Notes

Introduction

2. Ibid., p. 381.
6. All references to statements by Elisabeth Hauptmann, Helene Weigel, Herta Ramthun, and Gisela Bahr are from their conversations with me, unless a printed source is given.
9. Bertolt-Brecht-Archiv, Mappe 2064 (hereafter abbreviated in the text "BBA," with the page numbers following the folder number).

Chapter One

1. In the BBA card catalog.
2. Ibid.
4. Excerpts from journals and letter in the BBA card catalog, dated 30 October 1921.

279
NOTES

6. Ibid., pp. 47–48. It is possible—if Bronnen is quoting him exactly—that Brecht meant the last sentence or sentences of the first version, which elaborates on the theme: “It was the last best time. The chaos is used up, it released me unblest. Perhaps work will comfort me. It is undoubtedly very late. I feel lonely. Moti Gui’s voice: East wind!” (“Es war die beste Zeit. Das Chaos ist aufgebraucht, es entlief mich ungesegnet. Vielleicht tröstet mich die Arbeit. Es ist zweifellos sehr spät. Ich fühle mich vereinsamt. Die Stimme Moti Guis: Ostwind!”) (Bahr, p. 104).


8. BBA 348, 64. (Uncorrected version. The revised version is printed in GW 17:971–72.)

9. BBA 460, 6; 450, 10, 13, and 18; and 1086, 4.


12. Exceptions: Lorimer, Bouck White (see below, chapter 2).


14. For an enlightening treatment of Brecht’s judgment of naturalism, the reader should consult Reinhold Grimm, “Naturalismus und episches Drama,” in Episches Theater, ed. Reinhold Grimm (Cologne, 1966), pp. 13–35. In some respects (open form, debunking mysticism, bringing science and reality to the stage), naturalism was a precursor of epic theater; but it aimed for total illusion. Brecht credited naturalism with the introduction of realism to the stage, even if it was a fatalistic realism.

15. Today we probably would say that men actually behave far worse toward each other than animals; in criticizing the contemporary social Darwinist justifications of capitalism, Sinclair seems to accept the (Spencerian) social Darwinist misinterpretation of Darwin’s theory. Brecht however allows the animal/jungle imagery to be more ambivalent, especially in Shlink, who envies animals their innocence and bodily warmth (Bahr, p. 92).


17. Ibid., p. 134.

18. For a discussion of some nonliterary influences on Brecht, see Hans Mayer, Bertolt Brecht und die Tradition (Pfüllingen, 1961), pp. 30–44.


21. Johannes Vilhelm Jensen, Das Rad (Berlin, 1908), pp. 10–11. (My English translations are from the German edition, not the Danish.)


25. GW 20:337, and 17:1119. Also, in the 1918 and 1919 versions of Baal, a young lady with raised eyebrows states that Baal reminds her of Whitman, only more significant. The men in the scene counter with Heine, Verhaeren, Verlaine, and Wedekind (Baal: Drei Fassungen, ed. Dieter Schmidt [Frankfurt am Main, 1966], pp. 13 and 84).
NOTES

27. Willett, pp. 91–92.
29. Helfried Seliger gives a lengthy description of that early poem as well as the 1919 plans for an opera to be called Prarie: Oper nach Hamsun (BBA 455). An adaptation of Knut Hamsun's story "Zachaeus," the fragment throws interesting light on Brecht's later use of the word prairie to mean ruthless competition, and it introduces the themes of wheat, the Midwest, and cold-bloodedness (Seliger, Das Amerikabild Bertolt Brechts [Bonn, 1974]).
32. GW 17:949–50. (As pointed out by Michael Morley; see note 37. I am indebted to him for telling me about this discovery.)
33. GW 18:10. (Brecht mentioned Lorimer; in the edited version in print, Werner Hecht gives us "L.", with a note in the back deciphering Brecht's difficult handwriting as "Lorimer." Morley makes the correction.)
34. BBA 450, 37–38. (Again, as cited by Morley.)
38. Quoted in ibid., p. 543.
39. Bronnen, p. 48 (but see note 6).
40. Herbert Ihering, Von Reinhardt bis Brecht, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1961), 2:264. (His name is also often spelled Jhering.)
41. Ibid., 1:274.
42. Ibid., p. 273.
43. Ibid., 2:57–60.

Chapter Two

3. Ibid., pp. 259–60.
4. E.g., GW 15:237.
5. Piscator, p. 57.
6. However, there is an earlier version, called Galgei, from 1918–20. Brecht's "periods" do not have clear boundaries.
7. Lania, p. 264.
10. Loc. cit.
11. Ibid., p. 72.
NOTES

12. Ibid., p. 18.
13. Ibid., p. 112.
15. Reich, p. 10.
16. Tarbell, p. 120.
17. Ibid., p. 121.
20. Published in very fragmentary form in GW 7.
23. George Bernard Shaw, “Die Bibel in Amerika,” in Das Tage-Buch, Vol. 6, No. 29 (Berlin, 18 July 1925), pp. 1045–50. (The notes in GW 18:8* mistakenly give the year as 1926. This mistake suggests that Brecht’s piece was probably also written in 1925, not 1926.)
24. Ibid., p. 1045. Retranslation from the German.
26. Ibid., p. 371.
27. Ibid., p. 372.
30. Anyone who supposes that Brecht accepted Neue Sachlichkeit uncritically should read his satire on it, “700 Intellectuals Pray to an Oil Tank,” GW 8:316–17.
31. Reich, p. 5.
32. Erinnerungen, p. 51.
34. Ibid., p. 172.
35. Ibid., p. 229.
36. Ibid., p. 230.
41. Myers, p. 414.
42. Ibid., p. 26.
43. Ibid., p. 25.
NOTES

have found no confirmation of this in any primary sources (i.e., Brecht's own works and reminiscences by friends), and assume it was only a guess by those critics.

45. GW 8:84, and 15:57. Cf. also Münsterer, pp. 166–70.

46. Ihering, 2:60.

47. E.g., GW 17:978, 951, and BBA 348 (31–32).


50. The dating is Dieter Schmidt's information. See Bertolt Brecht, Baal: Der böse Baal der asoziale: Texte, Varianten und Materialien, ed. Dieter Schmidt (Frankfurt am Main, 1968), p. 159.


54. Bronnen, pp. 143–44.

55. Walter Benjamin believes these poems describe what it was like to be a political fugitive (such as an illegal Communist). See Benjamin, Versuche über Brecht (Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 66–73.


57. On this poem and Brecht's valuation of friendliness, see Benjamin, pp. 81–83.


59. GW 8:169–70. The Home Devotions were finished in 1922 (published 1927); the Svendborg Poems in 1939.

60. Quoted by Hauptmann in Erinnerungen, p. 51.


62. Cf. comment on A Man's a Man, GW 17:987.


64. Ibid., pp. 208–9 (p. 189 in German).

65. Ibid., p. 417 (p. 378 in German).

66. Ibid., pp. 302–3 (p. 275 in German).


68. This scene builds the climax of D. W. Griffiths's early short film based on Norris's books, called “A Corner in Wheat.”

69. E.g., BBA 678, 10.

70. E.g., p. 270.

71. See pp. 306, 322.


73. BBA 524, 62–64; the newspaper is the 8-Uhr Abendblatt.
NOTES


Chapter Three

3. *GW* 19:438. To still any doubts on this subject, see the collection of Brecht's political poems and comments in Arbeitskreis Bertolt Brecht, *Nachrichtenbrief* 36 (February 1966).
5. Berlin, 1925.
7. Vienna, 1926.
10. Since I first wrote this, I have come to believe that Brecht does not condemn the young comrade in *The Measure Taken*; rather, the play is a true Lady-or-the-Tiger dilemma in which both the young comrade and the Party are both right and wrong; both compassionate spontaneity and dogmatic gradualism are understood and criticized. See my as yet unpublished paper, "Authoritarianism and Brecht's *Coriolanus*.”
15. Ibid., p. 71.
20. Reich, p. 5.
23. Collected in *GW* 20 as *Marxistische Studien*.
25. Sternberg, pp. 18–19.
29. Ewen, p. 224. Brecht apparently did not invent the term but translated it
NOTES

from Russian. This is not the place to go into its history; readers are referred to Stanley Mitchell, "From Shklovsky to Brecht," in Screen, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1974), pp. 74–81.
31. Sternberg, p. 16.
32. Rülicke-Weiler, Dramaturgie, p. 16.
34. Brustein, pp. 249–50. This interpretation, like others of the Western Brecht-really-belongs-to-us school, depends for its credibility on a lack of knowledge of Brecht's essays, shorter works, and autobiographical notes; it demonstrates the danger of drawing conclusions about an author's biography merely from his major works, a danger that even before publication of the Gesammelte Werke could always be avoided by using the facilities of the Brecht Archive.
35. See Sternberg, p. 18.
36. Dating: a first draft of this argument is on the same manuscript page as "Zu 'Baal' " (GW 15:64), which the Brecht Archive dates 1926.
37. The three new song additions show the intended change clearly.
38. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism."

Chapter Four

1. Quoted by Werner Otto in the program booklet to Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny in the Deutsche Staatsoper Berlin, GDR, 1964.
2. Staatsoper program.
3. Allgemeine Musikzeitung 57 (1930), no. 12, quoted in the Staatsoper program.
5. Leipziger Bühnenblätter, Nr. 12 (1929–30), quoted in Staatsoper program.
6. They are printed at the end of the Home Devotions (but not in the GW).
7. Leipziger Bühnenblätter, quoted in Staatsoper program.
10. Booklet with the recording of Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny (Columbia No. K3L 243; text written by Lenya in 1957).
15. Ihering, 2:334.
17. Leipziger Bühnenblätter, quoted in Staatsoper program.
19. Leipziger Bühnenblätter, quoted in Staatsoper program.

285
24. It is printed with that series in *Gedichte I* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960).
25. Staatsoper program.
27. E.g., *GW* 15:172, 269.
28. John Milfull has an interesting perspective on Mahagonny in his book *From Baal to Keuner: The “Second Optimism” of Bertolt Brecht* (Bern, 1974). Mahagonny is the “dead point” below which Brecht’s nihilism could not fall, an uncompromising indictment with no suggestion of any possible solution. Milfull also has a different slant on Brecht’s search for a “new type of person.”
29. In an interview with me.
31. In an interview with me.
32. I have searched through many bibliographic sources myself.
34. *Erinnerungen*, p. 50.
36. BBA 895, “Schwedische Manuskripte.”
37. Thanks for this information to Gisela Bahr. I myself have done some research into the U.S. branch of the Salvation Army, including a visit to its Officers’ Training School in Suffern, N.Y.; there I was told that one of the principal sources of funding was the *Reader’s Digest*.
40. Ibid., p. 16.
41. Original title *Der Flug der Lindberghs* (*The Flight of the Lindberghs*), changed at Brecht’s request when he heard reports of Lindbergh’s helping the Nazis. This is also the reason for the new historical model for a pilot, Charles Nungesser.
42. *GW* 2:584–85. This is a significant revision of “das Unerreichbare” (“the unattainable”) in the early version, requested by Brecht in a footnote to *Das Badener Lehrstück*. See *GW* 2:3*.

286
NOTES

Chapter Five

2. All quotations from "Vanished Glory of the Giant City New York" are in GW 9:475–83.
5. BBA 818, 1–12; 823, 46; 827, 26 respectively. Reference: Ramthun, pp. 304, 311.
6. Interview with me.
11. Ibid., pp. 476–537.
12. The Salvation Army girl theme was also developed in fragments of another play Brecht worked on at the same time as *Happy End*; called *Marie Andersen* or *Gut und Böse* (*Good and Bad*), it was set in Berlin, not the United States. Bertolt Brecht, *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe: Bühnenfassung, Fragmente, Varianten*, ed. Gisela E. Bahr (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), pp. 211–12.
18. "Zu Wordsworths 'She Was a Phantom of Delight,' " *Über Lyrik*, pp. 72–73.
NOTES

31. In Theater der Zeit 16:22–39. Shorter versions can be found in her (now Rüllicke-Weiler) Dramaturgie, pp. 137–46, and in her (Rüllicke) “Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe: Notizen zum Bau der Fabel,” in Sinn und Form, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1959), pp. 429–44. All three treatments are excellent. (The five-part structure described here is her formulation.)
32. Rüllicke-Weiler, Dramaturgie, p. 137.
33. See GW 7:2949.
34. Dated by Herta Ramthun of the Brecht Archive, in an interview with me.
36. The Jungle, p. 349.
37. In the 1968 Berliner Ensemble version, the scene on the floor of the exchange was the high point of an otherwise fairly uninspired production. The scene was highly stylized and even choreographed, with the groups of growers, buyers, and packers changing their hand signals simultaneously as though in involuntary reaction to some sensed command by the invisible System; the pre-taped choruses were spoken over loudspeakers, and the traders had only to go through the steps of their compulsive dance like marionettes. The printed program showed pictures of the hand signals.
40. See Ewen, p. 261 and n.
41. BBA 279, 21. Printed in Schmidt, Baal; Der böse Baal, p. 110.
44. GW 2:793. Cf. 2:671.
45. Erinnerungen, p. 52.
46. Ibid., p. 44.

Postscript

1. Quoted in Ruland, pp. 388–89.
2. Bertolt Brecht's American Cicerone.
4. Seliger, pp. 219–32.

288
NOTES

9. Ibid., p. 327.
10. Reich, p. 18.
11. He also had permission beginning in 1952 to subscribe to *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek* (information from Gisela Bahr).