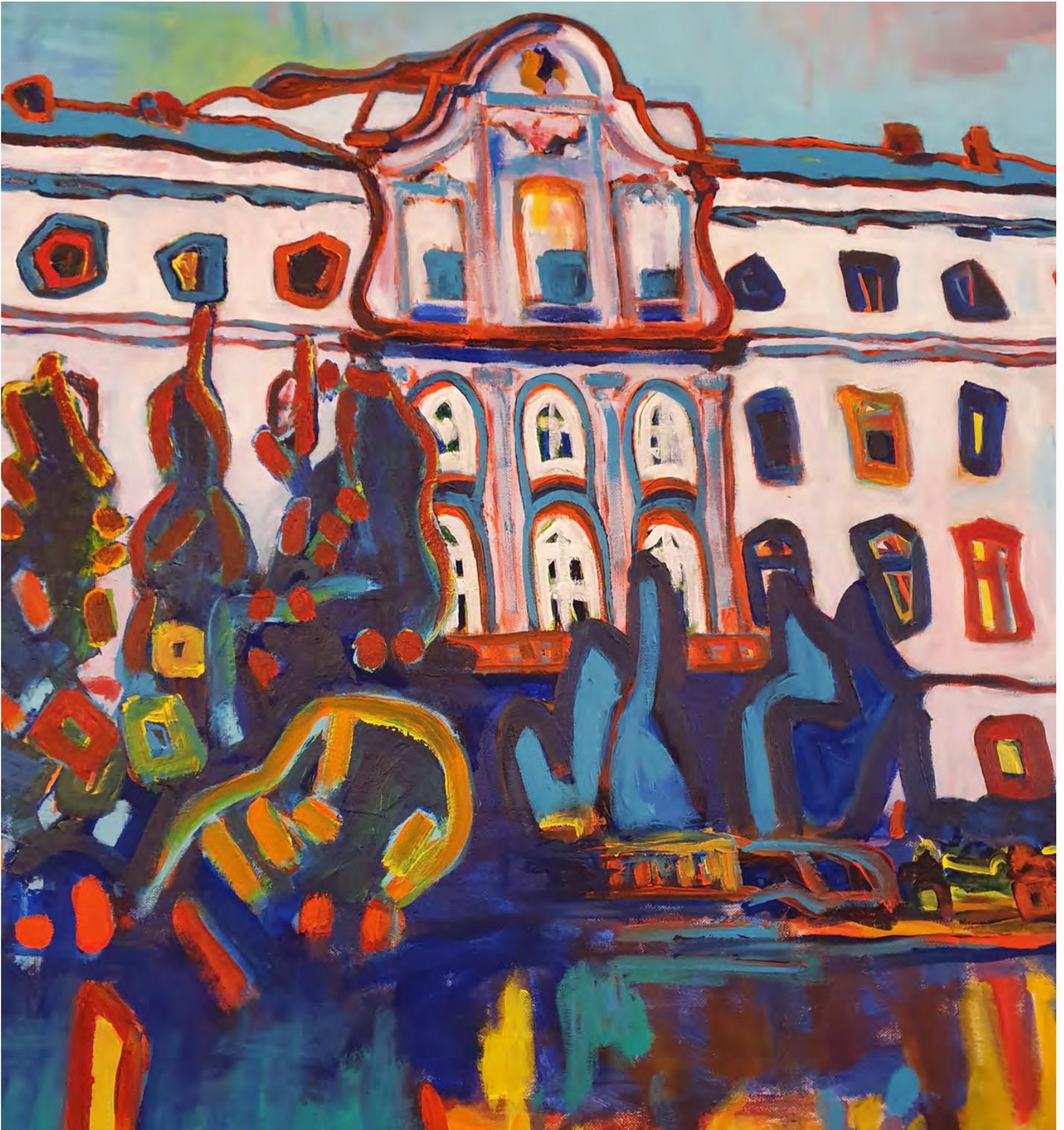




SALZBURG HOTEL  
GLOBAL SCHLOSS  
SEMINAR LEOPOLDSKRON



# Schloss Leopoldskron Contested Histories & Cultural Heritage

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# Schloss Leopoldskron: Contested Histories and Cultural Heritage

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# Section I: Background and Introduction

## I. Background

On Saturday, October 21, the final day of the 2018 [Salzburg Global Young Cultural Innovators Forum](#), [Salzburg Global Seminar](#) staff was made aware that several protest posters had been put up in the Venetian Room of [Schloss Leopoldskron](#). The posters were a protest against the Commedia dell'arte paintings on the walls of the Venetian Room, which the protest indicated are depictions of blackface and racial prejudice.

This booklet on the Contested Histories and Cultural Heritage of Schloss Leopoldskron aims to ensure that everyone that visits our space now and in the future – whether YCI Fellows, other Fellows of Salzburg Global Programs, or guests of Hotel Schloss Leopoldskron – are provided with information about the complex history of the building and the difficult and sometimes contested historical and cultural layers that are part of this place.

This booklet tries to surface these layers of Schloss Leopoldskron's history through the stories of the people who lived here, the changes they made to this place, and some of the objects and images that are found here. Through these stories and this process, and by describing the October 2018 protest, sharing the criticisms, concerns, and feedback of the protestors and other Fellows, and by showing images of the protest itself, we hope that the protest can become a new and added layer to Schloss Leopoldskron's history as well as inform the way its cultural heritage is interpreted and understood in the future.

Salzburg Global Seminar and Schloss Leopoldskron have been changed in many ways by the protest and the questions it raised. Since the protest, we have tried hard to understand the history, objects, and images located here in deeper and in new ways, and we have consulted with numerous experts and external specialists to better understand how to change our institutional understanding and practice in ways that better reflect the values we hold.

In this respect we are grateful to those YCI Fellows who raised their voices, challenged us to improve our own understanding of Schloss Leopoldskron and the way we engage with its spaces, and even protested to ensure that these spaces would be different, more critically addressed, and safer for future YCI Cohorts and everyone else who visits Schloss Leopoldskron. The actions by YCI Fellows in 2018 were not taken easily. However their actions have helped us to better understand the history and heritage of Schloss Leopoldskron in more nuanced and critical ways. As a part of this process, we would like to recognize them as an important part of our institutional evolution and acknowledge their actions have added an important new layer to the history of Schloss Leopoldskron.

## II. Introduction

Following the Venetian Room Protest in October 2018, we have undertaken a comprehensive review of the artwork and other elements of Schloss Leopoldskron's cultural history and heritage. This is only a starting point, but we hope this review will help us improve our own understanding and practice on these sensitive issues, including ways we can continue to be thoughtful, transparent, and ethical stewards of the unique – and sometimes contested – history and cultural heritage of Schloss Leopoldskron.

Throughout its history, Schloss Leopoldskron has been inextricably linked to cycles of power, persecution, and renewal. Despite difficult and sometimes contested legacies, as well as dark periods in the history of

Leopoldskron, the cycles of renewal – through vision, enterprise, and cultural and social leadership – have provided a space of creativity, inclusion, and inspiration for people from all over the world.

Since its founding at Schloss Leopoldskron in 1947, Salzburg Global Seminar has been the sole curator and caretaker of the cultural heritage of Schloss Leopoldskron as well as its diverse, complex, and sometimes controversial and contested histories. Schloss Leopoldskron has been a place of safety and refuge for former enemies and displaced persons. It has been a neutral meeting place for people from different sides of ideological, political, and religious divides. It has been a place of inspiration for artists, musicians, writers, playwrights, and innovators. And, it has been a place of renewal and inspiration for more than 38,000 Fellows from more than 180 countries.

At the same time, the cultural and historical legacies of Schloss Leopoldskron – seen through the eyes and perspectives of Fellows and guests from all over the world – continue to be the subject of interpretation and reinterpretation. In that context, Salzburg Global Seminar has a responsibility to be open, transparent, and honest stewards of Schloss Leopoldskron’s history and cultural heritage and to engage in open dialogue about the history, cultural heritage, and contestation embedded within Schloss Leopoldskron.

Through our programs we seek to challenge current and future leaders to shape a better world by bridging divides, expanding collaboration, and transforming systems in conditions of openness and trust. We challenge ourselves to do the same and to continuously reexamine the ways in which our sense of place and the physical spaces of Schloss Leopoldskron can help us to foster inclusion, bridge divides, and create the conditions for trust and openness.

As part of this commitment, and in the context of our work on the Contested Histories in Public Spaces project, this case study of Schloss Leopoldskron’s contested histories and cultural heritage aims to highlight and discuss the difficult legacies connected to Schloss Leopoldskron with the following principles in mind:

- a. Engage issues and contestations directly, and with as complete, inclusive, and accurate review of the history and context as possible.
- b. Listen to and include the views, feedback, and criticism of our Fellows, partners, and guests in a way that is sensitive, open, and transparent, and that reflects our values.
- c. Commit to acknowledge, engage, learn, and adapt to these issues and questions as part of our ongoing work, programs, and facilities.
- d. Provide information about our institutional process to date, including the initial focus of the process to date on transparent, consultative, educational, and additive responses.
- e. Show a commitment to the values of inclusion, diversity, and the protection of human rights across our program.

## Section II: Select Cultural Heritage and Contested Histories of Schloss Leopoldskron

### I. Prince-Archbishop Leopold von Firmian and the Protestant Expulsion of 1731-1732

**“...Expatriate this unruly, seditious, and insurgent population in its entirety to the root.”**

Archbishop Leopold Anton Elutherius Freiherr von Firmian (1679-1744) rose to the office of Archbishop of Salzburg in 1729, and built Schloss Leopoldskron in 1736, based on the drawings of Scottish Benedictine monk Bernard Stuart (1706-1755). At that time, the Catholic archbishops of Salzburg were responsible for ruling over and administering the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. For many years prior to Firmian taking office, Crypto-Protestant communities (i.e. those Protestants that did not practice their religion openly and complied with Catholic laws) were mostly allowed to live peacefully in Salzburg. Some particularly vocal Protestant leaders faced prosecution occasionally, but the Archbishops of Salzburg mostly avoided confrontation or expulsions for fear of provoking retaliation from neighboring Protestant countries that had formed an alliance known as the *corpus evangelicorum*.



Painting of Prince Archbishop Leopold Anton Eleutherius Freiherr von Firmian. Stairway, Schloss Leopoldskron.

When Firmian took office, he was bound by the obligations of the *Peace of Westphalia*, but he also undertook measures to prove himself as a powerful Catholic ruler to the Holy See, which had opposed his ascension. After taking power, Firmian began implementing mandates – enforced by the police – that Protestants in Salzburg use Catholic greetings, pray with the rosary, and wear special shoulder cloths. Protestants began to openly and publicly resist these measures by appealing through petitions, pamphlets, academic papers, and sending diplomatic emissaries to the Protestant *corpus evangelicorum*. For example, the June 1731 “Petition of the 19,000,” submitted to the Imperial Diet, asked for Salzburg Protestants to be granted official minority status, orderly relocation under the auspices of the *triennium* and the *Peace of Westphalia*, and for the Diet to negotiate with Firmian to swiftly confirm these requests so they could be freed from an “intolerable yoke.” The Catholic members of the Diet argued that only the Holy Roman Emperor could address the appeals of the Salzburg Protestants and grant them minority status.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Guesnet, François. “Negotiating under Duress: The Expulsion of the Salzburg Protestants (1732) and the Jews of Prague (1744).” In *Negotiating Religion: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Cécile Laborde and Lois Lee. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

In response to these public complaints and criticisms of his rule, Firmian called for a systematic investigation of the extent of Protestant communities in his territory and compiled lists of over 20,000 Protestants. Firmian's Jesuit and reformist tendencies in the past had made him unpopular with Dominican Catholic leadership and resulted in the Archbishopric of Salzburg being stripped of jurisdiction over the diocese of Passau upon Firmian's election.<sup>2</sup> Firmian, already humiliated, attempted to rehabilitate his reputation among the elites by taking action in the Protestant insurrection, albeit with no support or assistance from central authorities.

On 26 September 1731, after Protestants continued to organize, unify, and cultivate ties with foreign Protestant powers, Firmian arrested 30 of the top leaders, called in Austrian military forces under the leadership of Eugene of Savoy to restore order, and signed an order to “expatriate this unruly, seditious, and insurgent population in its entirety to the root.”<sup>3</sup> He allocated one week for unregistered and three months for registered Protestants to leave the territory of Salzburg. This did not comply with the stipulations of the *Peace of Westphalia* or imperial law (although technically Firmian never recognized the population as a minority so they were not afforded any special rights), nor was it legal under Salzburg law to expel a population simply for being “insubordinate.”

As a result of the expulsion order, during the winter and spring of 1731-1732, more than 20,000 Protestants fled Salzburg over the Alps into Germany and Prussia where Frederic William I issued an Immigration Patent in 1732 inviting the expelled Salzburg Protestants to settle in his lands. During the first two years following relocation, 4,000 Protestants died due to travel-related challenges, illness, and political unrest in the communities where they settled. The Protestant *corpus evangelicorum* did not retaliate against Salzburg directly, but the incident was used to justify threats of retaliation from Denmark against its minority Catholic communities.



Painting of Prince Archbishop Leopold Anton Eleutherius Freiherr von Firmian. Marble Hall, Schloss Leopoldskron.



Local Monument to the Forced Expulsion of the Protestant Community.

<sup>2</sup> Walker, Mack. *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-century Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> *Negotiating Religion: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. François Guesnet, Cécile Laborde, Lois Lee Taylor & Francis. Available online at: [https://books.google.at/books?id=AjklDwAAQBAl&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.at/books?id=AjklDwAAQBAl&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

After the expulsion, Firmian's career and reputation were badly damaged. His expulsion of the Protestant community – the traders, craftsmen, and artisans and engine of the local economy – had a long-term damaging effect on the economy of Salzburg. Following the expulsion, the Firmian name fell into disrepute among elite and noble European families, and Firmian became reclusive, depressed, and rarely socialized. In an attempt to rehabilitate the image of his family, Firmian built Schloss Leopoldskron in 1736. In 1744, shortly before his death, Firmian handed the deed of Schloss Leopoldskron over to his nephew, Prince Laktanz. Firmian died in 1744, and his heart is buried under the floor of the Catholic chapel in Schloss Leopoldskron.



*Plaque marking the burial place of the heart of Firmian. Chapel, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

The inscription on the plaque reads:

*Cor  
Leopoldi Firmiani  
Archiepiscopi Salisburgensis  
In Hoc Loco  
Quem Amaverat  
Quiescit*

*Here lies the heart  
of Leopold Firmian,  
Archbishop of Salzburg,  
in this place  
that he  
so loved.*

## II. Max Reinhardt and Schloss Leopoldskron: 1918 - 1938<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Max Reinhardt (1873-1943) – born Maximilian Goldmann in Baden near Vienna – was already regarded as one of the most famous theater impresarios in Europe. Reinhardt had a special connection to Salzburg: in September 1893 he made his first appearance as an actor outside of Vienna at the Salzburg City Theater, known today as the Salzburg State Theater. In 1918, Reinhardt bought the dilapidated Schloss Leopoldskron and set about its renovation with great creativity and dedication. The staircase, the Great Hall, and the Marble Hall underwent an extensive renovation under his watch. The library, a replica of the Monastery Library in St. Gallen, Switzerland, and the addition of baroque wall paneling in the Venetian Room were as much a product of Reinhardt’s creative genius as the diverse decor of the other spaces. His flair for design and color schemes still resonates throughout the palace to this day. Many of the drawings which served as templates for the renovation were penned by Reinhardt himself, lending the palace an individual character.



*Max Reinhardt reading. Library, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Reinhardt’s affection for Leopoldskron was also reflected in the script-like letters that he sent his secretary Auguste “Gusti” Adler during his absence, instructing her to run errands for the palace. Reinhardt’s instructions applied not only to the building and the craftsmen who worked there but also to the garden with its old orange and lemon trees bought from the orangery of Schloss Schönbrunn. For instance, some of the items Adler purchased included “21 orange trees that were 70 years old and six 2.5 meter-high trees for 15,200 crowns. This is in addition to a few 4 – 5-meter high trees with a diameter of 2 meters.” Adler made numerous other purchases on the instruction of Reinhardt, including the baroque Hercules statue in the palace gardens, “three pelicans, [...] cranes and herons,” flamingos, as well as the often-

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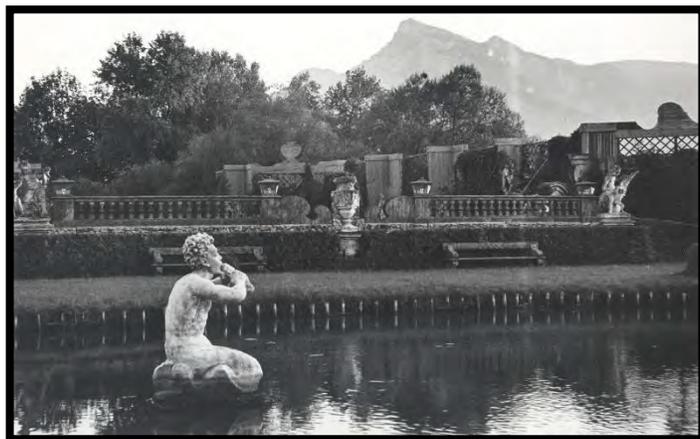
<sup>4</sup> This section is largely excerpted from *Schloss Leopoldskron: Geschichte/History*, 2017.

referenced Chinese nightingales from Hagenbeck Zoo in Hamburg. Leopoldskron essentially became one of Reinhardt's stage productions, the set-up of which ultimately lasted for almost two decades. Reinhardt's wife, Imperial Court Theater actress Helene Thimig (1889–1974), described Leopoldskron as "his masterpiece" among the more than 500 productions he staged during his lifetime. Reinhardt's artistic talent was reflected not only in the design of Leopoldskron but also by the fact that he transformed the palace into a hub for the art scene of the day. Thanks to his international circle of friends, the 1920s and '30s saw Schloss Leopoldskron gradually transform into a summer arts center for actors, musicians, singers, poets, creators, and representatives of the European and American wealthy upper classes. This illustrious group included the likes of Arturo Toscanini, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Noël Coward, Gerhart Hauptmann, Thomas Mann, Thornton Wilder, Marlene Dietrich, and many others. It was then that the idea of the Salzburg Festival came into being – a joint creation with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Richard Strauss – which had its official beginning on August 22, 1920, with a performance of *Jedermann* in the Salzburg Cathedral Square.



*Max Reinhardt and others watching Tilly Losch dancing. Marble Hall, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Alongside dazzling festivals, elegant soirées, chamber music evenings, and serenades on the lake terrace, Reinhardt also held theater performances at the palace. He used this occasion to turn the magnificent rooms into stages for his productions, allowing the audiences to follow the actors from one room to the next. An especially impressive performance came in 1923 with Molière's *The Imaginary Invalid* with Max Pallenberg in the main role and Reinhardt's August 1936 production of the farewell performance of the cabaret *Die Pfeffermühle*, opened in Munich by Erika Mann in 1933. To enable performances to be hosted outdoors as well, Reinhardt had a garden theater erected in the rear of the palace gardens in the 1920s. Terraced audience seating was added to it with a backdrop of clipped hedges, espalier walls, and great sandstone statues. The stage was completed with the forest backdrop on the lakefront opposite the panorama of the Untersberg. The opening performance of the garden theater took place on August 26, 1931, with William Shakespeare's *The Twelfth Night*.



*The Garden Theatre in the grounds of Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Despite these glittering events, Schloss Leopoldskron was not spared the tragedy of history. In the early 1930s, Reinhardt was approached by the Nazi party with an offer to become an "honorary Aryan," because they recognized his creative and artistic genius could be put to work in support of Nazi propaganda efforts. He turned down this offer, and from that point forward knew that his time in Leopoldskron was likely limited. In 1933, a bomb was detonated in Schloss Leopoldskron by a radical nationalist targeting

Reinhardt and his Jewish heritage. As of 1937, and as the political situation in Europe worsened, Reinhardt was spending the majority of his time outside of Austria, primarily in the United States.

The Nazis ended the Reinhardt era in Leopoldskron. On April 16, 1938, the palace was confiscated by the Nazi government as Jewish property and seized by the Gestapo. Reinhardt took the news with stoic calm and never again returned to Leopoldskron. In one of his last letters to his wife Helene Thimig in New York in 1943, Reinhardt summed up his memories as follows: "I have lived in Leopoldskron for eighteen years, truly lived, and I have brought it to life. I have lived every room, every table, every chair, every light, and every picture. I have built, designed, decorated, planted and I have dreamt of it when I was not there. [...] My love for it has always been festive; never an everyday affair. Those were my most beautiful, prolific and mature years [...] I gave it up without a single complaint. I have lost everything I put into it. It was the harvest of my life's work." On October 31, 1943, Reinhardt died following complications from several strokes in his hotel room in New York, without ever having seen Leopoldskron again.

### **III. The Nazi Period: 1938-1945**

Following the "Aryanization" (Nazi confiscation of Jewish property) of Schloss Leopoldskron, Princess Stéphanie zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst, known as "Hitler's spy," took up residence in Schloss Leopoldskron on June 30, 1938. Von Hohenlohe used her international connections to the advantage of the Nazi regime, specifically with high-ranking Nazi sympathizers in England. In recognition of her services, Adolf Hitler offered her residence in the palace, where her activities included setting up a political salon for international guests. Absurdly, given her support for Nazism, von Hohenlohe campaigned for the palace to be returned to Reinhardt. However, the discovery of an affair between von Hohenlohe and Hitler's adjutant, Captain Fritz Wiedemann, saw her forced to leave the palace in 1939. From that point onwards the then-Salzburg district leader (Gauleiter) Friedrich Rainer used Leopoldskron as an artist retreat, guest residence, and residence for him and his adjutant Leo Kreiner. Between 1939 and 1945, the palace also regularly played host to Nazi receptions and events during the Salzburg Festival.

In 1941, Kreiner was killed in the war, Rainer left Salzburg and his successor, Gustav-Adolf Scheel, preferred not to take up residence in Leopoldskron. The Wehrmacht had been using the Meierhof to shelter their horses since 1940 and the then-managing director of the Mozarteum University, Eberhard Preussner, took up residence in the palace from 1941 onwards. In November of the same year, Hanover Gauleiter Bernhard Rust also acquired accommodation in the Meierhof. The Nazi Party opened an office in the Meierhof in 1943. On February 27, 1945, sections of the Meierhof and the palace were damaged by an air raid which saw the roof, in particular, suffer severe impact. When the Salzburg Wehrmacht commander Hans Lepperdinger surrendered the city of Salzburg to the American army on May 4, 1945, Leopoldskron was immediately seized by the US military. It became a temporary home for an older general and his wife, as well as a major, his family, and his driver. As early as October 1945 an application was submitted to the Township of Salzburg for the "repair of bomb damage" and roof repair.



*National Socialist Meeting. Marble Hall, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

The photograph below, which is currently hanging in the Gallery of Schloss Leopoldskron shows a National Socialist meeting in the Marble Hall of Schloss Leopoldskron. The placard on this photograph reads as follows:

*On April 16, 1938, Max Reinhardt's property was confiscated by the national socialists. Under the Nazi's Schloss Leopoldskron was first occupied by Stefanie von Hohenlohe, a Viennese socialite who, in spite of her alleged Jewish origin, moved in high Nazi circles (Hitler called her his "dear princess") and had an extramarital affair with the Führer's Adjutant, Fritz Wiedemann. She*

*organized a Salon there for writers, artists, and musicians. After she left for London in 1939 (moving on soon afterward to the US), the Schloss served as a residence, guest house, artistic venue for the regional National Socialist party leader, Gauleiter Friedrich Rainer. In 1941, Rainer became Gauleiter of Carinthia, but other high officials in the National Socialist political and cultural system – including Minister of the Interior, Wilhelm Frick, Minister of Education, Bernhard Rust, and the Generalintendent of the Salzburg Festival, Clemens Krauss – were still part-time residents at Schloss Leopoldskron. At the end of the war, on the night of May 3-4, 1945, Willy Reitsch, father of the famous woman aviator, Hanna Reitsch (who flew the last German plane out of Berlin shortly before the fall of the city) killed himself, his wife, his daughter Heidi, and her children in the Schloss (probably in the cellar, from where their bodies were collected and taken to the public cemetery.) The Reitsch family had taken refuge at Leopoldskron after being expelled from their hometown in Silesia by the Poles.*

### **Jewish Cultural Heritage and Symbolism in Schloss Leopoldskron:**

Despite Reinhardt's expulsion and the Nazi occupation, there are numerous symbols of Jewish cultural heritage that were installed by Reinhardt and that survived the Nazi period. This includes two Stars of David set into the brass door of the library, as well as Reinhardt's insignia and Stars of David intricately set into the wooden doors of the library, Chinese Room, Reinhardt's office, and the McGowan Room. It is not known exactly how these symbols survived the Nazi occupation.



*Star of David on brass door. Library, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

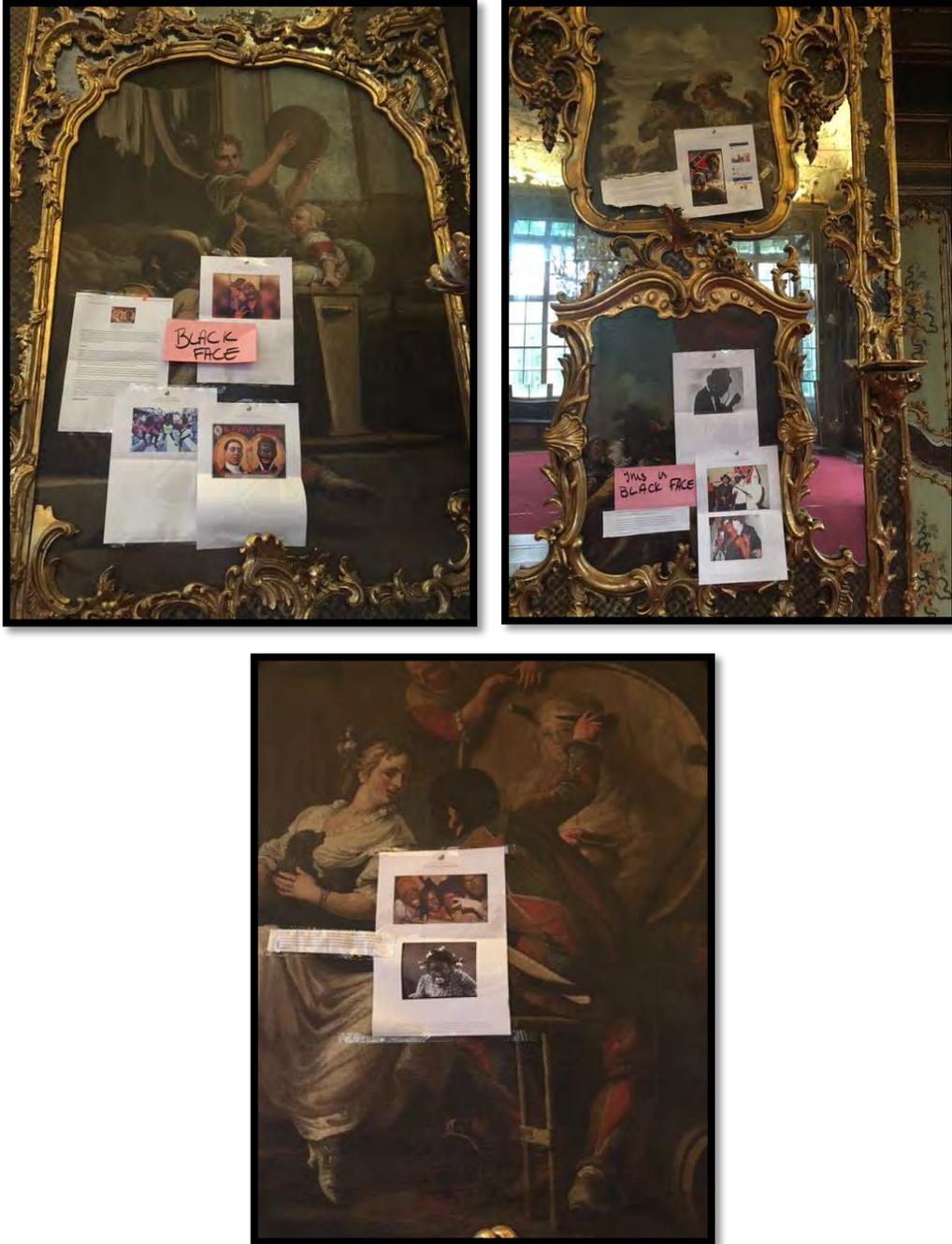


*Max Reinhardt insignia and Star of David on wooden door. Library, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

#### IV. The Venetian Room Protest: *October 21, 2018*

On the morning of October 21, 2018, Salzburg Global Seminar staff discovered that posters had been taped to the paintings in the Venetian Room as a protest against a number of the Commedia dell'arte paintings and indicated that these images are representations of blackface.

These are images are of the protest exactly as they were found on the morning of October 21, 2018. Additional information – including comments, criticism, and feedback from Fellows, as well as from the protestors – is available here in Appendix B.



*Images of blackface protest, October 21, 2018. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*



## V. The Venetian Room: *Is Harlequin in Blackface? Commedia dell'arte and Questions of Race and Racism*

The Venetian Room was installed in Schloss Leopoldskron in 1930 by its previous owner, the theatre producer and director Max Reinhardt after he acquired the wooden panels and paintings from Italy. The paintings depict scenes of the Commedia dell'arte ("Comedy of professional artists"), an influential form of traveling and improvisational theatre that originated in Italy in the 16th century.

The characters in the Commedia dell'arte have historically worn leather masks of varying types, as well as half masks with beard pieces, cloth masks, and in some cases soot or other facial colorations (see next section for a more complete description). These masks have been the hallmark of the Commedia dell'arte for hundreds of years, and have been the subject of continuous study and interpretation. The Venetian



*Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Room of Schloss Leopoldskron features painted wall panels depicting scenes of the Commedia dell'arte, including images of the character Harlequin in traditional colorful costumes and exhibiting either black or brown leather masks, black cloth masks, or black painted faces. The scenes from the Commedia dell'arte displayed in the Venetian Room depict characters wearing these masks, including the character Arlecchino (Harlequin), who wears a black mask that can appear to be depictions of blackface.

Max Reinhardt installed the wall panels during renovations to the Schloss in 1930 after he acquired them from Italy. The panels are generally regarded to be 18th-century copies of paintings originally by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721).<sup>5</sup> According to Christian Thomsen, who wrote a history of Schloss Leopoldskron in 1983, Max Reinhardt greatly admired Commedia dell'arte and the paintings were a major source of inspiration for his theatrical works. Reinhardt featured Commedia performances in Schloss Leopoldskron during the 1920s and 1930s, and Thomsen asserts that Reinhardt, who was Jewish and himself a victim of racism, identified with the persevering character of Harlequin, who was often the object of ridicule but constantly persevered<sup>6</sup> through cleverness and irrepressibly high spirits.<sup>7</sup> In this context, the images set into the wall panels of the Venetian Room have a unique and layered historical complexity: They are 18<sup>th</sup>-century copies of 17<sup>th</sup>-century scenes, installed in the former home of a Catholic archbishop by an Austrian Jewish theater producer in 1930.



*Commedia dell'arte painting of Harlequin. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

### ***What are the Links between Commedia dell'Arte and the History of Racism? Interpretations of Blackface and Connections to Slavery and Racial Injustice***

Harlequin was a central character in the Italian commedia dell'arte and emerged in the sixteenth century as a servant from the town of Bergamo. Harlequin's character was a servant, and Harlequin's mask, typically black or brown leather, referred to his rural peasant origins from the town of Bergamo and his darkened skin represented long hours working in the sun. Scripts indicate Harlequin was supposed to speak with a "native dialect" accent from lower Bergamo, a region of Italy known for peasant farmers or former serfs.

According to historians of the Commedia dell'arte, Zanni and Arlecchino (Harlequin) masks were often created using:

- Black leather masks, either partially covering the face or half masks, covering the upper face and nose

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<sup>5</sup> A more extensive collection of Harlequin paintings, *the Disguises of Harlequin*, all of which show Harlequin in black masks and were painted by *Giovanni Domenico Ferretti* between in 1740-1760, were exhibited in the Great Hall of Schloss Leopoldskron until 1934. The collection was originally purchased by Max Reinhardt from the Galleria San Giorgio in Rome, and now resides in the [Ringling Museum](https://www.ringlingmuseum.com/) in the United States.

<sup>6</sup> Thomsen, Christian W. *Leopoldskron*. Verlag Vorlander. West Germany. 1983.

<sup>7</sup> See <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Harlequin-theatrical-character>.

- A facial half mask and separate beard piece covering the lower jaw
- Black cloth or black wrap around headscarves that cover the head and have a strap under the chin<sup>8</sup>
- Black soot worn under a black mask, or black soot as a facial disguise or black mask, which were used by Commedia troupes when leather masks were not available.

While the precise origins of the Harlequin character in the 16<sup>th</sup> century are unclear, Harlequin’s later history appears to have been appropriated by other theatrical traditions – including in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries – where the character developed connections to race and racism. While Thomsen’s conclusions suggest that Max Reinhardt did not view the images as racially charged or hateful, the use of black masks in Commedia dell’arte productions does prompt questions about the origin of the black mask, the racial implications of such depictions, whether the Harlequin character was intended to reflect a racial stereotype through those depictions, and to what extent it influenced later forms of theater such as pantomime and blackface minstrelsy theater.



*Commedia dell'arte painting. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

### ***What are the Origins of the Harlequin Character?***

The encyclopedia *Britannica* references the historical context of the Harlequin character as “originally a peasant’s shirt and long trousers, both covered with many-colored patches. It later developed into a tight-fitting costume decorated with triangles and diamond shapes, and it included a *batte* or [slapstick](#). His black half-mask had tiny eyeholes and quizzically arched eyebrows that were accentuated by a wrinkled forehead. The effect was of satyric sensuality, catlike slyness, and astonished credulity. The black mask and originally ragged costume are sometimes attributed to earlier depictions of African slaves.”<sup>9</sup> While the *Britannica* does not cite any sources for these attributions to earlier depictions of African slaves, the theater historian John O’Brian does note that through the intensification of the trans-Atlantic slave trade Harlequin’s mask acquired racial connotations and evoked images of both enslaved and free people African descent. Writing about Harlequin, O’Brien

<sup>8</sup> See, for example: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ARTSTOR\\_103\\_41822003063748.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ARTSTOR_103_41822003063748.jpg)

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

notes that “black faces would increasingly, though not necessarily, refer to African subjects”<sup>10</sup> over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Harlequin was not an original character in the Commedia dell’arte. Rather, Harlequin was derived from medieval and 16<sup>th</sup>-century French theater and imported into the Italian Commedia dell’arte. A variety of sources suggest that Harlequin’s black mask represents his demonic or satanic origins because the color black was associated with the devil in medieval and renaissance culture and theater tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The secondary research completed for this study has found a limited number of historical sources that focus specifically on the relationship between the Commedia, Harlequin, and the history of racial stereotyping. However, some scholars believe that only addressing links between Harlequin’s black masks and the medieval linkages to darkness and evil ignore other deeply rooted cultural and theatrical elements and associations of racial stereotyping. These suggestions note that regardless of Harlequin’s origins, as his theatrical character migrated to western European slave-trading nations and across the Atlantic, contact between European and African culture brought about a change in the way that the Harlequin character was seen and interpreted. For example, Robert Hornback, a Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Oglethorpe University in the United States, is one of the few scholars found during this research that has focused explicitly on the question of Harlequin and blackface. Hornback suggests that the character of Harlequin represents “degradation, irrationality, prideful lack of self-knowledge, transgression, and related to all these, folly.”<sup>13</sup> He further suggests that “with disturbing consistency blackface served as one commonplace mark of foolishness...a butt, laughed at because he was mentally deficient and often physically different as well,” and that over time the history of the Commedia informed later theatrical forms, creating a “dialectical reversal of the Commedia into minstrelsy, a transformation of the ‘inherent nobility’ of the Black Clown into the ‘ignoble black minstrel figure.’”<sup>14</sup> However, many of the characters in Commedia, including those of high social status, also display folly, prideful lack of self-knowledge and other characteristics that Hornback ascribes to Harlequin. And such stock characters evolved in different directions over time. Hornback himself notes, for example, that Harlequin developed into a witty or intellectual character by the time of Shakespeare.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> O’Brien, John. *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760*. Baltimore, Md. : Johns Hopkins University Press, ©2004.

<sup>11</sup> See *The Largely Unknown History of Blackface in Canada*: Here’s how Toronto’s Gardiner Museum is using a figurine in its collection to peel back the layers of violently racialized imagery in Canada: <https://hyperallergic.com/512608/porcelain-harlequin-history-of-blackface-in-canada/>

<sup>12</sup> Schironi, Francesca. "The Trickster Onstage: The Cunning Slave from Plautus to Commedia Dell'Arte." In *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays In Honor of Jeffrey Henderson*, edited by S. Douglas Olson. De Gruyter, 2013.

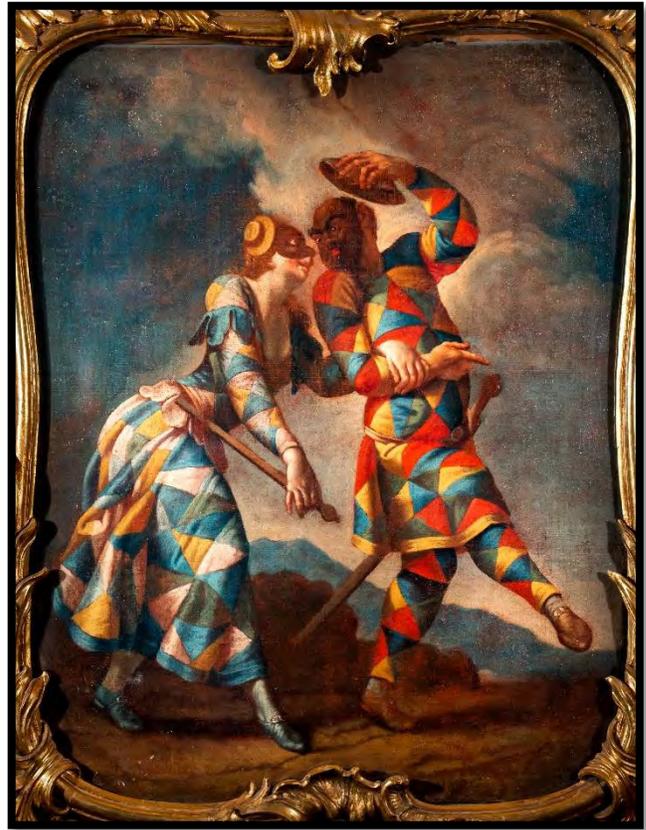
<sup>13</sup> Hornback, Robert. "The Folly of Racism: Enslaving Blackface and the "Natural" Fool Tradition." *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*. Vol. 20 (2007), pp. 46-84.

<sup>14</sup> Deshmukh, Madhuri. "Langston Hughes as Black Pierrot: A Transatlantic Game of Masks." *The Langston Hughes Review* 18 (2004): 4-13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26434725>.

<sup>15</sup> Hornback, Robert. "Emblems of Folly in the First "Othello": Renaissance Blackface, Moor's Coat, and "Muckender"." *Comparative Drama* 35, no. 1 (2001): 69-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41154067>.

### ***Influence of Commedia dell'arte on Blackface Minstrelsy Theater***

Until recently, most scholars found it difficult to find direct evidence that blackface minstrelsy in the United States from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century was influenced by Commedia dell'arte because for a significant period scholars claimed complete originality in the development of minstrelsy theater. However, more recent scholarship suggests that there is literary evidence from the period that suggests such a relationship. In the 1855 abolitionist allegorical novella, *Benito Cereno*, Herman Melville inverts racial stereotypes as the oblivious American narrator, Delano, tells the story of the clever slave Babo who takes control of a Spanish slave ship and its foolish captain, Benito Cereno. As Richards notes, Delano remarks on “the theatrical aspect of Don Benito in his harlequin ensign” as Babo dresses him in a tattered Spanish flag and rubs salt water (which in Melville’s day referred to black immigrants) on his face. Richards explains that Melville was recognizing and critiquing what he saw as the similarities between Commedia dell'arte and American blackface minstrelsy, albeit by reversing the conventions of power, race, and stereotype.<sup>16</sup>



*Commedia dell'arte painting of Harlequin. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Hornback also suggests that colonial American audiences were familiar with the character of Harlequin, citing numerous plays and theatricals brought to the colonies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century from London and Paris as wealthy colonists hoped to keep up with the latest trends in Europe. In turn, performances in London like the 1836 *Harlequin Jim Crow and the Magical Mustard Pot* included a Harlequin character in an American minstrel play. Hornback draws on these examples to suggest that a marked consistency and transmission of “a persistent type of blackface fool theatergram” in these plays suggests further connection with the “child-like, irrational quality that was often associated with the black-masked Harlequin” and which “remained a part of the comic blackface traditions through the antebellum minstrelsy.”<sup>17</sup>

In contrast, other scholars treat the question of Harlequin in more nuanced and complex terms, suggesting that the character of Harlequin needs to be seen in the context of the time it was created and portrayed. The theatre historian John O’Brien, for example, suggests that “whatever meanings we might assign to Harlequin’s black mask, particularly in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, will surely have to be multiple and perhaps contradictory... Because its origins were uncertain, Harlequin’s black mask was free to be filled with meaningful content, unconscious as well as conscious, by observers who brought their own

<sup>16</sup> Richards, Jason. “Whites In Blackface, Blacks In Whiteface: Racial Fluidities And National Identities.” PhD diss., University of Florida, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Hornback, Robert. *Racism and Early Blackface Comic Traditions: From the Old World to the New*. Palgrave Macmillan; 1 edition (July 19, 2018).

understandings of performance, personhood, class, and race to bear on each viewing.”<sup>18</sup> O’Brien goes on to point out that interpretations and understanding of the Harlequin character also changed over time, suggesting that 18<sup>th</sup>-century and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century interpretations were not consistent. “By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century,” O’Brien writes, the two different myths of origin for Harlequin and his black mask would appear to be a contradiction... either that Harlequin was descended from masked characters in Roman drama who represented African slaves, or that he was a representative peasant from Bergamo, but not both. But 18<sup>th</sup>-century writers seem not to have felt the contradiction so powerfully. This perhaps testifies not only to the complicated and uncertain way in which the category of race was articulated, but also the ways that these seemingly incompatible explanations serve many of the same purposes... Both narratives speak to the developing distinctions between elite and popular cultures, and for the way that Harlequin was cast in the public sphere as a representative of the common folk—playful and mischievous, occasionally a petty criminal, articulating desires through the body rather than by speech.”<sup>19</sup>

Given that the history of Harlequin has been influenced by later cultural and theatrical developments, including blackface minstrelsy, these differing views suggest that interpretations of Harlequin require an understanding not only of how the character carries the history of renaissance folklore but also how it interacted with painful, racist past.

### ***Commedia dell’Arte: Democratization, Class Commentary, and Revolutionary Political Satire***

In addition to these contested issues, there are numerous other aspects of the Commedia dell’arte that are important to understand and to include in a historical overview. The Commedia dell’arte developed at a time when Venice was the center of cultural exchange and development. According to Commedia expert Didi Hopkins, “artists were repositioning their ideas about who they were in relationship to the world because the planet was being discovered in a new way. Commedia came from that backdrop of curiosity.” This repositioning drew on the long tradition of masks in Venice that facilitated becoming someone other than oneself and rebirth in line with the larger renaissance movement.

Hopkins also notes that the Commedia revolutionized and democratized theater performance, symbolizing every individual’s value to be part of humanity and tell his or her story:

“It was the first time women performed on stage.

Everyone was paid an equal wage and there was an extra bit in the pot for the horse and the company itself. The companies looked after themselves in a democratic way, giving everyone an opportunity to feel



*Commedia dell’arte painting of Harlequin characters. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

<sup>18</sup> O’Brien, John. Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760. Baltimore, Md. : Johns Hopkins University Press, ©2004.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

equal. Commedia was originally performed in market squares, piazzas, courtly areas and even tennis courts! The extraordinary thing about it (apart from being performed in public spaces, so people wouldn't need to buy a ticket) was that everybody's story was as important as everybody else's ... Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet* at the time, where all the character's stories feed into Hamlet's central trajectory. In Commedia, it would not only be Hamlet's story, but also his mother's, his uncle's, Rosencrantz's, Guildenstern's and all the servant's, running in parallel like a soap opera, to magnify that everyone had as much right to be part of humanity as everyone else did. Everyone had a value. That was revolutionary."

## VI. The Venetian Room: *What are the Monkey Paintings? 16th and 17th Century Images of Monkeys and Other Animals in Human Clothing*

In addition to the Commedia dell'arte paintings, the Venetian Room in Schloss Leopoldskron also contains several paintings of monkeys and other animals dressed in human clothing and performing various acts, including cooking, drinking, eating, playing cards and generally engaging in debauchery. We do not believe these images were original to Max Reinhardt's renovation of the Venetian Room, but rather appear to have been added to the frames as "fillers", perhaps after original artworks were removed or stolen. These types of paintings featuring monkeys and other animals engaging in human activities were a common form of art in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries referred to as *Singerie*, and are largely interpreted to be in reference to the "sinning nature of man".<sup>20</sup>



Paintings of monkeys in human clothing. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.

<sup>20</sup> "*Singerie* is the name given to a visual arts [genre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singerie) depicting [monkeys](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singerie) imitating human behavior, often fashionably attired, intended as a diverting sight, always with a gentle cast of mild [satire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singerie). The term is derived from the [French](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singerie) word for "Monkey Trick". See: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singerie> and <https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/the-singerie-monkeys-acting-as-humans-in-art/>.

One example, a famous monkey painting by the Flemish painter Breugel, is currently on display in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Many scholars interpret the use of monkeys here as reference to the sinning nature of man and improper use of wealth. Our research on this topic has not, however, suggested any connection in regard to race or racial origins of the artwork.

## VII. The Venetian Room: *Bust of Caracalla and a Legacy of Brutality*

A bust of the Roman Emperor Caracalla is exhibited in the Venetian Room of Schloss Leopoldskron. We do not know when the bust of Caracalla came to Schloss Leopoldskron, who exhibited it first in the Venetian Room, or why it was positioned there. As the origin and provenance of the Caracalla bust in the Venetian Room is unknown, its historic or artistic value and connection to the history of the Venetian Room or to Schloss Leopoldskron is unclear.



*Marble Bust of Caracalla. Venetian Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Caracalla, formally known as Antoninus and the older son of Septimius Severus, is considered one of the most violent and possibly mentally unstable emperors in Roman history. He became co-emperor with his father in 198 and ruled as sole emperor from his father's death in 211 until his assassination in 217. Caracalla is responsible for murdering members of his own family, including by reportedly tricking his mother into luring his younger brother Geta into a reconciliation-turned-murder trap and by exiling and later killing his ex-wife. In the family portrait in the Severan Tondo, Caracalla had his brother's face scratched out through a process of *Damnatio Memoriae*, which was used by Roman emperors to erase their political enemies from the historical record. He also orchestrated a mass killing of soldiers loyal to his brother Geta, a massacre of conquered Germanic tribes, and a massacre of the city of Alexandria due to supposed

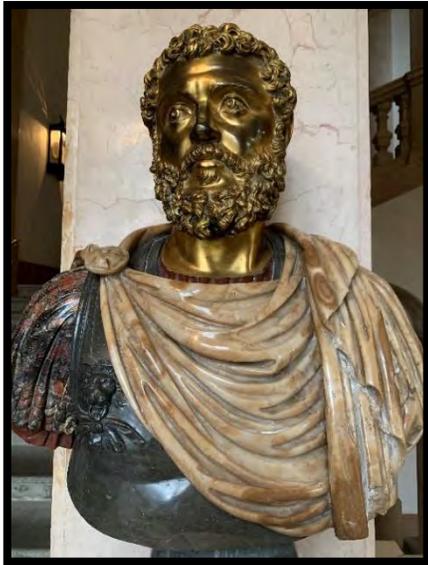
disrespect towards the emperor. Additionally, he apparently raped and murdered four Vestal Virgins (a horrible crime in Roman Law), and his adulterous behavior encouraged others with similar tendencies to follow his example. He is also known for spending in excess on strengthening the army and extending citizenship to everyone in the empire in order to increase taxpayers and tax revenues, both of which contributed to the downfall of the Roman Empire.<sup>21</sup>

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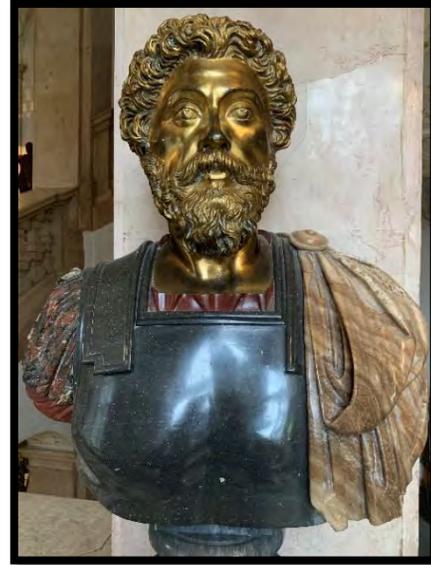
<sup>21</sup> See: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caracalla>; [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius\\_Dio/78\\*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/78*.html)

## VIII. The Marble Hall: *Bust of Septimius Severus – The First Black Roman Emperor?*

A bust of Septimius Severus, emperor of Rome from 193-211 A.D., can be found at the entrance to the Marble Hall in Schloss Leopoldskron. We do not know when the bust of Septimius Severus (and Markus Aurelius, the Emperor Philosopher) came to Leopoldskron, nor who installed the two Emperors outside of the Marble Hall. Among other busts of Septimius Severus are those housed in the collection of the British Museum, the Archeological Museum of Komotini, and the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The bust at Schloss Leopoldskron matches the style and characteristic features of other Septimius Severus busts as it depicts the emperor in military armor and highlights his defining feature of curly hair and beard.



*Bust of Septimius Severus, Emperor of Rome, 193-211. Marble Hall, Schloss Leopoldskron.*



*Bust of Markus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome, 161-180. Marble Hall, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Literary and visual sources contemporary or nearly contemporary to Septimius Severus provide conflicting evidence as to whether or not he was black. Septimius Severus was reportedly of Phoenician or Punic descent on his father's side and Italian descent on his mother's side. He was born in the city of Leptis Magna in modern-day Libya. His ancestors were not born Roman citizens, but they gained Roman citizenship through military service.

In most historic sources, Septimius Severus is described as an African. In the *Historia Augusta*, a late fourth-century text that includes a chapter on the life of Septimius Severus, the unknown and somewhat unreliable author describes Septimius Severus as “fond of his native beans...large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was grey and curly...His voice was clear, but retained an African accent even to his old age.” Today scholars question whether Septimius Severus being identified as African in historic texts means that he was black. Latin terminology at the time differentiated between Phoenician people from the region around Carthage (*Afer* or African) and people from sub-Saharan origin (*Aethiops* or Ethiopian). Authors of the late Roman period describe Septimius Severus with the identifier *Afer* and suggest that he also self-identified this way.

A family portrait known as the Severan Tondo or Berlin Tondo depicts Septimius Severus with a darker complexion than that of his wife and children. The Tondo is the only surviving image painted of Septimius Severus during his lifetime.

Despite the disputed evidence over his race, Septimius Severus has become a source of inspiration for black artists. York, England, held an exhibition on Septimius Severus in February 2011 to commemorate the 1800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death in York in 211. In 208, Septimius Severus had moved his court to York and ruled Rome from there while fighting the Britons on the other side of Hadrian's Wall. According to the event's organizer, Aisha Ali-Sutcliffe, "Severus and Julia Domna were style icons who with their huge entourage influenced fashion and culture in the city. There were also many different languages being spoken and people began to change their diet because spices and a different way of cooking came over from Africa. Third century York was a very cultured city." Ali-Sutcliffe also explained that young black authors from Leeds drew "deep inspiration from the emperor" to "explore African history and Severus's life through music, theatre, and performance."

Most of the information scholars have about Septimius Severus comes from the *Historia Augusta*, a work likely written during the reign of Theodosius (379-395 A.D.). The work is considered an unreliable source, however, due to its basis in plagiarism and forgery.



Photo of the Tondo: Panel Painting of the Family of Septimius Severus. Staatliche Museen Berlin.

## IX. The Chinese Room: *Chinoiserie* and Questions of Cultural Appropriation

The decorations and wall panels in the Chinese room were installed and designed by Max Reinhardt as set pieces for one of his plays. The scenes and depictions were not meant to accurately represent China or Chinese traditions, but rather were an imitation of and an attempt to capture the spirit of the popular Rococo style of “Chinoiserie.” A book on the stagecraft of Max Reinhardt explains this influence in his set design: “It is never serious, never real, pedantic, historical, or ethnographical; but always occupied with illusion and joy. Hence it offers unbounded freedom to the artist, and does not fetter him to any one age.”



*The Chinese Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Rococo Chinoiserie reached its height in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and was both a means of engagement with faraway lands and a mark of status for wealthy Europeans who could afford to have expensive furniture, wallpapers, porcelain, and paintings either imported from or made as imitations of art from China. Many art historians note that this style reflected “processes of transcultural convergences” and the expansion of a broader, more globalized, explorative perspective among Europeans. This is particularly evident in the décor of the Pavilion at Nymphenburg Palace in Munich, constructed in 1716-1719:

“The entire world is represented in one room, and nationalistic boundaries are meant to be crossed. The affective interior surfaces of the Pagodenburg that take the beholder on global journeys in their mind signal that Chinoiserie is not an aggressive mode of viewing. Instead, it is a haptic way of looking that desires to come into contact with that which is foreign, to caress the unknown and bring it closer. In this sense, Chinoiserie encourages fluid surrenders to the unfamiliar, and the viewer is enveloped and draped in exotic surfaces.”

Some historians and economists have also studied Chinoiserie as evidence for international trade and political networks. Some conclude that “Chinoiserie is a type of ‘shell’, or surface manifestation, to be assumed by a French subject” and thus “treatment of cross-cultural material implies imperialist interests as well as commercial ones.” According to Scott, “art historical applications of Said’s thesis of ‘Orientalism’ have suggested that the aestheticization of ‘Eastern’ culture serves as a tool of de-legitimization, complicit with colonial imperatives. While China was signified by frolicking exotica on the eighteenth-century wall, the nobility was engaging in international trade, sometimes in manifestations with colonial overtones.” However, Scott points out that “Porter refutes the Orientalist argument by suggesting that, during the eighteenth-century, due to the severe regulation of Canton, Europe was at a distinct disadvantage by trading with China at all. Power was in China’s hands; thus the relationship cannot be construed as proto-colonialist.”

As Samuel Harvey writes in the *Australian Research Council's Center of Excellence for the History of Emotions*, modern perspectives on static identity lead modern audiences to falsely interpret Chinoiserie as racist cultural appropriation:

“It is remarkable from a twenty-first-century perspective, an era which has seen the boundaries between cultures made impenetrable and xenophobic sentiments explode, that the formation of modern European identities was actually built upon an assimilation and, in many cases, a celebration of ‘foreignness’... Chinoiserie today is repeatedly (mis)understood as a set of culturally reductive signs that circulate a fetishized image of China based on stereotypes. From this angle, Chinoiserie is inauthentic and distorted. With well-meaning but fundamentally dogmatic debates on cultural preservation all the rage, the issue of Chinoiserie is an important one, particularly as the ‘fashionable’ critique of cultural appropriation commonly reduces the phenomenon to being solely indicative of the West’s controlling grip and gaze.”<sup>22</sup>

Other likely influences on Max Reinhardt’s use of Chinoiserie come from Hollywood trends he would have been familiar with:

“Hollywood in the early and mid-twentieth century mobilized Chinoiserie in both film and publicity campaigns, where the style signified the allure, as well as the danger, of the exotic. The ‘Chinese objects’ of these movies – which found their highest expression in *film noir* titles like *The Shanghai Gesture* (Josef von Sternberg, 1941), *The Lady from Shanghai* (Orson Wells, 1947) and *Chinatown* (Roman Polanski, 1974) – held secrets, and were traded and held in order that their enigmas be revealed, a desire that is often thwarted and never realised.”



*Painted Panel. Chinese Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

<sup>22</sup> See Harvey, Samuel. *Chinoiserie & the Fashioning of the Self through Aesthetics of Exoticism*, <https://historiesofemotion.com/2016/09/02/chinoiserie-the-fashioning-of-the-self-through-aesthetics-of-exoticism/>

## X. The Chinese Room: *Statue of Kuan Yin – “The Transgender Goddess of Compassion and Fertility”*

A statue on the Chandelier in the Chinese Room of Schloss Leopoldskron depicts the Buddhist goddess of compassion and fertility, Kuan Yin. This statue was acquired and installed by Max Reinhardt, but its provenance and origin prior to its installation by Reinhardt is unknown.



*Statue of Kuan Yin. Chinese Room, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

Kuan Yin began as Avalokitesvara, a male god and protector/manifestation of Buddha in India in the first century A.D. Avalokitesvara quickly spread through Tibet and China. Avalokitesvara began to morph into Kuan Yin, a female *bodhisattva* or “Buddha-to-be, one who postpones ultimate nirvana in order to work tirelessly to eliminate the suffering of all living beings.” By the 12<sup>th</sup> century, feminine representations of Kuan Yin were common, but they did not replace Avalokitesvara entirely, as the current 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama is considered an Avalokitesvara manifestation. While in most artistic and literary sources (beginning in the 15<sup>th</sup> century) Kuan Yin is shown to be completely feminine, orthodox Buddhists and monastery representations refer to and depict Kuan Yin as masculine or asexual. Kuan Yin is one of the most well-known and worshiped entities in Buddhism today, known for bringing fertility and compassion.

Due to the history of Kuan Yin’s metamorphoses, the deity has recently become a symbol and source of inspiration for transgender activists and writers. Kuan Yin’s story was used to situate current transgender experience in “Testimony Submitted to the President’s Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders,” and numerous online blogs refer to Kuan Yin as a source of inspiration for the LGBTIQ community.<sup>23</sup>

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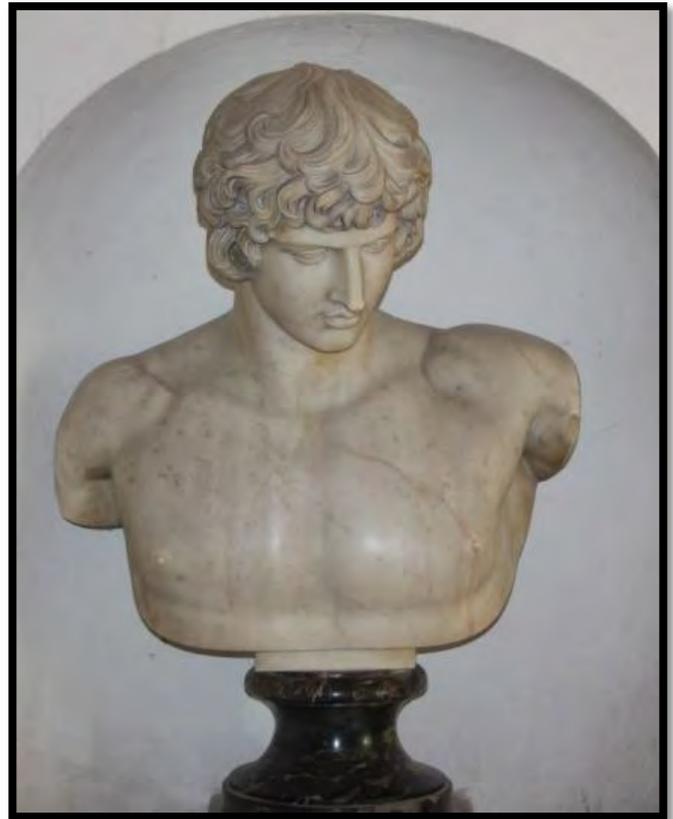
<sup>23</sup> See: <http://www.embodiedphilosophy.com/embracing-the-icon/>

## **XI. Schloss Stairwell: *Bust of Antinous – Greek God and Lover of Hadrian***

A bust of Antinous looks onto the main staircase on the ground floor of the Schloss. It is a copy of the one in the Prado, which was found at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.

Antinous was a young Greek man who became the lover of Emperor Hadrian. While accompanying Hadrian on a trip to Egypt, Antinous drowned in the Nile either by accident or as some sort of sacrifice in the name of Hadrian. His drowning coincided with the commemoration ceremony of the drowning of the Egyptian god Osiris. Hadrian was devastated and publically mourned Antinous by commissioning statues, poems, and monuments for Antinous and encouraging Romans to deify him. In addition, he named a city after Antinous on the banks of the Nile, Antinoopolis and set up a festival there in his honor.

While homosexual relationships were common in Roman times, Hadrian's intense mourning and honoring of Antinous was unprecedented. The Roman people took quickly to honoring Antinous as a new deity, and the Cult of Antinous was a rival to early Christianity.<sup>24</sup> As a result, Antinous has been recognized in more recent times and even celebrated as the first Gay Greek God.



*Marble Bust of Antinous. Stairwell, Schloss Leopoldskron.*

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<sup>24</sup> See: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/leaders\\_and\\_rulers/hadrian/life\\_and\\_legacy.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/themes/leaders_and_rulers/hadrian/life_and_legacy.aspx)

## **XII. The Meierhof: *The Removal of Othello Images, 2019***

The below images, which were exhibited in the Meierhof Building at Schloss Leopoldskron between June 2014 and December 2018, are likely photographs of characters in Max Reinhardt's productions of Othello from the Salzburg Festival in the 1920s. Shakespeare's Othello was influenced by the Commedia dell'arte tradition, and Othello the character has traditionally been represented in blackface. In recent times, productions of Othello have been hotly contested and debated, and the use of blackface in Othello productions has been discontinued in almost all major theaters around the world.

The images of Othello exhibited and displayed in the Meierhof were the subject of criticism and concern, and were referenced in numerous Fellow evaluations following the 2018 Young Cultural Innovators Forum.

Following the concerns of the YCI Fellows, and a review of the use of blackface in Othello productions, these images were removed from the Meierhof in July 2019.



*Images from Othello displayed on the walls of the Meierhof building from 2014 to July 2019.*

### **XIII. Conclusion: A Work In Progress**

This draft historical overview and case study is an initial attempt to research and describe the history, context, and cultural heritage of Schloss Leopoldskron, including the people that lived here and the objects that have been collected here over time.

While this research remains imperfect and unfinished, and while many questions and gaps still remain, this draft publication seeks to make available the research conducted to date and to provide additional context and information for Fellows, guests, and partners of Salzburg Global Seminar and Hotel Schloss Leopoldskron.

In making this draft case study of Schloss Leopoldskron's Contested Histories and Cultural Heritage available to Fellows, partners, and guests, we hope to create an important new layer to Schloss Leopoldskron's history in ways that create dialogue, debate, and opportunities to add new artwork and objects that can more fully represent the mission and values of Salzburg Global Seminar.

Feedback and suggestions on this material or other aspects of Schloss Leopoldskron's history and cultural heritage can be sent to [feedback@salzburgglobal.org](mailto:feedback@salzburgglobal.org).

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