

Kurt Weill

# *The Kurt Weill Edition*

Series I — Stage

Series II — Concert

Series III — Screen

Series IV — Miscellanea

## *Editorial Board*

Tim Carter

Joel Galand

Edward Harsh

Stephen Hinton

Kim H. Kowalke

Giselher Schubert

## *Managing Editor*

Elmar Juchem

---

# *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

*Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, Inc. / New York*  
*European American Music Corporation / New York*

Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, Inc., New York, New York  
European American Music Corporation, New York, New York

**Happy End**

By Elisabeth Hauptmann; Music and Lyrics by Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht

This Critical Edition Copyright © 2020 by The Kurt Weill Foundation for Music, Inc.  
and European American Music Corporation  
All Rights Reserved

Published 2020  
Printed in Austria by Plöchl Druck GmbH

The Kurt Weill Edition offers electronic versions of the Introductions and Critical Reports for all published volumes,  
as well as corrigenda and other updates at: [www.kurtweilledition.org](http://www.kurtweilledition.org)

Ⓢ The paper in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information  
Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

ISBN 978-1-62721-904-4

# CONTENTS

List of Sources and Sigla	7
Statement of Source Valuation and Usage	9
Commentary:	
General Issues	13
Critical Notes	17
Table: Overview of Musical Materials	51
Source Descriptions	53
Abbreviations	59
Kurt Weill Edition Personnel	60
Credits and Acknowledgments for this Volume	61



# 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 Ultraphon (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. 11 685)

### Drafts

**DhS** Holograph draft of no. 11 (1929)

### Text

**Tt1** Pre-rehearsal script (1929)

**Tt5** Rental script based on **Tt3** (1958)

**Tp** 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

- GS2 Weill, Kurt. *Musik und musikalisches Theater: Gesammelte Schriften. Mit einer Auswahl von Gesprächen und Interviews*. Expanded and revised edition. Edited by Stephen Hinton and Jürgen Schebera. Mainz: Schott, 2000.
- W-LL(e) *Speak Low (When You Speak Love): The Letters of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya*. Edited and translated by Lys Symonette and Kim H. Kowalke. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996.
- W-LL(g) *Sprich leise, wenn Du Liebe sagst: Der Briefwechsel Kurt Weill/Lotte Lenya*. Edited and translated by Lys Symonette and Kim H. Kowalke. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1998.
- W-UE Weill, Kurt. *Briefwechsel mit der Universal Edition*. Selected and edited by Nils Grosch. Stuttgart and Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2002.
- WPD(e) Farneth, David, with Elmar Juchem and Dave Stein. *Kurt Weill: A Life in Pictures and Documents*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 2000.



# 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 Brotladen* (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 Höllenlili”; 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).

**Tty** 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 *Julia 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

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 notated 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 *Konjunktur*, 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, 7), 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 accented Tom beats 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#3 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.<sup>3</sup> 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-

<sup>2</sup> The orchestral parts for Weill’s *Der Lindberghflug*, created in November 1929, bear stamps by the Notenschreib-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).

<sup>3</sup> 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 Lenya’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-LL(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 R uth, 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 Aufrecht 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, Flds. 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 Lenya'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 the lyrics transmitted by **Tt3**. 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**.

# COMMENTARY: GENERAL ISSUES

## 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 Db-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 Eb 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 **Tt2-4**. For the placement of no. 10, the Edition uses a passage and markings transmitted by **Tt2**. For no. 13 (“Hosiannah 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 *Kontragaritarre* 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 Kunstharmenium, 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 A3 (not: E3); fifth string D4 (not: A3); fourth string G4 (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, Eb4, 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, C#5, 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*

**Fh** 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

**VmB1/2** suggests that he did not intend to prescribe an approximate “pitch” when using crosshead notation.

#### *Iteration signs*

**Fh** 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 **Fh** and **Im** lack rehearsal letters, the Edition provides them. (The Edition ignores rehearsal letters added at a later date in **Fh** 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:







# COMMENTARY: CRITICAL NOTES

*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):

[1.]

**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.**

[3.]

**Bills Ballhaus in Bilbao, Bilbao, Bilbao,****Heute ist es renoviert so auf dezent**

Mit Palme und mit Eiscreme, 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 abbestellt.

'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 E $\flat$  major, and **Im** in D $\flat$  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 E $\flat$  and two in D $\flat$  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 D $\flat$ , as in that key the vocal range (D $\flat$ 3–F4) closely matches the tessitura of Bill's other number, "Das Lied von der harten Nuss." D $\flat$  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 (Ecclesias 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).

<i>Location</i>	<i>Part</i>	<i>Remark</i>
1	ALL	Edition adds value of a quarter rest as 1.1, thereby transforming the three quarter-note pickup in <b>Fh</b> into a complete measure.
1	ALL	<b>R3</b> adopts a tempo of ♩ = 72–80.
1–2	ASax, Trp	<b>Fh</b> has pencil annotation calling for a switch of this opening material between ASax and Trp, but this is not reflected in <b>Im</b> . However, the switch can be heard in <b>R1-2</b> ; Lenya's recording ( <b>R3</b> ) omits the opening figure, beginning with pickup to m. 4.
2.1	ASax	Edition takes pitch B♭5 from <b>Im</b> . <b>Fh</b> has B5 (= A5 in D♭ major) in first layer, but performance annotation corrects it (to match Klav).
5.3, 6.3, 7.3; 11.3., 12.3, 13.3	Szg	Edition takes quarter-note beat on Ttom from <b>Im</b> (what appears to be first layer) and adds wedge accent. <b>Fh</b> has quarter rest here, whereas <b>R2-3</b> consistently feature an accented beat on the higher Ttom (in <b>R1</b> drummer uses Beck for accented beats in mm. 11–13). <b>Im</b> 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. <i>W-UE</i> , p. 216, letter of 6 January 1930); for an example of erroneous use see the full score of <i>Kleine Dreigroschenmusik</i> , U.E. 9712 (p. 17 passim).
7.3	Bjo, Klav	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match prevailing dynamic level. The absence of a dynamic is curious, especially in light of a reiterated <i>p</i> in Reeds and Brass at 9.3. Technically, Bjo and Klav are still <i>f</i> (from pickup to m. 1), but Szg is <i>p</i> . <b>Im</b> 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 <i>p</i> at 9.3 in Trp. Edition assumes that Weill would have properly marked <b>Fh</b> if a dynamic contrast had been desired (one would expect to find at least performance annotations to that effect in <b>Im</b> ).
13–14	Klav r.h.	Edition adds articulation to match mm. 7–8 (for variant at 14.6, Edition adds tenuto mark).
16.3–4	BILL	Edition takes dotted rhythm from <b>Ae</b> . <b>Fh</b> has eighth notes but compare doubling in TSax.
17.1–4	TSax	Edition adds staccato marks to match 16.3–6.
19	TSax	Edition takes rhythm   ♩. ♩   from <b>Im</b> to match voice. <b>Fh</b> is ambiguous by conflating two rhythms as   ♩. ♩ ♩   with no further correction (and it is no longer discernible whether   ♩. ♩   or   ♩ ♩ ♩   constituted the first layer).
19.4	Klav r.h.	<b>Im</b> has B♭3-F4-A♭4 here (instead of A♭3-D♭4- F4-A♭4).
21.1	Trp	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
24.3–4, 109.3–4	BILL	Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> text (“grüne”) in m. 24 (also in <b>VmB1/2</b> , <b>Ae</b> ) and changes the moon's color in stanzas 2 and 3 as well, even though <b>Tt3</b> (and all earlier textual sources) have “rote”—a color corroborated by Paul Wiegler's review in <i>B. Z. am Mittag</i> . But <b>R3</b> has “grüne” in both stanzas.

27.3, 27.7	ASax	Edition upholds C#5 (sounding E4), also found in <b>Im</b> , 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 “ <i>Geh</i> , Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach.” The exceptions are <b>Tty</b> , 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). <b>Fh</b> does not contain the word “ <i>Geh</i> ,” and all other musical sources agree. In <b>R3</b> , however, Lenya sings “ <i>Geh</i> ” as a half-spoken pickup. Singers wishing to perform the pickup could sing a quarter note F4. Edition takes instruction “nimmt Bandoneon” from <b>Im</b> (first layer) and adds “in Wiederholung” (in repeat).
28.4	Bjo	Edition takes instruction “nimmt Bandoneon” from <b>Im</b> (first layer) and adds “in Wiederholung” (in repeat).
28.4	Klav r.h.	Edition follows <b>Im</b> in omitting pitch D $\flat$ 4 (already attacked as half note at 28.3).
29	ALL	Edition takes caesura from consistent performance annotations in <b>Im</b> and adds fermata, prompted by markings in <b>Im</b> (TSax and Szg).
29/2	ALL	<b>Ae</b> identifies the passage beginning here as <i>Die “Musik von damals”</i> (printed in parentheses below the staff). This information is not found in <b>VmB1/2</b> or <b>Fh</b> .
40.3	Klav r.h.	Edition enharmonically respells <b>Fh</b> pitch F $\flat$ 4 (= E $\flat$ 4 in D $\flat$ major) as D $\sharp$ 4 to match 38.3. <b>Im</b> has copyist's errors in both measures.
41/2–42/1	BILL	<b>VmB1/2</b> and <b>Ae</b> have “Lang, lang ist's her” printed in rhythmic notation (♩ ♩ ♩   ♩ ) with crossheads in top space. That <b>VmB1</b> and the transposed <b>VmB2</b> and <b>Ae</b> 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 <b>Fh</b> removing pitch F4 (= E $\flat$ 4 in D $\flat$ major) in light of E $\flat$ 4 in l.h. <b>Im</b> retains E $\flat$ 4.
44.2–45.1	Klav	<b>VmB1/2</b> and <b>Ae</b> have a variant here, with a middle voice in r.h. descending C4–B $\flat$ 3–B $\flat$ 3–A $\flat$ 3.
45	TSax, Trp	Edition takes breath mark after 45.1 from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
46.1	ASax, Pos	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match other parts.
48.1	BILL	<b>VmB1/2</b> and <b>Ae</b> have half note. Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> .
48.2, 48.4	ASax, TSax	Edition consistently adds accents, found in <b>Fh</b> 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 <b>Im</b> and adds it to vocal part.
49.2	BILL	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match ASax, TSax.
50.1	Pos	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match other parts.
62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74	ASax, TSax, Trp	Edition normalizes articulation to match m. 60. In <b>Fh</b> 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 <b>Tt3</b> , 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 $\flat$ 4 from <b>Im</b> . In <b>Fh</b> , notated without a key signature, Weill failed to add flat-sign.
75.2	BILL	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match TSax, Trp (and compare 45.2).
76–86	Bjo	<b>Fh</b> , 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 <i>tacet</i> for mm. 76–86.
76.1	ASax, Pos	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match other parts.
79	ASax, TSax, BILL	Edition adds breath mark after 79.1 to match m. 49.
79.2	BILL	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match ASax, TSax (and compare 49.2).
90.3, 91.3, 92.3; 96.3, 97.3, 98.3	Szg	<b>Im</b> does not add a Tom beat for this stanza (compare mm. 5–13 above). Although <b>R1–3</b> 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 <i>p</i> to match prevailing dynamic level. In <b>Fh</b> , m. 93 falls on the beginning of a new system.
99.1–4 99–100	ASax, TSax, Trp BILL	Edition takes staccato marks from <b>Im-Trp</b> . Edition follows Trp for rhythm of vocal line. In <b>R3</b> , Lenya sings syllable “-blis-” on second beat as a dotted quarter note (i.e.,  ). The recording confirms, however, that the word “Etablissement” is to be divided—following colloquial Berlin style—into five syllables (the last of which is pronounced to rhyme with “dezent”; in contrast, compare no. 9, mm. 13–14, where it is pronounced to rhyme with “entlang”). Paul Fechter, in his review for the <i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i> , thought the general tone of the production smacked of Wedding, perhaps the most famous of Berlin’s working-class districts.
101	ALL	Edition adds <i>mf</i> to match m. 16.
102–103	Bjo	Edition takes top notes G $\sharp$ 5 (m. 102) and F5 (m. 103) from <b>Im</b> (first layer). <b>Fh</b> has G $\flat$ 5, which clashes with the melody.
104.2	BILL	Edition follows <b>R3</b> in having text (“Spaß!”) spoken here. <b>Tt3</b> lacks indication.
105.1–4	Pos	Edition assumes pitch A $\flat$ 3. <b>Fh</b> and <b>Im</b> , written without a general key signature, fail to reiterate flat-sign after 104.2.
107–112	Szg	<b>Im</b> shows a significant difference here. In <b>Fh</b> , Weill notated this passage with three iteration signs ( <b>///</b> ) repeating mm. 105–106. The scribe of <b>Im</b> repeated m. 106 in m. 107 and then continued with quarter notes alternating between GrTr 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 $\sharp$ 3 from <b>Im</b> (first layer). <b>Fh</b> has G3 (= F3 in D $\flat$ major), but surely Pos is supposed to continue doubling the melody here.
pickup to 113	BILL	For variant “ <i>Geh, Joe, mach die Musik von damals nach</i> ” 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 <i>p</i> 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 <b>Fh</b> of mm. 117–118.
123.2–4	Pos	In <b>Fh</b> 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 <b>Im</b> ).
127.2–128.2	Pos	Edition adds slur to match pattern established in mm. 115–126.
131.1	ASax, Pos, Bjo, Szg, Klav	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match TSax and Trp at 130.2 (and compare mm. 46 and 76).
131/2, 132/2	ASax	Edition adopts pencil annotation in <b>Fh</b> changing rhythm from half note to quarter notes (compare TSax, Trp). <b>Im</b> 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 <i>molto rit.</i> from Weill’s annotation in a copy of <b>Ae</b> 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, <b>Im-ASax</b> , corroborates Weill’s decision; the other parts are unmarked.
141	Bjo, Szg, Klav	Edition adds diminuendo hairpin to match Reeds, Brass.
142/2	Szg	<b>Im</b> has specification “Gong!” in first layer, apparently adopting a performance annotation in an earlier part (but not heard in <b>R1-3</b> ).

## 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 Lillian 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 Schlachthöfe*, 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 Eb5 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 <i>p</i> to match prevailing dynamic level; the <i>mf</i> 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, Szg, LIL, Klav	Edition add <i>mf</i> to match saxophones and trumpet.
36	LIL	Edition takes text (“helfen gehn”) from <b>Tt2/3</b> (also found in early drafts located in BBA 902). <b>Fh</b> 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-”). <b>Fh</b> 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 <i>p</i> to match accompaniment (cf. m. 109).
43–46	Klav	In <b>Fh</b> , 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 <i>mf</i> to match Trp (other parts have <i>mf</i> already at 47/1). One could argue that Weill intended <i>mf</i> only for the melodic doubling of the trumpet, but <b>Fh</b> does not look deliberate in that regard.

53–55	LIL	There seems to have been some uncertainty about the lyric. The earliest surviving typed lyric (= BBA 902/48) has “Denn die <i>guten</i> Leute, das ist <i>eine</i> grosse Armee,” but “guten Leute” is crossed out with typewritten x’s and changed to typewritten “armen Leute.” <b>Fh</b> and a draft lyric (= BBA 902/46) have “Denn die <i>armen</i> Leute, das ist <i>eine</i> grosse Armee” (i.e., as in stanza 2). <b>Tt2</b> has “Denn die <i>guten</i> Leute, das ist <i>keine</i> grosse Armee,” but a faint pencil annotation appears to change “die guten” to “die armen”; <b>Tt3</b> follows the first layer of <b>Tt2</b> here. Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> .
61.5	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing ♯ for B♯ octave to match Trp.
67–74	Klav	In <b>Fh</b> , 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 <b>Se</b> and <b>Fe</b> .
75	LIL	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match accompaniment.
77–78	ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos	Edition adds staccato marks to match mm. 75–76.
78.3–4	Klav l.h.	Edition changes octave A1-A2 to octave D1-D2 to match bass line in Pos (and compare m. 12). In <b>Fh</b> , Weill notated the left hand with an iteration sign (i.e., repeating m. 77).
80.3	Bjo	Edition adds missing ♯ for C♯5 (cf. Trp, Klav).
91–94	LIL	In <b>Fh</b> , Weill corrected the lyrics in pencil. The original ink layer gives the text of the first stanza (“dass viele draußen stehn”).
95	Trp	Edition adds cautionary <i>p</i> for the part’s reentry.
95	LIL	<b>Tt2/3</b> and all other text sources have “ <i>es</i> hilft nichts.” Weill may have substituted “ <i>das</i> ” for “ <i>es</i> ” because it is easier to sing and avoids repetition (“ <i>es</i> ” appears later in the same line).
95.2	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing ♯ for F♯4, matching TSax.
100/4	Bjo, Szg	Edition adds missing quarter rest (cf. m. 34).
103–108	Klav r.h.	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.
106.2	ASax, TSax, Trp	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.
106/4	Klav	Edition shortens preceding chord and adds quarter rest, so that r.h. cuts off with ASax, TSax, Trp and l.h. matches Pos, Szg. <b>Fh</b> has dotted half note at 106/2 in r.h. and half note at 106/3 in l.h.
112–113	LIL	Lilian breaking off after m. 112—or rather being cut off by the march re-summing in m. 113—seems intentional; m. 113 has a whole rest (and compare no. 13, mm. 96–97).
114	Klav	Edition assigns music to Klav. <b>Fh</b> has no indication to switch instruments (Harm 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).
114/4	LIL	Edition adds <i>mf</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
120.1–2	Pos	Edition adds slur to match Trp.
127.5	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing ♯ for octave B♯4-B♯5 to match Trp.

### 3. Geht hinein in die Schlacht (Heilsarmeelied I)

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.

1	VOICES	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match accompaniment.
4	Pos	Edition adds articulation to match m. 8.
9–10/1	ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos	Edition adds articulation to match mm. 1–8.
12	VOICES	Edition takes text (“Herr <i>Jesu</i> Christ”) from <b>Tt3</b> . <b>Vh</b> has “Herr <i>Jesus</i> Christ,” which corresponds to all earlier text sources, but the vocative case “ <i>Jesu</i> ” is easier to sing and grammatically also correct.
13	VOICES	Edition takes spoken text (“Hallelujah!”) from <b>Tt3</b> . In <b>Vh</b> , the vocal staff has a whole rest, reflecting all earlier text sources, which lacked the closing exclamation. In 1958, UE decided to have the exclamation sung; <b>Se</b> has pitch B4 (matching ASax, Trp) and editorial rhythm   ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪  .

#### 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. 1–61 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 Rütth, 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 ( <b>C</b> ) in <b>Im</b> . <b>Ae</b> has $\text{♩}$ , a time signature that seems more appropriate to the refrain than the stanzas. <b>R1</b> adopts a tempo of $\text{♩} = 120$ . 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 <b>Ae</b> (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 3, 7	Szg, Klav Klav l.h.	Edition adds <i>mf</i> to match Band. Edition places top note B $\flat$ 3 (already sounding in r.h.) in parentheses. <b>Ae</b> omits notes.
5 (incl. pickup) 5.1, 6.1	Band, Szg, Klav Trp	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match ASax, TSax, and Trp. Edition upholds tenuto marks, even though saxophones play staccato. The initial tenuto marks seem designed to reflect the initial syllables in the voice.
5.1 5.1	Band, Klav LIL	Edition adds <i>simile</i> to indicate continuation of the articulation pattern. Edition omits <i>f</i> , as <b>Ae</b> has <i>f</i> also in the accompaniment (from the beginning). The choice of dynamic is left to the performer.
6.2–3 6.4	Klav r.h. TSax	Edition adds tie in top voice to match 5.2–3. Edition changes D5 (sounding C4) to E5 (sounding D4) to match Klav r.h.
6.5–6 7.1, 8.1	ASax, TSax Klav r.h.	Edition adds slur to match Trp. Edition adds missing $\flat$ for B $\flat$ 3 in lowest voice.
9	Trp	Edition adds instruction to remove mute. <b>Im</b> reassigns mute in m. 43, suggesting that muting is canceled in the meantime (open playing for mm. 25ff. is indeed plausible).
9.5–6	LIL	<b>Tt2/3</b> and all other text sources have (“nehmen”). Edition upholds the only musical source, <b>Ae</b> , which has “rauchen,” even though Brecht may have reserved “rauchen” for the quatrain 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). <b>Ae</b> spells it “Henry Klay”; <b>Tty</b> and <b>Tt3</b> have “Henry Kley.” In <b>Tt3a</b> , Hauptmann experimented with different spellings (first changing “Kley” to “Klai,” then to “Clai” (the latter adopted in <b>Tt4</b> )—apparently to highlight the rhyme with “dabei” (m. 8) and “Hai” (m. 141).
14.1	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing $\sharp$ for C $\sharp$ 4.
15.2	LIL	Edition takes text (“sie”) from <b>Tt3</b> (also present in all other text sources). <b>Ae</b>

		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 <b>Im</b> , 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. <b>R1</b> is of no help as it starts with pickup to m. 63.
17 17, 26	Band, Klav Szg	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match Pos, Szg. Edition assigns Ttom. <b>Im</b> 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 “Tomtom” (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 <b>Im-Pos</b> notated E4 also in <b>Im-ASax</b> and <b>Im-Trp</b> as sounding cue notes (but sounding D4 in <b>Im-TSax</b> ). The trombone player of <b>R1</b> 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), <b>Im</b> 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 <i>f</i> and adds crescendo hairpin (to match Band). <b>Im</b> is ambiguous, either <i>f</i> or <i>ff</i> .
25.2	Band l.h.	Edition corrects erroneous eighth to quarter note.
26	Pos, Band, Klav	Edition adds <i>mf</i> to match other parts.
27.3	Klav l.h.	Edition adds lower octave to match overall pattern. <b>Im</b> has G2 only.
31.1	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing $\flat$ for B $\flat$ 4 in lowest voice.
32.1	ASax, TSax, Trp	Edition equalizes articulation ( <b>Im-ASax</b> has accent-staccato mark, <b>Im-TSax</b> has no slur, <b>Im-Trp</b> lacks staccato).
34/4	Pos, Klav	Edition adds <i>f</i> 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 <b>Fh</b> only once and instructed the copyists to use mm. 35–41 again as mm. 97–103 and 168–174. <b>Im</b> ’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 <b>TSax</b> in mm. 35–41 (also for <b>ASax</b> , <b>Trp</b> , and <b>Klav r.h.</b> ), <b>Pos</b> in mm. 35–41 (also for <b>Klav l.h.</b> ), and rationalizes articulation found in <b>Band</b> and <b>Szg</b> . Edition upholds a single discrepancy: <b>Im-TSax</b> and <b>Im-Trp</b> 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 $\flat$ for D $\flat$ 4 (canceling preceding D $\flat$ 4) to match <b>ASax</b> . <b>Ae</b> has D $\flat$ 4.
35.6	Klav r.h.	Edition changes E4 to D4 to match <b>ASax</b> and 37.6. <b>Ae</b> has D4.
36.5–37.1	ASax	Edition adds slur to match <b>TSax</b> , <b>Trp</b> and adds staccato mark at 37.1 to articulate the repeated pitch.
37.6	LIL	<b>Tt2</b> has a pencil annotation changing “mal” to “nur,” which <b>Tt3</b> adopts in first layer (both sources do not write out the complete second stanza). Edition upholds <b>Ae</b> ’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 <b>Klav r.h.</b> and m. 36. Compare 100.3, where <b>Im</b> has the same mistake, whereas 171.3 is correct.
41.6–42.2	LIL	Edition upholds <b>Ae</b> text (“gepfiffen”), even though <b>Tt3</b> has “geschissen.” Alfred Kerr’s review in the <i>Berliner Tageblatt</i> 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.
42.1	ASax	Edition corrects A5 (sounding C5) to B5 (sounding D5), matching Band and Klav.
42/3–43/3	ASax, TSax, Band, Szg	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match Brass, Klav.
43.1	Band r.h.	Edition adds missing # for C#4 in lowest voice.
47.3	Band r.h.	Edition adds missing b for Cb4 in lowest voice.
49–50	Pos	Edition changes duration to two tied whole notes, matching Trp. <b>Im</b> has two tied half notes in m. 49 and quarter note at 50.1 slurred back to 49.1 with rests for 50.2–4.
50/3	ASax, Band	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match TSax, Trp, Pos in m. 51.
51/1	Szg, Klav	Edition changes <i>mf</i> to <i>p</i> in Szg and adds <i>p</i> in Klav to match prevailing dynamic level.
52.2–53.8	TSax	Edition adds slur to match Pos in 114.2–115.8.
55/1	ASax, Trp	Edition removes redundant <i>p</i> .
57.2–58.1, 59.2–60.1	TSax	Edition adds slur to match legato playing in ASax and corresponding trombone passage in mm. 119ff.
62.3–64.2, 66.1–2	TSax, Klav r.h.	Edition adds staccato marks to match ASax (and compare articulation pattern in mm. 1–4).
63, 64, 66	Band	Edition adds <i>marcato</i> to highlight this fill-in.
65.1	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing b for Bb3.
67	ASax, TSax, Trp, Klav	Edition adds <i>simile</i> to indicate continuation of the articulation pattern.
67–68	LIL	No version of stanza 2 exists, where the first line would scan easily with the music: <b>Tty</b> [1]: da könnten wir z b doch mal ins kino rennen <b>Tty</b> [2]: Da können wir doch mal z.B. ins Kino rennen <b>Tty</b> [3]: Da möchten wir mal zum Beispiel ins Kino gehen <b>Tt2</b> : Da könnten wir mal z.B. ins Kino gehen BBA 902/52: Da möchten wir mal zum Beispiel ins Kino jehn <b>Tt3</b> : Da könnten wir mal z.B. ins Kino gehn In 1958, <b>Sm</b> introduced another “Hallo” (by analogy with stanza 1) to fit the text to the music. The Edition uses the line from <b>Tt3</b> and makes small rhythmic adjustments to the melody to accommodate the text.
69.2, 70.2	Band	Edition changes F#4 to E4 (at 69.2), matching Trp and Klav r.h., and E4 to F#4 (at 70.2), matching ASax and Klav r.h.
69.5, 69.7	Band	Edition changes F#4 to G4 to match ASax in m. 7.
74	ASax, TSax, Trp	Edition adds articulation to match m. 72.
77.2	ASax	Edition adds missing # for C#6.
78.2–3	Band	Edition removes staccato marks.
79 (incl. pickup)	Orchestra	Edition adds <i>p</i> (present only in <b>Im-Szg</b> ) throughout.
81.1, 81.3, 82.1, 82.3	Pos	Edition changes F3 to G3 to match bass line in Klav and in mm. 19–20 and 152–153. <b>Im</b> notates m. 82 with an iteration sign repeating m. 81.
82.1	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing # for C#4.
87.5	Pos	Edition adds instruction to remove mute. <b>Im</b> does not cancel muting here or elsewhere, but open playing seems warranted for the <i>cantabile</i> passage beginning in m. 88, and it is plausible for the remainder of the number.
91.5	Trp	Edition adds instruction to remove mute. <b>Im</b> fails to cancel muting anywhere, but open playing of mm. 92ff. seems warranted.

91.6–92.1	Klav	Edition adds articulation to match Band.
92 (incl. pickup)	Kl, Trp, Szg, Klav	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match TSax (and pickup in Band). Because Pos is still <i>cantabile</i> (but marked <i>f</i> at pickup to m. 97), the Edition does not specify a dynamic here.
92.2	Szg	Edition assigns KlTr.
94	Kl, TSax, Trp	Edition adds accents to match mm. 92–93 and 95.
95	Kl	Edition changes G5–G5–B♭5 to C5–C5–E♭5, 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 ♭ 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 adds missing ♯ for C♯4 (to match ASax).
99.1	Klav r.h.	Edition assigns D-minor chord to match 97.1. <b>Im</b> 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 <b>Im</b> has the same mistake, whereas 171.3 is correct.
103.6–104.2	LIL	Edition changes text of <b>Tt3</b> (“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 <b>Im-Band</b> , whereas <b>Im-Klav</b> has accent-staccato mark).
106.2–4, 114.2–4	TSax	Edition removes anomalous staccato marks.
108.2	Klav l.h.	Edition adds missing ♯ for F♯4.
109.2–8	Pos	Edition adds slur to match TSax at 47.2–8.
111.4	Pos	Edition corrects B♯3 to B♮3.
113–116	Klav r.h.	Edition writes out <i>ottava</i> instruction. In <b>Im</b> , 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). <b>R1</b> cannot serve as a guide as the pianist (Mackeben?) appears to have changed octave positions at will.
122	ALL	<b>Im-Klav</b> has <i>rit.</i> in first layer (not reflected in any other part). The Edition adopts it only in m. 193 as the song ends.
122–123	Orchestra	Edition provides diminuendo hairpin in all parts (which <b>Im</b> has only in Trp, Pos), thus matching mm. 60–61.
125	Klav	Edition adds <i>pp</i> to match Szg in m. 126.
126	Szg	Edition assigns Ttom. <b>Im</b> 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.
133.3	TSax	Edition adds <i>pp</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
136	LIL	<b>Im-Band</b> has a cue representing vocal melody and lyrics: “heis[s]t es eben jetzt”; the cue’s pitch at 136.1 is A4 (rather than B4 if it were to follow TSax).
137.3–141.2	Band, Klav	Edition adds staccato marks to match mm. 0–4. It is tempting to assume that Weill notated mm. 138–149 in the full score as a repeat of mm. 5–16, but this makes the F♯-major chord at 16.2 in <b>Im</b> even harder to explain.
137.3	Klav	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match Band but opts to keep Szg <i>pp</i> in m. 138 because of the reduced orchestration.
138.2, 138.4	Szg	Edition assigns Beck. <b>Im</b> 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.

140–141	LIL	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 <i>ad hoc</i> attempt to come up with a word rhyming with “Henry Clay” in standard U.S. pronunciation.
147–148	LIL	<b>Im-Pos</b> 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).
150	Pos, Band, Klav	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match ASax, TSax, Trp, and Szg.
150–157	Szg	Edition assigns Trom (middle), KlTr, and Trom (low). <b>Im</b> notates music on center line, top and bottom space.
151.2	ASax	Edition removes anomalous accent. In light of the low dynamic level, the lack of articulation in mm. 150ff. seems plausible.
151.6	ASax, LIL	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.
157.1	Band	Edition adds missing ♭ for D♭4.
158.6	Trp, Pos, Klav r.h.	Edition adds ♮ for sounding pitch class G♮. In light of stanzas 1 and 2, G# would be implausible.
159, 161–166	Klav r.h.	Edition changes wedge accent to accent in m. 159 and adds accents in mm. 161ff. to match m. 160.
166.1	Pos	Edition adds missing ♭ for B♭3.
166/4	Klav	Edition changes <i>ff</i> to <i>f</i> , matching ASax, TSax, Trp, and Pos.
167/4	Band	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match other parts.
168.2	Szg	Edition assigns HzTr, which <b>Im</b> does not specify until 172.2. Music is notated in top space, so conceivably Weill could have called for KlTr, but pattern seems to warrant consistency (compare mm. 35–42).
168.4	Klav r.h.	Edition changes center pitch E4 to F4, matching ASax (cf. 35.4, 97.4).
168.5, 170.5	Klav r.h.	Edition changes D♭4 to D♮4 to match ASax (see note for 35.5, 37.5).
175.1	Orchestra	Edition provides accent-staccato mark throughout (present in <b>Im</b> only in TSax, Band, and Klav r.h.).
175.2	Szg	Edition adopts Beck (klingend), which appears to be a performance annotation in an earlier part that the scribe of <b>Im</b> 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.
175/3	ASax, Trp, Klav	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match TSax, Band.
176–195	ALL	Edition writes out this final refrain, which <b>Im</b> presents as <i>D. S. al Fine</i> (the % being placed at the beginning of m. 105 and the <i>Fine</i> at the end of m. 124).
176/3	Pos	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
185–186	LIL	Edition takes text (“und das geht ja nicht mehr lang”) from the second refrain of the earliest lyric sheet among Tty. A later sheet has “nur geht es nicht sehr lang” (one syllable short), but has “und wenn die Chose” rather than “nur wenn die Chose” in mm. 179f. Tt3 has merely “u.s.w.” at the end.

## 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 <i>f</i> from Vh.
9	ASax, TSax, Trp 1–2, Pos	Edition changes duration from whole to dotted half note to match Szg and Chor. In Vh, Weill ended the piano accompaniment also with a quarter rest.

#### 6. Fürchte dich nicht (Heilsarmeeelied 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 <i>mf</i> to match Harm.
7–10	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 (Heilsarmeeelied 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 <i>p</i> 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 garnichts.

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 Rüh), 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, Hanibal/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 Heilsarmeeoldat," 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 ( $\text{♩} = 66$ ) 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.

0	Title	Edition follows early drafts of the play in adopting the title "Das Lied vom Branntweinhändler," which is also how the song became known. In <b>Fh</b> , Weill used the title of Brecht's poem as published in <i>Hauspostille</i> : "Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinhändlers" (also adopted in <b>Im</b> ).
1–4	ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos	In <b>Fh</b> , Weill notated the accompanimental figure (as in m. 5), but subsequently crossed it out. First layer of <b>Im</b> has rests.

4–66	Fl	Edition takes part from <b>Im-Fl</b> (see general remarks above).
4.1	HANIBAL	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match orchestration.
16	Band	<b>Im</b> has a serious copyist's error (inserting an extra measure repeating m. 16).
19, 35, 59	Fl	Edition changes duration from ♪ 7 7 to ♪ to match Band (2. Strophe). It seems as if the scribe of <b>Im</b> 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).
36–37	HANIBAL	In <b>Fh</b> , Weill originally entered "Sei-ne gie-" suggesting that he continued to copy the complete text of the original stanza 1 (as found in <i>Hauspostille</i> and in first layer of <b>Tt2</b> ), 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.
37–40	Pos	<b>Im</b> has wrong pitch B#2 (uncorrected).
38.1–2	Fl	Edition removes secondary slur (cf. m. 111).
44	Band	<b>Im</b> omits this measure by accident.
69, 71–74, 76	ASax, TSax, Trp	Edition adds staccato marks and accents to make articulation pattern (as suggested by mm. 67–68, 70) consistent.
70, 76	Band r.h.	Edition adds accent to match m. 74 (and ASax, TSax, Trp).
75	MARY	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match Band.
77	HANIBAL, H-SLDT	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match orchestration.
77.2	HANIBAL, H-SLDT	Edition changes B3 to C#4 to match Kl (and compare mm. 3, 75).
79.3	TSax	Edition takes F#4 from <b>Im</b> (first layer). <b>Fh</b> , notated as <b>Im</b> without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fails to provide # for F4.
86.2, 86.6	Band	Edition changes C#5 to D#5 to match Klav and general pattern here. <b>Fh</b> notates mm. 83–89 with iteration signs repeating m. 82.
89.6	Band	<b>Im</b> has sixteenth rest (see critical note for 105.6 etc. below). <b>Fh</b> notates mm. 83–89 with iteration signs repeating m. 82.
99.2–3	TSax	Edition takes A#4–G#4 from <b>Im</b> (first layer). <b>Fh</b> , notated as <b>Im</b> without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fails to provide # for A4–G4.
105.6, 109.6, 113.6, 117.6, 121.6, 125.6, 129.6, 133.6	Band	<b>Im</b> has sixteenth rests here, signaling, as it were, the change of harmony in the following measure. <b>Fh</b> has iteration signs that continue the sixteenth-note pattern. One could speculate that the scribe of <b>Im</b> adopted or (mis-)interpreted annotations found in an earlier set of parts that he copied. Sixteenth rests are implausible, but perhaps annotations indicated that the last note should be omitted and the penultimate one turned into an eighth note (as in mm. 134ff.). Or a player merely flagged the changing harmony. Given the many flaws of <b>Im</b> , the Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> .
111.1–2	Kl	Edition removes secondary slur, which Weill superseded by adding one spanning 109.1–113.1.
113	Trp	Edition takes F#5 from <b>Im</b> (first layer). <b>Fh</b> , notated as <b>Im</b> without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fails to provide # for F5.
125.1	Trp	Edition changes F5 to F#5 (compare Pos, which doubles Trp at the lower octave in mm. 77–139). <b>Fh</b> and <b>Im</b> , notated without a general key signature for transposing instruments, fail to provide # for F5.
135.2	Band	Edition enharmonically respells D♭5 as C#5 to match Klav. For the remaining notes of this measure, the Edition upholds pitch spelling in <b>Fh</b> as it is more player-friendly than E#5–D#5–E#5.
136–139	Klav r.h.	Edition continues <i>sva</i> instruction. <b>Fh</b> has <i>sva</i> for mm. 134–135 only. Presumably Weill forgot its continuation because m. 136 begins a new system. <b>Im</b> lacks any <i>sva</i> indication.
137.2	Klav l.h.	Edition takes missing treble clef from <b>Im</b> (first layer).



140–147	ALL	<b>Fh</b> 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 <b>Im</b> provided pitches for both ASax and Kl; Edition opts for the latter.
144.1–2	TSax	<b>Im</b> has B4 (sounding A3), uncorrected.
151.2–3	Gtr	<b>Im</b> (first layer) has B#3, 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 <b>Fh</b> , 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 <i>Johnny Johnson</i> , 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 <b>Tt2</b> (adopted in first layer of <b>Tt3/4</b> ). <b>Fh</b> and first layer of <b>Tt2</b> have “doch,” transmitting the text as in <i>Hauspostille</i> .
204–207	JANE	<b>Tt2-4</b> confirm “seelenlose” (as in <b>Fh</b> ); <i>Hauspostille</i> (p. 42) has “segenlose.”
213, 217	Gtr	Edition adds ♯ for C#5 to match Frauen.
219–227	Szg	Edition assigns KlTr in mm. 219–226. <b>Fh</b> 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 GrTr and KlTr (and perhaps Tom). Because vertical space is very limited in <b>Fh</b> , Edition assumes that Weill meant to notate KlTr (which he usually notated in fourth space) but that he ran out of space. <b>Im</b> is of no help (music is notated as in <b>Fh</b> but cues “Pauken”—misreading Weill’s “Becken”—in m. 227).
219	Klav	Edition assigns Klav. <b>Fh</b> does not indicate an instrument here, so Klav would continue from m. 139. At the beginning of the number, however, <b>Fh</b> 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. <b>Im</b> is again of no help, cueing “Bandonium” ( <i>sic</i> ) 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 “Pufflied (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 *KlTr* 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 <b>Im</b> but takes metronome mark ( $\downarrow = 150$ ) from <b>Vh</b> (which has "Vivace" as tempo mark). <b>R1</b> roughly adheres to the tempo ( $\downarrow = 150$ ).
3	<i>Szg</i>	Edition adds <i>pp</i> to match <i>Bjo</i> , <i>Klav</i> . <b>Im</b> has performance annotations "mit Stöcken <i>p</i> " (with sticks <i>p</i> ) and "2. $\times$ <i>pp</i> " (though both appear to date from the 1958 Munich production).
3.1	SAM	Edition takes <i>p</i> from <b>Vh</b> . Curiously, the dynamic for the piano accompaniment in m. 1 of <b>Vh</b> is <i>p</i> , and Weill added <i>pp</i> in pencil for the accompaniment at 3.1. <b>Vh</b> has no further dynamics.
3.2	Klav r.h.	Edition takes missing $\flat$ for $D\flat 4$ from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
15.3	SAM	<b>Tt3</b> (and all other text sources) have "ja" here. Edition upholds <b>Vh</b> , which has "jetzt."
16.4	SAM	Edition takes pitch $E\flat 4$ from <b>Im-Klav</b> , 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). <b>Vh</b> has $C 4$ , but the melodic pattern suggests that mm. 15–18 would correspond to mm. 11–14.
23.1–2	SAM	<b>Im</b> ( <b>ASax</b> , <b>TSax</b> ), 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 <b>Im-Pos</b> , which has G–F.
27	ALL	Edition consistently adds <i>f</i> (found only in <b>Im-Klav</b> ).
27–28.2	SAM	The word "Mensch" (plural; the singular form is "das Mensch") is an antiquated term (mostly South German dialect) for prostitutes.
31	<b>ASax</b> , <i>Trp</i>	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match <b>TSax</b> , <i>Pos</i> .
32.3 (40.3)	<i>Pos</i>	Edition takes missing $\sharp$ for $D\sharp 4$ from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
35–42	ALL	<b>Im</b> (presumably following the lost <b>Fh</b> ) notate this passage by adding repeat marks for mm. 27–34. The Edition follows <b>Vh</b> in writing out the repeat.
43	SAM, <i>Klav</i>	Edition adds <i>p</i> to match <i>Bjo</i> , <i>Szg</i> .
50	SAM	Edition takes instruction <i>beranziehen</i> (slide up to) from <b>Vh</b> .
51	<b>ASax</b> , <i>Bjo</i> , SAM, <i>Klav</i>	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match <b>TSax</b> .
53	<i>Trp</i> , <i>Pos</i>	Edition adds <i>f</i> . Strictly speaking, both instruments are still <i>f</i> .
53–54, 58	<i>Trp</i>	Edition adds staccato marks to match m. 57 and <i>Pos</i> .

53.1–2, 57.1–2	Trp, Pos	R1 introduces a subtle variant here, also when the stanza is repeated. The rhythm is changed to  , and Trp plays Ab4–Ab4–Ab4 (at 53/1) and Ab4–Bb4–Bb4 (at 57/1), whereas Pos appears to play C4–Gb3–Gb3 in both measures.
56–57	ASax, SAM	The vocal line transmitted in <b>Vh</b> (see Plate 5 in Main Volume) and the doubling in ASax are incompatible. Oddly, <b>Im-Klav</b> —not written in the hand of the copyist who created the other six parts—shows the melody of <b>Vh</b> as cue-size notes (to indicate the vocal line, but with no text underlay). As <b>Im-ASax</b> is unmarked, the Edition assumes that Weill changed the vocal line in <b>Fh</b> 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. <b>Tt3</b> ultimately arrived at the following two lines:  Denn der Mensch, der drinnen, hindert den Verkehr.  Wo kein Mensch ist, da ist auch kein Verkehr.
57.3	Pos	which UE chose for its 1958 publication of <b>Se</b> , where the ASax melody (along with Trp and Pos) had to be changed to accommodate the text. Edition takes missing ♭ for Eb4 from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
59.1	ALL	Edition takes <i>p</i> from performance annotations in ASax, TSax, and Trp.
59.2, 61.2, 63.2	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing ♭ for Eb4 to match TSax, Bjo.
59.3–4, 61.3–4	SAM	Edition takes spelling (“Johnny”) from <b>Tt3</b> . In <b>Vh</b> , Weill spelled “Jonny” here (but compare “Johnny” in mm. 57f.).
65–66	ALL	Edition adds crescendo hairpin. Given that parts have <i>p</i> in m. 67, and the saxophone players and trumpeter added <i>p</i> 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 <i>p</i> to match accompaniment.
90	Orchestra	Edition adopts performance annotations in <b>Im</b> instructing to play the first time <i>f</i> , the second time <i>p</i> . There is some variation in the dynamic level (annotations in TSax and Szg have <i>ff</i> and <i>pp</i> ), 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 <b>Im-Klav</b> , which place the dynamic contrast in m. 83, appear to have been made for <b>Se</b> .
91	SAM	Edition adds <i>f</i> (2.: <i>p</i> ) to match dynamics for orchestra in m. 90.
92	Pos	<b>Im</b> has cryptic performance annotation adding half note D4 (without canceling C4).
95	Orchestra	Edition adds <i>p</i> in light of four-bar crescendo to <i>ff</i> in m. 99.
95–98	SAM	Edition takes melody from Weill's pencil revision in <b>Vh</b> , which matches the doubling by Pos. The first layer of <b>Vh</b> continues vocal line and lyric in mm. 96–98 as in mm. 88–90. The final measure of the musical number in <b>Vh</b> 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 <b>Im</b> (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. <b>Sm/Se</b> , on the other hand, use mm. 135–139 as a second ending (surely because of the effective rising figure in Klav).

99/1	ALL	Edition opts for <i>ff</i> (found in <b>Im</b> : ASax, Klav). <b>Im</b> for TSax and Pos have <i>f</i> . In <b>Im-Trp</b> , a paste-in obscures the dynamic, whereas Bjo and Szg lack one.
106/2	Szg	<b>R1</b> has an audible cymbal crash here, which is plausible. However, <b>Im</b> has block rest for mm. 105–106 and no markings.
107	Szg	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
107–134	ASax, TSax	Edition normalizes articulation pattern. <b>Im-ASax</b> lacks articulation in mm. 121–126; <b>Im-TSax</b> in mm. 111, 115–126, 129–134.
107–117, 121, 123, 131	Pos	Edition adds accents in odd-numbered measures. The sporadic accents in <b>Im</b> 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 <b>R1</b> 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 <b>R1</b> , where it is clearly audible. In <b>Im</b> , 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 E# in Bjo, Klav.
139.1	Pos, Bjo, Szg, Klav	Edition normalizes articulation, assigning accent-staccato mark to match other parts. In <b>Im</b> , 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 Lenya’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 BSax, 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

Lill: Meine Herren, ich bitte Sie, von Ihrem furchtbaren Vorhaben abzustehen, noch dazu am Heiligen Abend. In Gottes Namen bitte ich Sie, lassen Sie von so etwas ab, gehen Sie in sich in letzter Stunde, halten Sie ein am Rande des Abgrunds, halten Sie den Fuss zurück. Und Sie, Herr Cracker, fallen Sie doch nicht in Ihre alten Ideale zurück.

( Bill Song Und jetzt los )

Komm: Guten Abend, meine Herren, wollte nur mal vorbeisehen. Es ist sehr kalt draussen. Bisschen wärmer hier. Wann feiern Sie denn heute Becherung, Herr Cracker ?

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, BSax, 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 BSax, 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").

1

ALL

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 <i>sf</i> to match other parts.
1.4–5	ASax, BsSax, Trp, Pos	Edition opts for detached notes here, following <b>Im-Pos</b> . The other three parts have a slur here in first layer, but performance annotations in ASax and Trp remove it. Moreover, <b>Im-Trp</b> 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).
14.1	Bjo	Edition adds missing # for D#4 to match m. 13.
18–44	Trp	<b>Im</b> 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	<b>Im</b> has a pencil annotation (Weill’s hand?) in mm. 18–19 adding pitches that double Trp 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 <b>Im-Pos</b> (just below the last staff with music) mm. 1–2 for Trp and ASax at sounding pitch.
18–19	ALL	Edition adds tempo mark “Breit (in 4)” for m. 18 (prompted by performance annotation in <b>Im-Trp</b> indicating four beats) and cancels it by adding “Tempo I” in m. 19.
18.2–4	Klav r.h.	Edition changes B4 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 A4 (matching Pos).
20.2–7, 36.2–7	Klav r.h.	Edition retains both inner pitches (G#4-B4), even though they seem slightly uncharacteristic for Weill’s piano writing (cf. no. 1, mm. 115ff.).
22.1	Klav l.h.	Edition changes B2 to E3 to match BsSax.
23.3	Klav r.h.	Edition changes G#4 to G4 (matching Trp).
25–26.1	Pos	Edition adopts performance annotation in <b>Im</b> 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 B2 in l.h. at 28/2 to quarter rest followed by quarter note E3 to match BsSax.
28.3–4	BILL, Klav r.h.	Edition changes ♩ to ♪ to match rhythm in ASax.
31–32	Klav	Edition changes all F# (except F#5 at 32.1–2) to G# to match harmony (which Weill changed when he orchestrated the number). To that end, the Edition also changes D4 to E4 (at 31.2), B4 to C#5 (at 31.4), omits B4 (at 32.1–2), changes B4 to C#5 (at 32.3) and B4 to B#4 (at 32.4). Furthermore, in m. 32 the Edition changes bass line in l.h. from two half notes E3–B2 to quarter notes E3–B2 followed by half note E3 (matching pitches of BsSax).
32.3–4	BILL, Klav r.h.	Edition changes ♩ to ♪ to match ASax, Trp and Pos.
36.1	Klav l.h.	Edition changes B2 to E3 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 E3 to match BsSax.
38.3	Klav r.h.	Edition changes G#4-B4 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 <b>Vh</b> , 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 <b>TtyN</b> and <b>Tty</b> (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. <b>TtyN</b> has both refrains ending “Und nen Tritt in den Arsch und Schluss” (= eight syllables), whereas <b>Tty</b> has “Und ne Arschtritt und <del>dann</del> 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 <b>Vh</b> 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 <b>Tty</b> , 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 “dann,” which was subsequently crossed out with typewritten x’s in <b>Tty</b> ). An observation by Alfred Kerr in the <i>Berliner Tageblatt</i> (“Ein anderer Kehrreim: ‘In die Fresse!’ Immerfort: in die Fresse”) suggests that Oskar Homolka simply repeated the penultimate line. At least <b>Se</b> 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 <i>in</i> die Fresse” at 40/2).
40.4	Bjo	Edition opts for top pitch E $\flat$ 5. In <b>Im</b> , Mackeben first copied chord as D4-G#4-F $\sharp$ 5 but then crossed out the F $\sharp$ 5 and added E5 (without providing the $\sharp$ required on account of the E $\flat$ 5 at 40.2).
40.7, 41.1, 43.1	BILL, Klav r.h.	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.
41–42.1	Klav	Edition adopts revision in <b>Vh</b> , where Weill added a “turn-around” figure. Originally, Weill had written 41.1 (both hands) as a whole-note chord tied to 42.1, but he crossed out the ties and sketched the new figure just below the original measures. The Edition adopts it in r.h. only (also adding “Solo”), with l.h. resting (though conceivably it could play along at the lower octave).
43–44	Klav	Edition provides part because <b>Vh</b> 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 <i>Marie Galante</i> (full score, piano part), which works in the context of <i>Happy End</i> as well.
43.2	BsSax	Edition adds “Solo.” <b>Im</b> has performance annotation (dating back to 1929) that reads “Bass Break.”
44.2–3	ALL	Edition adds staccato marks throughout, which <b>Im</b> 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 $\flat$  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 <b>Vh</b> , where Weill added it in pencil, presumably for the preparation of <b>Ae</b> , which adopts it. (In Weimar dance music, Blues signaled a tempo of ♩ = 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 <i>KWE IV/2</i> , p. 155).
2–122	LIL	Edition leaves the dynamics to the performer. <b>Fh</b> and <b>Vh</b> have no dynamic; <b>Ae</b> gives <i>p</i> in m. 2, <i>mf</i> at 18.3, and again <i>p</i> at 26.3 (with matching dynamic in accompaniment).
5.4–5	LIL	<b>Ae</b> 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 <b>R3</b> (also found in <b>DhS</b> , <b>N2</b> , and Weill’s 1943 score). The wording, emphasizing as it does what occurs at some point <i>during</i> the first hour of the relationship rather than “nach einer Stund,” which <b>Tt3</b> , <b>Vh</b> , <b>Fh</b> , and <b>Ae</b> transmit. A lyric sheet in <i>BBA 1354</i> has “die erste Stund,” which Hauptmann altered in pencil—presumably in the 1950s—to “zur ersten.”
23	LIL	<b>N2</b> and <i>BBA 1354</i> have text “dastehst,” also found in <b>R3</b> . Edition upholds text transmitted by musical sources and <b>Tt3</b> .



24.6–26.1	LIL	Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> , placing cross-head notation in third space. <b>Vh</b> 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 <b>DhS</b> is blank, however (it merely contains the spoken text). <b>Ae</b> notates cross-heads 24.6–7 in third space and 25.1–26.1 in fourth space. Quite possibly related to the issue, <b>Fh</b> 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.
25.3–26.1	Klav l.h.	Edition adds slur to match ASax.
36.2	HwGtr	Edition adds missing ♭ for G♭4 to match harmony.
44.4–45.1	LIL	Edition takes text (“solang”) from <b>N2</b> (also found in BBA 1354). In <b>Tt3</b> , text is spelled as two words (“so lang”), but the conditional form is more plausible.
48/3–4	BsGtr	Edition continues pattern, even though <b>Fh</b> has a half rest here (also reflected in <b>Im</b> ). As pattern continues in both Szg and Klav, it makes little sense for BsGtr to drop out here.
56.2	Trp	Edition changes rhythm from ♩ ♯ to ♩ to match mm. 16, 96.
58.2	Klav r.h.	Edition adds E♭4 to match chord at 18.2.
58/4	ASax, LIL	Edition accommodates the three syllables for voice modeled on m. 20, beat 3. Because ASax in <b>Fh</b> has eighth note G♯5 (sounding B♯4) at 58.4, Edition subdivides it into two sixteenth notes A5–G♯5 (sounding C5–B♯4) to match voice.
59–66/1	Pos	Edition cancels muting during this passage, because the instrument plays the bass again. <b>Im</b> has performance annotations adding a pencil line (tenuto mark?) above each measure (except m. 66).
59.2	LIL	Edition opts for a change to G4 already here (rather than on beat 2) to avoid clash of rearticulated D♭5 with octave C♯4–C♯5 in Klav r.h.
60.3	ASax	Edition merges two sixteenth notes (A5–G♯5) into eighth note (G♯5) to match editorial vocal line. In <b>Fh</b> , Weill appears to have followed melody as notated in Trp at 20.3–4, where it matched the vocal line of stanza 1.
64.2	ASax	Edition takes G5 from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> . Pitch in <b>Fh</b> is ambiguous (either F5 or G5), and first layer of <b>Im</b> has F5, but compare pitch at 65.2 and corresponding passages in mm. 24–25 and 104–105.
66.4	Pos	Edition takes E♭3 from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> (compare m. 68). <b>Fh</b> 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 <b>Im</b> has E♯3); the ink marking could actually have been a half rest that Weill crossed out with two slashes. A performance annotation in <b>Fh</b> converted the ink marking to an emphatic ♯ and changed E3 to F3 (writing “f” [lowercase pitch name] below for further clarification).
67	Szg, Klav	Edition assigns <i>p</i> to match prevailing dynamic level. In <b>Fh</b> , Weill notated mm. 67–80 for the two instruments with iteration signs repeating mm. 27–40, where both are <i>pp</i> .
72, 78, 80	Pos	<b>Im</b> has performance annotation changing rhythm by combining second and third quarter into half note.
80/2–81	ASax, Trp, Pos	<b>Im</b> has slightly incongruous <i>tacet</i> markings (ASax brackets off 80/2–81/1, Trp crosses out 80/2–81/4, and Pos marks 80/1–4 “nicht blasen”); oddly, <b>Im-TSax</b> is unmarked (as are the parts for 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 music, and which instruments, should resume in m. 81 ( <b>R3</b> does not reflect the <i>tacet</i> markings). Conceivably all parts could drop out at 80/2 and rhythm section resume at 81/1.

82	BsGtr	Edition adds rest. <b>Fh</b> and <b>Im</b> have an iteration sign here, which does not make sense (Weill may have added it mechanically).
82.3–93.6	Fl, TSax, Trp	Edition takes articulation from performance annotations in <b>Im</b> , confirmed by <b>R1-3</b> . <b>Fh</b> has instruction “non legato” at 82/4.
82.3	Trp	<b>Fh</b> reiterates muting.
82/4–98/2	LIL	Edition notates rhythm of eighth notes as in stanzas 1 and 2, even though the instrumental doubling features a dotted rhythm. In <b>R3</b> , 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.
84/4–86/4	LIL	<b>R3</b> transmits a slightly revised lyric that seems to address a rhythmical but also logical issue. Whereas all text sources have “ <i>warum</i> du den Namen hast, <i>aber</i> ” Lenya sings “ <i>dass</i> du den Namen hast, <i>denn</i> .” In 1943 Lenya may not have had the text for stanza 3 when she sang “ <i>woher</i> du den Namen hast, <i>doch</i> ” as there are other textual inconsistencies.
90.2–98.1	Fl, TSax, Trp	Edition takes staccato instruction from performance annotations in <b>Im</b> , confirmed by <b>R1-3</b> .
94–95, 98.2	Klav r.h.	Compared to mm. 14–15, 18.2 and 54–55, the difference seems deliberate (no Eb4 in <b>Fh</b> or <b>Im</b> ).
98/3–106/1	BsGtr	The writing of this passage suggests use of a banjo, but <b>Fh</b> and <b>Im</b> have no such indication, and there would not be enough time to switch instruments. Curiously, <b>Fh</b> 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.
102.5, 103.6	BsGtr	Edition changes F5 to G♭5 (at 102.5) and E♭5 to F5 (at 103.6) to match Pos, Lilian, and Klav (compare 98.5 and 100.5).
103–104	Klav r.h.	<b>Im</b> has performance annotation (probably not by Mackeben) adding “Ein-fach,” 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.
106.4	Trp	Edition takes D♯5 from <b>Im</b> (first layer) to match other iterations of this motive. <b>Fh</b> has D♭5, but the flat sign looks irregularly drawn.
108.2–3, 110.2–3	Fl	Edition takes slurs from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
112.2	Trp	Edition takes missing ♯ for C♯5 from performance annotation in <b>Im</b> .
114.2	Fl	<b>Im</b> has performance annotation “8va.”
115.2	BsGtr	Edition retains G♭5 as top note of the chord, despite that note being somewhat unclear in <b>Fh</b> due to smudged ink. The copyist of <b>Im</b> 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.
118.4	LIL	Edition retains pitch spelling (E♭5) of first refrain. In <b>Fh</b> —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.
118.4	Klav l.h.	Edition places top note D4 (already sounding in r.h.) in parentheses. <b>Fh</b> has iteration sign repeating m. 117. <b>Im</b> has editorial marking (1958) to remove top note.
120	ALL	Edition adds <i>molto rit.</i> prompted by a slowing of tempo in <b>R3</b> (also present in <b>R1/2</b> ). Although <b>Fh</b> and <b>Im</b> 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 <i>ritardando</i> here (as do Lenya’s recordings of 1955 and 1960). Compare also Weill’s subsequent addition of <i>molto rit.</i> in a copy of <b>Ae</b> for no. 1.
120.3	Pos	Edition upholds pitch C4, which is slightly ambiguous in <b>Fh</b> (either C4 or B♭3). Given that Weill added a cautionary accidental for B♭3 at 121.1 (presumably on account of the B♭3 at 117.2), it seems clear that C4 is intended. The first layer of <b>Im</b> has 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.
122	BsGtr	Edition adds chord to continue pattern from preceding measures and to match TSax, Trp, and Pos. The first layer of <b>Fh</b> is blank, and <b>Im</b> has a whole rest. A non-holograph addition of uncertain date in <b>Fh</b> 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 Höllennili

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 "Höllennili" 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, "Höllennili" 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 "Höllennili." 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 Höllennili," and **Fh** is simply titled "Die Höllennili." Surviving lyric sheets omit the article and add "Ballade von der" (with "Höllennili" 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.

1	FLG	<b>Fh</b> does not assign a character (the staff is labeled "Gesang").
25–26	Szg	Edition adds accents to match other parts (and compare mm. 63–64, 101–102).
25–26	FLG	Edition upholds <b>Fh</b> , preserving Weill's notation of the spoken notes, without it being clear what, if anything, he intended by the differences in vertical placement.
25.2	Pos, Bjo	Edition adds missing ♯ to G♯ (cf. Klav).

26, 64, 102	ALL	Edition changes single to double barline to mark change of time signature.
27	Bjo, Klav	Edition adds <i>mf</i> to match TSax (Szg is marked <i>p</i> ).
27.5	FLG	Edition upholds text (“ja”) found in <b>Fh</b> . All text sources have “doch,” but Weill probably wanted to avoid two dark vowels (“morgen” in m. 28).
29.3–4	Klav l.h.	Edition changes octaves A–B to Ab–Bb, matching mm. 67 and 105. Weill revised the bass line in m. 29. At first, he notated C♯3–Eb3–D♯3–C3 (always accompanied by the lower octave), which he crossed out emphatically and replaced with C♯3–G♯2–A2–B2 (again with the lower octave). There may have been some indecision about the bass: in m. 105, Klav has Ab–Bb, whereas Pos has A♯–B.
37–41	Orchestra	Edition adds accents to match 35/2–36/4.
38.3	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing ♯ to D♯4.
43.1	ASax	<b>Fh</b> has E♯5 (sounding G♯4), which creates a glaring dissonance with the A4 sung by Die Fliege and also played by Trp and Klav (the same pitch at 81.1 is a result of Weill notating mm. 74–84 with iteration signs repeating mm. 36–46). In m. 119, on the other hand, <b>Fh</b> has F♯5 (sounding A4), which seems to be the obvious choice. Nonetheless, the Edition chooses to uphold sounding G♯4 at 43.1 and 81.1, as Weill seems to have intended a dissonance as painful as the procrustean end rhyme “spat” (instead of the correct “spät”) with “Rat,” “tat,” and “schad.”
46, 84	ALL	Edition changes single to double barline to mark change of time signature (and beginning of a new stanza).
47	ALL	Edition adds <i>a tempo</i> to cancel <i>rit.</i> in m. 45.
51, 55	TSax, Trp, Pos	Edition adds accents to match m. 47.
62.2	Pos, Bjo	Edition adds missing ♯ to D♯ (cf. Klav) and also to G♯ in Bjo (cf. m. 24).
63.2	Pos, Bjo	Edition adds missing ♯ to G♯ (cf. Klav).
67.2	TSax	Edition opts for F♯5. In <b>Fh</b> , it looks as if Weill wrote F♭5, but only sounding Eb4 is plausible.
72.5–7	TSax, Pos	Edition adds staccato marks to match Trp.
73.1	Klav	Edition omits B3 in l.h. (pitch already present in r.h.). Compare 35.1.
73.2	ASax, Bjo	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
85	ALL	Edition adds <i>a tempo</i> to cancel <i>rit.</i> in m. 83.
97.3	Pos	Edition adds missing ♯ to F♯ (cf. Klav).
104	Bjo	Edition enharmonically respells C♯5 as D♭5 to match m. 66.
105.3–4	Pos	Edition changes A♯–B to Ab–Bb, matching Klav and m. 67. See note for Klav at 29.3–4 above.
107.1	Trp	Edition adds accent to match ASax at 103.1, 105.1 and TSax at 109.1.
111/2–4	Klav r.h.	Edition adds staccato marks to match ASax.
112–118	ASax, Pos, Klav r.h.	Edition adds articulation (emphasizing melody) to match 111/2–4 in ASax and Pos. The accents at 113.1 and 116.1 in all parts are indicated in <b>Fh</b> .

### 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  
 zerstampfe den haß  
 lach mit dem lachenden 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

sing the refrain (in his review for the *B.Z. am Mittag*, Paul Wiegler mentions a “Chorus von ‘Glauben und Profit’”). In mm. 89–96, **Fh** specifies, sensibly enough, that the faint echo of no. 2 (“Um den Armen einen Teller Suppe zu erobern”) is sung by Lilian and Bill.

3–4, 7–8, 11–12, 15–16, 19–20	TSax, Trp	There is some ambiguity as to which part should double the G $\flat$ in Band and Harm in those five locations. In mm. 3–4 of <b>Fh</b> (first layer), TSax has G4 (sounding F3) and Trp A $\flat$ 4 (sounding G $\flat$ 4); for the remaining locations the roles are reversed: TSax has A $\flat$ 4 (sounding G $\flat$ 3) and Trp G4 (sounding F4). Pencil annotation of uncertain date change Trp consistently to A $\flat$ 4 but leave TSax unchanged. Because <b>Im</b> does not survive, it is impossible to know how the original production handled the issue. Given that G $\flat$ 4 sounds in both Band and Klav but G $\flat$ 3 only in Klav, the Edition opts to double the G $\flat$ 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 $\flat$ 4 (and then continues the doubling pattern in mm. 75–80).
5–26	Orchestra	Edition supplies accents throughout. <b>Fh</b> has accents in mm. 1–4, in m. 5 (saxophones and brass only), and then at the beginning of each system to indicate continuation.
17–20	Orchestra	Edition adopts pencil annotations in <b>Fh</b> calling for a repeat of mm. 13–16, which allows for accommodation of the four extra measures in <b>Vh</b> (with text “Gib du dem Sieger ein Zeichen!”). See general remarks above.
19.4–25	Chor	Edition takes specifications (“Frauen,” “Männer”) from <b>Vh</b> and adds “Alle” at 25.3, the default tutti from <b>Fh</b> .
29.3	Trp	Edition opts for pitch G4 (sounding F4). <b>Fh</b> is ambiguous (either G4 or F4), but sounding F4 is confirmed by <b>Vh</b> (and compare corresponding passage in m. 83, Klav r.h.).
44.1	Klav r.h.	<b>Vh</b> has an additional D $\sharp$ 4 as lowest note of the chord. It appears that Weill started to copy the chord from <b>Vh</b> but then decided to leave off the note (the notehead for what would have been D $\sharp$ 4 is tiny, and Weill placed only one sharp sign). The low D $\sharp$ 4 is not doubled by another part, and the piano accompaniment in <b>Vh</b> differs in many other respects from Klav in <b>Fh</b> .
46.3	Klav r.h.	Edition adds missing $\flat$ for B $\flat$ 4 to match ASax.
47.1	Band	Edition adds <i>f</i> to match prevailing dynamic level.
54/4	ALL	Edition adds caesura to set off beginning of new section.
55–58	Szg	Edition upholds alternation of pitches B $\flat$ 3 and C4 with each measure. One might expect a two-measure pattern, but <b>Fh</b> is clear (and note Weill’s handling in mm. 97ff.).
55	Klav	In <b>Fh</b> , Weill emphasized “(bleibt Klavier.)”
71–74	Orchestra	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.
73.4–79	Chor	Edition adds specifications (“Frauen,” “Männer”) to match mm. 19.4–25.
84.2–85.4	Band, Klav	Edition adds accents to match ASax, TSax, Trp (cf. 30.2–31.4).
97	ALL	Edition adds <i>f</i> throughout (present in <b>Fh</b> only in KIFI).
113–116	Orchestra	Edition adopts pencil annotations in <b>Fh</b> 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.
115.4–121	Chor	Unlike mm. 19.4–26 and 73.4–79, the Edition chooses to have this passage sung by women and men simultaneously.
119–120	KIFI	Edition adds slur to match preceding measures.
119–122	Pos	Edition adds accents to match mm. 117–118 (they continue in mm. 123ff.).
121.1–4	TSax, Trp	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.

121/2	Chor	Edition adds <i>ff</i> to match the orchestra's dynamic level.
122	ALL	Edition adds double barline to match mm. 26, 80.
123	ALL	Edition adds tempo mark “[♩ = 104]” as another refrain begins here.
140.3	TSax	<b>Fh</b> 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.
143.1, 144.1	Pos, Band, Klav	Edition adds missing natural signs for pitches E♯ and B♯. <b>Fh</b> notates these three parts (but not KlF) with key signature. Pos already lacks natural sign for E♯ in m. 141 (m. 142 is notated with iteration sign). For harmony compare also mm. 45–46.
144.1	Orchestra	Edition normalizes articulation, assigning accent-staccato mark to all parts (which <b>Fh</b> 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):

	R1 Lewis Ruth	R2 “Red” Roberts	R3 Lotte Lenya
<b>Stanza 1</b>			
mm. 3–14	Fl, Kl, Trp (con sord.)	Trp (c.s.) + sustained chords (2 Kl, Pos)	Voc + Trp (c.s.) + sust’d chords (2 Kl, Pos)
mm. 15–18	Trp (c.s.)	[cont’d]	[cont’d]
<b>Bridge 1</b>			
mm. 19–26	Gtr + Klav $\left[\frac{4}{4}\right]$	Klav $\left[\frac{4}{4}\right]$	Voc + Gtr, Klav $\left[\frac{3}{4}\right]$
<b>Refrain 1</b>			
mm. 27–34	Vn + Kl (8 <sup>va</sup> bassa)	Kl (w/Trp c.s.)	Voc + Kl (unis.)
mm. 35–40	Vn + Kl (15 <sup>ma</sup> bassa)	Kl (8 <sup>va</sup> bassa)	Voc + Kl (8 <sup>va</sup> bassa)
<b>Stanza 2</b>			
mm. 43–54	TSax, w/Pos	Fl, Kl, Trp (c.s.)	Voc + Fl, Kl, Trp (c.s.)
mm. 55–58	[cont’d]	Trp (c.s.), Kl	Voc + Trp (c.s.), Kl
<b>Bridge 2</b>			
mm. 59–66	ASax (TSax, Trp c.s.) $\left[\frac{4}{4}\right]$	Klav (w/Szg) $\left[\frac{4}{4}\right]$	Voc + Klav (w/Szg) $\left[\frac{4}{4}\right]$
<b>Refrain 2</b>			
mm. 67–74	Pos (Trp c.s. + Klav arpegg.)	ASax (Kl, Trp) + orig. Klav 3rd refr.	Voc + Fl, Kl, Trp + orig. Klav 3rd refr.
mm. 75–80	ASax (Trp c.s. + Klav arpegg.)	ASax (Kl, Trp) + orig. Klav 3rd refr.	Voc + Fl, Kl, Trp + orig. Klav 3rd refr.

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):

<i>Location</i>	<i>Evidence of revision</i>
1–18 (stanza 1)	In <b>Im</b> , 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 ( <b>Im-<del>Trp</del></b> has performance annotation “Anfang” in m. 42). <b>R2/3</b> reflect the revision. The revisions were also entered at some point with pencil in <b>Fh</b> , but only tentatively and now partly erased.
19–26 (bridge 1)	In <b>Im-Klav</b> , 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 <b>Ae</b> (it became available on 24 August 1929 and Weill had received page proofs earlier). This is confirmed by annotation “1 × Klavierstimme mit Gesang!” in



- 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 % at 58.2, crosses out 58.3–66.1, and adds another % 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 Eb2 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 | ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ | cueing “GrTr.” Annotations continue to add rests and the eighth-note for beat 3 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 Trom (rather than GrTr)—and reverses what is indicated in **Im**: soft Trom 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 <i>pp</i> 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 <i>mf</i> from Ae. The original orchestration has <i>p</i> here, but its texture is considerably thicker.
23.2	Klav r.h.	Edition moves ♯ for A♯4 from 23.2 to 23.3, thereby avoiding a dissonance with Ab3 in l.h. The piano part for mm. 1–40 follows Ae (see above); in <b>Fh</b> , Weill avoided the dissonance (see no. 11, m. 23).
25.3–26.1	Klav l.h.	Edition omits Eb1 and Ab0, as the latter pitch, though printed in Ae, exceeds the range of a regular piano (and compare Weill’s notation of mm. 65–66). <b>Vh</b> , the model for Ae, is notated in E major, where A0 is of course playable.
26.1	Pos	Edition retains this isolated quarter note, as performance annotation in <b>Im</b> adds “Anfang” here. Musically, the note serves as a “closing punctuation” (together with Ttom) of the first bridge.
27–42	BsGtr	Edition provides part, based on what can be gleaned from <b>R1-3</b> .
72/2–3, 78/2–3	Pos	Edition adopts performance annotation in <b>Im</b> merging two quarter notes into half note.
80/2–81	ASax, TSax, Trp, Pos	Edition opts for cue-size notation, prompted by slightly incongruous <i>tacet</i> markings in <b>Im</b> (where ASax brackets off 80/2–81/1, Trp crosses out 80/2–81/4, and Pos marks 80/1–4 “nicht blasen”); oddly, <b>Im-TSax</b> is unmarked (as are the parts for 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 ( <b>R3</b> does not reflect the <i>tacet</i> markings). The Edition favors the marking in <b>Im-Trp</b> and applies it to the other three parts. Conceivably all parts could drop out at 80/2 and rhythm section resume at 81/1.

## TABLE: OVERVIEW OF MUSICAL MATERIALS

*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.*

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

NOTES:

1. **Im-Pos** is incomplete, lacking the last seven measures. The music appears to be preserved in **R1**.
2. **Im-Klav** is missing.



# SOURCE DESCRIPTIONS

*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* (♩ = 72)  
Holographs in black ink. Nested bifolia and leaves, unbound.  
Holograph pagination of individual numbers in pencil at top. Holograph revisions in ink and pencil. Non-holograph rehearsal letters in pencil (only in nos. 2, 12). Additional non-holograph markings in pencil.  
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)  
[nos. 3, 5–7] *Heilsarmeelieder* [I–IV] (3 pp.; Fld. 132)  
[no. 8] *Vorbildliche Bekehrung eines Branntweinhändlers* (7 pp.; Fld. 129)  
[no. 11] *Surabaya-Jonny* [sic] (8 pp.; Fld. 134)  
[no. 12] *Die Höllenlili* (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].  
Locations: WLA, Box 8, Flds. 121, 125, 130, 132, 133; Universal Edition-Kurt Weill Archives SC 1998.4, Sibley Music Library, Rochester N.Y., Box 3, Fld. 9.  
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)  
[nos. 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.

Remark:

**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].

Location: Universal Edition-Kurt Weill Archives SC 1998.4, Sibley Music Library, Rochester N.Y., Box 3, Fld. 10.

First page of music:

*Nach Des dur transponieren* | Des dur **Bilbao-Song von Kurt Weill.** | (♩—72)

Manuscript in black ink. Holograph and non-holograph annotations in pencil. Stamp at bottom of p. 1: “Geschrieben in den Held-Werkstätten | Charlottenburg, Kantstr. 10; Steinplatz 4656”; additional stamps: “Archiv der Universal-Edition A.G.” and “L 1 UE 802” [the number 802 handwritten]; pencil annotation “9892.”

Page count:

5 pages of music.

Paper type:

ASHELM 266. 12 Lin.

[27.0 × 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 D♭ major).

Piano-vocal score, manuscript.

Date: [1929].

Location: Universal Edition-Kurt Weill Archives SC 1998.4, Sibley Music Library, Rochester N.Y., Box 3, Fld. 10.

First page of music:

**Bilbao-Song** Kurt Weill

Manuscript in pencil. Non-holograph annotations in blue crayon. Stamp in lower right margin of recto: “Archiv der Universal-Edition A.G.”; pencil annotation on verso: “UE 802.”

Page count:

2 pages of music.

Paper type:

unknown (torn from a bifolium of J. E. & Co. No. 3?)

[14 staves]

[26.7 × 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.

## Instrumental Parts

**Im** 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 mod<sup>to</sup>**

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 × 34.3 cm; span: 27.0 cm]

K.U.V. Beethoven Papier Nr. 33. (16 Linien)

[26.7 × 33.8 cm; span: 28.8 cm]

»Sünova« Nr. 3 - 10 zeilig

[26.9 × 33.8 cm; span: 28.0 cm]

»Sünova« Nr. 4 - 12 zeilig

[26.9 × 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 Branntweinhändlers** (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); 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 × 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:

I. Akt. | Projektion. | Jimmy: | Was denken Sie über Soliditätspflasterung? | Johnny: | Weiss nicht. Weiss nicht. [ . . . ]  
[marking in blue crayon at top right: “NF.”]

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 scribbles 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-Grünwald.

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 Topf” (pours a glass of whisky into the bucket), whereas Tt3 reads “spuckt in den Topf” (spits into the bucket), which Hauptmann emended in Tt3a to “spuckt zierlich in den Topf” (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

Location: WLRC, David Drew Collection.

Front matter (2 pp.), Prologue (1 p.), Act I–III (100 pp.).

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 etwas später herankommen” (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).

**Ttp** 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).

**TmyR** 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 **TtyR**).

**Tty** 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 **Tt2**.

**Tty** includes a clean version of the cryptic lyric sheet (apparently paraphrasing the Bible, 1 Chron. 29:5ff.) found at the very end of **Tt2**. 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).

**TtyN** 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 **Tty**.

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.

**TtyR** 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. 1569: “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 revidiert | anhand der Autographie 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**, **TtyN**, 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 [*sic*] [...] (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. 38<sup>a</sup> (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 “Muschel von Margate” (which was part of Weill's incidental music for the 1928 play *Konjunktur*).

## Text

- Tt1** 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).
- Tt5** Rental script based on **Tt3** and matching **Se**.  
 Libretto, typescript (63 pp.).  
 Date: 1958.  
HAPPY END | Komödie in drei Akten | von | DOROTHY LANE | Musik | von | Kurt Weil [sic] | Alle Rechte vorbehalten | Unverkäufliches Manuskript | Das Aufführungsrecht ist allein zu | erwerben von dem Verlag | FELIX BLOCH ERBEN | 1 Berlin 12 | Hardenbergstraße 6 | © Copyright 1958 by Felix Bloch Erben, Berlin  
 Location: WLRC, Reading Room; photocopy in Series 20, H1/1958.  
 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”).

- Tp** Edition of **Tt5** published in *Julia ohne Romeo*.  
 Libretto, published.  
 Elisabeth Hauptmann | Julia ohne Romeo | Geschichten | Stücke | Aufsätze | 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 Schiffbauerdamm, 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 Schiffbauerdamm* (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

<u>German</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>Instrument Names</b>		
Altsaxophon	ASax	Alto Saxophone
Bandoneon	Band	Bandoneon
Banjo	Bjo	Banjo
Bass-Gitarre	BsGtr	Bass Guitar
Bass-Saxophon	BsSax	Bass Saxophone
Flöte	Fl	Flute
Gitarre	Gtr	Guitar
Harmonium	Harm	Harmonium
Hawaii-Gitarre	HwGtr	Hawaiian Guitar
Klarinette	Kl	Clarinet
Klavier	Klav	Piano
Kleine Flöte	KIFl	Piccolo
Mandoline	Mand	Mandolin
Posaune	Pos	Trombone
Schlagzeug	Szg	Percussion
Sopransaxophon	SSax	Soprano Saxophone
Tenorsaxophon	TSax	Tenor Saxophone
Trompete	Trp	Trumpet
Violine	Vn	Violin
<b>(Percussion Instruments)</b>		
Becken	Beck	Cymbals
Glocken	Gl	Chimes
Gong	Gng	Gong
Große Trommel	GrTr	Bass Drum
Holztrummel	HzTr	Wood Blocks
Kleine Trommel	KITr	Snare Drum
Tomtom	Ttom	Tom-tom
Triangel	Tri	Triangle

# THE KURT WEILL EDITION

## Editorial Board

Tim Carter  
Joel Galand  
Edward Harsh  
Stephen Hinton  
Kim H. Kowalke  
Giselher Schubert

## Staff

Elmar Juchem, Managing Editor  
Dave Stein, Archivist

## Advisory Board

John Adams	James Levine
Stephen Banfield	John Mauceri
Leon Botstein	bruce mcclung
Regina Busch	Donald Mitchell†
Theodore Chapin	Robert Morgan
James Conlon	Michael Morley
Hermann Danuser	Harold Prince
Gabriele Dotto	Steve Reich
Sian Edwards	Joshua Rifkin
Yves Gérard	Jürgen Schebera
Bryan Gilliam	Wayne Shirley
Alexander Goehr	Marcus Stenz
Philip Gossett†	Guy Stern
Gary Graffman	Teresa Stratas
HK Gruber	Michael Tilson Thomas
James Holmes	John Wilson
David Kilroy	Maury Yeston
Niels Krabbe	James Zychowicz

Initial support for the Kurt Weill Edition was provided by a grant from The National Endowment for the Humanities

# CREDITS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS FOR THIS VOLUME

## Editors

Stephen Hinton and Elmar Juchem

## Editorial Board Representative

Tim Carter

The editors gratefully acknowledge the invaluable support they have received from a number of individuals and institutions. Many of the sources that document *Happy End's* genesis and early performance history are housed at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin. For granting unrestricted access to this labyrinthine complex of primary and secondary materials and for furnishing copies of key items, we should like to thank Sabine Wolf at the Literaturarchiv as well as Anett Schubotz, Iliane Thiemann, and Erdmut Wizisla at the Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv. For guidance regarding Theo Mackeben's papers, we thank Peter Mänz and Tarek Strauch at the Deutsche Kinemathek—Museum für Film und Fernsehen. For help with the Weill materials housed at the Eastman School of Music/University of Rochester, we thank David Peter Coppen at the Sibley Music Library. We should also acknowledge Peter Jammerthal at the Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, Theaterhistorische Sammlungen (Freie Universität Berlin) for making available documents to do with *Happy End's* premiere. Throughout the production of this volume, from beginning to end, we received constant and unfailingly generous support from Dave Stein and Natasha Nelson at the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music. At Universal Edition we thank Katja Kaiser and Ronald Kornfeil, who also assisted with proofreading, as well as Astrid Koblanck. We are also grateful to James Kendrick at European American Music Corporation. At Yale University, where the Papers of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya are housed in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, we thank Richard Boursy, Emily DiLeo, and Suzanne Eggleston-Lovejoy. For their willingness to preview the newly edited score in a tryout we are most grateful to the musicians of the Ensemble Modern and their conductor HK Gruber. We also received encouragement and support from Kristin Weber. Other individuals to whom we extend our sincere thanks: John Baxindine (proofreading the musical text), Jürgen Schebera, Christian Zwarg (re-digitizing the 1929 recordings), Klaus Völker, Seth Josel, Chas Smith, Nils Grosch, and Carolin Stahrenberg. We have been fortunate, indeed, to draw throughout on expert input and advice from the members of the Editorial Board, particularly from the volume's Board Representative, Tim Carter.

