

HORIZONS

THREE NUPTIAL PUBLICATIONS CELEBRATING ITALIAN UNIONS OF THE HOUSE OF APPONYI IN EARLY 19th CENTURY

JAN KOUMAR

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This text deals with three nuptial publications, two “Per Nozze” and one “Felice Augurio” booklets, which were published in the early 19th century to celebrate the Italo-Hungarian unions of the Hungarian aristocratic House of Apponyi. The publications followed the almost exclusively Italian tradition of “Per Nozze” booklets and their purpose was to promote the splendor and the ascension of the House of Apponyi through the unions with the prestigious Italian houses, the House of Nogarola and the House of Collalto. They are described and their content is examined with regard to the future which the House of Apponyi expected from these unions.

Keywords: Apponyi. Nogarola. Collalto. Pietro Bagnoli. Per Nozze. Nuptial Publications.

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Introduction

Nuptial publications – i.e., literary compositions in verses or prose printed as a memory for the spouses – have long tradition. They evolved from the Latin poems extolling the virtues of both spouses and in the form of “Per Nozze” (literally “For Wedding”) publications they abundantly appear in the short literature of the eighteen and the nineteen centuries. The tradition of “Per Nozze” seems almost exclusively Italian, even though their parts may be in different languages¹, but they vary in their style, quality, elaboration or decorations. The purpose of their existence was a transitory celebration of a wedding, they mostly predicted a child to be born and exaltedly praised the qualities of the Houses and the prospects of the union. A bibliographic catalogue of “Per Nozze” publications in Biblioteca Braidense by Leila di Domenico shows 3,511 booklets printed on the occasion

1 E. g., there is Slovenian part in the „Per Nozze“ publication of Giorgio Ivanovich and Agnese Tripichovich from 1828. BASSICH, Antoine. *Per le Faustissime Nozze del Signor Giorgio Ivanovich con la Signora Agnese Tripichovich*. Ragusa: Antonio Martecchini, 1828).

of the noble unions between 1494 and 1850², the style and social connotation of some older “Per Nozze” were investigated by Vincent A. Scanio³. This text wants to examine three “Per Nozze” publications of the House of Apponyi. Expectedly, they celebrate the union of this Hungarian House of the magnates, diplomats and bibliophiles with two Italian families (as noted above, “Per Nozze” were a habit almost exclusively Italian), in particular the House of Nogarola and the House of Collalto. Both houses were Italian, both based in Austrian Empire. Today, copies of all three prints are stored among the documents of the House of Collalto Family Archive⁴ in the *Moravský zemský archiv Brno* [Moravian Land Archive in Brno]. In this text I am to examine the content of all three poems with regard to the future which the House of Apponyi expected from these unions in the early nineteenth century.

The House of Apponyi de Nagy-Appony

For the House of Apponyi, the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was a time of their great ascension, however, the origins of the House were much more modest. The Apponyis had not belonged to the higher Hungarian magnates for long, even though they legendary derived their origin from one of 108 tribes Arpad brought to Hungary. The first documented member of the House was Lord Lieutenant of the country Poszony at the end of the twelfth century, and at that time the House’s name was Péch.⁵ In 1392 under king Sigismund, Péch’s descendant Thomas Rufus changed his original domain Cseklész (today Bernolákovo, Slovakia) for the domain of Nagy-Appony (today Oponice, Slovakia) with a fortified castle overlooking the Nitra Valley,⁶ since that time, the name of this castle became the family predicate. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Roman Emperor Rudolf II. elevated the owners of this Apponyi domain Péter and Pál to the rank of baron, unfortunately, both men died childless, therefore the title ceased to exist with them. Around that period, the family line divided: one line stayed in Apponyi Castle, the second one settled in Jabloncza (today Jablonica, Slovakia), the third one settled in Éberhárd

2 DI DOMENICO, Leila. *Per le faustissime nozze: nuptialia della Biblioteca Braidense (1494–1850)*. Cremona: Linograf, 2003.

3 SCANIO, Vincent A. Limited Editions and Marriage. In: *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 57, 14, 1951.

4 Moravský zemský archiv Brno [Moravian Land Archive in Brno], further on only MZA, fund G 169, box 368, i. n. 182.

5 APPONYI, Albert. *The Memoirs of Count Apponyi*. Safety Harbor: Simon Publications, 2001, p. 1.

6 APPONYI, Rodolphe. *Vingt-cinq Ans à Paris. Journal du Comte Rodolphe Apponyi, Attaché de l’Ambassade d’Autriche-Hongrie à Paris. Tome I*. Paris: E. Daudet, 1913, p. III.

(today Malinovo, Slovakia) near Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava). In 1719 the baron title was re-established for Lázár Apponyi by the Roman Emperor Karl VI. (in Hungary, he ruled as Károly III.). In 1739 the same man was also granted the Count title as a reward for his loyal services to the emperor.⁷ But Lázár's ambition did not finish with the title: he enlarged the Apponyi domain by purchasing Högyész, a fertile manor in Tolna region, bought from Florimund Mercy, the French ambassador in Vienna.

Over the years, the Apponyis left their old fortified castle in Nagy-Appony – which burnt down in 1645 and gradually became only a maintained ruin – and built a comfortable chateau in the center of a great park, just under the old castle. In addition to their titles and diplomatic services, the family had a long literary tradition, the first writer being the abovementioned Balázs. However, in 1745 Jozsef also wrote a book, the *Oratio de augustissimo verbi incarnati mysterio*, on the mystery of the word's incarnation,⁸ but the family literary fame was yet to come with Lázár's grand-son Antal (Anton) György (1751–1817).

His ambition was a greater ascension of his House which he fulfilled firstly by his staggering career. In 1772 he became the emperor's chamberlain, eight years later he became the Tolna and Máramaros Ispán [Count]. He rebuilt the Högyész chateau, and the family land base in Nitra region as same as in Tolna helped him to lead a life of a high-class aristocrat. Secondly, the glory of the House of Apponyi was to be in its artistic taste. When he was only twenty-six, his Viennese palaces were already full of books, later, Haydn wrote six string quartets for him (Apponyi Quartets Op. 71–74), Mozart and Beethoven composed their music for him too and he was renowned for his artistic taste. Antal György kept a collection of 266 painting, which was so famous at his time that François Burtin, physician and naturalist, dedicated his manual for art collectors to him,⁹ but the most importantly, he founded the Bibliotheca Apponyiana renowned for more than 400 incunabula, out of which many were obtained from the Jesuit cloisters abolished between 1790–1800.¹⁰

Thirdly, and for this text the most importantly, the splendor of his House was to be achieved by unions with ancient and noble Houses. With his wife Maria Caroline Countess of Lodron-Laterano and Castelromano Antal György had nine children who were to marry well to promote the House of Apponyi to the rank

7 CABADAJOVÁ, Jana and Peter KRÁLIK. *Aponiovská knižnica v Oponiciach*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2018.

8 KLIMEKOVÁ, Agáta. Literárna tradícia v rodine Aponi. In: KLIMEKOVÁ, Agáta. *Aponiovci v dejinách knižnej kultúry*. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2015, p. 35–44.

9 GRANASZTÓI, Olga. Zbierka malieb Antona Juraja Apponiho vo svetle jeho knižnice. In: KLIMEKOVÁ, A. *Aponiovci v dejinách knižnej kultúry*.

10 CABADAJOVÁ, J. and P. KRÁLÍK, *Aponiovská knižnica v Oponiciach*.

of the highest nobility. The eldest son, György (1780–1849) married Countess Anna Zichy de Zich, an offspring of the old Hungarian House of diplomats and artists, the couple established a new family line in the abovementioned Éberhárd chateau¹¹. Antal (Anton) Apponyi (1782–1852) married Countess Therese Nogarola (1790–1874) a daughter of an old Italian house based in Verona. The youngest son Jozséf jr. (1784–1863) served in the Imperial Cavalry and in 1813 he married a Croatian Countess Therese Pejačević. The couple later lived mainly in Lengyel,¹² where they built a new chateau and under the leadership of the then-famous landscaper, Sedlmayer, a big park with the water tower and an obelisk was created there.¹³ His daughters were married well too, with the primary interest in the Italian noble houses. Anna married the Italian marquise and a diplomat in Saxony, Karl Alexander Piatti, Caroline married a son of an Austria-based princely Italian house, Prince Anton Octavian Collalto. Out of these good matches, two weddings particularly – the weddings of Antal and the one of Caroline were celebrated by the “Per Nozze” publications, which this text wants to examine.

“Per Nozze” of Antal Apponyi and Therese Nogarola

The first of them – a cantata for two voices and a choir with the name *In occasione delle Faustissime Nozze del Conte Antonio d’Apponyi Ciambellano Attuale di S. M. Cesarea Regio-Apostolica colle Contessa Teresa Nogarolla*¹⁴ – was published on the occasion of Antal György’s second son Antal József Ferenc Count Apponyi de Nagy Appony (born on July 9, 1782) with eight-year-younger Maria Therese Countess Nogarola of Verona (born February 5, 1790) in August 17, 1808. Antal József was preparing for the diplomatic service to the emperor but the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars caused a temporary delay in this plan. In 1806 he was appointed to the post of *wirklicher Kämmerer* [the real chamberlain], which was but a confirmation of his noble origin as only aristocrats who could document sixteen aristocratic ancestors could be appointed to such an office. That is why this title appeared on the title page of the cantata. The bride herself was also a descendant of an ancient family, which is why Prince Württemberg later called

11 JANURA, Tomáš. Aponiovské rezidencie v Lieskovom, Jablonci, Malinove a Bratislave. In: KLIMEKOVÁ, A. *Aponiovci v dejinách knižnej kultúry*.

12 KOUMAR, Jan. Aristocratic Widowhood in the Second Half of 19th Century. The Case of Carolina Collalto e San Salvatore Née Apponyi. In: *Historický časopis*, 2021, 69, 5, p. 863–887.

13 BAY, József. *Lengyel – Kastélypark*. Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára, 1989.

14 MZA Brno, fund G 169, box. 368, i. n. 182, fol. 1–3. *In occasione delle Faustissime Nozze del Conte Antonio d’Apponyi Ciambellano Attuale di S. M. Cesarea Regio-Apostolica colle Contessa Teresa Nogarolla*. Vienna: G. V. Degen, 1808, fol. 1–3

her “*the most distinguished woman*”¹⁵. Originally from Armagnac, her family came to Italy in the ninth century and it possessed the castle Nogarole on the border with Mantua, which gave the family their name. In the thirteenth century, the Nogarolas settled in Verona and during Renaissance their most famous member a female author Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466) in her 1451 *De pari aut impari Evae atque Adae peccato* [Of the Equal or Unequal Sin of Adam and Eve] attacked the traditional argument of Eve’s original sin.¹⁶ However, Isotta was not the only humanist and writer of the family, as her brother Leonardo was a religious writer, as well, and in the late 17th century Luigi Nogarola was also a poet.

The wedding was to take place in August 17, 1808 in Vienna and the cantata was to be its traditional celebration, childbirth prediction and the acclaim of the union of both noble families. The publication is an eight-page booklet of a plain form, it is without decorations or pictorial matters, two last pages are blank, therefore the cantata covers only four pages. The frontpage bears a title, its revers shows a four-short-line description of the characters and place.

The cantata without strophes has a dialogic, apostrophic and highly symbolic form. The couple being celebrated is addressed in the changing voices, as was usual in the nineteenth century cantatas, which were no longer musical compositions but celebratory odes. The three voices in the cantata are the three Graces: Aglaea, Euphrosine and Thalia, who meet in the Temple of Love. Their names represent “radiance” (Aglaea), “joy” (Euphrosine) and “blossoming” (Thalia) but they also represent three goods of marriage: giving, receiving, returning. At the beginning of the cantata, Aglaea calls all sisters to the Temple. Euphrosine brings her gift: an apple, which bears the name Therese and is a gift from Aphrodite, the goddess of love. This apple is not the one of discord, there is no “τῆ καλλίστη” written there, unlike Paris in his judgement before the Trojan War, the three Graces know who is the most beautiful one there, her name is known. Thalia brings a belt as a gift, but not Aphrodite’s belt, the one that caused every man to fall in love with the woman who wore it, but rather a belt of order, in which all the noble ancestors and their virtues are depicted in gold. The illustrations of the nobles are meant to show that this couple’s love is not caused by the natural force of Aphrodite, but is a force triggered and guarded by their pure and noble lineage. There are hundreds of heroes among the ancestors depicted on the belt, all guarantors of good customs, the bride and groom are, therefore, said to be descendants from gods, surrounded by Muses and Apollo.

15 APPONYI, Rodolphe. *Vingt-cinq ans à Paris. Journal du comte Rodolphe Apponyi, attaché de l’ambassade d’Autriche-Hongrie à Paris. Tome 4.* Paris: E. Daudet, 1913, p. 327.

16 NOGAROLA, Isotta. *Complete Writings.* Edited and translated by Margaret L. King and Diana Robin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Then, the newlyweds are called to appear in the scene, each one separately in the form of rivers that symbolize them and that flow more proudly to the sea now. Therese is called l'Adige, the river flowing through Verona, and the groom, l'Istro, that is the Danube¹⁷ symbolizing Hungary and Austria. As the couple appear, they are already tied together with the sweet chains, and that is the point when Hymen is invoked to come to the Altar of Love to seal the marriage. As the god of marriage ceremonies, he attends every wedding, so if he did not appear, the marriage would be disastrous. All the Graces sing:

Hymen, the fruitful god
by whose prudent care
Nature takes its reign,
and through change maintains itself,
You of ANTONIO and of THERESE
by uniting the sweet fate,
tie a knot of luck
the body of every good. (All translations by author).

*Imeneo, fecondo Nume,
Per la cui provida Cura
Si succede la Natura,
E cangiando, si mantien
Tu d'ANTONIO, e di TERESA
Nell'unire il dolce fato
Stringi in nodo fortunato
Il complesso d'ogni ben.*¹⁸

Once Hymen sealed and blessed the union by his presence, the bride and groom are no longer considered two separate individuals but one *Coppia amabile* [Lovable couple], who – immersed in joyful thoughts – leaves with the gifts. All three Graces wish the union made the partners happy.

The unusual feature of this “Per Nozze” is its lack of interest in future heirs. Antal József was a second son, therefore, his descendants were not inevitable for the family survival. Unlike his older brother, whose ambitions were political and his son György Antal József (1808–1899) was to play a leading part in Hungarian public affairs,¹⁹ the role of Antal József was supposed to be more modest. The

17 Istros is the ancient Greek name for the lower section of the Danube.

18 MZA Brno, *In occasione*, fol. 3.

19 György Antal József Apponyi was a Hungarian conservative politician. From 1846 to 1848, he served as Lord Chancellor of Hungary and in 1861 when Francis Joseph I. convened Hungarian Diet, he was appointed the Speaker of the House of Magnates.

“Per Nozze”, therefore, points out his noble origin, the ancient origin of the bride and the Italo-Hungarian connection of these two. His marriage was to be the affirmation of the aristocratic status of the House of Apponyi, due to Antal’s supposed career of a diplomat, it was to spread the splendor of the House abroad as well.

All these plans came true even more than was expected. Antal and Therese’s marriage was fruitful with two sons and one daughter and Antal started his diplomatic career. A year after their wedding, the couple resided in Karlsruhe in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where Antal acted as an Austrian diplomat till 1814. Subsequently, he was appointed a minister in Florence, between 1816–1817 and then again between 1820–1825 he was an ambassador in Rome (in between he was an ambassador in London), where, in Palazzo di Venezia he and his wife were the gems of the local social life and made an indelible mark in the memories of their contemporaries.²⁰ The Italian origin of his wife helped him to meet the local artists²¹ and to promote the House of Apponyi among the local nobility.

Finally, between 1826 and 1848, he served as an Austrian ambassador in Paris and in 1836 received the Order of the Golden Fleece. Both him and his wife Therese are often mentioned in French journals of Antal’s cousin Rezső (Rodolphe in French) from the Jabloncza family line, which were written between 1826–1850 in France of Charles X. and Louis Philippe.²² Therese also became a muse of Chopin, whose Opus 27, Nocturne in C sharp minor was dedicated to her and, and she also enjoyed a Europe-wide reputation for her kindness and charm becoming known as the “divine Thérèse”.

Antal also rescued his father’s renowned library. In 1817, when Antal György died, his three sons wanted to sell the library estimated to 70,000 guildens²³ and to divide the money equally. It did not happen. Due to Antal’s wish to preserve the library, he sold a part of rare prints in a public auction and paid his two brothers off, and in 1825 he could move the whole library to Pozsony (today Bratislava), where, in June 13, 1827, it was opened as a public library. The building with the inscription *Literis in patria augendis* [For the development of literacy of the motherland] in its front was well-attended, and well-known both in Hungary and abroad, in London it was mentioned as the first Hungarian

20 E.g.: The beauty of his wife and Antal’s honesty is mentioned by Countess Lulu Thürheim (THÜRHEIM, Lulu, Gräfin von. *Mein Leben 1819–1852*. 3. Bd. München: Georg Müller, 1914, p. 58).

21 BEŇOVÁ, Katarína. Gróf Anton Apponyi ako veľvyslanec v Ríme. In: BOŘUTOVÁ, Dana and Katarína BEŇOVÁ. „*Bella Italia*“. *Interakcie medzi umeleckou kultúrou Itálie a vývinom umenia na Slovensku v 19. storočí*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2015, p. 41–56.

22 APPONYI, *Vingt-cinq Ans à Paris*.

23 GAJDOŠ, Vševlad Jozef. *Oponická knižnica*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1971, p. 9.

national library under the name “Public national library in Pressburg”. However, the city council wanted to pay no operation costs, so in 1846 the whole library had to be relocated to chateau Apponyi, where it has been since. At the time of its arrival at Nagy-Appony, the library consisted of around 25,000 volumes out of which around 10,000 volumes have survived. In the chateau, a special hall had to be built to accommodate the books, it is twenty-three meters long, ten meters wide and eight meters high. After Anton Apponyi’s return from the diplomatic service in Paris, the library was the place where he enjoyed spending his years, till his death in 1852.²⁴ Therese Apponyi née Nogarola outlived her husband for twenty-two years. She died in 1874.

“Felice Augurio Della Vicina Alleanza” of the Apponyi-Collalto Union

Another nuptial publication, this time celebrating the expected union of Antal György’s daughter, was published a year later, at Christmas 1809. The dialogic and highly apostrophic cantata for two voices and choir was organized in nine strophes and it was a happy wish for the future alliance of the House of Apponyi with the House of Collalto.

The House of Collalto e San Salvatore belonged to the first society of the Danubian Monarchy, however, its history was much longer than the House of Apponyi could boast of. Originally the Counts of Treviso, the ancestors of the House built two castles in the hilly countryside around the Piave river: castle Collalto in 1110 and castle San Salvatore in 1245.²⁵ The House’s Moravian fideicommissum was founded by Rambaldo XIII., in 1623 and its ownership changed the House into *piccola famiglia italogermanica* [a small Italo-German family] as Antonio Rambaldo Collalto called it in early seventeenth century.²⁶ Odoardo III., the groom’s father, at first attempted to make a career in Venetian Republic, where the Napoleon-Army invasion stopped him. Therefore, he moved to Vienna where he started an ambitious career at the court. The two men, Odoardo Collalto and Antal György knew each other well, which may have been the reason why Antal György’s second daughter Caroline, within the family known as Lotti, was chosen as Odoardo’s eldest son, Anton Octavian’s spouse. Caroline, was a woman of renowned beauty, which became a base for many family anecdotes. Marie-Therese Collalto in her short memoirs *Von unseren Vorfahren* [From Our Ancestors] felt obliged to mention that at a court ball,

24 CABADAJOVÁ J. and P. KRÁLÍK, *Aponiovská knižnica v Oponiciach*.

25 MORO, Pierandrea. *Collalto. Storia di un Casato Millenario*. Roma: Viella, 2018, p. 23–26.

26 KAZLEPKA, Zdeněk. *Ostrov italského vkusu. Umělecký mecenát Antonia Rambalda hraběte z Collalto a San Salvatore mezi Itálií, Vídní a Moravou v první polovině 18. století*. Brno: Barrister and Principal, 2012, p. 35.

young Caroline's beauty was admired by the King of Saxony and the old prince Johann I. Lichtenstein at the same time.²⁷ Lotti met Anton Octavian Collalto when she was only sixteen, their wedding was to happen only five years later. Her future husband was said to be a kind and handsome man but his lack of sociability made the family to nickname him *un Orso* [a bear], for his preference of solitude to social events, and also due to some level of uncertainty in German language, which he was never able to speak as good as Italian.²⁸

For the House of Collalto, the proximate union was a good move, for the House of Apponyi it emphasized their aristocratic significance evidenced by Antal György's career. As same as the Apponyis, the Collaltos stood out due to their taste for fine arts. The abovementioned Antonio Rambaldo was a supporter of many painters, in 1762, young Mozart had his first concert in Vienna in Thomas Vinciguerra's Palais Collalto, Anton Octavian's father Odoardo III. was a collector of fine art and his Viennese palace and villa in Breitensee were full of paintings, among all by Mansueti, Christan Brand, Tempesto, Škréta and others.²⁹ Moreover, the House was at the top of their political ambitions, Count Odoardo was to be elevated to the rank of Austrian Princes in 1822 and awarded the Order of Golden Fleece.³⁰

However, before the wedding, on the occasion of Christmas 1809, there was a nuptial brochure published for the engaged couple, which announced the future union of two noble houses and in a short poem assured the audience of the mutual love between the future spouses. The brochure had just six pages, out of which one was occupied by the title³¹ and three by the poem itself. It was published by G. V. Degen in Vienna as same as the previous Apponyi-Nogarola "Per Nozze", its print is without any decorations

The cantata is written for the choir and two voices, this time, the voices belong to mythical Evadne and Argia, both exemplary wives who died for their husbands: Evadne was the wife of Capaneus, a legendary warrior, whose death by a lightning at the siege of Thebes made Evadne throw herself on his funeral

27 MZA Brno, G 169, box. 320, i. n. 441, COLLALTO, Marie-Therese. Von Unseren Vorfahren, 1937, p. 4.

28 MZA Brno, COLLALTO, Von Unseren Vorfahren, p. 6.

29 KAZLEPKA, Zdeněk. Galerie Collalto: Několik skic jedné „kunstkomory“ období biedermeieru. In: KROUPA, Jiří, ŠEFERISOVÁ LOUDOVÁ, Michaela and Lubomír KONEČNÝ, eds. *Orbis Artium. K Jubileu Lubomíra Slavička*. Masarykova universita: Brno, 2009, p. 687–698.

30 KALÁBOVÁ, Lenka. Zámek Uherčice. In: *Vitruvius Moravicus. Neoklasicistní aristokratická architektura na Moravě a ve Slezsku po roce 1800*. Brno: NPU, 2015, p. 87–99.

31 MZA Brno, G 169, box 368, i. n. 182, fol. 4–7. *L'Incontro di Due Feste Natalizie, felice augurio della vicina alleanza fra le nobilissime famiglie Collalto, ed Apponyi*. Vienna: G. V. Degen, 1809.

pile. The second voice, Argia, was the wife of Polynices and the sister of famous Antigone. When – despite the strong prohibition to do so – they both buried their husbands Polynices and Eteocles who had killed each other, the tyrant Creon commanded them both to be put to death.³² Both these heroines made a brief appearance in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), a poem well-known for European aristocracy of the late 18th century,³³ and even though they had been mentioned as good wives sacrificing themselves for their husbands in *Thebaid* by Statius, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* depicts their fate as the example of conjugal love (Book XXXVII, Verse 131–134)

*“If Laodamia, Arria, Brutus’ wife
Evadne and Argia, fled from life:
and numbers more, in story’d annals bloom
who sought their breathless husbands in the tomb.”*³⁴

Both exemplary wives, therefore, symbolize the irrevocability of the marriage tie.

At the beginning, the choir announces the approaching wedding day, which is going to open Caroline's eyes and heart for the golden light and affection. Argia then specifies this day as the day of spouses and mothers, who will behave according to their virtues, that is who will be obedient to their husbands and dedicated to their children. Both voices then unite to praise the upcoming wedding day as “serene and untroubled”, followed by happiness ever after, because it will be a prelude to another day of light. Argia wants the time to fly more quickly, to get to that announced moment, which Evadne then describes as the day of birth of a future Odoardo. Both voices then unite to celebrate the upcoming union of blood, hearts and lives mediated by Hymen and Amor. The cantata finishes by the choir wishing the joyful couple happy parenthood and fortunate auspices.

The Collalto-Apponyi cantata is obviously aimed at the prospective motherhood. The wedding day is not about the bride's beauty or the union of ancient ancestors made in gold as we saw them in the Apponyi-Nogarola cantata. The Collaltos did not feel any urge to affirm their status that way, the short poem predicts the birth of Odoardo a desired son, who is going to bear his grand-

32 This interpretation is in a sharp contradiction with much more famous play *Antigone* by Sophocles, but it can be a clue to identify its author (see below).

33 The poem was well-known for its ironic treatment of love. Orlando falls in love with the pagan queen Angelica. Unfortunately, Angelica falls in love with another king, which makes Orlando mad. Insane, Orlando ramps across Europe and Africa until his friend Astolfo goes to the Moon to recover his senses.

34 ARIOSTO, Ludovico. *Orlando Furioso*. Translation by John Hole. London: Otridge and Son, 1872, p. 299–300.

father's name, because Antal György's daughter was marrying the firstborn son and therefore the future heir of the family possession. The future son was, therefore, the necessary part of their marriage. But reading between the lines, the cantata is a promise of the House of Apponyi to live up to expectations the more ancient and noble House of Collalto had. The burden of having a child lies fully on Caroline, which is why she is named expressly, while neither Evadne nor Argia and choir pronounce the groom's name. He stands in a shadow because Caroline's qualities might be in question. The poem is supposed to announce Caroline's happiness, without praising groom's qualities, character or pure lineage. Even the future child is supposed to exist *for* him not *thanks* to him. The bride's preoccupation with her future husband can also be read in the choice of the female voices, the exemplarily faithful heroines, who did not prioritize their lives over their husbands' honor. The cantata, therefore, reveals the fear of Caroline's beauty and origin, it softly convinces everybody of the fact that this beauty is but a naturally given feature, which makes no prediction about her chastity and future motherhood and that her origin is good enough for both.

“Per Nozze” of Anton Octavian Collalto and Caroline Apponyi

Only two weeks after the announcement, the wedding day arrived and Anton Octavian Collalto was going to marry Caroline Apponyi. For the wedding day, January 7, 1810, another poem was written, this time published as a twelve-page booklet.³⁵ Unlike the previous two, the author of this poem is stated, it is Pietro Bagnoli, then a Vienna-based forty-three-year-old poet and an abbot, the former confessor and educator of children of Ferdinand III. the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Bagnoli's most famous work was to become his later published poem *Orlando Savio*, the continuation of the above-mentioned Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Allegedly, he had been writing it from his age of eleven, together with another, later published poem *Il Cadmo*.³⁶

The Collalto-Apponyi “Per Nozze” is an anacreontic published in Vienna in 1810 in the production of Guiseppe Vinzenz Degen,³⁷ as same as two previous poems. It is a thirty-two-strophes-long poem dealing with the origin of bride and groom's love and their future happiness. The booklet has only one decoration,

35 MZA Brno, G 169, box. 368, i. n. 182, fol. 8–13. BAGNOLI, Pietro. *Per le faustissime nozze del Conte Antonio Ottav. Collalto e S. Salvatore ciambellano attuale di S. M. Cesarea Regio-Apostolica colla Caontessa Carolina d'Apponyi*. Vienna: G. V. Degen, 1810, fol. 8–13.

36 CARRANZA, Nicola. *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani, V*. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana Treccani, 1963, p. 264–266.

37 Degen was a publishing bookseller. Between 1789 and 1814 he owned a bookshop on Michaelerplatz and founded his own type foundry; his prints of Latin classics and the editions of Wieland were famous.

on page three, where the anacreontic starts, there is a decorative myrtle branch. In comparison with the previous booklets, the font is bigger and better readable, each strophe is separated by a bigger space.

The first strophe addresses Hymen again, not by his name but as the son of Venus. Hymen is asked about the reason for repeating the idea to put together two people of Hungarian and Italian bloodlines. The wedding of Caroline's brother with Therese Nogarola is briefly recalled:

Ah! It was so happy
the first union
that to repeat it
has a good reason

*Ah! Fu si fausta
La prima unione.
Che di ripeterla
Hai ben ragione*³⁸

The subsequent part seems to be justifying the reason why an ancient Italian House marries the Hungarian one. Hungary, or Pannonia, is described as a land of wide borders, in which the shadows of old Latins still dwell. These shadows, the drops of ancient noble blood in the living Hungarians, look for friendly blood to be revived in their greatness. The nobility of the House of Apponyi is therefore somewhat challenged, the Hungarian blood, the House of Collalto is going to unite with, is but a shadow of the old Latins, who look for their revival. The Italian noble blood is what can give it to them, the future offspring, therefore, will be a perfect bloom of this union. Hymen's task is then compared to the work of a skillful craftsman who sets two gems into a golden ring: the newlyweds will be as inseparable as a gem from the golden ring where it was dexterously inset.

Then, the poem proceeds to the bride, who is described as a virtuous and modest beauty of a good blood origin, as a virgin, who knows how to speak, make gestures, and behave in the noblest way. Mutual love, which was somehow missing in the previous Apponyi-Nogarola "Per Nozze", is mentioned again. The bride and the groom resemble each other, and the affection in their breasts is spontaneous, it is love by which Hymen ties them together forever:

Amor and Hymen
unanimously create
the inseparable
sweet chain.

38 MZA Brno, BAGNOLI, *Per le faustissime nozze*, fol. 9.

*Formaro unanimi
Amore e Imene
L'indissolubili
Dolci catene.*³⁹

The upcoming wedding party is compared to the upcoming spring, which now, in January, is held captive in the dragon's cave. However, the newlyweds will make the frosty mists of winter melt, they will even make Zephyr scatter the clouds and the first flowers will come into blossom under his breath. The rest of the poem pursues the prospective parenthood by depicting the bride and groom's souls in faithful and mutual consent, therefore prepared for the noble competition which is the creation of the offspring. The final strophe wishes the newlyweds to bring all honor and happiness to their parents and to turn their happy thoughts into their future.

Unlike the Christmas cantata, the anacreontic by Pietro Bagnoli does not concentrate on a son. It is a true example of wedding poetry, which celebrates the union of two people in love. As it often happens in "Per Nozze", the bride and her beauty, virtues and good behavior are extolled, the personifications of Love, Hymen and Zephyr are used to predict the bright future, but the thoughts and images are quite conventional. However, the poem consciously refers to the previous Apponyi-Nogarola union, considers it a happy one and wants to repeat its luck. It also seems to indicate the Hungarian bloodline is less noble and needs the union to bear its fruits. Such an indication was not made in the Apponyi-Nogarola union, where the lower rank would have had to be assigned to the groom, whose status the bride always took over.

The marriage of Anton Octavian and Caroline Apponyi turned out to be happy too. They had four children: the eldest son, in the Christmas cantata foreseen Eduard (Odoardo IV.) – was born in their wedding year, in October 1810. His sister Cecilia was born two years later, their younger brother Alfons saw the first light of the world in 1814, and finally, the youngest Caroline was born in 1818. The eldest son and a continuator of the family line, Eduard, married Caroline's niece, the only daughter of Antal Apponyi's younger brother Josef. She was the namesake of her aunt, therefore two Caroline Collaltos née Apponyi figure in the House of Collalto history.⁴⁰

After his father's death in 1833, Anton Octavian inherited the Moravian fideicommissum and became the second Prince of Collalto e San Salvatore. He and his wife usually spent their summers in Pirnitz chateau (today Brtnice,

39 MZA Brno, BAGNOLI, *Per le faustissime nozze*, fol. 11.

40 KOUMAR, *Aristocratic Widowhood*.

Czech Republic) and winters in their Viennese palace at Am Hof Square.⁴¹ Anton Octavian died at the age of seventy in 1853, his wife outlived him for nineteen years, she died only in 1872. Within the family, she was known as a woman of a dazzling taste, her jewelry, good artistic taste and even her paintings were remembered for decades: some of her drawings of mills and villages have survived till now.



Portrait of Therese Apponyi née Nogarola (Pencil on paper, 1823)
Artist: Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ingres_nogarola.jpg
Licensing: Public Domain

41 MZA Brno, COLLALTO, *Von Unseren Vorfahren*, p. 4.

Conclusion

The Hungaro-Italian unions celebrated in all three examined nuptial publications were to bring the House of Apponyi a bigger significance and dignity. All three were aimed to celebrate the union of the reputable Houses with the Hungarian blood of literates, art-lovers and magnates. All three publications were supposed to illustrate the then recent greater ascension of the House of Apponyi, which was achieved by Antal György, whose children were the groom in the first case and the bride in the second one. All three prints are wedding poems, the authors of the first two ones are unknown, the author of the third one is Pietro Bagnoli. However, there is a reasonable support for claiming that the author of the second poem was a poet working with or for Bagnoli. His stimulus can be found in the choice of speakers of the Collalto-Apponyi announcement. Argia and Evadne are heroines from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, which Bagnoli was later to extend by his immense *Orlando Savio* (Pisa, 1836). Bagnoli's knowledge of Ariosto's work was definitely on a high level, the choice of the characters in the anonymous Christmas cantata can therefore reveal his influence. Of course, such an explanation is nothing but a theory, yet due to the fact both Collalto-Apponyi poems were made one shortly after the other, Bagnoli might have influenced the cantata to some extent.

The examined nuptial publication shows the necessity to promote the Apponyis, the wedding of Antal Apponyi and Therese Nogarolla was to be the affirmation of the aristocratic status of the House of Apponyi, the wedding of Anton Octavian Collalto with Caroline Apponyi was aimed at a future child (whose name was known before the wedding even happened) and it indicates that the House of Apponyi as the Hungarian aristocracy needed a booster of the noble Italian blood. It can be boldly said 50 years later such affirmation would be no longer necessary. The diplomatic services Antal Apponyi held in Rome and Paris made a lion's share for the House's promotion, the fame of his Library also helped a lot to his reputation of a bibliophile and an artist mercenary.

Even though, in one hundred years the House of Apponyi was to give Hungary the creator of the so called Apponyi Laws in which the process of Magyarization was to culminate, for the House of Apponyi in the early nineteenth century, Hungarian nationality was not of great importance. Count Antal and Countess Caroline Apponyi knew to speak and read Magyar, but used it very rarely, their main language of communication was French and German and they had no problems to express themselves in Italian and later in then-modern English. Instead of modern nations, Catholicism was more important for the modernizing Hungarian aristocracy and instead of Pozsony (Bratislava) or still only provincial Buda and Pest, Vienna and other European metropolises were their main seats. Even though the third examined publication speaks expressly about Hungary, the

Roman origin of the country and Roman ancestors of the “Pannonian” aristocracy is emphasized by that term, instead of the upcoming national awareness.

Even though similar congratulatory prints were nothing unusual at that period, the three ones examined in this text are a nice example of the form the House of Apponyi utilized to promote their cultural and political achievements leading to their unions with Italian noble bloodlines.

About the author

Mgr. Jan KOUMAR, Ph.D.

Faculty of Humanities, Charles University

Pátkova 2137/5, 182 00 Praha 8 – Libeň

Czech Republic

e-mail: jan.koumar@gmail.com;

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8523-9234>

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