

ARISTOCRATIC WIDOWHOOD IN THE SECOND HALF OF 19TH CENTURY

THE CASE OF CAROLINA COLLALTO E SAN SALVATORE NÉE APPONYI

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The aim of this text is a view of the widowhood of Caroline Collalto née Apponyi through the optics of her received correspondence and preserved documents. The attention is paid to her economic life and stability during widowhood, her social connections and activities influenced by the inherited mental illness. It also describes her childhood and the years of her marriage which influenced her later widowhood, on the other hand only marginal attention is paid to the aristocratic rituals or to the political situation during her life. Her case is an example of how the aristocratic widowhood in the second half of the 19th century could look like.

Keywords: Widowhood; Aristocracy of 19th Century; Collalto; Apponyi.

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Introduction

Even though some authors say the 19th century was a good time to be an aristocrat¹ – his life was supposedly longer, more comfortable and less dangerous than the lives of his ancestors – it is questionable whether the same period was a good time to be a woman. Woman – the creature over whom Adam claimed superiority in strength and wisdom but acknowledged inferiority in affections² – was still bound by many duties to men, who were supposed to rule her. It is true that at the beginning of the 19th century, anatomy, gynaecology and anthropology parted with the old Aristotelian view of women as lesser men, they started to be seen as separate but equal creatures instead – the one-sex model was altered by the two-sex model.³ However, the woman of the 19th century still had many

1 LIEVEN, Dominic. *The Aristocracy in Europe 1815–1914*. London: Macmillan Press, 1992, p. 1. ISBN 978-02-3108-113-9.

2 BLANCHARD, Rae. Richard Steele and the Status of Women. In *Studies in Philology*, year 26, no. 3, p. 322–355. ISSN 0039-3738.

3 BOCK, Gisela. *Ženy v evropských dějinách od středověku do současnosti* [Women in European History from Middle-Ages up to the Present]. Praha: NLN, 2007, p. 115-116. ISBN 978-80-7106-494-7.

duties to her parents, siblings, husband, extended family and in the case of an aristocratic woman also to her class and subjects. The gender prejudices made her the angel of home but the devil of the street: the women who did not live up to the feminine ideal were condemned whether they became criminal offenders or not.⁴ For a female aristocrat the duties dawned in the given inviolable order: finding an épouser of the appropriate status, marrying him in the appropriate robe and style, giving him sons, being an angel of the house no matter how her husband behaves... these were only the most insistent ones. There is no wonder that according to M. Winkelhofer high-class women often suffered from depressions resulting from the fact, they could not change their lives and leave the suffocating marriage.⁵

But was then the widowhood more desirable? A widow was surely in a better position than a spinster or an unmarried mother⁶ (which was the ultimate model of a fallen woman, depicted in more than one case in realistic novels, such as Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*), she was finally freed from the guardianship of her husband (or father). However, without her husband, the necessary changes came.⁷ If we do not count the emotional repercussions, widowhood affected women's economic stability, forcing them to adapt to certain new conditions and more limited options, which were certainly different for the middle-class women⁸ and nobility. Widowhood was simply one expectable stage in a life of a woman and it brought her into an ambiguous situation: on the one hand, she could harvest the fruits of her previous marriage – sons she gave birth to were crucial – she could taste some level of freedom and a newly found self-consciousness, but on the other hand, the fruits did not necessarily have to be good.

The intention of this text, therefore, is to have a look at one case of the aristocratic widow in the second half of the 19th century in the Austrian Empire (which later became Austria-Hungary) to explore how widowhood in the given

- 4 The topic of female offenders in Victorian England was covered by WILLIAMS, Lucy. *Wayward Women: Female Offending in Victorian England*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword History, 2016. ISBN 978-1-47384-487-2.
- 5 WINKELHOFER, Martina. *Adel verpflichtet. Frauenschicksale in der k.u.k. Monarchie* [Noblesse Oblige. Women's Fates in the Imperial and Royal Monarchy]. Wien: Amalthea, 2009, p. 204. ISBN 9783850026864.
- 6 E. g. ABRAMS, Lynn. At home and in the Family: Women and the Familial Relationships. In SIMONTON, Deborah (ed.). *The Routledge History of Women since 1700*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 14–53. ISBN 978-0-415-30103-9.
- 7 An interesting study of a widow-related woman mortality in Sweden was offered by NYSTEDT, Paul. Widowhood-related mortality in Scania, Sweden during the 19th century. In *History of the Family*, 2002, year 7, no. 3, p. 451–478. ISSN 1081-602X.
- 8 About middle-class women in the Victorian England see CURRAN Cynthia. Private Women, Public Needs: Middle-Class Widows in Victorian England. In *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1993, year 25, no.2, p. 217–236. ISSN 0095-1390.

time and social class could look. Princess Caroline Marie-Therese Collalto née Apponyi came from one of the most distinguished, diplomatic and well-educated families in Hungary and married the head of a no-less distinguished prince Italian family with vast possession in Moravia. Her marriage lasted for 30 years, her husband died when she was 48 and for the next 24 years, her life was the one of a widow. Only a few letters written by her were preserved,⁹ yet her received correspondence in German, French and English is numerous and together with the bills and expense notes enable us to reconstruct the picture of her widowhood.¹⁰ Of course, such a case study can hardly describe the life of aristocratic widows in general. Its aim is instead to be a contribution to the history of aristocratic widows in the 19th century¹¹ and the history of women in general.¹² While the scientific research of the previous in North America, Victorian England or the Netherlands is developing,¹³ so far, the same topic has been only sporadically addressed for the aristocratic widows in the Lands of Bohemian Crown, where this, originally Hungarian countess had her main economic interests.¹⁴ Finally, this text is to be a contribution to the research of the

- 9 Which is the reason why this study is not based on ego-documents (see SCHULZE, Winfried (ed.). *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in die Geschichte*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996, p. 7. ISBN 978-30-5002-615-2).
- 10 Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (Moravian Land Archive in Brno, further on MZA), G 169, c. 372–382, i. n. 203–219.
- 11 Where the systematic research is only at the beginning. While from the 17th or 18th century there are lots of works on this topic (e. g. CAVALLLO, Sandra –WARNER, Lyndan. *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 1999. ISBN 978-0582-317-482), the same cannot be said about the 19th century (see below).
- 12 Here the Czech research of Milena Lenderová should be named: (LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *Žena v českých zemích od středověku do 20. století* [Women in Czech Countries from Middle Ages to the 20th Century]. Praha: NLN, 2010. ISBN 978-80-7106-988-1; LENDEROVÁ, Milena. *K hříchu i k modlitbě. Žena devatenáctého století* [To Sin and to Pray. A Nineteenth-Century Woman]. Praha: Karolinum, 2016. ISBN 978-80-246-3540-8), also WINKELHOFER, Ref. 5, who wrote about aristocratic women in Austrian Empire in general and ABRAMS, ref. 6. Form authors dealing with the topic of widowhood: MACHTEMES, Ursula. *Leben zwischen Trauer und Pathos. Bildungsbürgerliche Witwen im 19. Jahrhundert*. Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 2001. ISBN 3-934005-98-5 must be mentioned and from the outside-Europe history the work of BRADBURY, Bettina. *Wife to Widow. Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2011. ISBN 978-07-7481-952-7 must be named.
- 13 See VAN POPPEL, Frans. Widows, Widowers and Remarriage in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands. In *Population Studies*, 1995, year 49, no. 3, p. 421–441. ISSN 1477-4747 or BRADBURY, Bettina. Surviving as a Widow in 19th-century Montreal. In *Urban History Review*, 1989, year 17, no. 3, p. 148–160. ISSN 0703-0428 or the abovementioned CURRAN, ref. 8.
- 14 If we concentrate only on the 19th century the works of Alice Velková must be mentioned: e. g. VELKOVÁ, Alice. *Sebevědomé, nebo zoufalé? Vdovy hospodařící na venkovských usedlostech v první polovině 19. století* [Confident or Desperate? Widows Farming on Rural

House of Collalto's history.¹⁵ Since it is not studied only in the Czech Republic, where the Collalto family archive is deposited, but also in Austria and especially in Italy,¹⁶ where the members of this ancient House still live, this article is in English instead of more likely Czech or German, the aim is to make it accessible to the wider audience.

Caroline Countess Apponyi: Family and Early Life

Countess Caroline Marie-Therese Apponyi de Nagy-Appony was born on 18th June 1814. Her father Joseph Eustach Johaness¹⁷ the lord of dominion Pálfa and St. György Ur in the Hungarian region Tolna, was just 30 years old and married to Therese Pejačević for a year. While Caroline's mother's family was an old Croatian nobility, her father's family belonged to the old Hungarian aristocracy and was well-known for the high education, erudition and also the traditional service in Austrian diplomacy. The House of Apponyi legendarily derived its origin from one of 108 tribes Arpad brought to Hungary, although the oldest documents give the first evidence of it only to the 13th century. In 1392 Peter

Estates in the First Half of the 19th Century]. In VOJÁČEK, Milan (ed.). *Reflexe a sebereflexe ženy v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století. Sborník příspěvků z konference uspořádané ve dnech 23. – 24. listopadu 2006 Národním archivem ve spolupráci s Archivem hlavního města Prahy*. Praha, 2007, p. 321–340. ISBN 978-80-86712-45-1. In general, the summarizing article by SKOŘEPOVÁ, Markéta. *Vdovství v tradiční venkovské společnosti (přehled bádání)* [Widowhood in Traditional Rural Society (Research Review)]. In *Historická demografie*, 2011, year 35, no.1, p. 1–31. ISSN 0323-0937 must be mentioned.

- 15 There are several works which must be mentioned in connection with this research made in the Czech Republic: KAZLEPKA, Zdeněk. *Ostrov italského vkusu. Umělecký mecenáš Antonia Rambalda hraběte z Collalto a San Salvatore mezi Itálií, Vídní a Moravou v první polovině 18. století* [An Island of Italian Taste. The Artistic Patronage of Antonio Rambaldo Count of Collalto and San Salvatore Between Italy, Vienna and Moravia in the First Half of the 18th Century]. Brno: Barrister Principal, 2011. ISBN 978-80-7072-246-6; KOUMAR, Jan. *The Last Princess of the House of Collalto e San Salvatore in Moravia*. In *Historický časopis*, 2019, year 67, no. 4, p. 633–657. ISSN 0018-2575; EBEL, Petr – SCHMIDT, Ondřej. *Z Trevisa do Brtnice: Příběhy šlechtického rodu Collalto ukryté v českých archívech (katalog výstavy)* [From Treviso to Brtnice. Stories of the House of Collalto Hidden in the Czech Archives]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2019. ISBN 978-80-210-9182-5. For the Italian research see further.
- 16 Recently for example MORO, Pierandrea. *Collalto. Storia di un casato millenario*. Roma: Viella, 2018. ISBN: 978-88-3313-111-5; the older research was made by Angelo PASSO-LUNGHI. *I Collalto: linee, documenti, genealogie per una storia del casato*. Villorba: B&M edizioni, 1987.
- 17 Janura calls him Joseph jr. to distinguish him from Joseph sr. (1784–1853) (JANURA, Tomáš. *Aponiovské rezidence v Lieskovom, Jablonici, Malinove a Bratislave* [Apponyi Residences in Lieskove, Jablonica, Malinovo and Bratislava]. In KLIMEKOVÁ, Agáta. *Aponiovci v dejinách knižnej kultúry*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2015, p. 17–34. ISBN 978-80-8149-051-4).

Pécz was given the dominion Nagy-Apponyi (today Oponice) in the Nitra region by king Sigismund, the dominion was to give its name to the whole House, which received the count title in 1739 (the younger branch in 1808). Joseph was the third son of Antal György Apponyi: the bibliophile who founded the renowned Apponyi Library and for whom Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven composed their music.¹⁸ Joseph's siblings were numerous, altogether there were 4 brothers and 5 sisters, out of them György, the oldest brother inherited the library three years after Caroline's birth, but because the other brothers were little interested in their father's books, during 1818–1819 György had to sell a part of the rare prints and paintings to be able to pay the brothers off. The Apponyi library, now entirely in possession of György, was later moved from Vienna to Bratislava (Pressburg), where it was opened as a public library in 1827¹⁹ and became quite famous.²⁰

Unlike his father's countless children, Joseph's own family was to remain small, Caroline should be the only child of the couple. She was born in Vienna and due to Joseph's place of residence at Hoher Brücke n. 150 – in the Apponyi house – the child was baptized on the 19th June in Schottenkirche.²¹ Her name Caroline was chosen after Joseph's younger sister, married that time already for four years to prince Anton Octavian Collalto e San Salvatore. By her marriage, the Apponyi family became related to the old noble Italian House of Collalto, one of the most prestigious Houses of the Austrian Empire based both in Italy near Venezia and in Moravia in the region of Bohemia-Moravian Highlands. Both noble houses were renowned for their artistic taste: therefore, there is no surprise the upcoming union of Anton Octavian and Joseph's sister was announced before Christmas 1809 by a Cantata for three voices and choir, Pietro Bagnoli also composed a poem (Anacreontic) for their wedding, in which the union of the Hungarian and Italian blood was celebrated.²²

The other Joseph's brothers lived up to the good name of the Apponyi: Antal became an Austrian ambassador in London, Rome²³ and later in Paris, where

18 CABADAJOVÁ, Jana – KRÁLÍK, Peter. *Apponyi library in Oponice*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2018. ISBN 978-80-8149-106-1.

19 KLIMEKOVÁ, Agáta. Literárna tradícia v rodine Aponi [Literary Tradition in Apponyi Family]. In KLIMEKOVÁ, Agáta. *Aponiovci v dejinách knižnej kultúry*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2015, p. 35–44. ISBN 978-80-8149-051-4.

20 For its later history see CABADAJOVÁ – KRÁLÍK, ref. 18.

21 See Matrikula Online: Unsere Liebe Frau zu den Schotten, Taufbuch 1812–1819 Fol.102.

22 Both, the Cantata and the Anacreontic were published in Vienna, their copies can be found in MZA, G 169, c. 368, i. n. 182.

23 BEŇOVÁ, Katarína. Gróf Anton Apponyi ako veľvyslanec v Ríme [Count Anton Apponyi as an Ambassador in Rome]. In „*Bella Italia*“ *Interakcie medzi umeleckou kultúrou Itálie a vývinom umenia na Slovensku v 19. storočí*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2015, p. 41–56. ISBN 978-80-8127-145-8.

his wife – the “Divine Therese” née Nogarola de Vérone – held a well-known salon and became the muse of Chopin.²⁴ In 1826 his nephew Rezső (Rodolphe in French) arrived in Paris and started writing his much later published journal, where, in four volumes, the French society, the July Revolution and the reign of Louis-Phillip were described.²⁵ Joseph himself was a well-educated man, with the title of the Imperial Real Chamberlain (*wirklicher Kämmerer*) and with good taste. His lack of interest in his father’s library was not a sign of the lack of education, he owned a library of his own, and his wife was a passionate reader as well. Little Caroline was therefore surrounded by books since her childhood and was educated in five languages: besides German which became the main language of communication, she had to speak Madjar,²⁶ Latin, French, English (in which her mother wrote all letters) and Italian, later she also learnt Czech enough to speak and understand the everyday commands.

The family winter stays in Vienna were usually followed by the summer séjours in the Hungarian dominion. Palfa was the country seat where the family used to spend their summers, and where Caroline’s father’s hunts used to take place. Hungarian countryside in Tolna was of course much different from the Viennese palaces or from the comfortable Nagy-Apponyi chateau in Nitra Region, where they visited the relatives. After the death of Antal György, Joseph also inherited the dominion of Lengyel with a small manor house of his father. Between 1824–1829 he built there a new elegant chateau in the Classicistic style, which then became his main summer residence. The chateau located outside the formerly Polish village was projected as a representation of four seasons of the year: it had 4 gates, 12 chimneys, 52 rooms and 365 windows.²⁷ A spacious chapel created a part of the magnificent building and it was of service to the Lengyel residents. Under the leadership of Sedlmayer, a big park with the water tower and obelisk was created next to the chateau.²⁸ Besides the occasional

24 APPONYI, Rodolphe. *Vint-cinq ans à Paris. Journal du comte Rodolphe Apponyi Attaché de l’ambassade d’Autriche-Hongrie à Paris*. Paris: Ernest Daudet, 1913, I, IV. To their wedding, a Cantata for Three Voiced was written in 1808. Since it is preserved in the same format and file as the previous two poems for the Collalto-Apponyi Union, the influence of the previous on the latter can be presumed (see. MZA, G169, c. 368, i. n. 182).

25 APPONYI, ref. 24.

26 Which – in multi-ethnic Hungary – is a more correct term for the Hungarian language. As Pieter M. Judson says, not only aristocrats but the majority of urban Hungarians typically spoke German, not Hungarian (*Madjar*). It changed after 1848 (see JUDSON, Pieter M. *The Habsburg Empire. A New History*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016, p. 182. ISBN 978-0674-4047-776-1).

27 BAY, József. *Lengyel – Kastélypark* [Lengyel – the Chateau Garden]. Budapest: Tájak-Körök-Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára, 1989.

28 BAY, ref. 27. Due to the reconstructions made under Joseph’s heirs, Rodolphe and his son Alexander (Sandór) the chateau looks very different today. The position of the chapel was

journeys to Paris, London and Rome, the family often visited Croatia and the Pejačević relatives and also Joseph's sister and Caroline's namesake at the Moravian estates of the Collaltos.

It's unclear when it was decided that little Caroline would marry her cousin, Anton Octavian's oldest son Eduard, but the choice definitely meant a great future for her. Young Eduard was the heir of the whole Moravian possession and together with them also the heir of the princely title (Fürst), his younger brother Alfons Josef was to inherit the Italian properties with San Salvatore castle. Caroline herself was a wealthy heir, the only child of her father, and since the union of the House of Collalto and the House of Apponyi turned out to be lucky once, the second time around was supposed to be even luckier. Caroline's aunt, the wife of Anton Octavian Collalto was renowned for her beauty – her granddaughter Marie-Therese Collalto mentions a Hoffball in Vienna where the then present Saxon King was so captivated by her curls that he exclaimed: My kingdom for one of your curls, Princess!²⁹

Due to the close family relationships of the couple (2nd grade), prior to the marriage, the dispensation had to be requested. In June 1834, the request of prince Collalto was written in Brtnice and sent to Military Chaplaincy (Eduard was a Lieutenant of the 1st Uhlan Regiment) and Franz Anton Gindl, the bishop in Brno was asked for help with handling it. On top of that, Caroline's father had to write a formal application to the apostolic vicarage. The letter from Trnava (Nagyszombat) written by the vicar Joseph Krautmann announced the dispensation granting on 26th September 1834.³⁰ The wedding ceremony for a 20-year-old Caroline and 24-year-old Eduard took place in Am Hof church, right next to the Collalto Palace on the 4th November 1834,³¹ their opulent wedding reception took place right after the ceremony and lasted for three days.³²

Caroline Princess Collalto: The Years of Marriage

Marriage in the 19th century was an economic and emotional partnership in all the social classes.³³ Similarly to the majority of the aristocratic marriages,

changed, also the roof and the disposition of the garden façade are different. A visitor cannot also count the numbers of the seasons, days and weeks on the windows, chimneys and doors today, since the original layout was not respected in the later reconstructions.

29 MZA, G 169, c. 320, i. n. 441, COLLALTO, Marie Therese. *Von unseren Vorfahren.*, p. 4. Marie-Therese repeated this anecdotic story also in her second book of memoirs, which may indicate it was a well-known story in the Collalto family.

30 MZA, G 169, c. 316, i. n. 358.

31 See Matrikula Online: Am Hof Trauungsbuch 02-04 (1824-1838), p. 125.

32 MZA, G 169, c. 379, i. n. 208.

33 LYNN, Abrams. *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789–1918*. London; New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 70. ISBN 978-05-8241-410-5.

the one of Eduard and Caroline was not based on romantic love, the mutual support, future children and economy played its most important part. Therefore, it is important to have a look at the wedding contract concluded between Count Joseph Apponyi and Prince Anton Collalto because it fixed both the dowry and the provision Caroline should get in case of her husband's death.

If we do not count the paraphernalia and gowns, Caroline's dowry was made of 40,000 guildens and the capital in bonds worth 2,400 guildens with 6% interests, Joseph Apponyi also gave the undertaking to pay 2,400 guildens quarterly allowance. In case of her husband's death the widow apanage was set on 800 guildens, but the revenues of the allodial properties, in which the capital was to be invested, were to be added.³⁴ After the honeymoon journey, the newlyweds were given the apartment in Uherčice (*Ungarschitz*) chateau. They usually spent there their summer séjours, but the winters were spent in Vienna, where the couple attended balls and lead their social life. Caroline, now a respected wife, took part in the court balls and soon after their wedding the couple bought a new house at Jägerzeil 61, near Prater. Their stays in the majorate Collalto palace at Am Hof can be documented only through the letters written by Eduard, Caroline's correspondence was mainly addressed to Uherčice or Apponyi house in Kalksburg.³⁵

In Uherčice, the first child Marie Caroline was born in October 1835, a year after the wedding. Three years later a second child was born there too, it was a girl again, Juliette Caroline Therese, named after her two godmothers: Caroline Collalto I., Caroline's aunt, and Therese Apponyi, Caroline's mother. By that time Caroline's mother started to be chased by unpleasant mental problems. When in 1839 Jules Apponyi, the son of the Paris ambassador Rodolphe visited Caroline's parents (Pepi and Resy)³⁶ he noted that they lived in quite a good family spirit. But soon after that, Therese (Resy) started to show the signs of melancholia, which later turned into depressions followed by anger attacks. Countess Apponyi gradually ceased her attendance in the balls and social events and in her letters to Caroline she more and more often expresses her hatred to the cities, the spoilt air of Vienna or her fear of typhus followed by her love to the fresh air in Lengyel.³⁷ Her stays in Marienbad and Teplice are more frequent as well, which may be the

34 MZA, G 169, c. 370, i. n. 197. At the House of Collalto the allodial Okřišky were meant to give pensions to younger sons or widows (Private archive of Isabella Collalto-deCroy Susegana, COLLALTO, Marie Therese. *Aus veграngen Zeiten*, p. 32).

35 MZA, G 169, cart. 374, inv. n. 203/IV.

36 APPONYI, Ref. 24, p. 367.

37 Her letters to Caroline are undated, the time of their origin can be deduced only from the other mentioned events (MZA, G 169, c. 374–375, i. n. 203).

reason why they later bought the house n. 139 in Bad Vöslau,³⁸ where they then lived instead of Vienna. But Caroline herself did not quite often seem to be in a good mood too. The house servants saw her as a strict lady who was to be feared. This characteristic feature got even stronger after the birth of her first son, the long-expected heir of the family estates. Little Rambald Anton saw the first light of the world in April 1839, but despite all the joy he brought to the family he died at the age of only 18 months on 4th October 1840.³⁹ His death was a hard wound for Caroline, especially when the oldest daughter Marie Caroline died as well on 18th August 1842. Caroline – now with the only surviving child Juliette – sought some relief from her mother, who she visited more often, however, at the same time she became more nervous and feared by her subjects.⁴⁰

The situation in her new family did not help her mental welfare at all. After her son's death, the little son of Eduard's older brother Alfons was considered the future heir of the Collalto estates and the saviour of the family name: for that reason, he was unofficially called Salvator⁴¹. Caroline had quite a friendly relation to Alfons, but his blond, blue-eyed boy with a tall figure prospered well⁴², and became a thorn in Caroline's heart, doubled by the fact that within the family the absence of a male heir in Eduard's line was considered her fault. This was when her mental state and her relationship with Eduard worsened.

Caroline was an energetic woman, but the position of a woman of her era was far from politics, so the 40s and the first half of the 1850s are the time when she retreated to her family and took the highest care of her remaining daughter. It does not mean she resigned from her public functions. Motherhood of an aristocrat was a public role, definitely going beyond the romantic role of a natural mother Rousseau described in his *Émile*. Juliette had the best teachers she was put in hands of English and French governesses. The letters she wrote to her parents in 1847–1850 reveal the deep respect Julie had for both of them, however, either is addressed differently. In communication with Caroline, the formal French “Vous” is used, while in letters to Eduard the informal “Tu” and more cordial tone shows her daughterly love. The letters also reveal that while Juliette gave her mother a handmade tapestry, or in 1850 a parrot (Caroline later

38 MZA, G 169, c. 380, i. n. 209, fol. 98.

39 Verzeichnis, MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 205.

40 The entry for the year 1843 in the Family Chronicle of the Flesars states that Caroline is „very annoying to her subjects“. (FLESAR, Václav. *Kořeny věku. Kronika rodu Flesarů psaná v letech 1423–1923*. Václav Flesar: Jimramov, 2015, p. 449. ISBN 978-80-2608-833-2).

41 COLLALTO, ref. 29, p. 35.

42 Later he graduated from Grammar School and was sent to the University of Bonn (COLLALTO, ref. 29, p. 37).

grew fond of it very much),⁴³ she did not feel obliged to give anything to Eduard, only wishes are offered and good health is prayed for.⁴⁴ Her relationship with a good-natured humorous father was definitely less formal than the one with a strict and nervous mother.

In 1846 Caroline became a member of The Order of the Starry Cross (*Sternkreuz-Ordensdame*)⁴⁵ she was given the order insignia by Empress Caroline Augusta⁴⁶ and together with the insignia, she enjoyed the dignity of the order belonging to the high-born married Catholic ladies a kind of analogue to the Real Chamberlain (*wirklicher Kämmerer*) title, her husband bore. The order certainly flattered Caroline's self-confidence and temporarily improved her mental health. It must have been around that time when she fully realized the most serious flaw her social status had: a missing son, a future successor in the family lineage. Nearly 40-year-old Caroline decided to do something about it.

No doubt Eduard felt the alienation from his wife too. He was successful in his public roles: in 1843 the administration of Uherčice manor was contractedly given to him,⁴⁷ due to his father's bad health (Anton Octavian was hit by two strokes) in 1845 he even took over the administration of the whole fideicommissum,⁴⁸ which formally made him the head of the family. But his private life with Caroline was hardly successful. From 1846 on, he started solving his sexual needs with a young maid from his Černá (*Tserna*) Chateau: Francisca Flesar. Men in the 19th century chose their lovers outside their social class to prevent potential problems, they also made sure not to discredit their wives but their sexual activity outside the house was nothing unusual.⁴⁹ However, Eduard's bit on the side with Francesca had one positive influence on his marriage with Caroline: it may have given him a dirty conscience and made him perform his marital obligations more often, which coincided with Caroline's wish to fulfil her maternal duty. It is the only way to explain that in June 1954 Caroline announced she was expecting a child again and the same year, twenty years after their wedding, a son Emanuel Josef

43 MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 695–714.

44 MZA, ref 43, fol. 811.

45 *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch des österreichischen Kaiserthumes*, Wien, 1848, p. 72. Her diploma was not preserved, but some letter she wrote that year contain the motto of the order: SOLA UBIQUE TRIUMPHAT (for more information about the Order see KOLÁČNÝ, Ivan. *Řády a vyznamenání habsburské monarchie* [Orders and Decorations of the Habsburg Monarchy]. Praha: Elka Press, 2006, p. 134–142. ISBN 80-902745-9-5).

46 She was a Grand Mistress of the Order. Caroline's mother Therese was a bearer of the order since 1823.

47 MZA, F 202, c. 126.

48 MZA, G 169, c. 368, i. n. 133.

49 WINKELHOFER, ref. 5, p. 93–95.

was born, right on Christmas Eve.⁵⁰ Emanuel changed Caroline's position within the family dramatically, Eduard with his daughter made a thankful pilgrimage to Mariazell⁵¹ to pray for the newborn heir of the family name, the whole family could not believe that little Mani would be a healthy child, but he turned out to be one. He overcame all the childhood ailments and prospered well. However, new motherhood duties did not improve Caroline's mental health and did not cure Eduard's love for Francesca. In 1859 she also gave birth to an illegitimate son Maurizio – Eduard had him baptized Flesar-Collalto in St. Anthony chapel in Černá Chateau.⁵² When Caroline learned about it, she fell into one of her fits of rage: broke things, hit her servants and to her husband, she looked out of her mind.⁵³

No letter from her mother or friends indicates she ever mentioned her husband's illegitimate son's existence which she must have felt as a stain on her dignity. Maurizio's future education and marriage were planned and pre-paid by his godfather Moritz von Dietrichstein⁵⁴ and Caroline had to put up with his existence. She concentrated on the future prosperity of her daughter by finding her a suitable husband: in 1860, Juliette was introduced to the family of Eduard Franz von Walderdorff, a year later on 8th April 1861 she married him, the couple was to live in Klafterbrunn Chateau, and between 1862–1881 Juliette was blessed by 12 children, the couple became the founders of the Klafterbrunn family line.⁵⁵ Marital status and the seeming happiness of Juliette was a big success for Caroline, but in the meantime, Eduard's health started to worsen. He suffered from heart weakness and sought the help of the Viennese doctors; however, his state did not seem to improve. On 24th March 1862, Eduard Collalto

50 Caroline's mother wrote it was: "*pretty natural your husband gave you a fine present in the form of your little son. It is making him the happiest of men too...*" (MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 1039). For more about Emanuel's life and childhood see KOUMAR, Jan. Emanuel Collalto e San Salvatore. Tři pohledy na život „posledního muže starého režimu v Rakousku“. [Three Perspectives on the Life of the "Last Man of the Old Regime in Austria"]. In *Modern History*, 2019, year 27, no. 2, p. 31–53. ISSN 1210-6860.

51 MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 698–699.

52 See the copy of Maurizio's Birth Certificate in FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 642.

53 FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 469.

54 The second godmother was Moritz's daughter Alexandra Mensdorff-Pouilly. Moritz survived his only son and became the last member of his family name, which, after his death, was transferred to the House of Mensdorff-Pouilly (see. ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, Radmila. *Ro-dinné strategie šlechty: Mensdorffové-Pouilly v 19. století* [Family Strategies of Nobility: the House of Mensdorff-Pouilly in the 19th Century]. Praha: Argo, 2007, p. 265–269. ISBN 978-80-7203-859-6).

55 WALDERDORFF, Richard von. *Klafterbrunn: Geschichte der Familie Walderdorff*. Klaf-terbrunn: E. von Walderdorff, 1987.

died after a short disease caused by a heart attack at the age of 52 and Caroline became a widow.

Princess Caroline's Widowhood

Eduard's death was a shock for the whole family, but especially for his 8-year-old son and Caroline herself. No matter how much she did or did not mourn, she was expected to follow the typical pattern of the widows: three months of deep mourning with no social events or travelling, three more months of wearing dark robes with black accessories.⁵⁶ The received letters after her husband's death contain condolences and a lot of references to God and his unpredictable will, but no help is offered and it seems none was needed. On the occasion of Eduard's burial in Brtnice, the former Eduard's lover Francesca Flesar mentions⁵⁷ that Princess Caroline had coped with her loss briskly.⁵⁸

What was ahead of her now, could have been an uncertain future if it had happened 10 years ago. But as Caroline gave birth to the only surviving son of her family lineage at the age of 40, the son strengthened her previously minor position within the family. At the time of Eduard's death, her daughter was already pregnant with her first child Josef (Pepi) and her 8-year-old Emanuel (Mani) entered Jesuit College in Kalksburg (today a Viennese suburb belonging to the Liesing district). Once again, the widowed Caroline turned out to be an energetic woman, able to take care of her matters. Her parents were still alive, however, her mother suffered from deep depressions and Caroline herself had occasional rage attacks and depressive periods. But she escaped the fate of a sonless widow who is unwanted by the more successful family branches. In the family of the Collaltos, she was not as popular as her aunt, mother-in-law and the namesake Caroline, she was much less sociable, less willing to spend big sums on dazzling jewellery, she invested more time in books and charitable work. Had her husband died 10 years ago, Alfons and his son Octavian so-called Salvator would have given her no privilege. But being a mother of an underaged Prince Emanuel, she had wider options.

The residential situation of an aristocratic widow, together with her social status and her widow apanage depended on the provisions of her marriage contract: Caroline's income was not small but her economic situation would worsen. She could become quite dependent on a new head of the family: her husband's successor in the family order, luckily, it was her son. Remarriage

56 WINKELHOFER, ref. 5, p. 214.

57 His body was buried in the family sepulchre in Nové Sady (*Neustift*).

58 FLESAR, ref. 40, p.476.

was possible⁵⁹, but it would mean a loss of the status in the deceased husband's family, such a woman would also inevitably fall into the stereotypical view of widows as debauched creatures. Caroline had no intention to do such a thing. She might have had some affairs with men during her marriage, at least Eduard confided it to his lover Francesca Flesar.⁶⁰ But even if Eduard was right and this statement to his lover was not just to cure his guilty conscience, Caroline was smart enough never to let her affairs go public.

The new state of widowhood was something she had to adapt to. It was a state which, for example, Auguste Debay in his ethical reflections preferred to the demonized state of separation. According to him: "*the death of one of the spouses does not seem as bad as separation from the table and bed, for the separated ones are wild animals, beasts dangerous to the society of men*"⁶¹. The Roman-Catholic Canon in Paris, J. Coulin praised widowhood a lot too. In his view "*widowhood was like gold, fortune and liberation*".⁶² But what he talked about was the behaviour which marked a widow as a widow indeed (*vere vidua*), the behaviour which was defined by St. Paul in Timothy 5:5-6,⁶³ a Christian aristocrat was supposed to comply with its requirements. These stereotypes of a good or bad widow performed an ideological work mainly in the pre-modern era, but in the high class, they remained observed through the whole modern times. Wealthy widows – and Caroline undoubtedly belonged to them – had a better position to take advantage of the independence widowhood gave them. But they could not escape the social customs which highly influenced their choices.⁶⁴

59 For more about remarriages in Italy see BRESCHI, Marco – FORNASIN, Alessio – MANFREDINI, Matteo – ZACCHIGNA, Marianna. Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study. In *European Journal of Population / Revue européenne de Démographie*, 2008, year 25, no. 3, p. 277–296. ISSN 0168-6577.

60 FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 469.

61 DEBAY, Auguste. *Ethické úvahy o lásce, štěstí a věrnosti manželské* [Ethical Reflections on Love, Happiness and Marital Fidelity]. Praha: Kober, 1896, p. 162. Not surprisingly, the reasoning of this judgemental sentence is missing.

62 COULIN, Jean. *Nejvznešenější ozdoba nevinných srdcí čili Kniha o panenství* [The Noblest Decoration of Innocent Hearts, or the Book of Virginity]. Frýdek: František Orel, 1899, p. 25.

63 "*The widow who is really in need and left all alone puts her hope in God and continues night and day to pray and ask God for help. But the widows who live for pleasure is dead even while she lives.*" (The NIV Study Bible, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995, p. 1841). The sexual fidelity of a spouse to her deceased husband preoccupied the European thinkers from Augustine to Freud and appeared in the canonical literature of belles-lettres, the infidelity of the widows and wives in G. Boccaccio's *Decameron* is well-known.

64 It probably does not have to be mentioned that the role of a widower was not parallel to the Christian widow at all. This holds good throughout the whole Middle Ages and Renaissance till the modern era (see WALTER, Katherine Clark. *The Profession of Widowhood. Widows, Pastoral care and the Models of Holiness*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, p. 8. ISBN 978-08-1323-019-1.

Unlike widowers who usually remarried within a year after their wives' deaths⁶⁵ women's widowhood took much longer time also because their life expectancy was higher.⁶⁶ They could have their salons, lead busy social lives and give parties. A widow's mental problems could presumably be much milder too: especially if they fell at the expense of her hardly changeable position as a married woman. Therefore, widows could be rich, independent creatures who desire men and destroy their homes as same as humble creatures who spend time praying and remembering the deceased husband, where the previous means a terrible social decadence and the latter depicts the ideal.⁶⁷ This all also means, that a widow could finally enjoy some domestic independence and could even administer her own business and cultural affairs. Caroline was the only child and the heir of her father, which meant that Eduard could have counted on inheriting some of Joseph Apponyi's possessions. This way Eduard's younger brother Alfons obtained Staatz manor from Ferdinand Colloredo-Mannsfeld⁶⁸. But having become a widow, who could marry a man of her choice now and thus pass the inherited possession to a House her father would not approve of, Caroline was not considered a universal heir anymore.

Her mental health played a part in how she was perceived in the family as well. Albert Aponyi,⁶⁹ 8-year-older contemporary of Caroline's son, lived in villa Apponyi in Kalksburg during his studies and met many widows of the family: the famous divine Theresa Apponyi née Nogarola, Leopoldine née Apponyi widow von Franckenstein⁷⁰ and since many letters to Caroline are addressed to the

65 BŮŽEK, Václav – KRÁL Pavel. *Společnost v zemích habsburské monarchie a její obraz v pramenech* [Society in the Lands of Habsburg Monarchy and Its Image in the Historical Sources]. České Budějovice: JČU, 2006, p. 436. ISBN 80-704-0882-0.

66 About the higher average length of a woman's life see LIVI BACCI, Massimo. *Populace v evropské historii* [Population in European History]. Praha: NLN, 2003, p. 203. ISBN 80-7106-394-0.

67 WIESNER, Merry E. *Women and gender in early modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 91. ISBN 978-11-0849-699-5; TODD, Barbara J. The virtuous widow in protestant England p. 66–83. In CAVALLLO, Sandra – WARNER, Lyndan (eds.). *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 1999. ISBN 978-05-8231-748-2.

68 Staatz later became the main seat of Alfons's grand-son Manfred, the later 5th Prince Collalto and future heir of the Moravian estates (for more see KOUMAR, ref. 15).

69 The later Minister of Education and the symbol of Magyarization in Hungary, the author of so-called "Lex Apponyi" (1907), the law which required the teaching in the first four years of schooling to be solely in Hungarian (see: JUDSON, ref. 26, p. 305). In 1919 the leader of the Hungarian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

70 Caroline and Leopoldine were friends, her mother mentions Leopoldine in her letters and Caroline preserved her death notice from 1870 (MZA, G 169, c. 380, i. n. 209, fol. 986).

villa in Kalksburg, little Albert presumably met her too. But while the first two determined his future general conception of womanhood and are remembered as angels, “*in a certain sense higher beings, worthy of profound respect and yet deserving the deepest affection*”⁷¹, Caroline is not mentioned at all. Alfons’s granddaughter Marie-Therese in turn remembers Caroline from her early stays in Collalto Palais in Am Hof Square as a “*nervous and very strange lady*”⁷². The reason for this reputation certainly lies in her life as a widow.

Together with the revenues from alodial properties, her widow appanage was 1,575 gulden each quartal,⁷³ she was also given the right to use the flat in the front part of the Viennese Collalto Palais in Am Hof square and her flat in Uherčice chateau. Because the guardianship of an underaged child was not the matter of women⁷⁴, Eduard’s younger brother Alfons was appointed a legal guardian of Emanuel, who was – naturally – the heir of the whole estate and pecuniary fideicommissum.⁷⁵ Caroline had to leave the previous house in Jägerzeil, so she rented a new house on Praterstrasse 32,⁷⁶ right next to Carltheater. The choice of place shows Caroline’s passion for theatre: Carltheater under the director Johann Nepomuk Nestroy played operettas and Caroline preferred visiting it to Burgtheater in which the House of Collalto had their box.⁷⁷ The house was rented for the season, from the September feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. George in April, but the rent was quite high; every season cost 1,612 gulden. Despite the good position she had in the family due to Emanuel, Caroline had to live modestly. Her list of income and expenses in 1862 shows minimal expenses;⁷⁸

71 APPONYI, Albert. *The Memoires of Count Apponyi*. Safety Harbour: Simon Publications, 2001, p. 5. ISBN 1-93131313-42-3.

72 COLLALTO, ref. 29, p. 20.

73 E. g. MZA, G 169, c. 374, i. n. 203, fol. 396, 449 and others.

74 PALATOVÁ, Kateřina – KRAUSOVÁ, Vendula – HAVELKOVÁ, Tereza. Žena pohledem právních norem habsburské říše druhé poloviny 19. století [Woman Through the Perspective of the Legal Norms of the Habsburg Empire in the Second Half of the 19th Century]. In ČADKOVÁ, Kateřina – LENDEROVÁ, Milena – STRÁNÍKOVÁ, Jana (eds.). *Dějiny žen, aneb, Evropská žena od středověku do poloviny 20. století v zajištění historiografie: (sborník příspěvků z IV. pardubického bienále 27. – 28. dubna 2006)*. Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2006, p. 501–514. ISBN 80-7194-920-5.

75 The fideicommissum curator was Count Widmann-Sedlnitzky (MZA, G 169, c. 385, i. n. 234, fol. 405).

76 MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 206, fol 15; 26.

77 Marie Therese Collalto remembers Eduard’s and Caroline’s visit to Burgtheater when Haydn’s *The Creation* was played. Eduard placed his hat on the box parapet, but the hat fell to the parterre part. Humorous Eduard paid no attention to music and shouted: Oh, for God’s sake, it’s gone! The audience began to laugh. (COLLALTO, ref. 29, p. 20).

78 MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 206, fol. 99–104.

the two-page list itself is incomparable to the 10 years younger one consisting of 10 pages.⁷⁹

Caroline's first year of widowhood was quite expectable. Her financial situation changed, so did the living conditions: she spent winter in Vienna and Kalksburg where her son was attending the Jesuit school, summer belonged to her son's Moravian estates, she was mainly based in her flat in Uherčice, but she paid administrative visits to Černá and Rudolec, where she could meet Eduard's former love and mother of his illegal child.⁸⁰ She was provided with the flats and pension and she was expected to live a more modest life without distractions. As her mother put it: *"I hope the sunny days will compensate the sad ones for you (...). The Collaltos will have to visit you now and then and you will enjoy the progress little Mani is going to make at school."*⁸¹ Besides the theatre visits and bought books and gowns, she did live up to the ideal of the desired widow – she never got married again and she spent the rest of her life taking part in many charities. However, she still wanted to be a part of her son's education and life. What limited her was her widow appanage and until her son was to come of age, she was to be dependent on it; therefore, there was little space left for her manoeuvring.

But a year later, in March again (on 11th March 1863), Caroline's father died.⁸² Unlike Eduard, Joseph Apponyi's death was not unexpected. He was 78 years old and he was rapidly withering. His letter from September 1862 is written by a shaking hand and hardly readable, another one written in October was work of his secretary, Joseph only signed it. In his letters, Joseph announces his approaching death, feels thankful for such long life but also refers to his growing inability to write, work and provide his matters, which leads him to the necessity to organize the last things.⁸³ The Testament has already been written, and when on 23rd May 1863 it was read in Dr Egger's office, Caroline found out she got the major part of her father's money. Her mother was to live in her villa n. 139 in Bad Vöslau and a to get a percentage of the income of Pálfa and St. György Ur estates. All Joseph's Hungarian dominion in Pálfa, St. György Ur and Lengyel were given to his nephews Julius and Rudolf Apponyi. The mental state of Therese Apponyi was not good at that time, in a letter written

79 MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 205, fol. 54.

80 The relationship between both women was surprisingly calm and without excesses. Caroline did not pay any special money to Francesca, but she was invited to Christmas and Easter dinners in Brtnice and according to Francesca's memoirs Caroline was never rude or revengeful (FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 477–480).

81 MZA, G 169, c. 374, i. n. 203, fol. 128.

82 MZA, G 169, c. 380, i. n. 209, fol. 22.

83 MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 110, 127, 446.

only a week after Joseph's death, she expresses despair about her health and she doubts she will ever gain freedom from her caretakers again.⁸⁴ Due to this fact, Joseph's burial service was held in the Parish Church of St. Johan Nepomuk in Praterstrasse together with the burial in St. György Ur, it was arranged by Caroline together with the Collalto-family lawyer and Therese Apponyi's curator Carl Zeiner. In his last letters, Caroline's father expresses good wishes to little Mani, points out that as soon as he comes of age, he will have a great fortune of the Collaltos and mentions the necessity to help Juliette Walderdorff with her growing family. Between the lines, he, therefore, says that Caroline's family is financially secured and she does not need more herself. Yet, he bequeathed her 200,000 guildens which made her financially independent.

Caroline did not waste time and after a consultation with Dr Zeiner, her money was invested. In the next 20 years, her investment portfolio contained priority obligations in Kronprinz Rudolf Bahn, Nordwest Bahn,⁸⁵ quarterly she received money from her bank deposits in Hypotekasse and Ungar Hypotekbank, from obligations and Mortgage-Backed Securities. She also bought two houses: n. 27 Taborstrasse in Leopoldstadt and n. 28 Favoritenstrasse just opposite the famous Theresianum.⁸⁶ Flats in these upper floors of the houses were rented, however, there were also free tenants who Caroline supported financially.⁸⁷ Together with higher incomes the higher generosity can be seen in Caroline's Expense Notes: she began paying a quarterly appanage to her daughter Juliette (500 guildens), she supported Servite Convent, she paid contributions to the Burgerbaal Committee, till her death she paid St. John of Nepomuk Parish benefactions for prayers for Eduard. She also started donating a lot of money to a great number of charities: during one quartal 12,000 guildens were spent on them, she supported the town mayor in Brtnice, Viennese poor people, Women Associations, Writing Associations, foresters in Jestřebí (*Haslitz*), after 1866 Austro-Prussian-War⁸⁸

84 MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 689–670.

85 Since 1854, the state began selling off the railway lines to private companies, while offering the stockholders attractive guaranteed rates of return on investment in new lines. For instance, the minimum annual return for the stockholders of Österreichische Staatseisenbahn-Gesellschaft was 5.2% at minimum (see JUDSON, ref. 26, p. 231).

86 MZA, G 169, cart. 378, inv. n. 206, fol. 54. Because Kalksburg was not recognized publicly at the beginning, her son Emanuel had to pass his exams in Theresianum as same as his older relative Albert Apponyi (APPONYI, ref. 71, p. 32).

87 In 1884 these were: Dr Waldmann, Fr. Mayer, H. Kratochvil, J. Pollak, A. Alexander (the two last names are the officials from Collalto Estate Office in Brtnice).

88 The defeat in the war with Prussia meant the formal expel of Austria from German Confederation; for the Collaltos it may be more important that it also forced Franz-Josef to cede Venice to France (which receded it to Italy). It also meant Austria and Hungary became two constitutional monarchies with very different constitutions, administrative, judicial system and qualification of citizenship (JUDSON, ref. 26, p. 259).

she supported its veterans, she did not forget schools (in 1865 in Uherčice, she established and financially supported the Emanuel School named after her son) and enough money was left for the individuals.⁸⁹



Atelier Angerer in Vienna, Caroline Collalto née Apponyi, the 1870s.
(MZA Brno, G 169, c. 467, fol. 147).

⁸⁹ MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 206, fol. 95–101.

Emanuel, most of all, became her point of interest. His guardian Alfons was a strict educator therefore the boy was brought up with great severity. The fact Emanuel was now in the position of the heir and holder of the fideicommissum – the very position in which Alfons had already planned to see his son – was not the reason; Alfons Collalto was not a biased man. His son Octavian (called Salvator) got a strict upbringing as well, which in response made him an unusually bad boy as his daughter Marie Therese mentioned.⁹⁰ Caroline, therefore, wanted to balance the strict environment by staying close to Emanuel in Kalksburg.⁹¹ While Alfons treated Emanuel strictly and taught him to behave in accordance with his status and noble origin, Caroline taught him to be charitable to less fortunate people. Emanuel's charities soon started to copy his mother's ones and till the end of his life, he never stopped being generous.⁹² Also, the cultural influence of his mother started being visible. Emanuel spent time in opera, enthused over Auber's *Fra Diavolo*⁹³ or Verdi's *Rigoletto*, read books of her mother, collected art. Regarding culture, charities and his way of life he more and more became influenced by Caroline. However, he did not neglect his male obligations, he hunted, learnt to administer his estates and prepared for his military service under the strict hand of his uncle.

After a few first years, Alfons Collalto's influence on his ward started to weaken⁹⁴ and it was Caroline, who led her son in a way she considered good. The rest of the family saw her guardianship as unwise and impractical,⁹⁵ but they could not interfere because Emanuel simply listened to Caroline more than to his strict and fearful uncle. However, Alfons retained control over Emanuel's material issues and the Moravian Estate administration, hence, Caroline wanted her son to have his alodial estate, which would bring him the finances not bound to the strict rules of fideicommissum. In 1871 she found a suitable one. Carl Zeiner, Eduard's curator bought the estate Liběchov (*Liboc*) in central Bohemia on behalf of his client.⁹⁶ The Estate was quite far from the traditional Collalto

90 COLLALTO, ref. 29, p. 36.

91 Around one-third of the letters in cartons 373-5 (MZA, G 169) is addressed to Kalksburg. The College itself was beautiful. As Albert Apponyi describes it: "*It stood in the midst of a beautiful park, laid out on the spur of the range of hills, where the famous cold-water spa Kaltenleutgeben (...) is also situated.*" (APPONYI, ref. 71, p. 17).

92 For more about Emanuel Collalto and his life see KOUMAR, ref. 50.

93 In the letter to his mother from 30th December 1873 (MZA, G 169, c. 373, i. n. 203, fol. 195–6).

94 The amount of his correspondence in the matter of his guardianship over Emanuel after 1866 is negligible. (see MZA, G 169, c. 382, i. n. 215).

95 MZA, G 169, c. 308, i. n. 233; COLLALTO, Marie Therese. *Erlebtes und geschautes*, p. 348.

96 MZA, G 169, c. 456, i. n. 496. Liběchov (Liboc) with Brocno (Brotzen) belonged to the Roman Count Anthon L. Veith, who had to sell it due to his debts and executions. The manor is

fideicommissum, but closer to Karlsbad and only a kilometre from the castle, there was a small spa Boží Voda (*Geweitenbrunne*), where on 1875 Caroline bought a house.⁹⁷ She shared the belief in the healing power of cold water her era used to promote, and also her doctors recommended her the spa atmosphere to cure her psychological problems. Like many aristocrats, she spent months in spas every year, Karlsbad, Marienbad, Ischl and Vöslau were the most frequently visited ones. Liběchov, therefore, seemed to be ideal. The Purchase Contract is from 25th March 1872, the amount paid was 700,000 guildens,⁹⁸ Caroline herself lent 30,000 guildens, yet the buyer was her son. No documents can prove Emanuel had ever visited Liběchov, but Caroline spent there at least two summers, ordered some minor adaptations and necessary reconstructions⁹⁹. But the estate turned out to be a bad acquisition. The vineyards and forestry were profitable, but both Caroline and Emanuel gradually lost their interest and as soon as he became of age, the estate was sold again¹⁰⁰.

Princess Caroline's Last Years

Therese Apponyi died on 25th February 1877, when Caroline was in Rome, a telegram was sent to her to return to Vienna immediately. She inherited the majority of her mother's possession, 45,000 guildens and her villa in Vöslau with all its furnishing. Before the villa was emptied and later rented, the list of all Therese's books was made. 178 volumes estimated to 335 guildens contained works written in French (among them there were 16 volumes of Paul Féval works, 22 volumes of George Sand's works, 4 volumes of Jules Verne *Voyage Extraordinaires – Cinq semaines en ballon* were present in two editions –, Chateaubriand's *Memoirs*, Dumas and Tolstoy works and many others), also in English (Scott, Dickens but also Marryat's adventurous novels, ...) and German (Schiller, Goethe, Jaccobi, ...). A considerable attention was paid to poetry and romantic "*Bibliothèque pour les Dames*". Judging from her library, Caroline's mother was a romantic person who loved adventure and travelling and who bought books in Paris, London and Leipzig quite regularly. The books about

situated on the Elbe, next to the Lobkovitz manor Mělník (*Melnik*).

97 MZA, G 169, c. 456, i. n. 503.

98 There are numerous inaccuracies in the sum. Kilián (KILIÁN, Jan. *Dějiny Liběchova* [History of Liběchov]. Liběchov: Město Liběchov, 2016, p. 107. ISBN 978-80-88121-13-8) says that A. L. Veith sold Liběchov for 800,00 guildens, but that the Collaltos bought it for 1,800,000 guildens. The Purchase Contract states 700,000 guildens (MZA, G 169, c. 454, i. n. 496).

99 MZA, G 169, c. 378, i. n. 206, fol. 240. In summer 1873 the investments were made and paid by Caroline herself, however, they were insignificant (in the sum of only 127 guildens).

100 In 1878, the buyer was Nenig von Armin, the whole estate was sold for 900,000 guildens (MZA, G 169, c. 457, i. n. 506).

history, Sahara, and even Japan were present and well-read based on their low estimated price. All silver, art and books sold during 1877 brought Caroline 36,000 guldens also the obligations in banks her father had made for his wife in the total sum of 300,000 guldens; Juliette Walderdorff received the inheritance from her grandmother in the sum of 65,000 guldens.

Caroline's mother's death may have been some relief from the endless problems with her illness and doctors, yet it also meant Caroline was lonelier than ever. Within the family, she kept more contact with the House of Apponyi than the House of Collalto and since her son took over his estates, he visited his mother less and less. He did not want to provoke her rage attacks because he fell in love with a simple Viennese girl who stood as a model at Hans Makart's atelier,¹⁰¹ it was safer not to visit Caroline too often. His love affair turned out to be permanent and caused Emanuel's withdrawal from contact with the rest of the family after they threatened him to employ the clauses of the fideicommissum founding charter, which prohibited the holder from marrying a lower-born woman. Caroline became lonely.

Her correspondence was the most frequently led with her daughter, the Piattis living in Loosdorf, with the Collalto-related House of Solms-Lich and with the Apponyis. She kept a long-standing friendship with Charlotte Khuenberg née Gall, also with Louise Kupfer née Barrière, their letters were frequent and cordial in some parts, even though these acquaintances never addressed her in any other way than "Madame Princess" and kept some distance. She corresponded and financially supported A. Gachadouat d'Elvelene, the poet who never hesitated to ask for money for the strangest reasons (his pain in his knee, the rainy days for which he couldn't work, etc.).¹⁰²

Surprisingly, she never got rid of him and of his correspondence, moreover, they met several times and he spent some days in Uherčice with her. Caroline's mental problems kept her away from a close friendship. Within the family she was feared for her rage attacks; all she had were friends she kept meeting in Viennese sweet shops and cafés. During the last few years, mainly their letters were her primary social contact.

Interestingly, no mention of the political situation can be found in Caroline's correspondence before or after her husband's death, besides occasional sentences

101 Private archive of Isabella Collalto-deCroÿ Susegana, MENSITORFF-POUILLY, Giselda. *Erinnerungen*. Band 1. Ernsdorf, 1950, p. 95.

102 Not mentioning the way, he asked for money: "*I myself am in the middle of the material existence surrounded by people unwilling to help. Therefore, I make this appeal to you to give me a souvenir, which would make my remembering you possible till the end of the month. I do not push you to do anything Madame Princess but it would help me improve my life a lot.*" (MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 1077-8).

of her mother, in which a future war in Italy was mentioned,¹⁰³ or in which Eduard's new function in the House of Lords (*Herrenhaus*) newly established by the February Patent was briefly summed up,¹⁰⁴ their reader has no hints of the revolutionary year 1848, of all the social and governmental changes or the economic crisis of the 1870s. The life of Caroline Collalto observed through the lens of her correspondence is an intimate life of a woman who is not touched by the "male" politics, fights and the big-history events. Instead, it concentrates on her children and grandchildren (daughters of Juliette), revolves around social events like Court Balls, family affairs and diseases and more and more around her charities. Based on the preserved documents, it is hard to reconstruct her yearly rituals in detail. She spent Christmas mainly in Brtnice, but at the end of her life, she often stayed in Vienna due to her illness. When in Vienna, she often visited theatre whenever she could, she spent her summers in Moravia, mainly in Uherčice and Brtnice, also her visits to other chateaus (Černá, Rudolec) are not rare. In spring and autumn, she often travelled. During the ball season, she was often in Italy or France, therefore she probably did not attend the court balls every year.

After she inherited the money from her mother, she started looking for a new place of residence. Due to her son's withdrawal from the Collalto family and due to her mental problems, she did not want to be surrounded by society so much, so she spent less time in the city centre and started thinking of buying a villa at the edge of Vienna. Her health was the most prominent reason. Even though her disease is not specified in any preserved document, in 1884, her son confided in his stepbrother that his mother had frequent rage attacks, broke everything around her, beat her servants and drove them out; he said she was almost insane.¹⁰⁵ No cure helped permanently, hence a stay outside Vienna was considered a good idea. The house in Vöslau bore the memories of Caroline's mother, which definitely would not help her health, so she had to think of another place. The first idea was two villas in Dornbach, which Dr Grüner offered her, then a villa in Hütteldorf,¹⁰⁶ but in the end the villa on the hill in Heiligenstadt with the address Hohe Warte 52 was bought.¹⁰⁷ In her brighter moments, Caroline

103 MZA, G 169, c. 375, i. n. 203, fol. 482-3. Rodolphe Apponyi mentions it in his journal from 1848 (APPONYI, ref. 24, 184-5nn).

104 MZA, G 169, c. 374, i. n. 203, fol. 262. The House of Lords was added to the central parliament created by Schmerling, it aimed to moderate the action of the House of Deputies. Members were members of the Habsburg dynasty and prominent individuals appointed by the emperor (for more see: JUDSON, ref. 26, p. 253-254).

105 FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 517.

106 MZA, ref. 107, fol. 101-102.

107 The villa with its younger extensions is today the Embassy of Egypt in Vienna.

enjoyed a perfect view of Vienna from the garden and still engaged in charities. She paid alms to less fortunate widows with who she – as a widow herself – felt compassion. She supported countess Tattenbach, Barbara von Kletten and widows of her former caretakers and administrators of Collalto Estates: Antonia Pollatschek, Marie Baumgarten, Johana Křivanek and others. However, in darker moments she could not forget the stain her husband made on her by his illegitimate son Maurizio. She destroyed his existence at least by burning all the archive documents concerning him and after he refused to marry the girl, she had chosen for him, she forced him to leave the Collalto estates.¹⁰⁸

The last years of Caroline Collalto were lonely and dark, as a widow she was rich and could afford a lot, but as a woman, she was hindered by her mental health. She died of a cerebral haemorrhage at the age of 72 on 23rd June 1886 at half-past six a. m. in her villa in Hohe Warte.¹⁰⁹ Her body was buried in the family sepulchre in Nové Sady (*Neustift*) next to her husband's body. Her possession was bequeathed to Juliette Walderdorff. Money and obligations were – aside from her charities – divided between Emanuel and Juliette.

Conclusion

This study concentrated on the widowhood of one aristocratic woman. Its particular aim was her economic life and stability during her years as a widow. Only marginal attention was paid to the aristocratic rituals in which she definitely took part (because they cannot be reconstructed from the preserved documents of Caroline Collalto). Hardly any attention was also paid to the political situation during her life, the case of Caroline Collalto shows how little interested (at least some) women were in policy and that even the turbulent political events could influence them too little to discuss them in their correspondence. Princess Caroline Collalto's widowhood was the widowhood of the only child of a wealthy father. Had she had a brother her widowhood would have been modest. But having been the only daughter of Joseph and Therese Apponyi, the wealthy and well-educated couple and the mother of the reigning prince Emanuel, her widowhood was much different. If her husband had been alive in the times of her father's death, he would possibly have inherited more than Caroline did. The hesitation over her daughter's status and its options can be visible in Joseph's Apponyi choice of heirs. However, her heritage allowed her to spend her widowhood in bigger luxury than she experienced, even with her husband. Free of her parents' or husband's custody, she could make her own investments, buy her own estates

108 Her orders were not carried out though, due to her son Emanuel, who felt close to his stepbrother. (FLESAR, ref. 40, p. 512-518).

109 Matrikula online, Heiligenstadt, Sterbebuch 03-09, 19., fol. 71.

and live her own life. She travelled a lot. But in the House of Collalto, she did not leave an unforgettable trace. Her aunt and namesake Caroline was memorized for the family ties with the Apponyi House,¹¹⁰ for the fact that she led dazzling aristocratic life, make beautiful drawings and was much more sociable than her niece.

Even though some authors point out the ambiguity of the term “widow” – due to the possible new marriage it is not easy to define who is still a widow and who is not one anymore¹¹¹ – in the followed case of Caroline Collalto this uncertainty is pointless. Caroline was a widow from 1862 to her death in 1886, she never remarried and never wanted to. As long as we can reconstruct her widowhood, she kept in line with the required behaviour of a widow: she wore black dresses till the end of her life, after her husband’s death she devoted all her time to her children. She had her circle of friends, but she never let them too close to disturb her position of a highly serene princess widow. This all, even though widowhood of her times was much less valued than before.¹¹² However, Caroline Collalto is also an example of a woman who wanted to benefit from her new state. She was a rich widow, only partly dependent on the Collaltos, so she could dare to intervene in her brother-in-law’s education of her son, she did not have to live only in Uherčice, where her place of residence was supposed to be but bought her own villas, spent time abroad and invested not only into houses and obligations but also influenced her son to invest into a new estate in central Bohemia. Due to this fact and due to her psychological problems, she was later remembered by the Collalto family as unwise, nervous and impractical. The fact she did not completely comply with the requirements for a traditional role of a woman, let alone of a widow may be to blame.

Nevertheless, Caroline Collalto’s widowhood was influenced by her illness. She probably inherited the disposition to it from her mother, who spent the last 15 years of her life in Bad Vöslau under the care of doctors. Caroline’s case was not as severe, yet she had to stay aside from the social events and visits, at least during her last years. Her interests during her widowhood did not change: she never took part in big Collalto hunts. From her correspondence, she seemed to be interested mainly in literature and theatre (her mother often wrote her about

110 Private archive of Isabella Collalto-deCroy Susegana, COLLALTO, Marie Therese. *Unnamed manuscript*. 1918, p. 39.

111 BUITELAAR, Marjo. Widows’ worlds. Representations and realities. In BREMMER, Jan – BOSCH, Van Den Lourens. *Between poverty and the pyre. Moments in the history of widowhood*. New York: Routledge, p. 1–2, 1995.

112 The declining status of widows within the society can be seen in the normative handbooks for women (see BOONE, Jean Baptiste–SVOBODA, Josef. *Křesťanská žena* [The Christian Woman]. Praha: Jan Svoboda, 1866, p. 81).

new books she read), but fine art is never mentioned. Her bills show her interest in good robes, her friends often discussed new hats with her, but she paid the highest sums for her journeys to Paris, Rome, Naples, Dresden or Provence.

Interestingly enough, even though he hated her mother's rage attacks a lot, Caroline's son Emanuel took after her much more than he may have wanted. He escaped from the Viennese society to his new villa in Heiligenstadt just within the view of his mother's old house in Hohe Warte. His life remained under the influence of his mother's cultural tastes and charitable inclinations; all his life he kept meeting his step-brother, inclined to poorer people and donated many charities. He kept in sporadic touch only with the youngest Octavian's son Manfred, who later became his heir, to the rest of the family he was almost unknown, Giselda Mensdorff-Pouilly called him a legendary figure.¹¹³ After he died, his wife sold his art collection due to financial difficulties after the First World War. Her widowhood was much different from Caroline's, she was of very different status and wealth, she lived in the uncertain times of the 1920s. But that is a different history.

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113 MENSITORFF-POUILLY, ref. 102, p. 95.