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Andreas Hofer:
The Social and Cultural Construction
of a National Myth in Tirol,
1809-1909

LAURENCE COLE

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BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO (FI)

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Andreas Hofer: the Social and Cultural Construction of a National Myth in Tirol, 1809-1909

by Laurence Cole

1. Introduction¹

The dominant political force in Tirol in the second half of the 19th-century was the Catholic-Conservative party, essentially an alliance of aristocracy, clergy and property-owning farmers. This political and social grouping succeeded in defining a hegemonic, 'official' version of Tirolian identity for the emerging mass political-culture in the pre-1914

1 Archive sources: Tiroler Landesarchiv Landschaftliches Archiv - (LsA) A/II/2/5/ 1 (d), (e); (LsA/6) A/II/2/6 Tiroler Landes-Oberschützenmeisteramt Fasz.16. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (TLF), Landeskundliches Museum Zeughaus (TLF/Zg. - Gemeinden-Kartons, Vereinswesen-Kartons).

period (with modifications due to the modernising influence of the Christian Social movement in the years after 1890). In particular, the Catholic-Conservative elite adopted a strategy of social integration based on loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty, allegiance to the Church and the institution of '*Landesverteidigung*' (local defence), with the 1909 *Tiroler Landes-Jahrhundertfeier* representing the paradigmatic highpoint of that movement².

Two central features in the patriotic mobilisation were official sponsorship for the growth of *Schützen* (local militia) activities and the development of a cult of Andreas Hofer, the inn-keeper who became the principal leader of an up-rising in 1809 against the French and Bavarians. The cult received sponsorship at the provincial level from the *Landtag*, as well as from central government institutions and the Imperial family. Public manifestations of this phenomenon included the unveiling by the Kaiser of a memorial to Hofer on the Berg-Isel outside Innsbruck in 1893; the consecration of a chapel devoted to the Heart of Jesus (*Herz-Jesu*) at Hofer's birth-place in Passeier in 1899 (again in the presence of the Kaiser); the centenary celebration of the Hofer-led up-rising in 1909. Hofer's emergence as the Tirolian national hero involved a rehabilitation from rebel to patriotic hero, his removal from the Liberal to the Conservative political space and the metamorphosis of an historical individual into a symbolic political programme. Hofer provided a concrete personification of the values and symbols that formed the hegemonic interpretation of Tirolian identity, and more specifically, of the German cultural domination within Tirol. The figure of Hofer was initially more a discovery of German and British Romantics - primarily because of his value to the anti-Napoleonic cause; like the up-risings in Spain against French rule, the battles in Tirol were taken as an inspiration to the Coalition Powers. It was mainly within this romantic-national tradition that Hofer came to be located. The official

2 See: Cole, L.: *Nation or region ? Cultural identity in Tirol in the years before 1914* in: Proceedings of the conference 'Nationalism in Europe: past and present' 27.-29. September 1993 (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela / forthcoming 1994).

view from Vienna was that Hofer was a dangerous rebel, and the intensely anti-revolutionary policies of the Austrian government in the *Vormärz* period gave Hofer a low, and unclearly defined, public profile for much of the period before 1848-9. Though Hofer was the subject of poetry and drama almost immediately from after the time of his death in 1810, he remained an historical figure of no specific or unusual place in the official public discourse of Tirol, and was not celebrated at the popular level.

Explicit use of Hofer as the national hero only occurs in the last quarter of the 19th-century, after the creation of a constitutional political system within the Habsburg Monarchy in 1860-1, and in particular after 1880, as the interests of the Catholic-Conservative Tirolian elite increasingly coincided with those of the central government in Vienna. In the early stages of political activity in the early 1860s, evidence of the Conservatives using Hofer as a political symbol is rare. A '*Bitt-Prozession*' at Whitsun, 1859 - fifty years after the battles of 1809 - directed against the threat from Italy, invoked the slogan '*Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland*' and '*unsere Vorfahren*', but not the figure of Hofer³. Neither the fiftieth nor the seventy-fifth anniversary of the uprising was the subject of an official celebration.

By the end of the century, however, the '*Sandwirt von Passeier*' had become an automatic reference-point. Hofer was no longer simply an historical figure: '*Um Andreas Hofer scharte sich vor hundert Jahren alles, was gut tirolisch und kaiserlich fühlte; heute ist der Name - fast vom persönlichen losgelöst - ein inhaltsreicher Begriff, ein Bekenntnis, ein Programm geworden*'⁴. The events of 1809 were defined one hundred years later in a purely patriotic manner, and this was what was manifested in the *Jahrhundertfeier* of 1909: "*Der Erfolg dieser Siege war ein bleibender. Das Land Tirol verblieb unter dem angestammten Kaiserhause wieder bei Österreich. Diese Tatsache tritt in der*

3 TLF/Zg.: [Vereinswesen Schachtel 'K-L'] (Mappe: Kirchliches).

4 TLF: [FB.9386] *Neue Freie Presse* (Wien), 26.8.1909.

Vordergrund"⁵. This paper outlines how and why the mythology of Hofer emerged, by looking at the events of the up-rising and their interpretation during the course of the 19th-century, and then by examining how the symbolic figure of Hofer was mobilised for mass politics, and his relevance for Catholic-Conservative ideology.

2. Reincarnating history: the up-rising 100 years on

There were few professional academic works on 1809, though these began to appear as the centenary approached: the events instead were more the subject of an amateurish tradition of literary interpretation, anecdotes and short populist histories written mainly by conservative publicists. The 'classic', and most influential, historical work on 1809 was written by Joseph Hirn, a member of the organising committee in 1909, and former Conservative member of the *Landtag*. Accepted at the highest level as '*diese von patriotischem Geiste zeugende Arbeit*'⁶, Hirn's book was published to coincide with the *Jahrhundertfeier* - receiving a subsidy from the *Landes-Ausschuß* for that purpose - and went into a second edition within the first year of publication. '*Tirols Erhebung im Jahre 1809*' set in stone an already-established 'official' interpretation of the history of 1809, portraying the up-rising as a patriotic, religious reaction by the peasant population to the enlightened, masonic-led and French-supported Bavarian government, which, in attempting to push through centralising reforms, had violated all the traditional customs and allegiances of Tirol.

The 1809 up-rising had centered around four battles on the Berg Isel outside Innsbruck. After initial successes against the French and Bavarian troops, the Tiroler were suppressed in the decisive fourth

5 LsA/6: [F.IV] Kathrein an den Kaiser, 1.9.1906.

6 LsA/6: [F.XXXIII] Kammer-Vorsteher Erzherzog Thronfolger Franz Ferdinands an Landeshauptmann Theodor Kathrein, conveying thanks for a copy of the book, 12.10.1908.

engagement. Having been given to the Bavarians at the Treaty of Pressburg in 1805, Tirol was again lost to Austria under the Treaty of Schönbrunn in October 1809 (the land being divided into three parts). Hofer himself was captured - he was betrayed in hiding - and was executed at Mantova on 20. February 1810. Hofer came from the Passeier valley in Südtirol (which he had represented at the *Landtag* of 1790), and had commanded a company of *Schützen* in the campaign against France in 1797. In 1808, he acted as a representative of discontented *Bauer* and journeyed in secret to Vienna to talk with Erzherzog Johann, the Kaiser's brother. In 1809, he rose to be the most important *Schützen* commander in South Tirol, and then of the whole land. After the third battle, when the Tiroler victoriously entered Innsbruck, Hofer briefly acted as regent in the name of the Kaiser, and moves were made towards a reconstruction of a functioning *ständisch* system. In 1810, the Kaiser made a half-hearted attempt to intervene to save Hofer's life, but the news reached him too late. A pension was provided for his widow, and he was posthumously raised to the nobility, so that his direct male descendants bore the title of 'Edler von Hofer'⁷.

Hirn's work praised the peasants for fighting in the name of old Tirol, for the *ständisch* constitution, *Landesverteidigung* privileges and the restitution of religious practices. Hofer was a martyr for the Catholic Church and Austria, with the people following the call "*Für Gott und den Kaiser*". Hirn provided an intellectual foundation for the Conservatives' ideological interpretation of the peasantry ('*ein stilles, weltabgekehrtes Bergvolk*') as a model of political and social comportment: '*In altbegründeter Wehrhaftigkeit, aber nicht um kriegerischen Lüsten zu fröhnen, in felsenfester treuer Hingabe an Traditionen, die kein Machtwort eines Fremden auslöschen konnte, griffen die Männer des friedlichsten Berufes zu den Waffen für das, was*

7 The most worthwhile biography of Hofer is: Pizzinini, M.: *Andreas Hofer. Seine Zeit - Sein Leben - Sein Mythos* (Wien, 1984).

*ihnen als Freiheit galt, und was sie als ererbtes heiliges Eigen hoch hielten*⁸.

Was this 'official version' of events true or false? It cannot be argued that the myth is a complete invention. The abolition of certain forms of religious worship had indeed been extremely unpopular in the countryside, as was the introduction of military service⁹. Hofer's personal piety is not in doubt, nor his sense of patriotism¹⁰. Yet it is also necessary to repeat Renan's much-remembered phrase about the forgetfulness of nations: '*Or l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en comun et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses*'. So what was left out of the official version?

3. The poor sinner Andreas Hofer: contradictions between 1809 and 1909

(i) Whereas conservative interpretations, including that of Hirn, tended to concentrate on the details of the short period of Bavarian rule from 1805-1809, a more comprehensive interpretation of the up-rising is to see it as a culmination to a period of intense social, political, and economic change. Firstly, since around the start of the 18th-century, Tirol was in long-term economic crisis, principally the result of an expanding population that put enormous pressure on the restricted resources of agricultural production¹¹. With the decline of its once-

8 Hirn, J.: *Tirols Erhebung im Jahre 1809* (Innsbruck, 1909), 'Vorwort'.

9 Rainer, J., *Tirol unter bayerischer Herrschaft* in: Kühebacker, E. (Hg.): *Tirol im Jahrhundert nach Anno Neun* (Innsbruck, 1986), S.32; Mühlberger, G., *Absolutismus und Freiheitskämpfe (1665-1814)* in: *Geschichte des Landes Tirol Bd.2* (Bozen / Wien, 1986); Hirn: *op.cit.* (1909).

10 Pizzinini, M.: *op.cit.*, (1984).

11 Reinalter, H.: *Tirol von der Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz. Gesellschaft, Politik und Ideen im Überblick*, S.8-18 aus: *Die Tirolische*

(continues on next page)

prosperous mine-works and a shift in the centre of gravity of the Empire towards the East (after the loss of the Spanish Netherlands and the gradual retreat of the Ottomans), the region had sunk from being a heartland of Habsburg economic activity and early capitalism, into an agricultural periphery. Secondly, under the all-powerful influence of the Catholic Church, Tirol had rejected virtually every aspect of the Theresian-Josephinian attempts at reforming the structure of the Habsburg Empire¹². Besides the unpopularity of religious, educational and economic reforms, the loss of political autonomy due to a greater centralisation of government had created widespread grievances. Discontent at some of these changes had surfaced in a period of unrest in 1762, and - after Joseph II had retracted his more unpopular policies at the very end of his reign - Kaiser Leopold was obliged to summon the *Tiroler Stände* in 1790, for the first time since 1720. It is too simplistic to view the up-rising of 1809 as a purely spontaneous, patriotic and pious response to the policies of a harsh foreign government. Similar measures had also been rejected under the Habsburgs; the Bavarian administration pursued their objectives with more conviction and efficiency, thanks in part to a better-paid bureaucracy. Taken over by a government which was enacting a thorough-going reform of a newly-created and enlarged Kingdom (that itself was in financial difficulty), Tirol was subject to a second attempt at a 'revolution from above'¹³. The Bavarian monarchy, inspired by the example of 'enlightened' France, and aiming to move in the direction of a civic nation-state, was counter-posed to the remnants of a corporatist, *ständisch* system in Tirol.

(ii) A large number of the leaders of the up-rising were wine and cattle-traders or inn-keepers. Able to mobilise support through their nodal positions in the local communications network, they had suffered from

Nation 1790-1820. Landesausstellung im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (Innsbruck, 1984).

- 12 Reinalter, H.: *Geheimbünde in Tirol von der Aufklärung bis zum Französischen Revolution* (Bozen, 1982), S.9-55.
- 13 On this, see: Hartungen, C. & Heiss, H.: *Tirol um 1800. Eine Annäherung Sturzflüge* 1984: 12-35.

the reduction of trade during war-time, new taxes and customs-duties, and competition from Bavarian beer. This was a point forcefully argued by the social-democratic party in its press coverage of the *Jahrhundertfeier*, whilst the Conservatives excluded any mention of 'material' forces in their interpretation of 1809. The *Volkszeitung* serialised its own history of 1809, emphasising the economic situation and class structure of Tirol, and attracted vehement criticism from the *christlichsozial* press¹⁴.

Financial reforms were just one aspect of a concerted drive towards a 'modernisation' of Bavarian government. New taxes were introduced, including a levy to cover the cost of stationing Bavarian troops (an unprecedented peace-time obligation in Tirol)¹⁵. Several feast-days and religious processions were abolished, monasteries dissolved and priests deported. These policies had a devastating effect in a place where many of the attempted Habsburg reforms had met with scant comprehension. A new civil constitution promulgated in 1808 replaced the system of 'estates', and Tirol was organised into three districts of Bavaria, and the name of Tirol (now termed '*Südbayern*') officially disappeared. In early 1809, measures were initiated for the conscription of Tirolians into the Bavarian army, as in other areas of the Kingdom. The issue of military service gave the major impetus to preparations for an up-rising being carried out by representatives of discontented farmers, inn-keepers, cattle-traders and commercial bourgeoisie, who were acting in collaboration with, and following the orders of, groups in Vienna around Erzherzog Johann, who were planning to restart the war against Napoleon¹⁶. In the face of such an extensive challenge to the existing socio-political structure, it was under the impact of an emotional

14 *Volkszeitung, Neue Tiroler Stimmen, Allgemeiner Tiroler Anzeiger, Tiroler Bauern-Zeitung*, August-September 1909.

15 Stutzer, A.: *Andreas Hofer und die Bayern in Tirol* (Rosenheim, 1983).

16 Rainer, J., *op.cit.*; Mühlberger, G., *op.cit.*.

reaction to the 'foreign' Bavarians and the general sentiment of a return to 'the old ways' that the uprisers fought¹⁷.

(iii) A central feature of the official view of 1809 - and hence the festival of 1909 - was the unitary character of the *Land*, the social cohesion of the *Stände* and the harmony between rulers and ruled, all fighting for the same glorious cause. But the actual motivations were more varied. Given that in 1809 around 90% of Tirol's population belonged to the peasantry, it is not surprising that the up-rising - in practice somewhat anarchical and very vague and confused in terms of its aims - was for the most part a peasant movement. Nevertheless, it was also a genuinely popular mass rebellion in the sense that some members of every social group participated, and in the early phase of battles, well over ten thousand Tiroler were in arms. For large numbers of property-less day-labourers and serfs, who were now included within the scope of mobilisation, the prospect of payment for fighting, and the chance of plunder, was a release from economic hardship. The nobility was especially threatened by the stricter tax regimen, which affected income from their estates, and tighter control of the judicial system challenged the patrimonial authority of local courts. The clergy fought to maintain their control of religious affairs, and - as in the wars of 1796-7 - warned of the terrors brought on by the God-less revolutionaries. The urban population in Southern areas, particularly Bozen, was hard hit by the extended economic crisis caused by the war and the loss of the formerly prosperous transit trade.

Even with this range of grievances, however, the conviction behind the resort to arms was not as overwhelming as the Conservatives were to argue in the late 19th-century. The up-rising only occurred after regular Austrian troops had entered Tirol. Without their presence, a spontaneous patriotic up-rising was very doubtful¹⁸. Fighting broke out

17 Reinalter, H.: *Die frühen liberalen und demokratischen Bewegungen in Tirol nach 1809*, S.67-85 in: Kühebacker (Hg.): *op.cit.*; Hartungen & Heiss, *op.cit.*.

18 Mühlberger: *op.cit.*, S.515.

exactly on the day stipulated in the Austrian war plans, and this was largely due to the influence of Erzherzog Johann. His role in accepting secret delegations from Tirol in late 1808 and early 1809 was crucial, and allowed the up-risers to believe that they were acting with the Kaiser's full backing, their cause being legitimate, and justified before God¹⁹. Official involvement in the up-rising, which included the distribution of money to organise shooting-practice, allowed for the economic, social and religious grievances to be organised within the framework of traditional expressions of loyalty to the Kaiser. Earlier expressions of discontent with the new regime had led to a meeting near Brixen, in November 1807, but at that stage, those involved envisaged nothing more than a petition to the Bavarian King²⁰. The connection with Vienna thus radically changed the potential scope and aims of the up-rising. Throughout the French Revolutionary Wars, Austria had fought for the principle of legitimacy, yet in 1809, had blatantly gone against this in encouraging the up-rising. Hence the portrayal in the later part of the century of the rebellion as on the one hand a spontaneous (unprovoked) rebellion on the part of the peasantry, and on the other hand, its incorporation into such a rigid hierarchy of loyalty to Church and Kaiser. That interpretation also served to cover up the divisions at court that had existed over the justification for the up-rising.

(iv) Much of the urban population in Northern Tirol, particularly the local bureaucracy, had shown no interest in the up-rising, and kept its distance from the provisional administration under Hofer. Some of the Bavarian policies had been greeted sympathetically by the administrative centres of Innsbruck and Trento²¹. There was also a significantly lower level of participation on the part of Italienisch-Tirol²², though it is clear that numbers of Italian-speaking Tiroler did participate. The Italian-speakers that took part resented the behaviour of the (*Deutschtiroler*)

19 Hartungen & Heiss: *op.cit.*, S.26.

20 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.88.

21 Rainer, J., *op.cit.*; Hartungen & Heiss: *op.cit.*.

22 Reinalter: *op.cit.* (1986); Kramer, H.: *Andreas Hofer* (17.Aufl., Brixen, 1988), S.34.

commanders, and frequent conflicts of opinion arose. Hofer had to send a special appeal to the 'Welschtiroler' in September 1809 to try and placate the difficulties²³. In 1909, the official strategy was to try and encourage the participation of Italian-Tirol, but most versions of the history of 1809 ignored the Italian contribution.

Though their trade interests had been damaged, members of the commercial bourgeoisie wanted peace and stability above all else, and soon lost interest in the up-rising's potential, failing to provide financial backing, because they believed the government would not match its promise to pay back money used for that purpose; they thus restricted themselves to the supply of provisions²⁴. This group had, however, played an important role in the initial preparation and financing of the up-rising - a role that the conservative interpretation of events ignored, owing to its reliance on rural utopias for the production of Tirolian identities.

The overwhelming impression of the year 1809 is more a situation of wide-spread anarchy, with desperate and uncontrolled groups of armed peasants acting without any authority. Hofer's famous 'triumphal entry' into Innsbruck in August was partly a response to an urgent appeal by concerned citizens of the town, who hoped that he would have sufficient authority to curb the riotous marauding of the often drunken fighters. Time and again, appeals were issued for the restoration of order and respect for property. Hofer acceded to the position he did principally because of the need to try and control the *Schützen* companies, and because Austria was wary of committing itself too strongly in Tirol when elsewhere, it was losing all the major set-piece battles with Napoleon. Whatever later idealised accounts said of Hofer's 'regency' being a period of just and wise rule, the actual effectiveness of his authority is open to doubt. Particularly in the latter part of the year, Hofer was openly ignored by lesser *Schützen* commanders, who wished him to continue fighting. On more than one occasion, he was subject to

23 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.157-8.

24 Reinalter: *op.cit.* (1986), S.74.

threats of being shot if he did not do so, and was reluctantly forced to go along with such demands²⁵.

There was widespread disillusion among many peasants during the course of the year. This was already evident during the second battle on the Berg Isel at the end of May, when the *Oberinntaler* failed to provide expected reinforcements. With the battle ending inconclusively, many left the camp cursing the whole undertaking. At other times, *Schützen* returned home as soon as their stipulated 4-week period of service was over. Enthusiasm ebbed with deepening economic disruption and poverty, the burning of villages, and the rising toll of dead and wounded. After the Peace of Schönbrunn, support for another resort to weapons diminished even further, and Hofer himself had doubts about the legitimacy of the near-suicidal '*letzter Aufgebot*' in November²⁶. Only a few thousand assembled for the final battle on the Berg Isel, which was over in a few hours. Many commanders were absent and Hofer himself was way behind the front-line.

(v) Particularly active amongst the insurgents were members of fraternal orders affected by the dissolution of the monasteries, and they played a crucial role in inciting the peasants to battle. In June 1796, the estates meeting in Innsbruck had decreed the holding of a special ceremony for the worship of the Heart of Jesus as an act of religious solidarity and foundation for the defence of the land, and was declared an annual celebration (Hofer constantly invoked this bond in his various statements and letters, and made sure to participate in the feast-day of 1809). There was a similar 'crusading' atmosphere in 1809: '*Diese wilden Tiroler stiegen mit rasendem Geschrei ins Inntal hernieder, das Kruzifix an der Spitze, mit ihren Priestern, rasend wie Tiger*'²⁷. In 1909, Church and Throne formed a united front, appearing in perfect agreement over their appropriate roles. At the time, however, the

25 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.171-9.

26 Pizzinini: *op.cit.*, (1984).

27 Marshall Lefèbvre, French commander in Tirol, writing to Napoleon in August 1809 (cited by, Reinalter: *op.cit.*, S.15).

Tirolian clergy were defending religious practices that the 'enlightened' Habsburg administration had been trying to do away with in the 18th-century.

(vi) One of the major elements in the centenary celebration of 1909 was the role played by the local militia. Again, this represented a patriotic re-interpretation of what had long been a problematical relationship between Tirol and Vienna as to the implementation of military obligations. The largely autonomous institution of *Landesverteidigung* had been neglected since last employed in 1703. The reformist Habsburg state wanted a unified, professionally-organised standing army, raised by conscription and the Tirolian system of untrained local defence had little place within this conception. Attempts to regularise the system during the course of the century met with opposition from the Tirolian estates. Efforts under Joseph II to introduce conscription proved unsuccessful, and were revoked when it became clear that it would have required force to carry the measure through. After the news of the French invasion in 1796, there were hurried attempts to organise the network of semi-abandoned fortifications. Weapons and munitions were in short supply, and the army and Vienna were continually reluctant to deliver arms - earlier objections to the system's inefficiencies were reinforced by the increasing fear of the consequences of providing weapons to a mass, popular army²⁸.

In 1809, there were problems between the regular army and the militia, with the military concerned to maintain overall control of the situation, and see that the militia were disbanded as soon as possible. Once Trento had been freed in the early part of May, the Austrian General Marchal urged Hofer to send home the *Schützen* as quickly as possible, but Hofer insisted on waiting for a response from Erzherzog Johann's representatives²⁹. Also, part of the stress on 'old values' and religiosity by the peasantry had reflected the growing social distance between sections of the nobility and citizens of the towns on the one hand, and the

28 Mühlberger: *op.cit.*, S.467-8.

29 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.114.

rural population on the other. The rhetoric of returning to 'things as they used to be', represented peasant dissatisfaction and resentment of a nobility that seemed to be deserting its responsibilities (particularly in war-time) in favour of the refined and alien culture of the towns and the capital³⁰.

(vii) After the up-rising was over, there was widespread resignation and '*jede Erinnerung an die mißliebige "Insurrektion" wird unterdrückt*'³¹. When Austrian troops returned to North Tirol in 1813, they were met with distrust, and people failed to respond to appeals by the Austrian authorities or returning veterans to rise against the Bavarian administration. The up-rising had always been viewed with some suspicion by Vienna and after the re-union with Austria in 1814, the semi-independent *Tiroler Landesverfassung* was subsumed in the centralist state. Even though the estates were formally re-constituted, they possessed only the right for their petitions to be heard - they had no legislative or executive power.

Under Franz II (I), the Habsburg state increasingly moved towards a reactionary form of absolutism, directed against the ideas of the French Revolution. Despite the fact that Hofer and his followers had fought in the name of this system, that did not prevent them from being caught up in its machinations in the aftermath. Many of the participants went into exile, not to return. Those that stayed found that many of their possessions had been lost (with little hope of their restitution), and were often kept under surveillance as insurrectionists by the Metternichian police-system. Several of the unpopular or unsuccessful measures carried out by the Bavarian government were maintained or continued by the restored Habsburg administration. Some of the Bavarian taxes were actually increased rather than done away with, whilst obligations

30 Hartungen & Heiss: *op.cit.*, S.24-6.

31 Erhard, B: *Der lange Weg zum Helden. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von 1809 erziehung heute* 1/2 1984: 12-16.

for military conscription were intensified, to include a larger section of the male population, and the term of service was lengthened³².

All these contradictions between the complex, anarchic reality of 1809 and the ideological framework of the Catholic-Conservatives were removed from the late 19th-century 'official' view of 1809. The facts that Kaiser Franz had reneged on a promise, given in a hand-written letter of May 1809³³, never again to part with Tirol (allowing its re-partition after defeat in 1809), and that Austria had actually entered into alliance with Napoleon (who married the Emperor's daughter in 1810), were deliberately 'forgotten'. Similarly, the ways in which the 'Tirolian freedoms' were by 1809 little more than the formal relics of an old medieval system that had long been superceded and by-passed on the part of the absolutist Habsburgs³⁴, did not feature in standard accounts of the up-rising. Despite formal acknowledgements of Tirolian rights, Habsburg rulers in practice took little notice of them. One hundred years later, the influence of the doctrines of the 'foreign' (and non-German) French Revolution and the 'Corsican tyrant' (Napoleon) were emphasised much more than the presence of the Bavarians. The Christian press in 1909 was silent about the fact that Erzherzog Johann was suspected by the government in Vienna of wanting to be '*Alpenkönig*' of a putative new kingdom of Rhaetia, to include Tirol, parts of Western Austria and Switzerland - to the extent that he was forbidden to enter Tirolian soil until 1833³⁵. The social democratic press, on the other hand, mentioned these rumours and plans for an up-rising around 1814, naming Josef Speckbacher, the second-most important *Schützen-Commandant* after Hofer, as one of the co-plotters.

32 Hartungen & Heiss: *op.cit.*.

33 The text of the so-called '*Wolkersdorfer Handbillet*' is reproduced in: Riedmann, J.: *Geschichte Tirols*, (Wien, 2.Aufl., 1988), Abb.22.

34 Riedmann, J.: *op.cit.*; Hartungen & Heiss: *op.cit.*.

35 Mühlberger: *op.cit.*, S.541.

4. Hofer and the *Heimat*: literary utopias

The substantial literature on Hofer is distinguished only by the inversely proportional relationship between the quantity of material and its quality³⁶. Most works idealised Hofer as a man of genius and integrity, pious and humble, at once a simple man of the people and a figure of more than mere human greatness. This virtual sanctification was fully developed in the last years of the century, and featured prominently in the *Jahrhundertfeier*, with a flurry of re-prints, anthologies and new works appearing in the years 1908-09. The authors were overwhelmingly concentrated in occupational groups that were characterised by their socio-pedagogical nature. Apart from the presence of educated professionals, such as doctors, teachers or public officials, the dominant and most influential group was formed by priests, for whom writing was a secondary, part-time occupation. They wrote primarily for a local audience, and aimed at a popular readership. In practice, their readership was, like themselves, for most of the century formed from the educated classes, with a mass readership only emerging in the 1890s, as a popular press began to penetrate the rural areas.

Works on '1809' fall into three categories, the outlines of which were established in the *Vormärz* period³⁷: (i) a variety of songs and poems

36 On this subject, see: Feichtinger, J.: *Tirol 1809 in der Literatur. Eine Textsammlung* (Bozen, 1984); Holzner, J.: *Andreas Hofer im Spiegel der Literatur* S.37-50, and Pizzinini, M.: *Zur Entstehung des Andreas-Hofer-Bildes*, S.57-66, both in: Kühebacker (Hg.): *op.cit.*; Pfeiffauf, G.: *Die Wandlungen des Hoferbildes in Tirol bis 1900* (Diss., Innsbruck, 1938); Muigg, F.: *Das Werden des Andreas-Hofer-Mythos im Tiroler Drama des 19. Jhs.* [Hausarbeit am Institut für deutschen Philologie an der Universität Innsbruck, 1972]; Menghin, O.: *Andreas Hofer im volkstümlichen Liede* (Brixen, 1912); Riedmann, G.: *Heimat. Fiktion-Utopie-Realität. Erzählprosa in Tirol von 1890 bis heute* (Innsbruck, 1991).

37 Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.50-1.

-*Schützen* songs or adaptations thereof, official festival poems (formal addresses of loyalty to the Habsburgs), prize poems (often taking the story of an individual), and epic poems (stories of episodes from the battles); (ii) a large number of dramas - it is these first two categories that dominated politically-motivated writing, particularly that of conservative writers in the later part of the century; (iii) the final type - prose works - is comparatively small in number, and tends to take the form of critical commentaries, reportage or memoirs, and (mainly towards the end of the century) popular tales. The character of the literature on Hofer in the *Vormärz* was also decided by the ever-present severity of the censor. In a rare treatment of the theme in the first decade after Hofer's death, Johann Kaspar von Wörndle, a lawyer from Kitzbühel, wrote a play intended for performance at the 1816 homage ceremony for Kaiser Franz, which was meant to reconcile Tirol with the House of Habsburg³⁸. After objections from the censor, the play was fundamentally altered to conform with expectations of loyalty and servility, but even then, the permission for it to be performed was refused. Hofer-songs were forbidden in the period under Metternich. The early literature on 1809 thus worked within defined limits, and this helps to explain why the quantity of work was comparatively small compared to the proliferation that was to peak in the period 1890-1910. It also suggests why the German literature written outside of Austria was more positive towards the up-rising in the earlier decades, as censorship in other German states was either less severe or less preoccupied with the specific implications of the events in Tirol.

4.1. Life after death: the emergence of the national hero 1809-48

At first, it was mainly bourgeois and intellectual circles in Britain and Germany who began to romanticise the figure of Hofer and the popular up-rising in terms of their place in the struggle against Napoleon.

38 Wörndle, J.C.: *Gefangennehmung und Tod des Andreas Hofer. Ein National-Trauerspiel in drei Aufzügen* (um 1816).

Wordsworth was the most famous British poet to write on the Tirolian uprising, a subject to which he devoted four sonnets; many English tourists visited Hofer's birth-place in the *Vormärz* period. In the German states, romantic nationalists and liberals immediately claimed Hofer as a fighter in the struggle for German freedom from Napoleon. The Tirolians were warmly acclaimed in Northern Germany in particular, and from many sides - the Prussian Queen, Luise, the diplomat Jakob Bartholdy and several leading romantic writers, such as Bettina von Arnim-Brentano, Ernst Moritz Arndt, Ludwig Tieck and Joseph von Eichendorff. In the first half of the 19th-century, Hofer could be found depicted on snuff-boxes in company with other heroes from the wars of liberation, such as Major von Schill and Herzog Friedrich Wilhelm von Braunschweig³⁹.

The first two extensive treatments of Hofer in Tirol came after a lapse of a few years, but still testify to the lasting impact of the events of 1809. The work by Wörndle had been preceded by the first Hofer drama, written by a priest and teacher of religious philosophy, Philip Benitius Mayr, and bearing the meaningful title, '*Andreas Hofer, Sandwirth in Passeyer - oder die Tyroler sind getäuschte aber gute Menschen - zur Rettung ihre National-Ehre*'. For Mayr, Hofer was not a rebel, but a simple man who was encouraged to undertake the up-rising by Austrian diplomats, only to be abandoned by them when their plans went awry. The Austrian representatives are given the sole blame for the tragedy, though it is Hofer who pays the price. Having seen the failure of his efforts, Hofer gladly accepts death for the sake of peace in his homeland. Showing not the slightest trace of the mythification that was later to emerge, this first Hofer drama suggests the extent of the embittered and disillusioned mood in Tirol in the aftermath of the battles, and the piece was not published, let alone performed. Wörndle, by contrast, hailed the up-rising as the first attempt at throwing off foreign domination, pre-figuring the eventual re-union of 1814, and

39 Pizzinini, M.: *Zur Entstehung des Andreas-Hofer-Bildes*, in: Kühebacker (Hg.): *op.cit.* (1986), S.58 (and illustration in Tafel I).

acting as an inspiration for the liberation of Germany, but he was writing for a specific occasion, and trying to meet the expectations of the Viennese court.

Contemporaneous with these two pieces was Johann von Hormayr's '*Geschichte Andreas Hofers*' (Leipzig, 1817). Hormayr (1782-1848), who played a leading part in the *Freiheitskampf*, published his biography of Hofer anonymously, and was principally concerned to exonerate his own involvement before the suspicions of the Metternichian police. He attempted to marginalise Hofer's importance, preferring to emphasise his own role in the story and Hofer's simplicity and religiosity. Almost all later negative portraits of Hofer drew in one way or another on Hormayr's description of Hofer drinking and eating in his headquarters behind the front line - the author implied that the first time Hofer really came under fire was when executed by firing-squad at Mantova.

As the events of the up-rising receded into the past, there was a gradual increase in positive estimations of Hofer, though it was not until the mid-1820s that this trend became obvious. Whilst at the level of the state there was still no official encouragement of the figure of Hofer, there was at least a tacit recognition of the '*Sandwirt*' in the form of a re-burial ceremony in the *Hofkirche* in Innsbruck in 1823. Shortly after, came the publication in 1824 of the memoirs of Kajetan Sweth, secretary to Hofer during the latter's period as regent, and companion during his last weeks. This work more than any other signalled the beginning of the glorification of the dead inn-keeper, as it was only after this moment that the *Freiheitskampf* became more openly a subject of literary treatment.

Poems and writings in the *Nationalkalender für Tirol und Vorarlberg* in the late 1820s and 1830s took up the positive image. Evocation of Hofer as the leader of the '*Tiroler Freiheitskampf*' coincided with the striving of early liberal and democratic movements in Tirol for constitutional

rights and individual and intellectual freedoms⁴⁰. In this respect, the widely-resounding echo that the events found in Germany favoured and influenced the emergence of Hofer as a Tirolian national hero. Josef Streiter, a lawyer from Bozen and later liberal politician, evoked the events of 1809 in this way. Without taking Hofer as his specific subject, Streiter hailed the up-rising as a struggle '*Für Freiheit und Recht*', with Tirol being identified as, '*du starkes Land, [...] Du Edelstein in Deutschlands Ring*'⁴¹. Within this overall trend, it is noticeable that there was a muted participation by more conservative writers: few took up the banner of the still potentially controversial figure of the *Sandwirt*. One prominent exception was Beda Weber, Benedictine priest and later Conservative deputy to the German national parliament in Frankfurt in 1848. Weber wrote two poems, '*An mein Vaterland*' (1824) and '*Hofers Verklärung*' (1825), beginning a long series of prize-poems dedicated to the subject of Tirol and Hofer. The latter poem is particularly striking for the mystical, hagiographic depiction of Hofer, who appears more as a spiritual presence than a human figure, a martyr now watching over his beloved *Heimat* from above.

The increasing number of literary works on 1809 were symptomatic of the growing passive acceptance of the figure of Hofer by the Habsburg authorities, and this was made clear at the time of the *Erbhuldigung* for Kaiser Ferdinand (1835-48) in 1838, and the subsequent *Denkbuch*, which mentioned Hofer in positive terms. Unlike in 1816, a performance of a Hofer drama was permitted by the Viennese court⁴². By the 1840s, a generally positive consensus had emerged in the majority of the literature, in which the initially pessimistic assessment by Mayr had been submerged. Whilst conservative and liberal writers projected their own values onto Hofer, both agreed on his heroic stature.

40 Reinalter: *op.cit.* (1986).

41 Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.81-2.

42 Muigg: *op.cit.*.

4.2. Hofer *in excelsis*: the figure-head of Conservative patriotism

In the second half of the 19th-century, the public discourse around Hofer was determined chiefly by two factors: a change in the attitude of the Habsburg Court, which increasingly supported the cult of Hofer; the ideological conflict between the Catholic-Conservative and Liberal parties in Tirol, principally based on the role of religion in society, and in which - at the regional level - the Conservatives emerged as victors. The issue of *Landesverteidigung* played a prominent role in this conflict, because the Conservatives argued that religious faith was the foundation of the strategic strength of the Tiroler, and their willingness to go into battle and obey the call of the Kaiser. By implication, the subject of Hofer and 1809 was a potential theme of that wider discourse, and interpretations of Hofer came to be increasingly polarised.

The challenge of the 1848-9 revolutions brought about a marked change in the attitude of Vienna towards Tirol, which was now subject to evocations of loyalty and the obligations of 1809. Appeals were launched by the back-in-favour Erzherzog Johann, who called on the descendants of the fighters of 1809 to fight off the danger in the South, but these seem to have been one-off attempts to invoke the spirit of Hofer. Hofer was still located within a discourse of liberty and freedom, which made him a possibly subversive figure. The revolutionary period was more significant for the tendency of Hofer to become a figure of solely German-Tirolian identification (as was to be even more the case after the wars of 1859 and 1866). There were very few works by Italian writers on Hofer - it was essentially a German-language discourse.

Two factors influenced the liberal disenchantment with Hofer. Firstly, 1848-9 was a setback for many liberals, some of whom came to see Protestant Prussia as the most likely future leader of Germany. For this group, Hofer began to lose much of his resonance. More importantly, the political struggle of the *Kulturkampf* placed the religious aspect of the up-rising in sharp focus. The influence of these factors led liberal writers to either ignore Hofer, disparage the whole episode, or to attempt to de-mystify his personality. Inspired by a second, enlarged edition of Hormayr's book, which had appeared in 1845, liberals such as

Josef Streiter, came to re-assess the meaning of Hofer for Tirolian history. By the early 1860s, he came to denounce Hofer as a symbol of Tirol's fanatical Catholicism, with the whole Hofer cult now denounced as an "*ultramontaner Schwindel*"⁴³. The fact that a national festival organised by liberals in 1863 to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Tirol's union with Austria did not make any particular effort to identify with Hofer suggests that the liberal disillusionment with the pious *Sandwirt* was well set in. Adolf Pichler, Tirol's leading man of letters, at first hailed Hofer's role in the struggle for freedom, but without attacking the religious component in the up-rising. But he later came to evaluate the events in a more *großdeutsch*-oriented framework, seeing Hofer as the '*Vorkämpfer der Freiheit gegen welsche Zwingherrschaft*'⁴⁴. This was symptomatic of the general trend to re-interpret 1809 as a battle against the French and everything '*Welsch*', whilst down-playing the role of the Bavarians, now re-cast as mis-led Germans. As the *Kulturkampf* began to play itself out, Hofer partially returned to the sphere of liberal interest, with writers such as Pichler reinforcing Hofer's role as a constituent part of Tirolian culture.

For Conservatives, the figure of Andreas Hofer the pious Catholic and patriotic hero - the model Tiroler - became the standard interpretation, to be repeated again and again, such that he had achieved semi-official sainthood by the end of the century. In the period 1890-1910, writers and intellectuals in Tirol were particularly occupied with the nature and form of Tirolian society. Changing social and economic conditions, especially the effects of industrialisation, the intensification of capitalist activity and the growth of tourism, represented a major challenge to the norms and values of the general population. In reaction to this, conservative intellectuals attempted to preserve the memory of 1809 and to re-assert and re-define a set of values for the Tirolian people; these writers provided the majority of the literature in the second half of the

43 Streiter, J.: *Andreas Hofer als Stoff für die Bühne* (*Neue Freie Presse*, Wien), Nr.2827, 9. Juli 1872, S.1-3 - [quoted by Muigg: *op.cit.*, S.100-05].

44 Quoted by, Pfeiffauf: *op.cit.*, S.312.

century. With a large number of priests and clerics as authors, the conservative literature on Hofer was deliberately populist, non-academic, and to a great extent specifically anti-intellectual, and often used the regional and local papers as their forum⁴⁵. Popular writers such as Josef Praxmarer, Carl Wolf and, above all, Sebastian Rieger (known as *Reimmichl*), employed a colloquial or dialect form, attempting to re-confirm values and norms for their peasant and petit bourgeois readership, by criticising the new, the unusual and the modern.

It was primarily in the 1860s that Hofer and his up-rising began to be exclusively claimed by the Conservatives, demonstrated most clearly by the organisation in 1867 of the foundation-stone laying for a memorial chapel to Hofer at Sand in Passeier. Josef Thaler, a priest in Kuens, published a cycle of 17 ballads dedicated to Hofer in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birth. The poems evoke the symbolic re-birth of Hofer by sanctifying his personality and seeing in his death martyrdom and resurrection: *'er muß zu dem Tode geh'n, / Denn herrlicher soll't er aufersteh'n'*⁴⁶. The increasingly political function of this type of literature was more and more apparent. Anniversary or festival years witnessed a flood of patriotic-conservative literature, particularly drama, and towards 1909, a few operas as well⁴⁷. Shortly

45 E.g.: Merthliven, F.: *Am Berg Isel. Andreas Hofer und seine Zeit. Illustrierte, populär-historische Schilderung des Tiroler Befreiungskampf* (Innsbruck, 1909); 'In der Heimat Hofers' von O. Döring, S.5-7: *Jahrhundert-Festnummer des Inntaler Kurier*, Nr.34-5 1909; *Tiroler Bauernkalender* Jg.3, 1909 (S.2-5: 'Der Sandwirt von Passeier'; S.19-28: 'Bilder und Gestalten, Reden und Lieder aus dem Tiroler Freiheitskampfe').

46 From: 'Der Verrath' - [Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.163-4].

47 A few examples: Baur, J.F.: *Andreas Hofer oder der Befreiungskampf Tirols am 13. August im Jahre 1809 am Berg Isel in 30 Gesängen* (Innsbruck, 1893); Mayr, M.: *Erinnerungen an Andreas Hofer* (Innsbruck, 1899); Hattler, F.: *Andreas Hofer, der Mann vom Land Tirol. Erinnerung zur Jubelfeier 1896* (Innsbruck, 1896); Augerer, V.: *Aus Hofer's letzten Tagen. Volksschauspiel in 4 Akten* (Verlag des

(continues on next page)

before the *Reichsrat* elections of 1885, a poem appeared in the Catholic-Conservative supplement to the *Tiroler Stimmen*, the '*Andreas Hofer Zeitung*', and entitled '*Wen soll ich wählen ?*': '*Für Gott, Tyrol und für den Kaiser... / Wählt einen Mann, wie Hofer ist ! / Er war Tyroler, Mann und Christ*'⁴⁸.

Particularly successful were various *Volksschauspiele*, which excited keen interest amongst the population as a whole, as this was a distinctly populist and religious art form that was being used. The most popular were those directed by the writer Carl Wolf, who organised annual productions at Meran from 1892 onwards. Characterised by the use of local dialect, large casts and musical accompaniment, they were less an artistic or historical analysis of the story of 1809, than an idealised recreation of particular scenes ('*lebende Bilder*'). The didactic purpose of these plays was a straightforward presentation of Catholic-Conservative values, via an uncomplicated dialogue that repeated at every possible opportunity the message of religion and patriotism:

'[D'Ansprach]

Dann soll dös Spiel a Beispiel geb'n / Wenn's wieder a mol soll't sein,

Daß d'Jungen grad so felsenfest, / Wie d'Alten Anno neun !

Und endli: daß durch Berg und Tal / Von Meran aus schallen soll:

*Für Gott, für unser Kaiserhaus / Und für das Land Tirol !*⁴⁹.

kath. Arbeitervereins, Innsbruck, 1896); Steiner-Hauenstein, F.: *Geschichtliche Erinnerungen aus dem Jahre 1809. Zum Gedächtnis an den 100. Todestag Andreas Hofers* (Meran-Mais, 1910).

48 *Andreas Hofer Zeitung*, Nr.18 30.4.1885 (Beilage), poem signed by "Dr.W." -[quoted by Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1986), S.59].

49 '*Andreas Hofer. Tirol im Jahre 1809. Bilder aus den Befreiungskämpfen* von Georg Husterer und Carl Wolf, Arrangement der lebenden Bilder und Aufzüge von Carl Wolf' [Meraner Volksschauspiel], (8.Aufl., 1908), S.3, 29.

The highpoint of conservative drama was reached with Karl Domanig's trilogy on the *Tiroler Freiheitskämpfe*, again primarily a *Volksschauspiel*, rather than a classical tragedy⁵⁰. As with Wolf, Domanig aims only to espouse the eternal values of religion and loyalty, the acceptance of fate and the workings of God, the brave and noble fulfilment of duty - this is how Tirol has always been, and ever must be (a particular concern of Domanig's was the fear that the essence of Tirolian life would be altered by the impact of tourism). In Domanig's work, Hofer dies a blameless martyr. Completely ignored outside of Tirol, the work was to receive a lavish production in Innsbruck in 1909.

4.3. Pictures of Hofer

In the first decades after Hofer's death, paintings of the battles of 1809 tended to be 'reportage'-type scenes, with this form dominating until mid-century. Joseph Anton Koch's *'Der Tiroler Landsturm in 1809'* (1819), for example, combined close attention to historical detail, with a romanticised celebration of a weapon-bearing people. Appearing in ever greater numbers after 1830, however, was a developing process of idealisation and heroicisation, with the events of 1809 being more and more personified in the figure of Hofer, and presented in semi-theatrical fashion. An art exhibition for the *Jahrhundertfeier* consisted of works mainly in this vein, with romantic representations of Hofer, or sometimes Speckbacher and Haspinger, and the battles on the Berg Isel, or exchanges of loyalty between the fighters.

During the last quarter of the century, public images of Hofer became more and more widespread. Two artists in particular, Franz von Deferegger and Albin Egger-Lienz, treated the year 1809 in their work. Deferegger painted a whole series of naturalistic history-paintings that frequently took 1809 as their theme: *'Speckbacher und sein Sohn*

50 Domanig, K.: *Der Tyroler Freiheitskampf. Dramatische Trilogie mit einem Vor- und einem Nachspiel* (1895-7; 2. verbesserte Auflage, München, 1909).

Anderl' (1869), '*Das letzte Aufgebot*' (1874), '*Die Heimkehr der Sieger*' (1876), '*Hofers letzter Gang*' (1878), '*Andreas Hofer in der Hofburg zu Innsbruck*' (1879), '*Tiroler Helden*' (1894), '*Der Kriegsrat Andreas Hofers*' (1897). In 1909, he was involved in judging the poster entries for the *Jahrhundertfeier* and the organisation of the art exhibition. Lithographic re-prints of his work helped diffuse the patriotic content to a wider audience. Egger-Lienz, like Deferegger, helped organise the 1909 festivities, and arranged a special cross-bearing group for the *Festzug*. After more naturalistic early works such as '*Ave nach der Schlacht am Bergisel*' (1894/6), his '*Das Kreuz*' (1897/1901) moved towards a monumentalist, figurative form where the cross is the central part of the composition, borne by the simplified, symbolic figures of *Bauer*, marching forwards from a featureless landscape. '*Totentanz 1809*', (first version 1908), again showed determined, representative figures who possess the strength and self-confidence to accept whatever fate is ahead of them.

The increase in the number of pictures taking Hofer or other episodes and personalities from 1809 as their subjects, illustrated the central role that the conservative-oriented 'myth' had come to play within the discourse of Tirolian identities. Paintings of this type were used for large-scale public murals in the last decade of the century, such as the work by Edmund von Wörndle in the *Herz-Jesu-Kapelle* in Passeier, or the frieze in the round (*Rundgemälde*) housed in a special building erected in the 1890s in Innsbruck. Opened in 1896, the main subject of the painting was the Berg Isel battles, which are shown in great detail, but tinged with a romanticism that facilitates the transition from reality to illusion and myth. Mass-volume representations of Hofer were also becoming visible. In 1878, for example, von Wörndle produced a pack of 'Tiroler cards' which depicted scenes from the Wars of Liberation in Tirol, and had personalities such as Hofer, Speckbacher and Haspinger in place of the King, Queen or Jack⁵¹. By the 1900s, he was also a commercial figurehead, being used as a logo for various products and,

51 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.229.

especially in 1909, he and his companions were the subjects of numerous commemorative post-cards.

5. Disillusion and scepticism: some popular perceptions of Hofer

In contrast to these efforts by bourgeois and intellectual circles outside and inside Tirol, there is evidence to suggest that other social groups, such as the peasantry, were for a long time sceptical of accounts which over-dramatised the life of Hofer or glorified the war of 1809. A current of dissatisfaction and the memory of economic hardship existed amongst broader sections of the population. The liberal Bavarian writer Ludwig Steub reported with dismay after his travels in Tirol in 1842 that proper consideration was not often accorded to the national hero:

'[Andreas Hofer als] volkstümlichen Heros [zu verehren, will] den Tirolern der Gegenwart nur schwer gelingen, schwerer noch den Landleuten als den Gebildeten. Die Stunden der Begeisterung sind vergangen - man berechnet jetzt nur die Erfolge. Dieserwegen glaubt man nicht, daß man ihm etwas zu danken habe. [...] Man hebt mehr den Sandwirth hervor, der vor Schulden sich nicht mehr anders zu helfen wußte, als eine Rebellion zu machen, der fromm und einfältig nicht bedachte, was er that, der nie einem Ruf hätte folgen sollen, dem er nicht gewachsen war. [...] Die Bewunderung jenes großen Jahres, die wir Anderen etwa in deutschen Schriften eingesogen, die ist im Lande selbst nur schwer zu retten vor der kühlen Anschauung der Söhne der Freiheitskämpfer'⁵².

This gap between what can roughly be termed popular perceptions of Hofer and the opinions of educated Tirolians or politicians, can be seen in some of the war songs and *Volklieder* arising after, and at the time of, the up-rising. Interestingly enough, no collection of war songs from

52 Steub, L., *Drei Sommer in Tirol* (1842) - cited by Erhard: *op.cit.*, S.14.

1809 were published until the *Jahrhundertfeier* created the impulse to do so. Few of the contemporary songs from 1809 dealt with individual people - they mostly narrate the story in general, only sometimes mentioning prominent figures (such as Hofer) in passing. One study has identified seven songs that can be evaluated as genuine popular 'Hofer-songs' during the 19th-century, that is to say, *Volkslieder* which were absorbed into peasant singing traditions, formed part of their evening-gatherings and took on the new variations and alternative phrases, which indicate that it had been incorporated into the dynamics of an active singing culture⁵³. Of these, four were virtually contemporary to the events taking place, two occur after the execution of Hofer and one was obviously composed right towards the end of the century. It is worth looking at these songs more closely, for they provide a revealing contrast to the 'high' literary tradition.

The first song, known as the '*Sandwirtslied*', was probably composed in late April or early May 1809, after the first battles on the Berg Isel. It was first published in 1852 by Beda Weber, and was re-discovered again around the time of the *Jahrhundertfeier*. Of its 32 verses, only 3 actually deal exclusively with Hofer, who is mentioned in company with other leading figures such as Reichsprinz Johann and the Kaiser⁵⁴. It tells of the discontent within Tirol - the presence of the French and the Bavarians (and their Freemasonry), the disruption of religious practices and the poverty of the land. Hofer is only mentioned as being a commander called upon by the Kaiser to help save the land - there is no reference to any of his personal qualities, and he is not actually named, instead being referred to as the '*Sandwirt*' or 'a bearded man'. A second song, about the battles in the upper Inn valley and Berg Isel, was first published in 1814. In this case too, the main subject of the song is the battles being fought, and Hofer is again mentioned indirectly, as a commander of troops. He appears in the last two of the seven verses, but his name is not used. The song tells of the way in which the Bavarians

53 Menghin: *op.cit.*.

54 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.11-15.

and their foreign allies - 'four kings plus Bonaparte' - have been halted in their advance by the peasants, and God and Mary are called upon for protection.

The third of the four contemporary songs appeared as a fly-sheet in the Autumn of 1809, and then was dug out of the *Landesmuseum* and re-published for the festivities of 1909. Recounting the first battles and the deep poverty of the land, the song tells of its emerging saviour. The author takes great pride in the peasant origins of the hero, and ends strongly wishing for Hofer to further protect the fatherland, with the help of the Holy Trinity. Two different versions exist of the final song of this type - an earlier version that has Hofer as the central figure, and what is probably a later variation from the lower Inn valley, which has Speckbacher as the leading protagonist. Written around December 1809, Hofer is this time mentioned by name, as the chosen war-hero, fighting loyally for Kaiser Franz and the House of Austria, so that the Tiroler can be freed from the harsh servitude imposed by the French and Bavarians.

Some contemporary compositions of this kind survived as folk songs for several decades, but were no longer surviving by the end of the century. Their most striking feature is the expression they give to the mood at the time of the up-rising. From the point of view of the Hofer 'myth', it is interesting that the, in any case very small, number of songs, tell little about the personality or character of Hofer. It is the people themselves who are the main protagonists, trusting in God, the Madonna, and their master, the Kaiser. In one sense, this is not that surprising - clear details and knowledge of Hofer could not have emerged quickly at a time when he was just one personality in a flood of rumours or contradictory messages accompanying the confusion and turmoil of the war, but it is important to note that Andreas Hofer's personal fame was by no means immediate.

Before any definite picture of Hofer could emerge, the Tirolians had been defeated and were subject to severe reprisals from the victors. Many parishes were burdened by war costs for decades, and numbers of peasants left their burnt villages for other regions. Popular opinion moved away from the desperate enthusiasm that had provoked the up-

rising, and towards the mood of distrust and suspicion noted by Steub. Adolf Pichler noticed exactly the same feeling, and like Steub, lamented Hofer's unpopularity:

*'man vernahm allerlei spöttische Bemerkungen über Österreich und seine Regierung, auch für den Kaiser Franz schienen die Leute nicht sehr begeistert; das kümmerte mich wenig, denn was verstand ich von Politik; mehr Eindruck machten auf mich die Reden mancher Tiroler von 1809. "Was haben wir uns herausgeschossen? Neue Steuern und Lasten. Wären wir bei den Bayern geblieben, da hieß es: 'Wein heraus, Korn herein !' und das trug Geld. Warum ließ man den Passeirer Anderl erschießen ? Wir rühren keine Stutzen mehr an!'*⁵⁵.

Pichler also attributed the apathetic and indifferent initial reaction to appeals for mobilisation in 1848 to the lasting impact of 1809⁵⁶. The German writer, Heinrich Heine, who viewed the up-rising as a naive involvement in European power-politics, conveys something of the same mood of helpless resignation in his travel diaries (*'Reisebildern'*), published in 1830: *'Viele merkwürdige Ereignisse jener Zeit sind gar nicht aufgeschrieben und leben nur im Gedächtnis des Volkes, das jetzt nicht gern mehr davon spricht, da die Erinnerung mancher getäuschten Hoffnung dabei auftaucht'*⁵⁷. This mood was also determined by opinion in Austria, which was either silent about, or critical of, the up-rising:

'Wenn man die Zeitschriften der Jahre, die der Katastrophe von 1809 folgten, durchblättert, so wimmeln sie von Darstellungen kriegerischer Großtaten ganzer Regimenter und einzelner Wackerer; aber den Namen der Tiroler, den Namen eines Hofer, eines Speckbacher, eines Haspinger wird man vergeblich unter ihnen suchen. Überall Totenstille über die Ereignisse in Tirol. Armselige Büchlein, in den Verlagen und Formaten des Schinderhannes und der heiligen Genoveva, für den abenteuergierigen Geschmack des Landvolkes bestimmt, kursierten in

55 Cited by, Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.47.

56 Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.134.

57 Feichtinger: *op.cit.*, S.113.

*Österreich und erzählten von dem Tiroler Bauerngeneral wie von einem Rebellenhäuptling*⁵⁸.

Sentiments of disillusion and the sense of economic hardship can be witnessed in outpourings by peasants from all over Tirol - Salurn, Sterzing, Schwaz or Axams. These wide-spread feelings are indicated in the following example of *Volkspoesie*, by a peasant from Algund, which was heard at the St.Nikolaus market at Imst in 1829, and recorded by Karl von Lutterotti for his '*Gedichte im Tiroler Dialekte*' (1854). A transcription of the *Burggräfler* (Meran region) dialect reads:

*'O geht, geht, hört zu streiten auf vom selben Neunerjahr, ich glaube, der zur selben Zeit am ärgsten geraust, der war der größte Narr. Die Hütten abgebrannt und viele Leute hin und das Land voller Schulden: das ist der ganze Gewinn. Seht, nur wir zwei Männer sind erhalten geblieben, ein Mädchen ist mir vor Schrecken über einen Felsen zu Tod gefallen und meine Alte ist mir darauf vor Gram daraufgegangen. Und ich weiß vor lauter Zahlen nicht mehr was anzufangen. Wenn du mit bloß fremdem Gesinde mußt dein Zeug zu erhalten sehen, bist du schlecht gewiß genug daran; schau nur, wie lang du's wirst behalten*⁵⁹.

The general impression is reinforced by secret police-reports about the mood of the population after 1815. Many wanted a return to the *ständisch* constitution, which was seen as a remedy for the economic problems of the land. Demands were made for lower taxes, coinage reform, and the improvement of trade; in the Italian-speaking part of Tirol, there were cases of local unrest, as a result of crop-failures, rising prices, usury and widespread hunger, though the situation was easily controlled by the available police forces, and there was never any question of a planned up-rising⁶⁰.

Whereas educated circles in Tirol had begun to celebrate the events, the older generation of peasants warned that the whole episode had been a

58 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.39.

59 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.41; the original dialect form is also given there.

60 Reinalter: *op.cit.* (1986), S.77-8.

foolish mistake, in view of its consequences. It seems that folk memories of Hofer in fact died out during the course of the century:

*'Wie sehr die Größe der Ereignisse dem Gedächtnisse vieler entschwunden war, zeigt am besten der Umstand, daß man heute noch in den Tälern alte Leute finden kann, deren nähere Kenntnisse von Hofer und dem Jahre Neun erst seit den neuesten Ehrungen zu Ende des vorigen [19n.] Jahrhunderts datieren. Die Erinnerung war in dunkle Sage aufgegangen. Erst durch die Schule wurde die geschichtliche Kunde von jenen leutenden Vorbildern frommen Biedersinnes und unentwegter Treue wieder in die Jugend, in das Volk getragen'*⁶¹.

This is not to say that the social memory of Hofer completely disappeared, for some traces remained in popular sayings and legends, but there was none of the detailed knowledge, celebration or mythification that occurred within the social and political elite in Tirol. Where Hofer does appear as part of popular memory, this represented his incorporation within much older legends. Hence the saying from the Passeier and Meran district, which recounts that on the day of Hofer's birth (22. November, 1767), a bright star, in the shape of a sword, could be seen above the inn in which he was born. Another version has the star in the shape of a hunting-rifle. Either way, the biblical inspiration is clear. Another example, this time recalling pagan myths of the *Kyffhäuser* type, was heard in the war year of 1848, when news was spreading of Italian victories over Austrian troops in the South. Many believed that Hofer had been shot in Mantova, but in fact he was still living, hidden in the mountains around Passeier; the situation in the Italian lands would deteriorate until most of the Austrian troops were wiped out; when the Kaiser appears in the valley with his last two soldiers, Hofer will arise, to summon up a militia army greater than any seen before, and the Italian rebels will be beaten once and for all⁶².

61 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.43.

62 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.46.

Aside from such sayings, there are two *Volkslieder* on the death of Hofer, which have survived. The better known of these was '*Hofers Abschiedslied vom Leben*', which exists in several different versions. Probably emerging from the first decade after the latter's death, the song appears to be a partial adaptation of soldiers' songs from Tirol or Switzerland, and although narrated in the first person, it is virtually certain that there is no direct link between the song and Hofer himself. It probably belongs to the type of 'miracle' songs ('*Moritat- und Mirakelliedern*'), that often arose in the aftermath of strange or traumatic events. The dominant tone is again one of disillusionment, as Hofer resigns himself to his inevitable fate, having been abandoned by Kaiser Franz and taken away from his homeland. Hofer greets his wife and children, before calling on the Mother of God not to abandon him. The other song dealing with Hofer's death, recorded in 1894 and published in 1909, stems from Walten, one of the high valleys near Passeier, and was probably taught to the school-children there by a Capucin father. Though not in the strictest sense a *Volkslied* in terms of its conception, it nonetheless bears enough similarities for it to have been based on one. Its knowledge of historical detail suggests a later origin than the former, perhaps being composed around the time of the unveiling of a memorial table to Hofer in the *Hofkirche* in 1834. Before taking leave of the world, Hofer appeals to the Heart of Jesus and Mary to be with him, and remembers himself in loyalty to Tirol and the Kaiser, his companions in battle, his family and Sweth; then, like a true Christian, he forgives his betrayer, and the riflemen charged with his execution. In contrast to the earlier group of songs, these two seem to have continued to form part of the repertoire of folk songs.

Significantly, the most influential song on Hofer's death (and what was to become the national hymn of Tirol) was '*Sandwirth Hofer*', better known as '*Zu Mantua in Banden*', written by the Saxon poet and liberal Julius Mosen in 1832, and then set to music by the Austrian composer Leopold Knebelsberger in 1844. It was this romantic-national song that came to be adopted as a hymn and promoted in Tirolian schools and the

public sphere⁶³; thence it was incorporated within the tradition of folk songs. Finally, the most recent of the seven songs, also from Walten, and supposedly jointly written by a priest and a *Bauer*, is the only one of the popular songs that subscribes to the standard patriotic formula used by the Catholic-Conservatives at the time of the *Jahrhundertfeier*. The last verse runs as follows:

*'Kommt's einmal noch zu Krieg und Streit, / Gott woll's verhüten sein,
Da sein wir wieder all bereit / Wie achtzehnhundertneun.
Zu kämpfen und zu streiten all / Ein jeder Hand in Hand,
Für Gott, für Kaiser und wohl auch / Fürs liebe Vaterland'*⁶⁴.

First published in 1909, this song clearly dates from the last decades of the 19th-century, and through its obvious repetition of the Conservative motto, suggests how the officially-sponsored version of Hofer only came to be part of the popular conception of the events of 1809 at a comparatively late date. There is little evidence to show that popular interpretations of Hofer formed part of the political mythification process at an earlier stage. Whilst this last song *did* -unlike dozens of other poems of the same sentiment - come to form part of the popular repertoire, its heroicised view of Hofer did not originate there, and shows strong contrasts to the earlier sense of disillusionment and suspicion.

6. The chapel at Sand in Passeier (1899)

In September 1899, a chapel commemorating Hofer and dedicated to the Heart of Jesus was consecrated during a *Landesfest* at Passeier, Hofer's birthplace. Attended by the Kaiser and members of the imperial family,

63 *Tiroler Bauernkalender* Jg.4 1910, S.23-7; 'Zu Mantua in Banden'.

64 Menghin: *op.cit.*, S.60.

the event in many ways foreshadowed the themes of the *Jahrhundertfeier* ten years later - the attempt by Conservative elites to mobilise patriotic sentiments amongst the peasant population, the religiosity of Tirolian identities, and the interplay of local, regional and imperial levels of significance. What had originally begun as a local initiative on the part of Conservatives in the Meran district in the late 1860s, became an officially sponsored national event of greater political importance - '*ein nationales und bleibendes Denkmal für den "Mann von Tirol"*'⁶⁵. By using the figure of the "*Tirolerhelden Andreas Hofer*" as the nodal point for Tirolian identities, the 'man from Tirol' facilitated the personalisation of otherwise abstract sentiments: '*Was das tirolische Volk unter den bairischen Herrschaft fühlte, was es drückte und was es zur Gewalt gegen den wiederrechtlichen Umsturz der religiösen, wie nationalen Freiheit im Jahre 1809 entflammte, vereinigte sich in Hofers edler, patriotischer Seele, fand in ihm den lebendigen Ausdruck*'⁶⁶.

The initial impetus for the construction of the chapel came from a group of Conservatives in the area around Meran in 1866. Of the 21 signatories to an appeal issued in October 1866, 3 were Conservative members of the *Landtag*, 4 were clergymen and 11 were *Schildhofbesitzer*, land-owning farmers with specific property rights and privileges; the group was completed by an inn-keeper, a district financial official, and a defence commissioner⁶⁷. Two of the prime movers within the '*Comité der Hoferfeier*' were Graf Anton Brandis and Freiherr Paul von Giovanelli, both local *Landtag* deputies, and the latter a leading protagonist within the *Kulturkampf*. The building of the monument was an assertion of the religious foundation to Tirolian society at a time when this was being challenged by the liberal government in Vienna. But the project should also be seen in the light of

65 LsA/2/5/1(d): Zl.7 - Landeshauptmann von Tirol an Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, 3.5.1899.

66 TLF: [FB.1619] '*Erinnerungen an die bairische Herrschaft in Tirol und dessen Uebergang an Oesterreich im Jahre 1814, als Beigabe zur Hoferfeier*', Hg. von P. Cölestin Stampfer, (Meran, 1867).

67 LsA/2/5/1(d): (Einl.Z.1) Bericht, o.U., o.D. (1899).

the events of the past year. The outcome of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (i.e. Austrian exclusion from the German Confederation) represented on the one hand a setback for the widest ambitions of the liberal cause in the Monarchy, and on the other, a minor triumph for the most convinced Catholics in Tirol, who had long dreaded the prospect of closer links with the heretical Protestants in Northern Germany. For the Catholic-Conservatives, Protestant exclusion from Austria represented something of an ideological victory, even if defeat on the battlefield could hardly be a reason for patriotic celebration. Despite the overall military loss, however, the attempted Italian invasion of Tirol had been unsuccessful. The move to build a memorial chapel thus represented the first tentative effort to construct a patriotic, conservative and Catholic-German political programme around Hofer by an ideology that had - at the level of the Habsburg state - been on the defensive for most of the 1860s.

The appeal issued in early October 1866⁶⁸ tried to claim Hofer for the Catholic-Conservatives, and disassociate him from the tradition of the now seemingly defeated liberal national movement: '*Andreas Hofer gieng [sic] zum Tode wie ein christlicher Held und hat ihn erduldet wie ein unerschrockener Martyrer*'. Whereas many contemporary monuments in Germany and Austria sponsored by liberal movements tended to be secular in form and theme, it is significant that the Conservatives should have evoked the Counter-Reformatory cult of the Heart of Jesus. The substance of the appeal was a re-statement of religious values and of loyalty to the Monarchy, a patriotic reassurance about the outcome of 1866. It is also significant that the appeal seems only to have been issued in German, suggesting that it represented an assertion of a particular form of identity by German-speaking Tiroler in reaction to the events of 1866. The Tirolian Catholics echoed Austria's claim for leadership in Germany, justified by the crucial impetus given by the patriotic, Catholic Hofer to the freedom of Germany: '*Was der*

68 LsA/2/5/1(d): (Einl.Z.1) Bericht, o.U., o.D. (1899) - S.4-7, '*Aufruf des Comité der Hoferfeier*', 4.10.1866.

"Mann von Tirol" und sein Volk zuerst begonnen, das hat nachhin das deutsche Volk nach dem Beispiele Tirols vollendet'. The appeal portrayed the battles of 1809 as being against '*die unüberwindlichen Legionen des französischen Imperators*', with no mention of the Bavarian involvement in the wars. 1809, like the war of 1866 in Tirol against Italian invaders, had been a struggle of Germans against '*Welsch*' culture, whereby French and Italian were grouped together as '*Latin*' antitheses of the (German) Tirolians - '*beide Jahre hat derselbe Geist beseelt*'. Emphasis was placed on the wider importance of Hofer's place in world history because it was Catholic, and not liberal, values which possessed universal validity: '*Sein Name ist nicht bloß mit der Geschichte Tirols innig verbunden, - er gehört der Weltgeschichte an*'⁶⁹. Within the context of the *Kulturkampf*, the Conservatives portrayed the liberals as oppressors, and 'freedom' (*Freiheit*) was interpreted as freedom from coercive measures against religious practices; thus in 1809 Hofer had held up '*die Fahne der Freiheit*' against '*die fremdartige, bürokratische Maschinerie*' of the Bavarians. In their rejection of 'foreign ways' and the plea for freedom, the Conservatives were implicitly arguing for Tirol's different status within the monarchy, and stating that successful patriotism and defence was grounded in religious faith. The '*nationale Erhebung*' of 1809 had shown:

'Als ächte Gebirgswohner und als ächt germanischer Volksstamm haben die Tiroler [...] ihre autonome Stellung als ein ererbtes Heiligthum angesehen und dafür Gut und Blut eingesetzt. Dieß ist der Geist, der damals das tirolische Volk durchwehte und die Vertreter desselben haben mündlich und schriftlich diesem Geiste vor dem allerhöchsten Throne den entschiedensten Ausdruck gegeben'⁷⁰.

This was exactly the aspect of the up-rising - its anti-Vienna potential - that the Habsburg Court had so feared in 1809, and the continuing

69 TLF: [FB1619] Stampfer, P.: *Erinnerungen an die bairische Herrschaft in Tirol und dessen Uebergang an Oesterreich im Jahre 1814, als Beigabe zur Hoferfeier* (Meran, 1867), *Vorwort*.

70 TLF: [FB1619] Stampfer: *op.cit.*, *Vorwort*.

articulation of Tirolian autonomy was in basic opposition to the long-term policy of the Habsburg state, and helps to explain why the initiative took so long to reach its aim - realisation of patriotic projects later in the century were facilitated by large-scale subsidy from the central state. The invocation of this aspect of the up-rising was not articulated at the 1899 ceremony that celebrated its completion. By then, the rapprochement between regional and imperial elites meant that the '*österreichische Bedeutung*' of the up-rising was heavily emphasised⁷¹.

A foundation-stone laying ceremony was performed on 28. October 1867, and despite its announcement as a 'Tirolian' event, proved to be a sectarian occasion, in that it was exclusively a gathering of conservative political and social forces. Leading dignitaries from the Meran district and from Innsbruck attended, a large number of clergy, and '*vieler hervorragenden Patrioten*'. A mass was performed by Fürstbischof Riccabona from Trento, and a prayer read by his counterpart, Vinzenz Gasser, of Brixen. Thus two of the most powerful figures in the *Kulturkampf* presided over the celebrations. The concrete financial response to the movement, like that for many contemporary monuments, was weak. After the ceremony, the movement fell into inactivity, and by the late 1870s, it seemed so devoid of future that the committee for the Berg Isel monument to Hofer asked for the money being held in Meran to be put towards their own plans⁷².

These approaches were firmly rejected and galvanised the dormant movement, arousing the local feelings of the group from the Meran district, who felt that their regional pride had been affronted: '*Das war uns im Burggrafenamte doch zu viel*'⁷³. In 1881, a new '*Hofercomité*' of 17 members was formed, based on a core of people who had already been involved in the project. A second appeal was launched in March 1881, but brought in a disappointing sum, despite the boost of

71 LsA/2/5/1(d): '*Aufruf zur Andreas Hofer-Landesfestfeier am Sand in Passeier*', Landeshauptmann Brandis, 1899.

72 LsA/2/5/1(d): (Einl.Z.1) Bericht, o.U., o.D. (1899).

73 LsA/2/5/1(d): (Einl.Z.1) Bericht, o.U., o.D. (1899) - S.8.

contributions from the *Landtag* and the imperial house. Reasons for the poor response were given as the amount of publicity given to the Berg Isel monument, which had drawn away funds, the simultaneous occurrence of crop failures and wine disease, which stretched local resources, and the direction of political energies into the *Kulturkampf*. It was possible to build the basic structure of the chapel in 1881-2, but it was then left empty and bare, with no funds available to carry out the desired decoration of the interior. After further delay, a third appeal was launched in 1893. This time, enough money was collected, though there was again a heavy reliance on the support of the *Landtag* and the imperial family, and the completion of the interior was finally carried out between 1894 and 1898. Edmund von Wörndle, a grandson of a famous *Freiheitskämpfer*, painted a patriotic fresco, which told the story of the period before the up-rising, the great successes under the hero Hofer, and its tragic conclusion.

Some time in the Spring of 1899, it was decided to turn the local celebration into a full '*Landesfest*', perhaps after imperial approval had been obtained. The event accrued greater political importance with its change of status and required the elaboration of a full festival programme when it was confirmed that the Kaiser, attended by several Archdukes, would be present. Other important factors were probably that Brandis, one of the prime movers in the project since 1866, had been *Landeshauptmann* since 1889, which made its elevation to a *Landesfest* more feasible, and would also have reflected his personal pride in the project. After their eventual legislative defeat in the *Kulturkampf* in 1892, the Catholic-Conservatives during the 1890s concentrated more of their political energies into the public propagation of the values that seemed to be potentially undermined by their loss of control over the schools. These kinds of motivations come forward in the '*Aufruf zur Andreas Hofer-Landesfestfeier*' issued in the Summer of 1899. Brandis began by emphasising the religious and patriotic virtues of Hofer, who demonstrated the selfless capacity for sacrifice that was expected of every true and obedient subject of the Kaiser:

'Fürwahr erblicken wir in Hofer, der Gott und seinem Kaiser treu ergeben bis in den Tod, die edlste Verkörperung der tirolischen

Volksseele und einen christlichen Helden, [...] weil er einen in Gott gestählten Sinn bewahrt und weil er nur Gottes Ehre und seines Volkes Segen - nie sich selbst gesucht'.

The agenda of Catholic-Conservative politics is instantly recognisable here, with the emphasis on loyalty and obedience anchored in religion, a self-sacrificing heroism that was implicitly counterposed to the selfish individualism of liberal politics and the materialistic concerns of the marxist social democratic movement. It would thus be 'genuine Tiroler' who would gather in recognition of these values, accepting the obligations they invoked: *'Sammelt Euch also, Ihr wahren Tiroler, unter Eueren ehrwürdigen, ruhmbedeckten Kriegsfahnen im Geiste unserer Väter, im Geiste der alten Liebe für [...] Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland !'*. Specific recognition was also given to the cult of the Heart of Jesus, *'aus welcher Quelle [Hofer] und die Tiroler fort und fort Muth und Kraft geschöpft haben'*. Hofer himself was acknowledged as *'[der] von unerschütterlichen Treue und Festigkeit [erfüllte Verehrer] des heiligsten Herzens Jesu'*. Having detailed the regional significance of the *'Landesdenkmal'*, Brandis stressed the state-patriotic aspect of the uprising:

*'Das Andreas Hofer-Landesfest hat aber auch eine österreichische Bedeutung, Hofer kämpfte und starb für die Einheit Tirols mit Oesterreich. [...] Die letzten Worte dieses unerschrockenen Martyrers galten seinem geliebten Kaiser !'*⁷⁴.

The *'Lokalcomité Meran-Passeier'* set up in the early part of 1899 consisted exclusively of leading figures from the town of Meran and the Passeier district⁷⁵. By now, the committee was much larger, even if it was a much narrower committee which drew up the festival programme in June. Consisting of 43 members (all men), 17 were from Meran, and 25 from villages in the Passeier district, (1 gave no place of residence).

74 LsA/2/5/1(d): *'Aufruf zur Andreas Hofer-Landesfestfeier am Sand in Passeier'*, Landeshauptmann Brandis (im Name des Landescomité), 1899

75 LsA/2/5/1(d): Z.18 Lokalcomité Meran-Passeier.

Of the 25 from the Passeier valley, 6 were *Oberschützenmeister*, 11 *Gemeindevorsteher*, 7 priests or curates and 1 a district judge (*Bezirksrichter*) - thus the most important men in each village community were present. More significantly, the spread of committee members from Meran (a town with strong liberal traditions) suggests that, unlike at the beginning of the project, there was some degree of cross-party support for the event. 6 members of the *Gemeinde-Ausschuß* and 3 members of the *Kurvorstehung* (1 member over-lapping with the town council) were on the committee, which was headed by the *Bezirkshauptmann*, Freiherr Markus von Spiegelfeld. In terms of occupation, the committee members from Meran were a combination of people of private means or property-owners (2), hoteliers (3), doctors (3), an army officer who was commander of a *Landes-Schützen-Bataillon*, and then independent craftsmen, teachers or artists (including the writer and *Volksschauspiel*-director Carl Wolf). Rather than representing the emergence of new social forces, however, the composition of the committee indicated a partial rapprochement between social groups who had been in sharp opposition for most of the period 1860-90. The balance of the committee was politically conservative, but the presence of those involved in the tourist and *Kur* sectors - which tended to be fairly liberal in terms of politics and religion - is important. Despite the important social and political widening of the project, the direction remained controlled by Catholic-Conservative interests⁷⁶.

The celebrations took place on 20.-21. September 1899, and were attended by the Kaiser, and the Archdukes Franz Ferdinand, Ferdinand Karl and Eugen. Despite its elevation to the status of '*Landesfestfeier*', it retained something of the character of a regional festival, in that the majority of *Schützen* came from the surrounding area, and because certain parts of it, such as the opening of a new road built up the Passeier valley, were matters of local pride and importance. The Kaiser arrived in Meran in the afternoon of the 20. September, to be greeted by

76 LsA/2/5/1(d): Protokoll einer Sitzung des Local-Festcomités, 23.6.1899.

delegations from the local area and military bands, and passed through streets lined with school-children, veterans' groups and *Schützen*. In the evening there was a Court dinner, and a performance of Carl Wolf's *Volksschauspiel*, '*Andreas Hofer*', in the presence of the Kaiser, and the lighting of mountain-top fires. Consecration of the new chapel began early the next morning. The ceremony lasted around three hours and was jointly conducted by the two Tirolian Prince-Bishops. The Kaiser, having travelled to Hofer's birth-place (the *Sandhof*), met the *Gemeindevorstellungen* of the local villages, and then attended the first, hour-long mass in the consecrated chapel. The service was followed by a march-past of *Schützen* (their flags newly decorated with Hofer-medals) in front of the Sandhof, and the celebrations were completed by a *Festschießen*⁷⁷. The style of the event foreshadowed that of the *Jahrhundertfeier*, with emphasis placed on religion (schoolgirls were to be dressed in white), the military (the presence of *Kaiserjäger* and *Schützen*), and on the peasantry as a social group⁷⁸.

Enthusiasm for the event seems to have been fairly high, perhaps also because of the success of local celebrations for the Kaiser's jubilee in the previous year. Large numbers of *Schützen* attended. *Landescommissär* Bauer indicated in June that 7-8,000 were expected. One *Schützen* company at Burgeis, which had been established the year before in recognition of the jubilee, planned to send 6-10 men to Passeier for the celebrations. They pointed out, however, that were the costs of travel and uniform not so high, and the journey not so long (with no train link in that area, they needed three days to get to Passeier), ten times that number would have gone⁷⁹. The welcoming speech by *Bürgermeister* Weinberger, besides expressing standard idioms of loyalty, and honour at the Kaiser's presence, suggested how localities were able to identify

77 LsA/2/5/1(d): Programm für das 'Tirolische Landesfest', 20.-21. September 1899.

78 LsA/2/5/1(d): Zl.7 - Landeshauptmann von Tirol an Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, 3.5.1899.

79 LsA/2/5/1(d): Gemeindegießstand Burgeis an das Lokal-Comité für die Andreas Hofer-Feier, 20.8.1889.

themselves with, and wished to be incorporated within 'official' Tirolian identity. There was both a sense of local pride and an involvement with Tirol, and therefore, of loyalty to the Kaiser:

*'Mit der Schicksal dieses edlen Mannes ist die Stadt Meran auf's Innigste verknüpft. Unter dem Commando dieses Helden haben die Meraner Blut und Leben für das erhabenen Herrscherhaus geopfert und in der Bürgerschaft dieser Stadt hatte Andreas Hofer sein liebsten und treuesten Freunde, [...] daher bewahren wir pietätvoll die Denkmäler und Erinnerungen an ihn und behalten des Helden Gedächtniß durch die Volksschauspiele wach'*⁸⁰.

This also represented a plea for the inclusion of urban identities within the discourse of Tirolian identities, which tended to be rural-dominated. At the start of the project, local politicians from Meran had not been involved; their presence at the turn of the century suggests a common interest between urban and rural elites in maintaining control of political decision-making in the arena of mass politics.

7. The Hofer-Denkmal on the Berg Isel (1893)

The initial idea to erect this monument to Hofer came from the officer corps of the *Tiroler Kaiserjäger* regiment, who were planning a military museum on the Berg Isel. They thought that their project could only be properly completed by the *'Verherrlichung des höchsten und begeisterten Beispiels von Patriotismus, daß die Geschichte unseres Landes bewahrt'*⁸¹. The suggestion was then enthusiastically adopted and sponsored by the *Landtag*, a move which signified the absolute rehabilitation of Hofer and his transformation into national hero.

80 LsA/2/5/1(d): Entwurf der Begrüßungsansprache des Bürgermeisters Dr. R. Weinberger (Meran) zum 20.9.1899.

81 TLF / Zg.: [Vereinswesen Schachtel 'B-D'] *'Aufruf !'*, Comité zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für Andreas Hofer, o.J. (um 1880).

It had mainly been members of the same social grouping of *Kaiserjäger* officers who had made attempts earlier in the century to have Hofer's patriotic worth properly recognised⁸². Calls for the return of Hofer's body to Tirol had been made by officers in 1814. In 1816, Joseph von Hormayr and the poet Adolf Weissenbach had repeated the request, at the time of the *Erbhuldigung* for Kaiser Franz. All these pleas, like those from the *Tiroler Landstände*, were ignored by Vienna, who did not wish to see Hofer return as a martyr for the '*Tiroler Nation*'. The re-interment of Hofer's body in Tirol was thus an independent, unauthorised project of a handful of patriotic *Kaiserjäger* officers. On the night of 8.-9. January 1823, they disinterred Hofer, and his bones were re-assembled by a doctor in Trento and placed in a coffin. Vienna was initially only prepared to allow a re-burial at his birth-place in St.Leonhard, but was reluctantly obliged to allow a ceremony in the *Hofkirche*, in order to avoid a potentially illegal celebration. The officers involved were later disciplined for their actions⁸³. The imperial decree permitting the re-burial reached Innsbruck on February 6., but the news was kept secret whilst Hofer arrived from Bozen. No large-scale preparations were made, with Vienna anxious to see the matter ended as quickly as possible. The coffin bearing Hofer arrived on February 19., and a ceremony followed on 21. February 1823. A low-key event, the official report in the '*Bothen von und für Tirol*', first had to gain the censor's approval, and only appeared on 17. March. Subsequent to the ceremony an imperial decree was issued for the

82 Military officers stationed in the then Habsburg province of Veneto were responsible for erecting plaques to Hofer at the place of his death. At first, only a simple white stone had been placed on Hofer's grave, by the priest of the cemetery in Mantova. A plain stone plaque bearing Hofer's initials was placed at the site of execution in 1850. Damaged during the hostilities of 1859, it was replaced by a new, larger stone in 1860, which was paid for by the *Kaiserjäger* regiment. After lobbying from the *Kronprinz Rudolf-Veteranen-Verein* in Innsbruck, the monument was renovated in 1891 at the cost of the Italian government. See: Granichstaedten-Czerva, R.: *Andreas Hofer's alte Garde* (Innsbruck, 1932), S.109-12.

83 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.201-03.

construction of a monument on Hofer's sarcophagus, which was unveiled in 1834, together with a baroque relief, that was unveiled in 1837. These first monuments to Hofer - a full quarter of a century after his death - were both paid for by the imperial house⁸⁴, and thus did not represent the outcome of initiatives from social groups as did the monuments at the end of the century. Hofer was therefore officially ignored in terms of the struggle for Tirolian freedom and rights, but would be incorporated into a rigid religious-patriotic framework where that could not be avoided.

The situation had become very different by the last quarter of the 19th-century. Celebration of Hofer was now a mass, public event, no longer a question of discreet memorials or secret happenings. The primary aim of the museum, and the monument to accompany it, was clearly to raise patriotic consciousness of the Empire - the Habsburg Officer Corps was one of the main repositories of imperial ideology in the Monarchy⁸⁵. By celebrating the glorious history of the *Kaiserjäger-Regiment*, the museum was simultaneously celebrating '*ein Stück Geschichte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*'. The appeal recounted an 'official' history of 1809, which emphasised the three victories on the Berg Isel - '*drei goldene Lorbeerkränze, unvergänglich eingegraben in die Tafeln der Geschichte Oesterreichs !*'. Tirol had been taken away ('*losgerissen*') from Austria, not handed over in a formal treaty respected by both parties. The end of the up-rising, its failure and the renunciation by Austria was completely passed over: '*als nach geschlossenem Frieden die ungeheure Uebermacht des Gegners von allen Seiten in's Land fluthete und das kleine Häuslein hielt und auch jetzt noch den Angriffen vom 1. und 2. Novemeber Stand. Es ward nicht überwältigt, nicht besiegt und doch kam das Ende*'. The unity of the land was stressed: '*da griff in der That Jung und Alt zu den Waffen wie ein Mann*'. The appeal ended with

84 Pizzinini: *op.cit.* (1984), S.228.

85 Deák, I.: *Beyond nationalism. A social and political history of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1990).

four lines taken from 'Zu Mantua in Banden', by now the standard Hofer song.

The appeal launched in 1880 was signed by 32 men. The prime movers were the Conservative elite, though there was also support from members of the Innsbruck bourgeoisie. 15 bore attributions of nobility (3 'Graf', 2 'Ritter', 2 'Freiherr', 2 'Edler von', 4 'von' and 2 'Dr. von'), whilst a further 7 bore the title of 'Dr.'. 7 were high-ranking members of the Habsburg officer corps, including the Oberst-Kommandant of the *Kaiserjäger*. 12 other members of the committee were in some form of state employment, nearly all in a relatively senior position bearing the title of counsellor (*Hofrat*, *Landesgerichtsrat*, *Sektionsrat* and so on). The Abbott of Wilten (proprietor of the Berg Isel) and the deacon of Innsbruck represented the clergy. Other men on the list by virtue of their positions included the (Liberal) *Landeshauptmann* Graf von Bossi Fedrigotti, the *Oberschützenmeister* of Innsbruck (Graf Wolkenstein), the Rector of the University of Innsbruck, the *Landeshauptmann* of Vorarlberg (Graf Belrupt-Tissac) and his deputy⁸⁶. There were 3 *Landtag* members, two Conservative, one Liberal (for Innsbruck town). The elite of Innsbruck were represented by the *Bürgermeister* and his deputy, both national-liberals, the President of the chamber of commerce, and former *Bürgermeister* and Sparkasse-Direktor Dr. Johann Tshurtschenthaler. Three members of Innsbruck council were signatories (2 of them *Landtag* members). What all this suggests is firstly, the socially elite nature of Tirolian politics and the construction of patriotic discourse, secondly, the breadth of patriotic identities and lastly, the importance of local social relations in creating the forum in which expressions of patriotic sentiment were expressed and seen to be expressed.

This committee, like its counterparts for other memorials to Hofer, consisted exclusively of Deutschtiroler, and Hofer seems to have been

86 Inclusion of Vorarlberg on the committee was necessary because Vorarlberg and Tirol formed one region for defence purposes and conscripts from there served in the *Kaiserjäger*.

maintained within the interpretative framework of the German Wars of Liberation. Mainly for foreign policy reasons, he was never seen as an inspiration for the Liberation of Italy from Napoleon. With the full weight of the military and the *Landtag* behind the enterprise from its outset, this movement completed its project in the comparatively short period of 12 years - the statue was completed in 1892. Hofer appears holding a sword and flag. Cast in bronze, it was mounted on stone from South Tirol, and flanked by eagles. Its unveiling followed in 1893, as part of a *Landesfest* on 21. September. As well as the unveiling, there was a *Tiroler Landesausstellung* and - in a significant linkage with the Hofer ceremony - the opening of a new *Landeshauptschießstand*, followed by the inevitable *Festschießen*. The monument festival represented the 'programmatisation' of Hofer into a symbolic figure legitimising the Conservative claim to political power. A new, enlarged committee for the Hofer monument had appeared in 1890, and this group, together with the Conservative-dominated *Landesausschuß* under the (Conservative) *Landeshauptmann* Graf Brandis were primarily responsible for the organisation and content of the festival.

The festive duties were performed by the Kaiser, attended by the Archdukes Karl Ludwig, Ludwig Viktor, Josef Ferdinand, *Ministerpräsident* Graf Taaffe, and *Landesverteidigungsminister* Graf Welsersheim. Welcomed by the head of the memorial-committee, Oberst Urich, the Kaiser's reply represented the first major, unreserved formal acknowledgement on the part of the Viennese Court that Hofer's status as national hero was now unquestionable, and gave the highest possible confirmation of his rehabilitation and official approval for the cult of the *Sandwirt*:

'Durch die Errichtung des Denkmals, dessen feierlichen Enthüllung uns heute hier vereint, haben die Bewohner Tirols und Vorarlbergs eine Dankesschuld entrichtet an das Andenken jenes Mannes, der, - die edlste Verkörperung der tirolischen Volksseele - gleich groß im Glücke wie im Unglücke, ein Held im Siege wie im Tode, in all' seinem Handeln keinem anderen Gebote als dem unbeugsamer Pflichterfüllung, keinen

*anderen Gefühlen als jenen treuester Liebe zu Kaiser und Vaterland gefolgt ist.*⁸⁷.

The second part of this *Landesfest* then involved the opening of the new *Landeshauptschießstand*, providing a demonstration of the inner connection between the Hofer-myth and patriotism. Hofer was being publicly incorporated within, and placed at the head of, the long-standing tradition of *Landesverteidigung*. 1809 thus was represented as the central event in Tirolian history, with the arms-carrying free-peasantry of the early modern period marching in an unbroken, straight line of historical continuity into the glorious apogee of the battles on the Berg Isel. The *Landeshauptschießstand* united in one place the patriotic obligations of all Tirolians, by being both the headquarters of the civil institution of self-defence in Tirol, and an exercise-area for the imperial army (the *Tiroler Kaiserjäger*). From this viewpoint, the new building symbolised the co-existence of regional identities with status as imperial subjects. The *Landeshauptschießstand* bore the name of the Kaiser, and he - as well as having given to the fund for its construction - donated an honorary prize (*Ehrenbest*) to the shooting-competition: a silver-relief, born by eagles, of Andreas Hofer (crowned with laurels) on the podium of Austria.

8. Conclusion: Hofer and the historical components of Catholic- Conservative political discourse

Certain concepts formulated by the Catholic-Conservative elite - *Landesrechte*, *Glaubenseinheit*, *Landesverteidigung*, *Kaisertreue* - formed the hegemonic Tiroler identity in the period 1850-1914. These 'keywords' established the basis from which the discourse of identities in

87 Bauer, J.E.: *Innsbrucker Schützenwesen und Schützenfeste. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des tirolischen Schützenwesens* (Innsbruck, 1903).

Tirol was constructed, and Hofer assumed a unifying role within that discourse.

8.1. Landesrechte: The concept of '*Landesfreiheit*' was developed by groups within the conservative political space during the 19th-century as a rhetorical framework within which they could articulate opposition to the modernising central state. In doing this, the Conservatives took particular moments from a formative period of the Tirolian polity as the historical proof and justification for their arguments. The foundation for the tradition of '*Tiroler Freiheit*' was a letter written to the *Tiroler Stände* in 1342 by Ludwig of Brandenburg, as part of his marriage agreement with Margarethe Maultausch, heiress to the land of Tirol. The letter guaranteed to all inhabitants of Tirol, '*edel und unedel, rich und arme*', the ancient rights which they had possessed since the time of Meinhard II (d. 1295). It promised that no extraordinary taxes would be raised without the consent of the population; no foreigners were to be trusted with the administration of the land; the advice of the nobility was to be heeded; and Margarethe was not to be forced to leave Tirol against her will. As an accessible political symbol, the event is of major significance, even though its practical impact diverged from its rhetoric: '*Diese Verfügung vom 28. Jänner 1342 wurde als "Magna Charta des Landes Tirol" oder "Große Freiheitsbrief" von der Historiographie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts wohl etwas überschätzt. Ähnliche Rechte waren auch andere Gebieten zugestanden worden, und zwischen Versprechen und Realität hatten sich auch in Tirol alsbald große Diskrepanzen ergeben*'⁸⁸.

8.2. Glaubenseinheit represents the belief in the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religious monopoly in Tirol, and formed the central part of Conservative policy during the *Kulturkampf*. In order to understand the long-term relevance of this concept, it is necessary to look at the consequences of the disturbances common to Germany, Switzerland and parts of Austria around the time of the Reformation in the early 16th century, and in particular at the leader of the up-risings in

88 Riedmann, J.: *op.cit.*, S.60.

Tirol, Michael Gaismair (1490-1532), who in a sense is the "anti-Hofer" of Tirolian history. The events of the 1809 up-rising have come to monopolise public representations of Tirolian identity: *'Keine andere Epoche der Tiroler Geschichte wurde in ihrer Rezeption in solcher Dichte mit Mythologisierungsversuchen und mit ahistorischem Wunschdenken überzogen'*⁸⁹. The virtual non-existence of Gaismair as a public figure in the 19th-century demonstrates how much national identities are the results of processes of social and cultural construction - Hofer's predominance is not a historical 'given', but an example of selective memorisation and forgetting. The symbolic figure of Hofer was in effect defined in implicit opposition to Gaismair, even though the latter was practically a 'non-person' and not openly referred to. The 'traditional Tirol' that Hofer was supposedly defending, that is to say the patriotic *'Heiliges Land'*, was in fact a relatively recent creation - a product of one-and-a-half centuries of Counter-Reformation, a process whose success involved intense, wide-scale oppression and persecution on the part of the Habsburg state and the Catholic Church (death or exile for hundreds of people, book confiscations, and the complete elimination of the Baptist movement in Tirol⁹⁰).

Superficially, at least, Gaismair and Hofer had something in common. Both were figures from relatively humble farming backgrounds who, through their individual achievements, won recognition throughout the land and a reputation outside it. Both were reacting against foreign influence - Spanish bureaucrats in the employ of Ferdinand I, younger brother of the Emperor Charles V, in 1525-6, Bavarian rule in 1809 - and both fought in some sense for the effective functioning of the *ständisch* constitution, in which the lower estates would have influence over local government. Yet with the eventual triumph of the Counter-

89 Erhard: *op.cit.*, S.13.

90 Steurer, L., *Gedanken zum Tiroler Nationalfeiertag Sturzflüge* 1984: 65-6.

Reformation Habsburgs, Gaismair '[wurde] jahrhundertlang als Räuber, Ketzer und Vaterlandsverräter verleumdet oder totgeschwiegen'⁹¹.

Having started from an initial position that challenged the social and theological position of the Church and nobility in Tirolian society, Gaismair became an open opponent of the Habsburg authorities. Above all, it was Gaismair's collaboration with radical forces abroad and his hostility to the Catholic Church and the Habsburg Monarchy which made him such a dangerous figure from the viewpoint of the Tirolian hierarchy. The figure of Gaismair was briefly resurrected under the liberal banner in the second half of the 19th-century - '*Höhepunkt dieser ersten Wiederentdeckung und Neueinschätzung war allerdings kein wissenschaftliches Werk, sondern Franz Kranewitters 1899 erschienenes Theaterstück*'⁹². But this re-discovery never even began to approach the status of a viable counter-tradition to Hofer, nor did Gaismair's figure penetrate the public discourse of Tirolian identities in the period up to 1914. There was no literary treatment of the rebel leader, and the emerging new academic history paid him little heed either. Theoretically, Gaismair's viability as a political symbol was restricted by the complete lack of any surviving portrait, and few detailed descriptions of his character or appearance, but these are literally superficial objections, for it is their political and ideological relevance that determines the viability of symbols. The important portraits of Hofer were painted after his death, based mainly on formulistic descriptions. The fact that Gaismair's extremist anti-Habsburg fight for Tirolian 'freedoms' was never seriously embraced by political forces in the 19th-century, is illustrative of the limits within which the discourse of Tirolian identities worked. Firstly, it was always a patriotic discourse, and one in which provincial identity was linked to a dynastic

91 Forcher, M.: *Um Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit. Michael Gaismair. Leben und Programm des Tiroler Bauernführers und Sozialrevolutionärs, 1490-1532* (Innsbruck, 1982), S.8.

92 Forcher: *op.cit.* (1982), S.148; Kranewitter, F.: *Michael Gaismair. Tragödie in fünf Aufzügen aus dem Tiroler Bauernbewegung von 1525* (Berlin, 1899).

loyalty. Secondly, the hegemonial interpretation of Tirolian identities was a class product of the nobility and the Church, which were closely linked in both social and ideological terms - Gaismair was the antithesis of those interests. Only with the adoption of Gaismair by both National Socialists and Communists in the inter-war period was the Hofer-cult obviously threatened.

8.3. Landesverteidigung concerns the participation of Tiroler in the defence of the land, and military motifs and battle myths represent the most visible feature of public representations of Tirol. The ambitious dynastic policies of the Emperor Maximilian (1490-1514) - which included the expansion of the territory of Tirol - produced large and constant demands for taxes. But the making of a demand implicitly allowed for the possibility of negotiation and regularisation, and the *Landlibell* of 23. June 1511 was the most significant constitutional result of that process. The *Landlibell* systematised the method of military recruitment in Tirol. According to the degree of threat, 5.000 - 20.000 men could be summoned to arms; nobility and clergy could substitute cash payment for the fulfilment of service; the nobility and wealthy burghers could provide proxies; the summons to arms could only be made for the defence of the borders of Tirol, and any war which was to be fought using Tirol as a point of departure, had to receive the agreement of the *Landtag*. The *Landlibell* laid the foundation for a separate defence organisation in Tirol, as well as an association between freedom and the right to carry arms. These privileges were gradually removed, such that in 1816 Tirol was incorporated in the centralised organisation of the Imperial Army, though the special status of Tirol received symbolic recognition in the organisation of the elite *Kaiserjägerregiment*.

8.4. Kaisertroue describes the special relationship between the Tiroler and their monarch. The manner in which the political consolidation of Tirol was achieved produced a close link between peasant rights and the legitimacy of the dynasty. Via collaboration with the central ruler, the peasantry (*Bauerntum*) succeeded in obtaining freedoms and rights, and the concept of 'Tiroler Freiheit' thus came to include the legitimacy of the dynasty. This was inherited by Rudolf of

Habsburg when he succeeded to the title of Count of Tirol in 1363. When it had become clear that Countess Margarethe might die without issue, the inheritance of the land was devolved onto the Habsburg family: '*Diese Übergabe Tirols an die Österreichischen Herzoge war aber kein Rechtsakt allein auf der Ebene der Fürsten: Der Entscheidung waren Verhandlungen mit Adeligen und Räten vorausgegangen, die diese auch im Namen aller geistlichen und weltlichen, edlen und unedlen, armen und reichen Bewohner des Landes mit ihrer Fürstin geführt hatten*'⁹³. The assertion of speaking on behalf of the population should not be taken too literally - what is of most interest is the subsequent political symbolism of the act. It became traditional for each new succeeding Habsburg ruler to confirm the rights of the land, though this ceased under Maria Theresia. The Habsburgs considered Tirol as constituting part of their patrimonial *Erbländer* - Franz Joseph continually refused to contemplate the secession of the Italian part of Tirol for this very reason i.e. the Trentino formed part of one of his personal fiefs.

8.5. Anno Neun: the uprising in Tirol in 1809 represents a fusion of the four elements analysed above and that is the principal reason for its leading position in Tirolian public discourse. Hofer was a real historical figure, not an abstract philosophical ideal such as liberty or equality, and this conformed with the conservative interpretation of history as an organic process, where the deeds and customs of the past were the foundation of the present, and the eternal values of the future. Hofer's religiosity was typical of his time and place; his sense of responsibility and acceptance of authority stemmed primarily from his social position as a property-owning *Bauer* and inn-keeper. These two qualities made him a viable political symbol for the Catholic-Conservatives, as a model for a political ideology based on social hierarchy and religious faith. Through Hofer, the Conservatives projected onto the past their vision of society - they told as history their utopic conception of how things should always be. In doing this, they ignored the more complex

93 Riedmann, J.: *op.cit.*, S.63.

background to the up-rising, its confused and unfocussed course, and perhaps most significantly, re-wrote the form and actual workings of the crucial power-political relationship between Vienna and Tirol. Though Hofer constituted a new type of cultural symbol - a secular saviour -he was seen as complementing rather than competing with existing religious cults of the Heart of Jesus or the Madonna. Equally, the robust male figure of Hofer as *Bauer* and *Wirt* provided an accessible point of identity for large sections of the male population, the people who exercised the political rights that were gained in the last third of the 19th-century.

There is no doubt that Hofer was essentially a figure of patriotism for Austria, but the place of the Tirolian up-rising in German romantic celebrations of the Wars of Liberation tended to give Hofer an exclusively German-Tirolian cultural bias: *'Hofer [ist] nicht nur für seine engern Landesleute, die Tiroler, sondern für ganz Österreich und die ganze deutsche Nation zum nachahmungswürdigsten Vorbilde geworden. Sein für die Ehre der deutschen Nation verspritztes Blut hat ganze Armeen von Heldenmännern gezeugt, die nimmer ruhten, bevor Deutschlands Schmach nicht endgiltig getilgt war'*⁹⁴. Combined with the up-turn in *Schützen* associations as expressions of German national identity in the second half of the 19th-century, this meant that Tirolian identities tended in practice to be German monopolies. Nearly all the literature on Hofer was in German, all the committee members of the various festivals and monuments were German-speaking and from Deutsch-Tirol, and there seems to have been no effort to encourage or place Hofer monuments in the Italian-speaking part of the land. Lastly, it is worth stressing that even though national myths and histories, monuments and festivals - such as those presented here - are indeed social and cultural constructions, the results of changing re-interpretations and re-negotiations over time, they do achieve their resonance and acceptance because of their relationship to social and

94 Stadtarchiv Innsbruck [1909 Comunalakten/3]: *'Aufruf !'*, Andreas Hofer-Denkmal-Komitee in Meran.

institutional structures. Though it is reasonable in some sense to describe these kinds of process as 'inventions', there is a potential danger in the use of this attractive and slightly dismissive-sounding term, in that it might seem to trivialise the configurations of power and social interaction from which they emerge and which they symbolically reflect⁹⁵.

95 For discussion of these issues, see (among others): Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T.: *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Smith, A.: *National identity* (London, 1991); Breuilly, J.: *Nationalism and the state* (2nd. ed., Manchester, 1993).



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