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THE INFLUENCE OF TRETYAKOV'S PLAY ROAR, CHINA! ON BRECHT*

The German writer Bertolt Brecht created several works in which Chinese motifs played a significant role. However, he was not interested in contemporary China; rather, he was interested in the artistic ideas and practices of Russia and the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s. Sergei Tretyakov, a Soviet writer and literary theorist who introduced Brecht to these concepts, was also a China specialist. He likely influenced Brecht's works concerning China. Notably, Brecht's play *The Measures Taken*, set in China for the first time, bears striking similarities to Tretyakov's play *Roar, China!*, which premiered to great acclaim in Germany in 1930 — the same year that Brecht wrote *The Measures Taken*.

Keywords: Bertolt Brecht, Sergei Tretyakov, *The Measures Taken*, *Roar, China!*, Germany-Russia ideas transfer.

1. Introduction

The German writer Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) created several works in which Chinese motifs played a significant role. These include the “learning play (Lehrstück),”¹ *The Measures Taken* (*Die Maßnahme*, premiered 1930), which is about Soviet agitators infiltrating China; the collection of aphorisms *Me-ti. Book of Interventions in the Flow of Things* (*Me-ti. Buch der Wendungen*, written 1934–1956); the play *The Good Person of Szechwan* (*Der gute Mensch von Sezuan*, premiered 1943), which features a kindhearted, impoverished Chinese woman; adaptations of the 14th-century Chinese text by Li Qianfu, the short story *The Chalk Circle of Augsburg* (*Der Augsburger Kreidekreis*, written 1940),

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¹ Around 1930, Brecht collaborated with composers Kurt Weill (1900–1950), Paul Hindemith (1895–1963), and Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) to create the avant-garde concept of “learning plays,” as a way to break away from classical theater and its institutions. These plays were deliberately simple and aimed at laypeople, encouraging them to engage with current issues through acting or participating in performances.

and the play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (*Der kaukasische Kreidekreis*, premiered 1948). Brecht also adapted Carlo Gozzi's (1720–1806) play and wrote *Turandot or The Congress of the Whitewashers* (*Turandot oder Der Kongreß der Weißwäscher*, written 1953–1954), which revolves around the riddles posed by a daughter of the Chinese emperor.

Why did Brecht, who had never visited China nor had any Chinese friends, develop an interest in the country? Conventional Brecht studies have offered two interpretations of this question: either Brecht used “Chinese garb” (Esslin 54)² to achieve an “alienation effect (Verfremdungseffekt),” or Brecht’s plays set in China have no particular significance since they are fables. In *The Good Person of Szechwan*, for example, Brecht himself comments that Szechwan (Sichuan) “symbolizes all places where others exploit people” (Brecht 4/2*). In fact, the setting of *The Chalk Circle*, originally set in China, shifts freely between Germany and Georgia.

However, when Brecht adapted the story of the ancient Chinese “Chalk Circle” trial to counter the Nazi ideology of “Blood and Soil (Blut und Boden),” he set it in his hometown of Augsburg, Germany.³ When he adapted it again to address the contemporary issue of the Soviet forced relocation of North Caucasian peoples, he set it in the Caucasus.⁴ It seems unlikely that the setting was chosen arbitrarily, even for an allegory. So why did Brecht choose China as the setting for the first time in the play *The Measure Taken*? This paper attempts to answer this question.

2. How Brecht’s works set in China were written

The circumstances of Brecht’s writing of the works set in China are, for the most part, clear. *The Measures Taken* is a rewritten version of the “learning play” *He Who Says Yes* (premiered 1930), which was based on the Japanese Noh play *Taniko* (i.e., “throw into the valley”).⁵ Composer Hanns Eisler (1898–1962),

² The editors of Brecht’s *Gesammelte Werke* also note: “The *Me-ti* texts [...] also represent an attempt to analyze the most important political events of the time from a Marxist perspective in a Chinese garb” (Brecht 12/1*).

³ In the “Chalk Circle” trial, the dispute centered on which mother should hold parental rights: the birth mother or the foster mother. In the original Chinese text, parental rights are granted to the birth mother, meaning blood ties are prioritized. However, in Brecht’s *The Chalk Circle of Augsburg*, parental rights are granted to the foster mother.

⁴ In *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, the same ruling is applied to a dispute over the ownership of a valley. The valley is not granted to the people who consider it their homeland, but rather to outsiders who can utilize it more effectively. Between autumn 1943 and spring 1944, the forced relocation of peoples from the North Caucasus to Central Asia and Siberia, took place. Writing of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* began immediately afterwards. In the play’s conclusion, the valley originally belonging to the goat farmers becomes the property of a fruit-growing kolkhoz because the dispute over its ownership has been peacefully resolved, allowing the land to be used more effectively. Consequently, the people of the goat-breeding kolkhoz are expelled from their homeland. Brecht does not seem to have any moral consideration for this result.

⁵ The writer Elisabeth Hauptmann (1897–1973) translated the English version of *Taniko* into German and introduced it to Brecht. She also introduced Brecht to John Gay’s (1685–1732)

a close friend of Brecht's, disparaged *He Who Says Yes* as a "ridiculous feudalistic play" (Krabiell 253), prompting the adaptation. The setting was likely not arbitrarily shifted from medieval Japan to modern China. This point will be examined later.

Brecht started writing *Me-ti* in late 1934 or early 1935 (Jost 256), after acquiring the 1922 German translation of *Mozi*, and he continued working on it until his death. Adopting *Mozi*'s narrative style, the characters and countries are given Chinese names. For instance, Stalin is called Ni-en, and the Soviet Union is called Su (Brecht 12/420). This gives the work an ancient Chinese atmosphere. However, the content bears little resemblance to that of the *Mozi*, and the country most frequently mentioned in the work is not China, but rather the Soviet Union.⁶

The ancient Chinese story of the "Chalk Circle" trial over parental rights became widely known in Germany thanks to Klabund's (born Alfred Henschke, 1890–1928)⁷ adaptation as the play *The Chalk Circle* (*Der Kreidekreis*, premiered 1925), set in ancient China. As previously mentioned, in the 1940s, Brecht adapted this famous drama into a short story and a play that opposed the Nazi ideology of "Blood and Soil,"⁸ and China is not the focus of Brecht's adaptations.

Brecht visited Moscow twice, and these visits had a profound influence on *The Good Person of Szechwan* and *Turandot*. In May 1932, Brecht visited the Soviet Union for the first time with the film director Slatan Dudow (1903–1963) to screen the film "Kuhle Wampe or Who Owns the World?" ("Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?," released 1932), for which Brecht wrote the screenplay. While in Moscow, Brecht experienced a production of *Turandot*, a play that had gained immense popularity under the direction of Evgeny Vakhtangov (Евгений Вахтангов, 1883–1922). Brecht did not begin working seriously on his adaptation of *Turandot* until the 1950s, though he had plans for it immediately after this production (Krabiell 597).

From March to May of 1935, Brecht returned to Moscow while in exile in Denmark. There, he attended performances by Mei Lanfang (1894–1961), a Peking Opera actor invited to the Soviet Union, and held discussions with Moscow theater professionals (Saussy 8). The device in *The Good Person of Szechwan*, in which the female protagonist Shen Te disguises herself as the male character Shui Ta, is believed to be inspired by watching Mei Lanfang

The Beggar's Opera (premiered 1728) and inspired Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera* (*Die Dreigroschenoper*, premiered 1928). Adapting works that Hauptmann had discovered became a pattern in Brecht's creative work during this period.

⁶ "Many of the texts in *Me-ti* can be read as commentaries on real history. They reflect on specific 'day-to-day political' events, such as [...] the USSR's alliance policy [...]" (Jost 256)

⁷ Klabund was the husband of Carola Neher (1900–1942), who was a frequent performer in Brecht's plays. Neher left Germany in the spring of 1933, after Hitler came to power. She first went to Prague, then to the Soviet Union in 1934. She was arrested as a Trotskyist during the Great Purge in 1936 and died of illness in a forced labor camp.

⁸ In Klabund's play *The Chalk Circle*, as in the Chinese original, parental rights belong to the biological mother. Therefore, in Brecht's works, the fact that parental rights belong to the foster mother carries significant meaning.

perform in a female role. During his second stay in Moscow, Brecht learned about the concept of “alienation (остранение)” (Leach 219–220), which was proposed by the Russian literary theorist and writer Victor Shklovsky (Виктор Шкловский, 1893–1984). Brecht saw this concept embodied in Mei Lanfang’s acting and wrote the essay “Alienation Effects in Chinese Acting” (“Verfremdungseffekte in der chinesischen Schauspielkunst”, 1936).

Young Brecht had learnt from the “epic theatre” of the German director Erwin Piscator (1893–1966) various techniques for preventing the audience’s emotional involvement, and it was after his second visit to Moscow that he began to explain the function of these devices in terms of the concept of “alienation”.⁹ It was the Soviet writer and theorist Sergei Tretyakov (Сергей Третьяков, 1892–1937) who introduced Brecht to the concept of “alienation” and showed him performances of *Turandot* and Mei Lanfang.

Tretyakov taught Russian literature at Peking University from 1924 to 1925 and was also the China correspondent for the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* (Правда). He wrote three books about China: a play based on actual events, *Roar, China! (Рычи, Китай!)*, premiered 1926), *China (Чжунго)*, 1927), the collection of articles and other writings he contributed to *Pravda*, and the biographical novel, *Deng Xifa (Дэн Ши-хуа. Био-интервью)*, first published 1930, revised 1932) from the transcript of interviews with one of his Chinese students.

As Brecht heard that Tretyakov was arrested and executed as a Japanese spy in 1937, he wrote the poem “Is the People Infallible?” (“Ist das Volk unfehlbar?”), written 1939), in which he refers to Tretyakov as “my teacher (mein Lehrer)” (Brecht 9/741). It is reasonable to assume that Brecht’s interest in China was influenced by the fact that his mentor was a China specialist. Brecht and Tretyakov met in 1930, the same year that the play *The Measures Taken* was written. However, in the standard literature on Brecht, his works have rarely been examined in relation to Tretyakov.¹⁰

3. Brecht’s interaction with Tretyakov

In the early 20th century, Russia and Germany had an extremely close relationship in the cultural sphere, particularly among artists who supported the labor movement and communist ideology. From the 1920s to the 1930s, avant-garde artistic ideas and theories developed remarkably in Russia, attracting the keen interest of German artists. This situation only persisted for a brief period until the Nazis seized power. Tretyakov played a particularly crucial role in this extensive exchange, conveying Russian artistic ideas and practices to Germany.

⁹ Brecht first used the term “alienation/alienate (Verfremdung/verfremden)” in a commentary he wrote in 1936 for the premiere of his play *Round Heads and Pointed Heads (Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe)* (Brecht 17/1087).

¹⁰ For example, Krabiell, who provides a thorough overview of the major research on *The Measures Taken*, does not mention Tretyakov at all.

Tretyakov's significance as an intermediary was long overlooked, largely because purges had silenced his legacy. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the publication of his manuscripts and other materials revealed the full extent of his activities. This sparked renewed interest among scholars of Russian literature and art, leading to what could be termed a Tretyakov renaissance in the 2010s. In 2019, a special issue of the renowned Russian literary studies journal *Russian Literature* was dedicated to him, and his own writings began to be republished. Nevertheless, research into his correspondence and influence in Germany remains limited, and Brecht's works are rarely discussed in relation to Tretyakov.

Tretyakov was born in Latvia, which was part of the Russian Empire at the time, and was bilingual in Russian and German thanks to his German-Dutch mother. He corresponded with many German artists, including Erwin Piscator and Hanns Eisler, and influenced German intellectuals such as Walter Benjamin (1892–1940).¹¹ He was particularly close to Brecht.

Tretyakov stayed in Germany from December 1930 until October the following year, delivering lectures on Russian culture at various locations. It was during this period that he first met Brecht. Anatoly Lunacharsky (Анатолий Луначарский, 1875–1933), the first Soviet People's Commissar for Education, had already introduced Brecht to the Soviet Union after seeing *The Threepenny Opera* in Berlin in 1928 (Rastorgueva 53). Brecht was already familiar with Tretyakov's works in the 1920s and delivered an introductory address at one of Tretyakov's lectures in Berlin (Kovalev 72).

Shortly after arriving in Berlin, Tretyakov attended the premiere of *The Measures Taken* and immediately translated the play into Russian (Kemmann 163).¹² In February 1931, he attended a performance of the play *Man Equals Man* (*Mann ist Mann*, premiered 1926), directed by Brecht, also in Berlin. It was Tretyakov who arranged for the Moscow screening of the film "Kuhle Wampe" in 1932. In 1933, he contributed a review of Brecht's adaptation of Maxim Gorky's (Максим Горький, 1868–1936) novel *The Mother* (*Die Mutter*, premiered 1932) to the German literary journal *Internationale Literatur*,¹³ published in Moscow. He also wrote many texts about Brecht, including a chapter dedicated to him in the book *People of the Same Fire: Literary Portraits* (*Люди одного костра. Литературные портреты*, 1936).¹⁴

Regarding Tretyakov's specific influence on Brecht's work, German literary studies note only that the biography of the boxer Samson-Körner (*Boxerjugend*.

¹¹ Benjamin's essay "The Author as Producer" ("Der Autor als Produzent", 1934) was written under the influence of Tretyakov's concept of "literature of fact (литература факта)". Benjamin considers Tretyakov to be an example of an "operative writer (оперативный писатель)".

¹² Tretyakov also translated Brecht's other works into Russian, including the play *Saint Joan of the Stockyards* (*Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe*, published 1931, premiered 1959), which he published as a collection of Brecht's plays in 1934.

¹³ Brecht's short story *The Chalk Circle of Augsburg* was also published in *Internationale Literatur* (1931–1945), for which Tretyakov worked as an editor. This journal featured the work of many writers who had fled Germany.

¹⁴ Although the title conjures up an image of friends gathered around a campfire, "the fire" actually refers to the Nazi book burnings.

Samson-Körner nacherzählt von Bert Brecht, 1928) was written in the “bio-interview” genre, conceived by Tretyakov (Knopf 63).¹⁵ However, Russian literary scholars have identified an even greater influence. For example, Eaton highlights similarities between Brecht’s play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* and Tretyakov’s play *I Want a Baby* (*Хочу ребёнка*, written 1926), as well as his reportage-style prose work *Heroes of the Fields: The Struggle for a Collective Society* (*Feldherren. Der Kampf um eine Kollektivgesellschaft*, 1931) (Eaton [1979] 22–26). Leach also points out the striking similarity between the line in Brecht’s play *The Good Person of Szechwan*, in which the protagonist Shen Te expresses her joy at becoming pregnant, and the line spoken by Jakov when he learns that Milda, the protagonist of *I Want a Baby*, is pregnant (Leach 219). In fact, Brecht had adapted *I Want a Baby* and was therefore very familiar with its content.¹⁶

Brecht was also familiar with Tretyakov’s play *Roar, China!*¹⁷ Following its highly successful premiere at the Meyerhold Theatre in Moscow in 1926, this play was quickly translated into various languages and performed extensively within the Soviet Union and abroad.¹⁸ In Germany, an adaptation by the writer Leo Lania (1896–1961) was first staged in Frankfurt in 1929 (Leach 131). In spring 1930, the Meyerhold Theatre toured Germany with the original production to great acclaim,¹⁹ with the Cologne performance drawing an audience of around 6,000 (Leach 130). It was also in 1930 that the play *He Who Says Yes* was rewritten as *The Measures Taken*. Several similarities suggest Brecht was influenced by Tretyakov’s popular play and its staging while he was rewriting it.

4. Tretyakov’s *Roar, China!* and Brecht’s *The Measures Taken*

Both *He Who Says Yes* and *The Measures Taken* explore the theme of “consent (Einverständnis)”²⁰ in relation to the sacrifice of individuals for the benefit of the community. There are two versions of *He Who Says Yes*, but in both, a boy setting out on a dangerous mountain crossing with his teacher and three students falls ill along the way. According to custom, if someone falls ill during the crossing, the group must not turn back for them; they must be left behind and accept this. Following this custom, the sick boy is asked if he agrees to be left behind,

¹⁵ “Bio-Interview” is the subtitle given to the biographical novel *Deng Xifa*. Although it appears to be non-fiction, it is actually based on interviews with embellishments added by Tretyakov.

¹⁶ Tretyakov, Sergei. *Ich will ein Kind haben (Die Pionierin)*. Translated from Russian by Ernst Hube, revised by Bert Brecht. Freiburg im Breisgau: Max Reichard, undated, ca.1930.

¹⁷ “Brecht evidently saw at least one of the performances (Tretyakov’s *Roar, China!*) because he defended it against the attacks of conservative critics.” (Eaton [1985] 13)

¹⁸ In Japan, the play was staged by the Tsukiji sho gekijo (Tsukiji Small Theater Company) in 1929.

¹⁹ “During the six weeks the Meyerhold group toured Germany, hundreds of reviews and articles about them appeared in the German press.” (Eaton [1985] 14)

²⁰ *He Who Says Yes* begins with the chorus line: “What we must learn above all is consent” (Brecht and Sauerlander 63). Furthermore, “consent” was also the theme of *The Baden-Baden Lesson on Consent* (*Das Badener Lehrstück vom Einverständnis*, premiered 1929), a “learning play” staged prior to *He Who Says Yes*.

and he replies, “Yes.” However, fearing he will die alone, he then asks them to throw him down into the valley, and they grant his wish.

In response to Eisler’s criticism that *He Who Says Yes*, set in feudal Japan, lacked realism, *The Measures Taken* depicts four agitators sent from Moscow to the Chinese City of Mukden. To accomplish their mission, they kill a “young comrade” who keeps disrupting their efforts by acting impulsively. Before shooting him, the four agitators ask the “young comrade” if he understands and agrees to such a “measure.” He answers, “Yes.” The body of the shot “young comrade” is thrown into the lime pit.

This text is a play within a play. The four agitators who have returned to Moscow explain to the “Control Chorus”, i.e., the Party Headquarters, why they killed a comrade. They leave it to the Chorus to judge whether this was a correct “measure,” and the Chorus approves of it.

The agitators begin their explanation by recounting their visit to a Party branch near the Chinese border to distribute illegal propaganda. The “young comrade” is the branch secretary who will guide the four to Mukden. Before they leave, the branch chief gives them masks and orders them to disguise themselves as Chinese people.

The Two Agitators We will not be seen.

The Head of the Party House Should one of you be injured, he must not be found.

The Two Agitators He will not be found.

The Head of the Party House Then you are prepared to die and to conceal the dead?

The Two Agitators Yes.

The Head of the Party House Then be yourselves no longer: you no longer Karl Schmidt from Berlin; you no longer Anna Kjersk from Kazan; and you no longer Peter Sawitsch from Moscow. You are nameless and without a past, empty pages on which the revolution may write its instructions.

The Two Agitators Yes.

The Head of the Party House (gives them masks which they put on:) And therefore from this moment you are no longer one; but rather from this moment on, and in all probability until your disappearance, you are unknown¹³ workers, fighters. Chinese, born of Chinese mothers, yellow-skinned, who in sleep and in delirium speak only Chinese. (Brecht and Mueller 12–13)

The five communists who infiltrated Mukden must remain unidentified to carry out their illegal activities. However, the “young comrade” removed the Chinese mask he had been wearing, revealing his true identity as a “foreigner” (Brecht and Mueller 30) from the Soviet Union. This was the gravest mistake the “young comrade” made, and it was the decisive factor that led the other four to decide to kill him. Masks are crucial props in this play,²¹ enabling the agitators to conceal their identities and impersonate Chinese people. This practice appears to have been adopted directly from Meyerhold’s production of *Roar, China!*,

²¹ Yellow half-masks were used in the premiere of *The Measures Taken* (Krabiel 258).

which toured Germany before the premiere of this play, in which actors portraying Chinese characters wore masks (Leach 130).

Tretyakov's play *Roar, China!* is based on a real incident that took place in Wanxian in June 1924 while Tretyakov was staying in China. An American trading company agent got into an argument with a Chinese boatman, accidentally falling into the Yangtze River and drowning. However, as the boatman fled the scene, the captain of a British warship executed two innocent Chinese coolies in his place. In Brecht's *The Measures Taken*, the agitators who infiltrate Mukden first encounter coolies hauling boats laden with rice from the riverbank upstream (Brecht and Mueller 14–18). This also brings to mind the Wanxian incident.

Brecht's attempts to rewrite *He Who Says Yes* as a more contemporary work coincided precisely with Meyerhold's hugely successful production of *Roar, China!* in Germany. It is difficult to imagine that these similarities are merely coincidental. Brecht likely wrote *The Measures Taken* based on *Roar, China!*. At the time, the issue of China after the Xinhai Revolution was also highly topical in international politics. Therefore, while the theme of "consent" was retained, the setting of the play shifted from Japan to China.

5. Conclusion

Brecht created several works in which Chinese motifs played a significant role. However, he was not interested in contemporary China, but rather the artistic ideas and practices of Russia and the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s. Tretyakov, a China specialist who introduced Brecht to these concepts, probably influenced his works concerning China. Notably, Brecht's play *The Measures Taken* bears striking similarities to Tretyakov's *Roar, China!*, which premiered to great acclaim in Germany in 1930 — the same year that Brecht wrote *The Measures Taken*.

In 1930, Brecht and Tretyakov met and quickly became close friends. Brecht came to regard Tretyakov as his mentor for introducing him to the concept of "alienation" and for exposing him to Mei Lanfang's acting, which embodied that concept. However, their friendship came to an abrupt end in 1937, when Tretyakov was purged.

Around twenty years after Tretyakov's death, Brecht adapted *Turandot*, a play that he and Tretyakov had previously seen at the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow. In Brecht's version, the riddles that must be solved to win Princess Turandot's hand in marriage are: Why is there a shortage of cotton despite a bountiful harvest? Where exactly is the cotton? These riddles relate to the same commercial strategy as "The Song of Commodity", sung by a merchant to the "young comrade" in *The Measures Taken*.

The rice grows down the river.

The people in the upper provinces need that rice.

If we leave the rice where it is
 Then rice will grow more expensive.
 [...]

 When winter comes, everyone needs clothes.
 One goes out and buys cotton.
 One doesn't give away one's cotton.
 When cold weather comes, clothes become more expensive.
 (Brecht and Mueller 23–24)

While writing *Turandot*, Brecht must have recalled Tretyakov, with whom he had seen the play in Moscow and with whom he had collaborated in the 1930s. Furthermore, when examining the Soviet Union in a Chinese style in *Me-ti* — a work he began in the 1930s and continued writing until his death — Tretyakov was probably foremost in his mind.²² After 1937, when he could no longer mention Tretyakov directly due to the purges, Brecht may have woven his presence into the Chinese motifs more subtly. In this sense, one could argue that Brecht's China-related works also carry the character of an homage to Tretyakov to a greater or lesser extent.

The death of the “young comrade” in the play *The Measures Taken* sparked controversy from the time of its premiere. Following discussions with audiences, Brecht revised the text twice, in 1931 and 1938. These revisions aimed to clarify the mistake made by the “young comrade” to the audience. In the case of *He Who Says Yes*, the new play *He Who Says No*, in which he did not “consent” to dying, was created by incorporating the opinions of audience members who were dissatisfied with the boy's death. However, the ending of *The Measures Taken* was never changed: the “Control Chorus” acknowledges that killing the “young comrade” was a necessary “measure” to lead the exploited masses to a communist revolution. Furthermore, Hanns Eisler's prelude imitates Bach's St Matthew Passion (Krabiel 254), likening the death of the “young comrade” to the suffering of Jesus Christ and emphasizing that it was a sacrifice to achieve a noble mission.

Ultimately, however, *The Measures Taken* amount to nothing more than a euphemism for purges. Even if Brecht did not intend this at the time of writing, for those who experienced Stalin's Great Purge, Brecht appears to condone purges. This impression is reinforced by the play's inclusion of a “Praise of the USSR” (Brecht and Mueller 65). Furthermore, its structure as a courtroom drama evokes the infamous Moscow Trials (1936–1938).

This work was banned from performance by the Nazi regime in 1933, after which Brecht and Eisler were charged with inciting treason against the state. From the 1950s onwards, the authors prohibited themselves from staging, fearing potential misuse (Krabiel 263–264). Ironically, a play modelled on the revered Tretyakov's *Roar, China!* ultimately became open to interpretation as endorsing the Great Purge, in which Tretyakov himself became a victim.

²² Brecht's decision to give himself and other real-life figures Chinese names in this work may have been inspired by Tretyakov. During his time in Vladivostok (1918–1920), Tretyakov used a Chinese pen name (Lee 46).

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Хироко Масумото

УТИЦАЈ ТРЕТЈАКОВЉЕВЕ ДРАМЕ *УПЛАЈ, КИНО!* НА БРЕХТА

Резиме

Немачки писац Бертолт Брехт створио је неколико дела у којима су кинески мотиви играли значајну улогу. Међутим, он није био заинтересован за савремену Кину; уместо

тога, занимале су га уметничке идеје и праксе Русије и Совјетског Савеза током 1920-их и 1930-их. Сергеј Третјаков, совјетски писац и књижевни теоретичар, који је упознао Брехта са овим концептима, такође је био специјалиста за Кину. Вероватно је утицао на Брехтове радове о Кини. Посебно је значајно што Брехтова драма *Предузеће мере*, смештена у Кину по први пут, показује запањујуће сличности са Третјаковљевом драмом *Урлај, Кино!*, која је премијерно изведена уз велике похвале у Немачкој 1930. године — исте године када је Брехт написао *Предузеће мере*.

Кључне речи: Бертолт Брехт, Сергеј Третјаков, *Предузеће мере*, *Урлај, Кино!*, размена идеја између Немачке и Русије.