

**AUSTRIA AND THE IRISH PADDY:  
SÉAN O'CASEY'S *JUNO AND THE PAYCOCK*  
STAGED IN 1930 AND 1934 VIENNA**

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This chapter serves as the opening part of the three contributions on Irish and Austro-Hungarian intercultural transfer collected in this section. Although these chapters focus on different aspects of the Paddy stereotype, they all have in common that they contextualise Stage Irishness as an othering process triggered by Anglophone and/or Germanophone cultural imperialism.

Elisabetta d'Erme's contribution focuses on the 'Lost Victorian' Irish novelist Charles Lever, who lived in Trieste and held the position of British Consul. Residing as an expatriate in the major commercial seaport of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – which became a part of Italy after the end of the Great War – Lever re-fashioned the Stage Irish cliché of the Paddy by applying it to the Hibernian pro-English landowning elite. To satirise the 'English' lifestyle of the landed gentry rather than the Irish peasants, Lever's novels feature Stage Irishness in terms of 'Stage Ascendancy.' Igor Maver's chapter presents an analysis of James Joyce, the Slovenian community in Ljubljana and Trieste, and the cliché of the orientalised 'Eastern Paddy' from the Balkan Peninsula colonised by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The present contribution focuses on Vienna – the imperial metropolis of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the capital of the First and Second Austrian Republic<sup>1</sup> – to analyse two Stage-Austrian character types which may be called the Austrian counterparts of the Irish Paddy. As the Stage Viennese, the Stage Tyrolean, and the Stage Irishman bear striking similarities at a first glance, it is somewhat surprising that this intercultural parallelism either remains unrecognised or is even consciously ignored in Austrian society. With regard to the critical reception of Irish plays staged in the Austrian capital in the twentieth century, Viennese theatre reviewers fail to understand, yet tend to stress, the allegedly unbridgeable 'otherness' of Hibernian culture.<sup>2</sup>

To address this aspect, first, I offer a brief sketch of Stage Austrian performativity, by focussing on the Stage Viennese and the Stage Tyrolean character types that

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1 After the fall and decline of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the Great War, the first Austrian Republic was established in 1918 and collapsed when Hitler declared the so-called "*Anschluss*" and incorporated Austria into Nazi-Germany in 1938. The Second Republic emerged after the end of the Second World War and was fully fleshed out when Austria re-gained its full independence when the Allied occupational forces accepted the Austrian Independence Treaty in 1955.

2 See Rubik, Fuchs, "1914-1969" 87-128 and Fuchs, "From the Fall" 47-59.

emerge in eighteenth-century Viennese popular drama and musical comedy. Next, I focus on a real-life figure from the seventeenth century whose semi-legendary *persona* serves as an archetype of the Stage Austrian: the Viennese bagpiper Augustin Marx, who has been committed to collective memory by a popular song entitled “O Du Lieber Augustin” (“O My Dear Friend Augustin”). Having looked at the stage history and the archetypal roots of the ‘Austrian Paddy’ in the chapter’s first section, in the second section I compare this character to the Irish Paddy stereotype featured in Séan O’Casey’s *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), which was performed in Vienna in 1930 and 1934. By way of conclusion, the third section serves as an Epilogue that focuses on Austria’s involvement in Fascist ideology. This section shows that although the Irish Paddy and his Austrian counterpart bear striking similarities at first glance, their theatrical performance has different discursive functions in terms of the cultural construction of collective identity, knowledge, and power politics. Whereas Stage Irishness may be considered a misrepresentation inflicted on the Irish by England to vindicate British imperialism and cultural superiority by way of hetero-stereotyping, its Austrian counterpart functions exactly the other way round: it is an auto-stereotypical construct which serves to forge a collective identity of an imagined community of the lower classes, who have been disempowered by the domestic state apparatus of the imperial House of Habsburg and its political successors. In contrast to the derogatory misrepresentation of the Irish Paddy in the context of English imperial power politics, the Stage Austrian auto-stereotype celebrates the alleged superiority of the simple people compared to the country’s political elite.

### **The Stage Viennese, Stage Tyrolian, and Stage Austrian Figures in Literature, Musical Comedy, and Popular Culture**

In the field of literature, the emergence of the comic figure of the Stage Viennese may be traced back to the non-classicist tradition of eighteenth-century Viennese popular comedy. Also known as *Wurschtl*,<sup>3</sup> *Hanswurst*, or *Kasperl*, this figure is dressed in comically ‘unfashionable’ clothes, speaks dialect, swears, drinks, and has a choleric and unrestrained disposition. Like the Irish Paddy, the Viennese *Wurschtl* is featured as an anarchic, unruly, and ill-mannered counterpart of an allegedly refined upper class culture. Like the Stage Irishman, whom Anglophone Protestant culture features as a figure of anti-Catholic satire, the Stage Viennese – as a product of the Baroque world of the absolutist regime of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresia

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3 In addition to the clown figure known as *Hanswurst*, the word *Wurschtl* is also an etymological variant of the South-German word *durchwursteln* – a term which refers to a phenomenon known as *österreichische Lösung* / Austrian solution: owing to the lack of agency monopolised by the country’s elite, the simple people need to find unconventional ‘solutions’ which, although not ‘illegal’ in the strict sense of the word, bypass the letter of the law to realise their plans and projects. This aspect also includes opportunist social bonding, a mutual ‘give and take’ attitude on the verge of corruption etc. As a trickster figure from below, the cunning *Wurschtl* is expertly knowledgeable in the art of *durchwursteln*.

(1740-1780) – functions as a representative of Southern Catholic culture, which is opposed to Northern Protestant Prussia in a Germanophone context. Bearing this in mind, it is no coincidence that one of the roots of popular Viennese drama, which flourished during the reign of Maria Theresia, may be traced back to the tradition of Jesuit and courtly Baroque drama. In a similar manner as Englishmen created the Stage Irishman to emphasise the gap between English Protestant culture and Gaelic Catholic ‘anti-culture,’ Protestant Prussia tried to abolish the Stage Viennese *Wurschtl* as a means of cultural, linguistic, and political hegemony. Whereas the Irish Paddy served as a medium to affirm and legitimate English power politics inflicted on the Irish subaltern on behalf of the colonisers, the Stage Viennese functioned as a means to subvert hegemonial pressure – imposed by both the domestic absolutist state apparatus and its Prussian enemy – on behalf of the Austrian lower classes.

This socio-political background explains why the Prussia-born Protestant neoclassicist scholar Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) tried to ban *Hanswurst* (as he called *Wurschtl* in his ‘Northern’ vernacular) from the theatrical stage in 1737. This attempted prohibition foreshadows the rise of Prussia as a result of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) in the field of power politics: as Prussia gained Silesia from its Austrian enemy, the outcome of this armed conflict initiated the rise of Prussia and the decline of Austria in terms of central-European imperial hegemony. From then on, Austria focused its imperial interests on South-Eastern Europe. Apart from their common enmity against Napoleon Bonaparte, this Austro-Prussian power struggle continued until the Battle of Königgrätz, which Austria lost in 1866 as a precondition for the Proclamation of the Prussia-ruled *Deutsches Reich* after Bismarck’s defeat of France in 1871. Without going into detail here, it is worth mentioning that the Viennese comic theatrical tradition continues with the works of Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) and Johann Nepomuk Nestroy (1801-1862), and its enduring heritage can be observed in the field of modern and contemporary Austrian drama until today.

As a second facet of the Stage Austrian stock characters, the Stage Tyrolean functions as a rural counterpart of the Stage Viennese who is broadly comparable with the Irish Paddy. The emergence of the Stage Tyrolean may be traced back to *Der Tyroler Wastel*, a 1796 comic opera co-written by Emanuel Schikaneder (libretto) and Jakob Haibel (music). Referring to Schikaneder’s most famous work, the libretto of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute* 1791), Alfred Strobel quotes Egon Komorzynski: “Der ‘Tiroler Wastl’ [sic!] hat das Wiener Volksstück tief und entscheidend beeinflusst – so wie die ‘Zauberflöte’ die Wiener Oper” (“‘Der Tiroler Wastl’ has had a profound and decisive impact on Viennese popular comedy – in the same way as the ‘Magic Flute’ has had a shaping influence on the formation of Viennese opera,” n.p.). Claiming that Schikaneder’s play features all the stock characters known from Viennese popular comedy, Strobel considers *Der Tyroler Wastel* a foundational text of this literary comic tradition. Owing to the play’s embeddedness in the popular dramatic tradition, it is no coincidence that the staging of *Der Tyroler Wastel* proved to be a great success throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Among other

places, the play was first performed in Vienna (Freyhaustheater auf der Wieden, 1796), then in the Tyrolean capital Innsbruck (in concert form: *Der Tyroler Wastel, Arien und Duette*, 1798), in Agram (1800), as Zagreb was called in German at that time, and in the Slovenian capital Laibach *alias* Ljubljana (Ständetheater, 1806; this performance was followed by a ballet which was composed especially for the occasion: *Die lustigen Tyroler / The Merry Tyroleans*). As Schikaneder worked in Innsbruck in 1775-1776, one may safely assume that this Tyrolean sojourn must have inspired his Tyrolean play, which triggered off a vogue of (pseudo-)Tyrolean Dirndl-fashion among Viennese society in the wake of the 1796 Vienna premiere (See Strobel).

Taking a closer look at the Stage Tyrolean shaped by Schikaneder's musical play, one must note that this character type is very similar to the Stage Viennese. The eponymous character Wastel is featured as a Tyrolean peasant who visits his *nouveauriche* brother who has made an upstart career in Vienna. Rather than being characterised as an uncultured country bumpkin as the Stage Irish tradition would have it, however, Wastel is featured as a positive counterpart of his brother, who has been corrupted not only by social mobility but, primarily, by the degenerative impact of modern city life. In contrast to the culture-nature binary at work in the English hetero-stereotype of Stage Irishness, the Austrian auto-stereotype features the country as a positive contrast to the city as a place of moral and financial corruption. If the Stage Viennese as a poor but plain-dealing man loses his authenticity owing to the corruptive influence of money and social promotion, he needs the help and down-to-earth authenticity of his un-corrupted Stage-Tyrolean brother from the country.

To move from literature to the fields of popular culture and mythology, one must turn to the jolly Viennese bagpiper, pub crawler, and notorious wine drinker Augustin Marx (1643-1685), whose cultural memory inspired the making of the Stage Viennese by way of what Roland Barthes would call "*le mythe, aujourd'hui*" and who is still today widely known and fondly remembered as "Der Liebe Augustin." According to the popular myth, Augustin was the son of an impoverished publican, who went from tavern to tavern to entertain the boozers with his performances of indecent songs, to be remunerated by rounds of free drink. Augustin secured his place as an archetypal harbinger of life in Austrian collective memory, as his unbreakable will to live heartened the inhabitants of Vienna in the plague year of 1679 as a symbol of surviving, and coping with, the collective trauma of the 'black death.' As the myth that emerged around his *persona* goes, the Viennese bagpiper falls, dies and comes back to life, owing to the resurrective power of alcohol.<sup>4</sup> According to a popular legend from plague-stricken Vienna, Augustin drank so much white wine that he stumbled into a ditch on his way home and fell asleep. When discovered by the plague

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4 As I have shown elsewhere, this structural pattern corresponds with the archetypal story line of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* and the popular song of the ballad hero Tim Finnegan it echoes. In this article I have also identified verbal echoes which show that *Finnegans Wake* alludes to the ditty "O Du Lieber Augustin." See Fuchs, "Lolo Lolo Liebermann" 149-56).

patrol, the boozier was mistaken for dead and dumped into a pit already filled with corpses. When Augustin awoke among the highly infectious bodies of the deceased, he cursed so loudly that he was discovered and helped out of the grave by the living. Owing to the antiseptic power of the drinks consumed during his nightly escapades, Augustin escaped the ‘black death’ by a hair’s breadth.

Augustin has been committed to cultural memory as the main character of a ditty, which was, and still is, widely known in Vienna and other parts of the German-speaking world:

O, du lie-ber Au - gus - tin, Au - gus - tin, Au - gus - tin, o, du lie-ber  
 Au - gus - tin, al - les ist hin. Geld ist weg, Mäd'l ist weg, al - les weg,  
 al - les weg, o, du lie-ber Au - gus - tin, al - les ist hin.

Fig. 1. "Lieber Augustin" musical notation

O, du lieber Augustin, Augustin, Augustin,  
 O, du lieber Augustin, alles ist hin.  
 (Refrain)  
 Geld ist weg, Mäd'l ist weg,  
 Alles weg, alles weg,  
 O, du lieber Augustin, alles ist hin.  
 Rock ist weg, Stock ist weg,  
 Augustin liegt im Dreck,  
 O, du lieber Augustin, alles ist hin  
 Und selbst das reiche Wien,  
 Hin ist's wie Augustin;  
 Weint mit mir im gleichen Sinn, alles ist hin.  
 Jeder Tag war ein Fest,  
 Und was jetzt? Pest, die Pest!  
 Nur ein groß' Leichenfest, das ist der Rest.  
 Augustin, Augustin,  
 Leg' nur ins Grab dich hin!  
 O du lieber Augustin, alles ist hin.

O, my dear Augustin, Augustin, Augustin,  
 O, my dear Augustin, all is lost now!  
 (Refrain)  
 Money's gone, girlfriend's gone,  
 All is lost, all is lost,  
 O, my dear friend Augustin, all is lost now!  
 Coat is gone, ashplant's gone,  
 Augustin lies in the dirt.  
 O, my dear Augustin, all is lost now!  
 Even rich imperial Vienna,  
 Has become broke like Augustin;  
 Let's shed our tears with him, all is lost now!  
 Every day was a feast,  
 Now we have the black death!  
 Just a great corpse's feast, that is the rest.  
 Augustin, Augustin,  
 Lie down in the grave!  
 O, my dear Augustin, all is lost now!

(my translation)

In the historical context of the song's emergence in late-seventeenth/early eighteenth-century Baroque culture, the "all is lost now"-leitmotif may be attributed to a society torn between the enjoyment of the here and now (*carpe diem*) and the futility of worldly bliss (*vanitas*) represented by the great leveller death and the *danse macabre*

– a borderline experience which entered Viennese everyday life not only during the 1679 plague year but also during the 1683 Ottoman siege.

In an essay from 1956 – which not only refers to the Austro-Hungarian Empire's collapse in 1918 but also to the fall of the first Austrian Republic in 1938 and 1945 – the Viennese critic Hans Weigel calls the “all is lost now”-lyrics of the Augustin-Song the unofficial Austrian national anthem (3). Although it has to be taken with a grain of salt, Weigel's statement may be traced back to a historical precedent, owing to the circumstance that the Augustin-ditty was sung as a sardonic farewell song to the last Austro-Hungarian Emperor Charles I, who ruled the realm from 1916-1918 and was disempowered and sent into exile after the end of the Great War. Rather than striking up the national anthem on this occasion, the frustrated people compared the deposed Emperor and his fallen realm to the broke Viennese bagpiper (Nachbaur 5 and Dreier 48-9).

Far from being a relic of seventeenth-century Viennese popular culture, Augustin as an archetypal Stage Viennese type has become a timeless messenger of life – a Rabelaisian figure whose enduring popularity even entered the Austrian Top Charts when Wolfgang Ambros, Manfred Tauchen, and Josef Prokopetz transformed his story into a mock opera in 1981. In *Augustin*, the bagpiper is presented as a mock-heroic counterpart of Prince Eugene of Savoy, who not only defeated the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, chasing the Turks from parts of the Balkan Peninsula, but also laid the foundational stone for the rise of Austria as a South-East-European imperial player. Whereas the social outcast and underdog Augustin is fondly remembered for coping with the collective trauma of the black death, Prince Eugene has secured his place in Austrian cultural memory as the hero who overcame the collective trauma of the Ottoman siege and saved the Western world from further Ottoman expansion. Whereas the boozing bagpiper has become famous as a carnivalesque Jesus-figure who dies a ritual death and comes back to life owing to the Eucharistic revivifying power of wine, Prince Eugene has achieved greatness as a hero of war. Like Augustin, who is remembered as the anti-hero in the well-known ditty carrying his name, Prince Eugene is also featured in a popular song, which dates back to one of his most famous military victories, the liberation of Belgrade as a strategic hotspot then held by the Ottoman Empire: “Prinz Eugen der Edle Ritter” (“The Honourable Knight Prince Eugene”).

### **Failed Cultural Transfer: Stage Irishness Performed in Vienna 1930 and 1934**

Having discussed the Stage Viennese and the Stage Tyrolean as two variants of the Stage Austrian character type that can be traced back to Augustin and Wastel, I will now explore how the Stage Irishman was presented and received in Viennese playhouses in the years of the First Austrian Republic (1918-1933/4). For this purpose, the present section looks at the critical reception of Captain Boyle as the Stage

Irishman featured in O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*. The Viennese staging history within the time frame of the First Republic looks as follows:

- 16/04/1930      *Juno and the Paycock*: Raimund-Theater [English Players Company]  
 17/02/1934      *Juno und der Käpt'n*: Raimund-Theater [German Language Debut]

As already mentioned, there are striking similarities between the Stage Irish and the Stage Austrian stock figure if one looks at text-based aspects such as characterisation. If considered from the contextual perspective of power politics, however, one needs to acknowledge an important difference. The 'Irish' character type presents a negative hetero-stereotype constructed by English imperialism; its Austrian counterpart, however, emerged as a positive auto-stereotype, which was constructed by and for the lower classes as a humorous means to compensate for the political agency that had been monopolised by the absolutistic rule of the imperial state apparatus and its social elites.

### Raimund-Theater – *Juno and the Paycock*, 16 April 1930

Seán O'Casey was introduced to Vienna by an English drama group called The English Players, who presented a series of English and Irish plays in their native tongue as a guest performance at the Raimund-Theater in 1930. On 16 April 1930, they performed *Juno and the Paycock*.<sup>1</sup> The Raimund-Theater, managed by Dr. Rudolf Beer from 1921-1932, had a reputation as an ambitious and progressive literary stage (Kinz 56-57), while The English Players troupe was well known for its artistic excellence and was warmly received by the anglophiles among the Viennese theatre audience.<sup>2</sup> Not only the actors but also the plays they staged were greatly received.

The theatre critic J. K. from the *Wiener Zeitung* newspaper considered *Juno and the Paycock*, as performed by The English Players, to be a text written by a highly original working-class author – a true people's poet who documents the allegedly unspoiled native 'primitiveness' of the Irish people in a realist manner:

O'Casey [...] ist ein ursprüngliches Talent voll realistischer Begabung mit dem gesunden Witz des Iren, der selbst in den Elendsvierteln, in denen er groß wurde, den Sinn für den Humor des Lebens nie verliert. Diese armen Leute sind weder gehässig noch verbittert. Sie singen den ganzen Tag, wenn zwei zusammenkommen, werden irische Weisen gesungen und [...] getanzt und eine unbändige Heiterkeit scheint diese Menschen auch in den ersten Tagen, in denen das Stück spielt, nicht zu verlassen. (J. K. 8)

(O'Casey is a highly original talent in the field of realism fused with healthy Irish wit. Even in the slums, where he grew up, the concept of Irish wit always approaches life with a sense of humour. The poor Irish people are neither spiteful nor rancorous. They sing the whole day and, if two of them come together, they sing Irish ditties [...], dance,

1 Breslmayer mentions The English Players and some of their guest performances at the Raimund-Theater (227 and 229). She does not mention their performance of *Juno and the Paycock* specifically, however.

2 Cf. I. K.: 8; F. M.: 8 and J. K.: 8.

and – even in the gloomy days in which the plot of the play is set – they are deeply imbued with an irrepressible cheerfulness.) (my translation)

This eulogy of ‘primitive’ but allegedly ‘authentic’ folk culture imbued with perpetual laughter and happiness is inspired by the cliché of the Stage Austrian rather than the Stage Irishman. As the majority of the early twentieth-century Viennese critics and theatregoers were fascinated but, primarily, puzzled by the ‘Irish Comic Tradition’<sup>3</sup> – with its drastic mixture of comic, tragic, and farce-like elements – one can rather safely assume that Viennese culture was ignorant of the concept of Stage Irishness at that time. Being uncertain with how to deal with the unknown theatrical convention, the reviewer must have tried to comprehend these alien elements of the play from the vantage point of domestic culture and the domestic tradition of the Stage Austrian known from Viennese popular comedy. Hence, the critic claims that O’Casey’s characters are deeply imbued with a “Bohemian” merriness and a never-ending inclination to song and dance despite their poor slum-like living conditions. This is the “Lieber Augustin” myth applied to the Irish play. Like Augustin, the characters of the Irish play do not like to do serious work, are broke, sing, and drink<sup>4</sup> their days away.

In addition to the Augustin archetype, the mention of dancing merrily throughout the day may be attributed to Wastel. This Stage Tyrolean subtext may be also attributed to the circumstance that the plot of *Juno and the Paycock* features the aspects of spending too much money on booze, buying things on credit, and the loss of woven fabric and furniture because of financial bankruptcy. Be it a literary coincidence or not, all these elements are also present in the best-known song from *Der Tyroler Wastel*.<sup>5</sup>

Die Türoler sind lustig,  
Die Türoler sind froh  
Sie versaufen das Bettzeug.<sup>6</sup>  
Und schlafen auf Stroh.  
Refrain: [...]

The Tyroleans are merry,  
The Tyroleans are gay  
They drink away their linen.  
And sleep in the hay.

Die Türoler sind lustig,  
Die Türoler sind froh  
Sie nehmen ein Weibchen  
Und tanzen dazu.  
Refrain: [...]

The Tyroleans are merry,  
The Tyroleans are gay  
They seize the next girly  
And dance the time away.

3 As far as the reception of Irish drama is concerned, Viennese theatregoers count the plays of Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw among their all-time favourites. As I have shown elsewhere, the Viennese audience has difficulties appropriating and understanding the dramatic tradition of Synge and O’Casey. See Fuchs, “1914-1969” 87-128, and “From the Fall” 47-59).

4 This aspect is not mentioned explicitly by the critic but is foregrounded in the play itself.

5 The song version reprinted here is the one which is remembered in the field of popular culture – a transcript of the original aria from the 1796 musical play is reprinted as an appendix to this chapter.

6 Another variant of this line is: “Sie verkaufen ihr Bettchen” / “They are selling their bedstead.”



Die Türoler sind lustig,  
 Die Türoler sind froh  
 Dann tanzen sie beide  
 Und fassen sich an.  
 Refrain: [...]

The Tyroleans are merry,  
 The Tyroleans are gay  
 And after the dance  
 They do touch each other.

(my translation)

Considering that the first Vienna performance of *Juno and the Paycock* took place in the year following the 1929 crash of the New York Stock Exchange, which resulted in the Great Depression of the World Economic Crisis, J. K. must have tried to cope with the chaos, disorientation, and loss triggered by these events by retorting to the cultural resources with which he was familiar. Turning a blind eye to the tragic and disturbing aspects of O'Casey's Irish play<sup>7</sup> in an escapist manner, the Viennese newspaper critic romanticises and applies the alleged pastoral pleasures of the simple but healthy country life elaborated in the song of the Stage Tyroleans from *Der Tyroler Wastel* to his understanding of Ireland in terms of the Stage Irish hetero-stereotype.<sup>8</sup> If considered from such a perspective, the critic's misrepresentation of the Irish as people who sing, dance, and laugh amid domestic misrule, financial bankruptcy, and starvation resembles the Stage-Austrian cliché of the poor but happy Tyroleans from the Austrian Alps.

As a continuation of the Stage Tyrolean tradition, this escapist auto-stereotype is further elaborated and reproduced by the cinematic genre of the *Heimattfilm* when Austria experienced a similar crisis of economic and cultural disorientation after the Second World War. Foreshadowing this cinematic genre, which foregrounds carefree yodeling and sexual promiscuity<sup>9</sup> in an exaggerated manner, the above-mentioned 1796 song from *Der Tyroler Wastel* not only features yodeling, but also includes the bawdy final line that the couples start 'touching' each other during (and presumably after) the dance. Be it intended or not, it seems striking that the final words of the last line – "fassen sich an" / "touch each other" – strongly disrupt the rhyming harmony elsewhere at work in the song.<sup>10</sup>

7 Such as imperialist suppression, civil war, economic problems, lack of patriarchal authority etc.

8 This aspect also ties in with the slums ('Elendsviertel') mentioned in the review: be it in Dublin or Vienna, these are the typical housing conditions for poor people who leave the country for the city in the hope of bettering their living conditions.

9 In this context, one may refer to the well-known stage cliché "auf der Alm, da gibt's koa Sünd" / "what happens on the Alpine pasture stays on the Alpine pasture" as a South-German variant of the maxim "what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas."

10 The rhyme works harmoniously in stanza 1, it is somewhat irregular in stanza 2, and very irregular in stanza 3.

### Raimund-Theater – *Juno und der Käpt'n*, 17 February 1934

Four years after The English Players had performed *Juno and the Paycock*, the Raimund-Theater staged O'Casey's play translated into German: *Juno und der Käpt'n* (17 February 1934). In 1932/3, Austria felt the full blow of the 1929 World Economic Crisis with an unemployment rate of 22%, and the proverbially 'red' city council of Vienna was exposed to ever-increasing political tensions. As the poverty-stricken population had no money to spend on theatre tickets, the Raimund-Theater witnessed a series of interim directors who did not succeed in running the house in an economically profitable manner. Hence, the theatre had to be closed for several months. In January 1934, the playhouse re-opened and the new management of Paul Barney and Dr. Stefan Hock continued Dr. Beer's ambitious concept of an avant-garde stage (Kinz 57).<sup>11</sup> *Juno und der Käpt'n* was the second play produced by the new management, and the play premiered only a few days after the leading Viennese Social Democrats had fled into Czechoslovakian exile: before the first night opened on 17 February, the Austrian Civil War had broken out. Thus, the staging of O'Casey's play on the Irish Civil War from 1922 almost exactly coincided with the Austrian Civil War known as the February Uprising from 12 to 15 February 1934.<sup>12</sup> On 18 February 1934, the critic B. alias Hans Brecka from the *Reichspost* (18-9) reviewed O'Casey's play in the same vein as J. K. from the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1930: he called it an 'authentic' play written by a self-made proletarian people's poet. Hypocritically claiming that the Irish drama performed at the Raimund-Theater had nothing to do with the Austrian Civil War in an elephant-in-the-room-like manner, however, the reviewer did his best to de-politicise the production:

[D]üster und drohend steht der zeitliche Rahmen da, in den dieses Stück hineinkomponiert ist: Der Bürgerkrieg. Hätte das Raimundtheater schon einen nur einigermaßen weitergediehenen Spielplan zur Verfügung, es hätte sicher gerade jetzt nicht nach diesem Stücke gegriffen, dessen Aufführung ihm nur allzuleicht übel ausgelegt werden kann. Gewiß, nicht die entfernteste Beziehung hat dieses irländische Stück, das mehr als ein Jahrzehnt alt ist, zu den traurigen Vorgängen unserer österreichischen Gegenwart. Gleichwohl ist es nicht unmöglich, daß sich die erregten Nerven manches Zuschauers unbewußt solche Zusammenhänge herstellen. (B. 8)

It is vexing and disconcerting that the plot is set during the [Irish] Civil War. [...] Of course, there is not the faintest nexus between the more than ten years old Irelandish [sic!] play and the very sad events we witness in present-day Austria. And yet, it is not entirely impossible that the overwrought nerves of some theatregoers might draw such an unconscious [i.e., erroneous] link. (my translation)

11 Dr. Stefan Hock was one of Max Reinhardt's confidantes. As shown by Fuchs (2010), Max Reinhardt's network of friends and confidantes had a significant impact on Vienna's theatrical scene in the twentieth century.

12 Breslmayer (238) mentions the success of the *Juno und der Käpt'n* production but excludes the Civil War scenario of the play.

A very similar point is made by critic E. from *Das Kleine Volksblatt*, who reviews *Juno and the Paycock* on the same day as Brecka.<sup>13</sup> He comments on the play's dark dimension as follows:

[D]iese Wirkung ist, namentlich in den letzten Szenen, nicht wenig quälend. Wäre da nicht der sehr volkstümlich gefärbte Humor mancher anderer Szenen, unsere Nerven könnten gerade jetzt so viel Peinigung kaum ertragen. Wie denn überhaupt dieses Stück eben im gegenwärtigen Augenblick recht zu unpaß kommt. Nicht, daß es irgendwelche aktuelle Beziehungen zu den Vorgängen der letzten Woche hätte. Ist es doch mehr als zehn Jahre alt, also uns zeitlich wie örtlich weit entrückt. Aber da Szenen aus dem irischen Freiheitskampf hineinspielen, so ergeben sich, wenngleich nicht für unseren Verstand, so doch für unser Gefühl unwillkürlich gewisse Zusammenhänge, die der Aufführung des in seiner Tendenz durchaus friedfertigen und christlichen Stückes gerade im gegenwärtigen Augenblick übel bekommen. (27)

The impact of the play is, at least in some scenes, rather vexing. If there were not the very down-to-earth humour at work in some other scenes, our nerves would not be able to cope with this vexing topicality – owing to the problems we have right now, the production of this play is not helpful at all. Being more than ten years old and having been written in a far-away country, the play does not feature any topical references to what has happened here in Vienna last week. And yet, it might be possible that the scenes focusing on the Irish Civil War might induce us, subjectively not objectively speaking, to suspect certain correlations. Although the play presents a pacifist and Christian worldview, its Vienna production at the present moment is not entirely unproblematic. (my translation)

Rudolf Holzer, who reviewed the production for the *Wiener Zeitung* on 20 February 1934, makes the same point, by calling the all-too-obvious topicality of the performance a 'fatal coincidence' rather than a historical parallel event:

Ein grausamer Zufall hat bei uns diesem Stück eine fast untragbare Aktualität gegeben. Das mußte geradezu lähmend wirken ... [...]. Mit großem und aufrichtigem Verständnis wurde die Welt des Dichters erkannt; unter dem Eindrucke des Tages konnte sich freilich nur eine zwiespältige Wirkung ergeben. (10)

A horrible coincidence has imbued this play with an almost unbearable topicality in present-day Austria. This cannot have but a paralysing effect. [...] The world presented by the dramatist has been faithfully recognised and fully understood; given the [Austrian Civil War-induced] impressions of the day, the play has triggered off a very ambivalent response [among the Viennese audience]. (my translation)

Emil Klaeger's review for the *Neue Freie Presse* resorts to an even more radically outspoken self-distancing strategy when it claims that there is a fundamental – if not to say unbridgeable – cultural gap between Austria and Ireland:

Ein irisches Volksstück, stark national gefärbt, darin Menschen und Probleme, die uns ferne liegen. [...] Wer den Iren kennt, nämlich aus Schriften und Romanen, aus Berichten, überhaupt vom Gedruckten her. Denn eine lebendige Beziehung zwischen diesem fremden Wesen und uns besteht nicht [...]. (10)

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13 The very striking parallels of these reviews imply that the critics must have consulted each other: in order to avoid Civil War-induced trouble, they must have discussed a politically 'correct' text version.

An Irish popular play with strong nationalist local colouring, featuring people and problems we are entirely ignorant of. [...] All we know about the Irish may be attributed to printed source material such as papers, novels, newspaper reports etc. A real-life intercultural encounter between this alien world and our own world does not exist at all. (my translation)

Maybe Klaeger has the same intentions as critic Brecka from the *Reichspost*, who dissemblingly claims that O'Casey's revolutionary play has nothing to do with the Austrian Civil War but realises the danger that the audience might draw such an all too obvious link. Like the pseudo-Freudian analyst Brecka – who realises that the situation might escalate as soon as some of the more 'nervous' spectators lose their nerves<sup>14</sup> – Klaeger fears the bombshell-like destructive potential of O'Casey's allegedly 'foreign' Irish fantasy in times of domestic political unrest and thus considers Johnny Boyle's self-destructive activism in Irish civil warfare a fit of fanatic fancy if not to say neurotic self-destruction:

Dieser Ire, der für die Freiheit seines Volkes zu sterben vermag. Aber sonst nichts. Untätig ist er in seine Phantasterei vergafft, verhudert sich darin, zieht andere, immer durch seine Phantasie, in den eigenen Untergang hinein. (Klaeger 10)

This Irishman, who is ready to die for the liberty of his people. But nothing else. He loves his fantastic visions in an idle and narcissistic manner, gets hopelessly entangled in the maze of his own fancy which, vortex-like, induces others to get entangled in his own vicious circle of self-destruction. (my translation)

The most pressing reason for these self-distancing strategies may be, of course, attributed to the circumstance that every critic does his best not to become involved in the lethal machinery of the Civil War, which, historically speaking, results in the establishment of the Austro-Fascist *Ständestaat* under the dictatorship of Engelbert Dollfuß.

What must not be forgotten, however, is the circumstance that the Austrian Civil War must be considered an anti-democratic counter-revolution of the conservative elites rather than a suppressed people's revolutionary struggle for freedom. As this *coup d'état* was directed against the working classes, Dollfuß and his Austro-Fascists – who used the artillery to bomb the state-subsidised tenant blocks or *Gemeindebauten* inhabited by the Viennese proletarians and socialists – were called *Arbeitermörder* ('murderers of the working classes'). As the Stage Irishman in *Juno and the Paycock*, Captain Boyle is presented as a lazy boozier and coward who fails to protect his son Johnnie from being betrayed and killed by his republican fellow fighters. The Captain's role matches the anti-Irish hetero-stereotype created by English imperial discourse, but not the Austrian auto-stereotype of the Stage Viennese – a lower-class person who, albeit disempowered by the country's elite, successfully manipulates the establishment as a trickster- and survivor-figure on behalf of the simple

14 In this context, critic B's / Brecka's Freudian language of the unconscious has to be noted as a typically Viennese local colouring of his review: "Gleichwohl ist es nicht unmöglich, daß sich die erregten Nerven manches Zuschauers unbewußt solche Zusammenhänge herstellen" (8).

people. Being confronted with the hypocritical and parasitical Captain Boyle, the Austrian audience distances itself, owing to the fact that the hetero-stereotype of the Stage Irishman functions as a negative print of the positive auto-stereotype of the Stage Austrian. Holding a satirical mirror up to nature as an allegedly 'Irish' hetero-stereotype as part of the Irish dramatic tradition then unknown in Austria, the Austrian audience cannot help but apply this stereotype to their own country and discover that the self-made concept of the Stage Austrian is (like any other *auto*-stereotype) at least partly informed by wishful thinking. Like any other civil war, the Austro-Fascist *coup* includes decidedly un-heroic and immoral deeds such as opportunist scheming, dissembling, denunciation of others, and other strategies to better one's own condition at the cost of the freedom and lives of one's fellow people.

Seen from this vantage point, the hypocritical 'collateral damage' at work in the 1934 Civil War, and any other internal warfare, serves as a prelude to what happens after Hitler's annexation of Austria in 1938 on a much larger scale. Although Austria fashioned itself as Hitler's first victim after 1945, this hypocritical interpretation of history excludes the undeniable truth that many Austrians embraced the Nazi ideology and made a career as Hitler's willing collaborators and executioners at that time.<sup>15</sup> This is the topic to be dealt with in the concluding section, which functions as the Epilogue to this chapter.

### **Epilogue: Helmut Qualtinger, *Der Herr Karl* (1961), and the Austro-Fascist Uncanny**

Qualtinger's satirical one-man drama *Der Herr Karl* (1961) satirises what one may call a hetero-stereotypical portrait of the Austrian as a willing collaborator and opportunist 'man for all seasons.' In this play, the eponymous character Herr Karl shares his personal memories from the end of the Great War until the time when the Austrian Independence Treaty is signed in 1955. Under the disguise of the auto-stereotypical concept of the tricky but amiable Stage Austrian, Herr Karl is satirically revealed as a sly hypocrite who succeeds in arranging himself with the Austro-Fascists, Hitler's Nazi regime, the Russian and the American occupational forces alike. No matter how bad the times may be, he always succeeds in living a good life as a parasite profiting from the 'ill luck' he transfers onto his fellow people by way of denunciation etc. In this respect, Herr Karl represents the Austrian people who collectively claim to be victimised by the fascists etc., but hypocritically deny any personal involvement in the political crimes committed by these regimes. Whenever there is proof that they were personally engaged in crimes on behalf of these forces, they claim to have done their 'duty' as faithful representatives of the state apparatus. This is what Hannah Arendt calls the "banality of evil," and this banality resulting from hy-

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15 Regarding the tendency to exclude Austria's involvement in the Nazi regime, see Lamb-Faffelberger and DeMeritt 3-4; cf. also Rathkolb 144.

pocrisy is, up to a certain degree<sup>16</sup>, also represented by Captain Boyle as the Stage Irishman in O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock* who, in contrast to his son, does nothing at all to resist the foreign rule of his country. As the Austrian theatre audience recognises the English hetero-stereotype of the allegedly fickle-minded and opportunist Stage Irishman as the negative print of its own auto-stereotype of the tricky people's tribune-like Stage Austrian, the critical reception of *Juno and the Paycock* (and other Irish plays, as I have shown elsewhere: 2015a, 2015b), denounces Hibernian drama as foreign, alien, and uncanny.<sup>17</sup> In this respect it is far from coincidental that the Viennese Professor Sigmund Freud (1919) claims that the term 'uncanny' fuses the alien ('unheimlich') and the domestic ('heimlich'), *as well as* the eerie ('unheimlich') and the familiar ('heimlich') in a highly ambivalent manner. This ambivalence inherent in the Freudian concept of the 'uncanny' reflects the culturally suppressed power struggle between auto- and hetero-stereotyping, as it surfaces if one looks at the Stage Irishman and the Stage Austrian as two unacknowledged aspects of one and the same conceptual framework.

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16 In contrast to Austria, ruled by criminal dictatorship, Ireland is ruled by a constitutional democracy abiding to the laws of fair government.

17 In her analysis of O'Casey's plays performed in Vienna from 1970-2000, Margarete Rubik claims that although many of his works were staged at well-established Vienna playhouses, they have not found a hospitable home in the city. Rubik attributes this reception to the fact that the Viennese still know too little about Ireland's political struggle for independence in the first half of the twentieth century and the Irish dramatic tradition with its mixture of tragic, comic, and farce-like elements (137-48).

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**Appendix: The Original Lyrics of the “Merry Tyroleans” Song  
Featured in Schikaneder’s and Haibel’s *Der Tyroler Wastel*****Duett:**

Die Tyroler sand often so lustig, so froh,  
Sie trinken ihr Weinel und tanzen a so  
Früh legt man sich nieder  
Früh steht man dann auf  
Klopfts Madl aufs Mida  
Und arbeit brav drauf.

Und kommt dann a Kirta, so schaut man zum  
Tanz;  
Der Jobel führt die Nannerl, die Gretel, den  
Hans  
Da dreht sichs, dennis Weibl, da dreht sich der  
Bau,  
Er nimmt sie beim Leibel und juchazt dazu.

\*\*\*

Die Tyroler sand often so lustig, so froh, ...  
Sie sorgen für die Stadtleut mit Milli und  
Kaß,  
Sie treiben die Kühen auf die Almer ins Gras.  
Sie jodeln und singen und thun sich brav um  
Und hüpfen und springen wie die Gemsen herum

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Die Tyroler sand often ...  
Hat einer a Schazerl, so bleibt er dabei,  
Und giebt ihn a Schmazerl und liebt sie recht  
treu,  
Da kriegens dann Kinder, wie die Kugeln so  
rund,  
Die zappeln und springen, wie die Hechten so  
gesund.

(Schikaneder &amp; Haibel 43-44)