

## Salzburg Global Seminar Inaugural Max Reinhardt Lecture

Lecture by Professor Oliver Rathkolb September 8, 2023 at Schloss Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Austria

## Max Reinhardt and Austrian Memory Politics from Habsburg to the Present

Oliver Rathkolb is a professor at the Department of Contemporary History, University of Vienna (Austria), founding director of the Vienna Institute of Cultural and Contemporary History (VICCA), and chairperson of the Academic Committee of the House of European History in Brussels. He delivered the inaugural Max Reinhardt Lecture on September 8, 2023 to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Max Reinhardt. This lecture will be held annually as a way to honor Max Reinhardt's artistic legacy and his stewardship of Schloss Leopoldskron.

The following text is a transcript of a speech as delivered, rather than a prepared text by the author.

For me, it's a great honor and pleasure to present here the first Max Reinhardt Lecture. I thank you all that you came despite the beautiful weather. I will try hard to convince you that this was the right decision and I look forward to our discussion afterwards. What I will try, and I invite you that we together try, [is] to develop a different spectrum of views and discuss various perceptions about Max Reinhardt.

I think the best description is Max Reinhardt as the magician. There is an excellent special edition of the Salzburger Nachrichten under the editorship of Hedwig Kainberger calling Max Reinhardt the 'theater magician'. Max Reinhardt stands as a key innovator for modern theater, not only in Germany and Austria around 1900 and in the interwar period, but also in Europe in general. He also played an important role [in] the development of theater and partly of film in the US since the early 1920s.

Max Reinhardt was and still is famous for [being] a theater producer and director who used modern technology of the first globalization pre-1914 very effectively. At the same time, he was an unbelievable 'magician' who really tried to explore new theater places. I think the Salzburg Festival and the "Jedermann" is the best example that he really knew [how] you can produce theater in a city, for example, or in the countryside, like he did in Berlin. He also is well known for his efforts to produce new fields of interaction between the audience and the actors, but also including the producers. He was the first one who tried to experiment with what we call today participatory theater. But that's the difference to today. He always tried to do it with an emotional approach. He wanted people, and he also needed people because he was a businessman at the same time, to be happy in his theater. This [was an] interesting effort to try really avant-garde theater on the one hand, and at the same time get the audience on the emotional side, [so] that they are really tight and emotionally attached to the theater, [and] full of fantasy and joy.

For him it is important, and that's the main difference to many other producers and actors at the time, that he also owns the theater. When you study theater history, there is a very intense intervention always from the side of the owner of the theater, and he wants to be independent and especially together with his brother, and I will focus on Edward later on. He was able to build a large theater business in Berlin. I will talk about the Salzburg Festival because you all know it... He started preparing the Salzburg Festival already during World War One in 1917.

The last point, I think, which we still remember about Max Reinhardt, is that he was very much interested in actors' training. He built a very important and famous school for actors in Berlin. We still have today the famous Max Reinhardt [Seminar], also a little bit of a scandal in the media recently, but still you have this very special tradition. He tried very hard in Hollywood but did not succeed because of different reasons. I will very briefly focus on the biographical stuff and then go into my presentation in more detail.

As you know, tomorrow, September 9th, 1873, [Max Reinhardt] was born in Baden. His family had a Jewish background. His father was a merchant, but the whole family was of Hungarian citizenship. This is the reason why the Hungarians still today call him 'Miksa' Reinhardt because they are nicknaming the Treaty of Trianon in 1921, because then Max Reinhardt and his family became Czech citizens because they had their "Heimatrecht" ["right of residence"] in this area. That means he was never an Austrian citizen [and] he was never a German. Only after he had to leave Europe because of National Socialism, he later on became an American citizen. In this sense, he is also a good example for a typical Austro-Hungarian citizen and also for the history of Austro-Hungarian citizens in the first half of the 20th century.

He started as a bank clerk but began to love theater, and his first stage experience [was] in 1890 in Vienna. Then he continued on in Bratislava in Pressburg at the time and then moved for two years in 1893-94 to Salzburg, which was an important experience because he played in only two years 52 roles. Then he was hired by the famous Otto Brahm to Berlin. Brahm was a very naturalistic director and producer, and Max Reinhardt soon started his emancipation process. He established a new small theater, "Schall und Rauch", "Sound and Smoke" and then, since 1903, began his career as producer and later on became a famous theater director. Here you have an image from 1910, this is also the year when Max Reinhardt already became a star in the German-speaking theater world. The first book on him was published by Siegfried Jacobsohn in Berlin. Here you have an earlier image with his first wife, Else Heims, and his first son, Wolfgang. This is also an important perception of Reinhardt- Reinhardt as an international star. We will talk about that in more detail. This is an image which I like very much with his second wife on the left, Helene Thimig, and to the right, Albert Einstein. The reason I used this image is because Einstein was among the group of people who tried to convince the Nobel Prize Committee in Oslo that he [should] receive the Nobel Prize. But already at that time, there was quite some anti-Semitism in Oslo, obviously pushed by Knut Hamsun.

A little theory to also underline what President Martin Weiss already has said, that I will try to show different perceptions of Max Reinhardt to maybe develop a new image of him. Therefore, I use this concept of communicative memory, which we use in our day-to-day private communication, the cultural memory, which is more an institutionalized communication form, but also politics of remembrance. For example, this famous "Faust" production, which you can see now still at the Salzburg Festival, a very interesting digitalized reinvention, was an important effort both by Max Reinhardt and also the Dollfuss regime to oppose National Socialism in Germany and was part of this politics of remembrance. We find it today also pushed by traditional political actors, political agents, NGOs, and private images.

This is, I think, an important year for Max Reinhardt- 1903. Therefore, I chose this image here because 1903 is the year when Max Reinhardt, for the first time, was introduced to Hugo von Hofmannsthal. As you can see already, he is invited here in Berlin, in the Villa Moll together with the famous conductor Gustav Mahler, Carl Moll, the painter [Alfred Roller], and stepfather of the later wife of Gustav Mahler, Alma Mahler, then the famous conductor and composer Hans Pfitzner, and also Josef Hoffmann here. The use of this image is the traditional form you see in all the books. It's not unknown, but the real story I give you is different. Alfred Roller, who intensively worked with Max Reinhardt, was the stage director of the first productions of Reinhardt in Berlin. Alfred Roller and Gustav Mahler changed the opera's style in Vienna [and Alfred Roller] was a convinced, very active, anti-Semite. He was a member of a fighting fraternity, [and] was instrumental in preventing painters of Jewish origin [from being] invited to the 'Secession' but didn't care. When it comes to genius like Gustav Mahler and Max Reinhardt, he accepted their Jewish background. Also, Hans Pfitzner was a very aggressive anti-Semite. This is something we have to more intensively refer to. We have a very strong tendency in academic discussions and literature to more or less say "anti-Semitism, that's national socialism... I think you have really to focus on the second half of the 19th century to understand this power of anti-Semitism. Also, as we can see from the cooperation between Alfred Roller, Gustav Mahler, [and] Max Reinhardt, in individual cases, it didn't really play a role.

[This was] quite different to the international reception of Max Reinhardt. He really was becoming an early superstar. He started traveling a lot. Here you have a poster from London, but you can see all the tours with his theater. By the way, [these were] always Germanspeaking productions [with] no translations at that time. He was really very successful in Budapest, in Moscow, in Stockholm, London, Riga, St. Petersburg, Brussels, and in 1912 for the first time in the US.

An important place for Max Reinhardt is Leopoldskron. You know, when you read his letters, which are unfortunately divided between two archives in the US and Austria, but recently we have a great edition of 'letters from the exile' between Helene Thimig and Max Reinhardt, it shows that this is really his emotional center since April 1918. It's an important place. You can see also the difference [in] the translations- this is mine, Leopoldskron castle, but I think my British editor is right, it's not a castle, it's a palace. Tomorrow we will see a very interesting effort to bring back life into this palace.

This is how I would refer to Max Reinhardt as a key player in establishing the Salzburg Festival. The discussion about the establishment of the Salzburg Festival starts very early and is an effort to save the Hapsburg Empire. At that time, Franz Joseph died, and his successor, Charles I, tried very hard to find a way to develop a new power place and new identity for the empire. His effort was really to try to find a new level of cooperation between

the different ethnic entities of the monarchy. The key player, by the way, in this discussion about cultural initiatives to save the Hapsburg Empire was the new general director of the court theater, Leopold von Andrian-Werburg. He tried to develop something like what he called a pan-Austrian stage. Not only the Burgtheater, [which was] the first German stage dominated by modern social and Austrian dialogue pieces from his perception, but he also wanted, and I continue to quote, "to have the drama of the non-German nationalities of the monarchy". This is something which Max Reinhardt takes up and also writes down in his first memorandum regarding the construction of the festival theater in Hellbrunn in 1917. I'll cite from this memorandum: "Never before has the often doughty dignity of the theater been put to a more serious test, and never has it passed any test with such honor. After the war, its mission will not be diminished, especially not if, as we have cause to believe, the coming times will wear a serious face for a long time to come". He really tries to develop a new form of a festival. As you know, there are a lot of efforts to have a Mozart festival starting already in the 19th century. I will not go into the details of the establishment of the Mozarteum and other issues and the importance of Lilli Lehmann here.

It's interesting to see Max Reinhardt's view, and that's also a big difference to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who in the end after 1918 was very German. Max Reinhardt always had, also in 1918, a much broader European view. It was Mozart "as the crowning glory around whom Grillparzer and Reimann, but also Calderon and Sophocles would radiate in an informal member". He was really already a European star who tried to establish a new form of festival here in Salzburg. But this is the other side of the stage. This is already in 1922, this resentment to Max Reinhardt becoming the president of the festival organization. Here you have a quote by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, which I translated, which very well puts together the main elements of attacks against Max Reinhardt. Hofmannsthal also, by the way, was of Jewish origin: "They hate him three times and four times over, as a Jew, as a palace owner, as an artist, and as the solitary shy man whom they don't understand". I think that's a very, very good description.

Now, let's go back a little bit into the history of Max Reinhardt, who changed his name already in 1904 from Goldmann into Reinhardt and still was heatedly attacked, being of Jewish origin. I think that's also an important lesson to understand the power of anti-Semitism during the Nazi regime. It has this long history which started certainly already much earlier than the 19th century because of the Catholic religion, Protestant religion, and so on. But this very specific racist, aggressive form of anti-Semitism is really a product of what I call the first globalization of the late 19th century. But why did it work so effectively? Because in the beginning in Berlin, no one knew that Max Reinhardt was of Jewish origin. Unfortunately, this also shows you the communication of anti-Semitism pre-1914. In the moment Max Reinhardt was successful in Berlin, starting, I would say, in 1903, we have a brochure by Ernst Bergmann, in German "Der Fall Reinhardt", "The case of Reinhardt", on the artistic bankruptcy of the German theater in Berlin, published in 1906. It was an anti-Semitic brochure which unfortunately was taken up by the German papers, more or less defending Max Reinhardt. In this moment, the Jew Max Reinhardt was in the public arena and was then more or less re-invented from regime to regime. He also started, in my opinion, for example, this use of the honorary title of professor since 1909 [which] was an effort by Max Reinhardt, more or less, to protect himself against this anti-Semitism. Certainly this wonderful palace, and he really filled the palace with hundreds of art objects, had a huge library which was partly handpicked, as we can see from his letters, also was something which fueled anti-Semitism. As we can see, I think it's also important to understand that Max Reinhardt certainly was a product of the German-speaking theater world, but he always was interested in the large international frame, despite the fact that in the beginning, he didn't really speak English, but he understood the importance of having also international actors [and] international productions, and he really organized an international network here in the Leopoldskron palace, and [he had] his first real success in the US in 1923.

It took only a few years and Max Reinhardt was on the cover page of Times and weekly news magazines. He really was a star. Unfortunately, this international reputation of Reinhardt did not really help him in Germany. Already on the 9th of April, 1929, Adolf Hitler attacked, in a large speech in the Hofbräukeller in Munich, Max Reinhardt directly. I'll quote some sentences [from] Adolf Hitler [in] 1929: "Higher wages for German artists, 100,000 gold marks for Reinhardt Goldmann from the pockets of the needy Munich taxpayers... when we laugh at the thought that it must be Jews who bring art to the German people, for them, German art will emerge from the experience of German reapers and the resurrection of our German people". But even in the Nazi highest elites, it was clear that Max Reinhardt was an important artistic magician, although he did not fit into their racist world. The propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, in early 1941, [when] the German Wehrmacht was attacking the Soviet Union, wrote in his diaries: "We (Adolf Hitler and Goebbels) discuss theater issues. The Führer is very interested. He explains phenomena like Mahler or Max Reinhardt, whose abilities and merits he does not deny. In reproduction, the Jew is sometimes able to achieve something". I think this is a very interesting, unknown quote that even the Nazi terrorists like Hitler and Goebbels had to accept his very special artistic background. At the same time, they have to say he's no real artist because he's not productive. But this is the typical Nazi lie, which by the way, also Alfred Roller sometimes used.

Max Reinhardt answered in a different way. In Munich, July 2nd, 1929, he also chose Munich as the place to answer these first public attacks by Adolf Hitler: "Certainly, war and revolution have understandably changed some things, especially in political relations. A discordant tone could come from that. But we even have not heard in the previously hostile foreign countries. Why should it happen here? Art is a world of its own, floating freely in space like a star, she receives light, warmth, and life from this earth, but turns according to her own laws around her own axis. She's extraterritorial and the changing currents are not subject to politics". Unfortunately, ten years later, this answer of Max Reinhardt, which is really full of emotion and also intellectual thinking, was destroyed by the attack of the Nazi regime in Germany against Poland. I think this is also a very typical form of Max Reinhardt to deal with the Nazi regime. From the first moment, and this is quite different to a large number of other important actors [and] artists of Jewish origin, he realized what the Nazi regime will do to Europe and to Germany. In an open letter here, dated June 16, 1933, he therefore donated his Berlin theaters to the German people and rejected any artistic work in National Socialist Germany. He also very explicitly in public for the first time, by the way, he underlined his Jewish roots, but at the same time, [his] strong feelings as a German patriot. You still find these letters in the Bundesarchiv, the German archives in Berlin.

In Salzburg, we have a text not only in the media, but also here in the castle in front of the main door of Leopoldskron palace. His partner and later second wife, Helene Thimig, was receiving threatening letters and both were placed under police protection. His answer, and that's quite similar to his answer in 1929 to Adolf Hitler, was different. He opened the palace and gave his own story. On the other hand, he didn't like the Nazi regime, but he also didn't fear it. This is also Max Reinhardt. But from the political point of view, in 1934, Max Reinhardt knew there was no future for him and other people with the same artistic level in Germany and Europe. He spent ten months a year overseas. Here is a famous image with Marlene Dietrich here in the center, but also with an important Austrian stage producer Berthold Viertel, and a lot of important actors and people from Hollywood.

Now we go into his first efforts to really become an important artist in the US. You will see here the trailer for his famous film, which he produced together with William Dieterle, "A Midsummer Night's Dream". Unfortunately, despite this saying the most successful film, it didn't really work. It was not a success. Maybe I'm not a film expert, but I think it was trying a critical film analysis. Maybe it was a little bit too much Hollywood into this movie and maybe more Max Reinhardt would have been better for the US audience.

Now we move briefly to the Nazi period already. Max Reinhardt was not in Austria anymore [because of] the confiscation of Leopoldskron. Here you have a page of the list of confiscated works of art. But at the same time, the Nazi regime tried to more or less give a special status to Max Reinhardt. [In] the traditional literature, you always find the reference that the actor Werner Krauss was authorized by Joseph Goebels to go to Max Reinhardt and to say that he will become an honorary Aryan. This is nonsense. This is typical Werner Krauss. The Nazi regime never would have done this, but they accepted his special status because he also was well known in the US. In 1938 it was maybe better, therefore, they sent a few items to him. But the answer of Max Reinhardt was very clear: "What are 16 crates when one has lost a Leopoldskron?" Leopoldskron was, as you know, briefly used by

Princess Stephanie von Hohenlohe who had a bourgeois background but married the right man and also had Jewish roots. She was more or less Hitler's contact here to try to establish the Leopoldskron palace as a new center for international meetings, but she did not succeed. You can see, and this is typical for many artists in exile, that they are dealing with their Jewish background. Also, here you have a quote [from] when Max Reinhardt started to try to work on an autobiography, which unfortunately never was finished, that "I'm a Jew". That says a lot. I'll preface that and it is the proudest thing that I can say about myself, and yet what flows in every being's characteristics is that which his parents and ancestors had, and he also planned to begin with this. Here you have the last place of the remnants of Max Reinhardt in the mausoleum near New York City in Hastings on Hudson. But it was always seen by the family as a temporary resting place for his urn.

Now, we will deal in the second part of my presentation with the perception of Reinhardt after 1945-46. You can clearly see and we will have a brief newsreel here referring to the return of Helene Thimig... I think that's a good example of memory policy on how this was staged, the return of Max Reinhardt by the return of his widow. This is a US newsreel film, and the interesting issue is that there is no reference to the fact that Max Reinhardt had to leave Europe. There is no reference to the fact of the persecution of Max Reinhardt and thousands of other actors of Jewish origins and the killing of millions of Jews in the Shoah. You know, it's a typical form of the new Austrian victim doctrine. As she said in the end, Helene Thimig, it's a new start, it's a "Neuer Anfang. Stunde Null". She is the widow and has more or less everything from Max Reinhardt, and she was very influential in Salzburg in the 1940s, 50s, and even in the 1960s. But the critical reflection about the Nazi past and the Shoah was not part of this policy. You find it also in Vienna, for example, when this plaque was presented here in 1949, there were nearly no references to National Socialism [or] the Jewish background of Max Reinhardt. By the way, today there is a second sculpture here of Hugo von Hofmannsthal in the theater.

Now let's briefly talk about the history of the palace of Leopoldskron. The history starts with the famous Salzburg Global Seminar and the importance of a Viennese student, Clemens Heller. Also in this article, for example, Clemens Heller also had to flee from National Socialism, [but there was] no reference to this fact. He was presented as an alleged former student of the Reinhardt Seminar and that he was organizing this student seminar here. That would be a different lecture on the history of the Salzburg Global Seminar and the Leopoldskron castle, also with this very early Cold War battle here on the campus of Leopoldskron. It's a very complicated history. The restitution of Leopoldskron palace to Helene Thimig, who should own 50% of the properties. The other 50% were divided between the two sons, Wolfgang and Gottfried Reinhardt. I will not go into these really shameful lawsuits. The family was fighting among each other until the 1960s. That's a different story...

When we analyze the literature, I will not go into more details, [but] only would like to refer to the fact that certainly there are references to Max Reinhardt after 1945. The first book on the Salzburg Festival by the former Nazi publisher Roland Tenschert was on the market in 1947, but he was really more or less trying to neglect the importance of Reinhardt. It was primarily Hugo Hofmannsthal, and he didn't deal with the Jewish background. Also, when we see the first exhibitions and research projects of the Max Reinhardt Research and Memorial Center of Salzburg, we have the feeling that this is a different Max Reinhardt and you see it also in the preface by the Minister of Education Heinrich Drimmel. Now the time is right but they don't really talk about the political past. Here you see the publications on Max Reinhardt here in German and you can clearly see the negative effects by the Nazi regime. You have a little bit more in the exiled press in Germany. But certainly after 1945, there is quite an increase in [interest] in Max Reinhardt which declines in the 1950s and comes back in the 60s, but still, he is on a relatively low margin in general in the Germanspeaking world. Not in Salzburg, I will refer to that later on.

You can see a different form of reception in English-speaking publications. You see a high peak in the 1920s, and by the 1930s there was already a decline, despite the fact that Max Reinhardt was in exile. Then again you have a peak in the 1970s, and since then, unfortunately, you have a steady decline in the interests of the academic and also publishing world in Max Reinhardt. This is, however, quite different in Salzburg. In Salzburg, we can see a really strong corresponding effect between the interest in Reinhardt and the different form of Austria dealing with the Nazi past, starting with the heated debate about the wartime past of the former UN Secretary General and later Austrian president Kurt Waldheim in 1986 and then with the famous declaration by Franz Vranitzky on July 8, 1991, on the co-responsibility of Austrians in connection with National Socialists' crimes and other efforts, especially around the year 2000/1999, the debate on looted art, the Historians' Commission of the Republic of Austria, the payments to surviving forced laborers and Hungarian Jews, the National Fund, and so on.

We really see since early 2000, starting with the first study about the looting of Leopoldskron during the Nazi period by Johannes Hofinger, then we have the first very sophisticated exhibition by Margarethe Lasinger in 2010. Especially the president of the Salzburg Festival, Helga Rabl-Stadler, tries very hard to bring back the interest on Max Reinhardt into the Festival here and this is something which is completely different to the corresponding decline of interest in Max Reinhardt in the German-speaking and English-speaking world. Here you see one of the stones of commemoration, "Stolpersteine", from 2020 commemorating the victims of Nazi persecution and terror among the artists. We had in 2021, a great exhibition by the Jewish Museum in Vienna, it was also another exhibition by Margarethe Lasinger and the Salzburg Museum. We had this great film by Beate Thalberg on the great world theater, Salzburg, and his Festival. Unfortunately, I must say in

retrospect, the title does not really correspond with the content of the film because the content is Max Reinhardt. It's the palace of Leopoldskron. Why they chose this title, I don't know. That's the Austrian Broadcasting Company. There is a new book out since 2021, a great biography by Sibylle Zehle, "Max Reinhardt: Ein Leben als Festival", "Max Reinhardt: Life as a Festival". Today in 2023, we have great exhibitions. We have [them] here in the Leopoldskron palace, we have them in the Stefan Zweig Center [in] the Edmundsburg, and also in the Karl-Böhm-Saal. We have a very important publication which I can highly recommend by Edda Fuhrich and Sibylle Zehle on the Reinhardt-Thimig correspondence in exile.

Now I'm coming to the end, and I would like to return to Berlin because we Austrians have a tendency to occupy Max Reinhardt. He becomes an Austrian citizen, despite the fact that he was Hungarian, Czech, American, but he never was an Austrian citizen. But we think he is Austrian. As I say, I think [it is] typical Austrian behavior in taking Beethoven and Max Reinhardt and [we] don't care about any details. Therefore, we neglect the story of Berlin. The story is interesting, especially when it comes to memory policies. Max Reinhardt thought during the Second World War that he had lost everything. Leopoldskron [palace] was occupied by the Nazis [and] looted. He had given the Berlin theaters to the German people, and he tried a little bit in 1943 before his death to develop a restitution file to get back Leopoldskron, but he thought the Berlin properties were lost forever. But that's history and that's memory policy. This is the German way of dealing with the past, because after the end of the communist regime in the Communist German state and the unification of Germany, suddenly this issue comes on the table, the restitution of Reinhardt's former properties. Because on the one hand, he has more or less turned over his properties to the German people, but he did it under political pressure because of the Nazi regime. That's, I think, a very important policy by the German government, that they started a restitution case because the Reinhardt properties, the former properties, were looted twice, first by the Nazis and then by the communist regime. After the end of the Cold War and the unification of Germany, the heirs of the Reinhardt family, Gottfried Reinhardt, still was alive, and the heirs of the Thimig families received quite a lot of money because of these properties.

Unfortunately, they did not rebuild the Große Schauspielhaus. Here you see an image of 1972. This was a very important new form of theater built for Max Reinhardt during World War One. Unfortunately today, this is what was built on this property, luxury apartments and a hotel. But I think that is also a good example of the importance of culture in the second globalization. Before I end, I would like to [show] some of the really great utopias [and] dreams of Max Reinhardt. Here you see the plans of the Austrian-born architect Joseph Urban, who planned to build a Reinhardt theater in New York City. That would be, I think, quite something. But it's still a dream, and I fear it will stay a dream.

Before I end and we have a discussion, there is also an interesting effect. It's very difficult to find sources where you hear the voice of Max Reinhardt. This is also something I don't really understand. You have an unbelievable amount of images. But when you're really looking for a private picture of Max Reinhardt, even when he is with his sons at the beach, it's impossible. He's always like me today, well dressed, and you don't see the private Max Reinhardt. He completely controls the world of the images. For some reasons, which I do not understand, he also controlled his voice, and this is one of the very few leftovers, his famous "Speech for Actors", which he gave at Columbia University in New York City during this tour here. I think it's not original. We have the original manuscript. I think he, at some point, more or less restaged it. But I think it's good to hear at the end of my lecture...

I think he very well described the importance of the actor, despite the fact that he made his real career as a producer and theater director. But the key to his understanding of the theater was the actor, and he referred to Shakespeare as the perfect transformation of an actor, of a writer, of a stage director, of a director of his theater. This, for him, is the best form of an artist for the theater. To briefly sum up, I have to apologize that [the lecture] was pretty long. But for me also, I think it was an interesting effort to try to trace the roots of Max Reinhardt and also bring together the different perspectives.

What's the summary? The summary, I think, is quite clear that Max Reinhardt is one of the key innovators of German-speaking theater with a European and international dimension. I think, in this sense, we should remember Max Reinhardt. On the other hand, I think we must be very well aware that Max Reinhardt is a complicated personality because he always is more or less presenting himself. Therefore, I think the most recent publication by Edda Fuhrich is so important because he's writing nearly daily to his wife Helene Thimig who is working in Hollywood to earn some money. He stays in a hotel in New York and you really get, I think, a better feeling of the private personality of Max Reinhardt here. But I think despite the interesting biography of Ms. Zehle, he will still be the subject of interesting studies in the future. But what I think is important also for Max Reinhardt, and I mentioned it in the beginning, is that he's really someone who was able to stage and organize the emotional power of theater. Not really of film, I would say. I think the short presentation here of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" story is a good example. He was really [able] to organize the emotional power of the theater and that's his greatest success. Since he is a product of the first globalization pre-1914, I think especially during the second globalization, it's important to remember him. I'm really grateful that especially, despite the international and German-speaking trends, Salzburg is carrying out a different approach with Max Reinhardt to present him and his environment in a different form. I think also the palace of Leopoldskron and the [Salzburg] Global Seminar is doing a wonderful job here in reviving critical memories about Max Reinhardt. I think it's worthwhile doing it and I look forward to our discussion. Thank you.