The Kurt Weill Edition

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Happy End
Ein Stück mit Musik in drei Akten
von
Elisabeth Hauptmann
(unter dem Pseudonym “Dorothy Lane”)
Musik und Songtexte von
Kurt Weill und Bertolt Brecht

CRITICAL REPORT
Series I, Volume 6
Edited by Stephen Hinton and Elmar Juchem

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# List of Sources and Sigla

## Sources

### Full Score Format
- **Fh**: Holograph full score (1929; incomplete)

### Piano-Vocal Format
- **Vh**: Holograph piano-vocal score (1929; incomplete)
- **VmB1**: Manuscript piano-vocal score for no. 1 (1929)
- **VmB2**: Manuscript piano-vocal score for no. 1 (1929)

### Instrumental Parts
- **Im**: Instrumental parts (1929; incomplete)

### Arrangements
- **Ae**: Sheet music for nos. 1, 4, 11 published by Universal Edition (1929)

### Text
- **Tt-misc**: Assorted pages, some used by Helene Weigel (1929)
- **Tt2**: Rehearsal script (1929)
- **Tt3**: Rental script (1932)
- **Tt3a**: Copy of Tt3 with annotations by Hauptmann (mid-1950s)
- **Tt4**: Typescript based on Tt3a (1956)
- **Ttp**: Two lists with texts for 16 projections (1929)
- **TmyR**: Manuscript lyric sheet for no. 13 (1929)
- **Tty**: Collection of typewritten lyric sheets (1929–55?)
- **TtyN**: Typewritten lyric sheet for no. 10 (1929)
- **TtyR**: Typewritten lyric sheet for no. 13 (1929)

### Recordings
- **R1**: Two discs recorded by the Lewis Ruth Band for Electrola (1929)
- **R2**: Disc recorded by Theo Mackeben for Ultrap phon (1929)
- **R3**: Disc recorded by Lotte Lenya for Orchestrola (1929)

## Additional Materials

### Full Score Format
- **Fe**: Printed study score (1980, U.E. 17 243)

### Short Score Format
- **Sm**: Production master for Se (1958)
- **Se0**: Marked proof for Se (1958)
- **Se**: Klavier-Direktionsstimme (1958, U.E. 11685)

### Drafts
- **DhS**: Holograph draft of no. 11 (1929)

### Text
- **Tt1**: Pre-rehearsal script (1929)
- **Tt5**: Rental script based on Tt3 (1958)
- **Ttp**: Edition of Tt5, published in *Julia ohne Romeo* (1977)

### Programs
- **N1**: Program for original production (1929)
- **N2**: House publication released for original production (1929)

### Miscellaneous
- **M1**: Photographs of original production (1929)
- **M2**: Index card tracking shipping of rental materials (1932–62)

## Institutions

- **BBA**: Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin
- **EHA**: Elisabeth-Hauptmann-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin
- **WLA**: Weill-Lenya Archive, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (MSS 30, The Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya)
- **WLRC**: Weill-Lenya Research Center, New York, N.Y.
PUBLICATIONS


STATEMENT OF SOURCE VALUATION AND USAGE

General
This Edition publishes Happy End for the first time as a musico-dramatic entity that comprises spoken scenes intercalated with musical numbers in full-score format. Because no single text source contains all the verbal text and no musical source transmits all the music and lyrics, the Edition has to adopt a synthetic approach. Compounding the editorial challenges is the uneven transmission of original source material. The full score, the vocal score, and the copyists’ instrumental parts—all are incomplete. Nor has any version of the script survived that embeds all the musical numbers known to have been performed in the original production of Happy End, which opened at Berlin’s Theater am Schiffbauerdamm on 2 September 1929. Closing after just a month-long run, it would remain the work’s only production during the lifetime of two of its creators, Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht. When, in 1932, Elisabeth Hauptmann and Brecht assembled a post-production script in an attempt to consolidate the countless changes that had been introduced during the 1929 rehearsal period, they omitted—inadvertently, it seems—one of the songs (“Das Lied von der harten Nuss”) and altered both the form and the content of the controversial final scene by removing its concluding number (“Hosiannah Rockefeller”). Now lacking an effective finale, the play with music was never staged in this truncated version. In 1958, after both Weill and Brecht had died, the work’s publishers, Universal Edition (for the music) and Felix Bloch Erben (for the play), released a version that creatively solved musical as well as dramaturgical problems. Although this version had been approved by Hauptmann (at least tacitly and without any known input from her) as well as by Lotte Lenya and Helene Weigel (in their capacity as Weill’s and Brecht’s heirs respectively), neither the piano-conductor score nor the rental script discussed or disclosed where and to what extent unnamed editors had intervened without recourse to original sources. The guidelines of the Kurt Weill Edition preclude such inventive editing. Based on surviving sources and other contemporaneous documentation, this Edition of Happy End adopts a hybrid approach that combines the 1932 script and a reconstruction of the 1929 ending. The verbal text of that ending—the only viable ending known to carry any authority—supplies the dramatic opportunity for employing “Hosiannah Rockefeller.” Because of the lack of complete musical sources, the Edition had to intervene creatively in the case of two musical numbers: reconstructing the missing piano part for “Das Lied von der harten Nuss,” and offering two versions of “Surabaya-Johnny,” one in the Main Text, the other in an appendix.

Key Terms
For the purposes of this Edition, a “source” is any document from which a reading is taken or that is used to establish or support the musical and verbal text of the Edition. The term “additional materials” refers to all other documents pertaining to the work’s genesis and early production history and reception.

A “privileged source” provides the initial reference for a certain parameter of the work’s text (e.g., the instrumentation). Such a source is the first item consulted for a given parameter, and it is upheld if not contradicted by any other source or if not in manifest or apparent error. In cases where other sources contradict the privileged source, then the privileged source may be upheld or overruled; in the latter case, the decision, if nontrivial, is justified in the critical notes. If the privileged source is upheld, then that decision is not normally documented unless the variant reading is considered of sufficient interest for users of the Edition. Such a variant might furnish a viable alternative, for example, or shed light on the work’s genesis. It is not the aim of the Edition, however, to enable the user to document fully or to reconstruct every source. General criteria for choosing privileged sources and for upholding or overruling them, when other sources contradict or in cases of error, are given below.

Source Overview
The text sources for Happy End consist of various scripts for the play and numerous lyric sheets; among these are documents containing incomplete lyrics and some references to music. In light of the large number of typescripts housed in EHA and scattered across BBA, the Edition assigns sigla only to those sources that inform the editorial process and hence warrant detailed information. Typescripts exist in the form of ribbon
copies, carbon copies, mimeographs, and photoduplications. More often than not, the surviving scripts are compilations of pages from different stages. All types of text sources contain annotations by Hauptmann, Brecht, and unknown hands. The two archives also house typescripts where attribution to a particular stage work can be problematic, as Brecht and Hauptmann used elements from *Happy End* (whether book scenes or lyrics) for other projects, namely *Der Bratladen* (1929–30) and *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe* (1929–31).

**Tt1** is a complete script in four acts that appears to reflect the stage when Hauptmann and Brecht left Berlin at the end of June 1929 for a working holiday in Unterschondorf am Ammersee (near Augsburg), where they met up with Weill to work on book and lyrics (see Introduction in Main Volume). The musical concept was barely developed at this time. For Act I, Tt1 includes the lyrics for “Geht hinein in die Schlacht” and placeholders for “Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler” and “Die Ballade von der Höllellinlil”; Act II contains the lyrics for all four Heilsarmeelieder; Act III contains merely the lyrics for “Hübsch als es währte” (i.e., “Polly’s Lied” from *Die Dreigroschenoper*; see KWE I/5, Appendix A11); and Act IV features lyrics for “Sei willkommen später Gast” — a musical number with four text lines (in later scripts cut off after three) that stayed in all versions, even though a setting has not been traced; nor is one ever mentioned in the correspondence. Act IV also lists another rendition of the four Heilsarmeelieder as well as a collective singing of the Christmas carol “Stille Nacht” (*Silent Night*).

**Tt2** is a haphazard collection of lyric sheets in Hauptmann’s papers, some carbon copies of which were inserted/pasted into Tt2, the rehearsal script that comes closest to what was actually staged in the theater in September 1929. More lyric sheets (and additional carbon copies of Tty) are found in BBA, where the Edition assigns sigla again only to the relevant ones: TtyN, TmyR, and TtyR (i.e., lyrics for nos. 10 and 13). The myriad revisions found in Tt2 are difficult to assess. The script bears markings and annotations in pencil as well as red and blue crayon. Although the hands of Hauptmann and Brecht are discernible, by far the largest number of annotations appear in German cursive by an unknown hand (apparently neither that of director Erich Engel nor that of purported “show doctor” Bernhard Reich). Some pages have been removed and replaced by retyped ones; on a somewhat smaller scale there are a few cutouts and paste-ins. Some of the removed pages may have found their way into Tt-misc, the only surviving text source that provides information about the ending of the play (as staged on opening night) and the placement of no. 13. Because the majority of the lyrics had not been part of Tt2’s first layer, lyric sheets had to be inserted. Entered on the first page of Act III is the surname of a prompter who worked at Theater am Schiffbauerdamm, Luise Colani; even though it is hard to imagine that the script, with its bewildering maze of changes, could have served as her prompt book.1 It begs the question whether the revisions were made (1) in preparation for the premiere, (2) in the aftermath of the premiere but during the month-long run, or (3) after the unsuccessful production had closed, when Hauptmann and Brecht set out to create a version that could be offered to other theaters. Of course, the revisions could reflect an agglomeration of such efforts. Whatever the case, the script created as rental material (Tt3) for Felix Bloch Erben around May–June 1932 includes most of the changes found in Tt2 (it could not have been copied directly from that script, however, as Tt3 contains information not present in Tt2). More than twenty years later, Hauptmann took her only copy of Tt3 and marked several smaller changes, thereby generating Tt3a, which a typist used to create Tt4 (a copy of which Hauptmann sent to Lenya in December 1956). When Felix Bloch Erben prepared Tt5 in 1958, the agency followed Tt3 (rather than Tt3a or Tt4). Tt5 became the basis for the play’s posthumous publication (Tp) in *Giulia ohne Romeo* (1977).

The creation of musical materials for *Happy End* followed a pattern similar to that seen in *Die Dreigroschenoper* (for a table listing the extant materials, see p. 51). Weill took a lyric sheet and composed a draft (Dh) in pencil. He proceeded to write a neat piano-vocal score (Vh), usually in ink, which he handed to a music copying service in Berlin, where a staff member copied the composer’s original by hand (yielding Vm). Afterward, Weill orchestrated the song by writing a full score (Fh), which he then handed to a copying service for the extraction of the instrumental parts (Im). This sequence of events is typical for Weill when he was pressed for time and piano-vocal scores were urgently needed for rehearsals. Under “normal” circumstances, he would have orchestrated directly from his draft and then mailed the holograph full score to his publisher in Vienna, who would create both a piano reduction and the parts, with multiple proofreading steps in between (as, for instance, with Weill’s Songspiel *Mahagonny* and the opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*).

There is, of course, a fundamental difference between *Die Dreigroschenoper* and *Happy End*. Owing to the latter’s hostile reception, not a single license appears to have been issued by the play’s licensing agency, Felix Bloch Erben, for a follow-up production in the fall of 1929. Unlike with *Die Dreigroschenoper*, then, there was no immediate need to assess all the changes that had occurred during the final stages of the chaotic rehearsal period. Occupied with more demanding or exciting projects, Weill presumably thought he could wait to collate, review, and revise the *Happy End* materials until another performance opportunity arose. That moment seemed to arrive in the summer of 1932, but the review process encountered obstacles early on (see

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1 Colani’s name appears also on a first page of Act I (=BBA 899/04). As BBA 899 is a compilation of various text stages, there is no way of knowing which pages of Act I may have been in her hands.
below) and effectively came to a halt, never to be resumed during Weill’s lifetime. Demand for rental materials was limited to only a handful of songs, which—in contrast to the play—had found favor with critics and audiences alike and were recorded (often as purely instrumental renditions) or broadcast (as live performances).

DhS, a draft of no. 11 (“Surabaya-Johnny”), is the only such draft from *Happy End* known to have survived. Weill noted it on a leaf that already contained a skeletal non-holograph version of “Muschel von Margate” transposed down a minor third (Weill had composed that song around March 1928, as part of his incidental music for Leo Lania’s play *Kon junktur*, and UE prepared it for publication, in the original key, in spring—summer 1929). Vh still exists for eight numbers, Vm only for one. All vocal scores contain only one stanza, even though Weill often added repeat marks to indicate that additional stanzas would follow.

Fh exists for ten numbers; the holograph scores for nos. 4, 9, and 10 are lost. What had been indicated by repeat marks in Vh is written out in Fh, as Weill orchestrated each stanza differently to create variation. Except for nos. 2 and 8, he did not enter the melody and lyrics for any additional stanzas, presumably to save time, but perhaps also because the lyrics had not reached a “final form” (a notion that seems to have been antithetical to Brecht’s practice of virtually limitless revision). The different paper brands of the surviving numbers could suggest that Weill orchestrated them at different times and/or in different places (he used Ashelm paper for no. 12; K.U.V. Beethoven for nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7; and Sünova for nos. 1, 8, 11, and 13). No. 2 might be a case in point, as he informed UE on 12 August 1929 that the number had already been orchestrated, whereas the bulk of the orchestration process still lay ahead of him.

The surviving 1929 instrumental parts (Im) form a motley group that poses some questions. Sets exist for six numbers (nos. 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, and 11). The parts for no. 11 were written by two copyists working for the Held-Werkstätten, a copying service that had also created the parts for *Die Dreigroschenoper*. The parts for no. 10—a late addition to the show—appear to be in the hand of Theo Mackeben. Judging from annotations (including two by Weill and one described by Weill in an interview published on 6 September 1929), these two sets were probably used in the theater. The sets for the remaining numbers were written by a team of four unidentified copyists who worked for an unnamed entity.2 A handwriting comparison reveals the following division of labor:

No. 1: Copyist A (except Im-Klav, written by Copyist C)
No. 4: Copyist A (except Im-Klav, written by Copyist D)
No. 8: Copyist B: ASax (also an extra Fl part), Trp, Szg
   Copyist C: TSax, Pos, Band/Gtr (pp. 1–2), Klav
   Copyist A: Band/Gtr (pp. 3–6)
No. 9: Copyist A (except Im-Klav, written by Copyist C)

The paper brand (Sünova) suggests that the parts were written in Berlin, but there is some evidence that these four sets were copied from an earlier set of parts rather than from Fh. For example, in no. 1, Im-Szg shows accent marks at 5.3, 6.3, 7.3 (etc.), in what appears to be the first layer. Likewise, in no. 8, Im-Band/Gtr has sixteenth rests at 105.6, 109.6 etc., a B♮ at 151.2, and there is a separate flute part (Im-Fl) with music for mm. 1–66. None of these features could have been copied from Fh. Another vexing aspect is the significant number of serious errors by the copyists that went uncorrected. The overall paucity of annotations that could date back to 1929 is conspicuous. It seems to support the hypothesis that the four sets of parts were copied from earlier sets, but that the new sets were subsequently not used in the theater. The Weill-UE correspondence does not mention any duplication of parts. However, an index card (M2) from UE’s offices (see Plate 2 in Main Volume), apparently created in 1932 and chronicling the shipping of *Happy End* rental materials until 1962, lists two sets of parts for “Surabaya-Johnny” and three sets for the “Bilbao-Song” (one of them a whole tone higher than the other two). The need for multiple sets, or clean sets, would have arisen from demand by radio stations. M2 shows that, in October 1934, parts for nos. 1, 4, and 11 were rented to a Danish station (the Statsradiofonien in Copenhagen). For the years 1929–32, listings of radio performances of individual songs can be found in broadcasting magazines.3 Hence, the few markings in Im for nos. 1, 4, and 9 could originate from on-air performances; Im for no. 8 has so many flaws and no relevant markings that it was probably never used in any performance.

In 1958, Im accrued additional markings. The Munich production received Im for nos. 4, 8, 9, 10, and 11 in order to reconstruct a full score; it also employed Im for no. 9 and some of the original Im-Szg pages in the pit, as attributable markings (among them prominent ones in magenta) attest. Later that year, the head of UE’s production department, Roland Philipp, used Im-Klav of nos. 4, 8, and 9 to create a production master for a piano-conductor score (Sm) that appeared as U.E. 11685 in December 1958 (Se). He also marked up the other parts, en-

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2 The orchestral parts for Weill’s *Der Lindberghflug*, created in November 1929, bear stamps by the Notenschreiber-Büro Dr. Wohlauer, a copying service in Berlin that Weill frequently used. Among the pages marked by a stamp of the Wohlauer office is one written in the hand of the copyist identified here as “Copyist A” (WLRC, Series 18, Fld. 96).

3 For example, the Austrian weekly *Radio-Wien* lists (in its program guide for foreign stations) performances of nos. 1, 4, and 11 at various stations (e.g., Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau, Leipzig), mostly singers accompanied by an orchestra, but occasionally also with piano accompaniment only. It is unclear whether Lena’s performance of nos. 1, 4, 10, and 11 at the Frankfurt station on 8 February 1930 was accompanied by an orchestra or by piano only; see Introduction and W-L(e), 61–63.
tering corrections and changes to create a model from which a new set of rental parts could be copied. In the process he could have erased original pencil markings (although there is no evidence that he did). Philipp's markings are clearly distinguishable, as he usually entered them with red ballpoint pen (some, however, are in pencil); additional markings in red pencil originate from UE's post-war staff.

The poor survival rate of musical materials for Happy End is striking. Once the Schiffbauerdamm production had closed on 1 October 1929, they embarked on an odyssey that is difficult, if not impossible, to retrace. When Weill heard the news that Hauptmann and Brecht were in the process of creating Tt3 as a rental script for Bloch Erben, and that the licensing agency also intended to circulate a perusal score, he asked UE on 3 June 1932 to assemble such a score. The publisher informed Weill on 7 June about its incomplete holdings, which were limited to Fh for nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, and 13, and Vh (or Vm) for no. 2. In his reply of 11 June, Weill lamented the loss of Fh for nos. 1, 4, 9, and 11, and wondered whether these scores could still be in the hands of Ludwig Rüth, who should have had at least Im for these numbers, as he had recorded them with his band in September–October 1929 for Electrola (R1). If not, he hoped that Theo Mackeben or Ernst Josef Aufricht might have kept the full scores or might know their whereabouts. Weill proceeded to send the materials in his possession to Vienna: Vh for nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 13, as well as an unspecified "pile" of Im. The publisher's record M2, which reflects the materials available at that point, appears to have been created in the summer of 1932. The following year, after Weill had already sought refuge from Nazi Germany in France, he asked UE to send him Vh (or Vm) for nos. 2, 10, 12, and 13, which the publisher did on 22 November 1933 (nos. 2 and 12 have since disappeared).

In 1955, during her first return to Europe, Lenya acquired Fh for nos. 1 and 11 (along with Vh for no. 9 and an unknown copy of a typescript for Act I) from the Berlin-based conductor Hans Schindler, chiefly known as the former music director of the Haller Revue. Schindler had responded to Lenya's quest for Weill-related materials, which the Berlin daily Der Tagesspiegel announced on 14 April 1955. Asked how he had come into possession of the manuscripts, he wrote to Lenya on 13 May that Weill had given him the scores as a token of gratitude for recordings that he (Schindler) had made "years ago." Although no such recordings of Happy End songs have been documented, Schindler did record four songs from Die Dreigroschenoper for the Parlophon label in January and March 1929. Nor does Schindler's account align with Weill's habit of safe-keeping full scores and his distress about the loss of Fh (as expressed in the letter of 7 June 1932 to UE). During her stay in Europe, Lenya also visited UE's offices in Vienna, where she picked up Im for no. 2, but these parts, too, have since been lost. The last score to disappear seems to have been Vh for no. 4. David Drew reports that the manuscript vanished between 1974 and 1983 (Kurt Weill: A Handbook, London: Faber, 1987, p. 436). This is remarkable, since no such score is mentioned in any correspondence, and nobody seems to have taken the precaution to generate a photocopy; Drew's vivid account is nonetheless plausible.

Musical spin-offs from the stage production exist in a variety of formats. Nos. 1, 4, and 11 appeared as sheet music for voice and piano (Ae), containing only the first stanza. Acting on an idea of Weill's, UE engaged Hartwig von Platen to create arrangements of nos. 1 and 4 for Salonorchester (dance orchestra), of which UE published no. 1 and created only rental parts for no. 4; such rental parts exist also for a UE arrangement of no. 11 prepared by an unidentified arranger (they are in WLA, Box 40, Fls. 63 and 55, respectively). In addition, three record labels issued discs that were produced in the fall of 1929 (all three possibly featuring the same group of instrumentalists): Electrola released instrumental renditions of nos. 1, 4, 9, and 11 by the Lewis Ruth Band (R1); Ultraphon released instrumental recordings of nos. 1 and 11 by “Red” Roberts (i.e., Theo Mackeben) and his “Ultraphon-Jazz-Orchester” (R2); and Orchestrola released Lena's recordings of nos. 1 and 11 accompanied by Theo Mackeben and his "Jazz-Orchester" (R3). Although one might expect that these popular recordings would have prompted entirely new arrangements, they actually leaned heavily on Weill’s orchestration, incorporating some sections note for note. For information about additional recordings of no. 11 (one made by Marianne Oswald in 1933 and one by Lenya in 1943) as well as facsimiles of Ae for nos. 1 and 11, see KWE IV/2 (Popular Adaptations, 1927–1950), pp. 49–51 and 149–64.

Privileging of Sources for the Musical Text

The Edition privileges Fh for all available dimensions. For nos. 4, 9, and 10, Im is the only source transmitting the orchestration, and Ae (for no. 4) and Vh (for nos. 9 and 10) the only sources transmitting the vocal melody. For the stanzas where Fh contains no verbal text, the Edition privileges Tt4. As that source does not contain nos. 10 and 13, the Edition privileges Tty and TtyR, respectively, for the additional stanzas of these two numbers.

Privileging of Sources for the Play

In light of the multiple layers of revision in Tt2, which are impossible in places to discern from one another, the Edition privileges Tt3. The editors have also consulted Tt3a and Tt4; both of these sources correct some errors and resolve inconsistencies (while also introducing some new ones). For the placement of nos. 10 and 13, the Edition reverts to Tt2 and Tt-misc, respectively, with additional support from Ttp.
Editorial Procedure

Score order

Following the editorial model developed for Die Dreigroschenoper (KWE I/5), the Edition standardizes the score order, including the treatment of barlines and brackets. In Fh, the staves for voice, percussion, and plucked instruments/bandoneon trade places from number to number, seemingly arbitrarily; in any given number, however, the arrangement of staves is maintained throughout. Presumably for reasons of expediency, Weill drew continuous barlines from top to bottom of each system. He added a bracket connecting ASax and TSax (and another connecting Trp 1–2 in nos. 5 and 7).

Weill’s score for Happy End calls for fewer doublings by the seven players of the Lewis Ruth Band than in Die Dreigroschenoper. As most of the doublings are fairly standard, the Edition does not adopt the model of identifying the players with roman numerals in the margins. The two cases of non-standard doubling involve the banjo player, who (besides doubling on guitar, mandolin, and bass guitar) is asked to play bandoneon, and the percussionist, who doubles on second trumpet (only in nos. 5 and 7). An additional case is the alternate orchestration of no. 11 (presented in the Appendix), where the tenor saxophonist doubles on violin.

Key signatures

The Edition standardizes key signatures when the sources indicate one (thereby following the treatment in KWE I/5, no. 13). In four of the ten numbers surviving in Fh, Weill provided a key signature. He did so, however, only for the non-transposing instruments; in the transposing parts, he simply added individual accidentals as needed (see Plate 1 in Main Volume). A special case is no. 1 (“Bilbao-Song”), where Fh dispenses with a key signature but VmB1/2 and Ae employ one. Because Weill explicitly marked VmB1 (notated in E major) “nach Des dur transponieren,” and the number does indeed suggest a D#-major tonality, the Edition adds a key signature.

Following the example of Im-ASax for no. 10 (“Das Lied von der harten Nuss”), the Edition enharmonically respells key signatures for E♭ instruments to reduce the number of sharp signs for the players (e.g., nos. 8 and 12). Weill himself adopted this practice later in his career, at least occasionally (cf. KWE I/21, no. 12d).

Tempo marks and modifications

Whenever available, the Edition takes tempo and metronome marks from Fh. As no source transmits an opening tempo mark for no. 10, the Edition provides one. Modifications of tempo marks (such as rit., accel., etc.) and their cancellation (usually by a tempo) are sometimes taken from other sources, as are fermatas and caesuras. All such editorial action is recorded in the critical notes.

Dynamics

The Edition removes redundant dynamics and adds dynamics where they are missing but contextually required. In both cases a critical note describes the source evidence. In places where a dynamic indication is missing from one instrument but present in two or more other parts with matching music, the Edition adds the missing dynamic indication without comment.

The notation of hairpin crescendos and diminuendos in the sources is frequently careless or ambiguous. As precise description of the exact extent of each hairpin crescendo or diminuendo is impractical—and verbose descriptions of such minutiae are not usually justified by their musical significance—the Edition routinely aligns hairpins without a critical note when the intent seems clear. In cases where different solutions are possible and might communicate a meaningful musical distinction, a critical note describes the source evidence.

Articulation

The Edition tacitly adds articulation where it is missing in one or more instrumental parts but present in others such as to warrant conformity. When parts with comparable music have ambiguous or conflicting articulation, the Edition generally chooses to regularize the articulation, with the action explained in the critical notes. In places where the Edition removes or changes articulation, or accepts seemingly conflicting articula-
tions, details and explanations are provided in the critical notes. The Edition avoids overburdening the score with additional editorial articulation once a pattern has been established, save where such ongoing articulation is already provided in one or more parts in Fh and therefore added to others according to the principle outlined above.

Verbal text

The Edition slightly modernizes spellings transmitted by the sources (in light of the new German orthography introduced in 1998 and modified thereafter). For all verbal text, the Edition standardizes spellings, punctuation, stylings, hyphenation, and layout without comment and similarly corrects minor typing errors and omissions.

For the play, with the exception of the ending and the placement of no. 10 (“Das Lied von der harten Nuss”), the Edition essentially presents the text of Tt3. Without comment, the Edition occasionally adopts markings made by Hauptmann in Tt3a (most of which are reflected in Tt4). In cases of dubious and ambiguous spelling, Hauptmann’s drafts (Tt1 and earlier scripts) frequently offer guidance, as she appears to have typed more carefully than the typists who created earlier scripts (Tt4). For the placement of no. 10, the Edition uses a passage and markings transmitted by Tt2. For no. 13 (“Hosianah Rockefeller”) and the ending of the play, the Edition draws on a variety of sources (Tt2, Tt-misc, Ttp, and TtyR), taking additional guidance from photos and newspaper reports (especially the reviews that appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung and in Berlin am Morgen).

The Edition intervenes in a single case. It adopts the penultimate projection (“Aufregung und glückliches Ende”) from Ttp. The projection does double duty, serving to telegraph Bill’s last line of the play and, at the same time, making a connection to the work’s title, whose ironic significance is only underscored by Die Fliege’s concluding response.

For the lyrics, the Edition rationalizes spellings and layout found in Fh, Vh, Ae, Tt3, and Tty.

Issues of Instrumentation

Bandoneon

The bandoneon is a square-built instrument similar to an accordion or concertina, but with left-hand buttons that sound single notes rather than whole chords. Originally a German invention of the mid-nineteenth century, the instrument gained prominence in Argentinian tango orchestras and was reimported into France and Germany after World War I.

Banjo

The banjo in general use at the time of Happy End was the one known both now and then as the “tenor banjo,” a four-string instrument tuned C3, G3, D4, A4 and played with a plectrum. A photo of the Lewis Ruth Band taken at the time of Die Dreigroschenoper shows the banjo player (Willy Berendt?), holding such a four-string instrument with a closed back (see KWE IV/1, p. 144). The banjo’s parts were often notated one octave higher than sounding pitch, though Weill did not adhere to this practice in Happy End. The Edition follows Weill’s model and notates the part at pitch.

Bass Guitar

The bass guitar (German: Bass-Gitarre, also known as Kontrabass, or, in Vienna, Schrammelgitarre) is a double-necked instrument: the lower neck has six strings that are tuned and played like those of a regular Spanish guitar; the upper neck has additional bass strings (usually either four or nine) that expand the instrument’s bass range. The bass strings are played unstopped with the thumb. In English, the instrument is sometimes referred to as a harp guitar.

Guitar

The guitar notation in Fh is somewhat inconsistent: usually in the treble clef, but when pressed for vertical space on the score page, Weill sometimes reverted to the bass clef. The Edition standardizes all occurrences of the instrument in the score by notating in treble clef to sound an octave lower.

Harmonium

The instrument played by Theo Mackeben at Theater am Schiffbauerdamm was probably a Kunstharmonium, a larger and more powerful model than those manufactured for home use. Photos of the original production of Happy End show an additional instrument as part of the set for Acts II and IIIb (i.e., the Salvation Army quarters); see WPD(e), p. 99.

Hawaiian Guitar

Employed only in no. 11, where the part can be played with a tuning of A3, D4, F#4, A4, C5, E5, which requires a re-stringing of the instrument’s three lowest strings: sixth string E (not: E3); fifth string D (not: A3); fourth string G (not: D4). Scordatura then yields the desired tuning: A3, D4, G4[#F#4], G4[#A4], B4[#C5], E5). As an imperfect ad hoc solution, the player could use a tuning of E3, A3, E–F, G4, B4, E5 and leave out some of the lower notes.

The meaning of the designation “Hawaiian Guitar” has changed since Weill used it in Die Dreigroschenoper and Happy End. Nowadays it usually refers to an electrified instrument of the laptop steel variety. In the late 1920s it referred more to a style of playing than to a particular instrument. The style was characterized by extensive vibrato and portamento, both achieved through the use of a slide device (usually a steel bar). To accommodate this method of playing, standard Spanish guitars or early resonator models were refurbished with a thicker nut to raise the strings further above the fingerboard. Steel strings were obligatory, as were finger picks for the right hand.
(thumb and the first two fingers, sometimes also the third). Unlike the standard Spanish guitar, Hawaiian Guitars were often tuned E₃, A₃, E₄, A₄, C₅, E₅. Electrically amplified guitars would not have been used in 1929 Berlin. An example of a Hawaiian Guitar can be heard in R₁ for no. 1 ("Bilbao-Song"), where the instrument plays the melody of the first refrain.

Mutes
Sources specify brass muting in nos. 4 and 11. Without comment, the Edition adds additional instructions (e.g., "Dämpfer auf") at appropriate locations.

Piano
When an identical written pitch appears simultaneously in both hands, the Edition encloses one of them in parentheses.

Trombone
F₇ calls for tenor trombone, for the most part within its normal range (E₂–B♭₄). Nos. 1 and 4, however, require an F trigger, as the range is extended to D♭₂ and D₂ respectively.

Notational Issues

Cautionary, etc. accidentals
Where appropriate, the Edition tacitly adds cautionary accidentals and removes redundant ones.

Spoken lyrics
Several musical numbers explicitly call for lines to be spoken, either freely or rhythmically fixed. Weill notated the latter type of speech using crosshead notation. The Edition upholds Weill’s vertical placement of these notes, but it is unclear what, if anything, he intended by occasional discrepancies in that placement. The treatment of four notes of rhythmic speech in Vm₁/₂ suggests that he did not intend to prescribe an approximate “pitch” when using crosshead notation.

Iteration signs
F₇ indicates the repetition of musical units, whose length ranges from a single beat to several measures. The Edition expands these tacitly, also with the addition or removal of any accidentals (active or cautionary) consequent upon this expansion. The continuation of any notated articulation marks within such expansion will depend on the principles for such marks noted above. Any such musical unit that contains an editorial emendation is repeated in its emended form, and is noted without comment in the critical notes.

Rehearsal letters
As both F₇ and Im₇ lack rehearsal letters, the Edition provides them. (The Edition ignores rehearsal letters added at a later date in F₇ for nos. 2 and 12).

Footnote policy
The Edition adds occasional footnotes to the score to inform the user of issues significantly affecting the substance or performance practice of the passage. The bulk of information regarding such issues can be found in the critical notes.

Pitch Designation
The Kurt Weill Edition uses the following alphanumeric system to denote pitch-class and octave where musical notation is inappropriate:
The entry for each section begins with one or more paragraphs of prose followed by numbered notes. The latter are of two types. The notes that report editorial actions usually state the action first, with supporting information following. Those that report on alternative readings or other situations are variously organized, using the sigla of the sources in question. Locations within measures are specified in two ways: 11/3 refers to the eleventh measure, beat 3; 11.3 refers to the eleventh measure, third notational event (note, rest, or chord). Consecutive locations are indicated by the use of a hyphen: 11/3–4 refers to beats 3 and 4, and 11.3–4 refers to notational events three and four.

MAIN TEXT

1. Bilbao-Song

Although the “Bilbao-Song” was conceived early on as material for Happy End—Weill had promised UE to set it down in notation before leaving for France (around 20 May 1929)—there were doubts as to whether it could indeed be used in the play. At any rate, Weill did not create a neat piano-vocal score of the song until early August, when rehearsals began.

Text underlay for this number presents a considerable editorial challenge. All sources in piano-vocal format transmit only the first stanza and refrain. When Weill created Fh, he entered the vocal line and sung text for the first stanza (i.e., mm. 3–29) and part of the first refrain (i.e., mm. 45–56). It seems that he proceeded to orchestrate the second and third stanzas before the text for these had reached its “final form,” on the assumption that the second and third stanzas would align with the syllabic structure of the first. As transmitted in Tt3, however, they ended up departing from it rhythmically, especially the third. By the time UE prepared Ae, Weill was aware of the problem and concluded that printing more than one stanza would be impractical, as it required too many cue-size notes to accommodate the rhythmic discrepancies (W-UE, letter of 1 October 1929). The Edition is thus forced to place the lyrics for the second and third stanzas, as transmitted by Tt3, without direct guidance from a musical source. For the third stanza, in particular, the instrumental doubling of the vocal line cannot always serve as a model for the rhythm of the vocal line (e.g., mm. 101–107), and it may have been a reason that Lotte Lenya reverted to a speaking voice for mm. 104/2–114/1 in R3. Regarding the refrains, the Edition chooses not to limit the first refrain to the rudimentary two lines (i.e., mm. 31–32 and 35–36) plus a spoken one (in mm. 41–42) printed in Ae, but instead to adopt the additional text found in Tt3, since that source also informs the remaining two refrains. Philological problems notwithstanding, there is of course a delicious irony to all this: the refrain is sung by a character unable to recall exactly how the song goes.

Lotte Lenya’s 1929 rendition of the song, as captured on R3, offers a fascinating glimpse into early performance practice. One needs to keep in mind, however, that she did not participate in the theatrical production, and the “out-of-character” recording served a very different purpose. As can be gleaned from the partial transcription of the lyrics printed below (sung text appears in boldface, spoken text in roman type style), she sings stanzas 1 and 3 but appears to lapse into text for stanzas 1 and 2 during stanza 3. Moreover, during the refrain she includes lines not found in any other source (e.g., “er war Brasil gewohnt” in stanza 3):
Bills Ballhaus in Bilbao, Bilbao, Bilbao

Für sein Geld,
Geh, Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach!
    Ja, ja, so war es!
Alter Bilbaomond,

[as if improvising]
Da, da, da-di-ja, da
Alter Bilbaomond,
Da wo noch Liebe wohnt,
Alter Bilbaomond,
Ich hab es oft betont.

Ich weiß ja nicht, ob Ihnen so was grad gefällt, doch
Es war das Schönste,
Es war das Schönste,
Es war das Schönste
Auf der Welt.

Bills Ballhaus in Bilbao, Bilbao, Bilbao,
Heute ist es renoviert so auf dezent
Mit Palme und mit Eismasse, ganz gewöhnlich, ganz gewöhnlich, ganz gewöhnlich
Wie ’n anderes Etablissement.
Aber wenn Sie da hereingesegelt kämen,
Ich weiß ja nicht, ob Ihnen so was grad gefällt.
Spaß!
Auf dem Tanzboden wächst kein Gras,
Und der Brandy ist auch nicht mehr das.
Und der grüne Mond ist abgestellt.
’ne Musik ist da, man kann sich ja nur schämen
Für sein Geld!
Geh, Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach.

Alter Bilbaomond
Da wo noch Liebe wohnt,
Alter Bilbaomond
Er war Brasil gewohnt,
Alter Bilbaomond
Er hat mich nie geschont,
Alter Bilbaomond
Das hat er oft betont.

Ich weiß ja nicht, ob Ihnen so was grad gefällt, doch
Es war das Schönste,
Es war das Schönste,
Es war das Schönste
Auf der Welt.

The song’s key was successively lowered: VmB1 is in E major, Fh in Eb major, and Im in Db major (neither Fh nor Im employ a key signature). A record from the publisher (M2) indicates that three sets of parts once existed: one in Eb and two in Db major. The paper type of Im suggests that this set had still been created in Berlin (see Source Overview in Statement of Source Valuation and Usage). The Edition adopts Db, as in that key the vocal range (Db3–F4) closely matches the tessitura of Bill’s other number, “Das Lied von der harten Nuss.” Db is also the key of the sheet music publication Ae, which Weill had specified by annotating VmB1 (“Nach Des dur transponieren”), and so adopted in the engraver’s model (VmB2). It may have been casting
decisions that led to the differences in key: Hauptmann’s contract of 23 March 1929 with the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm states that Heinrich George had been signed for the male lead, and an annotation of Brecht’s in Tt1 shows that George was still expected to play the role of Bill Cracker (Ecclesia Dick), which would eventually be filled by Oskar Homolka.

Except for Bjo, Im writes out the repeat of mm. 4–28. Among Im is a single page for “Harmonium” (so inscribed at the top), carrying seventeen measures that duplicate mm. 59–75 of the bandoneon part. Written by a scribe who was not involved with the creation of Im, the music is preceded by a block rest of twenty-eight measures and followed, in turn, by a block rest of thirty-eight measures that seemingly ends with a repeat mark. Possibly the page served as an alternative in case the banjo player could not switch quickly enough to the bandoneon after m. 28 (second time only). There is no way of knowing, however, whether the pianist (or the banjo player?) switched to harmonium for any of the refrains (the piano part continues in mm. 59–75).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Edition adds value of a quarter rest as 1.1, thereby transforming the three quarter-note pickup in Fh into a complete measure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>R3 adopts a tempo of $\j = 72\text{–}80$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2</td>
<td>ASax, Trp</td>
<td>Fh has pencil annotation calling for a switch of this opening material between ASax and Trp, but this is not reflected in Im. However, the switch can be heard in R1-2; Lenya’s recording (R3) omits the opening figure, beginning with pickup to m. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>ASax</td>
<td>Edition takes pitch B₃ from Im. Fh has B₅ (= A₅ in D♭ major) in first layer, but performance annotation corrects it (to match Klav).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3, 6.3, 7.3; 11.3., 12.3, 13.3</td>
<td>Szw</td>
<td>Edition takes quarter-note beat on Ttom from Im (what appears to be first layer) and adds wedge accent. Fh has quarter rest here, whereas R2-3 consistently feature an accented beat on the higher Ttom (in R1 drummer uses Beck for accented beats in mm. 11–13). Im is peculiar for this number in that Copyist A rendered Weill’s instruction “2 Tomtoms” as “2 Tamtams” (either because he was unfamiliar with the “novelty” instrument or because an earlier part that he copied was already corrupted). Weill himself drew attention to the erroneous use of “Tamtam” as a synonym for “Tomtom” (cf. W-UE, p. 216, letter of 6 January 1930); for an example of erroneous use see the full score of Kleine Dreigroschenmusik, U.E. 9712 (p. 17 passim).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Bjo, Klav</td>
<td>Edition adds $p$ to match prevailing dynamic level. The absence of a dynamic is curious, especially in light of a reiterated $p$ in Reeds and Brass at 9.3. Technically, Bjo and Klav are still $f$ (from pickup to m. 1), but Szw is $p$. Im are unmarked. A clue that the two phrases (i.e., mm. 4–7 and 8–9 with pickups) are not meant to be played with dynamic contrast is $p$ at 92.3 in Trp. Edition assumes that Weill would have properly marked Fh if a dynamic contrast had been desired (one would expect to find at least performance annotations to that effect in Im).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–14</td>
<td>Klav r.h.</td>
<td>Edition adds articulation to match mm. 7–8 (for variant at 14.6, Edition adds tenuto mark).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3–4</td>
<td>BILL</td>
<td>Edition takes dotted rhythm from Ae. Fh has eighth notes but compare doubling in TSax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.1–4</td>
<td>TSax</td>
<td>Edition adds staccato marks to match 16.3–6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>TSax</td>
<td>Edition takes rhythm $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>Klav r.h.</td>
<td>Im has B₃-F₄-A₄ here (instead of A₅-D♭-F₄-A₄).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>Trp</td>
<td>Edition adds $p$ to match prevailing dynamic level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3–4, 109.3–4</td>
<td>BILL</td>
<td>Edition upholds Fh text (“grüne”) in m. 24 (also in VmB1/2, Ae) and changes the moon’s color in stanzas 2 and 3 as well, even though Tt3 (and all earlier textual sources) have “rote”—a color corroborated by Paul Wiegler’s review in B. Z. am Mittag. But R3 has “grüne” in both stanzas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
27.3, 27.7  ASax  Edition upholds C♯5 (sounding E4), also found in Im, even though the part otherwise doubles Bill’s pitches almost exactly in mm. 20–29 (compare, by contrast, Pos at 112.3).

pickup to 28  BILL  All but two of the textual sources have “Geh, Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach.” The exceptions are Tty, which may well have served as the basis of Weill’s setting, and an early typed sketch with material for stanzas 3 and 2 (BBA 902/44). Fh does not contain the word “Geh,” and all other musical sources agree. In R3, however, Lenya sings “Geh” as a half-spoken pickup. Singers wishing to perform the pickup could sing a quarter note F4.

28.4  Bjo  Edition takes instruction “nimmt Bandoneon” from Im (first layer) and adds “in Wiederholung” (in repeat).

28.4  Klav r.h.  Edition follows Im in omitting pitch D♭4 (already attacked as half note at 28.3).

29  ALL  Edition takes caesura from consistent performance annotations in Im and adds fermata, prompted by markings in Im (TSax and Szg).

29/2  ALL  Ac identifies the passage beginning here as Die “Musik von damals” (printed in parentheses below the staff). This information is not found in VmB1/2 or Fh.

40.3  Klav r.h.  Edition enharmonically respells Fh pitch F♭4 (= E♭4 in D♭ major) as D♭4 to match 38.3. Im has copyist’s errors in both measures.

41.2–42.1  BILL  VmB1/2 and Ac have “Lang, lang ist’s her” printed in rhythmic notation (♩♩♩♩♩♩) with crossheads in top space. That VmB1 and the transposed VmB2 and Ac show the notation in top space, suggests that Weill did not intend to prescribe an approximate “pitch” when using crosshead notation.

43.4  Klav r.h.  Edition adopts (Weill’s?) annotation in Fh removing pitch F4 (= E♭4 in D♭ major) in light of E♭4 in l.h. Im retains E♭4.

44.2–45.1  Klav  VmB1/2 and Ac have a variant here, with a middle voice in r.h. descending C4–B♭3–B♭3–A♭3.

45  TSax, Trp  Edition takes breath mark after 45.1 from performance annotation in Im.

46.1  ASax, Pos  Edition adds p to match other parts.

48.1  BILL  VmB1/2 and Ac have half note. Edition upholds Fh.

48.2, 48.4  ASax, TSax  Edition consistently adds accents, found in Fh only at 48.2 in ASax. Weill had first placed an accent in ASax at 48.1 (as if to continue pattern from preceding measures) but then canceled it to place it here. The corresponding passage in m. 133 has no accents.

49  ASax, TSax, BILL  Edition takes breath mark after 49.1 from performance annotation in Im and adds it to vocal part.

49.2  BILL  Edition adds p to match ASax, TSax.

50.1  Pos  Edition adds p to match other parts.

62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74  ASax, TSax, Trp  Edition normalizes articulation to match m. 60. In Fh staccato marks drop out in ASax for mm. 66–74, in TSax for mm. 62–74, and in Trp for mm. 62–66 and m. 74.

71–74  BILL  Edition provides notation for the part, prompted by Tt3, which indicates that Bill keeps singing after the spoken “Na?” in m. 59. No source provides information when Bill should deliver the lines in mm. 60–74.

73.2  Klav r.h.  Edition takes center pitch D♭4 from Im. In Fh, notated without a key signature, Weill failed to add flat-sign.

75.2  BILL  Edition adds f to match TSax, Trp (and compare 45.2).

76–86  Bjo  Fh, which notates these measures in all parts as a repeat of mm. 46–56, contains instruction “nimmt Banjo” in m. 76 and “Banjo” at 87.1, perhaps implying that part is tacet for mm. 76–86.

76.1  ASax, Pos  Edition adds breath mark after 76.1 to m. 49.

79  ASax, TSax, BILL  Edition adds breath mark after 79.1 to match m. 49.

79.2  BILL  Edition adds p to match ASax, TSax (and compare 49.2).

90.3, 91.3, 92.3; 96.3, 97.3, 98.3  Bjo  Im does not add a Ttom beat for this stanza (compare mm. 5–13 above). Although R1-3 all retain the additional, accented beat, they limit themselves...
to two stanzas. Here the omission of the beat seems warranted in terms of providing a textural contrast to the textual one (i.e., to match the change in the appearance of Bills Ballhaus).

| 93.1 | ASax, TSax, Pos | Edition adds \( p \) to match prevailing dynamic level. In \( \text{Fh} \), m. 93 falls on the beginning of a new system. |
| 99.1–4 | ASax, TSax, Trp | Edition takes staccato marks from \( \text{Im-Trp} \). |
| 99–100 | BILL | Edition follows \( \text{Trp} \) for rhythm of vocal line. In \( \text{R3} \), Lenya sings syllable “-blis-” on second beat as a dotted quarter note (i.e., \( \text{Fh} \)) |

| 101 | ALL | Edition adds \( mf \) to match m. 16. |
| 102–103 | Bjo | Edition takes top notes G\( \text{a} \)5 (m. 102) and F\( \text{a} \)5 (m. 103) from \( \text{Im} \) (first layer). |
| 104.2 | BILL | Edition follows \( \text{R3} \) in having text (“Spaß!”) spoken here. \( \text{Tt3} \) lacks indication. |
| 105.1–4 | Pos | Edition assumes pitch A\( \text{b} \)3. \( \text{Fh} \) and \( \text{Im} \), written without a general key signature, fail to reiterate flat-sign after 104.2. |
| 107–112 | Szi | \( \text{Im} \) shows a significant difference here. In \( \text{Fh} \), Weill notated this passage with three iteration signs (zzz) repeating mm. 105–106. The scribe of \( \text{Im} \) repeated m. 106 in m. 107 and then continued with quarter notes alternating between G\( \text{tr} \) and Beck for the remaining five measures. |
| 108, 110, 112 | Trp | Edition adds staccato marks to match m. 106. |
| 108.1 | Pos | Edition takes pitch G\( \text{a} \)3 from \( \text{Im} \) (first layer). \( \text{Fh} \) has G\( \text{b} \)5, which clashes with the melody. |
| pickup to 113 | BILL | For variant “Geh, Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach” see note for pickup to m. 28 above. |

| 114/1 | ALL | Edition adds caesura (with fermata) to match 29/1, 59/1. |
| 114/2–115/1 | ALL | Edition adds \( p \) to match 59/2–60/1. |
| 114–129 | ASax, TSax, Trp | Edition normalizes articulation pattern by adding slurs for 114.2–3 (TSax), 115.1–2 (TSax, Trp), 116.2–3 (TSax), and 129.1–2 (ASax, TSax). |
| 115.3–116.1 | TSax, Trp | Edition adds tie to match ASax. |
| 119–120 | ALL | Edition writes out repeat in \( \text{Fh} \) of mm. 117–118. |
| 123.2–4 | Pos | In \( \text{Fh} \) Weill began writing this figure a whole tone higher—which would have matched Klav r.h. in m. 38—but he crossed out the pitches and entered new ones (adopted in first layer of \( \text{Im} \)). |
| 127.2–128.2 | Pos | Edition adds slur to match pattern established in mm. 115–126. |
| 131.1 | ASax, Pos, Bjo, Szi, Klav | Edition adds \( f \) to match TSax and Trp at 130.2 (and compare mm. 46 and 76). |
| 131/2, 132/2 | ASax | Edition adopts pencil annotation in \( \text{Fh} \) changing rhythm from half note to quarter notes (compare TSax, Trp). \( \text{Im} \) does not reflect this change. Although the corresponding passage in mm. 46–47 is unmarked, a rhythmic intensification toward the end is plausible. |
| 133.4, 134.1 | ASax, TSax | Edition adds staccato marks, highlighting the difference to the two preceding iterations of this figure (see 48.2–49.1 and 78.2–79.1). |
| 141 | ALL | Edition takes \textit{molto rit.} from Weill’s annotation in a copy of \( \text{Ae} \) he marked up for presentation to T.W. Adorno (see facsimile in KWE IV/2, p. 162). A performance annotation (“rit.”) in the crucial part, \( \text{Im-ASax} \), corroborates Weill’s decision; the other parts are unmarked. |
| 141 | Bjo, Szi, Klav | Edition adds diminuendo hairpin to match Reeds, Brass. |
| 142/2 | Szi | \( \text{Im} \) has specification “Gong!” in first layer, apparently adopting a performance annotation in an earlier part (but not heard in \( \text{R1-3} \)). |
2. Der kleine Leutnant des lieben Gottes

In a letter of 12 August 1929, Weill described the number as a “grand march” and asked UE to consider it for publication as sheet music. If published, he advised, the second stanza should be printed as well but it would have to be written out, as the melody departs considerably from the first stanza. In closing, he reported that he had already completed the orchestration.

_Fh_ is the only extant source. It contains the vocal part (marked “Lillian”) and lyrics for both stanzas, of which mm. 99–108 are assigned to the chorus. Given the thick orchestration of mm. 113ff., one could make an argument for having the chorus join Lilian in mm. 114/4–125/2, but the sources contain no information to that effect. The Edition ignores all non-holograph pencil markings (in German and English), as these appear to have been made in the 1950s, some evidently in preparation for a new piano-vocal score.

One year after the Schiffbauerdamm production had closed, the song appears to have been performed at least once on radio. On 3 October 1930, the Leipzig station aired a program (“Jazz für Klavier und Gesang”) featuring the singer Annelies Jolowicz, who had performed the role of Jenny in the Kassel production of _Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny_ earlier that year. According to a program listing (_Radio-Wien_ 6, no. 52 [26 September 1930]: 61), she sang no. 2—billed as “Heilsarmee-Song”— and nos. 1, 4, 11 along with “Alabama-Song” and “Denn wie man sich bettet” from _Aufstieg_. Presumably Jolowicz obtained a manuscript copy for no. 2 (perhaps _Im-Klav_?) through Weill; all other numbers of her program had been published. On 22 November 1933, UE sent a copy of _Vh_ (or _Vm_?) to Weill in Louveciennes (France), but the manuscript has since disappeared. On 2 June 1955, Lenya received the only set of _Im_, which has likewise disappeared (the set already lacked _Im-Klav_ when UE gave it to Lenya).

Brecht and Hauptmann went on to repurpose the lyric for _Die heilige Johanna der Schlachtübfe_, introducing a few textual variants, reversing the order of the stanzas, and separating them (one is delivered in scene 2d, the other one in scene 5).

| 1.2–3 | TSax | Edition enharmonically respells D♭5 as E♭5 to match m. 3 (cf. mm. 58, 60 and 125, 127). |
| 3.7  | Harm r.h. | Edition adds missing ♯ for B♭4 to match Trp. |
| 14.3 | Bjo | Edition adds missing ♯ for C♯5 (cf. TSax, Klav). |
| 16   | ASax, TSax | Edition adds staccato marks for 16.2–3 in ASax and tenuto marks in TSax. |
| 17   | Trp | Edition adds p to match prevailing dynamic level; the mf in TSax (doubling the voice) is the only exception here. |
| 31.3–4 | ASax | Edition adds tie to match pattern in mm. 29–32. |
| 32.1–4 | ASax | Edition adds slur to match pattern in mm. 29–32. |
| 33   | Pos, Bjo, Sxz, LIL, Klav | Edition add mf to match saxophones and trumpet. |
| 36   | LIL | Edition takes text (“helfen gehn”) from Tr2/3 (also found in early drafts located in BBA 902). _Fh_ has nonsensical “weitergehn,” which is transmitted by a single typed draft (= BBA 902/46), where it is crossed out with typewritten x’s and changed to typewritten “helfen gehn.” |
| 37–42 | Klav r.h. | Edition normalizes articulation to match Trp; Klav has articulation for 39/1–2 only. |
| 39/3–4 | LIL | Edition opts to have the second syllable (“-sen”) sung over two notes rather than the first (“müs-”). _Fh_ has two virtually indistinguishable ink layers, one providing flags (but no slur) that would suggest singing the first syllable over two notes, the other layer, which could be the later one, provides the beams. Weill’s placement of the lyric is inconclusive, but the second syllable falling on the fourth beat seems more in character with the march. |
| 43   | LIL | Edition adds p to match accompaniment (cf. m. 109). |
| 43–46 | Klav | In _Fh_, a later hand in pencil added the music of ASax, TSax, Trp and Pos, presumably to prepare a piano-vocal score in the 1950s. |
| 49 (incl. pickup) | ASax, TSax, Pos, LIL | Edition adds mf to match Trp (other parts have mf already at 47/1). One could argue that Weill intended mf only for the melodic doubling of the trumpet, but _Fh_ does not look deliberate in that regard. |
There seems to have been some uncertainty about the lyric. The earliest surviving typed lyric (= BBA 902/48) has “Denn die guten Leute, das ist eine grosse Armee,” but “guten Leute” is crossed out with typewritten x’s and changed to typewritten “armen Leute.” Fh and a draft lyric (= BBA 902/46) have “Denn die armen Leute, das ist eine grosse Armee” (i.e., as in stanza 2). Tt2 has “Denn die guten Leute, das ist keine grosse Armee,” but a faint pencil annotation appears to change “die guten” to “die armen”; Tt3 follows the first layer of Tt2 here. Edition upholds Fh.

Edition adds missing $ for B\# octave to match Trp.

In Fh, a later hand in pencil added the music of ASax, TSax, Trp and Pos, presumably to prepare a piano-vocal score in the 1950s. The 1958 Munich production appears to have omitted this eight-measure interlude, however, and it was suppressed in Se and Fe.

Edition adds staccato marks to match mm. 75–76.

Edition changes octave A1-A2 to octave D1-D2 to match bass line in Pos (and compare m. 12). In Fh, Weill notated the left hand with an iteration sign (i.e., repeating m. 77).

Edition adds missing $ for C\#5 (cf. Trp, Klav).

In Fh, Weill corrected the lyrics in pencil. The original ink layer gives the text of the first stanza (“dass viele draußen stehn”).

Edition adds cautionary $ for the part’s reentry.

Edition adds missing k for F\#4, matching TSax.

Edition adds articulation, in mm. 103–106 because Klav now plays this figure alone, and in mm. 107–108 to match Reeds and Trp. Compare also note for mm. 37–42.

Edition adds quarter rests. It seems that Weill first wrote whole notes, then added stems to all three notes and augmentation dots in ASax and Trp only, but ultimately failed to complete the measure. A performance annotation of unknown date added a quarter rest in ASax.

Edition shortens preceding chord and adds quarter rest, so that r.h. cuts off with ASax, TSax, Trp and l.h. matches Pos, Szg. Fh has dotted half note at 106/2 in r.h. and half note at 106/3 in l.h.

Lilian breaking off after m. 112—or rather being cut off by the march resuming in m. 113—seems intentional; m. 113 has a whole rest (and compare no. 13, mm. 96–97).

Edition assigns music to Klav. Fh has no indication to switch instruments (Harz is prominently cued in m. 109 and not canceled thereafter), but the music in mm. 114ff. seems uncharacteristic for harmonium (as does the range, which exceeds five octaves).

Edition adds $ for octave B\#4-B\#5 to match Trp.

Consisting of only thirteen measures, the number belongs to a group, along with nos. 5–7, that Weill labeled “Heilsarmeelieder” or “Kleine Heilsarmeelieder.” The lyrics appear in the earliest typescripts but shift position and ordering as the play evolved. A manuscript lyric sheet for no. 3 (BBA 828/19) is in Hauptmann’s hand.
**Vh** is titled “Kleines Heilsarmeelied” and specifies “I. Akt.” **Fh** is on a bifolium of K.U.V. Beethoven Nr. 37 paper that carries the orchestrations for all four “Heilsarmeelieder” in the ultimate running order. The full score omits the vocal part entirely (also in nos. 5–7).

A pencil annotation (unknown hand) at the end of **Vh** added “zwischenmusik 8 takte,” suggesting that the number served at some point as incidental music.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VOICES</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Edition adds f’ to match accompaniment.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>9–10/1</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Edition adds articulation to match mm. 1–8.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Edition takes text (“Herr Jesu Christ”) from Tt3. <strong>Vh</strong> has “Herr Jesus Christ,” which corresponds to all earlier text sources, but the vocative case “Jesu” is easier to sing and grammatically also correct.</td>
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</tbody>
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4. Was die Herren Matrosen sagen

All holograph sources are lost, but **Im** and **Ae** survive (the publisher’s records show that Weill inspected a proof for **Ae** in mid-September). Given the poor survival rate, the Edition consults also **R1**, which reflects many sections of Weill’s orchestration, and an unpublished arrangement for Salonorchester (WLA, Box 40, Fld. 63) that Hartwig von Platen created in 1929, presumably based on **Vh** or **Vm** (rather than **Fh**). **Tty** and **Tt2/3** transmit lyrics for additional stanzas.

Weill was enthusiastic about the song, which he first mentioned in a postscript to a letter of 4 August 1929—a letter that he had inadvertently failed to mail for some time (it did not reach UE until 9 August). The postscript already refers to the song as “Was die Herren Matrosen sagen.” On 15 August Weill sent the piano-vocal score to Vienna. Characterizing the number as “the most successful one in terms of potential as a dance hit,” he hoped that UE could publish it as sheet music in time for the premiere. He also suggested that Marek Weber record it and that Hartwig von Platen create a stock arrangement for dance orchestra. UE mailed a proof of **Ae** to Weill on 11 September and asked him to submit the text for the second stanza, a request that the publisher reiterated on 27 September. Weill responded on 1 October that he had already informed UE’s Berlin representative, Ernst Loewy-Hartmann, that only one stanza would be feasible for printing (as in the case of the “Bilbao-Song”), because additional ones would require too many cue-size notes.

Somewhat oddly, **Im** provides room for four stanzas with refrains, even though all text sources contain only three. The Edition therefore ignores a repeat of mm. 1–60 and omits an additional measure constituting a first ending (which merely contains the first beat of m. 62 in Klav and the pickup to m. 1 in Band and Klav). The repeat might be a left-over from the piano-vocal score, where Weill may have entered repeat marks to indicate the existence of additional stanzas but then forgot to leave off the marks when he orchestrated the song. (Something similar happened in no. 13: **Vh** has repeat marks, carried over into **Fh**, but here Weill crossed out the repeat in pencil and instructed the copyist accordingly.)

**Im-ASax** instructs player to switch to clarinet for mm. 88 (incl. pickup)–95 but offers the option of playing this passage on soprano saxophone. This may actually be preferable, given the musical context, but it would be the only use of that instrument in Happy End. (Ludwig Rüth, the original player, had a soprano sax at his disposal, which may have prompted Weill to employ the instrument here, perhaps as an afterthought.)

In **Tty**, all versions are titled either “Das Meer ist blau” or “Das Meer ist blau-Song.” The earliest sheet (additional carbon copy: BBA 454/14) contains only stanzas 2 and 3. Another sheet shows a new version of stanza 2 (introducing the “Kino” subject), possibly typed by Brecht (it is all lowercase) and bearing some annotations in his hand. Yet another sheet contains stanza 3 (additional carbon copy: BBA 1385/82). There are also two complete versions with slight differences (additional carbon copies: BBA 902/54–55 and 52–53), a carbon copy of the later ver-
sion was inserted into Tt2, where it underwent a number of revisions (adopted in Tt3). Text underlay for stanzas 2 and 3 presents considerable editorial challenges: Neither is it clear which version of the additional stanzas were sung or intended to be published, nor does there seem to be a version, especially for stanza 2, that would fit the music with ease. One could speculate that Brecht revised these stanzas after Weill had composed the music, but the spoken transition to stanza 3, introduced at a relatively late point, appears to have prompted mm. 125–132 of Weill's setting (as well as the fermata after m. 124). Complicating matters, Im-Pos and Im-Band each contain a cue showing a measure or two of the vocal line with lyrics from the third stanza (m. 136 and mm. 147–148), but the lyric snippets do not match what the text sources Tty or Tt2/3 transmit for these locations. It is possible that Weill had indicated the vocal line here by notating a few measures (as he did in Fh for nos. 8 and 13) or that the copyist was simply confused.

In the 1950s, the problems lingered. When Lenya first recorded the number in 1955, she omitted the second stanza and the spoken transition into the third, presumably because Brecht and Hauptmann had not yet unearthed all lyric sheets. In 1958, the Munich production followed her recording. When UE published Se later that year, all three stanzas of Weill's setting were represented, along with text based on Brecht's lyric sheets, but occasionally altered wherever the text did not (seem to) fit the melody. When Lenya recorded the Happy End album in 1960, she sang UE's reconstruction of the number. The Edition follows Tt3 for stanzas 2 and 3 as far as possible.

0 ALL Edition upholds time signature (c) in Im. Ae has ®, a time signature that seems more appropriate to the refrain than the stanzas. R1 adopts a tempo of j = 120. When von Platen arranged the tango for dance orchestra, he halved all note values and notated the music in 2/4 time, reflecting a conventional practice for tango publications at the time.

0–4 Band, Klav r.h. Edition takes staccato marks from Ae (the omission of articulation for 2.5–3.8 appears to be deliberate; compare mm. 62ff.). At 4.2, the Edition adds a tenuto mark in Klav to reflect the tied note.

0, 1 Szi, Klav Edition adds mf to match Band.

3, 7 Klav l.h. Edition places top note B b3 (already sounding in r.h.) in parentheses. Ae omits notes.

5 (incl. pickup) Band, Szi, Klav Band, Trp

5.1, 6.1 Band, Klav Band, Trp

5.1 Band, Klav Band, Trp

5.1 LIL Edition omits f, as Ae has f also in the accompaniment (from the beginning). The choice of dynamic is left to the performer.

6.2–3 Klav r.h. Edition adds tie in top voice to match 5.2–3.

6.4 TSax Edition changes D5 (sounding C4) to E5 (sounding D4) to match Klav r.h.

6.5–6 ASax, TSax Edition adds slur to match Trp.

7.1, 8.1 Klav r.h. Edition adds missing l for B b3 in lowest voice.

9 Trp Edition adds instruction to remove mute. Im reassigned mute in m. 43, suggesting that muting is canceled in the meantime (open playing for mm. 25ff. is indeed plausible).

9.5–6 LIL Tt2/3 and all other text sources have ("nehmen"). Edition upholds the only musical source, Ae, which has "rauchen," even though Brecht may have reserved "rauchen" for the quatrains beginning with line 7 (where it matches "brauchen").

10, 143 LIL Edition follows the standard spelling of this Cuban cigar brand (named after the nineteenth-century U.S. politician Henry Clay). Ae spells it "Henry Klay"; Tty and Tt3 have "Henry Kley." In Tt3a, Hauptmann experimented with different spellings (first changing "Kley" to "Klai," then to "Clai" (the latter adopted in Tt4)—apparently to highlight the rhyme with "dabei" (m. 8) and "Hai" (m. 141).

14.1 Klav r.h. Edition adds missing # for C#4.

15.2 LIL Edition takes text ("sie") from Tt3 (also present in all other text sources). Ae
repeats “wir,” but in corresponding passages the lyric consistently alternates the pronouns between first- and third-person plural (in what are otherwise repeated lines).

16.1 Band, Klav r.h. Edition takes pitch A3 from Ae. In Im, both Band and Klav have A♯3. Weill may have entertained the idea of an F♯-major chord here (in contrast to 14.1), but in the corresponding measures (mm. 78, 149), all instruments play the minor third of the chord. R1 is of no help as it starts with pickup to m. 63.

17 Band, Klav Edition adds p to match Pos, Szg.
17, 26 Szg Edition assigns Ttom. Im has “Tamtam,” which seems to have been an idiosyncratic slip of this particular copyist (or a mistake in a no longer extant part that he may have copied). In m. 79, the copyist wrote “Tamtom” (also in mm. 43, 55, 113, and 159, where more than one Ttom is specified). The problem occurs also in no. 1 (“Bilbao-Song”).

23.2 LIL Edition changes D5 to E5 to match Pos. The scribe of Im-Pos noted E4 also in Im-ASax and Im-TRP as sounding cue notes (but sounding D4 in Im-TSax). The trombone player of R1 plays E4; the piano-conductor part of von Platen’s arrangement has D5 (i.e., following Ae). For the corresponding spots in stanza 2 (mm. 83, 85) and stanza 3 (mm. 154, 156), Im also has sounding E.

24.1 Klav r.h. Edition extends duration of top notes from half to dotted half note. There is no reason to cut off earlier (cf. lower voices and bandoneon).

24.4 Klav Edition opts for f and adds crescendo hairpin (to match Band). Im is ambiguous, either f or ff.

25.2 Band l.h. Edition corrects erroneous eighth to quarter note.
26 Pos, Band, Klav Edition adds mf to match other parts.
27.3 Klav l.h. Edition adds lower octave to match overall pattern. Im has G2 only.
31.1 Klav r.h. Edition adds missing f for B♭4 in lowest voice.
32.1 ASax, TSax, TRP Edition equalizes articulation (Im-ASax has accent-staccato mark, Im-TSax has no slur, Im-TRP lacks staccato).

34/4 Pos, Klav Edition adds f to match other parts.
35–41, 97–103, 168–174 Orchestra Edition equalizes articulation. The orchestration of the three passages is identical, suggesting that Weill notated these measures in Fh only once and instructed the copyists to use mm. 35–41 again as mm. 97–103 and 168–174. Im’s minor differences in the articulation of each passage appear to be the result of copyists’ fatigue or work done in haste. The Edition equalizes the articulation, following the model of TSax in mm. 35–41 (also for ASax, Trp, and Klav r.h.), Pos in mm. 35–41 (also for Klav l.h.), and rationalizes articulation found in Band and Szg. Edition upholds a single discrepancy: Im-TSax and Im-TRP have a slur at 36.5–37.1 but not at 98.5–99.1 and 169.5–170.1.

35.1 ASax Edition adds missing ♯ for F♯5.
35.5, 37.5 Klav r.h. Edition adds missing ♯ for D♯4 (cancelling preceding D♭4) to match ASax. Ae has D♭4.

35.6 Klav r.h. Edition changes E4 to D4 to match ASax and 37.6. Ae has D4.
36.5–37.1 ASax Edition adds slur to match TSax, Trp and adds staccato mark at 37.1 to articulate the repeated pitch.
37.6 LIL Tt2 has a pencil annotation changing “mal” to “nur,” which Tt3 adopts in first layer (both sources do not write out the complete second stanza). Edition upholds Ae’s “mal,” which is found in all earlier lyric sheets and is easier to sing.

38.3 TSax Edition changes A4 (sounding G3) to B4 (sounding A3) to match Klav r.h. and m. 36. Compare 100.3, where Im has the same mistake, whereas 171.3 is correct.

41.6–42.2 LIL Edition upholds Ae text (“gepfiffen”), even though Tt3 has “geschissen.” Alfred Kerr’s review in the Berliner Tageblatt confirms that Carola Neher
sang "geschissen" three times. But the perfect rhyme with "wissen" is relevant only in stanza 3, which is overheard by Lilian's colleagues. (It becomes a joke at the beginning of Act II, when Lilian has to repeat the song in front of her superior.) Apparently UE made an effort to soften the coarse language for the sheet music publication: the letter accompanying a proof sent to Weill on 11 September 1929 pointed out that the head of UE, Emil Hertzka, had personally entered "eine Änderung" in the proof, and the publisher urged Weill to accept this change or come up with a similar solution.


Edition adds p to match Brass, Klav.

Edition adds missing k for Ck4 in lowest voice.

Edition adds missing b for Cb3.

Edition changes duration to two tied whole notes, matching T rp.

Edition adds p to match TSax, Trp, Pos in m. 51.

Edition changes mf to p in Szg and adds p in Klav to match prevailing dynamic level.

Edition adds simile to indicate continuation of the articulation pattern.

Edition adds missing k for Ck4.

Edition adds instruction to remove mute. Im fails to cancel muting anywhere, but open playing of mm. 92ff. seems warranted.
28

91.6–92.1 Klav Edition adds articulation to match Band.
92 (incl. pickup) Kl, Trp, Szs, Klav Edition adds f to match TSax (and pickup in Band). Because Pos is still cantabile (but marked f at pickup to m. 97), the Edition does not specify a dynamic here.
92.2 Szs Edition assigns KItTr.
94 Kl, TSax, Trp Edition adds accents to match mm. 92–93 and 95.
95 Kl Edition changes G5–G5–Bb5 to C5–C5–Eb5, matching m. 93. It appears that Weill intended sounding pitches B♭4–B♭4–D♭4 but inadvertently notated m. 95 as if transposing for ASax rather than Kl. The introduction of a lone A♭5 is unlikely (compare mm. 33, 166).
95.1 Band, Klav Edition adds missing l for D♭ (cf. Trp and mm. 33, 157).
96.3 ASax Edition changes G♯5 (sounding B4) to F♯5 (sounding A4) to match Band, Klav (and compare m. 98).
97.5, 99.5 Klav r.h. Edition changes D♭4 to D♭4 to match ASax (see note for 35.5, 37.5).
98.1 Klav r.h. Edition assigns D-minor chord to match 97.1. Im has implausible D4–E4–G4–A4–D5.
100.1 Klav r.h. Edition adds pitch A4 to match Trp (cf. 38.1, 171.1).
100.3 TSax Edition changes A4 (sounding G3) to B4 (sounding A3) to match Klav r.h. and m. 98. Compare 38.3, where Im has the same mistake, whereas 171.3 is correct.
103.6–104.2 LIL Edition changes text of Tt3 (“geschissen”) to “gepfiffen,” matching the preceding iteration at 41.6–42.2.
104.1 Orchestra Edition assigns staccato mark in all parts (present only in Im–Band, whereas Im–Klav has accent-staccato mark).
106.2–4, 114.2–4 TSax Edition removes anomalous staccato marks.
108.2 Klav l.h. Edition assigns Ttom. Im has “Tamtam,” which would not be wholly out of character in this passage, but given the general confusion about the instrument names (see note for mm. 17, 26), the Edition chooses Ttom, also for its more defined sound.
111.4 Pos Edition assigns Ttom.
113–116 Klav r.h. Edition writes out ottava instruction. In Im, the instruction clearly begins at 113.1. Following a page turn, m. 114 reiterates the instruction without indicating where it should end. Edition assumes that Klav should stay above Band in this passage (i.e., throughout 116.5). R1 cannot serve as a guide as the pianist (Mackeben?) appears to have changed octave positions at will.
122 ALL Edition adds pitch A4 to match Trp (cf. 38.1, 171.1).
122–123 Orchestra Edition provides diminuendo hairpin in all parts (which Im has only in Trp, Pos), thus matching mm. 60–61.
125 Klav Edition adds pp to match Szs in m. 126.
126 Szs Edition assigns Beck. Im notates beats in third space but goes on to use second space in mm. 139–149 (m. 139 begins a new system). The copyist’s indication “1–11” in m. 138 suggests that instruments remain identical in these eleven measures.
Se is odd, providing sung text (“und die versunken sind, sieht nur der Hai im See”) not found in any text source. Presumably the publication followed Lenya’s 1955 recording, which had made an ad hoc attempt to come up with a word rhyming with “Henry Clay” in standard U.S. pronunciation.

**Im-Pos** has a two-measure cue representing vocal melody and lyrics: “frei[.] Na denn sind wir eben jetzt be[.]” (the cue changes in m. 149 to reflect the pickup played by ASax).

**Im** notates music on center line, top and bottom space.


Edition changes pitch in ASax from E5 (sounding G4) to F#5 (sounding A4) to match melodic contour of the two preceding stanzas. No source transmits the vocal line after m. 61.

Edition adds **b** for D♭4.

Edition changes center pitch E4 to F4, matching ASax (cf. 35.4, 97.4). Edition changes D♭4 to D♭4 to match ASax (see note for 35.5, 37.5).

Edition provides accent-staccato mark throughout (present in **Im** only in TSax, Band, and Klav r.h.). Edition adopts Beck (klingend), which appears to be a performance annotation in an earlier part that the scribe of **Im** adopted in the first layer: 175.1 appears as a regular quarter note with accent in second space (the usual position for Beck), but then, written next to it, is a quarter note with crosshead notation in top space and instruction “Beck kling.” (i.e., let ring). The copyist still proceeded to write quarter and half rest. Edition changes 175.1 from Beck to GrTr, adopts quarter note Beck at 175.2 (to which it adds an accent), and completes measure with half rest. An open cymbal crash can be heard at the corresponding passage on R1.

Edition writes out this final refrain, which **Im** presents as **D. S. al Fine** (the **8** being placed at the beginning of m. 105 and the **Fine** at the end of m. 124).

Edition adds **f** to match prevailing dynamic level.

**5. Bruder, gib dir einen Stoß (Heilsarmeelied II)**

Vh for nos. 5–7 is on a single leaf that Weill titled “Drei Heilsarmeelieder,” but it starts out with no. 7 followed by nos. 6 and 5 (thus corresponding to the order found in **Tt1**).

Whereas Vh notates no. 5 as eighteen measures in 2/4 time, Fh converts it to nine measures in 4/4. In Fh, Weill instructed the copyists to copy Trp 2 into the Szg part, just as he had done in *Die Dreigroschenoper* (knowing that the Lewis Ruth Band’s drummer, Paul Mannheimer,
could double on trumpet). It is unclear, however, who would have played the snare drum, which requires a roll in the final measure.

1 ALL Vh has “Allegro.”
1 Chor Edition takes f from Vh.
9 ASax, TSax, Trp 1–2, Pos Chor. In Vh, Weill ended the piano accompaniment also with a quarter rest.

6. Fürchte dich nicht (Heilsarmeelied III)

Tt1 and Tt2 transmit a second stanza that Weill did not set. Pencil annotations in Tt2 cross out the song (both stanzas) but Tt3 retains it (only stanza 1).

In Fh, Weill instructed the copyists to copy Kl 1 into the part for ASax, and Kl 2 into that for TSax.

1 Chor Edition adds mf to match Harm.
7–20 Harm l.h. Edition adds staccato marks to match mm. 1–6.
12 Chor Edition opts for dotted half note. In Vh, Weill notated only a half note, leaving the measure incomplete.
20–21 Kl II Edition adds tie.

7. In der Jugend goldnem Schimmer (Heilsarmeelied IV)

Vh is notated a whole tone higher; presumably the vocal line’s high tessitura prompted the downward transposition in Fh, followed here.

Vh has a pencil annotation (later erased but still faintly visible) transposing the Trp 2 line down a whole tone (or notating it at pitch). The annotation is of uncertain date and does not appear to be in Weill’s hand.

0 ALL Vh has tempo mark “Langsam.”
0 Chor Edition adds p to match accompaniment.
2.1–2 Trp 1 Edition adds slur to match 10.1–2.
3–12 ASax, TSax Edition adds tenuto marks to match mm. 1–2.
3.3–4.1 Trp 2 Edition adds slur to match Trp 1.
4.2–6.1 Trp 2 Edition adds slur to match Trp 1.
10.1–2 Chor Edition takes text (“tönten”) from Tt3 (also found in Tt1/2). Vh has “tönen,” but present tense is implausible here (though correct in m. 15).
12.3 Chor Edition takes text (“wir”) from Tt3 (also found in Tt1/2). Vh has “sie.”
13.4 Trp 2 Edition changes A4 (sounding G4) to G4 (sounding F4). Vh, notated a whole tone higher, has a G4 in the accompaniment.

8. Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler

Brecht planned to use the number from the very beginning (his initial letter to Hauptmann mentions it; see Introduction in Main Volume), and early drafts of the play show a placeholder for the number in Act I following the conclusion of “Geht hinein in die Schlacht” and a brief dialogue (Lilian’s character is still named “Bess”):

JIMMY: Dick [i.e., Bill] sagt gernichts.
BOB: Die Stille vor dem Sturm.
BESS: So, meine Herren, und wie immer Sie jetzt toben mögen, jetzt kommt das Lied vom bekehrten Branntweinhändler gerade erst recht.
SIE SINGEN DAS LIED VOM BRANNTWEINHÄNDLER

A pencil annotation in EHA 1506 adds “4-stimmig”; BBA 1357 has “dreistimmig” in first layer, as does Tt1. Apparently during the Ammersee meetings in July 1929, the number was moved to form the conclusion of Act II, and the idea of a multi-part setting was dropped.
The source for the lyric is a poem in eight stanzas that appeared in Brecht’s *Hauspostille* (1927): “Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinhändlers.” A lyric sheet inserted into Tt2 shows five stanzas (= stanzas 1–2 and 6–8 of *Hauspostille*) and cues actor’s names to each: Radecki, Kuffner, Nitschmann, Maschmeier/Radecki, Schöller. The mentioning of “Kuffner” is a clue for dating the lyric sheet, if not the script: Gerda Kuffner was an ensemble member at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm but did not perform in *Happy End* (apparently, she was replaced at a late stage by Marianne Oswald, who played Mary, a Salvation Army girl). Pencil annotations in Tt2 contract stanzas 1 and 2 to form a single stanza (as set in Fh), bringing the number of stanzas down to four. Further annotations in Tt2 add the interjections after each stanza (“An die Gewehre” etc.). Both Fh and Im transmit the song as consisting of four stanzas. But an additional annotation in Tt2 crosses out the “new” second stanza (= stanza 6 of *Hauspostille*), and Tt3 and all subsequent scripts omit it, which may have prompted the 1958 Munich production—and both Se and Fe thereafter—to follow suit and eliminate the first ending (mm. 74–75). The Edition retains the second stanza in light of Fh and Im, where Weill created some variety in the accompaniment of the first two stanzas.

It appears that Weill originally intended no instrumental doubling of the singers for stanzas 1 and 2. He notated the two stanzas in Fh with repeat marks and specified first stanza “Bandoneon allein” and second stanza “die 4 Bläser allein.” Subsequently, however, he entered a doubling of the vocal line in a blank staff above the bandoneon part and specified “Band II. Strophe.” Somewhat oddly, although this added material is not reflected in Im-Band, the music does appear in a separate flute part (Im-Fl), albeit an octave higher. As there is no trace of a flute in Fh for this number, Weill must have instructed the alto saxophone player, presumably during rehearsals, to double the voice on flute during the first stanza, whereas the bandoneon doubles the voice during the second stanza (only the extra page for Im-Band appears to be lost). But someone apparently created a makeshift flute part. When the original set of parts (no longer extant) was copied in fall 1929, the copyist simply duplicated the flute part rather than copying the music into Im-ASax. The bandleader, Lewis Ruth, who had started his career as a classical flute player (under his given name, Ludwig Rüth), covered both instruments. In Im-ASax, the copyist specified “Alt 2. mal,” which makes it compatible with Im-Fl (the latter begins with m. 4 and has no music after m. 66).

As Fh does not identify who sings (except for “Frauen” and “Männer” in mm. 211–218), the Edition for the most part follows Tt2 in assigning the four stanzas to Hanibal, Mary, Haniel/Lt. Brown, and Jane respectively; Tt3/4 largely corroborate these assignments except for omitting stanza 2 (see above) and being less specific for stanza 3, cueing it to “Hanibal und ein Heilsarmeesoldat,” as adopted in the Edition. Weill entered the sung text for stanzas 1 and 4 in full; for stanzas 2 and 3 he merely provided incipits in m. 75 and mm. 77–78 respectively.

Regarding tempo indications, Fh provides just a metronome marking (\(J \cdot = 66\)) at the beginning. The interjections in 2/4-time are marked “Allegro molto” and change back to “Tempo I” when 3/8-time resumes. Seven of the eight Im books for this number lack markings except for “Tempo I” in mm. 75, 77, and 148 (only Im-Szg transmits the tempo marks as found in Fh).

The almost pristine condition of the parts is noteworthy, suggesting they were never used in performance. Im-Szg is the exception; as markings indicate, it was used in the 1958 Munich production. Several egregious copyists’ errors remained uncorrected (e.g., in Im-Band an extra measure after m. 16, whereas m. 44 is missing; in Im-Pos an erroneous bass clef for mm. 90–139; in Im-Klav missing accidentals and wrong pitches galore in mm. 78ff.). The only pencil annotation, found in six books, that might date back to pre-war years is a ten-measure cut (mm. 209–218) that eliminates the five-part chorus (“Seele gerettet”). Jane could have sung the concluding note of her stanza over m. 219 rather than m. 209. Whatever the occasion for the marking may have been, such a cut would make no dramatic sense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Edition follows early drafts of the play in adopting the title “Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler,” which is also how the song became known. In Fh, Weill used the title of Brecht’s poem as published in <em>Hauspostille</em>: “Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinhändlers” (also adopted in Im).</td>
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<tr>
<th>1–4</th>
<th>ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos</th>
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<tr>
<td>In Fh, Weill notated the accompanimental figure (as in m. 5), but subsequently crossed it out. First layer of Im has rests.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Edition takes part from **Im-Fl** (see general remarks above).

**Im** has a serious copyist's error (inserting an extra measure repeating m. 16).

Edition adds *p* to match orchestration.

**Im** has a serious copyist's error (inserting an extra measure repeating m. 16).

Edition changes duration from ♫ ♫ to ♫ to match Band (2. Strophe). It seems as if the scribe of **Im** interpreted player's markings (in a presumably existing earlier part) where the flute should cut off. The general issue of where to terminate phrase endings is addressed in the Introduction to the Main Volume (V. Performance Practice).

In **Fh**, Weill originally entered “Sei-ne gie-” suggesting that he continued to copy the complete text of the original stanza 1 (as found in *Hauspostille* and in first layer of **Tt2**), but apparently with a slight variation (“Seine gierigen Finger” instead of “Seine schmierigen Finger”). Weill then realized that he should continue, after the first four lines of stanza 1, with the last four lines of stanza 2 to form the new first stanza. He crossed out “Sei-ne gie-” and entered the correct lyric.

**Im** has wrong pitch B♭2 (uncorrected).

Edition removes secondary slur (cf. m. 111).

**Im** omits this measure by accident.

Edition adds *f* to match orchestration.

Edition changes B♭3 to C♯4 to match Klav and general pattern here.

**Fh** and **Im**, notated without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fail to provide ♬ for F5. Edition changes F5 to F♯5 (compare Pos, which doubles Trp at the lower octave in mm. 77–139). **Fh** and **Im**, notated without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fail to provide ♬ for F5.

Edition enharmonically respells D♭5 as C♯5 to match Klav. For the remaining notes of this measure, the Edition upholds pitch spelling in **Fh** as it is more player-friendly than E♭5–D♭5–E♭5.

Edition continues *8va* instruction. **Fh** has *8va* for mm. 134–135 only. Presumably Weill forgot its continuation because m. 136 begins a new system. **Im** lacks any *8va* indication.

Edition takes missing treble clef from **Im** (first layer).
140–147 ALL

**Fh** notates these measures with indication to repeat mm. 67–74 but with the instruction for Band to rest and change to Gtr. Taken literally, a repeat of mm. 67–74 would force Kl to switch back to ASax, which is impossible. The first layer of **Im** provided pitches for both ASax and Kl; Edition opts for the latter.

144.1–2 TSax **Im** has B₄ (sounding A₃), uncorrected.

151.2–3 Gtr **Im** (first layer) has B₃, which makes sense in light of harmony in stanzas 1 and 2 (see mm. 7–8 in ASax, Band), though copyist did not add # to B₃ in m. 152 or in mm. 167–168. In **Fh**, mm. 151–152 are written out (i.e., they do not appear as an iteration sign for mm. 149–150). For stanza 3 (see mm. 80–81), Weill also kept the harmony as in the two preceding measures. Given the simplicity of the guitar accompaniment in stanza 4, the Edition assumes that Weill intended to keep the harmony simpler here as well and therefore upholds B₃. (In 1936, when Weill reused the melody for the opening of *Johnny Johnson*, he also left the harmony unchanged; see KWE I/13, no. 1, mm. 11 and 19).

164.1 JANE Edition takes text (“Und”) from performance annotation in **Tt2** (adopted in first layer of **Tt3/4**).

204–207 JANE **Tt2-4** confirm “seelenlose” (as in **Fh**); *Hauspostille* (p. 42) has “segenlose.”

213, 217 Gtr Edition adds ♯ for C♯₅ to match Frauen.

219–227 Sṣg Edition assigns KTTr in mm. 219–226. **Fh** does not specify an instrument here (only Beck in m. 227). Weill notated the music (including m. 227) on the third line, a location that he had not used previously in this number. If he had intended Beck in all measures, he probably would have placed the indication in m. 219 rather than in m. 227. Plausible are GrTTr and KTTr (and perhaps TTom). Because vertical space is very limited in **Fh**, Edition assumes that Weill meant to notate KTTr (which he usually notated in fourth space) but that he ran out of space. **Im** is of no help (music is notated as in **Fh** but cues “Becken”—misreading Weill’s “Becken”—in m. 227).

219 Klav Edition assigns Klav. **Fh** does not indicate an instrument here, so Klav would continue from m. 139. At the beginning of the number, however, **Fh** has staff name “Klavier und Harmonium.” As no harmonium has played so far, one could argue for the use of one in mm. 219ff., but the music seems more idiomatic for piano. **Im** is again of no help, cueing “Bandonium” (sic) here (presumably the copyist was sidetracked after having written the cue notes showing Gtr music of mm. 211–218).

9. Der Song von Mandelay

A setting with the same title—but musically quite different—is part of the opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, where it appears as segments of Scene 14 (“Lieben”) in Act II, the libretto of which Brecht and Weill had completed by 24 November 1927 (W-UE, p. 94). Weill finished the composition (i.e., the *Particell*) in May 1928; a year later, Norbert Gingold had created the piano reduction of Act II from Weill’s full score (UE, letter to Weill, 27 May 1929).

For *Happy End*, the authors thoroughly reworked the song. **Vh** transmits the title “Mandelay-Song” and identifies the new version as “(Fassung für ‘Happy End’).” **Fh** does not survive; all **Im** books give the title “Der Song von Mandelay,” which the Edition adopts.

The lyrics underwent a number of revisions. An early typescript inserted into **Tt2**, showing the title “Puffled (Gerron),” contains both stanzas and clearly predates the text transmitted by **Vh**. Pencil annotations in **Tt2**, however, show that at least two different hands altered the first stanza to match the text of **Vh**, more or less, and the hands also made changes to the second stanza. Among **Tty** is an untitled lyric sheet transmitting only the first stanza, which adopts some but not all of the pencil revisions found in **Tt2**. By contrast, **Tt3** adopts virtually all the revisions found in **Tt2**. Thus the text found in **Tt3** roughly matches that of **Vh**, but in mm. 56–57 Weill’s orchestration as transmitted by **Im** is incompatible with the melody in **Vh**. Rather than
changing the orchestration, as UE did for its 1958 publication of Se, the Edition opts to shorten the lyric by omitting two syllables.

A script of Act I among Brecht’s papers (BBA 899) shows sections of the number sung by Sam shortly after Lilian has finished the third stanza of no. 4, apparently to further shock the pious members of the Salvation Army, who have returned with police support to the dive. The stage direction reads: Sam “singt und tanzt unflätig” (sings and dances obscenely), and he delivers the first six lines. The Army takes flight. After some dialogue between Lilian and the Kommissar, Sam chimes in again, announcing “Also der Refrain” (Okay, the refrain) and proceeding to sing it. The idea of such a preview of the song, which is not heard in full until Act III, appears to have been dropped.

Newspaper reports from 1929 mention that the original production encored the song in some form. Whether the instrumental refrain (mm. 105–139), a postlude of sorts, served as a pure “dance chaser” for Kurt Gerron or whether he may have sung along is unclear (Paul Wiegler’s review in the B. Z. am Mittag notes that Gerron showed off as an “Exzentrik-Tänzer”). Perhaps Weill added these measures once it was clear that Gerron intended to dance (in drag) or that the audience would demand an encore. The “dance chaser” is preserved in R1 (which shortens it toward the end by omitting mm. 137–138). Pencil markings in Im (of uncertain origin and date) change the ending by directing the instrumentalists to use the first ending (mm. 95–98) twice and add a quarter-note downbeat (as suggested by Vh) tied over in Pos and with the same pitches as in m. 98; Szg plays a simultaneous downbeat on KTR and GrTr. This ending was definitely used in the 1958 Munich production, and Se opted to present an abridged ending as well.

1  ALL Edition upholds “Allegro vivace” in Im but takes metronome mark (\( \mathcal{J} = 150 \)) from Vh (which has “Vivace” as tempo mark). R1 roughly adheres to the tempo (\( \mathcal{J} = 150 \)).
3  Sgz Edition adds pp to match Bjo, Klav. Im has performance annotations “mit Stöcken p” (with sticks p) and “2. \( \times \) pp” (though both appear to date from the 1958 Munich production).
3.1 SAM Edition takes p from Vh. Curiously, the dynamic for the piano accompaniment in m. 1 of Vh is p, and Weill added pp in pencil for the accompaniment at 3.1. Vh has no further dynamics.
3.2 Klav r.h. Edition takes missing \( \times \) for D\( \# \)4 from performance annotation in Im.
15.3 SAM Ts3 (and all other text sources) have “ja” here. Edition upholds Vh, which has “jetzt.”
16.4 SAM Edition takes pitch E\( \flat \)4 from Im-Klav, where the copyist added the vocal melody in cue-size notes without lyrics (transposed up an octave when writing the line in the r.h. staff, at pitch when on a separate staff). Vh has C4, but the melodic pattern suggests that mm. 15–18 would correspond to mm. 11–14.
23.1–2 SAM Im (ASax, TSax), which have four measures of cue-notes (“Gesang”) before players enter in m. 27, have G–G here—probably a copyist’s error. Similar situation in Im-Pos, which has G–E.
27  ALL Edition consistently adds f (found only in Im-Klav).
27–28.2 SAM The word “Menscher” (plural; the singular form is “das Mensch”) is an antiquated term (mostly South German dialect) for prostitutes.
31  ASax, Trp Edition adds f to match TSax, Pos.
32.3 (40.3) Pos Edition takes missing \( \# \) for D\( \# \)4 from performance annotation in Im.
35–42 ALL Im (presumably following the lost Fh) note this passage by adding repeat marks for mm. 27–34. The Edition follows Vh in writing out the repeat.
43 SAM, Klav Edition adds p to match Bjo, Szg.
50 SAM Edition takes instruction heranziehen (slide up to) from Vh.
51 ASax, Bjo, SAM, Klav Edition adds f to match TSax.
53 Trp, Pos Edition adds f. Strictly speaking, both instruments are still f.
53–54, 58 Trp Edition adds staccato marks to match m. 57 and Pos.
35

R1 introduces a subtle variant here, also when the stanza is repeated. The rhythm is changed to \( \frac{3}{4} \), and Trp plays \( \text{A}4-\text{Al}4-\text{Al}4 \) (at 53/1) and \( \text{Al}4-\text{Bl}4-\text{Bl}4 \) (at 57/1), whereas Pos appears to play \( \text{C}4-\text{G}3-\text{G}3 \) in both measures.

The vocal line transmitted in Vh (see Plate 5 in Main Volume) and the doubling in ASax are incompatible. Oddly, Im-Klav—not written in the hand of the copyist who created the other six parts—shows the melody of Vh as cue-size notes (to indicate the vocal line, but with no text underlay). As Im-ASax is unmarked, the Edition assumes that Weill changed the vocal line in Fh and shortened the corresponding text line in stanzas 1 and 2 by omitting a word. An undated lyric sheet in Brecht’s hand (BBA 122/05) gives evidence for such a short line (“denn der hund der hindert den verkehr”). As other lyric sheets attest, the text in general and the two lines in particular were by no means stable. Tt3 ultimately arrived at the following two lines:

Denn der Mensch, der drinnen, hindert den Verkehr.

Wo kein Mensch ist, da ist auch kein Verkehr.

which UE chose for its 1958 publication of Se, where the ASax melody (along with Trp and Pos) had to be changed to accommodate the text.

57.3 Pos Edition takes missing \( \text{b} \) for \( \text{E}3/4 \) from performance annotation in Im.
59.1 ALL Edition takes \( \text{p} \) from performance annotations in ASax, TSax, and Trp.
59.2, 61.2, 63.2 Klav r.h. Edition adds missing \( \text{b} \) for \( \text{E}3/4 \) to match TSax, Bjo.
65–66 ALL Edition adds crescendo hairpin. Given that parts have \( \text{p} \) in m. 67, and that the saxophone players and trumpeter added \( \text{p} \) in m. 59, a crescendo swell (announcing the refrain, as it were) is likely here.

66/2 TSax, Szg Edition adds accent to match other parts.
67 SAM Edition adds \( \text{p} \) to match accompaniment.
90 Orchestra Edition adopts performance annotations in Im instructing to play the first time \( \text{f} \), the second time \( \text{p} \). There is some variation in the dynamic level (annotations in TSax and Szg have \( \text{ff} \) and \( \text{pp} \)), and the markings in TSax and Trp appear in m. 88. The trombonist seems to have made an effort to erase his marking in m. 89 and move it to m. 90. As the part doubles the vocal line, the positioning seems crucial, and the intent of varying the dynamic level for Sam’s last line (i.e., mm. 91–98) is clear and plausible. Pencil annotations in Im-Klav, which place the dynamic contrast in m. 83, appear to have been made for Se.

91 SAM Edition adds \( \text{f} / (2.; \text{p}) \) to match dynamics for orchestra in m. 90.
92 Pos Im has cryptic performance annotation adding half note D4 (without canceling C4).
95 Orchestra Edition adds \( \text{p} \) in light of four-bar crescendo to \( \text{ff} \) in m. 99.
95–98 SAM Edition takes melody from Weill’s pencil revision in Vh, which matches the doubling by Pos. The first layer of Vh continues vocal line and lyric in mm. 96–98 as in mm. 88–90. The final measure of the musical number in Vh is m. 99: a quarter-note downbeat on C major followed by quarter rest in the accompaniment; the vocal part has a whole rest.

99–139 ALL Pencil annotations in Im (all books except Bjo and Klav) variously indicate that, after m. 98, players should go back to m. 3 and use the first ending for the repeat while adding a quarter-note downbeat after m. 98 (consisting of the same pitches as m. 98) and omitting the dance. The 1958 Munich production followed that ending, as annotations in color pencil (magenta and red) indicate. Sm/Se, on the other hand, use mm. 135–139 as a second ending (surely because of the effective rising figure in Klav).
Edition opts for ff (found in Im: ASax, Klav). Im for TSax and Pos have f. In Im-Trp, a paste-in obscures the dynamic, whereas Bjo and Szg lack one. R1 has an audible cymbal crash here, which is plausible. However, Im has block rest for mm. 105–106 and no markings.

Edition adds f to match prevailing dynamic level.


Edition adds accents in odd-numbered measures. The sporadic accents in Im for mm. 119, 125 and 133 (the measure itself has been torn off but the accent is visible) seem to be enough to warrant consistent articulation here (the trombonist captured on R1 played accented notes).

Edition adds staccato marks for articulated eighth notes to match mm. 122–132. Edition adds staccato marks to match mm. 126.2–3.

Edition adds missing k to Fk5 to match Ea in Bjo, Klav.

Edition normalizes articulation, assigning accent-staccato mark to match other parts. In Im, Bjo has accent; Szg and Klav have no articulation; Pos lacks mm. 133–139.

99/1 ALL Edition opts for ff (found in Im: ASax, Klav). Im for TSax and Pos have f. In Im-Trp, a paste-in obscures the dynamic, whereas Bjo and Szg lack one. R1 has an audible cymbal crash here, which is plausible. However, Im has block rest for mm. 105–106 and no markings.

106/2 Szg Edition opts for ff (found in Im: ASax, Klav). Im for TSax and Pos have f. In Im-Trp, a paste-in obscures the dynamic, whereas Bjo and Szg lack one. R1 has an audible cymbal crash here, which is plausible. However, Im has block rest for mm. 105–106 and no markings.

107 Szg Edition adds f to match prevailing dynamic level.


107–117, 121, 123, 131 Pos Edition adds accents in odd-numbered measures. The sporadic accents in Im for mm. 119, 125 and 133 (the measure itself has been torn off but the accent is visible) seem to be enough to warrant consistent articulation here (the trombonist captured on R1 played accented notes).

108–120 Pos Edition adds staccato marks for articulated eighth notes to match mm. 122–132.

133–139 Pos Edition takes music from R1, where it is clearly audible. In Im, which is notated on two facing pages of a bifolium, the bottom of the right-hand page is torn off after m. 132.

134.2–3 Trp Edition adds staccato marks to match 126.2–3.

139.1 Trp Edition adds missing $ to F#5 to match E8 in Bjo, Klav.

139.1 Pos, Bjo, Szg, Klav Edition normalizes articulation, assigning accent-staccato mark to match other parts. In Im, Bjo has accent; Szg and Klav have no articulation; Pos lacks mm. 133–139.

10. Das Lied von der harten Nuss

Sources for this number are scarce: Fh does not survive, Im is incomplete (Im-Klav is missing), and Tt3 lacks any indication of the song. Moreover, no reliable source transmits the complete lyrics that would match the musical setting.

The number appears to have been the last one added to the production. Whereas the extant instrumental parts for all other numbers were written by copyists using a single brand of paper (Sünova), the six pages of Im are on K.U.V. Beethoven Nr. 33 and leave the impression of work done in haste: some leaves were torn in half to create sufficient writing material from a limited supply, and the title “Nur da nicht weich werden” as well as the musical notation appear to be in the hand of Theo Mackeben (who seems to have helped out as a last-minute copyist).

Vh is in pencil on a bifolium of K.U.V. Beethoven Nr. 32 and headed “Das Lied von der harten Nuss,” which corresponds to the title of a lyric sheet (of indeterminable date) found among Tty. Im suggests, then, that the title changed from “Das Lied von der harten Nuss” to “Nur da nicht weich werden.” When Adorno reviewed Lena’s radio performance of the song in February 1930 (see Introduction in Main Volume), he referred to it as “Jetzt nur nicht weich werden,” and in the correspondence between Weill and UE in 1932 and 1933, both parties identified the song as “Nur nicht weich werden.”

Weill did not write out a separate vocal part for Vh (see Plates 6a–c in Main Volume). Presumably pressed for time, he simply placed the lyrics above the piano part, whose right hand features the melody at the top. The lyrics in Vh comprise only one stanza plus refrain (the text for the refrain breaks off after m. 39, lacking the last few words), but the musical notation contains repeat marks to accommodate additional text. The repeat is confirmed by Im, where BsSax, Bjo, and Szg have repeat marks with first and second endings; the other parts write out the repeat, with block rests for much of the song, as these instruments play only during the two introductory measures and during the second refrain (see Plate 7 in Main Volume). As the sheet in Tty contains two stanzas (so does an early lyric sheet, TtyN), the Edition includes the second stanza as well. In 1958, however, both Lenya and Aufricht vaguely remembered that the song had only one stanza when it was performed in the theater. Even Elisabeth Hauptmann, before she unearthed the lyric sheets among Brecht’s papers, could recall only a single stanza. (Oddly, no lyric sheet contains lines 5–8 of the first stanza; these lines are present only in Vh.)

Aufricht’s recollections included also a rough placement for the number as “the exiting song of the gangsters, who left for a bank robbery” (letter to UE, 29 August 1958; WLRC, Series 18,Fld. 64). The first layer of Tt2 (see diplomatic transcription of relevant passage below) places an unidentified song for Bill in Act IIIa, where it follows dialogue between Bill and Sam about the
ruined picture of Bill’s great uncle (eventually moved to Act I) and Lilian’s urging to call off the coup; the song is then followed by a lengthy exchange between Bill and the Kommissar:

Sam: Es ist doch nur das Glas kaput.

Bill: Das Glas war auch ein Andenken.

Sam: Häng doch Deinen Onkel nicht in die Schusslinie

Bill: Richtig, einen General hängt man nicht in die Schusslinie


( Bill Song Und jetzt los )


Bill: 12 Uhr, Kommissar, wollen Sie kommen ? [etc.]

Copious pencil annotations in Tt2 document the subsequent revisions of this scene (see Plate 8 in Main Volume). These included moving the Sam–Bill exchange to Act I, pushing back Lilian’s line a little further in Act IIIa, and eliminating the Kommissar’s appearance in Act IIIa. The song remained (with a set-up as presented in the Edition) and now identified as “Nußsong.” Tt3 then inexplicably omits the song.

When Weill composed *Marie Galante* in 1934, he reworked “Das Lied von der harten Nuss” as an instrumental number titled “Scène au dancing,” which was published as sheet music. The Edition consults these musical sources for information unavailable in the *Happy End* materials.

*Im* is very rudimentary. The originals are lost; what survives are photostats, presumably created in the 1950s (but no later than 1958, as they were used to assemble a full score for the Munich production). Aside from *sf* in m. 1, there are no dynamics. A tempo mark is also missing. Unlike all other numbers notated with a key signature, the parts for the transposing instruments (ASax, BsSax, Trp) have one as well. *Im-ASax* is notated in G♭ major, which the Edition renders as F♯ major.

The lack of *Im-Klav* poses an insurmountable philological problem and an editorial dilemma. Rather than omitting the entire number on account of its incomplete orchestration, the Edition opts to utilize the piano part that Weill sketched in *Vh* as a substitute for the missing part. This, however, requires substantial editorial intervention, because *Vh* and the orchestration as transmitted by *Im* show significant differences, forcing the Edition to adjust the piano part. Roughly speaking, the bass line in l.h. needs to be compatible with the one found in BsSax, and harmonic changes are required in mm. 18, 27–28, 31–32, and 38. Details are provided in the critical notes below.

Performance annotations in *Im* indicate that the song’s second refrain (mm. 18–end) was played as scene change music in Act III, when the locale shifts from Bill’s Ballhaus to the quarters of the Salvation Army. The music would have followed right after no. 12 (“Die Ballade von der Höllenlili”).

Edition provides tempo mark (“Foxtrott-Tempo”) as both *Vh* and *Im* lack an indication. When Weill reused the music for the “Scène au dancing” in *Marie Galante*, he labeled his pencil draft “Charleston” but chose “Tempo di Fox Trot” for the full score; Heugel published it with the tempo mark “Molto agitato (Tempo di Fox).”
| 1.2 | Pos | Edition adds sf to match other parts. |
| 1.4–5 | ASax, BsSax, Trp, Pos | Edition opts for detached notes here, following Im-Pos. The other three parts have a slur here in first layer, but performance annotations in ASax and Trp remove it. Moreover, Im-Trp adds staccato mark at 1.5, which the Edition adopts in all four parts. |
| 2.1 | Bjo, Szg | Edition changes duration from quarter to eighth note to match other parts. Also, Edition adds missing $\#$ for D$\#5$ in Bjo to match harmony (3.2 has cautionary $\#$ for D$\#5$). |
| 3–18 | Klav | Edition makes rhythmic adjustments, changing in l.h. all half notes to quarter notes (to match BsSax) and adding in r.h. quarter-note chords/dyads on the first beat of each even-numbered measure (to match Bjo). Moreover, Im-T rp adds staccato mark at 1.5, which the Edition adopts in all four parts. |
| 14.1 | Bjo | Edition adds missing $\#$ for D$\#4$ to match m. 13. |
| 18–44 | Trp | Im has performance annotation “Dämpfer” (after music in mm. 1–2), suggesting that the trumpeter played with mute for the remainder of the number. |
| 18–19, 22 | Pos | Im has a pencil annotation (Weill’s hand?) in mm. 18–19 adding pitches that double T rp two octaves down. Pointing to 22.2, there is a very faint annotation that might read “Blasen” (i.e., play). One could speculate that the Trp pitches served as cue notes and Pos did not begin playing until 22.2. Unrelated to the above, Weill jotted in Im-Pos (just below the last staff with music) mm. 1–2 for T rp and ASax at sounding pitch. |
| 18–19 | ALL | Edition adds tempo mark “Breit (in 4)” for m. 18 (prompted by performance annotation in Im-Trp indicating four beats) and cancels it by adding “Tempo I” in m. 19. |
| 18.2–4 | Klav r.h. | Edition changes B$4$ to C$\#5$ for 18.2–4 (matching Pos at 18.2 and ASax at 18.3). At 18.4, the Edition also changes G$\#4$ to A$4$ (matching Pos). |
| 20.2–7, 36.2–7 | Klav r.h. | Edition retains both inner pitches (G$\#4$-B$4$), even though they seem slightly uncharacteristic for Weill’s piano writing (cf. no. 1, mm. 115ff.). |
| 22.1 | Klav l.h. | Edition changes B$2$ to E$3$ to match BsSax. |
| 23.3 | Klav r.h. | Edition changes G$\#4$ to G$4$ (matching Trp). |
| 25–26.1 | Pos | Edition adopts performance annotation in Im removing tie (so Trp and Pos attack 26.1 together). |
| 27–28 | Klav | Edition changes all F$\#$ to G$\#$ to match harmony (which Weill changed when he orchestrated the number). Moreover, Edition changes half note B$2$ in l.h. at 28/2 to quarter rest followed by quarter note E$3$ to match BsSax. |
| 28.3–4 | BILL, Klav r.h. | Edition changes all F$8$ (except F$\#5$ at 32.1–2) to G$8$ to match harmony (which Weill changed when he orchestrated the number). To that end, the Edition also changes D$4$ to E$4$ (at 31.2), B$4$ to C$\#5$ (at 31.4), omits B$4$ (at 32.1–2), changes B$4$ to C$\#5$ (at 32.3) and B$4$ to B$\#4$ (at 32.4). Furthermore, in m. 32 the Edition changes bass line in l.h. from two half notes E$3$–B$2$ to quarter notes E$3$–E$3$ followed by half note E$3$ (matching pitches of BsSax). |
| 32.3–4 | BILL, Klav r.h. | Edition changes all F$\#$ to G$\#$ to match harmony (which Weill changed when he orchestrated the number). To that end, the Edition also changes D$4$ to E$4$ (at 31.2), B$4$ to C$\#5$ (at 31.4), omits B$4$ (at 32.1–2), changes B$4$ to C$\#5$ (at 32.3) and B$4$ to B$\#4$ (at 32.4). Furthermore, in m. 32 the Edition changes bass line in l.h. from two half notes E$3$–B$2$ to quarter notes E$3$–B$2$ followed by half note E$3$ (matching pitches of BsSax). |
| 36.1 | Klav l.h. | Edition changes B$2$ to E$3$ to match BsSax. |
| 37.4–5, 37.6–38.1 | BsSax | Edition adds slurs to match figure in m. 21. |
| 38.1 | Klav l.h. | Edition adds E$3$ to match BsSax. |
| 38.3 | Klav r.h. | Edition changes G$\#4$-B$4$ to F$\#4$-A$\#4$ (matching ASax, Bjo). |
| 39 | Klav r.h. | Edition adds staccato marks to match 40.1–6. |
| 40.1 | ASax, Pos | Edition adds staccato mark to match Trp. |
| 40.3–41.1 | BILL | Edition presents an editorial solution for the text underlay. In Vh, the lyric stops after m. 39 (see Plate 6c). That the text is supposed to continue with “Fres-se” (40.1–2) is clear from TtyN and Tty (several newspaper reviews also pointed out “a song” in which “Noblesse” rhymes with “Fresse”). The remainder is less clear: Weill wrote six notes for 40.3–41.1. TtyN has both refrains ending “Und nen Tritt in den Arsch und Schluss” (= eight syllables), whereas Tty has “Und ne Arschtritt und dann Schluss” (first refrain) and “Und ’nen Arschtritt und Schluss” (second refrain). This last line, which
could actually fit the music, seems cumbersome. Also, one does wonder why no reviewer alluded to a (then unprintable) “Arschtritt,” which some critics surely would have considered offensive. (In fact, several critics complained that the audience was exposed to the “Götz-Zitat” in full length; see Introduction in Main Volume). Weill may have rejected the last line as inferior to the clever rhyme of “Noblesse” with “Fresse.” The blank space in Vh suggests that he was waiting for a suitable conclusion. When Lenya sang the song on the Frankfurt radio station, the concluding line of her performance certainly could not have involved a “kick in the ass.” So rather than adopting the last line of Tty, which Weill never set, the Edition presents a rhythmically tight editorial option that will be fully audible at the song’s swift tempo: “Und ‘nen Tritt und dann Schluss!” (prompted by the one-time appearance of the word “damn,” which was subsequently crossed out with typewritten x’s in Tty). An observation by Alfred Kerr in the Berliner Tageblatt (“Ein anderer Kehrreim: ‘In die Fresse!’ Immerfort: in die Fresse”) suggests that Oskar Homolka simply repeated the penultimate line. At least Se opted to do this, albeit with a slight variation (“immer eine in die Fresse”), even though this left the last syllable dangling (as a quarter-note A4 at 41.2). Alternatively, one could repeat only the last four words, but this would lead again to an awkward accentuation (“eine in die Fresse” at 40.2).

Edition adds accent for Bill at 40.7 (to match Klav r.h.) and adds accents in both parts at 41.1 (and 43.1) to complete the musical gesture.

Edition provides part because Vh ends with m. 42. In m. 43, the Edition merely duplicates the pitches of 41.1 and adopts the quarter-note duration found in all other parts. In m. 44, the Edition takes voicing from the corresponding measure in “Scène au dancing” from Marie Galante (full score, piano part), which works in the context of Happy End as well.

Edition adds “Solo.” Im has performance annotation (dating back to 1929) that reads “Bass Break.”

Edition adds staccato marks throughout, which Im has for ASax, BsSax, Trp.

11. Surabaya-Johnny

The text for this number as well as a setting by another composer predate the genesis of Happy End (see Introduction in Main Volume). Given this pre-history, it is perhaps not surprising that “Surabaya-Johnny” was one of the earliest musical numbers (along with “Die Ballade von der Höllenlili”) that Weill composed for the play. When he drafted the song (DhS), he utilized a leaf that already contained a transposed non-holograph version of “Muschel von Margate” (a song he had originally composed for Leo Lania’s play Konjunktur, which opened in April 1928, and which UE prepared for publication, in the original key, in spring–summer 1929). By mid-May 1929, at the latest, Weill had created a fair copy of “Surabaya-Johnny” (Vh) that he handed to Carola Neher. Ernst Loewy-Hartmann, UE’s representative in Berlin, retrieved the manuscript from her so he could take it to Vienna. Ae appeared on 24 August 1929 in time for the premiere of Happy End. N2 reproduced Brecht’s poem in the version set by Franz Bruinier in 1927, but with acknowledgment of a source (“after Kipling”).

Whereas DhS and Vh are in E major, both Fh and Im are in E♭ major, and UE published Ae also in that key (as specified by a pencil annotation of Weill’s at the top of Vh: “nach Es dur transponieren”).
The orchestration of “Surabaya-Johnny” appears to have undergone more revisions than any other number in Happy End. Both Im and, to a lesser degree, Fh show a host of reworkings, which include reassigning melodies, adding instruments (as doublings), and changing the orchestral texture. It is possible that some, though certainly not all, occurred in connection with the transmission of “Surabaya-Johnny” as one of the show’s most popular songs. Nor is it entirely clear how many of them, or which particular ones, were introduced for the recordings in the fall of 1929. (It should be noted by way of comparison with another popular number from the show that the orchestration of the “Bilbao-Song” remained relatively stable.) R1-3 may well have employed the same musicians who played in the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm and would presumably have used the same Im books. In any event, some revisions were made already in the theater, as the composer himself reported. In an interview published on 6 September 1929 in the newspaper Berlin am Morgen Weill described his collaboration with the musicians in rehearsal and provided the following example: “During the rehearsals for ‘Surabaya-Johnny’ . . . it occurred to me that the violin could be accompanied by the clarinet playing an octave lower. I had the jazz band stop, changed the score, and the resulting sound is greatly enriched” (original German given in GS2, p. 446). Weill’s testimony notwithstanding, Fh does not seem to incorporate that particular change: only the Im books for ASax and TSax do. It should be noted, however, that although most of the revisions are transmitted only in Im, the full extent of those made in Fh can no longer be ascertained, since some were subsequently erased.

The changes to “Surabaya-Johnny” documented in the various sources are so extensive that the editors have elected to present two versions of the song. Both versions are necessarily synthetic, relying as they do on multiple sources. The version presented in the Main Text of the Edition generally defers to Fh. The one in the Appendix, by contrast, attempts to reflect the fluidity of the orchestration during the work’s production period and subsequent transmission by incorporating some of the more notable revisions to the instrumentation that can be reconstructed from Im and R1-3, while at the same time taking into account alternate readings contained in Fh. Because of this fluidity it would be wrong to assume that the second version should be considered more “authentic” than the first or that it supersedes the earlier version. Rather, it is intended to illustrate in notation the kind of revisions that occurred in those early months, some of which presumably took place in the theater, others more likely in connection with performances outside of it. In the case of two of the recordings, R1 and R2, it is also important to bear in mind that they were purely instrumental renditions of the song and that some of the changes were presumably introduced to compensate for the absence of the vocal part. For this reason, and wherever it seemed appropriate, greater weight has been given to the third of the recordings (R3).

1 ALL Edition takes parenthetical tempo mark (“Blues”) from Vh, where Weill added it in pencil, presumably for the preparation of Ae, which adopts it. (In Weimar dance music, Blues signaled a tempo of \( \frac{4}{4} = 66 \).) In 1943, when Weill prepared a transposed and slightly rearranged version for Lenya to record, he chose “Andante cantabile” as the tempo mark (see KWE IV/2, p. 155).

2–122 LIL Edition leaves the dynamics to the performer. Fh and Vh have no dynamic; Ae gives \( p \) in m. 2, \( mf \) at 18.3, and again \( p \) at 26.3 (with matching dynamic in accompaniment).

5.4–5 LIL Ae transmits an alternate spelling of text (“Birma”)—possibly an effort to standardize the spelling of the country’s name in light of lyrics for no. 4.

21.5–7 LIL Edition takes text (“zur ersten Stund”) from R3 (also found in DhS, N2, and Weill’s 1943 score). The wording, emphasizing as it does what occurs at some point during the first hour of the relationship rather than “nach einer Stund,” which Tt3, Vh, Fh, and Ae transmit. A lyric sheet in BBA 1354 has “die erste Stund,” which Hauptmann altered in pencil—presumably in the 1950s—to “zur ersten.”

23 LIL N2 and BBA 1354 have text “dasteht,” also found in R3. Edition upholds text transmitted by musical sources and Tt3.
Edition upholds Fh, placing cross-head notation in third space. Vh is peculiar: Weill placed the cross-head notes in m. 25 somewhat ambiguously either on fourth line or in fourth space, and 26.1 on fifth line. It almost seems as if Weill had first notated a melody here (if so, it is no longer discernible) and then changed the regular to cross-head notation; the vocal staff in DhS is blank, however (it merely contains the spoken text). Ae notates cross-heads 24.6–7 in third space and 25.1–26.1 in fourth space. Quite possibly related to the issue, Fh has a pencil annotation (above the top system) that appears to be in Brecht's hand, jotting down in idiosyncratic yet cryptic notation what appears to be a suggestion for delivering Lilian's spoken line, although it seems to represent twelve (unknown) syllables.

Edition adds slur to match ASax.

Edition adds missing b for Gb4 to match harmony.

Edition takes text (“solang”) from N2 (also found in BBA 1354). In Tt3, text is spelled as two words (“so lang”), but the conditional form is more plausible.

Edition changes rhythm from $\text{t} \to \text{y}$ to match mm. 16, 96.

Edition takes E♭3 from performance annotation in Im (compare m. 68). Fh is unclear. It appears that Weill originally wrote E♭3 but placed a now illegible ink marking between 66.3 and 66.4 (closer to 66.3), which the copyist interpreted as a sharp-sign (the first layer of Im has E♭3); the ink marking could actually have been a half rest that Weill crossed out with two slashes. A performance annotation in Fh converted the ink marking to an emphatic ♩ and changed E3 to F3 (writing “f” [lowercase pitch name] below for further clarification).

Edition assigns p to match prevailing dynamic level. In Fh, Weill notated mm. 67–80 for the two instruments with iteration signs repeating mm. 27–40, where both are pp.

Edition has performance annotation changing rhythm by combining second and third quarter into half note.

Edition has slightly incongruous tacet markings (ASax brackets off 80/2–81/1, Trp crosses out 80/2–81/4, and Pos marks 80/1–4 “nicht blasen”); oddly, Im-TSax is unmarked (as are the parts for Bjo, Ssg, Klav). The idea surely was to make room for the refrain’s last line (“und ich liebe dich so”), but the markings are unclear as to whether music, and which instruments, should resume in m. 81 (R3 does not reflect the tacet markings). Conceivably all parts could drop out at 80/2 and rhythm section resume at 81/1.
Edition adds rest. \textit{Fh} and \textit{Im} have an iteration sign here, which does not make sense (Weill may have added it mechanically).

Edition takes articulation from performance annotations in \textit{Im}, confirmed by \textit{R1-3}. \textit{Fh} has instruction “non legato” at 82/4.

\textit{Fh} reiterates muting.

Edition notates rhythm of eighth notes as in stanzas 1 and 2, even though the instrumental doubling features a dotted rhythm. In \textit{R3}, Lenya sings some of the notes straight and others dotted (especially 90/4–91/4). Edition leaves the choice of rhythm to the discretion of the performer.

\textit{R3} transmits a slightly revised lyric that seems to address a rhythmical but also logical issue. Whereas all text sources have “warum du den Namen hast, aber” Lenya sings “dass du den Namen hast, denn.” In 1943 Lenya may not have had the text for stanza 3 when she sang “woher du den Namen hast, doch” as there are other textual inconsistencies.

Edition takes staccato instruction from performance annotations in \textit{Im}, confirmed by \textit{R1-3}. Compared to mm. 14–15, 18.2 and 54–55, the difference seems deliberate (no E\textsubscript{b}4 in \textit{Fh} or \textit{Im}). The writing of this passage suggests use of a banjo, but \textit{Fh} and \textit{Im} have no such indication, and there would not be enough time to switch instruments. Curiously, \textit{Fh} has “Guitarre” in the margin for the system that begins with m. 106 (following a page turn that comes after m. 105). Usually Weill provided instrumental rubrics only in the first system, but on occasion he added an indication when clarification seemed useful. Given that Weill placed “Guitarre” before 106/1 and not at the beginning of m. 107, the Edition assumes that BsGtr does indeed continue in mm. 98ff.

Edition changes F5 to G\textsubscript{b5} (at 102.5) and E\textsubscript{b5} to F5 (at 103.6) to match Pos, Lilian, and Klav (compare 98.5 and 100.5). \textit{Im} has performance annotation (probably not by Mackeben) adding “Einfach,” meaning single or simple. Perhaps a pianist played only the top voice of the fill-ins or open octaves. Another annotation adds \# for E5 at 103.2. Edition takes D\#5 from \textit{Im} (first layer) to match other iterations of this motive. \textit{Fh} has D\textsubscript{b}5, but the flat sign looks irregularly drawn.

Edition takes slurs from performance annotation in \textit{Im}. Edition takes missing \# for C\#5 from performance annotation in \textit{Im}. Edition retains G\textsubscript{b}5 as top note of the chord, despite that note being somewhat unclear in \textit{Fh} due to smudged ink. The copyist of \textit{Im} interpreted the smudging as a crossing out of the top pitch and omitted the note, but this does not square with the overall pattern here.

Edition retains pitch spelling (E\textsubscript{b}5) of first refrain. In \textit{Fh}—which omits vocal line after m. 41—Weill respelled Fl, BsGtr, and Klav in mm. 117–118, even though this led to an inconsistency with mm. 37–38 and 77–78. Edition places top note D\#4 (already sounding in r.h.) in parentheses. \textit{Fh} has iteration sign repeating m. 117. \textit{Im} has editorial marking (1958) to remove top note.

Edition adds \textit{molto rit.} prompted by a slowing of tempo in \textit{R3} (also present in \textit{R1/2}). Although \textit{Fh} and \textit{Im} contain no such indication, it is implausible that the tempo continues unmodified. Indeed, Lenya’s 1943 recording for the Bost label, where Weill may have been the pianist, also transmits a pronounced \textit{ritardando} here (as do Lenya’s recordings of 1955 and 1960). Compare also Weill’s subsequent addition of \textit{molto rit.} in a copy of \textit{Ac} for no. 1.

Edition upholds pitch C4, which is slightly ambiguous in \textit{Fh} (either C4 or B\textsubscript{b}3). Given that Weill added a cautionary accidental for B\textsubscript{b}3 at 121.1 (presumably on account of the B\textsubscript{b}3 at 117.2), it seems clear that C4 is intended. The first layer of \textit{Im} has B\textsubscript{b}3 (by virtue of key signature), but an odd per-
formance annotation adds both a tie and a slur connecting to B♭3 (with cautionary accidental) at 121.1, perhaps implying that pitch at 120.3 is B♭3, but this does not fit the harmony.

Edition adds chord to continue pattern from preceding measures and to match TSax, Trp, and Pos. The first layer of Fh is blank, and Im has a whole rest. A non-holograph addition of uncertain date in Fh added music in ink for beats 1–3: quarter note E♭4 followed by quarter-note chord G♭4-B♭4-E♭5 and again quarter note E♭4.

12. Die Ballade von der Höllenlili

Early drafts of the play (e.g., EHA 1506, BBA 1357) show this number near the end of Act I, where it is sung by the inebriated Lilian to Bill's gang (Bill is still named “Dick”)—that is, the place that would be assumed by “Was die Herren Matrosen sagen.” Tt1 also transmits this layout, and Weill set Brecht's lyric early on, as Carola Neher appears to have had piano-vocal versions of both “Surabaya-Johnny” and “Höllenlili” no later than May 1929. Fh is on a paper brand (Ashelm) unique in the full score, perhaps indicating that Weill orchestrated the number before most of the others.

During the Ammersee meetings (July 1929), where the idea for the “Matrosen” tango appears to have been born, “Höllenlili” was moved to Act III, now to be sung by Helene Weigel as Die Fliege. Tt2 shows slightly different dramatic embeddings, but always at the end of IIIa. In the script's first layer, Die Fliege sings the song after a dialogue with the Governor (who re-emerges here rather than at the end of IIIb): They lament the dying of the old species of criminals (i.e., the “Dietrich” vs. “Aktie” business). She decides to turn in the gang—as they have deserted her to join the Salvation Army—and reveals to the Governor her collection of incriminating evidence against each gang member. He fears she might end up in hell with them, to which she responds by singing “Höllenlili.” After the song she predicts that, before going to hell, they will become famous like Abraham and rich like Solomon, teaching the new religion and hoping for a happy ending “das sich gewaschen hat.” Both then head off to the Salvation Army quarters. Retyped pages inserted into Tt2, along with a host of handwritten revisions, alter the dramatic context to the one found in Tt3 (and presented in the Edition).

The song's title would seem to derive from the fact that it was initially Lilian (nick-named “Hallelujah-Lil”) who was supposed to offer this somewhat unholy number to the gangsters, although EHA 1506 lists her character still as “Bess.” All early drafts direct her to sing “die erste Strophe der Höllenlili,” and Fh is simply titled “Die Höllenlili.” Surviving lyric sheets omit the article and add “Ballade von der” (with “Höllenlili” in one case hyphenated and spelled with double “l” for “Lilli”). Because the number is ultimately sung by Die Fliege in Act III, in a situation where she is addressed as “Saidie,” a typed stage direction in Tt2 consequently gives the title “Song der Höllen-Saidie,” but no other source reflects this change. Tt3 adds the definite article “Die,” which the Edition adopts.

Fh is the only extant musical source. In November 1933, UE sent Weill a piano-vocal score (unclear whether Vh or Vm, also for nos. 2, 10, and 13), which has since disappeared. In Fh, he notated the vocal part only for the first stanza plus refrain (mm. 9–46) and in the last two measures (mm. 123–124). The Edition adds the vocal line for the second and third stanza, which is unproblematic given the rigid poetic structure. (All text sources transmit only four lines for the first section of each stanza; the playful backward repeat of the line pairs appears only in Weill’s setting.) The sole vocal dynamic in Fh is p in m. 123. The Edition provides no additional dynamics, leaving the choice to the discretion of the performer.
Edition changes single to double barline to mark change of time signature.

Edition adds mf to match TSax (Szg is marked p).

Edition upholds text (“ja”) found in Fh. All text sources have “doch,” but Weill probably wanted to avoid two dark vowels (“morgen” in m. 28).

Edition changes octaves A–B to A♭–B♭, matching mm. 67 and 105. Weill revised the bass line in m. 29. At first, he notated C₃–E₃–C₃ always accompanied by the lower octave), which he crossed out emphatically and replaced with C₃–G₄–A₂–B₂ (again with the lower octave). There may have been some indecision about the bass: in m. 105, Klav has A♭–B♭..., whereas Pos has A♯–B.

Edition adds accents to match mm. 47.

Edition adds missing A to D₃ (cf. Klav).

Edition adds staccato marks to match Trp.

Edition adds articulation (emphasizing melody) to match ASax and Pos. The accents at 113.1 and 116.1 in all parts are indicated in Fh.

13. Hosiannah Rockefeller

Vh comprises mm. 1–54, containing the first stanza with refrain and the short foxtrot interlude. The first layer of Fh transmits a musical outline that spans 132 measures and contains, among its various sections, three stanzas. But it seems that Weill forgot to provide music for the fifth line of all three stanzas. This is unusual, to be sure, as he wrote out music and words for the first stanza in both Vh and Fh (whereas he relied heavily on the use of iteration signs when notating the accompaniment for stanzas 2 and 3 in Fh). Did Weill intend to abridge the stanzas or did he inadvertently omit a line when notating Fh? The Edition assumes the latter, as a conscious suppression of the last line would significantly alter the poetic structure of the three stanzas and, more important, render the last one nonsensical. Im does not survive, but Fh offers some guidance; pencil annotations (of unknown date) effectively insert four measures (by adding repeat marks) in the first and third stanza to accommodate the omitted lines. The Edition writes out these repeats (= mm. 17–20 and 113–116) and similarly provides four extra measures (mm. 71–74) in the second stanza.
There is also some question as to which text should be sung in stanza 3. TmyR (Brecht’s hand) contains four stanzas, but the last two are numbered “3” and “oder 3.” The two options for the third stanza are:

3
mache den glücklichen glücklich
aus vollen händen
dem lachenden lach
helfe dem starken + mach
sein missetat glücklich enden!

oder 3
hilf deiner klasse die dir hilft
aus reichlichen händen
zerstampe den haß
lach mit dem lachen laß
sein missetat glücklich enden!

TtyR then creates some confusion by indiscriminately numbering these two options for the third stanza as stanzas “3” and “4” (which makes little sense in light of the textual overlap). Fh has no vocal line or text underlay in mm. 55–78 and 98–144, but Weill notated the first measure of the vocal staff (m. 97: “Hilf deiner”), indicating that the text of TmyR’s alternative third stanza should follow here. When setting the stanzas with their mockingly sanctimonious lines, it is surely no coincidence that Weill used the same melody that he had composed for the gleefully profane “Mutter Goddams Puff in Mandelay” (i.e., no. 9).

For the refrain, on the other hand, Weill borrowed eight measures from the Vorstrophe of his “Berlin im Licht-Song” (1928), which he revised only slightly, retaining even the original key. In TtyR, the refrain has only six lines (1–4 and 7–8). Although the musical structure is fully developed in Vh, Weill seems to have had only these six lines at his disposal, as he repeats lines 1–2 after line 4. Lines 5–6 (“Hosiannah sex appeal / Hosiannah Sir und Lord”) appear only in Fh. An undated lyric sheet in Tty, which presumably belongs to Happy End, transmits a variant stanza with a slightly altered refrain:

siehe den frommen und reichen
ihm nur allein sollst du gleichen
denn es sind nur an ihn
himmel und erde verliehn
und darum sollst du ihm gleichen

HOSIANNAH ROCKEFELLER
HOSIANNAH HENRY FORD
HOSIANNAH KOHLE STAHL UND OEL
HOSIANNAH GOTTES WORT
HOSIANNAH ROCKEFELLER
HOSIANNAH IM AKKORD
HOSIANNAH GLAUBE UND PROFIT
HOSIANNAH IMMERFORT

No script survives that includes no. 13. Brecht and Hauptmann reused the lyric (stanzas only) prominently in Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe (1929–31) and considered using the refrain in Der Brotladen (1929–30)—a play that never saw any kind of completion—which may explain why they were willing to omit “Hosiannah Rockefeller” in Tt3 and thus eliminate the number from Happy End.

The sources for the number are unclear about who should sing it. When creating Vh, Weill distinguished between “Solo” and “Chor,” presumably because the various sections had not yet been apportioned among characters. In Fh, he assigned the solo part to “Saidie” (i.e., Die Fliege). Both sources are vague about the refrain. Given its thick orchestration, the Edition has the Chor
There is some ambiguity as to which part should double the G♭ in Band and Harm in those five locations. In mm. 3–4 of Fh (first layer), TSax has G4 (sounding F3) and Trp A♭4 (sounding G♭4); for the remaining locations the roles are reversed: TSax has A♭4 (sounding G♭3) and Trp G4 (sounding F4). Pencil annotation of uncertain date change Trp consistently to A♭4 but leave TSax unchanged. Because Im does not survive, it is impossible to know how the original production handled the issue. Given that G♭4 sounds in both Band and Klav but G♭3 only in Klav, the Edition opts to double the G♭3 consistently in TSax, even though this creates a more pronounced dissonance with F3 in the bandoneon. But the doubling seems to fit the pattern in mm. 21–26 (where TSax continues its role). In mm. 55–74, Weill handled the situation the other way round: here it is Trp, which consistently doubles the G♭4 (and then continues the doubling pattern in mm. 75–80).

Edition supplies accents throughout. Fh has accents in mm. 1–4, in m. 5 (saxophones and brass only), and then at the beginning of each system to indicate continuation.

Edition adopts pencil annotations in Fh calling for a repeat of mm. 13–16, which allows for accommodation of the four extra measures in Vh (with text “Gib du dem Sieger ein Zeichen!”). See general remarks above.

Edition takes specifications (“Frauen,” “Männer”) from Vh and adds “Alle” at 25.3, the default tutti from Fh.

Edition opts for pitch G4 (sounding F4). Fh is ambiguous (either G4 or F4), but sounding F4 is confirmed by Vh (and compare corresponding passage in m. 83, Klav r.h.).

Vh has an additional D♯4 as lowest note of the chord. It appears that Weill started to copy the chord from Vh but then decided to leave off the note (the notehead for what would have been D♯4 is tiny, and Weill placed only one sharp sign). The low D♯4 is not doubled by another part, and the piano accompaniment in Vh differs in many other respects from Klav in Fh.

Edition adds missing ♯ for B♭4 to match ASax.

Edition adds f to match prevailing dynamic level.

Edition adds caesura to set off beginning of new section.

Edition upholds alternation of pitches B♭3 and C4 with each measure. One might expect a two-measure pattern, but Fh is clear (and note Weill’s handling in mm. 97ff.).

In Fh, Weill emphasized “(bleibt Klavier).”

Edition inserts these four measures (a repeat of mm. 67–70) to accommodate the second stanza’s fifth line (“Hab mit dem Satten Erbarmen!”). See general remarks above.

Edition adds specifications (“Frauen,” “Männer”) to match mm. 19.4–25.

Edition adds accents to match ASax, TSax, Trp (cf. 30.2–31.4).

Edition adopts pencil annotations in Fh calling for a repeat of mm. 109–112, which allows for accommodation of the third stanza’s fifth line (“sein Missetat glücklich enden!”). See general remarks above.

Unlike mm. 19.4–26 and 73.4–79, the Edition chooses to have this passage sung by women and men simultaneously.

Edition adds slurs to match preceding measures.

Edition adds accents to match mm. 117–118 (they continue in mm. 123ff.).

Edition chooses not to add articulation here, as the four notes may represent a “fading” of the preceding eighth-note figures, prior to the attack of the final refrain at 121/2.
Edition adds **ff** to match the orchestra’s dynamic level.

Edition adds double barline to match mm. 26, 80.

Edition adds tempo mark “[\(J = 104\)]” as another refrain begins here.

**Fh** has A5 (sounding G4), which is slightly at odds with the harmony but plausible in terms of linear counterpoint. A harmonically more conventional variant would be to flip notes at 140.2–3 (thereby yielding sounding G4–A4) to parallel the middle voice in Klav r.h.

Edition adds missing natural signs for pitches E₇ and B₇. **Fh** notates these three parts (but not KlIF) with key signature. Pos already lacks natural sign for E₇ in m. 141 (m. 142 is notated with iteration sign). For harmony compare also mm. 45–46.

Edition normalizes articulation, assigning accent-staccato mark to all parts (which **Fh** has in ASax only; Trp and Pos have accent; remaining parts have no articulation).

**APPENDIX**

A11. **Surabaya-Johnny (alternate orchestration)**

For general comments on this number, see critical notes for no. 11.

**Im** is the work of two copyists working for the Held-Werkstätten in Berlin. One created the parts for Winds and Brass, the other those for Gtr, Szg, and Klav. The annotations in **Im** appear to result not only from use in the theater and in the 1929 recording sessions but also from the preparation of Se in 1958. (Lenya’s 1955 recording did not follow Weill’s orchestration.) **Im** for Winds and Brass are the most heavily revised, whereas **Im-Szg** and **Im-Klav** carry only a few markings. Oddly, **Im-Gtr** contains no pre-war changes, which makes a straightforward reconstruction of the revised orchestration impossible, as the part must have been altered as well. (There is an outside possibility that the present set of **Im** is actually a compilation of two sets that, according to **M2**, once existed; although each part is stamped by the Held-Werkstätten, the other set could have been created by the same copying service. Nor can it be ruled out that a third set of parts was created specifically for one of the recordings.) The revisions themselves pose their own editorial challenges, of course, as the markings are by no means consistent and on occasion seem unclear and even contradictory.

**Fh** is sparingly marked and appears to have accrued pencil markings after its rediscovery in 1955. At least the various annotations “Quarte tiefer” (in mm. 1, 67, and 82) seem to relate to the recording Lenya made in 1960. The only detailed markings that reflect changes of the orchestration made in 1929 are the revision of mm. 3–18 in Winds and Brass, but the markings have since been erased. Also erased were markings in m. 1 (below the system), where “1 × Klavierstimme mit Gesang!” is still legible, and in m. 26 (top of the system), where a violin may indeed have been indicated (still legible here are the letters “iol”).

**R1-3** contain only two stanzas plus refrains (owing to the limited capacity of 78 rpm shellac discs). Lenya’s recording (**R3**) presents stanzas 1 and 3, which transmit the revised orchestration more or less (the only prominent departure is the omission of the violin during the first refrain, but the clarinet doubling is retained). The instrumental recording **R2** closely shadows **R3**, also omitting the violin but adding the echoing muted trumpet (cf. mm. 67ff.) and opting for alto sax rather than flute in the last refrain. (There is also some soloistic percussion playing on hi-hat, as fill-ins, during the last bridge.) **R1** presents permutations of the orchestrated sections as revised. Broadly speaking, it starts with “stanza 3,” then jumps back to “refrain 1” and continues with “stanza 2” and “refrain 2,” but the pianist takes considerable liberties (florid passagework during last stanza) and the bridge sections feature combinations of instruments not found in the sources (e.g., guitar with piano fill-ins for the first bridge). On both **R1** and **R2**, the bridge is always played in 4/4 time, just as Weill had specified for a dance orchestra arrangement that UE commissioned in 1929 (unpublished, but transmitted as rental parts).

In its attempt to reconstruct the revised orchestration, the Edition takes readings not only from **Im** and **Fh** but also from **R1-3**, which exhibit a variety of instrument combinations for the different sections (measure numbers refer to the recording, i.e., not the edited score):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Evidence of revision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–18 (stanza 1)</td>
<td>In Im, various hands carefully added the sustained chords played by Kl 1–2 and Pos, with the melodic doubling now assigned to muted Trp instead of TSax (Im-Trp has performance annotation “Anfang” in m. 42). R2/3 reflect the revision. The revisions were also entered at some point with pencil in Fh, but only tentatively and now partly erased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19–26 (bridge 1)</td>
<td>In Im-Klav, Weill wrote in pencil at the top of p. 1 “Klavier (gedruckte Stimme),” which seems to direct the player to the piano part as printed in Aei (it became available on 24 August 1929 and Weill had received page proofs earlier). This is confirmed by annotation “1 × Klavierstimme mit Gesang!” in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 3–14</td>
<td>Fl, Kl, Trp (con sord.)</td>
<td>Trp (c.s.) + sustained chords (2 Kl, Pos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Trp (c.s.) + sust’d chords (2 Kl, Pos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 15–18</td>
<td>Trp (c.s.)</td>
<td>[cont’d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[cont’d]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bridge 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 19–26</td>
<td>Gtr + Klav $\frac{4}{4}$</td>
<td>Klav $\frac{4}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Gtr, Klav $\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refrain 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 27–34</td>
<td>Vn + Kl $\left(8\text{va bassa}\right)$</td>
<td>Kl (w/Trp c.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Kl (unis.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 35–40</td>
<td>Vn + Kl $\left(15\text{ma bassa}\right)$</td>
<td>Kl (8va bassa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Kl (8va bassa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 43–54</td>
<td>TSax, w/Pos</td>
<td>Fl, Kl, Trp (c.s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Fl, Kl, Trp (c.s.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 55–58</td>
<td>[cont’d]</td>
<td>Trp (c.s.), Kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Trp (c.s.), Kl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bridge 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 59–66</td>
<td>ASax (TSax, Trp c.s.) $\frac{4}{4}$</td>
<td>Klav (w/Szg) $\frac{4}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voc + Klav (w/Szg) $\frac{4}{4}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refrain 2</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mm. 67–74</td>
<td>Pos (Trp c.s. + Klav arpegg.)</td>
<td>ASax (Kl, Trp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mm. 75–80</td>
<td>ASax (Trp c.s. + Klav arpegg.)</td>
<td>ASax (Kl, Trp)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Including markings taken from Im, a rough description of the relevant source evidence for realizing the score of A11 can be grouped in three sections, each consisting of stanza, bridge, and refrain (measure numbers as in Edition):
Fh (now erased but still decipherable). The piano part for mm. 1–18 is identical in Fh and Ae. For the other parts, there are at least two of the four *tacet* indications that one would expect: Im-TSax has performance annotation “I × Klavier,” and Im-TRp crosses out music. R1-3 have Winds and Brass rest, but in R1 and R3 BsGtr doubles the melody of Klav, which the Edition adopts. Also, in R2/3 Klav plays r.h. up an octave in 18/3–22/1.

27–42
(refrain 1)
Performance annotations add the melodic doubling for Kl and Vn. In Im-ASax, the doubling is found on an insert copied out by Theo Mackeben. He notated the melody sounding an octave lower than Vn, but a performance annotation instructs Kl to play mm. 35–42 another octave lower (see Plate 3 in Main Volume). In Im-TSax, the player himself may have added the Vn part but subsequently marked mm. 40–41 *tacet*, surely to facilitate the change to TSax, but dropping out here also exposes the refrain’s poignant and vital last line: “und ich liebe dich so” (see comparable *tacet* markings in mm. 80–81 for ASax, TRp, Pos). As mentioned above, Im-Gtr is unmarked but the idea to employ HwGtr appears to have been dropped. On R2, both BsGtr and Klav play rhythm, on R1 and R3 BsGtr only. In m. 34, the Klav part of Ae has no half rest (likewise in R1-3).

43–58
(stanza 2)
In Im-TSax, a performance annotation directs player to continue by playing stanza 1. Because TRp played material in the first stanza, it is now *tacet*. R1 reflects combination of TSax and Pos.

59–66
(bridge 2)
In Im-TRp, performance annotation adds 8 at 58.2, crosses out 58.3–66.1, and adds another 8 at 18.2 (i.e., what had been the original first bridge, now played by Klav and BsGtr). Edition interprets this as a clue that the original first bridge (where TRp has the melody) is played here as bridge 2. Im-ASax has performance annotation “TRp!” at 58.3 and likewise indicates playing of 18.3ff. In Im-TSax, player simply continues with what had been marked “I × Klavier” for the first pass. The original second bridge (where ASax carries the melody) would have lacked variation here, as TSax now carries the melody in the preceding stanza, and ASax carries the melody in the subsequent refrain.

67–82
(refrain 2)
Im-TSax directs player to skip from the end of the original first bridge to refrain 2. Im-ASax has performance annotation that seems to read “Baryt.” and may signal use of a baritone saxophone here; Edition ignores the marking as it would place the melody below both TSax and Pos.

83–98
(stanza 3)
Im-TSax has performance annotation “Clar. 8va tiefer,” which can be heard on R2/3 (through m. 122). Im-Pos has performance annotation adding a doubling of the bass line: quarter-note F2 on first and third beat in mm. 83–90 and E♭2 for mm. 91–98/1; the addition is inaudible on R1-3.

99–106
(bridge 3)
Im-Szg has performance annotations replacing mm. 99–101 with pattern | 1 3 5 7 9 1 |
cueing “GrTr.” Annotations continue to add rests and the eighth-note for beat 5 in mm. 102–104 but keep 102.4–6 and 103.4–6. Instead of adding a rest, the original Beck at 103/2 is crossed out but not at 104/2, which may have been an oversight. R3, on the other hand, adopts beats for beat 3—though on Ttom (rather than GrTr)—and reverses what is indicated in Im: soft Ttom playing for 99.4–6, 100.4–6, and 101.4–6 but not in mm. 102–103. Im-Pos has performance annotation “Solo” at 102.4, confirming and emphasizing the fact that Fh for 102.4–6 and 103.4–6 has accents only in Pos. On R3, Kl and TRp are barely audible.

107–122
(refrain 3)
Kl continues to replace TSax; otherwise the section is barely revised. On R2/3, BsGtr resumes accompanimental pattern (bass note followed by chord).
The Edition has made the following additional emendations not mentioned in the editorial notes above:

3  KL  Edition adds \textit{pp} to match Pos.
13–14  KL 1  Edition adds slur to match context.
17–18  KL 2, Pos  Edition adds slur to match context.
18.4  BsGtr, Klav  Edition takes \textit{mf} from \textit{Ae}. The original orchestration has \textit{p} here, but its texture is considerably thicker.
23.2  Klav r.h.  Edition moves \textit{f} for \textit{A4} from 23.2 to 23.3, thereby avoiding a dissonance with \textit{A3} in l.h. The piano part for mm. 1–40 follows \textit{Ae} (see above); in \textit{Fh}, Weill avoided the dissonance (see no. 11, m. 23).
25.3–26.1  Klav l.h.  Edition omits \textit{E} and \textit{A0}, as the latter pitch, though printed in \textit{Ae}, exceeds the range of a regular piano (and compare Weill’s notation of mm. 65–66). \textit{Vh}, the model for \textit{Ae}, is notated in E major, where \textit{A0} is of course playable.
26.1  Pos  Edition retains this isolated quarter note, as performance annotation in \textit{Im} adds “Anfang” here. Musically, the note serves as a “closing punctuation” (together with \textit{Ttom}) of the first bridge.
27–42  BsGtr  Edition provides part, based on what can be gleaned from \textit{R1}-3.
72/2–3, 78/2–3  Pos  Edition adopts performance annotation in \textit{Im} merging two quarter notes into half note.
80/2–81  ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos  Edition opts for cue-size notation, prompted by slightly incongruous \textit{tacet} markings in \textit{Im} (where \textit{ASax} brackets off 80/2–81/1, \textit{Trp} crosses out 80/2–81/4, and \textit{Pos} marks 80/1–4 “nicht blasen”); oddly, \textit{Im}-\textit{TSax} is unmarked (as are the parts for \textit{Bjo}, Szg, Klav). The idea surely was to make room for the refrain's last line (“und ich liebe dich so”), but the markings are unclear as to whether accompaniment, and which instruments, should resume in m. 81 (\textit{R3} does not reflect the \textit{tacet} markings). The Edition favors the marking in \textit{Im}-\textit{Trp} and applies it to the other three parts. Conceivably all parts could drop out at 80/2 and rhythm section resume at 81/1.
The table provides an overview of the musical materials available for this Edition. Im for nos. 10 and 11 appear to have been used in the original production, whereas those for nos. 1, 4, 8, and 9 appear to have been copied from an earlier set of parts that is no longer extant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>Fh</th>
<th>Im</th>
<th>Vh</th>
<th>Vm</th>
<th>Dh</th>
<th>Ae</th>
<th>R1</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>R3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bilbao-Song</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Der kleine Leutnant des lieben Gottes</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Geht hinein in die Schlacht</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Was die Herren Matrosen sagen</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Bruder, gib dir einen Stoß</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Fürchte dich nicht</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 In der Jugend goldnem Schimmer</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Der Song von Mandelay</td>
<td>×²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Das Lied von der harten Nuss</td>
<td>×²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Surabaya-Johnny</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Die Ballade von der Höllenlili</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Hosannah Rockefeller</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:

1. Im-Pos is incomplete, lacking the last seven measures. The music appears to be preserved in R1.
2. Im-Klav is missing.
Title pages are transcribed diplomatically in bold-face type, with line breaks indicated by a vertical line (|). Weill’s handwriting is rendered in italics; all other hands or typeset text are given in Roman type. If no title page exists, a transcription of the caption title or the first line of the manuscript is usually supplied. Paper measurements are given in centimeters (width by height).

**SOURCES**

**Full Score Format**

**Fh**

Full score, holograph (incomplete).

Date: [August 1929].

Location: WLA, Box 8, Flds. 122, 126, 132; Box 103, Flds. 116, 124, 129, 134.

First page of music:

*Bilbao-Song* | *Weill | Allegro moderato* ($ \hat{=}$ 72)


Page count:

58 pages of music.

Paper types:

- ASHELM 262. 20 Lin.
  
  [27.0 × 34.0 cm; span: 30.1 cm]
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 37. (24 Linien)
  
  [26.8 × 33.9 cm; span: 29.8 cm]
- »Sünova« Nr. 14 - 30 zeilig
  
  [32.0 × 42.0 cm; span: 37.5 cm]
- »Sünova« Nr. 15 - 32 zeilig
  
  [32.0 × 42.0 cm; span: 37.8 cm]

Contents:

[no. 1] *Bilbao-Song* (9 pp.; Fld. 116)

[no. 2] *Der kleine Leutnant des lieben Gottes* (14 pp.; Fld. 126)

[no. 3, 5–7] *Heilsarmeelieder* [I–IV] (3 pp.; Fld. 132)

[no. 8] *Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinhandlers* (7 pp.; Fld. 129)

[no. 11] *Surabaya-Jonny* [sic] (8 pp.; Fld. 134)

[no. 12] *Die Höllenlilie* (10 pp.; Fld. 122)

[no. 13] *Hosiannah Rockefeller* (7 pp.; Fld. 124)

Condition: fair.

Remark:

Except for no. 2, Fh does not contain the complete vocal parts and lyrics. Fh for nos. 3, 5–7 omits lyrics altogether.

**Piano–Vocal Format**

**Vh**

Vocal score, holograph (incomplete).

Date: [Summer 1929].


First page of music:

*Kleines Heilsarmeelied* (Brecht) I. Akt. | *Weill | Allegro molto

Holographs in black ink with holograph revisions and annotations in pencil. Individual bifolia and leaves. Non-holograph annotations in pencil and crayon (red, blue).

Page count:

13 pages of music.

Paper types:

- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 32. (14 Linien)
  
  [26.7 × 33.8 cm; span: 27.4 cm]
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 37. (24 Linien)
  
  [26.8 × 33.9 cm; span: 29.8 cm]
- K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 39. (30 Linien)
  
  [26.4 × 33.9 cm; span: 29.4 cm]

Contents:

[no. 3] *Kleines Heilsarmeelied* […] I. Akt (1 p.; Fld. 121)

[no. 5–7] *Drei Heilsarmeelieder* (2 pp.; Fld. 132)

[no. 9] *Mandelay-Song* (2 pp.; Fld. 133)

[no. 10] *Das Lied von der harten Nuss* (3 pp.; Fld. 130)

[no. 11] *Surabaya-Johnny* (2 pp.; Sibley)

[no. 13] *Hosiannah Rockefeller* (3 pp.; Fld. 125)

Condition: fair.
Vh for no. 10 is in pencil on a bifolium of K.U.V. Beethoven Nr. 32. The notation ends at the top of p. 3. Just below is a large, irregular cutout (as if generating material for paste-ins; see Plate 6c in Main Volume).

VmB1 Rehearsal score of no. 1 “Bilbao-Song” (in E major).

Piano-vocal score, manuscript.
Date: [Summer 1929].
First page of music:
Nach Des dur transponieren | Des dur Bilbao-Song von Kurt Weill. | (\=72)


Page count:
5 pages of music.

Paper type:
ASHELM 266. 12 Lin.
[27.0 x 34.1 cm; span: 27.3 cm]
Condition: good.

Remark:
At the end of p. 5 Weill replaced the last two measures, apparently in preparation for the publication of Ae.

VmB2 Engraver’s model of no. 1 “Bilbao-Song” (in Db major).

Piano-vocal score, manuscript.
Date: [1929].
First page of music:
Bilbao-Song Kurt Weill


Page count:
2 pages of music.

Paper type:
unknown (torn from a bifolium of J. E. & Co. No. 3?)
[14 staves]
[26.7 x 33.8 cm; span: 28.4 cm].
Condition: good.

Remark:
An unidentified editor at UE prepared the manuscript for engraving, using blue crayon to indicate system and page breaks.

In Instrumental parts, manuscript (incomplete).

Date: [Summer–Fall 1929].
Locations: WLRC, Series 18, Flds. 70–74; WLA, Box 39, Fld. 42.
First page of music:
Alt Saxophon Es | Bilbao Song | Allegro modto

Manuscripts in black ink. Unbound bifolia and leaves. Pagination in ink at top. Some holograph markings in pencil (nos. 10 and 11 only). Non-holograph annotations in pencil and crayon (red, blue). Additional annotations in crayon (magenta) and ballpoint pen (red). Stamp at bottom of pages for no. 10 only: “Geschrieben in den Held-Werkstätten | Charlottenburg, Kantstr. 10; Steinplatz 4656.”

Page count:
154 pages of music.

Paper types:
Edition Ruth, Berlin 10 L
[27.0 x 34.3 cm; span: 27.0 cm]
K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 33. (16 Linien)
[26.7 x 33.8 cm; span: 28.8 cm]
»Sünova« Nr. 3 - 10 zeilig
[26.9 x 33.8 cm; span: 28.0 cm]
»Sünova« Nr. 4 - 12 zeilig
[26.9 x 33.8 cm; span: 28.6 cm]

Contents:

[no. 1] Bilbao Song (28 pp.; WLA)
[no. 4] Was die Herren Matrosen sagen (44 pp.; Fld. 70)
[no. 8] Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinändlers (34 pp.; Fld. 71)
[no. 9] Der Song von Mandelay (18 pp.; Fld. 72)
[no. 10] nur da nicht weich werden (6 pp.; Fld. 74)
[no. 11] Surabaya-Jonny [sic] (24 pp.; Fld. 73)

Condition: very good (nos. 1, 4, 8, 9); fair (nos. 10, 11).

Remarks:
Created in Berlin, Im is the work of several copyists. Parts for no. 11 were written by two different copyists working for the Held-Werkstätten; parts for nos. 1, 4, 8, 9 were written by an unknown team of four copyists (presumably copied from an earlier set of parts); and parts for no. 10 are in the hand of Theo Mackeben. Paper type K.U.V. Beethoven used only for what appear to be late additions during the rehearsals (no. 10; revisions to no. 11).

The parts for no. 1 exist only as negative photo prints in reduced size (22.0 x 27.0 cm); those for no. 10 as positive photostats (full size).

M2 shows that Lenya picked up the parts for no. 2 (lacking Im-Klav) on 2 June 1955 in Vienna; this set has since disappeared.

Arrangements

Ae Sheet music, engraved.
Date: August and November 1929.
Universal Edition published arrangements of nos. 1, 4, 11 in piano-vocal format.

Remark:

For detailed information (and facsimiles of nos. 1, 11) see KWE IV/2. The facsimile of no. 1 shows a copy that Weill personalized for T. W. Adorno by adding an inscription and some musical features that had been suppressed for the printing.

Text

Tt-misc Miscellaneous pages of various draft stages.

Libretto, typescript (21 pp.).

Date: [Summer 1929].

Location: EHA 1504.

Remark:

Folder EHA 1504 holds thirty-four pages, which have been subdivided into seven gatherings. Of the thirty-four pages (some handwritten), twenty-one appear to relate to the original production (all typescript). Of these, one page is marked “Frau Weigel,” and five pages contain material for the ending of Act III, one including placement of no. 13.

Tt2 Rehearsal script.

Libretto, typescript (91 pp.).

Date: [Summer 1929–?].

First page of text:


Location: EHA 1512.

Heavily annotated typescript with copious revisions in pencil, ink, and crayon (red, blue). Additional revisions in form of paste-ins, retyped pages, or scribblings on the back of pages. Act I (36 pp.), Act II (18 pp.), Act III (37 pp.). Annotations predominantly in German cursive by an unknown hand; a few markings show the hands of Hauptmann and Brecht. Lyric sheets inserted. No title page. Prior to its digitization in 2017, Tt2 was provisionally bound.

Remarks:

Lacks lyrics for nos. 1, 10, 13 and precise dramatic embedding for nos. 10, 13. At the very end, Tt2 has an annotated cryptic lyric sheet (paraphrasing the Bible, 1 Chron. 29:5ff.) that features a unique paper type.

The first page of Act III shows marking "NF" (blue crayon) and, subsequently added, "Frau Colani" (pencil). Luise Colani worked as a prompter at the Theater am Schiffbauerdamm. It is impossible to date the revisions. Some appear to have been introduced in preparation for the premiere, others could have been introduced during the month-long run, and others yet would seem to have been introduced after the original production had closed, when Hauptmann and Brecht prepared a model (no longer extant) for Tt3.

An annotated carbon copy of the first layer of Act III is in BBA 899/100–129.

Tt3 Typescript prepared by Felix Bloch Erben.

Libretto, typescript (63 pp.).

Date: [Spring 1932].

Happy end | Von | Dorothy Lane | Deutsche Bearbeitung von | Elisabeth Hauptmann | Songs von | Bert Brecht und Kurt Weill | Den Bühnen über als Manuskript gedruckt. | Das Aufführungsrecht ist allein zu erwerben von dem Verlage | FELIX BLOCH ERBEN | (Inh.: Fritz Wreede) | Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1, Nikolsburger Platz 3

Location: Archives of Felix Bloch Erben, Berlin.

Typed script created more than two years after original production had closed. Front matter (2 pp.), Prologue (1 p.), Act I–III (59 pp.), Back matter (1 p.).

Remarks:

Stapled, two-hole punched, and held in original Felix Bloch Erben folder. Back matter states that script was prepared by typing service C. Sommer, Cunostr. 58, Berlin-Grunewald.

Omits nos. 10, 13.

Another copy of same script (lacking pp. 35–39 and bottom section of p. 34) survives in a private collection (Berlin); the cut pages are in BBA 895/53–57.

Tt3a Copy of Tt3 annotated by Elisabeth Hauptmann.

Libretto, typescript (73 pp.).

Date: [1932; annotations mid-1950s].

Title page identical to Tt3. Various emendations and cancellations in Hauptmann’s hand, also a prominent note: “Einziges Exemplar. Bitte nur zum persönlichen Lesen! E.H.” (Sole copy. Kindly use for personal reading only! E.H.)

Location: EHA 1514.

Remarks:

 Loose pages, two-hole punched; original folder removed.

Another typescript, BBA 994, undated but clearly modeled on Tt3 (it shows the same stylings, page breaks, etc.), reflects a few of the emendations Hauptmann entered in Tt3a. The script's front matter transmits a unique wording of the credits: "Happy end. | von Elisabeth Hauptmann | Songs von Bert Brecht und Kurt Weill." Another unique feature appears in Act I, right before the repeat of no. 3: BBA 994 contains the stage direction "[Jimmy] Gießt einen Whisky in den Töff" (pours a glass of whisky into the bucket), whereas Tt3 reads "spuckt in den Töff" (spits into the bucket), which Hauptmann emended in Tt3a to "spuckt zierlich in den Töff" (spits delicately into the bucket), and so adopted in Tt4. It is impossible to establish a date for BBA 994; it appears to have been created after 1932 and before 1956. John Willett misidentified BBA 994 as “the earliest typescript” (“Bacon ohne Shakespeare? — The Problem of Mitarbeit,” Brecht Yearbook/Brecht-Jahrbuch 12 [1983]: 126), which has been perpetuated in subsequent scholarly publications.

Tt4 Typescript based on Tt3a.

Libretto, typescript (103 pp.).

Date: [1956?].

Happy End | von | Dorothy Lane | Musik von Kurt Weill
Remarks:

Greenish flimsy pages, two-hole punched; pencil annotations in the hand of David Drew.

Omits nos. 10, 13.

Hauptmann sent this copy to Lenya with a cover letter dated 19 December 1956: “HIER IST EIN EXEMPLAR VON ‘HAPPY END’, SO WIE ES BLOCH ERBEN IN VERTRIEB HATTEN. ES KOMMT MIR ETWAS VERSTÜMMELT VOR. AN ETWAIGES MATERIAL, DAS NOCH UNTER BRECHT-SACHEN LIEGEN KÖNNTE, KANN ICH ERST ERSCHLIESSBAR DERKEN.” (Here is a copy of Happy End as Bloch Erben had it in circulation. It strikes me as slightly truncated. It will take a while until I can access Brecht’s papers to see whether they contain any additional materials).

Tips Two lists with texts for 16 projections (intertitles).

Typescripts (4 pp.).

Date: [Summer 1929].

Location: BBA 1354/02–03 (later version) [additional carbon copy: 1354/04–05]; 1354/14–15 (earlier version).

TryR Lyric for no. 13 “Hosiannah Rockefeller.”

Lyric, manuscript (2 pp.).

Date: [Summer 1929].

Location: BBA 902/37 (p. 1) and 1354/17 (p. 2).

Remark:

First page carries stanza 1; second page contains three stanzas numbered “2,” “3,” and “oder 3” (corresponding to stanzas 2–4 of Try).

Try Collection of lyric sheets.

Lyric, typescripts (26 pp.).

Date: [Summer 1929–1950s?].

Location: EHA 1505.

Contents:

Multiple versions of nos. 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

Remarks:

An additional carbon copy of a version of no. 4 and one of no. 8 were inserted into Tr.

Try includes a clean version of the cryptic lyric sheet (apparently paraphrasing the Bible, 1 Chron. 29:5ff) found at the very end of Tr. Brecht’s annotations in the latter appear in the first layer of the former.

Additional lyric sheets (mostly typed, some handwritten) are in BBA, especially BBA 902 (lyrics for nos. 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), but also in BBA 122 (for no. 9, ms. Brecht with ms. Hauptmann), BBA 454 (for no. 4), BBA 828 (for no. 3, ms. Hauptmann), and BBA 1354 (nos. 11, 13).

TryN Lyric for no. 10 “Das Lied von der harten Nuss.”

Lyric, typescript (1 p.).

Date: [Summer 1929?].

Location: BBA 902/045.

Remarks:

Titled “3 AKT/ SONG (Homolka),” the first stanza differs from what Weill set. The second stanza is identical to Try.

Stains from a rusty paperclip could mean that the sheet was once part of Tt2 (which has similar stains at the spot where the sheet would have been inserted). The evidence is inconclusive, however.

TryR Lyric for no. 13 “Hosiannah Rockefeller.”

Lyric, typescript (1 p.).

Date: [Summer 1929].

Location: BBA 1354/032.

Remark:

A similar typescript is in BBA 902/36. It identifies stanzas with roman numerals and skips a line in stanza “III.”

Recordings (excerpts)

R1 Two 78 rpm discs, recorded in September–October 1929 in Berlin and released by Electrola; Lewis Ruth Band:

Contents: Nos. 1, 4, 9, 11

- Electrola no. E.G. 1560: “Der Song von Mandelay” (BN 727) [rec. 19 September 1929]; “Bilbao Song” (BN 749) [rec. 2 October 1929]. Both recorded in Studio D.
- Electrola no. E.G. 1590: “Matrosensong” (BLR 5724) [rec. 24 October 1929]; “Surabaya Johnny” (BLR 5725) [rec. 24 October 1929]. Both recorded in Beethoven-Saal.

Remark:

On 19 September 1929, the band recorded also two takes each of “Matrosensong” (BNR 726) and “Surabaya Johnny” (BNB 728), but apparently these went unreleased. Instead, the band recorded the songs anew on 24 October 1929.

R2 One 78 rpm disc, recorded in October 1929 and released by Ultraphon; “Red” Roberts [i.e., Theo Mackeben] mit seinem Ultraphon-Jazz-Orchester:

Contents: Nos. 1, 11

- Ultraphon no. A 198: “Bilbao Song” (10308); “Surabaya Johnny” (10309).

R3 One 78 rpm disc, recorded in October 1929 and released by Orchestrola; Lotte Lenja (voc); Theo Mackeben mit seinem Jazz-Orchester:

Contents: Nos. 1, 11

- Orchestrola 2311: “Surabaya-Johnny” (A 8717); “Bilbao-Song” (A 8718).

Note: Six of the eight recordings preserved by R1-3 were re-released in 1990 on CD Capriccio 10 347. During the digitization process, the shellac discs were transferred at slightly incorrect speeds, yielding distorted tempos/pitches (most notably in the case of R1).
ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

Full Score Format

Fe Study score.
Full score, printed.
KURT WEILL | Happy End | Komödie mit Musik in drei Akten | von Dorothy Lane | Songtexte von | BERTOLT BRECHT | American adaptation and lyrics | by Michael Feingold | Music edited and corrected in accordance | with the composer's manuscripts by | Herausgegeben und revisiert anhand der Autographen von | Alan Boustead | Partitur | UE 17 243 | UNIVERSAL EDITION

Released in 1980.

xii, 121 p. ; 24 cm
Publisher's no.: U.E. 17 243.
Remarks:
Apparently created for a concert performance of Happy End by the London Sinfonietta at the 1975 Berliner Festspiele, the score did not appear until 1980.

No. 13 appears only as a reduced-size facsimile of Fh.

Short Score Format

Sm Production master for Se.
Date: [Summer 1958].
Location: WLRC, Series 18, Flds. 67–74.
First page of music:
I. Akt | BILL: . . . . die Fragmente des Bilbao-Songs. | Aber ich kanns nicht mehr. | No. 1 BILBAO-SONG
Manuscript in pencil by Roland Philipp, at the time UE's head of production. Markings in red ballpoint (often adding music of other instruments) also by Philipp. Nos. 4, 8, 9 are the original Im-Klav pages, marked up by Philipp. Continuous pagination 1–112 (p. 18 is marked vacat).

Page count:
111 pages of music (including the 30 pp. of Im-Klav).

Paper types:
J. E. & Co. Protokoll Schutzmarke No. 1 (10 linig)
[26.9 × 33.9 cm; span: 27.0 cm]
J. E. & Co. Protokoll Schutzmarke No. 1 (10 linig)
[24.8 × 34.7 cm; span: 27.0 cm]

Remarks:
The paper types differ in trim size and quality: the paper with a width of 26.9 cm is of high quality; that with a width of 24.8 cm is coarse, flimsy, and has darkened considerably. It appears that the printing house, Waldheim-Eberle AG, used the same plates to produce papers of different quality.

Nos. 10 and 11 are swapped (i.e., “Surabaya-Johnny” precedes “Das Lied von der harten Nuss”).

No. 13 is not included; as a substitute, score instructs to repeat no. 2 at the end.
A handwritten note by Philipp (dated 24 July 1958) is attached to “Das Lied von der harten Nuss” and instructs to hold the creation of transparencies for this number until it is clear how many stanzas exist. To that effect, Philipp contacted Lenya and, on her suggestion, also Aufrecht and Hauptmann. All three vaguely remembered only one stanza; Hauptmann added a caveat: she still had to sift through a lot of unprocessed Brecht materials, which would take weeks). See Tty, TryN, and critical notes for no. 10.

Se0 Corrected proof for Se.
Date: [Fall 1958].
Location: WLRC, Series 18, Fld. 66.
Remarks:
A typewritten note (torn from original wrapper) laid in:
“Druckunterlagen und Abzüge vom Kalvierauszug […] am 10.11.1958 von Herrn Dr. PHILIPP zum Ablegen erhalten). Wien, am 11.11.1958.”
The proof contains a duplicate of pp. 42–48 showing different corrections and solutions for vocal line of no. 4.

Se Klavier-Direktionsstimme.
Piano-conductor score, printed.
KURT WEILL | HAPPY END | Komödie mit Musik | in 3 Akten von Dorothy Lane |
[added sticker: | Songtexte | von | BERTOLT BRECHT | Klavier-Direktion | UNIVERSAL EDITION | WIEN ZÜRICH LONDON
Copyright 1958.
103 p. ; 31 cm
Publisher's no.: U.E. 11 685.
Remark:
The score was registered for copyright on 29 December 1958 and included credit to Brecht (added with a sticker to the title page).

Draft

DhS Draft of no. 11 “Surabaya-Johnny” (in E major).
Date: [Spring 1929].
Location: WLRC, Series 12, Fld. 22.
First page of music:
Ich war jung Gott erst sechzehn Jahre
Holograph in pencil.
Page count:
2 pages of music.
Paper type:
K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 389 (28 Linien)
[26.8 × 33.8 cm; span: 31.6 cm]
Condition: poor (heavily worn, several tears, some tears taped with clear adhesive tape).
Remark:
The top of the verso contains an untexted draft, subsequently crossed out, of “Musche von Margate” (which was part of Weill's incidental music for the 1928 play Konjunktur).
Pre-rehearsal script; four-act version.
Libretto, typescript (109 pp.).
Date: [Spring–Summer 1929].
Title page for Act I:
ERSTER AKT
Carbon copy of typescript. Act I (30 pp.), Act II (37 pp.), Act III (26 pp.), Act IV (16 pp.). Additional carbon copies of Acts II (last four pages missing), III, and IV laid in. Individual acts were once bound.
Location: EHA 1507.
Remarks:
Manuscript additions on first page: “für Brecht” (in pencil) and “Brecht” (in blue crayon). Brecht added text for projections in red crayon. Some of these are neatly transcribed or completed by Hauptmann in black ink.
Additional scripts, fragments, and compilations, reflecting various stages between Tt1 and Tt2, are housed in EHA (1509–1511) and BBA (898–901, 903, 1357).

Rental script based on Tt3 and matching Se.
Libretto, typescript (63 pp.).
Date: 1958.
Front matter (2 pp.), Prologue, Act I–III (61 pp.).
Remarks:
Tt5 inserts the lyrics for “Das Lied von der harten Nuss” in Act III after Lilian’s rendition of “Surabaya-Johnny” and her line “Hat es dich so ergriffen, Bill?” without any further dramatic embedding.
Rather than following Tt3a, Tt4, or the script BBA 994, Tt5 appears to be based on Tt3. It corrects a few of the lines misattributed in Tt3 (e.g., in Act I, after the reprise of no. 3 and Sam’s line “Wir wollen ja gar nicht,” Tt3 has Sam continue with what is actually a speech of Lilian’s). But Tt5 also misses one: When Bill enters in Act IIIb, it is Lilian, not Bill, who speaks “Schwestern, Brüder, bewillkommnet Herrn Cracker!” “Hosiannah Rockefeller” is not included; as a substitute, script has lyrics of no. 2 at the very end (here assigned “Nr. 13”).

Edition of Tt5 published in Julia ohne Romeo.
Libretto, published.
Elisabeth Hauptmann | Julia ohne Romeo | Geschichten | Stücke | Stücksammlung | Erzählungen | Erinnerungen | Aufbau-Verlag
Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1977
pp. 65–135 ; 20 cm
Remark:
Editors Rosemarie Eggert and Rosemarie Hill state on p. 247 that Tp follows Tt5.

Programs
N1 Program for original production at Theater am Schiffbauer-damm, Berlin (premiere: 2 September 1929).
Location: Institut für Theaterwissenschaft der Freien Universität Berlin, Theaterhistorische Sammlung Walter Unruh.

N2 House publication, circulated in conjunction with original production: Das Stichwort: Zeitung des Theaters am Schiffbauer-damm (September 1929).

Miscellaneous
M1 Photos of original production.
Location: WLRC, photo files.
Remark:
One photo of M1 printed as Plate 16 in Main Volume. Additional photos appear in WPD(e), pp. 96–99.

M2 Index card tracking the shipping of rental materials.
Location: Universal Edition Archives, Vienna.
Remark:
The card, which appears to have been created in 1932, chronicles shipments until 1962. For facsimile (front only), see Plate 2 in Main Volume.
# Abbreviations

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<th>German</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>Altsaxophon</td>
<td>ASax</td>
<td>Alto Saxophone</td>
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<td>Bandoneon</td>
<td>Band</td>
<td>Bandoneon</td>
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<td>Banjo</td>
<td>Bjo</td>
<td>Banjo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bass-Gitarre</td>
<td>BsGtr</td>
<td>Bass Guitar</td>
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<td>Bass-Saxophon</td>
<td>BsSax</td>
<td>Bass Saxophone</td>
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<td>Flöte</td>
<td>Fl</td>
<td>Flute</td>
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<td>Gitarre</td>
<td>Gtr</td>
<td>Guitar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harmonium</td>
<td>Harm</td>
<td>Harmonium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawaii-Gitarre</td>
<td>HwGtr</td>
<td>Hawaiian Guitar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Klarinette</td>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>Clarinet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Klavier</td>
<td>Klav</td>
<td>Piano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kleine Flöte</td>
<td>KlFl</td>
<td>Piccolo</td>
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<td>Mandoline</td>
<td>Mand</td>
<td>Mandolin</td>
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<td>Posaune</td>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>Trombone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schlagzeug</td>
<td>Ssg</td>
<td>Percussion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sopransaxophon</td>
<td>SSax</td>
<td>Soprano Saxophone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenorsaxophon</td>
<td>TSax</td>
<td>Tenor Saxophone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trompete</td>
<td>Ttp</td>
<td>Trumpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violine</td>
<td>Vn</td>
<td>Violin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percussion Instruments)

| Becken          | Beck         | Cymbals               |
| Glocken         | Gl           | Chimes                |
| Gong            | Gng          | Gong                  |
| Große Trommel   | GrTr         | Bass Drum             |
| Holztrommel     | HzTr         | Wood Blocks           |
| Kleine Trommel  | KTr          | Snare Drum            |
| Tomtom          | Ttom         | Tom-tom               |
| Triangel        | Tri          | Triangle              |
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