's more, there's

The three-hole pipe, bladderpipe, *klein Flöt*—all made,
Like the bagpipe, with fingerholes: that's how they're played.
And the gemshorns and *Rüspfeiff* should not be left out,
For they're just like the others; of that there's no doubt.)

All of the instruments named and depicted by Virdung as belonging to the category in question are found in Agricola's treatise, presented both in illustrations and in the list quoted above. While the list includes only one citation of *Kromhörner,* both types of instruments bearing this name are illustrated by Agricola (fol. 11r): four crumhorns (*Vier Kromphörner, odder Pfeiffen*) and the curved animal horn (*Krumphorn*). Virdung's *Gemsenhorn* appears in Agricola's list as the plural *Zigen hörner;* the interchangeability of these two terms is revealed in the caption placed above Agricola's woodcut of the instrument (fol. 11v), which is presented variously as *Gemsen horn* and *Zigen horn* in different printings of the treatise. Agricola's list also extends beyond a mere copying of Virdung to include a new instrument, the *klein Flöt,* also called the *klein Flötlin mit vier Löchern,* whose currency of usage is implied by his further presentation of its fundamentals, a fingering chart, and an illustration (fols. 15r and 15v). This *klein Flötlin* appears again in Agricola's substantially revised edition of *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* of 1545, but the *Rüspfeyff* has vanished without a trace.[5] Much more so than Virdung, Agricola seems to have had practical knowledge of the information on musical instruments presented in his books. Accordingly, his inclusion of Virdung's little fipple-flute in his 1529 edition probably reveals more than just a slavish reliance on the work of his predecessor, and the absence of any reference to the instrument in 1545 seems to indicate that it had fallen out of use by that time and was therefore no longer worth mentioning.

5. An incorrect claim that Agricola's *Rüspfeyff* of 1529 was replaced in his 1545 edition by the *klein Flötlin* (thereby implying that the latter instrument is not found in the earlier edition) is made by Christopher Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder and Other Flutes in Relation to Literature* (London, 1911; reprint of the first part with an introduction by Edgar Hunt, published as *Lectures on the Recorder in Relation to Literature,* London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 40. The error is restated by Edgar Hunt, *The Recorder and Its Music* (London, 1962; revised and enlarged edition, London: Eulenburg Books, 1977), 20; and a similar statement is made by Gerhard Stradner, *Spielpraxis und Instrumentarium,* 291. Even more surprising is the observation that Agricola's *Rüspfeyff* is not found in Virdung's treatise at all, as reported by Dietz Degen, *Zur Geschichte der Blockflöte in den germanischen Ländern* (Kassel, [1937]; reprint edition, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), 37.

Since the texts of Virdung's and Agricola's treatises yield no additional information about the ruszpfeif,[6] we must look to their woodcuts for further clues to the identity of the instrument. They show a small fipple-flute having four fingerholes cut into a relatively stubby one-piece body whose outer profile runs straight (Virdung) or slightly tapered (Agricola) for approximately two-thirds of its length and then flares out over the bottom third.[7] The integral bell thus created (which may reflect the inner dimensions) appears to measure about half again the smallest diameter of the upper part of the body. As shown, the overall length of the instrument ranges from a little over four times (Agricola) to almost five times (Virdung) the measurement of its smallest diameter.[8] The top of the ruszpfeif has a squared-off form implying a beak-shaped mouthpiece. In fact, the absence of shading lines in the pictures of the instrument (a graphic device otherwise used extensively to show rounded objects in both books) may indicate that the upper portion of the body has a square or rectangular shape in cross section, and that the fingerholes are cut into one of the flat sides. It may be assumed that all of these holes are indeed meant to be closed by the fingers because they are depicted in a longitudinal line running down the middle of the instrument, while other illustrations of wind instruments in the two books

6. The term in Virdung's spelling will be used hereafter to refer to the instrument as presented in both sources.

7. The illustrations of the ruszpfeif provide little indication of its material of construction. Reed, rush, and wood are possibilities that will be discussed below in connection with the etymological origin of the instrument's name. Bone has been suggested by both Edgar Hunt (*The Recorder,* 20) and Lenz Meierott, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der kleinen Flötentypen ind ihre Verwendung in der Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,* Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge, vol. 4 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1974), 83. Indeed, a number of bone pipes surviving from the Middle Ages (with and without fipples and exhibiting a varying array of thumb- and fingerholes) are documented by Hermann Alexander Moeck, "Die skandinavischen Kernspaltflöten in Vorzeit und Tradition der Folklore," *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning* (1954): 60–64; J. V. S. Megaw, "A Medieval Bone Pipe from White Castle, Monmouthshire," *Galpin Society Journal* 16 (May 1963): 85–94; J. H. Barrett, "A Fipple Flute or Pipe from the Site of Keynsham Abbey," *Galpin Society Journal* 22 (March 1969): 47–50; and Frederick Crane, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972), 29–39.

8. Taking the disputable position that Virdung's woodcut depicts the ruszpfeif in correct proportion to the other winds in the same group, Gerhard Stradner (*Spielpraxis und Instrumentarium,* 291) assumes a length of approximately 20 cm for the instrument, based on its relationship to the cornett, whose length he proposes as 60 cm. Stradner's finding is difficult to justify with the pictorial evidence, which shows the body of the cornett as having a length almost four and one-half times that of the ruszpfeif.

consistently show thumbholes in a schematic position at the very edge of the body (see, for example, the gemshorn in figs. 1 and 2). This is the method used to indicate the thumbhole in Agricola's picture of the *klein Flötlin* (fol. 15v), which also shows three fingerholes, a straight body, and a small, clearly defined bell section (see fig. 3). This latter instrument, evidently the prototype of the *gar klein Plockflötlein* discussed and illustrated by Michael Praetorius almost a century later,[9] has been confused with the ruszpfeif by some observers despite the distinct differences between the two instruments.[10]

The problem of identification, especially of instruments depicted in iconographical sources that do not show organological features in detail, is further increased by the existence of a third type of small fipple-flute

9. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum,* vol. 2: *De organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 34; *Theatrum instrumentorum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620), plate 9. See the facsimile edition by Wilibald Gurlitt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958).

10. The little sixteenth-century instrument made of wood and ivory in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is described as generally representing Agricola's picture of the ruszpfeif by Julius Schlosser, *Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis,* Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien: Publikationen aus den Sammlungen für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1920; reprint edition, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974), p. 100 and plate 50, no. 306. In all of its features, however, especially its configuration of thumbhole and three fingerholes, this instrument bears a much closer resemblance to the *klein Flötlin.* The characteristics of the two instruments have also been confused by a more recent writer, Barra Boydell, in *The Crumhorn and Other Renaissance Windcap Instruments: A Contribution to Renaissance Organology* (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1982), 358. Describing Agricola's illustration of the ruszpfeif, Boydell makes the surprising observation that it shows the instrument with one thumbhole, indicated by an open circle, and three fingerholes. This statement appears to be an illustration of the misconceptions of unsuspecting writers who, for almost a century now, have studied Agricola's treatises of 1529 and 1545 not by consulting original copies, but by relying on the relatively more available edition by Robert Eitner in Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musik-Werke, vol. 20 (Leipzig, 1896; reprint edition, New York: Broude Brothers, 1966). Eitner's diplomatic presentation of Agricola's text, newly typeset, deviates slightly from the original (not identified by Eitner) in a number of places; and what is worse, the original woodcut illustrations are completely redrawn, presenting highly misleading errors in some cases. Inexplicably, the Eitner version of Agricola's picture of the ruszpfeif adds shading lines to the body, shows a rounded mouthpiece end, and represents the fingerholes as an open circle at the top followed by three blackened-in ones. (Virdung's woodcut shows the fingerholes all blackened, while in Agricola's version they are all open). Thus, Boydell seems to have depended on the faulty Eitner edition in arriving at his conclusion. Moreover, he has evidently interpreted this incorrect evidence according to a method not supported or even suggested by anything to be found in Agricola's treatise. This method exists in the organological literature, but it was first used more than a century after Agricola by Marin Mersenne in his *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636). Mersenne's woodcut illustrations of wind instruments fairly consistently show thumbholes and fingerholes all running along the front of the body, the former indicated by open (or shaded) circles and the latter by blackened-in ones.

FIGURE 3. Martin Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittenberg, 1529), fol. 15v (detail). Courtesy of New York Public Library.

similar to the ruszpfeif and the *klein Flötlin*. The *Flageollet,* known today as the French flageolet, was first described and illustrated by Marin Mersenne in his *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636).[11] Mersenne's two woodcuts of the flageolet (see fig. 4) clearly show a close resemblance to the ruszpfeif in the instrument's outline (although the shading lines leave no doubt as to its rounded form) and number of fingerholes visible from the front. This suggests that the ruszpfeif may have been an early form of the flageolet,[12] a theory that rests on two conjectures concerning the interpretation of iconographical evidence. The first is that, assuming the illustration of the ruszpfeif in Virdung's treatise to have been drawn from life, the instrument that served as a model actually had the flageolet's two thumbholes in addition to the depicted four fingerholes, but the artist for some reason did not show them.[13] This seems unlikely, however, because of the consistency with which thumbholes are graphically indicated in the many other pictures of woodwinds in Virdung's book.

11. See the facsimile edition, with an introduction by François Lesure (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963), 3: 232–36 (book 5, propositions 6 and 7).

12. This account of the identity of the ruszpfeif is offered, with no further explanation, by Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: Their History and Character,* 4th ed., revised (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1965), 109. Both the ruszpfeif of Virdung and the *klein Flötlin* of Agricola are mentioned in connection with the flageolet by Howard Mayer Brown, "Flageolet," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), 6: 623; and "Flageolet," *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments,* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1984), 1: 763.

13. The possibility that Virdung's artist did not show all the features of the ruszpfeif is considered by Gerhard Stradner (*Spielpraxis und Instrumentarium,* 293), who suggests that there was not sufficient room in the small picture for the thumbholes to be included. It is also possible, of course, that Virdung's illustration was not drawn from an actual model, but was copied from an earlier iconographical source, in the same way that Agricola's, in turn, was presumably derived from Virdung's.

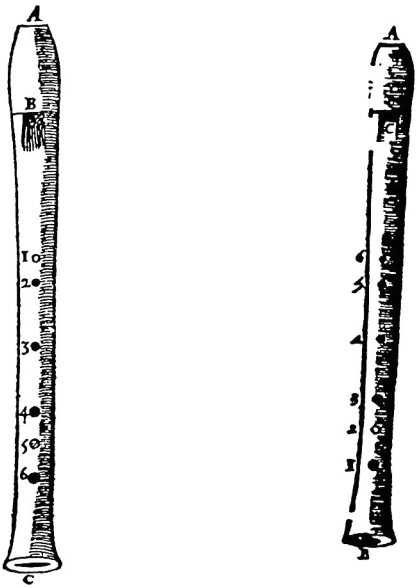

FIGURE 4. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636). Left: p. 232 (detail); right: p. 233 (detail). From the facsimile edition, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963).

The second conjecture, far more plausible than the first, is that the several additional illustrations of small fipple-flutes in iconographical sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some of which have been associated with the ruszpfeif, also represent the flageolet (excluding those that clearly have three fingerholes and a well-defined bell and therefore are more correctly identified as Agricola's *klein Flötlin).*[14] In this case it seems reasonable to assume that the artists in question were not concerned with showing features of the instruments that were not visible from the front.

14. These iconographical sources are cited by Lenz Meierott, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung,* 81–84.

Although the study of iconographical sources may turn up only a few examples that can be linked unquestionably with the ruszpfeif of Virdung and Agricola, information about the instrument can be found in another area of investigation: the etymological origin of its name. Writers on the subject over the last two centuries have offered several explanations of the word "ruszpfeif," and these will be examined in the following discussion, along with a new etymological theory.

* * *

Any attempt to gain a clear understanding of the name of Virdung's and Agricola's little fipple-flute must contend with its association with *Rauschpfeife,* a term that has been interpreted variously in the twentieth century. Curt Sachs discussed the organ-register names *Rauschquinte* and *Rauschflöte* in 1913, linking these terms with the name of a musical instrument derived etymologically from the Middle Low German word *rusch* ("rush" or "reed") and citing a parallel example still existing in modern Dutch (*ruispijp,* "bagpipe").[15] Sachs subsequently applied the name *Rauschpfeifen* to the wind-cap shawms in the Berlin collection,[16] basing his identification on an important iconographical source: the series of woodcuts known as *The Triumph of Maximilian I,* executed by Hans Burgkmair and other artists according to instructions dictated by Emperor Maximilian to his secretary in 1512. The imperial plan for a woodcut depicting "Sweet Melody" (*suesz Meledey*) specifies a number of musical instruments that were to appear in the picture; they include several stringed instruments, a small drum or tabor, *ain klain Rauschpfeiffen,* and *ain grosze Rauschpfeiffen.* Burgkmair added a three-hole pipe to accompany the tabor and interpreted the small and large *Rauschpfeiffen* (inappropriately it seems, considering the title of the woodcut and the relatively softer sound of the other instruments in the picture) as wind-cap shawms. The same reed instruments also appear in another woodcut in the series, again in response to the word *Rauschpfeiffen* in the instructions.[17]

15. Curt Sachs, "Der Name Rauschquinte," *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* 33, no. 24 (1913): 965–66.

16. Curt Sachs, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente bei der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik zu Berlin: Beschreibender Katalog* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1922), cols. 281–82.

17. *The Triumph of Maximilian I,* with a translation of descriptive text, introduction, and notes by Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964), 5 and 9; plates 24 and 79. See also Franz Schestag, "Kaiser Maximilian I. Triumph," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* vol. 1 (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1883), 154, 159, and 164.

Georg Kinsky supported Sachs's etymological derivation of the word *Rauschpfeife* and its specific application to the wind-cap shawm, although he stated that the term had been used more broadly during the Middle Ages as a reference to reed instruments in general.[18] More recently, Ekkehart Nickel has shown that even in the sixteenth century the term (always found in the plural) referred collectively to the family of shawms, with or without wind caps.[19] Bara Boydell has affirmed this conclusion, adding the observation that the word *Rauschpfeifen* was used predominantly by nonmusicians in drawing up contracts, while professionals tended to use more specific terms for the instruments in question.[20] Two such contracts of the sixteenth century, as presented by Boydell, even suggest that the word *Rauschpfeifen* could refer even more generally to various types of woodwind instruments, including recorders, flutes, and cornetts.[21]

In tracing the etymology of the term *Rauschpfeife,* both Sachs[22] and Kinsky[23] categorically dismissed any connection with the various forms of the verb *rauschen,* all of which have to do with making noise.[24] Their conclusion may be correct as far as the very beginning of the term's usage is concerned; but words have a way of becoming associated, over time, with others that have similar sounds, although different meanings. In fact, there is clear evidence that by the early seventeenth century the word *Rauschpfeife* conveyed the primary sense of noise-making, and this association must therefore have begun earlier. The shift in meaning is illustrated by the history of the term as the name of an organ register. Arnolt Schlick mentioned the *rausz pfeiffen* in 1511, commenting that it was "in the style of shawms" (*uff schallmeyen art*).[25] It was therefore

18. Georg Kinsky, "Doppelrohrblattinstrumente mit Windkapsel," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925): 282–83.

19. Ekkehart Nickel, *Der Holzblasinstrumentenbau in der freien Reichsstadt Nürnberg,* Schriften zur Musik, ed. Walter Kolneder, vol. 8 (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1971), 32–33.

20. Boydell, *The Crumhorn,* 362–64.

21. Bara Boydell, "Rauschpfeife," *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments,* 3: 197.

22. Curt Sachs, "Der Name Rauschquinte," 965.

23. Georg Kinsky, "Doppelrohrblattinstrumente," 282.

24. The following verb forms and definitions (here translated), all current in the early sixteenth century, are listed by Alfred August Woldemar Götze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1912), 98: *rauschen, rauszeln* ("to make a noise; to roar away"); *rauszen* ("to snore"); and *ruszen* ("to make a noise; to snore").

25. Arnolt Schlick, *Spiegel der Orgelmacher und Organisten* (Speyer, 1511; facsimile edition, ed. Paul Smets, Mainz: Rheingold-Verlag, 1959), fol. 10v.

evidently made up of reed pipes. A century later the term denoted a type of small mixture consisting of two flue pipes for each nominal note, sounding a quint and a superoctave above it, or a similar combination. Praetorius described this register in 1619 and cited various names for it, as found on organs of the time: *Rauschquint(a), Ruschquint, Rauschpfeiffe(n),* and *Ruszpipe*.[26] His account of the origin of the term merely reports that it is "an old name invented by the ancients" (*ein Alter Name, von den Alten erfunden*);[27] but he clearly associated it with the verb *rauschen,* for his comment on the sound of the perfect fourth produced by this small mixture, when combined with thick-sounding open and stopped pipes, is that it "thus really makes a noise" (*recht daher rauschet*).[28]

Writers of the twentieth century who have linked the name of Virdung's and Agricola's little fipple-flute with the term *Rauschpfeife* and related forms have thus had two meanings of the word to choose from. A reference to the sound of the instrument, for example, is found in the recent interpretation of the ruszpfeif as a "noisy pipe."[29] As shown above, however, the more commonly held definition of the word "ruszpfeif" stems from its assumed association with reed instruments. Since few observers have been willing to accept this term in the sense of the widest possible application of the word *Rauschpfeife,*[30] most commentators have dismissed the apparent contradiction as an enigma without explanation or, indeed, have reached conclusions that cast Virdung and Agricola in an unfavorable light by questioning either the credibility of their text or the accuracy of their illustrations. The four additional interpretations suggested below are presented in an attempt to rehabilitate the reputations of these two sixteenth-century sources on this score.

26. Michael Praetorius, *De organographia,* 130, 162–63, 165, 168–69, 171, 179, 183–85, and 188. Praetorius also lists a one-foot *Rauschflöte* found in the *Rückpositiv* of the organ at St. Catherine's in Magdeburg (p. 176), which may have been a simple flute register.

27. Ibid., 130.

28. Ibid., 115.

29. This interpretation, evidently based on the definition of *ruszen* given by Götze (*Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar,* 98), is presented by Beth Alice Baehr Bullard, "Musical Instruments in the Early Sixteenth Century: A Translation and Historical Study of Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (Basel, 1511)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), 23 and 139.

30. Bara Boydell ("Rauschpfeife," 197) cites Virdung's ruszpfeif in this context. (See footnote 31 for an earlier, different interpretation by Boydell.)

One further explanation of the name of the instrument also acknowledges an origin in the word for rush or reed, but in this case as an indication of the material of construction rather than the vibrating medium.[31] Although it is difficult to detect a hollow reed or cane in Virdung's and Agricola's pictures of the ruszpfeif, the name, according to this theory, may reveal the substance of an earlier prototype.

Another possible source of the ruszpfeif's name, the word *Russe* ("a Russian"),[32] suggests a geographical origin for the instrument. Historically, this is one of the earliest theories, having been voiced in the eighteenth century by Charles Burney, who listed "the *Ruspfeiff,* or Russian flute" among the instruments presented in the *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* by Ottmar Luscinius.[33] In Virdung's time the word *Russe* also had the connotation of the wild and coarse,[34] and this additional meaning may also reflect either the instrument's presumed origin or its sound.

The word *Rusz* ("soot") may likewise be considered as a source, especially in its extended meaning of "black" when used as the first element in compound nouns.[35] The concept of the ruszpfeif as a "black pipe" has been suggested in the literature on the subject,[36] and this interpretation undoubtedly reflects the outward appearance of the instrument, either stemming from the inherent color of its substance[37] or, perhaps, result-

31. Bara Boydell (*The Crumhorn,* 356 and 358) gives this as the sole origin of the name of the instrument. In citing the ruszpfeif as an early example of the flageolet, Francis W. Galpin (*Old English Instruments,* 109) states that the latter was constructed of reed, elder, bone, or rush.

32. A number of additional forms of this word are cited in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* 14: col. 1539.

33. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music,* ed. Frank Mercer (London: G. T. Foulis & Co., Ltd., 1935), 2: 203.

34. *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* 14: col. 1539.

35. Ibid., 14: cols. 1554–59.

36. Christopher Welch (*Lectures on the Recorder,* 39) mentions Virdung's "Ruspfeif, or Black pipe." Writing at about the same time, Francis W. Galpin (*Old English Instruments,* 109) reports that Virdung's name for the instrument (which he gives as "Ruspfeife") "is said to mean 'black pipe,' but is more probably a corruption of Rauschpfeife—the Rush-pipe, a simple translation of *calamaula* [*calamella*], the shepherd's pipe."

37. As quoted by Julius Schlosser (*Die Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente,* 11), the 1596 inventory of the instruments at Castle Ambras includes the entry *Mer 2 schwarze kurze gleiche pfeiflen* ("in addition, 2 black, short, matching little pipes"). Lenz Meierott (*Die geschichtliche Entwicklung,* 85) suggests a connection between this reference and the instrument in the Vienna collection catalogued as A 306 (although Schlosser states on p. 100 that the group of thirty "small models of musical instruments" to which this item belongs is not mentioned in the old inventories). Constructed of a dark wooden body (Meierott suggests palisander) with ivory ends, this is the fipple-flute cited above (footnote 10) as having been

ing from the process of burning out the inside of the body to create the bore.

Passing over additional hypotheses that are intriguing but unlikely,[38] we come to a final etymological theory that draws the name "ruszpfeif" from an early form of the word *Rüster*. One of the two terms employed in the German language to denote the elm tree,[39] *Rüster* also appeared without the *t* in the compound form *Ruszbaum,* revealing its origin in the Old High German *ruʒboum*.[40] In view of the established German practice of naming wind instruments (as well as organ registers) after their original material of construction,[41] is it possible that Virdung and Agricola understood the name of their little fipple-flute as signifying an instrument made of elm. Although no direct evidence can be presented for this theory, it is supported by a striking parallel example.

The instrument known as the *holre* (other forms include *holi, holler,* and *holefluyte*) is documented in German literary sources as early as the

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identified by Schlosser as Agricola's ruszpfeif, but in fact more closely resembling the *klein Flötlin*.

38. It is tempting, for example, to seek a connection between "ruszpfeif" and *Rüssel,* the word used, both individually and in compounds, to denote the snout of a pig (*Deutsches Wörterbuch,* 14; cols. 1539–42). It could be argued that such an association would reflect the evidently blunt shape of the ruszpfeif's mouthpiece (or perhaps its flaring bell?) in the same way that the term *Schnabelflöte* (and the French *flûte à bec*) was later descriptive of the recorder. But the word *Rüssel* seems never to have appeared shorn of its *el*-ending (or, at least, the final *l*), and this conjecture must therefore be dismissed on the grounds of linguistic usage.

39. The other word is *Ulme,* from the Latin *ulmus*. See the *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* 23: cols. 755–56.

40. Ibid., 14: cols. 1548–49.

41. For example, *Salizet* or *Salizional,* the name of an open, narrow-scaled organ register, was derived from the Latin *salix,* "willow"; see Peter Williams, *The European Organ* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 289. Another possible example is *Schwegel,* referring in general to a wind instrument but usually interpreted as a three-hole pipe (as shown by Virdung and Agricola) or a transverse flute. This term is said to be derived from the Old High German word for "shinbone" (evidently denoting either the instrument's shape or its actual original material of construction), and in this respect a parallel can be seen with the Latin word *tibia* (likewise "shinbone"), which had the transferred meaning of "pipe" or "flute" even in ancient usage. See Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1975), 463 and 521; also Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 1870–71. The etymology of *Schwegel* is unclear, however. It is indicated as an Old Germanic term stemming from an unknown root in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (15: col. 2408), which also cites possible origins in Gothic words meaning "to rejoice" and "to sigh," as well as in Anglo-Saxon terms signifying "making a sound." A possible connection with the Latin *sibilare* ("to hiss, to whistle") is rejected, although this relationship is described as "probable" by Curt Sachs, *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde,* 2d ed.(Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930), 306.

thirteenth century. It has been identified as a small fipple-flute played together with a small drum, and the derivation of its name from the word *Holunder* ("elder tree") has been established.[42] The name was still used to denote a type of wind instrument as late as 1609, the date of an inventory of the instruments at the court of Count Johann Georg von Hohenzollern-Hechingen. In this account the entry *6 holfletten* appears within an itemized list of trombones, curved and mute cornetts, pommers, bassoons, recorders, shawms, and three-hole pipes.[43] This seems to be an isolated example, for by the early seventeenth century the term *Holflöte* had generally come to refer to a type of organ register consisting of wide-scale flue pipes, either stopped (in organs of the Rhineland and southern Germany) or open (in central and northern Germany).[44] A shift in the meaning of the name, reflecting the adjective *hohl* ("hollow"), had also taken place, as shown by Praetorius's comment:

> Und dieweil sie offen, und so weit sind, so klingen sie auch so hol, daher ihnen dann der Name Holflöit gegeben worden.[45]
>
> (And because they are open and so wide, and they thus sound so hollow, the name *Holflöit* has therefore been given to them.)

Thus, as shown above, the suggested derivation of the word "ruszpfeif" from *Rüster* has the following four characteristics in common with the documented history of the term *Holflöte:*

1. Both words denoted fipple-flutes.
2. Both words were derived from names of trees, each indicating the type of wood out of which the instrument in question was made.
3. During the sixteenth century, both words came to be used as names of organ registers, while the wind instruments with which they had formerly been associated fell out of general use (the matter is complicated here by the concurrent use of the term

42. Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments,* 243; and Curt Sachs, *Handbuch der Instrumentenkunde,* 99, 107, and 307. See also Oskar Fleischer, "Die Musikinstrumente des Altertums und Mittelalters in germanischen Ländern," in *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie,* ed. Hermann Paul, 2d ed., revised, vol. 3 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900), 575. *Sambucus,* the Latin word for "elder," was also used to denote several different types of musical instruments.

43. The inventory records instruments already on hand before 1605 belonging to Johann Georg's father and predecessor, Count Eitelfriedrich IV. See Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Musik an den schwäbischen Zollernhöfen der Renaissance* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), 529.

44. Peter Williams and Barbara Owen, "Organ Stop: Hohlflöte, Hohlpfeife," *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments,* 2: 923.

45. Michael Praetorius, *De organographia,* 131.

Rauschpfeife for instruments with vibrating reeds).

4. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, both words, primarily denoting organ registers, had become confused with other terms, similar in sound but with quite different meanings, referring not to materials of construction, but to qualities of sound.

* * *

The observations and etymological theories presented in this article have been offered in the cause of clarifying the identity of Virdung's and Agricola's ruszpfeif and establishing the legitimacy of the name they used for it.

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