

THE SCORE AS ARTIFACT

by David Farneth

Provenance

Ever since Weill delivered his holograph full score of *Die Dreigroschenoper* to Universal Edition, in September 1928, it has remained in the custodianship of the publisher, according to the terms of Weill's general contract negotiated with UE's managing director, Emil Hertzka. Dated 22 April 1924, that agreement contained the standard clause calling for the autograph full score of any work accepted for publication by Universal (hereafter "UE") to become the publisher's property.

Immediately upon receipt of the score, UE used it as the basis for the preparation of instrumental parts (UE 8849, copied by Franz Ploschek). Two months later the publisher issued the parts, a piano-conductor score (*Klavier-Direktionsstimme*, also UE 8849) and a piano-vocal score (*Klavierauszug*, UE 8851). Typically, UE used the holograph score of an opera or orchestral work to prepare performing materials and then offered it on loan to conductors until sufficient demand necessitated printing a full score. In this case, however, up until the publication of Karl Heinz Füssl's full score in 1972 (*Philharmonia* 400), UE provided conductors with only the piano-conductor score.

Published copies of music from *Die Dreigroschenoper* undoubtedly served as fuel for Nazi book burnings after 1933, but several UE employees took steps to preserve some of the company's manuscripts from a similar fate. Alfred Schlee, who joined UE in 1927 and had managed the firm's German office in Berlin, became the acting director when both Alfred Kalmus and then-director Hugo Winter were dismissed in the purge of Jewish personnel from the firm's Vienna headquarters following Germany's annexation of Austria in 1938.¹ Schlee claims to have protected from almost certain destruction the manuscripts of UE's Jewish composers. According to his later recollections, he chose as hiding places two rural areas located a manageable distance from Vienna. With the assistance of his mother and the composer Gottfried von Einem (then only twenty years old), Schlee concealed some of the manuscripts in the attic of a summer house rented by his family in the mountain region of Kreuzberg, near Semmering, approximately eighty kilometers southwest of Vienna. Another cache of manuscripts was placed some hundred kilometers northwest of Vienna in the town of Zwettl in the Waldviertel district. Here, Rudolf Friedrich, one of UE's music salesmen, stored the endangered scores behind the organ at the local monastery (Stift Zwettl). The *Dreigroschenoper* holograph full score was almost certainly hidden in one of these two places, but no records of the transactions were kept for

fear of discovery. Sometime after the war, the manuscripts were returned to UE's offices in central Vienna.²

The current state of the *Dreigroschenoper* score—unbound, finger-printed, taped together, frayed at the edges, annotated, and rain-spotted—might lead one to suspect it was passed from conductor to conductor and used in numerous productions all over the world. In fact the score was probably used for performance but once, in Boston, twenty-four years after the original production. (UE records show that the score was in the possession of Norbert Gingold from February through July 1929 during which time Gingold served as music director for the first production of *Die Dreigroschenoper* in Vienna. There is, however, no evidence indicating that the score was used in performance.) Responding to a request from the New York City Opera for a perusal score, UE sent Weill's manuscript to its United States agent, Associated Music Publishers in New York, on 4 February 1952. When the opera company postponed its plans for a production, Associated Music provided the score to Leonard Bernstein so that he could prepare and conduct a concert performance of an English adaptation by Marc Blitzstein at Brandeis University in June 1952. Associated Music apparently did not find it necessary to make a copy for performance purposes. As a result, the manuscript now bears annotations by both Bernstein and Blitzstein. (For a detailed consideration of the Blitzstein adaptation and the Blitzstein-Bernstein-Weill relationship, see Kim Kowalke's essay in this volume.)

The condition of the holograph so disturbed Weill's widow, Lotte Lenya, that she was prompted to have a negative photostat made before it was returned to Vienna.³ Associated Music mailed the score to UE on 13 October 1952, and receipt was confirmed on 30 October. In a letter dated 3 February 1954, Alfred Schlee attempted to reassure Lenya that the score was being kept in a safe place and that it would not be used by conductors in the future. After registering his support for her decision to photocopy the score, he reminded her that Weill had acquiesced to the decision not to publish a full score: "The piano-conductor score is used for all productions, as was agreed with Kurt Weill."⁴

The holograph remained in UE's archives until 1976, when the publisher deposited it, along with other manuscripts in a collection identified as "UE-Leih" (UE lending library), at the Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.⁵ UE removed the score occasionally, as required for business purposes. In November 1993, the publisher transferred the score to a local bank vault—where it remains at the time of this writing—to make it more readily accessible for the preparation of the Kurt Weill Edition.

Physical Description

The manuscript comprises 102 full sides (four not marked by Weill) of pre-printed manuscript paper, some in bifolia, some in single sheets or leaves (i.e., halves of bifolia).⁶ The following imprints are represented:

- Sünova Nr. 8 (20 zeilig)
- B.C. No. 8. I. [24 staves]
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 36 (22 Linien)
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 37 (24 Linien)
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 38a (28 Linien)
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 39 (30 Linien)
- [unidentified (30 staves)]

Page sizes vary slightly from one imprint to another, but all measure approximately 26.5 by 34 centimeters. Although the paper type Weill employs generally remains consistent throughout the course of a given number, there are a few exceptions, notably in the “Anstatt daß-Song” and “III. Dreigroschenfinale.” The manuscript is not formally bound; it is grouped into twelve foldings and one single sheet, with some sheets and bifolia within foldings taped together. Three additional partial leaves are likewise attached with tape, one each at the close of “Seeräuberjenny,” “Kanonensong,” and “Polly’s Lied.” There are two instances (on the last full page of “Kanonensong” and on the page bearing “Gang zum Galgen”) of a partial leaf pasted onto a full sheet. The bottom of the first page of the notated manuscript bears the stamp of “Universal-Edition A.G.” A round, UE archive stamp appears in the lower right-hand corner.

Contents

The manuscript includes all the music from the original production, as well as “Ballade von der sexuellen Hörigkeit” and “Salomonsong,” both of which were cut previous to the first performance. (“Lucy’s Aria,” also cut, was never orchestrated by Weill and thus does not appear in this full score.⁷) The sole omissions are the reprises of the “Moritat” to which Weill refers in his correspondence with UE and the instrumental scene-change music that is suggested by annotations in the original band parts.

Weill’s Notation

The score is written in conventional notation, with all parts for transposing instruments as they appear for the player. (The fact that Weill sometimes does not provide key signatures may create the mistaken impression that all instruments are written at the same pitch level.) The trumpet parts are written in B^b throughout, with the exception of those in the “Ouvertüre,” which are written in C. The guitar is notated three different ways: in treble clef, sounding an octave lower than written; in bass clef, sounding as written; and in a combination of treble and bass clefs, sounding as written. The Hawaiian guitar is notated in treble clef and sounds as written.

The vocal parts are also notated according to convention. The tenor roles of Macheath and the *Ausrüfer* (in the “Moritat”) are notated in treble clef and are obviously intended to sound one octave lower than written even though Weill did not include a subscript 8 at the bottom of the clefs. The same applies to the male chorus in “Hochzeitslied.” With two exceptions, the following parts sound as written: Polly (soprano, notated in treble clef), Jenny (mezzo-soprano, notated in treble clef), Frau Peachum (mezzo-soprano or alto, notated in treble clef)⁸, Peachum (baritone, notated in bass clef), and Brown (bass-baritone, notated in bass clef). The two exceptions are Peachum’s part in “Lied von der Unzulänglichkeit menschlichen Strebens,” notated in the treble clef and marked by Weill “Singstimmen (Peachum) dazu”; and the final mixed chorus, in which the women’s and men’s unison parts are notated on one treble clef.

To indicate tempo, Weill employs a mixture of metronome markings, traditional Italian tempo markings, and markings derived from popular dance idioms. He furnishes every number or section with at least one

form of marking, and many with two. As a group, the twenty-three musical numbers⁹ feature eight metronome markings, sixteen Italian markings, and five dance-inspired markings.¹⁰

Because Weill intended this score as a fair copy from which the publisher could extract performance materials, almost nothing of the composition process is apparent, aside from evidence pointing to the insertion, reordering, and reassignment of numbers. The composer wrote the first layer of his text (musical notes, lyrics, tempo markings, and instructions regarding instrumentation) in black ink. The percussion part is written on an added pencil line. Some revisions also appear in black ink, such as the instructions crossed out in the upper left corner on the first page of “Seeräuberjenny.”

Further annotations appear in black pencil and were probably added as clarifications before Weill sent the manuscript to Vienna. These include

- modifications of the musical text (e.g., the initial measures of “Liebeslied” and measures 10–12 of “Kanonensong”);
- instructions to the publisher (e.g., at the top of “Hochzeitslied” and “Barbarasong”);
- some of the tempo markings (e.g., *Allegro animato* on the first page of “I. Dreigroschenfinale”).

Weill also revised some titles and numberings in red pencil (e.g., the three “Dreigroschenfinale” and “Liebeslied”). In a few instances (e.g., “Barbarasong”) the changes could possibly have been made by UE’s editors in 1928. In any case, such German-language revisions should not be confused with the English-language titles that were added in red pencil by Blitzstein (see below).

Annotations by Others

In addition to Weill’s hand, the score carries at least five layers of annotation: editors’ markings, engravers’ markings, English-language song titles by Marc Blitzstein, conductor’s markings by Leonard Bernstein, and miscellaneous markings by unidentified hands.

1. *The Editors.* The principal layer of editorial markings dates from 1928, when UE’s editors prepared the score for the extraction of performance materials. These markings include

- corrections to the musical text, in red (and occasionally green) pencil, usually indicated in the margins as well (and often highlighted with a small red x). The vast majority of these corrections were incorporated into the published materials.¹¹
- additional lyrics, in violet pencil, to the second and third verses of “Barbarasong.”
- page numbers, in black pencil, at the top outside corners of some numbers. These page numbers, along with the varying paper types, provide hints as to how certain numbers might have been reordered or inserted.
- inquiries, in red pencil, signaled by a question mark that was crossed out after the relevant point was resolved. (The crossed out question mark can easily be mistaken for an x. Compare the question mark in the right-hand margin of the fourth page of “Ouvertüre” with the one crossed out in the right-hand margin of the third page of “I. Dreigroschenfinale.”)

None of the editors’ markings seems to correspond with Karl Heinz Füssl’s 1972 edition.

2. *The Engravers.* Markings made in 1928 by UE’s engravers appear beneath the lowest staff in some systems, usually in the form of circled numbers in black pencil, numbers expressed as fractions, and heavy slashes in blue pencil. The most extensive and interesting of these markings are found in “Barbarasong” and “Salomonsong,” where they indicate the layout of the song in the *Klavierauszug*.¹²

- In “Barbarasong,” the castoff of each strophe is marked with a different color of pencil: the first strophe is marked in black, the second in red, and the third in blue. (Note the code written on the bottom left corner of the first page.) The numbers refer to the cumulative number of staves on each page of the published piano-vocal score. The first page of the number (p. 26) contains twelve staves, distributed into four systems of three staves each. The remaining five pages (pp. 27-31) present fifteen staves per page distributed into five systems of three staves each. The circled 3 and 5 at the bottom of the first page and the circled 2 and 4 in the first ending show where each of those pages ends—always at the completion of the fifteenth staff.¹³
- At the top of the first page of “Salomonsong” the engraver indicated “3 Seiten.” He then marked the ending of the first two pages of the *Klavierauszug* with circled numbers 1 and 2, in blue pencil, and noted the ending of the third similarly in red.

3. *Marc Blitzstein.* Blitzstein’s annotations are scarce, limited to the English-language titles in red pencil at the top of each number. Rehearsal letters in red and blue pencil were added by either Blitzstein or Bernstein.

4. *Leonard Bernstein.* The markings by Bernstein are typical conductor’s indications of cues, dynamics, and tempi. They appear in red and blue pencil throughout, sometimes printed but most often in a clear, round longhand. For example, Bernstein made the following annotations to the “Ouvverture”:

- “Banjo” cue, in blue pencil, one measure before rehearsal A
- “Dim” and “cresc” with hairpins, in red pencil, over the nine measures before rehearsal E
- “Banjo” cue, in blue pencil, one measure before rehearsal E
- Cue, in blue pencil, nine measures after rehearsal E
- “Cresc.” and comma, in red pencil, over the last measure

Typical of Bernstein’s interpretive markings throughout the score are “Rall,” “Acc,” “Meno,” “Tempo Primo,” “Poco Meno Mosso,” and “Rit,” as well as dynamic markings and fermatas (e.g., the second page of “Hochzeitslied”). The conductor also made minor modifications to the musical text (e.g., the repeat sign at the end of the second page of “Moritat” and the addition of a cymbal at the very end of the song). All slurs and phrase markings added in red pencil can reliably be attributed to Bernstein (e.g., the third measure after rehearsal B in “Moritat”), as can various reminders to cue performers. Finally, between numbers or at the beginnings of songs, Bernstein added text cues in blue pencil from Blitzstein’s narration for the Brandeis performance.¹⁴

5. *Unidentified hands.* There are a number of annotations whose authorship and date remain uncertain:

- rehearsal letters. Some (e.g., those written in black pencil and usually circled in the “Ouvverture,” “Anstatt daß-Song,” and “I. Dreigroschenfinale”) correspond to rehearsal letters included in the 1928 piano-conductor score and (inconsistently) in six of the published parts.
- the abbreviated orchestration lists, in black pencil, at the top of “Seeräuberjenny,” “Liebeslied,” and “Barbarasong.” The source of these markings remains uncertain. A piano-conductor score from the Theater de Lys production includes similar lists at the top of numbers, but they are in a different hand and use English, not German, abbreviations.¹⁵ Perhaps the notations were added at some point when UE needed to extract parts for only those three numbers.
- “Refrain” at the top of the second system on the second page of “Kanonensong.”
- “extract” at the top of the first page of “Ballade von der sexuellen Hörigkeit.”
- “Molto agitato” at the opening of “Ruf aus der Gruft.” (Although this instance is not in Weill’s hand, the composer did mark this tempo indication in his production master piano-vocal score. The marking appears as well in the 1928 printed materials.)

Instrumentation

Weill does not provide a summary list of the required instruments or a definitive indication of how the various instruments were distributed among the seven players of the Lewis Ruth Band. Still, a careful review of the holograph provides insights into Weill’s idealized orchestration, whether or not it is possible in all cases for seven musicians to execute this ideal.

As Stephen Hinton indicates in this volume, the score calls for twenty-three different instruments.¹⁶ This count includes most of the alternate or additional parts marked “ad lib.,” even though that indication is used inconsistently for some instruments. For instance, cello and bass are not marked “ad lib.” at the beginning of “Polly’s Lied” or at the beginning of “Eifersuchtsduett,” but in “I. Dreigroschenfinale” the cello is marked “ad lib.” and the bass part is marked “or trombone.” The second trumpet part is usually marked “ad lib.,” but not in the “Ouvverture” or “Ballade von der sexuellen Hörigkeit.” Of the four times that Weill calls for bassoon, once the instrument is marked “ad lib.” and the other times either tenor saxophone or harmonium is specified as an alternative instrument.

The following list presents, in order of appearance, the distribution of instruments among the seven musicians. (Note the several unconventional “doublings” in the parts played by musicians 4, 5, and 6.) Each musician’s part is usually notated on its own staff, except in the case of the two trumpet parts, which most often share one staff.

<i>Musician 1:</i>	Alto Sax, Clarinet, Soprano Sax, Piccolo (ad lib.), Baritone Sax, Flute (sometimes ad lib.)
<i>Musician 2:</i>	Soprano Sax, Tenor Sax, Clarinet, Bassoon (ad lib.)
<i>Musician 3:</i>	Trumpet in C, Trumpet in B ^b
<i>Musician 4:</i>	Trombone, Contrabass (usually ad lib.)
<i>Musician 5:</i>	Timpani, Percussion, Trumpet (usually ad lib.)
<i>Musician 6:</i>	Banjo, Violoncello (usually ad lib.), Bandoneon, Hawaiian Guitar, Mandolin (ad lib.), Guitar, Trumpet [?] ¹⁷ (ad lib.)
<i>Musician 7/ conductor:</i>	Harmonium, Piano, Celesta

A number of the instruments that were used by the Lewis Ruth Band are not as common today as they were in the late 1920s. Some have undergone transformation or modernization in the intervening years, the Hawaiian guitar being an example. Unlike the electric Hawaiian guitar now in standard use (which was not developed until the 1930s), the Hawaiian guitar used in the Lewis Ruth Band was a standard six-string guitar, perhaps with a raised nut to elevate the strings away from the fingerboard. It was probably tuned to a major chord (such as E2, A2, C[#]3, A3, C[#]3, E3)¹⁸ and played with either a steel bar or a glass tube placed over the finger.

The banjo part is scored for tenor banjo, identical to the standard banjo but with a shorter neck and no fifth string. Its four strings tuned like a viola (C3, G3, D4, A4) and played with a plectrum, the tenor banjo is notated at actual pitch.

The bandoneon is a square-built accordion or concertina, with the left-hand buttons sounding single notes rather than chords. Invented in the 1840s by Heinrich Band of Krefeld, the bandoneon gained prominence after 1900 as a solo instrument in South American tango orchestras.

Although the harmonium enjoyed widespread popularity throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, especially as an amateur parlor instrument, it was not commonly included in jazz or dance bands of the early twentieth century. The one that Theo Mackeben played at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm was likely a Kunstharmonium. Developed by the French instrument maker Mustel, the Kunstharmonium was larger and more powerful than the models manufactured for home use and it usually had more stops.¹⁹ The harmonium for *Die Dreigroschenoper* requires a range of more than four octaves (C2–D6). Weill does not specify registrations.

Several of the percussion instruments notated by Weill were common in dance bands in the late 1920s. The following table provides the German terms used by Weill, the Italian terms used by Füssl in his 1972 Philharmonia edition, and contemporary English equivalents.

<i>German</i>	<i>Italian</i>	<i>English</i>
Pauken	Timpani	Timpani
Kl. Tr.	Tamburo piccolo	Snare drum
Gr. Tr.	Gran cassa	Bass drum
Tomtom [one]	Tomtom	Tom-tom
Jazztr.	Tamburo di jazz	Chinese drum
Jazztr. (tief)	Tamburo di jazz (basso)	Chinese drum (low pitch)
Rührtr.	Tamburo rullante (Rührtrommel)	Tenor drum
Becken	Piatti	Cymbal
Tamtam	Tamtam	Tam-tam
Holztr.	Tamburo di legno	Woodblock
Glockenspiel	Campanelli	Glockenspiel
Tr.	Triangolo	Triangle
Glocken	Campane	Chimes

The basic drum set of the time included a snare drum and a bass drum, supplemented by a number of “traps,” including, in this case, a woodblock, a suspended cymbal, two “jazz drums,” and a tom-tom. By 1928 most bass drums were operated with a pedal. The suspended cymbal indicated by Weill was probably a Chinese cymbal (measuring 41–56 centimeters), characterized by a high, cup-shaped center and a hollow sound with a rapid decay.²⁰ The two jazz drums were small Chinese tom-toms mounted on the bass drum, constructed with a single skin fastened to the sides with brass nails (therefore untunable) and usually painted with Chinese-style illustrations. Weill’s score calls for two sizes, one presumably “regular” and one “deep” [*tief*]. The tom-tom used by the percussionist of the Lewis Ruth Band probably stood on the floor and sounded lower than the deep jazz drum.

To this basic drum set the composer added three timpani, a tenor drum [*Rührtrommel*] pitched about midway between the snare and the bass drums and with a subdued timbre, a tam-tam (an unpitched gong available in a range of sizes), a glockenspiel, a triangle, and two chimes (F[#]3 and G3).²¹

The instrument perhaps most readily associated with *Die Dreigroschenoper*, at least by those familiar with the 1931 Pabst film, is the barrel organ. According to Ernst Josef Aufricht’s memoirs, Weill managed to secure a barrel-organ roll for the “Moritat” in time for the first performance.²² A 1986 newspaper article reports that Weill and Brecht approached the German grinding-organ builders Bacigalupo to provide the required instrument, but the music had to be simplified in order to fit onto the cylinder.²³ Weill specified a *Leierkasten* for the accompaniment of “Salomonsong” as well. Though this song was cut from the first production, it (along with its barrel-organ accompaniment) must have been reinstated in later productions, since a photo from a 1929 production in Oldenburg shows Jenny, played by Maria Martinsen, in front of the curtain with a barrel organ.²⁴ The organ cylinder for “Salomonsong” has disappeared, however.

Notes

1. In 1936, Kalmus had already anticipated his departure from Vienna and established a division of Universal Edition (UE) in London. See "Universal Edition's Golden Jubilee: 1936–1986," *Musical Opinion* 109, no. 1306 (September–October 1986): 325–6.
2. This account is based on notes from a telephone interview conducted by UE employee Gucki Hanisch with Alfred Schlee on 10 January 1995 and a telefax communication from Eva Smirzitz, Schlee's niece and a longtime employee of UE, to the author, dated 13 February 1995 [WLRC, Kurt Weill Edition papers]. Schlee's recollections do not explain why many of Weill's scores (including that of *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*) were believed lost a decade after other composers' manuscripts had been retrieved from UE's hiding places. A related discussion about the disappearance of Weill's unpublished manuscripts from 1921–33 that tangentially involves Schlee and UE appears in David Drew, *Kurt Weill: A Handbook* (London: Faber; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 10–11, 437–441. Erik Levi provides further analysis of the effect of the Nazi annexation of Austria on Universal Edition in *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 158–9.
3. Lotte Lenya to Alfred Schlee, 27 January 1954, Weill-Lenya Research Center (WLRC) [series 30, box 12, folder 29]. The negative photostat to which Lenya refers in this letter is presumed lost.
4. WLRC [series 42, box 1, folder 25]. Translation mine. "Die Original-Partitur der 'Dreigroschenoper' befindet sich bei uns. Ich bin sehr froh, daß Sie eine Fotokopie der Partitur haben machen lassen, doch ist die Originalpartitur bei uns gut aufbewahrt und wird nicht etwa zum Dirigieren benutzt. Bei allen Aufführungen wurde der Dirigierauszug benutzt, wie es mit Kurt Weill besprochen worden war."
5. UE had deposited other autograph materials pertaining to *Die Dreigroschenoper* at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1954, including Weill's production-master piano-vocal score [photocopy in WLRC, series 10/D7, folder 16], with additions by Norbert Gingold.
6. At some time well after Weill submitted the manuscript (probably after World War II) a cover sheet of unlined paper was added to it and it was enclosed in a folder of orange, laminated cardboard. Neither the cover sheet nor the folder are included in this facsimile nor are they considered part of the manuscript for the purposes of this description.
7. Even if Weill had intended the accompaniment for "Arie der Lucy" for piano only, presumably he did not wish the number to be restored in future productions. Its placement is not indicated in this score and it was not included in the piano-vocal score. For further discussion of "Arie der Lucy," see Stephen Hinton's essay in this volume (page 6).
8. A tradition has developed for actresses to sing Mrs. Peachum's part one octave lower than written. This practice can be traced to 1930, when some members of the original cast recorded thirteen numbers for Telefunken. When the actress singing Mrs. Peachum failed to show up for the recording of "I. Dreigroschenfinale," Lenya stepped in, singing the part an octave lower, apparently to differentiate from her singing of Jenny's music on the same release. For a discussion of Mrs. Peachum's tessitura, see *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 8, no. 2 (fall 1990): 3 (letters to the editor) and Kim Kowalke's lengthy response in vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 4.
9. This total counts "Melodram" and "Polly's Lied" and "Grabschrift" and "Gang zum Galgen" as separate numbers.
10. In either the holograph full score or the production master piano-vocal score, Weill provides metronome indications for three of the five dance-related tempi: Blues-Tempo ♩ = 66 ("Moritat"); Shimmy-Tempo ♩ = 96 ("Ballade vom angenehmen Leben"); Foxtrot-Tempo ♩ = 88 ("Kanonensong"). The published 1928 piano-vocal score and piano-conductor score provide a metronome marking for the Tango-Tempo as well as an alternative marking for the Foxtrot-Tempo: for the former, ♩ = 58 ("Zuhälterballade"); for the latter ♩ = 92 ("Kanonensong"). Only the 1928 piano-vocal score provides a metronome marking for the Boston-Tempo: Boston-Tempo ♩ = 88 ("Liebeslied").
11. The triads sketched into the banjo part in the fifth measure after rehearsal E in the "Kanonensong" are also editors' additions. Notice that the stems are drawn to the right of the note heads rather than to the left.
12. Weill had previously sent his piano score to UE without these two numbers, which he said could be modified as piano-vocal scores from the full-score version. (See the excerpt of Weill's 10 September 1928 letter to UE translated by Stephen Hinton in his essay in this volume [page 6].)
13. Dr. Reinhold Kubik of Universal Edition provided an explanation of these markings.
14. Charles Harmon of the Bernstein Estate authenticated Leonard Bernstein's annotations.
15. In this "piano-conductor" score [WLRC, series 10/D7, folder 4], at the top of the first page of "Seeräuberjenny," the note "see manuscript" is written in the same location that an orchestration list appears for most other numbers. However, no similar note is provided for "Liebeslied" and "Barbarasong," the two other numbers with orchestration lists indicated in the manuscript.
16. This total is reached by counting two clarinets playing at once as two instruments, the pair of trumpets in C and B^b as two, and the inclusive category of percussion as one. It does not include the single indications for brief use of mandolin (*ad lib.*) in the "Zuhälterballade" and of harpsichord (*cembalo*) indicated in the "III. Dreigroschenfinale," at the fifth measure after rehearsal E. (The indication for harpsichord may be interpreted as an instruction for the performer to play the part in the manner of a harpsichord.) Also not included is the barrel organ that can be substituted as accompaniment for "Moritat" and "Salomonsong."
17. It is not clear whether the second trumpet part in the "Ouverture" was played by Musician 6. See Stephen Hinton's essay in this volume for a discussion of this issue (page 8).
18. Pitches in this essay are designated using the standard Kurt Weill Edition system (see the diagram in the Preface on page viii). The numeral following each pitch class name (e.g., the 2 in E2) refers to the octave as numbered in ascending order from the bottom of the piano keyboard. The 2 in this example denotes the E in the second to lowest full octave on the keyboard.
19. Leipzig composer and organist Sigfrid Karg-Elert popularized the Kunstharmunium in the early part of the twentieth century by presenting, in numerous concert tours throughout Germany, his compositions written for the instrument. His works were championed by Weill's teacher Ferruccio Busoni.
20. Füssl translated Weill's "Becken" in the plural (*piatti*), but a single suspended cymbal was still the norm for jazz bands in 1928. Although both Chinese and Turkish cymbals were common, contemporary recordings of the Lewis Ruth Band support the conclusion that the percussionist used a Chinese cymbal. The first two-cymbal mechanism, the "low-boy," appeared around 1926 and consisted of two cymbals mounted about 30 centimeters from the floor. Soon the low-boy was replaced by the hi-hat, consisting of two cymbals mounted on a stand and operated with a foot pedal. The hi-hat was invented in 1927 but was not widely used until the 1930s.
21. I am grateful to J. Bradford Robinson for reviewing my remarks on instrumentation and sharing source material. Secondary sources consulted include Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1984); Barry Kernfeld, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Michael Stimpson, ed., *The Guitar: A Guide for Students and Teachers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz Reception in Weimar Germany: In Search of a Shimmy Figure," in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 107–34; Michael Danzi, *American Musician in Germany, 1924–1939* (Schmittgen: N. Ruecker, 1986); Andrew Stiller, *Handbook of Instrumentation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume, *Harmonium: The History of the Reed Organ and Its Makers* (Vestal, NY: Vestal Press, 1986); A. Baresel, ed., *Wenskat Schule für Jazz-Schlagzeug* (Frankfurt: W. Zimmermann, [1930?]); Karen Linn, *That Half-Barbaric Twang: The Banjo in American Popular Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).
22. In his *Erzähle, damit du dein Recht erweist* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1966), Aufrecht relates an anecdote about the failure of the organ to work on opening night (p.77).
23. "Das Orchestrion war nur mit einem Kahn erreichbar," *Die neue Ärztliche* (Frankfurt am Main), 26 March 1986. The Bacigalupo organ and the "Moritat" accompaniment are preserved at the Siegfried Wendels Museum für mechanische Musikinstrumente in Rüdelsheim, near Mainz. An audio-cassette copy of the accompaniment produced on this barrel organ was donated to the Weill-Lenya Research Center [series 113] by Jürgen Schebera, who dated the accompaniment as from 1929. In ABAB form, this accompaniment does not match the one found in Weill's holograph, nor is it the one heard in the Pabst film or on Brecht's recording of the "Moritat" (the latter originally released on Orchestrola 2131 in 1929 and reissued on Mastersound DFCDI-110 in 1990).
24. The photo is reprinted in Jürgen Schebera, *Kurt Weill: Eine Bibliographie in Texten, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), 96; and in Jürgen Schebera, *Kurt Weill: An Illustrated Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 113.