

Université de Montréal

**Andreas Hofer : The Modernization and Europeanization of the Tyrolean national
myth**

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Résumé

Depuis le début de la crise des réfugiés en Europe en 2014, nous observons une montée du nationalisme au sein de l'Union européenne. L'apparition de groupes nationalistes et anti-migrants nous montre cette tendance, puisque même en Allemagne, l'*Alternativ für Deutschland*, un parti d'extrême droite s'est implanté dans l'espace politique. L'Union européenne fait présentement face à une crise d'identité, selon Thierry Chopin de la fondation Robert Schuman et Gérard Bouchard, de l'institut Jacques-Delors. Selon eux, l'Union devrait puiser dans les différents mythes nationaux ayant déjà une forte résonance au sein des différents pays-membres plutôt que d'en inventer de nouveaux.

Le mythe d'Andreas Hofer est un bon exemple de ce phénomène. Le héros de la rébellion de 1809 contre l'occupation bavaroise au Tyrol jouit d'une forte popularité au Tyrol et au Tyrol du Sud, en Italie. Son nom se retrouve sur des enseignes d'auberge, sur des panneaux de rue, et de multiples statues peuplent le paysage tyrolien. Depuis 1984, le mythe de ce héros est entré dans une phase de changement : il est désormais possible de remettre en question la trame du mythe et des événements y étant liés, bref, de douter. À l'aide d'articles de journaux concernant le mythe et ses diverses manifestations (événements culturels, expositions dans divers musées, célébrations, débats politiques, etc.), nous tracerons l'évolution du mythe d'Andreas Hofer depuis l'entrée de l'Autriche au sein de l'Union européenne. Nous observons l'évolution du mythe en trois phases : celle de la modernisation, de la consolidation lors des célébrations du 200^{ième} anniversaire de la rébellion de 1809, et, finalement, celle de l'européanisation. Nous démontrerons ainsi que, contrairement à ce que pensaient plusieurs chercheurs sur le sujet, le mythe est encore très présent aujourd'hui.

Mots-clés : Europe, mythe national, Andreas Hofer, Autriche, Nationalisme, Union Européenne, Évolution

Abstract

Since the European refugee and migrant crisis began in January 2015, nationalism has grown in popularity again across Europe. The number of nationalist parties and anti-migrant movements have increased to a point where there is once again a far-right movement, the *Alternativ für Deutschland*, in Germany; something thought impossible until recently. The EU itself is facing an identity crisis, as identified by Thierry Chopin of the Robert-Schuman Foundation and Gérard Bouchard of the Jacques-Delors Institute. Both scholars have argued that, instead of creating new national myths to bolster its political support, the EU should exploit existing ones, and indicated that they might already be doing so. Still, the extant literature does not explain how this mythological reframing influences local, mediated discourses and policies. Therefore, the Euroregion of Tyrol-South-Tyrol-Trentino's Andreas Hofer mythology and its impacts are still strong candidates for study. Indeed, Hofer, who was called the "rebel of the Alps" during the Napoleonic wars, has always enjoyed high popularity in both Tyrol and South-Tyrol in Italy, where his name is on street signs, hotels, and the many statues dedicated to him. Since 1984, Hofer mythology shifted in ways that challenged its traditional narratives. This shift was accomplished, in part, by newspaper articles covering the myth and its various manifestations (e.g., museums, cultural events, and other celebrations). Therefore, the current study traces the myth's evolution back to Austria's entry into the EU in 1995 to demonstrate that this folk-hero mythology underwent three stages of development: 1) Modernization, where the myth took on new forms to fit its current local contexts; 2) consolidation, where this new Hofer-imagery coalesced during the rebellion's 200th-year celebrations in 2009, and, finally; 3) Europeanization. We conclude that, in this final stage, contrary to popular scholarly belief, Hofer and his mythology are still very salient topics and political tools in, not only the Euroregion, but now, also across the whole of Europe.

Keywords : Nationalism, National myth, Andreas Hofer, EU, Evolution, Austria

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Table of contents

Résumé	I
Abstract	II
Acknowledgements	III
On myths and stories as part of our lives	3
Chapter One: Modernization	9
The testament of 1984	9
Modernizing a hero	11
The Hofer myth is coming soon to a theater near you!	12
The Movie	13
The “holy land” Tyrol and September 11 th	17
Andreas Hofer: a hero or a terrorist?	18
Conclusion: 1809 Andreas Hofer – Die Freiheit des Adlers	24
The Hymnenstreit: Andreas Hofer as the symbol of the nation	25
A chronicle of the debate	25
Political schism; a classic Conservative-Progressive conflict	27
The same old song?	29
Andreas Hofer; a man and his causes	31
Commemorating history	31
A cause without a war	32
Conclusion of the 1995-2006 period	33
From man to myth, then to man behind the myth	33
Chapter 2 - Consolidation	35
“Geschichte trifft Zukunft“	35
Celebrating the past for the future	37
Intent and planning	37
The official celebrations	39
Cultural events involving “the one with the beard”	40

Hofer as reading subject and as exposition matter _____	40
Hofer's various cultural representations _____	43
Hofer everywhere _____	44
A rebellion against the rebellion: Hofer's political image in 2009 _____	45
Andreas Hofer as member of the <i>Baader-Meinhof Gang</i> _____	45
Hofer in daily politics _____	47
<i>Did</i> history absolve him? A critical analysis of the 2009 Hofer-myth face-off against History _____	49
Conclusion of the 2006-2009 Period _____	53
History guides the future _____	53
Chapter 3: Europeanization _____	56
The tumultuous second decade of the 21st century _____	56
"I need a hero!" _____	57
"Europeanizing" the national hero-mythology _____	59
Post-Mortem of a Jubilee _____	60
2009 in hindsight: The year of recycling _____	62
Ongoing Europäisierung? _____	63
In the land of the <i>Bergisel</i> _____	63
In the land of Hofer's birth _____	66
A regional hero for a "Europe of regions" _____	69
Conclusion: Europeanization _____	71
Conclusion _____	72
Bibliography _____	77
About the newspaper articles _____	77
Primary sources _____	77
Secondary sources _____	83
Web pages _____	86

On myths and stories as part of our lives

Arguably, the imagination is one of humanity's greatest abilities. From childhood, every human being around the globe has imagined various things on a scale from horrifying to extraordinary. In part, as a result of this gift of imagination, humans have been creating legends, myths, and fairy tales since time immemorial. Although diverse, their plot structures are similar, typically beginning with an event that modifies or threatens the lives of many in a specific group or area, and a hero (usually local-born) steps up to save the day or dies trying. The hero's sacrifice (e.g., of their time, family, home, and life), then, symbolically turns human heroes into *superhuman* heroes that stand for honor, justice, sacrifice, duty, and above all, patriotism.

According to the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, a myth is a “complex and traditional narrative based on families, tribes, origins (*Stämmen*), cities, gods and hero worship¹.” Those legends “are pointing out how humans of the past tried to understand nature and its miracles².” Myths, then, are often woven into their origin group's traditions, religions, and histories, and they often try to explain how the world works and why it works that way, providing a moral guideline. Myths also prescribe what human beings should value and how we should behave. This marriage of myths to cultures enables to explain existential questions such as how the world was created and how one should act in certain situations. For example, consider Moses' *Ten Commandments* that gave much of humanity a moral code to follow, such as condemning murder and adultery.

However, if myths are also essentially stories that must appeal to their audiences, how important is a myth's attractiveness to its cultural longevity? Indeed, Neil Gaiman – author of fantasy books and novellas such as *Stardust* (1997) and *Coraline* (2002), both of which were made into full-length feature films – gave a conference for the Long Now Foundation that was devoted to developing long-term thinking in politics. According to Gaiman,

¹ Ritter, Joachim et al. “Mythos” in “Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie – Onlineversion“, https://www.schwabeonline.ch/schwabe-xaveropp/elibrary/start.xav?start=%2F%2F*%5B%40attr_id%3D%27verw.mythos.mythologie%27%5D, July 2018

² Ibid

stories teach us how the world is put together and the rules of living in the world, and they come in an attractive enough package that we take pleasure from them and want to help them propagate³.

Therefore, there is a clear need for story attractiveness if it is to have enough cultural value to be told and retold, over and over again. This fact reinforces Henry Tudor's definition of myths as politics. For Tudor, "myths are dramatic narratives that assist with the experience of reality. Myths are therefore positive stories that provide a heroic interpretation of the past, serving a purpose for explaining the present and justifying decisions regarding the future⁴." Thus, for the current work, we define myths as community-based stories developed to help members understand the world in which they live, using narratives attractive enough to sustain themselves.

The *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* described heroes as one of the most important traits of a myth. The hero, who is usually the narrative's protagonist, suffers many hardships to eventually come to represent resilience through hard times and/or sacrifice for the greater good (e.g., family, community, and government). Heroes are also related to the concept of *figure-souvenir*, developed by Jan Assmann, which is a crossover between cultural memory and social memory and is based on the theory of *collective memory* by Maurice Halbwachs. Assmann asserted that "for a story to become fixed in a collective memory [such as mythology], it must be symbolized through the concrete form of an event, place, [thing,] or person. Inversely, to last in a group's memory, the symbol must represent an important truth or idea⁵." Paraphrasing Halbwachs, Assmann adds that, "as soon as a person, event, [thing,] or place enters the memory or tradition of a group, it then also acquires the status of being an important milestone, idea, or concept for its origin-society⁶." This process, which has happened in almost every culture around the world, becomes essential to the mythology's nation-state's and/or culture's identity.

This marriage of myth and culture is also why many cultures and countries are sentimentally represented by a singular figure, who is typically a folk-hero. For example,

³ Gaiman, Neil "How Stories last", The Long Now Foundation website, <http://longnow.org/seminars/02015/jun/09/how-stories-last/>, September 2019

⁴ Tudor, Henry "*Political Myth*", 1972, p. 17

⁵ Assman, Jan "*Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*", 1992, p. 34

⁶ Ibid

consider France's Joan of Arc, Italy's Garibaldi, and even Switzerland's semi-mythological hero, Wilhelm Tell. But what about the unifying source of those many folk-heroes, namely, the EU?

In recent years, the EU appears to be experiencing an inspiration-shortage because of the Brexit and other similar events. This growing opposition to the EU and its supranational control-center status reflects the wishes of many of its nation-states' politics and citizens. The EU is described by Vincent Della Sala as an "alchemy between economic integration and enlightened self-interest, taking the form of a political promise of union," which is "missing a symbolic and cultural dimension capable of consolidating a sense of belonging⁷." In short, the EU was envisioned and built using a technocratic approach instead of a sentimental one, likely in part because each of its composing member-states has its own mythological narratives.

Recently, Thierry Chopin, who is collaborating with the Robert Schuman Foundation, researching on the EU, has called for a "teaching of true European history." For Chopin, this does

"not mean replacing national narratives, [...] they have to be complemented with a specifically European narrative from which young Europeans can learn that every national historical phenomenon [in Europe] was also primarily European.⁸"

This process, then, transforms national narratives that are at least partially fictional into supranational ones, and is often characterized as a kind of social engineering.

To explore this process in the contexts of Austria and Italy, in the current work, we analyze the mythology surrounding the Euroregion of Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino's most celebrated folk-hero, Andreas Hofer. Specifically, Hofer is traditionally characterized as Tyrol's freedom fighter and a leader in the revolts of 1809 against the annexion of Tyrol by Bavaria during the Napoleonic Wars and is widely remembered as an example of the *Tirolität* (roughly translated as the "Tirolity," or the fact of being from Tyrol) of the people and a symbol of virtue, resilience, and sacrifice.

⁷ Della Sala, Vincent "Myth and the postnational polity" in : Bouchard, Gérard et al "*National Myths : Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*" 2013, p.157

⁸ Chopin, Thierry "Europe and the Identity Challenge : who are "we"?" in : "*Fondation Robert Schuman European issues*" no. 466 (2018), p. 3

Hofer's image has also been "misused"⁹ and exploited to promote many different opinions and political positions. For instance, Hofer has been used shortly after his death to promote loyalty to the Habsburg throne in the 1800s. It has also been used to promote the war loans during both WWI and WWII, the Third Reich's party in favor of the *Anschluss* of Austria and by the party against the *Anschluss* before the Second World War and by the Communist Party during the Cold War. In the 50s and 60s, tensions arose between Austria and Italy, as Austria was intervening in South Tyrol's internal affairs, claiming to protect its German-speaking community (South-Tyrol formerly belonged to Austria before WWI). South-Tyrol German nationalists used Hofer's image to promote their aspirations to secede from Italy in the 60s and 70s, which led to the *Südtirolerfrage* and the attribution of the autonomy status to South Tyrol. Hofer's image has also been used by many others for many other claims as well, as we will see in this work¹⁰. Indeed, as an unlikely example, Hofer's image has even been used in a campaign by the Women's Association of Tyrol to promote gender equality in household chores. Ultimately, these findings suggest that a cause's nature is of little consequence in Hofer mythology exploitation, as long as its agents are based in Europe.

Moreover, according to the *Bürgermeister* of Wörgl (a small city close to Innsbruck, Tyrol's capital), Hofer's image was "repeatedly used as a symbol [of Tyrol] because of his link to the nation [...] and because of the longevity and impacts of his acts¹¹." Few scholars, however, have attempted to map a myth's evolution over time, but those that have mainly centered their work around specific myths. For instance, consider Martin M. Winkler's analysis of the myth of Arminius¹² or Lucy Riall's "making of" the myth of Giuseppe Garibaldi¹³.

Therefore, the two research questions guiding the current study include: 1) How have the Hofer mythologies evolved since Austria's entry into the EU in 1995, and 2) how has this folklore developed in the current age of post-nationalism? Here, we trace the

⁹ Pizzinini, Meinrad "Andreas Hofer – Seine Zeit, Sein Leben, Sein Mythos", 1984, p. 6

¹⁰ Pizzinini, Meinrad "Andreas Hofer – Seine Zeit, Sein Leben, Sein Mythos", 1984, p. 7

¹¹ Ablers, Arno "Heimatverbundenheit und Werthaltigkeit", Mai 2009, https://www.vivomondo.com/de/blogs/arno_abler/andreas_hofer_held_oder_taliban

¹² Winkler, Martin M., "Arminius the Liberator, Myth and Ideology," (Oxford University Press 2016)

¹³ Riall, Lucy, "Garibaldi : The invention of a hero," (Yale University Press 2007)

Hofer myth's evolution from 1995 on because much is known about the myth's development before this date, as it celebrated its 175th birthday in 1984, but little is known after it. We also sought to determine whether the EU influenced the myth's development because there is little to no research on the EU's impacts on its nation-states' folklore. Therefore, we analyze a selection of relevant texts published by Euroregion-based scholars and journalists (mostly from Tyrol of Austria and from South-Tyrol of Italy).

For South-Tyrol, we selected articles from the *Dolomiten's* online news portal called "STOL." We have also analyzed articles published online by *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung* and *Südtiroler News*. For Tyrol, all of the articles from various publishers (e.g., *Die Presse* and *Tiroler Tageszeitung*), except for *Der Standard*, were found at the Innsbrucker Zeitungsarchiv in Innsbruck. Likewise, we collected the *Der Standard* articles via their online archive. Those articles are from 1995 onwards, with some as recent as last year. We used a total of 78 different articles in the elaboration of this analysis, but we collected over 150 of them, both in the online archives, as well as the archives in Tyrol.

Furthermore, for this study, we discuss three distinct geo-socio locations including Tyrol, South-Tyrol, the Euroregion Tyrol-South-Tyrol-Trentino, and finally, Historical Tyrol. When referring to "Tyrol," we mean the Austrian state (*Bundesland*) of Tyrol, which is North of South-Tyrol and the Brenner Pass. Moreover, for geographical purposes, unless otherwise specified, East-Tyrol, since it is officially a region part of the State of Tyrol in Austria, is always included in our analyses of Tyrol. Conversely, when we refer to South-Tyrol, we mean the Italian state called *Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Alto Adige*, and in German, it is known as *Autonome Provinz Bozen – Südtirol*. Also, when referring to Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino, we use the official term "*Euroregion*." Finally, when referring to Tyrol's historical Princely County, we use the denomination "Historical Tyrol."

To analyze the Hofer myth in detail, one must also study the man behind the myth (i.e., Andreas Hofer). Thus, to understand Hofer's life and history better, we refer to the

works of Hofer scholars Andreas Oberhofer¹⁴, Hans Magenschab¹⁵, Josef Hormayr zu Hortenburg,¹⁶ and Rolf Steiniger.¹⁷

We began our analysis by investigating relevant journalistic texts from three different periods. The first period is from 1995 to 2006 because, in 2002, a movie based on Hofer's life was released, which sparked great scholarly debate. We ended the first part in 2006 because of the upcoming 2009 Hofer Jubilee marking 200 years since his death. Thus, from 2007 onwards, Hofer-related discussion slowly grew in preparation for the coming great events. However, the festivities around the rebellion's 175th anniversary in 1984 closed with Hofer scholars' expressed hopes for a more scholarly approach to discussions surrounding Hofer's mythology. Although these variations of the traditional myth use many of the familiar clichés, nonetheless, we uncover that this period modernizes the myth to ensure it remains relevant and appealing to its diverse audiences.

The second period is focused on the years 2007 to 2009, because, as explained above, this was the year of the rebellion's 200th anniversary. As a result, in 2009, there were many essays, books, plays, events, and more, centered around Hofer and the rebellion. Moreover, at the same time, nationalism was growing in popularity across the Euroregion in conjunction with a revival of South-Tyrolean separatist politics that pushed for separation from Italy, since the events surrounding the *Südtirolerfrage* in the 1970s, a politically charged period. These events inspired many political debates that pitted conservatives against liberals. 2009 was also the first time that Hofer's myth was "misused" (see Pizzinini¹⁸), to characterize him as a defender of the EU and as a representative of the Euroregion as a whole. This phase consolidated the aforementioned new interpretations of Hofer's mythology, that ultimately introduced additional new

¹⁴ Oberhofer, Andreas, "Der Andere Hofer. Der Mensch hinter dem Mythos". (Innsbruck: Wagner Verlag, (October 2009)

¹⁵ Magenschab, Hans, "Andreas Hofer : Held und Rebell der Alpen," (Vienna : Amalthea Signum Verlag GmbH 1998)

¹⁶ Hormayr zu Hortenburg, Josef, "Geschichte Andreas Hofer's, Sandwirths aus Passeyr, Oberanführers der Tyroler im Kriege von 1809. Durchgehends aus Original-Quellen, aus den Militairischen Operations-Plänen, So wie aus den Papieren Hofer's, des Freyh. Von Hormayr, Speckbacher's, Wörndle's, Eisenstecken's, der Gebrüder Thalgueter, des Kapuziners Joachim Haspinger und Vieler Anderer," (London: Forgotten Books 2017)

¹⁷ Steiniger, Rolf, "Südtirol. Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart" (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag 2003)

¹⁸ Pizzinini, Meinrad "Andreas Hofer : Seine Zeit, Sein Leben, Sein Mythos.", p. 6

perspectives on the myth. We demonstrate here, via relevant authorities', political entities', and the cultural community's published works, that important social influences from the Euroregion had accepted and acknowledged this modernized mythology, even before the celebrations had begun.

The third and final part of the current work's analysis is a study of the 2009 celebrations' aftermath. We argue that, not only is Hofer's presence still strong in modern Tyrol, but that it also promotes the Euroregion's membership in the EU to fight local anti-EU discourses. Therefore, this stage of the myth's development resulted in its Europeanisation, which the Jacques-Delors Institute and the Robert-Schuman Foundation had both advocated for. Indeed, this modern Hofer mythology stylized the man as a "new" European hero, instead of the regional folk-hero used to promote a plethora of causes.

Chapter One: Modernization

The testament of 1984

The rebellion of 1809 against Bavarian rule and, in extension, against Napoleon, were celebrated in many of the Euroregion's cultural spheres, such as literature, history, and politics. In 1984, it was still customary to celebrate the coming of every quarter-century since the rebellion with a Jubilee. While there are still local celebrations of the rebellion every year, they are much smaller than the quarter-century Jubilees in the past. This difference simplifies the study of the myth, as, every 25 years, a new wave of celebrations brings with it new debates, discussions, and festivities.

For example, Andreas Oberhofer, who is a renowned Hofer scholar, described and analyzed the previous Hofer-Jubilees in *Neue Publikationen und Erkenntnisse über den Tiroler Aufstand von 1809*. He argued that the myth gained its largest popularity since its inception during the celebrations of 1909 (its 100th-year anniversary). For that occasion, Innsbruck welcomed the emperor Franz Josef I. The monarch also visited the *Sandhof* in Sankt-Leonard in the *Passeiertal*. This event cemented Hofer's status as a folk-hero during a time of European turmoil that led to the Habsburg dynasty's appropriation of Hofer's myth to strengthen loyalty to the Austrian throne by using Hofer's loyalty to the Emperor as an example. The Jubilee of 1934 was also celebrated with great enthusiasm due to a politically charged year, with the recent rise to power of Adol Hitler in Germany, and the

talks of annexion of Austria by the German Reich, but before the murder of Austria's chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss.

According to Oberhofer, the celebrations of 1959 were shadowed by the *Südtiroler Frage* (the debate surrounding the autonomy request for South-Tyrol) and the German-speaking minority's quest for more autonomy, if not outright secession, from South-Tyrol using slogans such as "*Los von Rom!*" [Freedom from Rome!]. This period was also marked by uncertainty and tension between Italy and Austria regarding the situation in South Tyrol, especially in the 50s and 60s, following the foundation of terrorist groups in South-Tyrol that later made several attacks on the population.

After the politically charged events of the previous Jubilee in 1959, the 1984 celebrations led to a turning point in the public image of Hofer and his companions. The 1984 celebrations were marked by an increased interest by scholars in the study of Hofer's mythology. For example, Dieter Langewiesche in his review of Florian Kern's study *Der Mythos anno "neun"*, notes that,

Society invents the founding myths, the historical sciences authenticate them - this is how we can describe the usual patterns of progress. In works of demythologizing, it can be remarked that [...] opposition to the dominant picture of history is usually first raised in social opposition groups, the historical sciences usually follow with considerable delay¹⁹.

This delay is why it took almost 175 years after Hofer's execution in Mantua by Napoleon's troops for scholars and the population to start questioning the dominant narratives of the event. As Oberhofer said, "it [finally] became acceptable to question the hero status of Hofer, Speckbacher, and Haspinger²⁰" (Hofer's most famous companions during the rebellion). Oberhofer states that a generation of young historians developed new perspectives on the events of "*anno neun*²¹" (Oberhofer intentionally spelled it with a lower case 'a' to diminish its importance because, in German, every noun requires a capital first

¹⁹ Langewiesche, Dieter. "Rezension: Entmythologisierung von „anno neun“". *Die Tiroler Erhebung 1809 in der gegenwärtigen Forschung*, *sehpunkte* 10 (2010), no. 3, p. 1

²⁰ Oberhofer, Andreas. "Neue Publikationen und Erkenntnisse über den Tiroler Aufstand von 1809", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 133 (2013), no. 1, p. 463

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 483

letter, and in both North and South-Tyrol, *Anno neun* always has a capital letter), reframing the events in a “*Gesamteuropäische Perspektive*,” which means “European perspective²²” in English, by pitting the total number of Tyrolean revolt victims against the final number of victims from the Napoleonic wars (i.e., 2400 vs. 1.3 million civil victims, respectively²³). Due to its small scale, Oberhofer called the rebellion a “*Nebenkriegsereignis*²⁴,” or, in English, an “auxiliary war event.” He also argued that 1984 paved the way for new Hofer myth studies and research, “providing new alternatives to the dominant narratives²⁵.”

These findings beg some critical questions, including: What impacts have these three revision periods had on the Hofer mythology’s overall trajectory? Moreover, if the 1984 Jubilee was indeed a turning point for this mythology, how did Hofer-related press coverage change after it? Were the changes also reflected in the local cultures and people, or were they confined to a scholarly world that is rarely covered by the press? Langewiesche argued, however, that progress is something that comes slowly, through small social movements and contestations²⁶. This is why we demonstrate in the current thesis that 1984 was indeed a turning point in Hofer’s myth’s reception, and how his image has changed since then. Our findings confirm Oberhofer’s theory that 1984’s turning point paved the way for a Hofer myth revision, especially in the years before the 200th anniversary of Hofer’s execution, as interest in Hofer grew once again. By this time, Tyrol was finally ready to acknowledge and accept the modern changes to the mythology, and it was ready to critically remake Hofer’s image.

Modernizing a hero

Depictions of Hofer in Tyrolean culture have continued to evolve since the release of the movie *1809 – Die Freiheit des Adlers*. Indeed, Hofer’s image is still a popular Tyrolean political and branding subject to this day. On January 1, 1995, Austria entered

²² Ibid, p. 485

²³ Ibid, p.466

²⁴ Ibid, p. 485

²⁵ Ibid, p. 465

²⁶ Langewiesche, Dieter. “Rezension: Entmythologisierung von „anno neun““. *Die Tiroler Erhebung 1809 in der gegenwärtigen Forschung*, *sehpunkte* 10 (2010), no. 3, p. 1

the EU, and so, in the current study, we use this event as our starting point, since 1995 was only 11 years after the last Hofer-Jubilee in Austria, which was in 1984. The next wave of newspaper articles published on Hofer came in 2001, as work began for the production of a movie about the events of *Anno Neun*. This movie, then, as well as its related articles, will be the focus of the first part of our analysis.

In 2004, a political debate unfolded surrounding the laws protecting the national anthem of Tyrol, which came to be known by the press as the *Hymnenstreit*. This hymn, the *Andreas-Hofer-Lied* or *Zu Mantua in Banden*, is a retelling of the final hours of Hofer's life before his execution by firing squad. We demonstrate here that the hymn came to reflect, not only Hofer the man, but also the very core of Tyrol's identity and sparked outrage from both the political Left and Right. Thus, in the last part of this first chapter, we focus on the other relevant events not directly related to the movie or the *Hymnenstreit*. For example, as mentioned before, a Tyrolean feminist campaign, among others, used Hofer's image to promote their politics.

The Hofer myth is coming soon to a theater near you!

This sub-section is divided into three parts to better analyze the Tyrolean press's Hofer-myth characterizations in the context of the movie. First, we describe the movie and how it brought the *Freiheitskampf* myth to the big screen, depicting events that later became synonymous with Hofer, the man. The writing and filming, as well as the reception of this historical work, is, in itself, part of the myth's evolution, as it reflects a new, modern image for the hero. The various opinions from scholars, journalists, and critics shaped the debate around Hofer's image, and so, in the context of this movie, we demonstrate here that journalists presented conflicting characterizations of Hofer and the rebellion.

Next, we explore the film's contextualization of the events of 1809 via a connection to the terrorist attacks in New York on September 11, 2001. The writing and production teams purposefully made this association to present the conflict from a new angle, one of terrorism. We then demonstrate how this novel representation shaped a contemporary image of Hofer and also of Joachim Haspinger, a Capuchin priest in Hofer's entourage .

Finally, I describe Hofer and his mediated characterizations that, depending on the source, present very different “Hofers” that are so diverse that they falsely suggest that the journalists had all seen different movies. Characterizations of Hofer, the once strong-willed and heroic man from *St. Leonhard in Passeiertal*, had entirely changed after 1984, when the Hofer mythology had made its last major appearance in Tyrol’s public sphere.

The Movie

To this day, moviegoers and critics are still analyzing and re-shaping the popular images of Hofer’s myth. The film “*1809 Andreas Hofer – Die Freiheit des Adlers*” came out on October 27th, 2002²⁷. Felix Mitterer wrote the movie’s script, and it was produced by Xaver Schwarzenberger, with Bavarian, Tyrolean, and South-Tyrolean financial support.

The film starts during the Bavarian occupation of Tyrol, and is a retelling of the rebellion until Hofer’s 1809 execution in Mantua. The movie was well-received by critics at the time of its release, with a 6.7/10 rating on the *Internet Movie Database*²⁸. The *Tiroler Tageszeitung* reported in 2001 that the “battle scenes of the Tyrolean rebellion were realistically recreated for this historical epic and centered around the freedom fighters²⁹.” The critics’ views of the film were quite polarized, which is represented well by the South-Tyrolean magazine *ff*, an auxiliary newspaper from the *Südtiroler Nachrichten*. For instance, a journalist of the *ff* called the movie “*Tirols Nibelungen*³⁰,” referring both to the opera of Richard Wagner, and the movie’s importance to the Tyrolean culture and people.

Conversely, a journalist from the *Dolomiten* in South-Tyrol said, in an article titled “No hero, no antihero, no hero at all³¹,” that the movie was a “made up fragmentation³²” of the myth. In North-Tyrol, by contrast, articles and opinions were more moderate. The *Tiroler Tageszeitung* that wrote, “Hofer wakes up to his new life³³,” as if, like magic, it was handed to him overnight. These different characterizations of the story, man, and

²⁷ Internet Movie Database, “*1809: Die Freiheit des Adlers*”, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0303586/>

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ anon. “Der Hofer erwacht zu neuem Leben” *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, no. 249-IA (October 2001), p. 13

³⁰ anon. “Tirols Nibelungen”. *ff* no. 37, (September 2001), p. 63

³¹ luz “Kein Held, kein Antiheld, gar kein Held”. *Dolomiten* no. 195 (August 2002), p. 9

³² Ibid

³³ anon. “Der Hofer erwacht zu neuem Leben”, *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 249-IA, (October 2001), p. 13

movie raise an essential question: What were the production team's intentions for this movie? Thus, in the next part of this sub-section, we consider our question using the available data.

Mitterer, for instance, said that he wanted to “show a complex image of the past without sentimentalism, kitsch and misplaced hero-worship³⁴.” His goal, as he told the *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, was “to show, what really happened and how it happened³⁵.” Moreover, the media coverage for the film went beyond Tyrol, as the *Wiener Zeitung* from Vienna described the movie in an article titled “Historical film with references to the present³⁶.”

In the same article, Schwarzenberger expressed thoughts similar to Mitterer's, that he wanted to make a movie “without some sort of primitive form of hero-worship³⁷.” As time passed, journalists continued to publish more articles about the movie, and indeed, this type of mediated attention was part of the movie's promotional campaign. This continued popularity is why Mitterer said, in the *Kleine Zeitung*, “a history about heroes? No! I take them [the heroes] down from the pedestal, so that we can see them as men³⁸.” This idea of taking the heroes down from pedestals is common in the articles we analyzed for this study, with titles like the following example from *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten*, “*Der Held, der vom Sockel geholt wird*”³⁹ or, in English, “The ‘hero’ removed from the pedestal.” Some journalists went so far as to question whether Hofer was even a true hero. In another interview about the movie with the *Kleine Zeitung*, Mitterer reiterated that “[t]oday [...] it is about time to eliminate the limits of the myth [...] and to see [Hofer] as he is – a man⁴⁰”. To many Tyroleans, this probably seemed new because Hofer had previously always been considered a saintly folk-hero. After all, since the myth's inception, every form of Tyrolean government has used the rebel's story and public appeal to support its agendas.

³⁴ Winder C. J. “Ein Hofer ohne Kitsch und Schmalz”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 150 (July 2001), p. 12

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ anon. “Historienfilm mit Gegenwartsbezug”. *Wiener Zeitung* no. 163 (August 2002), p. 15

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Heinrich, Ludwig “Der Guerrillero von Tirol”. *Kleine Zeitung* no. 297 (October 2001), p. 68

³⁹ Heinrich, Ludwig “Der „Held“, der vom Sockel geholt wird”. *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* no. 251 (October 2001), p. 7

⁴⁰ Heinrich, Ludwig “„Eigentlich sind die Männer alle gleich blöd“”. *Kleine Zeitung* no. 234 (August 2002), p. 76

This statement is, then, a clear departure from previous Jubilees, and, as an outlier, the 175th anniversary of Hofer's death in 1984 provides a more critical context for analyzing the events of 1809. Similar perceptions of the myth can be found in an article published by, *Die Furche*, a liberal arts journal. The author said that three "word[s] that describe the events of the movie [include]: Death, Doubt, [and] so much Blood⁴¹." The article itself is called *Todesflug des Adlers* or "The eagle's flight of death," as it focuses on the violence that the movie was designed to showcase, in addition to those so-called sacred, historical, Austrian events. The author also talked about the choice of actor Tobias Moretti as the role of Hofer after the first battle of Innsbruck. Moretti wanted to take a different approach to Hofer's character, as he said in an article from the August 2002 weekly magazine from South-Tyrol *ff* that he "wanted to free him [Hofer] from the *clichés*⁴²."

Even if, according to Mitterer, it was the goal to "silence the nationalistic noises⁴³" the film can generate, some newspapers characterized it differently. In 2003, *Der Standard* published an article called "A fatigued hero from Tyrol," in which the author declared that, even though the movie was without too much *kitsch*, Hofer got out of it relatively untouched. The author also argued that the film opened on a "natural injustice⁴⁴" as the scene showed an occupied Tyrol with its population forced into conscription. Still, according to the actor, Hofer was fighting for the "old values" or traditionalism, but this was "[a]n aspect [...] that was delegated to another figure: Joachim Haspinger⁴⁵." For the journalist, it was Haspinger in the movie that brought the idea of "a holy land Tyrol" with "a holy war," leaving Hofer with his tragic role, unspoiled by the warring attitude of Haspinger⁴⁶."

Indeed, the weekly *ff* magazine went further. In the article "*Andre Zeiten, Andre Hofer*⁴⁷" or "A New Age, A New Hofer"), the author wrote that, with the movie, "the Tyroleans once again have their national epic [narrative]," and that the "film cannot upset

⁴¹ Machreich, Wolfgang "Todesflug des Adlers". *Die Furche* no. 34 (August 2002), p. 20

⁴² Mair, Georg "Andre Zeiten – Andre Hofer". *Die Furche* No. 34 (August 2002), p. 28

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 26

⁴⁴ Kamalzadeh, Dominik "Ein müder Held aus Tirol" *Der Standard*, (March 2003), p.1

⁴⁵ Kamalzadeh, Dominik "Ein müder Held aus Tirol" *Der Standard*, (March 2003), p.1

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

⁴⁷ Andreas Hofer is sometimes called "Andre Hofer," which procures to the title a wordplay that is hard to translate

anyone[,] [o]n the political level [at least]⁴⁸.” The author does, however, state that it is a “new image for the heroes of Tyrol” and that “maybe the movie will change something about our idealized picture of history.”

One month later, in an *ff* article, Hans Heiss, director of the national archives of South-Tyrol, criticized the movie for trying to “deepen the myth” instead of “deconstructing it.” For him, the beginning of the movie “is strong: [Because] Tyrolean kids are taken as recruits [for the Bavarian army].” He sees the movie as a “violent fantasy of the 19th century” that “takes the old myths and their clichés, and waltzes with them using film technology to excess⁴⁹.” He finished the article by stating that “we historians should once again accept to work on Hofer. [The year] 2009 is now closer than ever⁵⁰”.

ff describes itself as a weekly magazine “free from political or confessional influences, open, pluralistic,” and “observers of the world⁵¹.” However, Heiss clearly participated in politics by representing the Green Party of South-Tyrol in 2003. Those critical views are differing from the other reviews of the movie, which came from liberal journalists. For example, *Die Presse* summarizes the movie as a “drama inside a drama,” with some scenes being “dull, like a farce,” and the “rest [of the movie] is vulgar [i.e., obscene] ideology⁵².” Therefore, there is a clear difference of opinions between the Left and Right, and also between Tyrol and South-Tyrol: some critics and scholars saw the movie as additive (i.e., a part of the traditional mythology), while some others perceived it as in conflict with the traditional mythology and, as a result, reinventing it, largely due to its casting of Hofer as a mortal. Still, critics and scholars alike agreed that the movie was an actualization of Tyrol’s heroic narrative.

Part of this myth actualization via the movie was its relation to the events that happened on September 11th, 2001. In an article in *Die Presse*, a journalist criticizes Mitterer and his choices for the film, accusing him of “[...] abus[ing] a historical theme to

⁴⁸ Mair, Georg “Andre Zeiten – Andre Hofer”. *Die Furche* no. 34 (August 2002), p. 26

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Heiss, Hans “Der Bulle von Passeier“ *ff* Nr. 36 September 5th 2002, p. 45“

⁵¹ *ff – das Südtiroler Wochenmagazin* “Über uns”, <https://www.ff-bz.com/ueber-uns.html>, April 12th 2017

⁵² Haider, Hans “Tiroler Heiligtum – krumm, schwarzweiß, trotzdem prächtig”. *Die Presse* No. 16355 (August 2002), p. 13

explain the actual events of history⁵³.” In many ways, the Taliban’s attacks on the US in 2001 were an important part of the discussions surrounding the movie, providing a more critical analysis of the theme of heroism present in the Hofer-myth by comparing it with terrorism. Therefore, in the next subsection, we explain how this comparison happened and the legacies it left behind.

The “holy land” Tyrol and September 11th

Hans Magenschab said that “Hofer did not fight for freedom as we understand it today. In reality, he fought for a return to the old values and privileges [granted by the Habsburgs to the Tyrolean people] of the middle ages for his land⁵⁴.” With those words, Hofer scholar Magenschab set the stage for a televised special called “Hofer’s Sunday Night” in October 2002. A documentary about the *Schützenkompanien* presented just before the interview with Magenschab, claimed to present a “very specific Austrian way of life [...] about honor, [...] and patriotism⁵⁵.” However, it is only after watching the documentary that the interview with Magenschab provides a unique analysis of the *Hofer Mythos*, akin to that which historian Siegfried Steinlechner presented in another documentary a few days later. Thus, viewing the documentaries praising the *Schützenkompanien* as a regular part of Tyrolean life just before Magenschab’s interview seems to send contradictory messages. Indeed, one message describes the Tyrolean way of life and the folk-hero Hofer, while the other message deconstructs the hero’s myth and, in its place, presents a fallible human merely following orders and doing his best in challenging circumstances.

As we saw in South-Tyrol’s *ff* article, *Der Bulle von Passeier*, the author wrote about a “violent fantasy of the 19th century.” Taking this comparison further, the author also wrote that the movie was “playing with the violent fantasies of September 11th⁵⁶.” The author based this comparison on the “arrival of the antihero: P[ater] Joachim Haspinger [...] as Tyrol’s *Mullah*⁵⁷”. Thus, since it is well-known that Hofer was a staunch Catholic,

⁵³ Haider, Hans “Tiroler Heiligtum – krumm, schwarzweiß, trotzdem prächtig”. *Die Presse* no. 16355 (August 2002), p. 13

⁵⁴ Redaktion “Sonntag : Andreas Hofer”. *Der Standard* (October 2002)

⁵⁵ anon. “Andreas-Hofer-Schwerpunkt im ORF”. *Der Standard*, (October 2002)

⁵⁶ Heiss, Hans “Der Bulle von Passeier”. *ff* no. 36 (September 2002), p. 44

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 45

associating Haspinger and Hofer with religious fundamentalism takes a different approach towards the myth that also “styles the Tyroleans as the Taliban of the 19th century⁵⁸.” In the same article, the author also compares Napoleon Bonaparte to Georges W. Bush, and the Emperor of Austria, Francis I, to the UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair. These types of unsavory comparisons are just some of the many kinds of virulent attacks on the myth to date.

In particular, the discourse about *Pater* [i.e. Father, a priest] Haspinger’s role in the movie characterized him as a religious fanatic pushing the political agenda to build a “holy land” in Tyrol and asserted that others shared his ideas, even Hofer. Moreover, an article from the *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* called “*Vom Pater Haspinger zu Bin Laden*” or “From Father Haspinger to Bin Laden”, directly compared Haspinger to the former head of the Taliban⁵⁹. In contrast, another article accused Haspinger of “[using] the naïve peasant-leader for his own interests⁶⁰.” These discourses coalesce to associate Haspinger with fundamentalism and terrorism to the point that, in an article published by the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* titled “*Der richtige und der falsche Gott im Heiligen Land*” or “The true God and the false God in the Holy Land [i.e., Tyrol], the author said that he doubted that Haspinger was a follower of God, and claimed that he followed the Taliban instead⁶¹.

Another recurring theme was Haspinger as Hofer’s counterpart. South-Tyrol’s *ff* argued that the movie “will certainly create new myths: [such as] the good Hofer and the bad Haspinger⁶².” This idea of a counterpart suggests that an idealized image of Hofer cannot exist without Haspinger to oppose him. However, as we demonstrate in the next section, the counterpart imagery is far more nuanced than it appears at first glance.

Andreas Hofer: a hero or a terrorist?

If the film was meant to be a rewriting of the 1809 rebellion from a polarizing point of view, the comparisons with 9/11 were ideal, as the comparisons and the likening of

⁵⁸ Heiss, Hans “Der Bulle von Passeier”, *ff* no. 36 (September 2002), p. 45

⁵⁹ Heinrich, Ludwig “Vom Pater Haspinger zu Bin Laden”. *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* no. 196 (August 2002), p.10

⁶⁰ Kegel, Sandra “Der Chomeini von Tirol”. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 301 (December 2002), p. 36

⁶¹ Angerer, Peter “Der richtige und der falsche Gott im Heiligen Land”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 195 (August 2002), p. 25

⁶² Peterlini, Hans Karl “Ach wie schießt ihr schlecht”. *ff* no. 35 (August 2002), p. 35

Hofer to the Taliban presented the hero in a new, radical way, instead of the traditional hero defending justice, thus likening him to the current “enemies” of the era. These filmic comparisons enabled other media-makers to provide other unique perspectives that explored the violence of the events and contradict the classical characterizations of Hofer as a national hero. Like the deeply contradictory mediated opinions of the film, so too were the mediated characterizations of the folk hero Hofer.

Although some newspapers and journalists agree that the movie both de- and re-constructs the myth, others did not challenge the traditional narratives. For example, a journalist from the South-Tyrolean *ff* described Hofer as the “all-time hero,” which became the typical way to talk about him in the 1970s. He was also known as “Father Hofer” who is “a true embodiment of patriarchal values⁶³.” In contrast, North of the Brenner Pass, a journalist from the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* described the movie as “an epic, centered around the hero,” where Hofer was “sitting on his horse as if on a throne,” “bringing the mythic hero back to life⁶⁴.” The journalist also noted that the movie would re-ignite nationalist discourses historically associated with such imagery. Even Mitterer, who compared Hofer to Bin Laden, came to see the rebel pictured in a more favorable light via the movie. In an interview in 2001 with a journalist from *Dolomiten*, Mitterer stated that

In the 70s, I was not really excited about it [Hofer]. Like every young Tyrolean, I rejected the ‘Hofer cult.’ However, when I was forced to write about this material, I had to abandon my prejudices. Now, I can no longer say that Hofer was a conservative imbecile and be done with it. Hofer, as a man, really moved me, more than the intellectual Gaismair⁶⁵.⁶⁶

Indeed, Mitterer said approximately the same thing to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* about a year later, when he said that, because of the movie, he felt closer to Hofer “the man,” and that he was “not interested in the national hero⁶⁷.” Mitterer argued that a hero is someone who does the extraordinary, and for him, Hofer was a hero because, in the

⁶³ Heiss, Hans “Der Bulle von Passeier”. *ff* no. 36 (September 2002), p. 45

⁶⁴ anon. “Der Hofer erwacht zu neuem Leben”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 249-IA, (October 2001), p. 13

⁶⁵ Gaismair was a historical figure that Mitterer much admired during his youth

⁶⁶ Innerhofer, Klaus “Der Hofer als Rambo? Das wär ja noch schöner”. *Dolomiten* no. 269 (November 2001), p. 33

⁶⁷ Kegel, Sandra “Der Chomeini von Tirol”. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 301 (December 2002), p.

end, he did an extraordinary thing by taking “responsibility for his actions⁶⁸.” He goes on to say that the content of Hofer’s last letter to his family was heroic and that he wanted to cite the whole letter in his movie⁶⁹. This finding suggests that there is still a consensus regarding Hofer’s status as a folk-hero. Moretti described Hofer as “a Christ-like figure, or a part of God himself for many Tyroleans⁷⁰,” which crystalized and even surpassed the popular hero status previously bestowed upon Hofer.

As an actor, Moretti’s interpretation of Hofer was subject to both praise and criticism. When asked how he feels about the movie, Moretti answered that, at first, he wanted to play Haspinger, not Hofer, because he said that he felt he would not be able to play such a character. Schwarzenberger reassured him, however, by saying that he had “not to present himself as Hofer, but to become Hofer instead, not to try to “act” charisma, for he has charisma⁷¹.” As stated in the interview with the *Dolomiten* on November 22nd, 2001, Moretti was given some artistic license with his acting to better approach and acclimate to the role⁷². Due to Schwarzenberger’s and Mitterer’s requests, Moretti decided to play Hofer “in the most authentic way possible, but with a modern interpretation⁷³.”

The public reception of Moretti’s acting was different in North-Tyrol than in South-Tyrol, possibly because his image represents the protection of the German speaking community of South-Tyrol. North of the Dolomites, journalists and other critics praised Moretti’s acting and involvement, saying that “Moretti’s Hofer is convincing: he is justified in his actions, down-to-earth, and confident in battle, but skeptical of his role as ruler⁷⁴.”

Conversely, in South-Tyrol, a journalist at the *Dolomiten* criticized that the movie “did not give [Moretti] much room to deepen his character and personalize the hero⁷⁵.” This sentiment was echoed in much of the other media from the South. For some, the actor provided a new dimension to the hero that, while affirming the myth of the man, contextualized it from a terrorism perspective that contradicts its traditional God-like

⁶⁸ Heinrich, Ludwig “Vom Pater Haspinger zu Bin Laden”. *Oberösterreichische Nachrichten* no. 196 (August 2002), p.10

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ anon “Wie wird i den Hofer wieder los?”. *Dolomiten* no. 269 (November 2002), p. 33

⁷¹ anon “Wie wird i den Hofer wieder los?”. *Dolomiten* no. 269 (November 2002), p. 33

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Heinrich, Ludwig “Der Guerrillero von Tirol”. *Kleine Zeitung* no. 297 (October 2001), p. 68

⁷⁴ Winder C. J. “Ein Hofer ohne Kitsch und Schmalz”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 150 (July 2001), p. 12

⁷⁵ luz “Kein Held, kein Antiheld, gar kein Held”. *Dolomiten* no. 195, (August 2002), p. 9

characterizations. Therefore, as demonstrated above, the theme of heroism versus terrorism is apparent in much of the media analyzed in our current work.

Let us now shift to an analysis of the many variations of Hofer, as portrayed by Moretti in the 2002 movie, as well as those portrayed by the local journalists and other media-makers. Another important aspect of the new Hofer imagery journalists and other contributors noted was the film's historical significance with regards to September 11th. This relationship between Hofer, the rebellion, and terrorism is because the movie framed the story as a battle between fundamentalism and humanism. As Haspinger came to symbolize fundamentalism, Hofer became the anti-Haspinger, representing modern humanism⁷⁶. For example, the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* claimed that Haspinger wanted to create a "Holy Land Tyrol," specifically, "an ideal that would be realized at the cost of a genocide, until only real men and women would remain to start anew. 'It is God's will!' said Haspinger. 'That is not my God,' said Andreas Hofer⁷⁷", implying that his God would not do such a thing

Die Furche echoed those words, calling the movie a "Start-Goal-Victory of fanatic fundamentalism against humanism⁷⁸." If Hofer has come to symbolize humanism (as in defending a moral course of action), is he not more saint-like then? Is he not at least a hero, because he fulfilled his responsibility as Mitterer demanded of him? He may still be considered a hero today, even though the movie "changed the perspective, [by depicting] the Christian humanists as being driven to catastrophe by the fundamentalists around Haspinger⁷⁹."

The movie depicts Hofer as being, "advised by two theologians, as though they were at his place at the head of the rebellion⁸⁰." The press notes that the movie did not depict Hofer as much of a hero, as he was being controlled by Haspinger, the emperor, and even by his own self-doubt. That is a new image of Hofer, as a man in doubt instead of as a heroic warrior defending his country from invasion.

⁷⁶ Angerer, Peter "Der richtige und der falsche Gott im Heiligen Land". *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 195 (August 2002), p. 25

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Machreich, Wolfgang "Todesflug des Adlers". *Die Furche* no. 34 (August 2002), p. 20

⁷⁹ Mair, Georg "Andre Zeiten – Andre Hofer". *Die Furche* no. 34 (August 2002), p. 26

⁸⁰ Machreich, Wolfgang "Todesflug des Adlers". *Die Furche* No. 34 (August 2002), p. 20

As noted earlier in *Der Standard*, the movie did little to change Hofer's image as a folk-hero. Instead, the movie added new dimensions to this local myth, by presenting Hofer as a human and fallible hero. Humanism is "an individual's dignity and worth[,] and capacity for self-realization through reason⁸¹." Therefore, describing Hofer as a humanist contradicts Magenschab's theory that Hofer was fighting against the ideals of the French Revolution and for obscurantism. While depicting him as a humanist struggling to hold back fanaticism does not fully reflect his earlier representations, it still preserves the old myth of the rebel as a guardian of the Euroregion's virtues. Coupled with the movie's description of the uprising as a resistance to the conscription of children to a foreign army, scholars and journalists agreed that it reinforced "the myth of the unique nation⁸²."

"There is no war hero more tragic than him; maybe Che Guevara, Bin Laden soon.⁸³"

Nonetheless, the hero's image is not entirely unscathed by the movie's reception, especially by the South-Tyrolean press. Indeed, many critics and journalists stated the contrary by reprising the idea that he was pushed around by Haspinger and always in doubt. The uprising's hero was even described as a "leader torn apart by self-doubt and incited to violence against his own will⁸⁴." This analysis denies Hofer the benefit of a strong character and instead represents him as a man acting against his personal wishes. Thus, gone is the strong-willed commander of the *Berg Isel*, who is replaced by an "insecure skeptic⁸⁵." The journalists, then, implicitly accepted Mitterer's claim to have written Hofer's personal story instead of the story of the nation's hero. A journalist from *Der Standard* even implied that Hofer was "merely a victim of the uprising," in an article aptly named "A fatigued hero from Tyrol⁸⁶." Where Haspinger was described as a larger than life figure in the movie, Mitterer, according to the *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, wrote the movie with all the action that

⁸¹ Miriam Webster dictionary website "Humanism". <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/humanism>, May 24th 2018

⁸² Peterlini, Hans Karl "Ach wie schießt ihr schlecht". *ff* no. 35 (August 2002), p. 35

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Innerhofer, Klaus "Der Hofer als Rambo? Das wär ja noch schöner". *Dolomiten* No. 269 (November 2001), p. 33

⁸⁵ Winder C. J. "Ein Hofer ohne Kitsch und Schmalz". *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 150 (July 2001), p. 12

⁸⁶ Kamalzadeh, Dominik "Ein müder Held aus Tirol" *Der Standard*, (March 2003), p.1

would form “the important points of a thriller, in which Hofer would act as a result of being pushed around⁸⁷.” Conversely, *ff* called Hofer a “broken figure, the new image of the hero of Tyrol,” “a victim,” and “the face of a passive hero,” adding further that “the Hofer of the national hymn is not the Hofer of this movie. Mitterer’s Hofer is the contrary of the hero Hofer, who weighs heavily atop the Berg Isel⁸⁸.”

This quotation refers to the bronze statue atop the Berg Isel battlefield, which acts as a reminder of the importance the myth has in the history of Tyrol. This statue, however, implies that the mythic rebel would not doubt his actions or his course, as the character does in the movie.

However, in Tyrol, the question of humanism was more present than in South-Tyrol, and Hofer was characterized more sympathetically there. For example, the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* noted that “some people will be upset by the new Andreas Hofer,⁸⁹” because he is depicted not as a man of action, but instead as a weakling, almost a softie⁹⁰.”

Therefore, in summary, in this sub-section, we assessed whether Tyrolean media (especially journalists) depicted Andreas Hofer as a hero or not in his movie. Most of the publications studied in the current work pointed out that, even though the movie breaks with the traditional Hofer-as-Hero mythology, there are still echoes of the image of “Father Hofer,” who, to this day, remains the embodiment of the Tyrolean nation. While Moretti received high praise for his acting and stature, the modern interpretation that he and Mitterer co-produced contributed to the myth’s deconstruction. We could use the German word *umbauen* [to renovate] to illustrate that there is indeed a new characterization of Andreas Hofer, but it is not a total deconstruction. While tearing down old aspects of this myth, new aspects emerged.

⁸⁷ Winder C. J. “Ein Hofer ohne Kitsch und Schmalz”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 150 (July 2001), p. 12

⁸⁸ Mair, Georg “Andre Zeiten – Andre Hofer”. *Die Furche* no. 34 (August 2002), p. 27

⁸⁹ Schedereit, Georg “Blick über den Brenner – Ein neues Andreas-Hofer-Bild”. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 206 (September 2002), p. 4

⁹⁰ *Ibid*

Conclusion: 1809 Andreas Hofer – Die Freiheit des Adlers

Overall, the movie contributed to a broader debate surrounding Hofer and the myth of *Anno Neun*. Moreover, the terrorist attacks of 9\11 provided a useful perspective for media-makers to rethink and reframe the uprisings, and also their religious qualities. Various publications established the oppositional relationship between Haspinger and Hofer. There was also a debate surrounding the uprising and its importance to the Tyrolean identity. The Hofer depicted in the movie was more of a ordinary man than a national hero, which is one of the ways that he also represented the tension between humanism and fundamentalism. Publications of Tyrol and South-Tyrol presented a more humanized version of their folk-hero who was overwhelmed by the rebellion and its related politics, and who was almost naïve in his trust in others, especially his faith in the Austrian Emperor.

Therefore, in Tyrol, the publications were more generous towards Hofer by characterizing him as fatigued and overwhelmed. In South-Tyrol, however, media were more judgmental by asserting that the movie had stripped the protagonist of his hero-status. However, this difference of interpretation could be in part due to the different meanings the hero has in each region. In Italy, Hofer was traditionally seen as the true defender of South-Tyrol during the crisis of the *Südtirolerfrage*, and he eventually came to symbolize the nation itself, whereas in Tyrol, he represents the resilience and strength of the nation.

However, as indicated earlier, while breaking down some old aspects of the myth, the movie established new aspects by depicting Hofer as an exhausted and naïve humanist, who, although still on the “right side” of history, was quickly swept aside in the tides of war by Haspinger, the fanatic. The classic story, then, still serves its function as a folk-myth, this time representing the Tyrolean nation (or Western nations in general, according to the Taliban comparison) living in an age of religious turmoil. By providing a familiar environment for contextual analysis, the movie traced similarities between our epoch and that of the *Freiheitskampf*. Michel Nareau, a collaborator of Gérard Bouchard in his book *Mythes et Sociétés des Amériques*, wrote that myths have a critical “operating value,” that “necessitates its actualization to remain dynamic⁹¹.” Although myths need not be judged on whether or not they are true, it is still necessary to assess their value and meaning for

⁹¹ Nareau, Michel “Double jeu. Baseball et littératures américaines” in Bouchard, Gérard et al. “*Mythes et sociétés des Amériques*”. (2007), p. 174

societies⁹². Considering its successful, modern retelling of Hofer's journey, the movie contributes to the myth's continued God-like survival, even if it re-casts Hofer as a human instead of a heroic saint.

Interestingly, in an essay called "*Chomenei von Tirol*," the German *FAZ* said that "today, more than ever, Tyrolean historians are feeling pushed to correct the traditional image of the fearless freedom fighter⁹³." This push to correct was in part due to the Jubilee of 1984 that unsettled the traditional hero-mythology that had been popular across Tyrol. Still, Hofer remains an important Tyrolean historical figure, as is demonstrated by the numerous Hotels, streets, parks, and other places that reference him, including the Tyrolean anthem. Indeed, the debate surrounding the myth has percolated since 1984 to become the *Hymnenstreit*, which we explain in the following section.

The *Hymnenstreit*: Andreas Hofer as the symbol of the nation

A chronicle of the debate

Although the release of the movie served as a trigger, Hofer's political symbolism did not change rapidly, as demonstrated by the *Hymnenstreit*. A well-known song in Tyrol called *Zu Mantua in Banden*, or "*Andreas-Hofer-Lied*," has been the national Tyrolean state hymn since 1948⁹⁴. This hymn is a retelling of Hofer's final hours before he died, while on the way from his cell to his execution. Hymns and anthems are an important part of the symbolic development of many countries, and some countries even use laws to safeguard the text or the melody, or prescribe certain behaviours while the hymn is being played or performed (e.g., Hong Kong and the United States). However, other countries do not protect their hymns and anthems, such as in Canada, where "the words and music of the national anthem of Canada are [...] in the public domain⁹⁵."

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Kegel, Sandra "Der Chomeini von Tirol". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* no. 301 (December 2002), p. 36

⁹⁴ Website of the *Senseler Schützenkompanie* <http://www.senseler-schuetzen.at/schuetzenwesen/die-tiroler-landeshymne>. October 23rd 2018

⁹⁵ Government of Canada <https://lois-laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/N-2/page-1.html>, November 24th 218

Unlike Canada, however, Tyrol has protected its hymn with the law since 1948, as the republic was occupied by the Allies following the end of WWII, but the law's legitimacy is hotly debated by Tyrolean press and other local media-makers. For instance, according to *Der Standard*, on February 12th, 2004 the song *Dem Morgenrot Entgegen* was sung during a rally of the SP political party⁹⁶. This song has the same melody as the national hymn "Andreas-Hofer-Lied" but with a different set of lyrics⁹⁷. This song actually predates the existence of the Tyrolean hymn and is a popular song amongst the worker's movement of the 40s. Despite predating the hymn, however, this event led to the *Hymnenstreit*, which is an expression created to embody this particular conflict surrounding the hymn.

Specifically, the armed companies of Tyrol, known as the *Schützen*, complained about the event, calling it a "denigration of Tyrolean history."⁹⁸ By law, singing a different text with the melody, signing a parody, or even a "cover" of the song is punishable by a fine of 70 euros, and can lead to a few weeks of imprisonment⁹⁹. The discussions escalated to a point where the Tyrolean Constitution expert from Vienna published his opinion, doubting the law's legality¹⁰⁰. Eventually, the Parliament of Tyrol modified the law so that *Dem Morgenrot Entgegen* can now be sung without facing imprisonment¹⁰¹. This change also led to several reassessments of the hymn as the Tyrolean national symbol, and all of the different political actors' reactions to the debate contrasted with the public reimaginings of the myth that took place after the release of *Die Freiheit des Adlers* in 2002. This debate exposed a real schism between the political left, who saw Hofer as an embodiment of the past and the political right, who saw Hofer as the symbol of the nation and of Tyrolean's resilience, a topic to which we now turn.

⁹⁶ Redaktion "Cover-Versionen vom Andreas-Hofer-Lied bald erlaubt?" *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

⁹⁷ hs "Hymnenkonflikt in Tirol : Bei falschem Text droht Arrest" *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Sauer, Benedikt "Jurist: Schutz der Tirole Hymne ist „verfassungswidrig“" *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

¹⁰¹ hs "Tirol : Singen von „Dem Morgenrot entgegen“ wird straffrei" *Der Standard*, (July 2004)

Political schism; a classic Conservative-Progressive conflict

The press coverage

Throughout the Euroregion's history, Hofer's image has often been used as a promotional tool for political ideals or goals. As demonstrated previously, the press published the opinions of both the political Right and Left when discussing events, issues, symbols, and other factors related to the *Heimat*. For instance, during an ORF radio show, there was a debate about whether Hofer was a national hero (a position defended by the Right) or a terrorist comparable to the Taliban (a position defended by the Left). Then, *Der Standard*, which is a Left-of-Center daily that also covered the debate, characterized it as a siloed Left-Right discussion with little actual social value. Still, since they adhere to the local journalists' code of honor, as set out by the *Österreichischer Presserat*¹⁰², there is an apparent effort to separate facts from opinions.

The progressives

The debate began when politicians from the Social-Democrat Party (SPÖ) of Tyrol sang the worker's variant of the Tyrolean hymn at their yearly rally on February 12th 2004. Their actions were criticized by the *Schützenkonpanien* [i.e. the traditional militia companies of Tyrol], and the law protecting the hymn was then invoked by them. The Green Party, meanwhile, tackled the issue head-on by opposing and questioning the hymn's protection laws. As reported by *Der Standard*, it was Uschi Schwarzl, a representative of the Green Party in Parliament who "questioned Andreas Hofer as the leading figure for Tyrol¹⁰³."

In an article written at the end of 2004, Hannes Schlosser, member of the editorial board of *Der Standard*, described the whole event as an "emotional debate," where Schwarzl "tarnished the national myth by characterizing Andreas Hofer as an enemy of the Age of Enlightenment¹⁰⁴." However, this characterization of Hofer as the enemy of

¹⁰² *Der Standard* <https://about.derstandard.at>. December 8th 2018

¹⁰³ hs "Hymnenkonflikt in Tirol : Bei falschem Text droht Arrest" *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

¹⁰⁴ Schlosser, Hannes "Tiroler Landeshymne: Unter Hofers langem Schatten". *Der Standard*, (November 2004)

progress had already been evoked in the 2002 ORF radio show with Magenschab, and was later reinforced during interviews with Mitterer. It seems that, unlike in the past, this time, the debate escalated quickly with Green Party members claiming to represent progressive solutions for the population¹⁰⁵. This claim to represent progressive solutions, however, is why the Green Party is publicly opposed to this “conservative Catholic hero.” The Green Party declared that “it was justified to [...] defend the freedom of speech¹⁰⁶,” and also asserted that “the attempt of the ÖVP [Austrian people’s party] to get the exclusive rights to ‘Andreas-Hofer-Lied’ have failed¹⁰⁷.” Mitterer hated this anti-progressive characterization when he explained in several interviews that he could “not stand Hofer,” for he considered the historical figure to be a “conservative bigot¹⁰⁸.”

The conservatives

As they were often depicted by the Austrian press, the ÖVP [Austrian People’s Party, the conservatives], and the FPÖ [Austrian Freedom Party, far-right party] of Tyrol approved of this particular “symbol of the nation” and positioned themselves as the defenders of Tyrolean history and culture. Then, an ÖVP politician joined the *Schützenkompanie* in denouncing the signing of *Dem Morgenrot Entgegen*, calling it a “denigration” of history, even though the song is considered older than *Zu Mantua in Banden*. After Schwarzl’s comment about Hofer, the then-governor of Tyrol, Herwig van Staa¹⁰⁹, is reported by *Der Standard* to have “risen to the front of a group of politicians (mostly from the ÖVP, his party) to defend the identity of the nation from these attacks¹¹⁰.” At some point during this heated debate, van Staa even said that “it is absurd for Schwarzl, as a non-Tyrolean, to comment on the national hymn,” even though, as the journalist had already stated, “van Staa was born in Upper Austria, just like Schwarzl¹¹¹.” This remark implies that only “true Tyroleans” may comment or question the national hymn, but leaves

¹⁰⁵ The Green party of Tyrol <https://tirol.gruene.at/partei/programm>. September 14th 2018

¹⁰⁶ anon. “Cover-Versionen vom Andreas-Hofer-Lied bald erlaubt?” *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Innerhofer, Klaus “Der Hofer als Rambo? Das wär ja noch schöner”. *Dolomiten* no. 269 (November 2001), p. 33

¹⁰⁹ Council of Europe https://www.coe.int/t/congress/Sessions/source/Elections/CV-staa_en.pdf, (November 11th 2019)

¹¹⁰ anon. “Cover-Versionen vom Andreas-Hofer-Lied bald erlaubt?” *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

¹¹¹ hs “Hymnenkonflikt in Tirol : Bei falschem Text droht Arrest” *Der Standard*, May 16th 2004

the reader to wonder who qualifies as a true Tyrolean. Still, this dichotomous theme of “us vs. them” is common in nationalism-based discourse.

For the conservatives, the arrival of a legal opinion from Vienna questioning the legality of the law protecting the hymn did not change their views on the matter. As one journalist reported, van Staa “[...] was unimpressed” by the declaration of the constitutional expert. The journalist then depicted the opposing faction as, “[...] a political minority whose goal was to provoke social change [by] attacking the symbol of our unity, [so] they invoke every constitutional institution there is¹¹².

By describing the Green Party as a political minority, van Staa diminished not only their political impacts but also their political values and goals. van Staa’s comment ridiculed the Green Party’s attempt to modify the law by having an external opinion from the Tyrolean capital. Furthermore, van Staa also called the hymn a “symbol of our [country’s] unity,” clearly emphasizing the Conservative perspective on the hymn. These events show, then, that the Conservatives defended Hofer’s traditional mythology by implying that, compared to the Green Party, they represented the majority.

The same old song?

While the Left-wing Parties questioned Hofer’s status as the symbol of the nation, the Conservative Right defended him as the nation’s symbol of unity. To this day, the Green Party continues the legacy of the 175th Jubilee by questioning the use of Hofer as a leading Tyrolean image, claiming he had opposed enlightenment and progress. They also claim to be defending the freedom of speech. The Conservatives, on the other hand, claim to defend Hofer’s traditional role with the Tyrolean people by invoking him as “an important [local] symbol¹¹³.”

As noted above, this political disagreement progressed into a conflict between “true Tyroleans” and “the others,” once again promoting an “us vs. them” political and social

¹¹² Redaktion “Cover-Versionen vom Andreas-Hofer-Lied bald erlaubt?” *Der Standard*, (May 2004)

¹¹³ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Tiroler Landesregierung segnete neues Gesetz über Landeshymne ab” *Der Standard*, (September 2004)

dynamic in Tyrol. After the official debate was over, the *Der Standard* argued that “the protection of the Symbols was only of symbolic value, but distinguished who had the political and ideological definitory power in the [Tyrol]State¹¹⁴.” This definitory power is why this debate, occurring only two years after *Die Freiheit des Adlers*, showed that even if though there was a movie adaptation revisiting and modernizing Hofer’s myth, his image was still being used to promote specific political goals and ideologies.

Ultimately, every part of the Tyrolean political spectrum exploited Hofer’s myth to further their goals and ideals, and then got caught in a power struggle over who has the right to change the song’s text, and whether changing its lyrics was a criminal offense. In the end, the “high point” of the debate was when the singing of the workers’ song was described as a “denigration of history.” It was the climax because the debate attained an air of surrealism for many Tyroleans for two reasons. The first reason is that the national hymn’s lyrics and melody are older than the Tyrolean national hymn itself, and the second reason is that the original song and lyrics *should* (but so far, does not) represent another significant aspect of Tyrol’s history, and thus, also be protected. Therefore, on the political level, Hofer’s myth did not evolve after the movie’s release. It could be that, as a piece of art, the Tyrolean politicians could separate the movie from the myth, which might explain why the movie’s depiction of Hofer did not influence the daily political life of Tyrol. As an important figure of Tyrol, Hofer’s image is not only well known; it is also emotionally charged and can provide momentum to ideas and causes. Importantly, the aforementioned political debate relied on many of the same rhetoric as was popular in Tyrol during the 70s. We could, however, analyze the arguments made by the Green Party after the movie’s release, as the party is now challenging Hofer’s status and his predominance in Tyrol’s imagery. Still, since the movie adaptation came out in 2002, it is clear that Hofer’s image maintained a certain amount of popularity in Tyrol, and was the cause of political debate in 2004, and the 200th anniversary of his execution (in 2009) was approaching fast. The iconography of Tyrol’s nationalism was still omnipresent in post-9/11 Austria, and continues to circulate in today’s Tyrolean popular culture.

¹¹⁴ Schlosser, Hannes “Tiroler Landeshymne: Unter Hofers langem Schatten”. *Der Standard* (November 2004)

Andreas Hofer; a man and his causes

Commemorating history

To this day, Hofer's image is still used for a wide range of causes, as demonstrated by two articles from *Der Standard* we discuss below. The articles both had different topics that did not fit in the previous categories. One is an article written to commemorate the 195th anniversary of Hofer's execution and provides a quick summary of the events of Hofer's life from his election, to the diet of Tyrol as representative for the valley of Passeier, and ending with his execution.

Of particular interest to the current work is the following quotation: "For many, Hofer is viewed as a hero of freedom, for many others though, he is accused of having conducted a reactionary agenda [while in power at the *Hofburg*]¹¹⁵." Thus, similar to the depiction of Hofer in the movie *Die Freiheit des Adlers*, the author above explained the dichotomous nature of this hero-myth by describing both perspectives equally. This article shows, then, that some discursive evolution did occur, and that it was not only in the artistic sphere. The article later described Hofer's style of government, and also his "reactionary agenda." Hofer's leadership-style is described as "[...] having his shirt-sleeves rolled up, and with a bottle of red wine in his hands¹¹⁶." This imagery emphasizes Hofer's 'hands-on' and relaxed leadership approach due, in part, to his family background as a commoner. At the same time, this text also exposes his alcoholism, a theme reminiscent of the 'broken' Hofer depicted in the movie. He is described as a "stern, conservative and deeply religious leader¹¹⁷," promoting laws regulating the clothing of women, which made him "not so loved by the bourgeois population¹¹⁸."

On a more familiar note, the article underlined the heroism of the rebellion, describing it as an uprising of "poorly armed peasants¹¹⁹" against Napoleon, which is a recurring theme in the mythological representations of Hofer. Like in the 2003 film

¹¹⁵ Auersberger, Andreas Peter "Andreas Hofer wurde vor 195 Jahren erschossen". *Der Standard*, (February 2005)

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

adaptation of Hofer's story, by providing both sides of the Hofer-myth debate, the author characterized Hofer as, on the one hand, a hero who, on the other hand, was human and so, had his own demons to fight while leading a rebellion without any help from Vienna.

A cause without a war

In the aftermath of the debate and other discussions surrounding the 2003 movie adaptation, the myth surrounding Hofer was, once again, exploited to lead his people, but this time, for a different cause. On March 7th, 2003, on the International Women's Day, the Women's Association of Tyrol (a loose translation) launched their campaign for couples to improve their task management. *Der Standard* interviewed the director of the collective responsible for the occasion whose marketing strategies tied the campaign to Hofer by using one of his famous quotations. The slogan reads, "Mander's isch Zeit! – 48,7 % den Männern" or "Gentlemen, it is time! – 48.7% of men¹²⁰". In other words, the collective made use of the 2001 Austrian census that determined that men represented around 48% of the Tyrolean population and were, thus, a minority.

However, it is still unclear why the association would use Hofer in its campaigning if many Tyroleans rejected his hero-status, believing him to have been a conservative religious leader. Thus, what could his image bring to the defense of women? One explanation for this unlikely pairing is that Hofer was, at that time, very present in Tyrol's cultural scene because of the movie's release. While not popular enough to be considered a "hype," the renewed interest in Hofer's story and image could have prompted the use of his myth to appeal to men, arguing that even a man as manly as Hofer would be happy to help his wife. This new use of Hofer's image contributed to the modernization of Hofer's myth, as the depiction of the Hofer hero-mythology was used to promote gender equality in the households, an unusual cause for a conservative hero. Still, this improbable feminist exploitation of Hofer's hero-myth remains a classic use of Hofer's image, as is Tyrol tradition.

¹²⁰ red "Mander'sisch Zeit!". *Der Standard* (March 2003)

Conclusion of the 1995-2006 period

From man to myth, then to man behind the myth

In this chapter, we demonstrated that, besides the political sphere, many other if the Euroregion's social spheres have evolved the Hofer-mythology in various ways since 1995. Therefore, Andreas Oberhofer was right to assume that the Jubilee of 1984 would be a turning point in Hofer's mythology, but he was mistaken about its nature. The movie contributed to a revised image of this traditional rebel that helped to humanize him. Thus, the myth's movie adaptation was an attempt to show the man behind the myth, and the Tyrolean press debated widely on the movie's depiction of the myth. Some journalists considered Hofer to be a loser, even a "softie"¹²¹, but most of them, especially in Tyrol, received the new image of their folk-hero well. South-Tyrol's press expressed that this was an entirely new image of Hofer. Meanwhile, in Tyrol, they had begun to acknowledge and celebrate this new image of Hofer. Thus, the movie inadvertently created new myths to replace some aspects of the old ones, but at times, those new parts shielded Hofer from critics due to being newly characterized as being overwhelmed and fatigued, but ultimately, a good guy. This new method of protecting Hofer's image is similar to the Conservatives' efforts to preserve him as the national symbol by dismissing attacks against the unity of the Nation. Even if this new myth sees Hofer as 'just a man,' he still represents the values of Tyrol.

During the *Hymnenstreit*, however, the image of Hofer was at the center of the Left-Right Hofer-debate, both sides using him to promote their idealized visions of Tyrolean society. As Progressives did back in the 50s, they criticized Hofer again for his conservatism and his religion, whereas the Conservatives defended his courage and status as Tyrol's national symbol. Thus, while the movie changed Hofer's image, he is still of great political value for Tyrolean parties in the promotion of their politics. Moreover, Hofer also has excellent marketing value in Tyrol, as demonstrated in the Women's Association

¹²¹ Schedereit, Georg "Blick über den Brenner – Ein neues Andreas-Hofer-Bild". *Tiroler Tageszeitung* no. 206 (September 2002), p. 4

of Tyrol's use of his image to promote their feminist campaign, adding another political cause to the long list of Hofer's posthumous, folk-hero "exploits."

As previously explained, with the events of 9/11 still in mind, 1995-2006 gave rise to a new understanding of the myth that was still actualized enough to remain pertinent. Even though the entry of Austria into the Union did not directly affect the myth, it did assist in the modernization of Hofer's image and legacy by providing a new image of the hero. Therefore, Hofer now has a modernized image that is more relatable than the old heroic narrative

For the celebrations of the 2009 Jubilee, more has been published on the subject, showcasing all of the myth's many facets. However, it could be argued that, from a political perspective, Tyrol's Hofer myth did not evolve much since 1984. Indeed, Tyroleans still hold a Jubilee every 25 years in Hofer's honor, and each one is even grander than the last. Thus, in the next chapter, we analyze how scholars, politicians, and citizens consolidated this modernized version of Hofer's myth with the traditional version. Therefore, with ever-pending Jubilees every quarter-century, the popularity of Hofer and his mythology will likely always ebb and flow in the Tyrolean zeitgeist. Still, according to Bouchard, the modernization of the myth was but one step in its conversion into a European folk-myth, a topic to be discussed later in this text. In the next chapter, however, we turn to an analysis of the 2009 Jubilee's media presence and impacts on local politics.

Chapter 2 - Consolidation

“Geschichte trifft Zukunft¹²²“

As we mentioned in the first part of this analysis, 2009 played a central role in the development of Hofer’s myth, as it marked the 200th anniversary of the rebellion of Tyrol. Since the 1984’s Jubilee opened Hofer’s legacy up to a more critical analysis, some scholars claimed that 1984 might be the last year that Tyroleans celebrate a Hofer Jubilee. As expressed often by Tyrolean journalists,

[t]here are many examples demonstrating clearly that Hofer’s myth strengthens the conservative political elites in Tyrol. Hofer’s personality was often mixed with the events of 1809 and were not only constructed but also largely used to promote political agendas that conflate the hero, the myth, and the events.¹²³

Is political exploitation all that we can expect from this centuries-old Tyrolean myth? Will it simply go on, largely unchanged, for centuries to come? How could stagnation affect Tyroleans today and in the future? The motto of 2009, “Geschichte trifft Zukunft” [History meets the future], was chosen to reflect a certain kind of progress since 1984. According to Beate Palfrader, who was Tyrol’s minister of culture and education in 2009, “the goal of the memorial celebrations was not to fall prey on pathetic hero-idolatry, but to instead launch a public discussion and reflection on Hofer and his mythologies¹²⁴.”

In this chapter of the current work, we demonstrate that 2009 was an ambivalent year in the myth-making process of Tyrol’s “heroic year” of rebellion. To do this, we first examine the 1984 Jubilee celebrations, including their plannings and event types, and end with post-mortem analyses of the event by journalists and scholars. By doing so, we will

¹²² State of Tyrol, “Kulturberichte 2009 aus Tirol und Südtirol”,

https://www.tirol.gv.at/fileadmin/themen/kunst-kultur/abteilung/Publikationen/Themenheft_2009_Gedenkjahr.pdf, October 28th, 2019

¹²³ Reintaler, Helmut “Welche Bedeutung hat das Jahr 1809 für das heutige Tirol?” in “*Anno Neun 1809-2009*”, (2009), p. 156

¹²⁴ State of Tyrol, “Kulturberichte 2009 aus Tirol und Südtirol”,

https://www.tirol.gv.at/fileadmin/themen/kunst-kultur/abteilung/Publikationen/Themenheft_2009_Gedenkjahr.pdf, October 28th, 2019

realize that the myth-making machinery is still active, as the biggest events remained the traditional “*Festumzug*,” a parade in traditional clothing, celebrating an “icon for Tyrol’s virtues¹²⁵. ” The different cultural events, from the construction of the Panorama museum on the *Berg Isel* (a mountain in the city of Innsbruck where the battles of the rebellion happened) to the various shows and exhibitions, provided a different and modern perspective on how Hofer is perceived since the release of the movie and the *Hymnenstreit*. Ultimately, 2009 was, for the Euroregion, a year to celebrate a newly humanized and broken hero from 200 years in the past.

If Hofer is often made to represent conservative values, then we must also investigate his relationship to politics in 2009. Below, we demonstrate the FPÖ’s attempts to attach itself to Hofer’s myth. Earlier, we explored how the Left saw Hofer as an adversary of progress, and thus, their cause (i.e., progress). Specifically, a Leftist collective used 2009’s Jubilee to distance themselves from the Hofer-myth by conducting a series of “vandalism,” that the press called the *RAF-Symbole* events. Thus, in this section, we analyze the mediated reactions to those events and how those reactions mimicked Mitterer’s Hofer-as-terrorist affair. Furthermore, we end this subsection with an analysis of essays published on these historical events published in 2009, as well as an analysis of their impacts on the myth itself. We conclude that, for Tyrol scholars, these events represented a collision between history and the future, and also provided further opportunities to deconstruct the myth.

As mentioned before, a critical question among journalists and scholars was whether 2009 would be the last Jubilee. Ekkehard Schönwiese remarked in his analysis of the myth’s widespread presence that “the history of the defense of Tyrol in the Napoleonic era simply will not let itself ‘de-mythify’ (*entmythologisieren*). Every attempt at enlightening [i.e., changing] a myth only rejuvenates it, as every myth is also a part of an

¹²⁵ Reintaler, Helmut “Welche Bedeutung hat das Jahr 1809 für das heutige Tirol?” in *Anno Neun 1809-2009*, (2009), p. 156

¹²⁵ State of Tyrol, “Kulturberichte 2009 aus Tirol und Südtirol”, https://www.tirol.gv.at/fileadmin/themen/kunst-kultur/abteilung/Publikationen/Themenheft_2009_Gedenkjahr.pdf, October 28th, 2019

enlightenment process in a society¹²⁶.” Like Schönwiese, we can only assume that the Hofer myth will once again take on novel qualities and renewed popularity with every attempt to destroy it.

Celebrating the past for the future

Intent and planning

In 2002, when the film adaptation *1809 – Die Freiheit des Adlers* came to television, the upcoming 2009 Jubilee was already on the mind of many scholars. Indeed, several remarked that they should analyze the myth more¹²⁷. Then, two years after the debate about the hymn (i.e., in 2004), *Landeshauptmann* (Governor) Herwig van Staa promoted the idea to the Tyrolean Parliament to build a museum of Tyrolean culture that could also be used to celebrate the rebellion. He assured parliament that it was a “unifying project oriented towards the future,” instead of a project to “glorify Hofer [...] limit[ing] itself to militaristic aspects¹²⁸.” The museum was later built on the mountain where Hofer won the [Second or Third] Battle of *Berg Isel*, which emphasizes the museum’s link to traditional Tyrolean culture. This location choice also demonstrates that the ÖVP, of which van Staa is a member, ties Hofer to Tyrolean traditions and culture. The Green Party, on the other hand, wanted to make a few changes to the proposition, as they thought it was too militaristic, and once again, centered on Hofer¹²⁹.

The Green Party’s efforts regarding their opposition to the *Landeshymne* in 2004 and the plans for the museum set the stage for what *Der Standard* called a “revision of the reception of Andreas Hofer¹³⁰.” As Hofer’s news media popularity grew more and more, journalists and other commentators were collectively revising the Hofer-myth. Thus, the current study investigated the nature and impacts of those revisions, and whether the speed of transmission was the same in both Left- and Right-leaning political spheres.

In 2007, two years before the heroic year, Hannes Schlosser of *Der Standard* interviewed Ekkehard Schönwiese, the author of a reflective work on the importance of the

¹²⁶ Schönwiese, Ekkehard “Schluss mit dem Hofertheater. Ein Streifzug durch 200 Jahre Tiroler Heldenmythos”, Innsbruck 2009, p.10

¹²⁷ Heiss, Hans “Der Bulle von Passeier” *ff* no. 36 (September 2002), p. 45

¹²⁸ hs “Wehrhaftigkeits-Museum am Bergisel”, *Der Standard*, (July 2009)

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Ibid

events of 1809 in Tyrol's theater, to get his opinions on Hofer's myth. Schönwiese traced a similar portrait of the rebel as the one presented in the movie: that of a fatigued, depressed, and overwhelmed man. Schlosser also reflected on how Tyrol's government was struggling with the Jubilee's preparations. Indeed, van Staa devised the Hofer-based motto of the celebrations "History meets the future," but cited the *Tiroler Ball* in Vienna and the traditional parade (*Festumzug*) as the focus of the celebrations. However, if those events were genuinely the celebrations' focus, it is unclear how they represent a meeting of Tyrol's past and future¹³¹.

Then, in October 2008, then-Governor Günther Platter integrated plans for the younger generation to participate in the celebrations, "to make [the memorial year] not all too traditional and instead, more 'future-oriented'¹³²." The mediated dialogue between older and younger Tyrolean generations included a creative analysis of the events of 1809 between Mitterer, Moretti, and a group of young Tyroleans from the ages of 10 to 20 years old. The author stated that, despite earlier attempts at reframing it, Hofer was once again the focal point of the Jubilee celebrations. Therefore, this dialogue once again reinforced Hofer as Tyrol's heroic symbol of the 1809 rebellion¹³³.

At the beginning of 2009, Andreas Kohl, the former President of the National Assembly and official parade, explained why he believed the 2009 Jubilee celebrations were important for Tyrolean history. He wrote that, "[t]he goal is to develop, embed, and anchor in the younger generation to the fundamental virtues that Andreas Hofer still represents today¹³⁴." In effect, Kohl reinforced Hofer's traditional status as a local folk-hero. To Kohl the *Heldenjahr* of 2009 was not about "unreflective and naïve hero worship¹³⁵," but, instead, centered on the need to establish "key reflections based on the thorough analysis of the events of 1809¹³⁶." Therefore, "*Geschichte trifft Zukunft*" is subjective, and so, it does not hold the same meaning for everyone. Since the next rebellion

¹³¹ Schlosser, Hannes "Andreas-Hofer-Gedenken der ein wenig anderen Art" *Der Standard*, (June 2007)

¹³² Langegger Verena "Jugend soll Gedenkjahr aufpeppen" *Der Standard*, (October 2008)

¹³³ Ibid

¹³⁴ Kohl, Andreas "Geschichte trifft Zukunft" *Die Presse* no. 18 310, (February 2009), p. 26

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Ibid

Jubilee happens in 14 years (i.e., in 2034), Hofer's myth is likely already being re-told, re-imagined, and revolutionized for the upcoming celebrations and debates. Thus, this is a clear example of Schönwiese's statement that every attempt at a myth's dissolution only rejuvenates it. Moreover, in early 2008, Schlosser and Schönwiese remarked that 2009 would be a rough year for the Hofer-myth, and so, it is to the mediated coverage of the 2009 Jubilee celebrations that we now turn¹³⁷.

The official celebrations

The official Tyrol parade took place on September 20th, 2009, in Innsbruck, with more than 100,000 visitors on city grounds¹³⁸. During the week preceding the parade, Kohl once again expressed his ideas on how the event marks Tyrol's future because the event is "more than just dancing and *jodling*¹³⁹." For Kohl, the parade and celebrations show that "a unified Tyrol has a future in the Euroregion¹⁴⁰." Therefore, he uses the event to celebrate Tyrol itself, from inside the Euroregion.

Conversely, the South-Tyrolean militias had a different goal in mind, which was to carry the *Dornenkrone*, a giant iron crown of thorns (another religious parallel) developed to express their suffering. While under Italian rule since WWI, the militias has been depicted by Italy as politically Right-wing and committed to using the parade as an excuse to further their separatist politics from Italy in South-Tyrol by making the Innsbruck population empathize with their Italian brothers. However, both in the North and South of the Brenner Pass, the Jubilee celebrations have always put Hofer in a central political position in discussions about the Euroregion.

However, Kohl approached the *Südtirolerfrage* precariously and with sympathy, even if his opinions differed from that of the Southern militias (*Schützenbund*). In the end, a creative solution was found concerning the *Dornenkrone* that was comprised of a redesign and redecoration with roses, following a competition that was planned because of the Tyrolean's parade planners' refusal to accept the sculpture parade in the procession.

¹³⁷ Schlosser, Hannes "Andreas-Hofer-Gedenken der ein wenig anderen Art" *Der Standard*, (June 2007)

¹³⁸ Langegger Verena "Festumzug – mehr als „Jodeling“", *Der Standard*, (September 2009)

¹³⁹ Kohl, Andreas "Geschichte trifft Zukunft" *Die Presse* no. 18 310, (February 2009), p. 26

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*

The roses symbolized hope in the coming days, which was a sign of the impending general acceptance of the Euroregion's existence¹⁴¹.

Cultural events involving “the one with the beard”¹⁴²”

The parade and stately celebrations were not the only events of 2009 centering Hofer and his rebels. Schönwiese analyzed the Hofer myth in Tyrol's theaters to show that Hofer remained a popular cultural subject in the central alpine region, especially in Tyrol's theaters. In addition to the stage, Hofer was also made a subject in books and expositions on the rebellion, and, as a result, this mythology continues to evolve and grow on the cultural scene, as we demonstrate in this subsection.

Hofer as reading subject and as exposition matter

In 2008, an *ff* journalist interviewed Joseph Zoderer, an Italian author living in South-Tyrol, regarding Tyrolean patriotism and culture (i.e., *Heimat*). In this interview, Zoderer described his province as a “cultural dwarf” that is forever in the shadows of the EU and is also behind in globalism. The theme of a tiny nation facing a goliath of a challenge is also a recurring theme in Hofer's mythical narrative. Zoderer, a Progressive, later described Hofer as “incarnating the old habits in defense of a bygone era and essentially refusing progress to maintain the *status quo* due to a lack of courage to face the future¹⁴³.” Zoderer later reprised the classic, politically progressive narrative depicting Hofer as a defender of royalty and religion that was opposed to the progress Napoleon brought to Europe¹⁴⁴.

However, the 2009 Tyrolean zeitgeist showcased other Hofer-related works. For example, at the beginning of 2009, the second edition of a comic book based on Hofer was republished. Then, *echo*, a South-Tyrolean journal, published an article that even explained how, through this comic book, Hofer (a real-life folk-hero) also became a comic book hero.

¹⁴¹ Langegger Verena “Rosenkrone und Parolen von Früher”, *Der Standard*, (September 2009)

¹⁴² Redaktion “Eindrücke aus dem Hofer-Land”, *Dolomiten* no. 297, (December 2009)

¹⁴³ Mair, Georg “Heimat Südtirol”, *ff* no. 51-52, p. 52, (December 2008)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

Indeed, the first issue of the comic book was published in 1959 for the 150th anniversary of Hofer's execution, and was characterized as "more interesting for the younger generations¹⁴⁵." Since political propaganda was more potent and aggressive in 1959 than in 1809, the comic book was likely designed to "develop and strengthen patriotism and loyalty towards the fatherland [i.e., Traditional Tyrol]¹⁴⁶." This comic book was later reprinted by the South-Tyrolean militias to also strengthen patriotism. A second comic book was later published in 2007 and then was re-edited and re-published in 2009 for the Jubilee. The new comic book's author, Jochen Gosser, told *echo* that the comic book was more humorous than before, and played more on the traditional myth's many clichés.

Moreover, Gosser made a similar remark to Mitterer's when he stated that creating the comic book helped him to see Hofer more sympathetically than before. He also wanted to share this perspective with others, and, given that the comic book later became a bestseller, Gosser's plan to share his ideas probably worked. Thus, the two comic books¹⁴⁷ promote two alternative visions of both Hofer as a man, and his role in the rebellion due, in large part, to different historical and political contexts. Importantly, these findings show that comic books can demystify highly revered public figures like Hofer, just as movies do.

Die Presse journalists, on the other hand, related the publication of Hofer's letters in a book called "Worldview of a 'hero' [*Weltbild eines „Helden“*]." The article describes Hofer as a "disciplined writer" for a "loyal-peasant-turned-guerilla-warrior¹⁴⁸," and thus, characterizes him using many strong adjectives. The *Die Presse* journalists also described Hofer as a victor against Napoleon in 1809, even though Napoleon never opposed him in battle. Therefore, with every step forward with the Hofer mythology, there is a near equal step backward¹⁴⁹.

There were also contemporary art projects, expositions, and shows that centered Hofer and the rebellion. An *echo* author summarized these events well, as demonstrated in the quotation below:

¹⁴⁵ Gurschler, Susanne "„Mama...es isch Zeit!""", *Echo* no. 2, (February 2009), p. 70

¹⁴⁶ Gurschler, Susanne "„Mama...es isch Zeit!""", *Echo* no. 2, (February 2009), p. 70

¹⁴⁷ anon. "Hofer-Comic in zweiter Auflage", *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung* no. 252, (December 2009), p. 29

¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁸ anon. "Der Sandwirt", *Die Presse* no. 18315, (February 2009), p. 32

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

For the Tyrolean people, culture, and academe to understand this local history, there are many expositions, theatrical productions, films, musical projects, publications, and studies planned¹⁵⁰.

Coming to terms with history, and even merely working on it, implies that there is still work to do. Importantly, however, these events and cultural works were rich opportunities for historical revision, and so, later in this text, we analyze some examples as a part of the current study's raw data. However, as is tradition with the Hofer mythology, some of the examples further deconstructed the myth, while some others continued to glorify it.

Moreover, according to *Der Standard*, two noteworthy expositions were planned for the 2009 Jubilee. The first exposition called "From the rebellion to the box office¹⁵¹" featured Hofer's and Haspinger's personal belongings. The exposition's title, alone, expresses the rebellion's popularity among the people of Tyrol.

While not much was published about the first exhibition by the Tyrol State Museum (i.e., *Ferdinandeum*), the second was successful and discussed in the media. It was called "Hofer Wanted" and took place at the *Tiroler Landesmuseum* from April 25 to November 25th, 2009¹⁵². This exposition introduced its visitors to its account of Hofer's life, and even made this story "the cornerstone of the 2009 celebrations¹⁵³," and thus, demonstrating the "different and contradictory images of Hofer from history and various perspectives [on the myth]¹⁵⁴." Therefore, this exposition was created to demonstrate the various theories, ideas, and perspectives on the Hofer myth that have influenced its development over time. The exposition also demonstrated that the Hofer-myth is still relevant to the Tyrolean culture and people. As the museum director described it to a *Der Standard* journalist, "the goal was to study the meaning of Hofer 'the icon' and its resonance in present times¹⁵⁵." Still, *profil* journalist Horst Christoph criticized the exposition for contributing to the "Hofer-

¹⁵⁰ anon. "Kulturelle Offensive zum Gedenkjahr 2009", *Echo* no. 4, (April 2009), p. 81

¹⁵¹ Auersberger, Andreas Peter "Ausstellung mit Andreas Hofer-Devotionalien", *Der Standard*, (January 2009)

¹⁵² Büro, Münzig "Hofer Wanted", <https://www.bueromuenzing.de/hofer-wanted/>, Monday November 11th 2019

¹⁵³ Auersberger, Andreas Peter "Tiroler Landesmuseum : Hofer Wanted", *Der Standard*, (January 2009), STANDARD Verlagsgesellschaft

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

Hype” of 2009. Christoph accused the exposition of being biased by its financing partnership with the milk corporation *Tirol Milch*, who, according to the author, sold their “Andreas-Hofer-*Jubiläumskäse* [cheese of the Jubilee]¹⁵⁶” and a book about Hofer’s wife written by the museum director’s wife, Jeanine Meighörfer, at the museum’s souvenir shop. Therefore, in the end, this exposition contributed to the long Tyrolean tradition of exploiting the rebellion and Hofer for profit.

Hofer’s various cultural representations

One of *Der Standard*’s art columnists wrote that the rebellion of 1809 was a great source of inspiration for young Tyrolean writers and composers. This inspiration can be seen in the musical *Hofers Nacht*, which resurrected the rebel and many other dominant figures of the Napoleonic wars, such as Metternich and the Austrian emperor Francis I. Journalists praised the musical for providing Tyrol with an evening without the usual Hofer-related clichés that presented the battles of the *Berg Isel* “as a flash¹⁵⁷”, by showing war images via rapid-flash, as if to diminish the battle’s resonance.

Another Hofer-related event in the Dolomites, which is South of the Brenner Pass, was the cabaret night called “Siffri, or praised be the land that needs no heroes.” Siffri presents a South-Tyrolean perspective on the historical nation of Tyrol, which is composed of both parts of Austria and Italy. The show depicts a comedic duo, including a German-speaking man and an Italian-speaking woman, both born and raised in South-Tyrol. This duo humouristically discusses what it is like to be South-Tyrolean. Furthermore, a journalist of *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung* explained that, during the show, both comedians deconstructed Tyrol based on the usual South-based *clichés*, using traditional clothing, dialects and citing heroes. Indeed, they identified both Garibaldi and Hofer as national heroes. Still, as the night wore on, they also told the story of an unsung hero called “Siegfried Maier.” Although they admit that he is not a traditional hero, he earned this title in their eyes by building something that “assembled people.” Still, to this day, no evidence has been found to prove Maier existed, but by focusing on him rather than Hofer, they effectively distanced themselves from the usual Hofer clichés. As a result, the comedians

¹⁵⁶ Christoph, Horst “Der verlogene Mythos”, *profil* no. 37, (September 2009), p. 17

¹⁵⁷ höpf “Andreas-Hofer-Inspirationen”, *Der Standard*, (April 2009)

demonstrated similar intentions to Staffler's stated vision to promote political unity through Hofer's persecution. Although Italy's German-speaking community still uses Hofer as the stereotypic and traditional image of Tyrol (traditional clothing, deeply religious stubborn man), both art events previously described promoted cultural emancipation from the Hofer mythology¹⁵⁸. The cabaret, meanwhile, was to celebrate a desire for unity for the Tyrolean people and other residents, similar to in the Euroregion¹⁵⁹.

Hofer everywhere

Therefore, Hofer's presence in the theater scene is an example of the classic Hofer-myth-resurgence that occurs every quarter-century with the Jubilee. A journalist at *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung* described the Algund show rebellion retelling it as the "Biggest popular show in the Alps," and underlining the importance of 2009 for South-Tyrol, calling the play a "monumental work," since more than 600 people participated in the show's production¹⁶⁰.

Therefore, various expositions and theatrical representations mentioned above contributed to yet more reimaginings of the myth. The press was ambivalent in its framings and reviews of these events, as some were characterized as creative and new, while others, such as the "Hofer Wanted" exposition, were criticized for promoting out-moded Tyrolean values, and for reusing Hofer as the symbol for Tyrol. For instance, historian Brigitte Mazohl stated that there was no Tyrol without Johann Holzner's play, *Brennerarchiv*, at the Innsbruck theater. They also remarked that,

those [representations of Hofer] only really worked every 25 years [for the Jubilees] [...], and the majority of the plays were weak, and would probably never be produced again after the Jubilee.

Thus, although the Hofer-myth was still present in the 2009 Tyrolean culture, South-Tyrol was slowly distancing itself from the myth and its traditionalist virtues. However, as we demonstrate in the next section, South-Tyrol did not abandon the myth in all spheres.

¹⁵⁸ Senfler, Hannes "Zwischen Hofer und Garibaldi", *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung*, no. 235, (December 2009), p. 21

¹⁵⁹ Senfler, Hannes "Zwischen Hofer und Garibaldi", *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung*, no. 235, (December 2009), p. 21

¹⁶⁰ Losso, Christine "Grösstes Volksauspiel im Alpenraum", *Die Neue Südtiroler Tageszeitung*, No. 211, (October 2008), p. 21

A rebellion against the rebellion: Hofer's political image in 2009

The rebel's image, which was at the center of the *Gedenkjahr*, is also present in Tyrolean politics. Previously, we reviewed the planning for the celebrations as well as the different cultural events surrounding the memory of the 1809 uprising, particularly the 2009 Jubilee. Thus, in this section, we describe Hofer's political presence. While the Tyrolean culture shifted its characterizations of the hero's myth and Hofer, the man, the same cannot be said for their influence on local politics. Characterized as a "bigot" defending nationalism and conservative politics, Hofer was then depicted in the early 2000s as being against the French revolution by the Left, which, for them, meant being against progress. Thus, Hofer and his mythology remain Tyrolean icons to this day, used to promote many ideas, especially political ones.

Andreas Hofer as member of the *Baader-Meinhof Gang*

An event lead by the art collective *qujOchO* received a lot of press coverage for redecorating the Hofer statue at the *Berg Isel* with flags and symbols of the German terrorist group *Rote Armee Fraktion*. The collective also replaced the *Andreas-Hofer-Strasse* street sign with a new one called *Pippi-Langstrumpf-Strasse* (Pippi-Longstocking Street). In the *Hofer* supermarket, they also replaced a few products bearing the rebel's name (e.g., the Andreas Hofer cheese discussed earlier) with products bearing the name "Abdullah Öcalan," who was a leader of the Kurdish Worker's party¹⁶¹. The collective then secretly replaced the "Hofer Wanted" exposition with a sound installation that played recordings of different famous quotations said by various pop culture rebels¹⁶².

This collective action group also brought much havoc to the 2009 Jubilee and its news coverage. According to Auersberger, they operated in similar ways to terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda by not claiming responsibility immediately for the events at the Hofer statue.

¹⁶¹ McHugh, Richard «Abdullah Ocalan», Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abdullah-Ocalan>, 13th October 2019

¹⁶² Auersberger, Andreas Peter "Künstlergruppe bekennt sich zu RAF- Symbolen auf Hofer-Denkmal", *Der Standard*, (August 2009)

As a result, the police “hoped to identify the culprits through the many fingerprints that they found on different objects¹⁶³” at the scene of the alleged crime.

The press considered this the first real discordant act of 2009. In time, the art collective finally claimed responsibility for their actions against the Hofer statue. They sent a letter explaining their acts of vandalism to ORF, a public Austrian radio station. As reported by *Der Standard*, the collective explained their actions to be against the “cult of personality”:

Mythical glorification, ritualized hero-worship and historical rewriting motivated by politics all ensure that it is increasingly difficult to come up with a critical discussion over such historical events¹⁶⁴

Their actions contributed to the ongoing debates surrounding Hofer’s status as a folk-hero. In these uncertain times, one thing remained certain: groups on the political Left were still pursuing the same goal as in the past, which was to depict Hofer as an anti-progressive, conservative idol that is undeserving of their hero-worship. On their website, *qujÖchO* described their deeds as “guerilla acts¹⁶⁵” and “subversive gifts for the memorial year¹⁶⁶.” Their collective’s goal, then, was to get rid of the Hofer-myth altogether, as they argued it ruins the potential for critical dialog about Tyrolean history. Although a legal complaint was deposited by the State of Tyrol against the collective group, it was later dropped without any apparent explanation, which was nevertheless a much-welcomed decision by the activists¹⁶⁷. This case is similar to the 2004 hymn-debate, where another Hofer-related symbol of the state was “under attack,” and the law did not successfully intervene.

In another unrelated event, *Der Standard* reported that Tyrol’s police were readying evidence for a lawsuit concerning another perceived belittling of the State’s symbols. They reported that another video was made that, again, compared Hofer to the terrorist Osama bin Laden, where a participant in the clip says that it is “about time we sh*t on Hofer,” and at the end of the video, an Austrian flag is burnt¹⁶⁸. Although, in an article called, “Andreas

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Künstlergruppe bekennt sich zu RAF- Symbolen auf Hofer-Denkmal”, *Der Standard*, (August 2009)

¹⁶⁵ Official website of *qujOchO* “Mythos Hofer”, <https://qujochoe.org/andreas-hofer/>, (October 2019).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Staatsanwaltschaft stellt Verfahren ein“, *Der Standard*, (September 2009)

¹⁶⁸ Brickner, Irene „Andreas-Hofer-Persiflage als Angriff auf die Republik“, *Der Standard*, (November 2009)

Hofer Gossip as an Attack on the Republic,” the journalist reported that the lawsuit was filed due to the flag-burning incident, the title implies that the gossip itself is an Attack on the Republic

Hofer in daily politics

The FPÖ

The FPÖ of Tyrol was involved in many of the debates surrounding the disruptive actions, as they described *qujOchO*'s actions as “destructive¹⁶⁹”. In 2004, the FPÖ rushed to the hymn's defense, thereby, once again, defending Hofer as a symbol and example of Tyrol, and attaching themselves to his image in the process. Also, in a 2007 debate, the FPÖ defended the idea that the government should continue paying for Hofer's grandchildren's tomb¹⁷⁰.

Moreover, since the days of the revolution of 1848, Hofer has always appealed to the political Right. The militia companies of Tyrol, hailing from a tradition older than Hofer and his mythology, have always claimed to defend the “virtues” of Tyrol. It is, then, no surprise to have them welcome the FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian in St. Jakob in *Defereggental* with an honor salvo, which *Der Standard* described as a “matter of opinion¹⁷¹.” The FPÖ has been characterized as a far-Right political movement, but their appeal has grown over the years to the point of almost winning the 2016 Austrian presidency.

South-Tyrol

In South-Tyrol, Right-wing political groups in parliament wanted to use the memorial year to “promote their platform by claiming the patriotic impulse [i.e., provided by the memorial year's *stimulus historicus*] to stage their goals, such as the independence

¹⁶⁹ jel “Pippi Langstrumpf, Hofer und die RAF”, *Tiroler Tageszeitung* (August 2009)

¹⁷⁰ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Andreas Hofers Enkel behält Grab am Wiener Zentralfriedhof“, *Der Standard*, (October 2007)

¹⁷¹ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Servus Andreas Hofer”, *Der Standard*, (October 2008)

of South-Tyrol¹⁷².” After a failed attempt to change their national hymn for *Zu Mantua in Banden*¹⁷³, the *Freiheitlichen* party (far-right, akin to the FPÖ) needed more political momentum to appeal to the population.. So the militia groups of the South wanted to carry the famous *Dornenkrone* to the parade in Innsbruck.

In 1959, a crown of thorns [i.e. the *Dornenkrone*] came to symbolize the suffering caused by the 1919 annexation of South-Tyrol by Italy. In 1984, the crown had, once again, become a popular topic of debate between Austria and Italy, as Italian officials protested against it vehemently. As demonstrated earlier, the political leaders North of the Brenner Pass tolerated such grievances by their Southern brethren. As a result, they turned the crown of thorns into a “crown of roses.” According to the artist who created it, “each rose is a symbol of love for our country, and as everyone knows, every rose has its thorns¹⁷⁴”. By covering it with roses, it blunted the original message. The artist also “invited everyone to bring a rose as a sign of unity¹⁷⁵,” placing the sculpture and, to a larger extent, the official parade under the sign of unity, and therefore, in the Euroregion.

Andreas Hofer, the “Napoleon” of the Greens

The Green Party used the parade’s political setting to reaffirm its moral opposition to the Hofer-myth. They reported to *Der Standard* that they planned a meeting with a member of the Green Party from the “ancient enemy lands¹⁷⁶” such as France, Bavaria, and Saxony. At their press conference, they stated that “the self-righteousness of sacrifice for the Nation present in many of these celebrations fuels fear of others¹⁷⁷.” The Green Party members wanted their events to be inclusive, rejecting the egoistic and xenophobic patriotism that, according to them, characterizes traditions and nation. The Green Party had already positioned itself against the Hofer myth in the past (e.g., during the *Hymnenstreit* in 2004), so they have a history of future-oriented politics compared to the Conservatives’ past-oriented politics. Ironically, this political dichotomy perfectly

¹⁷² Heiss, Hans “Die Rosen des Mythos : Eine Bilanz des Jubiläumsjahrs 2009“ in Karlhofer, Ferdinan et al. “*Politik in Tirol Jahrbuch 2010*”, (2010), p. 13.

¹⁷³ Redaktion “Hofer-Lied soll Landeshymne werden”, *Dolomiten* no. 45, (February 2009), p.16

¹⁷⁴ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Aus umstrittener Dornenkrone wurde Rosenkrone”, *Der Standard*, (September 2009)

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

embodies the Tyrolean motto, “History meets Future¹⁷⁸.” Therefore, on the political level, Hofer remains a popular icon that Tyrolean Parties often exploit.

Indeed, the debate we outlined above surrounding representations of Hofer and his mythology suggests that the government will continue to protect the traditional image of Hofer and the political ideals he symbolizes. It is, however, noteworthy that, outside of political parties, some other politically motivated groups used 2009 as a lever to critically challenge the myth, hoping to reduce its social and political significance. Still, the release of *Die Freiheit des Adlers* and the *Hymnenstreit* seemingly changed nothing for Tyrol’s political parties. Lamenting this missed opportunity for progress, Brigitte Mazohl of the University of Innsbruck said: “In the public sphere, it seems that only the old clichés can serve as the classic political rhetoric¹⁷⁹.”

Did history absolve him? A critical analysis of the 2009 Hofer-myth face-off against History

The year 2009 marks not only 200 earth rotations around the sun since the rebellion, but it also marks 200 years since Hofer’s victories at the *Berg Isel* and also represents 200 years of Hofer mythology cultivation. Moreover, it is critical to note that this mythology has always had strong religious undertones to reinforce its salience to Tyrol’s mostly Catholic population.

For instance, as it did for baby Jesus Christ 2000 years ago, it is rumored that the star of Bethlehem shone the day of Hofer’s birth¹⁸⁰. Parallels between the Hofer-myth and Catholicism that are easy to find, from stained glass windows depicting his “last days” in the churches and chapels (and even hotels!) in *Passeiertal*, to the different cheeses made in his honor, Hofer’s presence and importance for the Euroregion’s religious communities, tourism industry, and cultural life is noteworthy.

Therefore, because the 2009 Jubilee was also the rebellion’s 200th anniversary, historians, authors, activists, artists, politicians, and journalists (to name a few) were all

¹⁷⁸ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Aus umstrittener Dornenkrone wurde Rosenkrone”, *Der Standard*, (September 2009)

¹⁷⁹ Gurschler, Susanne “Anno Neun mal wissenschaftlich”, *Echo* No. 12, December 1st 2009, p. 66

¹⁸⁰ Pizzinini, Meinrad “*Andreas Hofer : Seine Zeit, Sein Leben, Sein Mythos.*”, p.23

reviewing and debating the myth to identify its impacts and longevity. As demonstrated earlier, Hofer was even used to promote feminism and gender equality, but how did historians interpret such unlikely uses of this mythology? Interestingly, unlike other academics in fields like cultural and political studies, historians, to varying degrees, continued to emancipate themselves from Hofer's myth.

As mentioned previously, Hofer came to symbolize unity for the Euroregion, but to an even greater extent, he symbolized loyalty to the EU. However, the timing of 2009 and the localization of Hofer's home town of St. Leonard in *Passeiertal* indicate that the museum was designed both in Hofer's honor and to debunk the traditional myths. The museum was also designed with the intention to foster a sense of unity for the Euroregion, as it celebrates this Austrian hero in both Italian and German, since Hofer was raised in a German territory that eventually became a part of Italy. As a result, the man and the myth are claiming to represent both cultural and linguistic communities.

Andreas Hofer as the center of celebrations

Historian Rolf Steininger said that "during the celebrations, one must not look only to the past, but also towards the future¹⁸¹." Steininger described the celebrations and the different events of 2009's Jubilee as "one dimensional" and almost "selective" regarding the messages it broadcasted to *Der Standard*. Steininger described the events surrounding the building of the *Tirol-Panorama Museum* as the beginning of the "drama." Indeed, Steininger was not wrong in his assessment of the situation, as almost every article that covered the event put Hofer at its center as if he were the only significant figure in Tyrol's history.

Horst Christoph, *profil's* then-culture columnist, echoed Steininger's assertions when he described Hofer as "the most celebrated historical figure in both Tyrol and South-Tyrol.¹⁸²" He characterized the celebrations and the events of 2009 critically, saying that "an almost impossible Anti-Hofer-hype broke loose.¹⁸³" He cited the resurgence of the movie (which he called a "Hofer-soap") and the different products bearing the bearded

¹⁸¹ Langegger, Verena "Gedenken beschränkt sich auf Andreas Hofer", *Der Standard*, (March 2009)

¹⁸² Christoph, Horst "Der verlogene Mythos", *profil* no. 37, p. 17 (September 2009)

¹⁸³ Christoph, Horst "Der verlogene Mythos", *profil* no. 37, p. 17 (September 2009)

rebel's image (featured in an exposition financed by the milk corporation of Tyrol, who are also the makers of the Hofer cheese mentioned above) as examples of the propaganda. However, Horst also called Hofer an "unlucky and bigoted rebel" and a "loser that became a myth," and then he denied the rebellion's significance by saying that it "had only a few repercussions." Describing Hofer as a symbol of conservatism, Horst bemoaned this alleged false-hero-worship by "agrarian communities, the tourism industry, the militias, and traditionalist groups who act as if they are the sole defenders of what qualifies as true Tyrolean tradition." He concluded by saying that Sigurd Paul Scheichl "was wrong," in response to the Professor's 1992 assessment that there would not be another Jubilee in 2009 after the events of 1994's Jubilee.¹⁸⁴

Moreover, Walter Klier gave a similar prediction for the approaching Jubilee, but from a more conservative point of view, in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Klier called the event a modern affair for heroes but then also called it "unheroic, unpatriotic, and without blood [i.e., non-violent], the way it should be these days." He also remarked that the celebrations of 1984 were "less patriotic" than the previous Jubilees and gave his account of the rebellion clearly and objectively. However, he seemed to have desired a more patriotic approach to the myth than what was achieved. Although having a conservative point of view, he came to the same conclusion as many other historians: that the myth has been losing popularity and power since 1984, which confirms this period as the turning point in the Hofer myth celebrations.¹⁸⁵

Journalist Alfred Dorfer from *Die Zeit* requested a more objective and accurate representation of Hofer that avoided the "comforting" traditionalist stereotypes reinforced and exploited by Conservatives. Dorfer also claimed that these outdated stereotypes are alarmingly short on patriotism, and rejected the many critics of the celebration. He also requested that Tyrol celebrate other heroes too, and that they build more monuments in their honor¹⁸⁶. Another journalist, David Bullock from *Echo*, invited three historians to comment on Hofer's celebrations and mythology. Furthermore, he asked three historians of different European countries (England, Bavaria, and France) to publish their opinions

¹⁸⁴ Christoph, Horst "Der verlogene Mythos", *profil* no. 37, p. 17 (September 2009)

¹⁸⁵ Klier, Walter "Bauern gegen Bayern", *Wiener Zeitung* no. 66 (April 2009) p. 1-4

¹⁸⁶ Dorfer, Alfred "Heldenverehrung", *Die Zeit* no. 8 (February 2009), p. 11

on Hofer and his legends. In so doing, Dorfer once again crystalized Hofer as a popular Tyrolean figure in time for the 2009 celebrations.

Although their many points of view may differ, it seems that historians commenting on the celebrations of 2009 also came to the same conclusions that the myth is old, out of date, anti-progress, and it is time to move on. Despite its wide readership, the message has yet to influence the political class of the Euroregion. Still, for academics documenting and investigating Tyrol and its cultures and histories, the consensus seems to be: “enough with Hofer, already^{187!}”

An excuse for modernity

With two new Hofer museums and a whole tourism campaign in *Passeiertal* centering Hofer as either a host or a guide¹⁸⁸, Hofer was the epicenter of 2009 at various levels. At the academic level, the myth was not only more critically challenged, but it also proved to be an effective topic to modernize. For example, Anna Ladurner and others championed the Taliban-thesis, while Hofer’s widow renewed interest in the myth from a variety of new angles of approach.

Der Standard published an interview with Minister Beate Palfrader, in which she recognized the wives of the guerilla fighters as “silent heroes.” In her view, she thought that they carried the weight of both the home and the family without having equal rights and authority with men. The minister expressed hope that 2009 would awaken the people’s desire to improve women’s rights in the Euroregion¹⁸⁹.

Michael Forcher, author of *Anno Neun. Der Tiroler Freiheitskampf von 1809 unter Andreas Hofer. Ereignisse, Hintergründe, Nachwirkungen*, which is a book about the rebellion, revisits the myth and the rebellion with more nuance and in a similar fashion to the 2002 filmic depiction. Forcher also declared to *Der Standard* that the rebels were,

¹⁸⁷ Schönwiese, Ekkehard “*Schluss mit dem Hofertheater. Ein Streifzug durch 200 Jahre Tiroler Heldenmythos*,” (Vienna : Haymon Verlag 2009)

¹⁸⁸ Haidinger, Robert “Hofers heldenhaftes Haltbarkeitsdatum” *Der Standard* (March 2009)

¹⁸⁹ Langeegger, Verena “Hinter jeder Freiheitskämpfer stand eine „stille Heldin“”, *Der Standard* (November 2009)

used by the Emperor and his government as a last resort, and they were ultimately abandoned to their fate as victims of politics, diplomacy, and the naivety and fanaticism of their leaders¹⁹⁰.

Lastly, in *Die Presse*, Richard Schuberth compared the famous Taliban thesis with its apparent opposite, the *Freedom-fighter thesis*. This thesis began with a debate in 2002 after the release of the movie, which seemed to capitalize on the post-9/11 “War on Terror.” Schuberth explained the two theories, and also their respective political positionings and supporters. He then claimed that both theses have their truths and exaggerations, and concluded that both theses are politically motivated. The use of a modern conflict to explore an old one modernizes the latter and helps to deconstruct the myth of the “good” freedom fighters in Hofer’s myth.

Conclusion of the 2006-2009 Period

History guides the future

As demonstrated throughout this chapter, the cultural data reviewed above demonstrate some bold attempts to reinvent the myth. However, no matter the source (e.g., Party, art/media, event, person, and more), Hofer’s image was always center-stage. In addition to the movie of 2002, Hofer has, for instance, been crucified, inspired Jazz music, and has even become a comic book hero. Still, despite the centering of Hofer’s image, the events of 2009 helped to distance the man and nation from the traditionalist Hofer-hero mythology that many Tyrolean politicians and media-makers continue to revere. This nation-wide debate also provided the art scene with a unique opportunity for political influence during a politically and symbolically charged year. Thus, this Tyrolean zeitgeist presents a modernized image of Hofer and the rebellion, starting at the beginning of the 21st century.

However, politically speaking, there is an ambivalence between the new and the old Hofer mythologies. While some celebrations and events distanced their political discourse from the usual mythological discourses, the majority of the interactions remained unchanged. Hofer’s image was once again used to promote different goals and causes, as

¹⁹⁰ Forcher, Michael “Was in Tirol in 1809 wirklich geschah”, *Der Standard* (April 2009)t

it did in the past. A new orientation, however, also emerged from the traditionalist vision. The museum at Hofer's house in *Passeiertal* explained the life and history of the rebel "outside of the usual Tyrolean context and inside of the European context¹⁹¹." Like its many previous iterations, this unique European contextualization of the Hofer mythology will, no doubt, inform future versions.

Likewise, scholars differed in their opinions of the 2009 Jubilee celebrations. For instance, Mazohl, of the Innsbruck University, saw 2009 as a missed opportunity for progress, while Tyrol's politicians and interest groups used the opportunity for influence and profit. Mazohl asserted that "the historical sciences repeated their call for a critical and objective analysis, coupled with a national dialog in the public sphere." She argued that the militias celebrated 2009 "as they did a hundred years ago," and that the "political rhetoric used the same clichés too." Therefore, the famous motto of 2009 - "History meets Future" -has a more ironic meaning in this case. Historian Johann Holzner reinforced Mazohl's argument by stating that "the actual ruling political instances are only interested in daily politics and the identity-creating power of Andreas Hofer when they plan official celebrations." Mazohl, however, seemed quite satisfied with Mazohl's interpretations of the motto, calling the conference the "*Triumph der Provinz*" [Triumph of the provinces] as an example. There, the Tyrolean perspective was, according to her, "relativized," to the European context, once again cementing Hofer as a Euroregion icon. Mazohl's opinion, then, confirms our assertion that 2009 was a politically ambivalent year in Tyrol, with agents of politics, in part, claiming a modernized Hofer-discourse on the one hand, while exploiting Hofer as a promotional tool on the other hand.

Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates that Hofer's mythology confirms Schönwiese's theory that every attempt to dissolve a myth will inevitably rejuvenate it. While 1984 was a groundbreaking year that revolutionized the way the myth was represented and perceived, 2009 was more ambivalent, as political discourse and academic discourse were at odds. The myth did, however, coalesce into a modernized folktale that is firmly anchored in Tyrol's past, present, and future. The myth, then, as Schönwiese

¹⁹¹ Haidinger, Robert "Hofers heldenhaftes Haltbarkeitsdatum" *Der Standard* (March 2009)

claimed, will, like clockwork, inevitably always return to Tyrol's zeitgeist, and, with it, so too will return the man and his related celebrations.

Chapter 3: Europeanization

The tumultuous second decade of the 21st century

The first decade of the 21st century was marked by 9/11 and a strong resurgence of nationalism. These factors influenced the modernization of discourses surrounding the Tyrolean Hofer-myth. No longer singularly characterized like Superman as a “man of steel” positioned atop Tyrol’s pantheon of folk-heroes, Hofer was increasingly portrayed as a broken man, trying to hold the rebellion and his mental health together. While still characterized as a folk-hero, these depictions provided a more nuanced and humanized image of the man.

Perhaps as a result of this mythological modernization, many Tyrol writers and artists created works to educate people about the man behind the myth. As explained previously, these various Hofer discourses were consolidated by the 2009 Jubilee that celebrated Hofer, the man, as much as it celebrated the Hofer mythology.

The second decade of the 21st century was marked by the arrival of a new suffix “-xit” in European and world politics. It began with the debates surrounding Greece’s possible exclusion from the EU, commonly referred to as “*Grexit*.” Then came the solidarity of the Union’s members during the migrant’s crisis, and later, perhaps the most well-known example, the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the Union, called the “*Brexit*.” Notably, although unrelated to Tyrol, this suffix was so popular that it also appeared in political discourses of other countries at this time, too, such as the Canadian separatist revival in Alberta and western provinces called the “*Wexit*.” All three European examples above fractured the Union’s bonds, as it surfaced several disagreements between Union members. These disagreements shattered bonds and exacerbated the Union’s identity crisis while bolstering nationalist regimes in the constituting countries.

If the first phase of the myth’s evolution was the modernization and actualization of Hofer’s legend, and the second phase consolidated these modern images of the hero with older versions (especially Conservative representations), the third and final phase was its Europeanization. This final phase ensured that the myth will not only endure through time, but that it also continues to thrive (at least politically). Therefore, we begin this chapter by defining Europe’s identity crisis based on publications by Chopin and Bouchard. Both

authors advocated for a new approach to this national mythology that repurposes it to serve the EU. They argued for this approach because the Union allegedly lacks a unifying mythology that appeals to citizens' emotions.

We then continued our analysis of Hofer's media presence with an analysis of historian Hans Heiss' publication concerning the aftermath of the rebellion's 200th anniversary. Next, we analyzed the various events celebrating Hofer before and during the 2010s, to show that they not only reinvigorated Hofer's myth to European audiences and voters, but also demonstrated how their modernized discourses provided a new mythological politic never-before-seen in the Euroregion's pantheon (e.g., Garibaldi, Joan of Arc, and Arminius). Therefore, these celebrations, publications, and political discourses demonstrate that Hofer once again rose in popularity, and thus, in political value, but this time, as a *European* hero.

“I need a hero!”

Earlier, we argued that the EU was facing an identity crisis, based on the Robert Schuman foundation's publications. However, to understand these events, it is essential to review the EU's beginnings. Thus, in this sub-section, we describe how the EU came to be.

The EU started with the 1959 Treaty of Rome that acted as a union regulating customs and trade. The Treaty of Rome later expanded with the addition of the Treaty of Maastricht, and finally, in 1993, the European Union was officially founded. The EU, then, is a governing body consisting of different European nation-states.

Despite initially consisting of six member-states, the EU grew to 28 member-states by 2013. This supranational governing body is, thus, considered above the nation-states as an entity overseeing, managing, and in some cases, directing its member-states' complicated alliances¹⁹², such as the Austrian-Italian relations. Austria, as we stated, entered the Union on January 1 1995. Its entry was to mark the end of Austrian claims to South-Tyrol. Italy would keep control over South-Tyrol, and the *Südtirolerfrage* would be settled.

¹⁹² History of the EU https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history_en#1945-1959

Often perceived as a technocratic invention, the governing myth about the EU, according to Vincent Della Sala, “is that of rationality that, at its core, would seem to deny that the EU needs myths at all¹⁹³.” However, according to many authors (e.g., Chopin, Bouchard, and Della Sala), an important European myth took roots in the post-WWII period. Specifically, the EU brought peace to the continent by its existence as a place without myths and ruled by logic instead of nationalism, which led to increased violence.¹⁹⁴ The EU, then, characterizes itself as the defender of “respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights¹⁹⁵.”

Perhaps not surprisingly, the EU signified much more hope and promise when it was first introduced than it does today, in 2020. Even though the EU is based on such encouraging principles, it nonetheless currently faces difficult times. The migration crisis of 2014 exacerbated Europe’s citizens’ identity-crisis regarding the Union, and as a result, populism grew across Europe. According to Chopin, former director of studies at the Robert Schuman Foundation and Special Advisor at the Jacques Delors Institute, “the revival of populism and extremism is a strong symptom of the identity crisis that has affected many of the EU’s member-states.” Thus, for Chopin, the EU exists, in part, because of “the geopolitical divide caused by the fall of the Berlin Wall,” and the “apparent feeling of indefinite extension that typified a seemingly limitless Europe¹⁹⁶.”

Indeed, one could ask, what exactly *is* Europe? For example, is it a geographical territory, or is it a collective history? Habermas, Margalit, and Bouchard each explored the possibility that traumatic pasts are the basis for collective memory, but they discovered that it “instilled a sense of guilt and shame that is now somewhat counter-productive¹⁹⁷.” This debate is probably why many wonder what it means to be European, or if it is even positive. It is, thus, still vital to find an appropriate identity-carrier for the EU that could create emotional ties between the citizens and the EU. Where the nation-state has myths, culture, and a sense of belonging to offer, the EU fosters functionality such as “basic tasks assigned

¹⁹³ Della Sala, Vincent “Myth and the postnational polity” in: Bouchard, Gérard et al “*National Myths : Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*” 2013, p.161

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p.159

¹⁹⁵ Chopin, Thierry “Europe and the Identity Challenge : who are “we”?” in : “*Fondation Robert Schuman European issues*” no. 466 (2018), p. 2

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

¹⁹⁷ Bouchard, Gérard “Europe in search of Europeans : The road to identity and myth” in “*Notre Europe Jacques Delors Institute Studies and reports*” no. 113 (2016) p. 18

to governments [such as] monetary policy, security, foreign policy, control of borders, and so on¹⁹⁸.”

“Europeanizing” the national hero-mythology

If the EU is in need of an identity and is considered the antithesis of the nation-state, then its member-states should be considered the antithesis of the EU, as their myths and legends are part of their identity, their “social imaginary.” Both Bouchard and Chopin advocated for new ways of formulating the European identity. They argued that,

the EU should be able to harness national cultures, this reservoir of meanings, beliefs, solidarities, motivations and collective energy, [...] do[ing] away with the main hindrance on the road to efficient European myth-building¹⁹⁹.

In his writing for the Jacques-Delors Institute, Bouchard provided three ways to harness this energy,

1. *Refounding*

“Mak[ing] use of the structure of existing national myths [...] and inject[ing] them with additional, compatible European content, [...] thus expanding their hold geographically and socially.”

2. *Recycling*

“To pursue the same goal by reworking the scaffolding of the myth (the anchor, the imprint, the symbols, the commemorative rituals) such that it conveys the same value but at a wider scale.”

3. *Piggybacking*

“Crafting a new [EU] myths in continuity or in filiation with an old (national) one in order to partake of and increase its authority²⁰⁰.”

Chopin made a similar argument, and said that myths or narratives,

must be complemented with a specifically European narrative by which young Europeans will learn that every national historical phenomenon [in Europe] was also and primarily European²⁰¹.

Both Bouchard and Chopin advocated for the same outcome of using national narratives to foster a collective European identity. This identity should be based on values held dear to

¹⁹⁸ Della Sala, Vincent “Myth and the postnational polity” in : Bouchard, Gérard et al “*National Myths : Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents*” 2013, p.161

¹⁹⁹ Bouchard, Gérard “Europe in search of Europeans : The road to identity and myth” in “*Notre Europe Jacques Delors Institute Studies and reports*” no. 113 (2016) p. 42

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 42-43

²⁰¹ Chopin, Thierry “Europe and the Identity Challenge : who are “we”?” in : “*Fondation Robert Schuman European issues*” no. 466 (2018), p. 3

citizens of their member-states to create a sense of belonging to the EU. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, Hofer was increasingly used as a promotion tool for the Euroregion. Thus, with the 2009 Jubilee placing Hofer at the center stage of Tyrolean politics and art, the opening of a new exhibition in Hofer's hometown, Sankt-Leonhard, and the increased marketing using his image, the face of 1809's uprising was recycled as a patriotic member of the Euroregion.

There is currently no universal definition of "Euroregion," however, there are as many definitions of Euroregion as it has nation-states. Some common facets, though, of these definitions include a geographical area existing on both sides of the border, where there are regional agents interacting with one another. In the case of the Euroregion, there is also a Euroregional assembly and, according to the *European Network of Territorial Cooperation*, "the Commission itself refers to its trans-boundary regions as 'laboratories of European integration'²⁰²."

Therefore, because Hofer's appeal has never been big outside of the Euroregion, the goal was not to ignite European patriotism in the French Republic, Poland, or any other unrelated European country where he is mostly unknown. Instead, Hofer's image was designed to raise confidence in the Euroregion, where Hofer has always belonged as a folk-hero. In the next sub-section, we continue our investigation of Hofer's myth's evolution by analyzing the 2009 Jubilee.

Post-Mortem of a Jubilee

Hans Heiss is a University professor and Chair of the History department at the University of Innsbruck, as well as a member of the South-Tyrolean parliament, representing the Green Party²⁰³. He participated in two joint publications by Tyrol and South-Tyrol detailing the political events of 2009. In *Politik in Tirol Jahrbuch 2010* by Ferdinand Karlhofer et al., he published *Die Rosen des Mythos: Eine Bilanz des*

²⁰² Durà A., Camonita F., Berzi M. and Noferini A. (2018). Euroregions, Excellence and Innovation across EU borders. A Catalogue of Good Practices. Barcelona, Department of Geography, UAB, p. 25

²⁰³ Karlhofer, Ferdinand et al. "Politik in Tirol Jahrbuch 2010", 2010, p. 168

Jubiläumsjahr 2009. And, in *Politika 10 Südtirol, Alto Adige: Jahrbuch für Politik/Annuario di politica/Anuer de pulitica*, he contributed with *Im Jahr des Heiles : Zum Ausklang des Tirol-Jubiläums 1809-2009*, which was essentially the same essay but with a different introduction. Together, these works represent the events of 2009's Jubilee and reflect on the myth and its developments during and after the memorial year.

Heiss acknowledged that, like all past celebrations held in Hofer's honor, it is an occasion for political staging and image building. Confirming the "consolidation" phase mentioned earlier, Heiss asserted that, even though 2009 is another celebration in a long history of Jubilees, this most recent iteration emphasizes the theme of "activism" that was "not foreseeable in the 1909, 1934, 1959, or the 1984 celebrations." This new version of the myth is mostly found in discourses on social media that was absent in the myth's previous versions²⁰⁴.

A meeting of the three leaders of Tyrol, South-Tyrol, and Trentino happened at *Schloss Tirol* on February 21st, 2009, with their respective cultural representatives to "proclaim the beginning of the Jubilee²⁰⁵." At the same meeting, Platter presented a series of measures to "reinforce the Euroregion of Tyrol." Using the proclamation of the Hofer-celebrations to discuss the Euroregion is not a random choice, as Hofer is a strong cultural image on which to attach political ideas. Furthermore, in a speech at the Innsbruck's Congress, Platter made use of the usual imagery of the myth of 1809, comparing the challenges posed by the *Brennerbasistunnel* [The Brenner-Tunnel] projet to the challenged posed by the "major world power" that was France at the time, calling for reinforcement in cooperation with both sides of the Brenner Pass, to show the World that "200 years ago we [had already] showed that, together, we could defeat a superpower²⁰⁶."

Andrej Werth, who was another journalist from the *Politika 10* collective, defined the Jubilee as a "*Stimulus Historicus*²⁰⁷" for the Euroregion. On a much more pessimistic view, Werth stated that;

It needs to be clearly said: The discussions about the ERT [Europaregion Tyrol] are led by the political elites and used by any political party for any reason,

²⁰⁴ Heiss, Hans "Im Jahr des Heiles : Zum Ausklang des Tirol-Jubiläums 1809-2009" in "*Politika 10 Südtirol, Alto Adige : Jahrbuch für Politik/Annuario di politica/Anuer de pulitica*", 2010 , p. 246

²⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 258

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 258

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 371

while the population is not only absent from such discussions, but they also have no interest in them. Based on identity, it is also clear that the ERT has no soul; it is, therefore, impossible to speak of a Euro-regional identity²⁰⁸

Thus, the ERT suffers from the same identity crisis as the EU by being a political construction, a tapestry of different nations with different goals. However, using the Jubilee as a stimulus to relaunch those discussions was clever because Hofer is a widely respected figure for the region. According to Heiss, this relaunch was also a good counter-measure “against EU skepticism of the citizens of the State of Tyrol²⁰⁹.” Further symbolizing Hofer as the ERT, Heiss remarked that Franco Pannizza, the cultural representative for Trentino, launched a series of expositions about Hofer to anchor him to his region as the “epitome of the will of the people to be independent, and as the Patron of the union between the three regions of the ERT²¹⁰.”

This intentional marriage of Hofer’s myth to Europe was officiated, at least in part, by political discourse as of 2009. As a result, while it is true that the myth evolved, it did not evolve either at the same time or in the same ways across Europe, because authorities continuously *misused* the myth by promoting their agenda through the use of new discourses or themes to frame Hofer’s sacrifice. Speaking of misuse, Heiss also confirmed at the same time that the Right-wing parties of South-Tyrol had the opportunity to “go in 2009 with the objective of using the memorial year to stage their political goals, namely separation from Italy²¹¹.”

2009 in hindsight: The year of recycling

The current study’s findings affirm that 2009 was the year of *refounding* and *recycling* for the ERT. When Platter proclaimed that the memorial year would happen at the same time as the call to reinforce the Euroregion, the Hofer celebrations were recycled to promote new framings and politics. Although not extending the geographical reach of the Hofer myth, this new use reinforces the idea that the EU is a region that craves

²⁰⁸ Werth, Andrej “Much ado about nothing? Zur identitätskonstruktion in der Europaregion Tirol-Südtirol-Trentino” in „Politika 10 Südtirol, Alto Adige : Jahrbuch für Politik/Annuario di politica/Anuer de pulitica“, 2010, pp369-370

²⁰⁹ Heiss, Hans “Im Jahr des Heiles : Zum Ausklang des Tirol-Jubiläums 1809-2009” in “Politika 10 Südtirol, Alto Adige : Jahrbuch für Politik/Annuario di politica/Anuer de pulitica”, 2010 , 259

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 259

²¹¹ Ibid, p, 254

autonomy. Conversely, when Platter also used the Hofer-myth with the *Brennerbasistunnel*, he was refounding the myth by adding new content compatible with Euroregion projects, and then by comparing the challenges of today with those that Hofer faced in his battle against Napoleon.

Pannizza, on the other hand, with his introduction of Hofer in the imagery of the Trentino, exemplifies what Bouchard calls “piggybacking.” Specifically, by claiming that Hofer is compatible with liberty and autonomy, Bouchard defends his contribution to the Euroregion’s call for more autonomy on the Italian side. In line with Chopin’s view, using Hofer to promote the ERT across Europe also shows that the rebellion of 1809 was a European event, not just a regional one, further expanding the myth’s reach and influence. This discourse is, however, in contradiction with the majority of Tyrol’s scholars, asserting that the events of 1809 were only a regional revolt in comparison to the Europe-wide Napoleonic war.

Ongoing Europäisierung?

If the ERT’s Europeanization took place during the Jubilee’s post-mortem analysis of 2009, in this sub-section, we resume the newspaper analysis to show that the Europeanization continued long-after the Jubilee had ended. However, this process was quite different in Tyrol compared to South-Tyrol. For example, North of the Brenner Pass, there were fewer mentions of Hofer after 2009, and even less mention of yearly celebrations in comparison to South-Tyrol.

In the land of the *Bergisel*

The movie *Bergblut* came out in 2010, and is about a love story amidst the 1809 rebellion. A journalist for *Der Standard* described it as a movie about ordinary people, and Hofer only arrives near the end. The director created the film so that “no one is really at the forefront; it is more a historical period portrait [than a portrait of a man].”

Expanding on the modernization that the myth underwent at the beginning of the 21st century, the movie also emphasizes the female lead character’s strength. This newer framing of the Hofer-myth consolidated the idea that the rebellion was not only about

Hofer, but also about regular people, including women, which was a similar style of analysis to many other cultural events of 2009²¹².

Moreover, in 2010, Andrej Werth argued that the Euroregion was an artificial creation used mostly by politicians in the region to foster their political goals. Werth also claimed that it suffered from the same lack of popularity as the EU, which was reinforced by researchers published in *Der Standard* in 2014. Indeed, the ERT had little-to-no appeal to its citizens, and the *Euroregio* [Italian for Euroregion] brand was underused, and in some cases, still unknown²¹³. As a Tyrolean took on the role of president to the ERT, a call was made to reinforce the brand, and to better communicate its meaning, calling for a strengthening of the ties between its member-states. However, when both Chancellor Werner Faymann of Austria and Premier Matteo Renzi of Italy met in South-Tyrol, a hundred years after the beginning of WWI (which led to the annexion of South-Tyrol by Italy), they discussed the state of the EU and described its characterization as a bureaucratic institution. They also called for a new model, namely a “Europe of the regions,” and described the ERT as “a model in which integration and identity [were] able to coexist without difficulty,” even declaring that the “end of nation-states [was] nearing.” This event showed that not only politicians reframing the Hofer myth wished for better regional cooperation between the member-states of the EU.²¹⁴

In August, however, Hofer’s symbolic appeal was once again used, as both Governors Platter of Tyrol and Kompatscher of South-Tyrol used their meeting at the *Hofburg* in Innsbruck for the ceremony of *Hohen Frauentag*. This is a celebration instated by Hofer, also known as *Tiroltag*, to call for more “concrete measures to strengthen the unity between the two nations separated for a hundred years.”

In 2014, there were many discussions calling for more unity and cooperation, all of them involving the mention of the division of Tyrol, as WWI had begun a hundred years earlier²¹⁵. All of their good intentions came to a halt in 2016, when Austria wanted to

²¹² anon. ““Bergblut”: Kampf um Land und Liebe”, *Der Standard* (January 2011)

²¹³ Mittelstaedt, Katharina “Verstärkte Zusammenarbeit zwischen Tirol und Italien“, *Der Standard* (March 2014)

²¹⁴ Mumelter Gerhard “„Das Ende der Nationalstaaten naht““, *Der Standard* (July 2014)

²¹⁵ anon. “Tirol und Südtirol wollen enger zusammen arbeiten” *Der Standard* (August 2014)

reinstate frontier controls at the Brenner Pass in the wake of the immigration crisis shaking Europe. Ministers in Italy “abandon[ed] their protection of South Tyrol,” as they were sabotaging the Schengen accords with this request. Again, there were no apparnt signs of Hofer’s *stimulus historicus*.

Ironically, in 2018, once again for the *Tiroltag* celebrations, the Europe forum opened in Alpbach in an “Age of Diversity,” with discussions about Europe’s weaknesses and how to solve them nationally. South-Tyrol’s governor, however, argued that the solution must come from the collaboration of everyone because it was not “time to go back hiding in our snail shells.” During the ceremonies, the governors spoke about the future of the Euroregion, stating as an example that the city of Mantua, the location of Hofer’s execution, would be the location of the *Andreas-Hofer-Haus*, to commemorate the Freedom fighter from Tyrol. Therefore, much of what had come to a halt in the migration crisis began to retake form under Hofer’s shadow²¹⁶.

In conclusion, Tyrol and its governor used Andreas Hofer as an incidental icon to promote the ERT, but Hofer’s presence in the media was not as it was during the 2009 Jubilee. Hofer is still part of Tyrol’s imagery today, as evidenced by Platter’s 2017 declaration to *Der Standard* that “one must think about the virtues that he still represents today because it is part of our cultural identity²¹⁷.” Hofer is so much a part of Tyrol’s culture that they even used his famous “Mander’s isch Zeit” when writing an article about traffic jams caused by the summer vacations at the Brenner Pass²¹⁸. The symbolism rattached to the annexation of South-Tyrol by Italy in 1919 is far more present in the Northern press than Hofer’s imagery was when discussing the Euroregion’s future. Although the Hofer-myth is used, it is to a lesser degree than it is South of the Brenner Pass, It might be because South-Tyrol uses Hofer as a personification of their nation, whereas in Austria, there might still be resentment over the loss of South-Tyrol to Italy.

²¹⁶ Auersberger, Andreas Peter “Forum Alpbach widmet sich im Fake-news-Zeitalter der Diversität”, *Der Standard*, (August 2018)

²¹⁷ anon. “Andreas Hofer 250. Geburtstag : Vom Mythos zur Marke”, *Tiroler Tageszeitung* (November 2017), Archiv der Tiroler Tageszeitung Online © 2020

²¹⁸ anon. “Mander, 's isch Urlauberreisezeit”, *Der Standard*, (June 2019)

In the land of Hofer's birth

Even though the Euroregion governors are, as of 2020, enjoying a relationship that is closer than ever, Hofer's image is being treated very differently, as it is more present in South-Tyrol than it is North of the Brenner Pass, probably because of Hofer's status as a protector of the German speaking community. This folk-hero has also been very present in influential speeches and meetings between region-leaders. He is also often used as a patriotic tool to reinforce political opinions, like when Norbert Hofer, the then FPÖ candidate for the Austrian presidency, used the 2015 celebration of Hofer's execution to announce that the annexation of South-Tyrol by Italy "was, and is, still an injustice²¹⁹." Indeed, although the Jubilee celebrations are only held every quarter-century, South-Tyrol still celebrates the anniversaries of Hofer's execution and birth yearly, and also every time a new celebrity is invited to give a speech honoring the man from *Passeiertal*. From Norbert Hofer to the 18 years-old *Miss Südtirol*, Felicia Gamper²²⁰, and of course, also the famous Austrian daredevil, Felix Baumgartner²²¹, South-Tyrol continued to imbue Hofer's spirit and imagery with modern, live celebrities, in the same vein as the famous, 2009 motto History meets the future. This modernization again reflects the intention to "prop up" Hofer's old and traditionalist image with the contemporary celebrities, trends, and causes of 2009. Moreover, the speeches given at the events were similar in tone, with Baumgartner celebrating Hofer as a man "who had goals and vision, and defended those goals against every opposition²²²," whereas Gamper praised Hofer for being a man who "fought for his values and gave everything to attain his goals, even his life²²³." Those celebrations and speeches kept Hofer in South-Tyrolean imagery far more than it did in Austria, and this discrepancy demonstrates how South-Tyrol continues to celebrate and teach its local youth

²¹⁹ anon. "Feurige Rede" *Die Neue Südtiroler Zeitung* (February 2015)

²²⁰ Huber, Lukas "Andreas-Hofer-Feier in Meran: „Das Feuer im Herzen spüren", *Die Neue Südtiroler Zeitung* (February 2019)

²²¹ anon. "Felix Baumgartner: Das hat er mit Andreas Hofer gemeinsam", *Vorarlberg online*, <https://www.vol.at/felix-baumgartner-das-hat-er-mit-andreas-hofer-gemeinsam/5674404>, (December 2019)

²²² Ibid

²²³ Huber, Lukas "Andreas-Hofer-Feier in Meran: „Das Feuer im Herzen spüren", *Die Neue Südtiroler Zeitung* (February 2019)

about Hofer and the rebellion, especially when considering the invitation of Baumgartner and Gamper.

In 2017, Heiss argued that Hofer's image had undergone many changes since its inception, with historians increasingly distancing themselves from his traditional imagery. Heiss also pointed out that Hofer was absent from non-Tyrolean discourses, which is to say, the Italian-speaking community. Later, in 2019, this criticism did not go unanswered, as Andreas Leiter-Reber, the leader of the *Freiheitlichen*, a political party defending the idea of an independent *Südtirol*, lauded Hofer for his courage and his defense of Tyrolean virtues, calling for the need for more heroes like him. Leiter-Reber also added that the rebellion against a "superpower" was possible because of Hofer, as well as the collaboration with the South-Tyrolean people, citing Tyroleans, Italians, and the Ladin people²²⁴.

Efforts would continue to include every citizen in either the project of independence or to revitalize the ERT. In May 2018, *STOL* published an article announcing a monument in Mantua to commemorate the location of Hofer's execution. For the occasion, the European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation, on behalf of the Euroregion, issued a statement in which they announced that they,

[...] would erect a memorial to Andreas Hofer in order to promote the cultural heritage of Europe. It shall legitimate the historical events [in which] Andreas Hofer and Tyrol took part in a modern and European point of view²²⁵.

The announcement also described how the new perspectives on Hofer and the rebellion must be in a European spirit. Although it is not the first time Hofer is mentioned by the EU, this time, it is clearly used to explain the events based on the EU's point of view. The announcement was also made not by a politician, but with the weight of the EGTC and the Euroregion.

One year later, once again in celebration of Hofer's execution, the then-president of the Euroregion, Arno Kompatscher, issued a statement lauding Hofer for his virtues and as an example of the present times. He stated that the courage with which Hofer marched

²²⁴ Leiter-Reber, Andreas "Andreas Hofers Botschaft ist Zeitlos!", February 15th 2019, Homepage of the *Freiheitlichen*, <https://die-freiheitlichen.com/2019/02/15/andreas-hofers-botschaft-ist-zeitlos/>

²²⁵ Ipa "Gedenkstätte für Andreas Hofer in Mantua" *STOL* (May 2018),

to his execution was a sign of the “European spirit²²⁶.” Andreas Hofer is thus, once again, used to promote the cultural heritage of the EU, and applauded as a hero of the Euroregion.

Guest to the yearly Meran celebrations in honor of Hofer, the Consul-General of Austria in Milan called Hofer “a fervent European [if he was still alive] and [that he would be] against the unregulated migration²²⁷.” This comment is similar to another one made from Gauleiter of the Tyrol-Vorarlberg region during WWII, calling the annexation of Tyrol to the German Reich “Hofer’s greatest dream²²⁸.” Both are speaking in the name of Hofer, claiming to know what he would have felt or dreamt. Thus, these two people represent two distinct objectives that are, yet again, focused on Hofer. This trend will most probably never change, so long as Hofer’s image remains popular in Europe (especially in the Euroregion).

Politicians are not the only ones praising Andreas Hofer as a European figure. In 2019, the radical group “Veneto Front Skinheads” offered flowers at the location of Hofer’s execution in Mantua. Moreover, the leader of the *Freiheitlichen* Leiter-Rebe distanced himself from the group by telling them to “go learn history,” and calling Hofer a “figure of integration for the whole Tyrolean people, including the Italian and Ladin people. This means that Leiter-Rebe perceived Hofer as a symbol capable of unifying regions under the same objective as the Euroregion does when promoting Hofer’s image²²⁹. To counter Leiter-Rebe’s Hofer imagery and vision, the Skinheads of Veneto Front publicly promoted their own visions of Hofer. They claimed that their representation of Europe is “a Europe of the people, that has its roots in the likes of Andreas Hofer²³⁰.”

These Hofer representations enable Austrian politicians to exploit his image as a symbol to counter Tyrolean skepticism regarding the EU. Also, separatist politicians in South-Tyrol claimed to represent Hofer’s will by calling for a divorce from Italy. Moreover, politicians from both sides of the Brenner Pass identified the rebel as a European hero. Finally, the European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation and the Euroregion preserved Hofer’s memory as a figure of integration for the whole region.

²²⁶ Ipa “Andreas-Hofer-Gedenkstätte in Mantua nimmt Form an” *STOL* (February 2019),

²²⁷ anon. “„Gibt es sie noch, die Hofers von heute?“” *STOL* (February 2019)

²²⁸ Forcher, Michael “Anno Neun: Der Tiroler Freiheitskampf von 1809 unter Andreas Hofer” 2008, p. 247

²²⁹ anon. “„Lernen s‘ Geschichte!“” *Südtiroler News* (February 2019)

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ww.suedtirolnews.it

A regional hero for a “Europe of regions”

Returning to Bouchard’s theory regarding the establishment of European myths, the Canadian philosopher also viewed the “harness[ing] of national culture²³¹” as an effective tool against the ongoing skepticism towards Europe, which was a view shared by local politicians and historian, Hans Heiss²³². The calls for regional solidarity between the members of the former *Holy Land Tyrol* resonated across Europe. The Northern part of Italy, having a history of separatism because of its Tyrolean nationalism and conflicts with Rome (i.e., its *Tirolität*), coupled with the Austrian-Tyrolean nationalism from North of the border, are influencing factors favoring the Euroregion project.

Based on the framing analysis we conducted on newspaper articles and essays regarding Hofer-related discourses, we found that, overall, in 1995, when Austria joined the EU, media-makers and politicians did not immediately see Hofer’s myth as an opportunity to promote their politics, ideas, events, and products, among other things.

The EU, then, represented a new evolutionary step for Austria in its entry into the 21st century, and nothing at first glance had suggested that the old national Hofer-myth would come to represent this supranational level of government. In 1984, the rebel’s myth came to a turning point, which permitted its modernization. Once the narrative reflected a new, modern image of the folk-hero, it still had to be accepted by the population, with the timely coming of the Jubilee celebrating the 200 years that have passed since the rebellion ended. The Euroregion project grew even more in the 2010s, and Europe, to this day, has a strong cultural attachment to Hofer and his mythology.

The promotion of the ERT using Hofer’s image is a perfect example of Bouchard’s notion of piggybacking. Hofer’s original myth that celebrated resilience and liberty was refurbished to celebrate a man defending a Europe of regions, claiming that unification had been his goal all along.

²³¹ Bouchard, Gérard “Europe in search of Europeans : The road to identity and myth” in “*Notre Europe Jacques Delors Institute Studies and reports*” no. 113 (2016) p. 42

²³² Heiss, Hans “Im Jahr des Heiles : Zum Ausklang des Tirol-Jubiläums 1809-2009” in “*Politika 10 Südtirol, Alto Adige : Jahrbuch für Politik/Anuario di politica/Anuer de pulitica*”, 2010 , 259

²³² Ibid, p. 259

The concept of *recycling* a myth is also a valid one in this case, as Hofer's image was injected with more European-compatible content, such as the notion of unifying its many diverse regions. Therefore, below, we summarize the two answers to our major research question, which was: how did Hofer's myth evolve since Austria's entry into the EU?

- 1) The myth evolved by modernization through the Euroregion's events of the early 21st century. Hofer stepped down from his hero's pedestal to become a normal man, who conducted himself heroically under the harsh circumstances of the rebellion. This evolution means that he is no longer presented as an infallible man, but rather as an ordinary man struggling with the burden of the rebellion and with his many faults, especially alcoholism. However, he is still highly regarded in Tyrol and South-Tyrol, to the point of now being a symbol of the Euroregion, Tyrol-South-Tyrol-Trentino.

- 2) Even though the myth took on a more modern narrative and represented more current topics, it did not entirely evolve how scholars had hoped it would following the turning point of the 1984 celebrations. Hofer's image is still used today like it did in the previous jubilees of 1934, 1959, and 1984 by politicians to promote, among other things, politically motivated goals, such as the separation of South-Tyrol from Italy. At the cultural level, there was indeed a plethora of events, each more provocative than the other, but scholars noted that on the theatrical scene, the man from *Passeier* is still the subject of many plays that will not survive the test of time after the celebrations end. Although nearly 70 years and opposite objectives are separate these Hofer-myth framings, the claim of Nazi Gauleiter Franz Hofer that Hofer's greatest dream was the unification of Tyrol to the Reich²³³, and the claim of the Austrian Councilate in Milan that Hofer would be a strong European if he were still alive today²³⁴ are

²³³ Forcher, Michael "Anno Neun: Der Tiroler Freiheitskampf von 1809 unter Andreas Hofer" 2008, p. 247

²³⁴ anon. "„Gibt es sie noch, die Hofers von heute?“" *STOL* (February 2019)

staple examples of how little Hofer's mythology and characterizations have evolved over time with regards to politics.

Conclusion: Europeanization

In this chapter, we demonstrated that there was a resurgence of nationalism around the world, but especially in the EU during the second decade of the 21st century. The migrants' crisis, combined with the Brexit and the rise of nationalism, brought the EU to a point where its citizens were openly questioning its meaning. To counter the growing discontentment towards the Union, the Jacques-Delors Institute and the Robert-Schuman Foundation advocated rebuilding Europeans' trust in their society by drawing from sources of nationalism that are, to a point, national myths. For instance, Bouchard and Chopin both promoted ways to "Europeanize" the existing national myths in a way that is compatible with European mythologies and enhances their holds on the population, instead of forging new myths for a government structure already widely perceived as artificial.

We also demonstrated that, after the 2009 celebrations, Heiss published his opinions about the events in both Tyrol and South-Tyrol. He also said that, contrary to the typical scholarly assertions, the myth itself has not only survived for the past 200+ years, it has also developed and gained cultural salience. Furthermore, Heiss explained that this modernized myth continues to be used to promote political ideas, just as it always has. This finding means, then, that Heiss accurately predicted the myth's survival and flourishing.

Moreover, we then demonstrated the different efforts being made regarding the Europeanization of Hofer's mythology in both Tyrol and South-Tyrol. We saw that North of the Brenner Pass, discussions and announcements concerning the Euroregion were made by "piggybacking" on speeches made at Hofer celebrations and other events over the centuries, using this cultural symbol to reinforce the realization of projects by regional governors. Thus, the Euroregion project was widely viewed as a counterbalance to the EU-skepticism of many Tyroleans.

Finally, in South-Tyrol, we found that there were not only the same uses of Hofer's myth as in Tyrol, but also that they were more aggressive, as the *Freiheitlichen*, the radicals, and the governors of South-Tyrol all made use of Hofer's symbolic power over the community. This folk-hero, then, was also "*refounded*" as a true European hero.

Conclusion

If there were a quote that would define and describe this analysis, I would again point back to Eckehard Schönwiese, who stated that “every attempt at demystifying a myth only reinforces it.” Returning to the original research question of this work, we asked: How did the mythology of Andreas Hofer evolve since Austria’s entry into the EU? The current study’s findings show that, in conjunction with the “turning point” of the celebrations of 1984, resulting in a modernized image of the hero. This new image was then consolidated with the celebrations of 2009, and finally, Hofer’s image has been updated to a broader European perspective. We also demonstrated that, even though the myth evolved on other levels (i.e., the cultural scene), there was little to no evolution at the political level. Therefore, this study demonstrates that Andreas Hofer, as an icon, is still used today to promote various ideals and goals that are sometimes contradictory.

In the first chapter, called *Modernization*, we saw that 1984’s jubilee was confirmed as a turning point in the Hofer-myth, as that is the first time immemorial that it was publicly questioned. Could we say that 1995, the date of Austria’s entry into the Union, had a direct effect on the myth itself? Our findings suggest yes, but only remotely. There were many changes to the mythology after 1995, like with the changes that came after 1984. The movie *1809 - Die Freiheit des Adlers* contributed to modernizing the image of Andreas Hofer for the general public, as the director consulted multiple scholars and studies. The movie showed a humanized Hofer, broken and in doubt, but still a hero. However, this modernization did not come without criticism or controversy, as we saw with the “Talibanization” of *Pater Haspinger*, and the presence 9/11’s themes and events in the movie. This questioning brought Hofer to the center of national discussion, an occasion that allowed scholars to partake in the debate surrounding Hofer’s heroic status.

This questioning enabled the *Hymnenstreit* to take place, which was a debate surrounding Hofer’s place in Tyrol’s iconography. Even though each political party wanted to assert their image of this hero of the nation, the discussion about Hofer’s presence at the heart of the nation was questioned, something still impossible to have foreseen in 1959. Hofer’s imagery may have been modernized, but we also saw that it was still common practice to use his image to promote different political agendas, even opposing agendas like those of the Green Party and the Conservatives’.

Therefore, Hofer acquired this new, modern heroic myth, which was now also “challengeable” instead of the immutable, that was built on centuries-old mythology. This process started in 1984, but accelerated since the release of the movie adaptation, which enabled the population to develop individual visions of Hofer and the rebellion.

In the second chapter called *Consolidation*, we focused on the Jubilee celebrating 200 years since the rebellion. We argued that Hofer’s myth, now modernized in large parts thanks to the movie adaptation and the debates of the *Hymnenstreit*, was entering a phase of consolidation, meaning that the new image developed since the beginning of the century was to be implanted gradually in the minds of the population. While the preparations for the celebrations were underway, many scholars expressed doubts that stakeholders and researchers would open a dialogue between the population and their research, fearing celebrations like it was done a hundred years ago, with unbridled patriotism.

This fear would partly materialize, as the celebrations were planned with the intent of renewing Hofer’s image, with the apt motto “History meets the future” and events planned by youth for youth. The new image was celebrated but so too were the old *clichés*. On the cultural front, however, this new image of Hofer was embraced on many levels, with comedy stand-up routines, musicals, concerts, and expositions that promoted this new, broken Hofer incorporated into a plethora of events.

Politically, we demonstrated that it was still common to use the myth to promote different political orientations, from the Green Party to the Conservatives, but that Hofer was still synonymous with Tyrol and South-Tyrol. The art collective *qujOchO* were but one of the many activist groups who tackled the issue of Hofer hero-worship with their actions at the Hofer statue on the *Berg Isel* and in the city of Innsbruck. They were later accused of degrading public property, accusations which would later be abandoned, showing that the population had moved on from the times of the *Hymnenstreit* in 2006. In South-Tyrol, they celebrated a hero that was most often synonymous with secession from Italy, which revived the specter of 1959’s events, albeit without terrorism and violence.

At the academical level, while scholars were skeptical of the government’s approach to celebrating Hofer, they did make sure that, at least for them, history would meet the future. The image of Andreas Hofer was analyzed and discussed by many

historians and government officials alike, each with their own points of view. While for some, the myth of Hofer and his comrades was seen as “comforting²³⁵,” others criticized the celebrations as being too “unpatriotic²³⁶.” Most, however, agreed that Hofer was a symbol celebrating conservatism and traditional ways. Some scholars even compared the revolt of 1809 with the revolt of the Taliban in 2001, stating that both were ideologically motivated.

The celebrations of 2009 gave rise to many new interpretations of the myth while making room for the old, traditional ones. When a transition happens, there is always a starting point (in this case, it was the usual dominant narrative), and an ending point (which could be considered the new, modernized image of Hofer). For those reasons, 2009 operated as a consolidation of the transition that operated since 1984, and again since 2002.

In our last chapter, called “*Europeanization*,” we focused on the post-Jubilee media coverage in the period since 2009. As we lived this period ourselves, we experienced events such as the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2009, the exacerbations of tensions between nation-states and the EU, as well as the migrants’ crisis. All lead to an affection deficit for the EU in favor nation-states, with the EU now seen as the opposition of the national interest in some countries. The *Brexit* was but one event which cemented discontent of the population with the elites of the Union.

We reprised the theories of Gérard Bouchard, Vincent Della Sala, and Thierry Chopin, who stated that the EU should make use of the different national myths within its borders (instead of creating new myths), to be able to tap into the imagination of those well-implanted narratives. During the celebrations of 2009 and after them, we saw that it was now commonplace to style Hofer as a European hero, often using his image to promote the project of the Euroregion, and thus, the regional branch of the EU.

This stylization was especially important for South-Tyrol, as many different uses were made of the Hofer-imagery, and of the annexion by Italy that occurred in 1919. For both regions, North and South of the Brenner Pass, this symbolism of Hofer and of the separation were used as *stimulus historicus* against the EU-skepticism by many citizens.

²³⁵ Dorfer, Alfred “Heldenverehrung”, *Die Zeit* no. 8 (February 2009), p. 11

²³⁶ Klier, Walter “Bauern gegen Bayern”, *Wiener Zeitung* no. 66 (April 2009) p, 1-4

As a result, Hofer came to, once again, serve a new cause, but this time in the wider Euroregion, and the EU.

There can be no doubt that the myth evolved considerably since 1984, as a new, modern image is now accepted by scholars and the population alike. However, we cannot say that the myth evolved more between 1984 and now than it did since its inception. It did evolve greatly before 1984, which was its implementation phase. The myth eventually took on a more modern image because, as Gaiman said, stories need to continue to be meaningful and to remain interesting.

We can also say that in many ways, the myth did not evolve that much since 1995. After all, we could say that the Hofer-myth only renewed its clothing before entering a new battle, this time with the EU. Moreover, politicians are still tapping into this vast reservoir of patriotism that is the rebellion of 1809. We also saw it in 2002, 2009, and 2018, as it is still common practice to summon Andreas Hofer's help to promote and defend a cause in the Euroregion. We would also argue that, at the political level, the image of Hofer still retains conservative aspects, always celebrating the "Tyrolity" of the area and its population.

To give a final answer on the evolution of the myth of Andreas Hofer, we would say that it did evolve in a way that allowed it to still retain its political attractiveness. This attractiveness allowed it to spread and implant itself into the population and among the political elites. This attractiveness also enables the myth to be so solidly present in the common imaginary that it resisted the many attempts at enlightenment, essentially being renewed through modernization. This modernization permitted the myth to remain pertinent to the population and the government. This pertinence is the main reason why it keeps being reused and reimagined to serve many causes, such as the EU. Thus, after the mantle of a patriot, Hofer took on the mantle of a national-socialist, at the same time as he stood against National-Socialism. He fought for the independence of South-Tyrol, and now, Hofer has become a defender of the ERT, and the EU. Who would have thought that, 200 years later, Hofer and Napoleon would be united under the same European banner, as myths defending the Union?

However, we could ask the same research question investigated here about the various other folk-heroes across Europe. For instance, is Jeanne d'Arc also a defender of

the EU? If not, could she be? Also, what is Garibaldi's political appeal in the year 2020? Can we say that king Gustav Adolf II of Sweden, is also used and styled as a European hero? As this study analyzed the evolution of Hofer's myth, it would be interesting to trace the evolution of other national European myths to see if there are any correlations and if their unique geographical and historical positionings within the ERT has shaped their evolutions too.

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