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Article: ‘Prince Charles Edward Stuart and Music: A Lifelong Love’

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EDITORIAL NUMBER 175F

Dear Friends,

Welcome to *The Jacobite*, number 175F, a special free access edition on ‘Prince Charles Edward Stuart and Music’.

While there has been much speculation on the personality of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, his attempt in the '45, and controversy about his life, many remember the Prince for his natural sense of leadership in the rising and the courage and stamina displayed during his ‘flight across the heather’ from April to September 1746. He also enjoyed horse riding and hunting, and, according to Maestro Paul MacDonald, Charles was so skilled with a musket that he regularly defeated the Scottish Highlanders at shooting contests.

Yet what do we know about his artistic sensitivity and, more specifically, how receptive the Prince was to music throughout his life?

In his memoirs, the Duke of Luynes recalls his encounter with the Prince and his brother Henry. On Sunday 23 October 1746 (N.S.), he invited Charles for supper at his property in Fontainebleau after the Prince had returned from Scotland. He recollects the arrival of the two Princes:

The Duke of York arrived shortly before nine after he came out of the theatre. We listened to a bit of music which the Prince heard only in part as he arrived half-an-hour later. The two princes are both musicians. Prince Edward [Charles] plays both the harpsichord and the cello. The Duke of York loves even more music than his brother; he played an accompaniment on the harpsichord in my home and played quite well. [. . .] There was a third table for the musicians. Danguin and Charpentier played during supper; the Princes did not know them. Charpentier sang, and they were apparently much entertained. The Queen [French Queen, Maria Leszczyńska] came for a short period in the small room of *Mme de Luynes* [Luynes’s wife, Lady-in-waiting] to see the Prince and his brother; they came out without playing, shortly after the Queen left.¹

Numerous biographies state that Charles could play the cello, and less often the harpsichord, as mentioned in Luynes’s memoirs. Although the West

¹ Charles Philippe d’Albert, Duke of Luynes, L. Dussieux and E. Soulié (eds.), *Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735–1758)* (17 vols., Paris, 1860–6), vol. VII, pp. 460–2.

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Highland Museum has on display some 'French Cauld wind pipes', which, according to their records, once belonged to the Prince (Fig. 1), did he ever learn how to play the bagpipes? In the following article, our members Stefano Baccolo and Calum E. Cunningham explore the Prince's musical background, which instruments he learnt, if he displayed any musical qualities, and whether he supported musicians at his court in his later years. Together, they conducted extensive research into numerous primary and secondary sources to establish the extent of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's relationship with music.



FIGURE 1 Bagpipes on display at the West Highland Museum, photographed by Thierry Guihéneuf in November 2015 and shared with kind permission of the West Highland Museum. The instrument in front is described as a set of 'French Cauld wind pipes, bequeathed by Prince Charles to the Stewart wife of his Valet de Chambre'.

While we hope that you enjoy this journey into the musical world of Prince Charles Edward Stuart at the Stuart Court in Italy and during his time in Scotland, we would like to thank Mr Stefano Baccolo and Dr Calum E. Cunningham for sharing their research with the 1745 Association and compliment them on such a solid commitment to Jacobite studies.

All the best,

The editorial team

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART AND MUSIC: A LIFELONG LOVE

BY STEFANO BACCOLO AND CALUM E. CUNNINGHAM

*To our children Blair, Isla and Lucio Valente,
may they grow loving history and music.*

INTRODUCTION

The mythologised and romanticised ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ has often been connected with music in Jacobite popular memory. Since attempting to restore the deposed Stuart dynasty in 1745–46, the Bonnie Prince has become a symbolic figure in folklore, song and balladry. From the Gaelic bards of the ‘45 to the most significant poets and songwriters of the late eighteenth century to the most popular folk bands of the last few generations, he has held a place of honour in many musical compositions. Nowadays, there is frequent confusion about the period to which some songs accurately belong. This misunderstanding has arisen because of nineteenth-century assertions that new songs were age-old ballads. However, historians have rarely discussed the factual relationship between music and the man Prince Charles Edward Stuart. As argued herein, Charles was a keen instrumentalist who held music in high regard and retained a special place for it throughout his life. Raised in the style of a European prince at his father, King James VIII and III’s court at the Palazzo del Re in Rome, the Prince was educated from childhood to cultivate the arts and sports loved by royalty and the aristocracy.² Accordingly, he engaged with the exiled Stuart Court’s preference for Italian Baroque music and instruments, not those associated with the dynasty’s three lost Kingdoms, including the bagpipes.

YOUTH AND MUSICAL EDUCATION

Charles’s musical education began at an early age. In 1722, when not yet two years old, his father noted with satisfaction, ‘he is already such a lover of music

² N.B. The King was called James III by the European courts that supported the Jacobite cause, and the authors will hence refer to him as such.

that I shall be tempted to Carry him one night to the Opera'.³ By 1723, when he had turned only two, one of the leading courtiers, John Hay of Cromlix, Jacobite Earl and later Duke of Inverness, commented on the child's abilities, stating, 'all the Family are well & gone to the Opera, except the young Gentleman [a pseudonym for Charles] who would as gladly go as any of them, he has the appearance of being a great virtuoso'.⁴ Indeed, the young Prince's interest in music was so lively that the King initiated his musical education. In 1724, Inverness wrote enthusiastically, 'He is a great Musicien, [who] Sings and plays on his violin continually'.⁵

Giovanni Battista Costanzi (Fig. 2) became Charles's cello teacher. Costanzi was then the most renowned cellist in Italy and one of the most prolific composers of sacred and secular music, earning him the moniker 'Giovannino del Violoncello'.⁶ His name appears in a household list of the Stuart Court from 1742. Nonetheless, as evidenced by Edward Corp's studies, he probably taught Charles much earlier, being on the payroll of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, a close friend of James III.⁷ Charles and his younger brother, Henry Benedict, later called the Cardinal Duke of York, also had the castrato Domenico Ricci and Felice Doria, a composer, as a singing and harpsichord teacher, respectively.⁸

³ The Royal Archives at Windsor, Stuart Papers [*hereafter* RA, SP] 64/58, James III to George Granville, Baron Lansdowne, 27 December 1722. See also RA, SP 151/68, James III to Inverness, 23 January 1732.

⁴ RA, SP 66/11, Inverness to Mar, 26 January 1723.

⁵ RA, SP 74/84, Inverness to Dr Sir John Higgons, 20 May 1724.

⁶ Maria Lopriore, 'COSTANZI, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30 (Rome, 1984), Treccani, Online edn., [Accessed 15 January 2024]. Costanzi composed many operas and sonatas for the cello, but his primary output remained sacred music. Long since forgotten, Giovanni Sollima, considered one of the greatest living cellists, has recently returned Costanzi's cello compositions to their rightful fame.

⁷ Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 271–2. For the patronage of Costanzi by Ottoboni, see Stefano La Via, 'Il Cardinale Ottoboni e la musica: nuovi documenti (1700–1740), nuove lettere e ipotesi', in Albert Dunning (ed.), *Intorno a Locatelli: Studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1764)* (2 vols., Lucca, 1995), vol. I, pp. 319–526. For a short biography of Costanzi in this work, see pp. 473–8.

⁸ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, pp. 271–2. For the works of Ricci and Doria, see Élodie Oriol, *Vivre de la musique à Rome au XVIIIe siècle* (Rome, 2021), pp. 310–1, 332–3. Oriol describes Ricci from a letter of 14 July 1746 by the composer Girolamo Chiti to Padre Giovanni Battista Martini. It reads, 'Mr. Domenico Ricci is one of the best pontifical singers [. . .] he was



FIGURE 2 'Giovannino famoso sonator di Violoncello', portrayed by the caricaturist Pier Leone Ghezzi on 28 October 1727, Ottoboni Collection, Latin section, vol. 3, 115, fol. 133 recto (© By kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

From 1725, the Prince also learned to dance. His teacher, Jean Arnaux, would remain in the Stuarts' service till 1745.⁹ James was so proud of Charles's progress in this art form that he carried his son to balls held in the local Bolognese nobility's homes the following year. The Marescotti, an Italian noble family traditionally claiming descent from a Scottish progenitor, held a ball in honour of the Prince for his sixth birthday (Fig. 3).¹⁰ The *Insignia degli Anziani*

chamber musician of his eminence Ottoboni as well as the sons of the Stuart king, for ten [scudi] per month for each service'. See Oriol, *Vivre de la musique*, p. 332. Chiti's assertion that Ricci was simultaneously on the payroll of Ottoboni and James III suggests that the same could be true for Costanzi, even if payment receipts only survive in the Stuart Papers for later years.

⁹ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, pp. 181, 365.

¹⁰ The Marescotti of Bologna, as the Scotti (or Scoti) of Piacenza, asserted that their family's founder was a 'Marius Scotus' [Marius the Scot], a younger brother of William, Lord Douglas.

recreated this event in a series of miniatures used by the local Government to immortalise the main episodes of the town's political and social life. A youthful Charles opened the dances with an unknown lady.¹¹

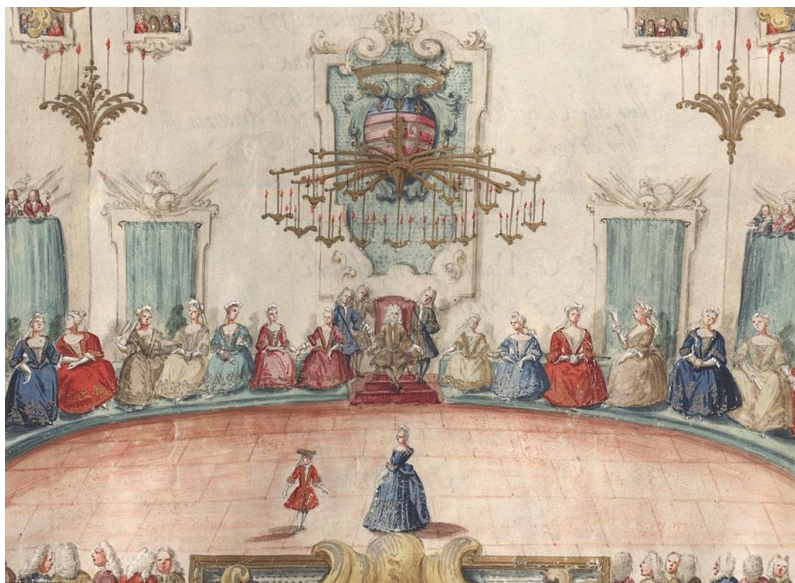


FIGURE 3 Six-year-old Prince Charles dances before his father's throne at the Marescotti Palace in Bologna on 31 December 1726 (© *Insignia degli Anziani di Bologna*, by kind permission of the *Archivio di Stato di Bologna*).

William headed a Scottish army that supported Charlemagne in his war against the Lombards. David Hume, *The History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1748), vol. I, pp. 8–18; Leo S. Olschki, *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Florence, 1875), p. 442.

¹¹ For a complete description of all the tables included in the *Insignia*, see 'Book of Miniatures Relating to the Royal Stewarts taken from 'Insignia Degli Anziani' Volume XIII', detailed in Helen Catherine Stewart (ed.), 'The Exiled Stewarts in Italy, 1717–1807', in *Publications of the Scottish History Society*, Third Series, vol. XXXV: Miscellany of Scottish History Society (Seventh Volume) (Edinburgh, 1941), pp. 73–6; Maurizio Ascari, 'James III in Bologna: An Illustrated Story', *Royal Stuart Papers* (London, 2001), pp. 1–41. For other examples of these miniatures, see Giancarlo Breccola and Francesca Ceci (eds.) [curators], *Il Matrimonio di Giacomo III Stuart e Maria Clementina Sobieska* (Montefiascone, 2019), *passim*.

In 1727, the King's private secretary, James Edgar, wrote enthusiastically to Sir John Graeme, later Jacobite Earl of Alford, noting, 'You would be surprized to see him dance, nobody does it better & he bore his part at the Balls in the Carnival, as if he were already a man'.¹² By 1728, the Prince regularly attended public musical performances and the opera with his father.¹³ In 1732, Charles attended the opera three times but frequented it more each succeeding year. For instance, he did so sixteen times in 1743.¹⁴

AN ACCOMPLISHED MUSICIAN

It is unclear when the Prince started playing publicly, but he and his brother regularly gave musical soirées at the Palazzo del Re. The French magistrate and scholar Charles de Broses, who frequented the Stuart Court in Rome, praised them highly. He declared that 'they give an exquisite concert once per week: it is the most perfect in Rome'.¹⁵ From 1738 to 1744, the Stuart brothers would give as many as two weekly concerts at the palace. On *villeggiatura* in Albano, these concerts occurred almost every evening. They also hosted balls, which would be held every Thursday in 1741 and 1742.¹⁶ In 1742, Edgar again described the Prince's daily routine, further underlining his passion for music. He reported:

at night after a days strong fatigue, Mr. Fisher [Charles] sits down and diverts himself with musick for an hour or two, as if he had not been abroad, and plays his part upon the Bass Viol extremely well, for he Loves and understands musick to a great degree, his Brother does not understand it so well, but he Sings, when he pleases, much better.¹⁷

¹² RA, SP 105/29, Edgar to Graeme, 22 March 1727.

¹³ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, pp. 93–4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 266–7, 270.

¹⁵ Charles de Broses, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie* (3 vols., Paris, 1798–9), vol. II, p. 363. Broses specified that Charles played the cello and Henry sang, both doing so very well. He mentions a typical piece they played for him, Arcangelo Corelli's *Notte di Natale*.

¹⁶ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, pp. 251–2.

¹⁷ RA, SP 245/46, Edgar to William Drummond, 1 November 1742. N.B. Edgar calls Charles's instrument the 'Bass Viol'. It was not the same as a cello. Indeed, the bass viol was a more ancient instrument with either six or seven strings instead of four and a different tuning. Italy was the first country where the cello was established and replaced it. The Prince's teacher, Giovannino del Violoncello, and all other witnesses speak of him playing the cello. So, we can assume Edgar was wrong in defining Charles's instrument as a bass viol. Though used since

The Prince was not just a cellist. He continued to be an avid listener and dancer. His attendance at the opera had increased so much that the Roman theatres regarded him as a patron, and a composition was dedicated to him each year from 1739 to 1743.¹⁸ The exceptional, privileged and unique status enjoyed by his family was also recognised at the opera, as Charles possessed the authority to pause the performance and have an aria repeated at his request.¹⁹ The apex of his glory as a dancer occurred at the continuous succession of balls he attended while on a tour of northern Italy in 1737. The Prince repeatedly amazed his hosts with his skill and energy. Once back in Rome, he frequented many balls the local aristocracy held, where he and his brother were often guests of honour.²⁰

THE MUSIC OF POLITICS AND THE DANCE OF WAR

All this activity ended abruptly with Charles's sudden departure from Rome in 1744. He secretly travelled to Paris to join a French expeditionary force to invade England. The project would fail, and the French Court snubbed him, demanding he remain incognito and avoid Paris. Unwilling to renounce his ambitions, the Prince concentrated on obtaining support for a Jacobite rising in Scotland. Among his instruments for achieving this goal was frequenting the opera and balls of the French capital to acquaint himself with the most influential courtiers. Crucially, Charles's presence put deliberate pressure on the royal family. Thanks to his Bouillon cousins, the Prince attended various masked balls at Versailles uninvited. He cut such a striking figure to gain the Queen's attention, but King Louis XV reprimanded him for this disobedience. Charles was not permitted to appear in public, even masked. He defiantly ignored the order

the sixteenth century, the bass viol went out of fashion in the early nineteenth century. For the cello's replacement of the bass viol, see Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les pretentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740), *passim*.

¹⁸ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 270. The operas dedicated to Charles were *Vologeso, re de' Parti* by Rinaldo di Capua (1739); *Le Amazzoni* by Gaetano Latilla (1740); *Demofonte* by Andrea Bernasconi (1741); *Demetrio* by Leonardo Leo (1742); and *Adelaide* by Gioacchino Cocchi (1743).

¹⁹ Frank McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: Charles Edward Stuart* (London, 2003), originally published as *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (London, 1988), p. 61.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, Chapter 4.

and continued appearing at many balls, resulting in a tug-of-war with the French monarch.²¹

On reaching Scotland after launching the rising of his volition, the Prince did not scorn the use of musical events to reinforce his public position and popularity and keep his followers' spirits high. On 2 September 1745, en route to Edinburgh, he was reported to have 'left Blair [Castle] and went to the house of Lude, where he was very chearful and took his share in several dances, such as minuets, Highland reels (the first reel Charles called for was, 'This is not mine ain house,' etc.), and a Strathspey minuet'.²² Another witness to this display was Thomas Fraser of Tomnavulen, who noted that Charlotte Robertson, Lady Lude, had entertained the 'Pretender's son and several of the Rebel Gentleman . . . with Musick and Dancing after Dinner'.²³ The next day, Niel Gow, the young and celebrated fiddler on James Murray, the Duke of Atholl's payroll, entertained the Prince at Dunkeld House.²⁴ While at Holyroodhouse, Charles allowed time for music in the daily routine of this temporary court to improve his popularity. David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, styled Earl of Wemyss, Colonel of the Prince's Lifeguards, confirmed this routine, remembering that each day '[Charles] Sup'd in publick, and Generaly their was musick at Supper, and a ball afterwards'.²⁵

Yet even when the Prince was at the zenith of his success, he did not want to establish a permanent court at Holyrood. Charles's priority was showing his supporters that the Jacobite leadership's main goal was continuing the

²¹ Charles Philippe d'Albert, Duke of Luynes, L. Dussieux and E. Soulié (eds.), *Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735–1758)* (17 vols., Paris, 1860–6), vol. VI, pp. 355–6, vol. VII, p. 106; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, pp. 114–5; Lawrence L. Bongie, *The Love of a Prince: Bonnie Prince Charlie in France, 1744–1748* (Vancouver, BC, 1986), pp. 114–6. See RA, SP 262/2, 160 and 263/24, 51, Prince Charles to James III, 16 January, 14, 28 February, 7 March 1745.

²² Rev. Robert, Forbes, Henry Paton (ed.), *The Lyon in Mourning: Or, a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals, Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Rev. Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of Ross and Caithness, 1746–1775* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1895–6), vol. I, p. 208.

²³ The National Archives at Kew, State Papers [hereafter NA, SP], 54/26, 'Testimony of Thomas Fraser of Tomnavulen', 25 August 1746, cited in Christopher Duffy, *The Best of Enemies: Germans against Jacobites, 1746* (London, 2013), p. 23; Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (London, 2016), p. 121.

²⁴ Duffy, *Best of Enemies*, pp. 23–4.

²⁵ David Wemyss, Baron Elcho, Sir Evan Charteris (ed.), *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746, by David, Lord Elcho: with a Memoir and Annotations, by the Hon. Evan Charteris* (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 307.

campaign into England. When some of his followers saw how fatigued he was from these preparations, and knowing how much he loved music and dancing, they proposed arranging a ball to distract him. To their disappointment, the Prince accepted this offer but did not participate in any dances. Despite that, he confirmed his love of dancing, metaphorically stating, 'I have now another air to dance, and until that be finished, [I will] dance no other'.²⁶ By making such a statement, he was subtly criticising some of his adherents' position that his forces should remain in Edinburgh and consolidate the Jacobites' control of Scotland. Indeed, his refusal to dance in the capital was a meaningful exception to his self-imposed conduct in fostering his public image. Conversely, in the latter phase of the campaign, Charles organised some balls at Inverness, seeing that his supporters required a morale boost, and took part to distract them from the increasingly concerning situation. According to one of his *aides-de-camp*, James Maxwell of Kirconnell, the Prince's demonstrably emphasised gaiety inspired a renewed optimism among the troops.²⁷

Even when hiding in the Western Isles in flight from the British army after the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, Charles kept music as a tool to preserve the morale of his few remaining companions high. Donald McLeod, one of these men, attested that 'the Prince would sometimes sing them a song to keep up their hearts'.²⁸ Also, when Captain Felix O'Neil, one of his Irish officers, felt melancholic, he asserted that Charles danced a highland reel and sang a Strathspey reel with two herder lasses to cheer his spirits.²⁹ Another account notes that notwithstanding his similar fits of melancholy, as he desperately awaited a ship from France, the Prince used music and dance to remain 'hearty and merry'.³⁰ Indeed, Charles would sometimes do so for an entire hour, 'having no other musick but some highland reel which he whistled away as he tripped along'.³¹ The episode of the Prince's flight that subsequently gave rise to *The*

²⁶ Alistair Tayler and Henrietta Tayler (eds.), *1745 and After* (containing O'Sullivan's account) (London, 1938), p. 88.

²⁷ Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 414; James Maxwell, *Narrative Of Charles Prince Of Wales' Expedition to Scotland in the Year 1745* (Edinburgh, 1841), p. 136.

²⁸ Robert Chambers, *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745: Edited from the Manuscripts of the Late Right Rev. Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church* (Edinburgh, 1834), pp. 401–2.

²⁹ Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. I, p. 109.

³⁰ Anon., Theodore Hook (ed.), 'The Young Pretender', in *The New Monthly Magazine*, vol. LX (London, 1840) [Part III], p. 330.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Skye Boat Song evinces another display of his singing.³² Caught in a storm while crossing the Minch on a small boat with Flora MacDonald, who had helped disguise Charles as her Irish maid ‘Betty Burke’, he noticed she was afraid. Flora later recollected this event to Robert Forbes. Forbes noted, ‘to divert her the Prince sung several pretty songs. She fell asleep, and to keep her so, the Prince still continued to sing’.³³ Contrariwise, the song describes the reverse: ‘Flora will keep Watch by your weary head’.³⁴

Back in France in October 1746, Charles was at first warmly welcomed by the French aristocracy. Among many hosting the Stuart princes, Charles Philippe d’Albert, Duke of Luynes, knew they were keen musicians and offered them musical entertainment. He engaged two of the most illustrious names of the day, Dangin and Charpentier, to play for them. The siblings particularly enjoyed the latter’s singing. Despite that, Henry appeared more interested in this music than his brother. Charles likely gave such an impression because he was concentrated entirely on his political and military prospects. Still, his life in Paris from late 1746 to 1747 involved an almost continuous attendance at the opera and public shows, but it was not solely out of love for music. He frequented all possible entertainments to bathe in the crowd and cultivate evident Parisian public support.³⁵ The people admired the valiant Prince who had challenged the mighty power of London unaided.

Charles hoped this general approval would be an asset to his relations with Versailles, but it was an illusion. According to Lord Elcho, some criticised him for attending the opera while the British state was executing his adherents in England. Among them was Étienne François de Choiseul, Duke of Choiseul.³⁶ This objection seemed hypocritical from a government that refused to succour the Prince’s Jacobite allies. He kept showing off his popularity to maintain a strong

³² Sir Harold Edwin Boulton (lyricist), *The Skye Boat Song*, in A.C. Macleod and Harold Boulton (eds.), *Songs of the North, Gathered together from the Highland and Lowlands of Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1884), vol. I, p. 20.

³³ Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. I, pp. 111, 305. Among the songs sung by Charles on that occasion were *When The King Enjoys His Own Again* and *The Twenty-ninth of May*.

³⁴ Boulton, *Skye Boat Song*.

³⁵ Luynes, *Mémoires*, vol. VII, pp. 460–2. N.B. McLynn’s biography of Charles gives an inaccurate account of this event. It asserts that the Stuart brothers gave Luynes ‘an impromptu concert on cello and harpsichord’, which is not corroborated by the primary source. See McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, pp. 310–1.

³⁶ Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 208.

position towards the French Court, which initially snubbed and later tried to rid itself of him. In truth, Charles overestimated the power of his popularity. His behaviour would lead only to an escalation, and Louis XV ordered his arrest which occurred with some cruel irony en route to the opera.³⁷ Following his banishment from France in late 1748, the Prince retired briefly to Avignon, where he amused himself by obliging the local Government to organise a great festival in his honour. Doing so defied both the French sovereign, who had forbidden him to go to the Papal Enclave, and the Pontiff, who, by making his brother a cardinal the previous year, had worsened the Stuarts' position and alienated the sympathies of Protestant Jacobites. This festival culminated with a grand ball where he danced from the evening to the following morning. Charles then suddenly left the town in secrecy and, from that moment, lived in isolation and anonymity for more than sixteen years.³⁸ In his 'incognito' period, there are few testimonies of his relationship with music, yet some traces remain. For example, in 1753, the Prince appeared disguised at a masked ball in Paris during the Carnival.³⁹ In 1760, when he was looking for a new housemaid, he specified that she should preferably know music.⁴⁰

THE ONLY SOLACE OF AN UNRECOGNISED KING

In 1766, Charles returned to Rome shortly after his father died to resume public life as the new *de jure* King of England, Scotland and Ireland.⁴¹ He yearned

³⁷ Bongie, *Love of a Prince*, p. 145.

³⁸ McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, pp. 374–7. In mid-1773, one of the Prince's ardent courtiers, Mademoiselle (Anne?) Power arrived in France, initially at the Château Saint Patrice (a convent) near Avignon. The priest of the Château had shown her a saloon where Charles had dined many years before, and Power insisted on having her dinner served in the same spot. She informed the Prince that everyone had been eagerly asking her for news of him in the eight days she had spent in Avignon. All the women expressed pride in dancing with Charles during his sojourn there. The continued interest of the Avignoneses in the Prince, even after twenty-five years, indicates his enduring relevance. Power commented, 'I assured them you remember that [the dances] with pleasure, and that you have much love for Avignon'. See RA, SP 468/66, Power to Prince Charles, 22 July 1773.

³⁹ British Library, Add. MSS. 32,843 [no fol.], Alexander Jackson [Alasdair Ruadh MacDonnell of Glengarry, 'Pickle the Spy'] to Edgar, 17 March 1753, cited in Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy: Or, The Incognito of Prince Charles* (London, 1897), pp. 186–8.

⁴⁰ RA, SP 403/68, Monsieur Le President Thibault and Prince Charles to John Steuart, Abbé John Gordon and Monsieur Guerin, 18 September 1760.

⁴¹ RA, SP 432/18, Andrew Lumisden to Prince Charles, 2 January 1766; RA, SP 433/29, Prince Charles to Lady Helen Webb and Cardinal Pier Girolamo Guglielmi, 29 January 1766.

to recreate the circumstances in the city like the halcyon days of his youth. However, Pope Clement XIII's refusal to acknowledge his regal title of King Charles III frustrated his aspirations. This decision created a new situation where he could no longer hide, as he was now the Stuart claimant and many of his followers depended on him. Returning to the obscurity of private life would have meant renouncing any hope of future improvements in his social, political and economic situation. Nonetheless, he could no longer frequent high society events within the Papal States without humiliating himself as the Pontiff had forbidden his subjects from affording the Prince any honours.⁴² Stuck in this impasse, Charles secluded himself with his courtiers, living between the Stuart family's country villa at its disposal in Albano and the episcopal court of his brother in Frascati. Yet news of his musical zeal had reached London early that year, with an anonymous writer remarking in *The Gentleman's Magazine* that since the Prince's dark days in Bouillon, 'he has ever since appeared calm and composed, talked very rationally, and read much and been fond of musick'.⁴³

Charles expressed his fondness for music with a renewed enthusiasm for playing the cello. In his retirement to Albano, he surrounded himself with musicians who could accompany him in his musical pastimes: during June, the trumpeters Carlo Giobbe and Antonio Salamoni, called 'Antoniuccio', and later in October, the violinist Raimondo Gibellini.⁴⁴ Little evidence remains regarding the Prince's favourite compositions or the composers whose music he played.

⁴² James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange . . . And of His Brother-in-law Andrew Lumisden* (2 vols., London, 1855), vol. II, p. 96, Lumisden to William Stuart, Lord Blantyre, 16 August 1766.

⁴³ Anon., 'Letter from an English Gentleman on his Travels, to a Friend in London', Paris, 21 March 1766, in Edward Cave (ed.) [Sylvanus Urban, pseud.], *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle: For the Year MDCCCLXVI., Vol. XXXVI.* (London, 1766), p. 228.

⁴⁴ RA, SP 435/186 and 437/88, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', June 1766, October 1766. Giobbe was a long-standing member of the Aliberti Orchestra from at least 1746 while attending the noble Borghese family for years privately. Giobbe 'and his companion' Salamoni had also already served the Stuarts as members of an *Accademia* organised by Cardinal York some years before. Both continued to play for the Prince when again on *villeggiatura* at Albano in 1772 and 1773. In 1772, others accompanied them, including the violinist Girolamo Ghilarducci (or Gherarducci) and two other musicians, Ratta (also a singer) and Franze. Ghilarducci, too, attended Charles in 1773. Oriol, *Vivre de la musique*, pp. 277, 297, 305; RA, SP 389/10, 'Lista della Accademia di S.A.R., December 1758', 2 January 1759; RA, SP 463/82, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', November 1772; RA, SP 470/14, Girolamo Ghilarducci to Giuseppe Gaetano Cantini, 18 November 1773; RA, SP 470/15, Carlo Giobbe to Cantini, 20 November 1773; see Appendix.

One trace concerned a 'Trio del Campioni a due Violini', a piece of chamber music for two violins and a cello by the Lorrainian composer Charles Antoine Campion, later Italianised as Carlo Antonio Campioni.⁴⁵ From 1763 till his death in 1788, Campioni served as *Maestro di Cappella* 'Chapel Master' at the Florentine Court of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.⁴⁶

As Charles withdrew to his youthful passions, and even if supported by other musicians, no one other than his erstwhile cello teacher became his primary companion. The Prince's private secretary, Andrew Lumisden, underlined, 'His only relief is a little music and hunting. Giovannino and his cello assist him in the first'.⁴⁷ It is plausible that Charles, Henry and Giovanni Costanzi had also developed some form of enduring friendship in the interim period. The Stuart brothers held Giovannino in the highest esteem, so much so that Henry wanted to include him in his household when he became a cardinal in 1747. By 1762, the composer lived in the Palazzo del Re. In the meantime, he had become *Maestro di Cappella* of the Giulia Chapel of Saint Peter's Basilica, the highest aspiration for a composer of sacred music.⁴⁸ Since he had reached such a position in 1755, he devoted all his time to the engagements it entailed. Costanzi's only known later compositions were those created for the funeral music and the masses in suffrage of James III and for a function officiated by

⁴⁵ RA, SP 437/131, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', November 1766. This evidence appears in a payment to someone named Cardi, who may have been a violinist brought to play the piece alongside Gibellini and Charles on the cello.

⁴⁶ Renzo Bragantini, 'CAMPIONI, Carlo Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 17 (Rome, 1974), Treccani, Online edn., [Accessed 5 May 2024].

⁴⁷ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Strange and Lumisden*, vol. II, p. 97, Lumisden to James Murray, Jacobite Earl of Dunbar, 2 September 1766. While Giobbe and Salamoni played the trumpet, the 1758 *Accademia* list noted that they also played the 'corno da caccia' [hunting horn]. Hence, their role included helping with the Prince's musical tastes and likely accompanying him and his gentlemen on the hunt. RA, SP 389/10, 'Lista della Accademia di S.A.R., December 1758', 2 January 1759.

⁴⁸ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 272. Until his death, Costanzi received a monthly salary of six *scudi* from Henry. This wage was low (equivalent to that of a laundress or a stable servant). The Stuarts likely paid it to cover only a few days or hours of engagement, while Costanzi's primary job was Chapel Master of the Saint Peter's orchestra. See RA, SP 493/67, 'Rollo della Famiglia di S.A.R.', March 1778.

Cardinal York in 1770.⁴⁹ When Costanzi was not directing the Giulia Chapel, he spent his time in the Stuarts' service.

Various receipts concerning the Cardinal Duke's expenses for the music played at several masses survive in the Stuart Papers. Costanzi signed these receipts and managed the payment for all musicians involved.⁵⁰ Supposing he followed Charles to Albano in the summer of 1766, Costanzi prioritised his service to the Stuarts over other possible engagements in Rome. It was likely a sign of gratitude to the family that had predominantly sponsored his brilliant career. In 1768, there are traces of Costanzi's direct involvement in Charles's musical pastimes. From his *villeggiatura* in Albano, the Prince sent 'Livres de Musique' to 'Monsieur Jovanino' in Rome to correct them. It remains unclear whether these were Charles's compositions. The Prince appeared somewhat pretentious about the amendments, observing more than once about Costanzi's notations that 'the music is not corrected well'.⁵¹ Despite these remarks, the mutual respect between Charles and Costanzi was evident in their shared love for music and enduring friendship. Costanzi died in 1778 in Rome, four years after the Prince had moved to Florence. Before his death, Giovannino never forgot to share his Christmas greetings with Charles in a series of letters addressed invariably to his 'Royal Majesty' and remark that he was always ready to answer his 'Royal Commands'.⁵²

⁴⁹ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, the Journal of a Tour through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London, 1773), p. 390.

⁵⁰ RA, SP 407/83, 'Expenses showing a receipt for an 'academia musicale' performed on 31 May 1761', 31 May 1761; RA, SP 462/12, 'Expenses for the Christmas Mass of 1764', 1764; RA, SP 432/87, 'Expenses for James III's funeral mass of 8 January 1766', 8 January 1766; RA, SP 433/43, 'Expenses for a mass in San Lorenzo (Saint Lawrence) in Damaso of 30 January 1766', 6 February 1766; RA, SP 477/86, 479/67 and 488/156, 'Expenses concerning masses sung at Saint Peter's Basilica in 1774, 1775 and 1776', 19 November 1774, 8 January 1775, 1776.

⁵¹ RA, SP 445/168, Steuart to Cantini, 4 October 1768. Steuart, the Prince's valet, and Cantini, his treasurer, mediated the exchanges of these music books across several correspondences. The same letters track the repairs of Charles's cello bows. See RA, SP 445/100, 108, 112, 118 and 129, Steuart to Cantini, 13–30 September 1768.

⁵² RA, SP 478/23, 483/53, 488/58 and 492/121, Costanzi to Prince Charles, 21 December 1774–17 December 1777.

RE-ENTERING SOCIETY AND THE OPERA

Since his return to the city of his birth in 1766, the Prince had followed the Roman theatrical season. Still unable to participate publicly, he had to content himself with clandestine attendance as the guest of the French minister at the Papal Court, Henri Joseph Bouchard d'Esparbès de Lussan, Marquess d'Aubeterre, who hosted Charles in his box.⁵³ In 1767, the Prince had a meeting and at least a partial reconciliation with Clement XIII.⁵⁴ He thereafter returned somewhat to Roman social life. His time at the Palazzo del Re thus increased, coinciding with the city's theatrical seasons. Lumisden told of the 1768 Carnival inauguration and the first theatrical season following the Stuart claimant's return to high society as significant events.⁵⁵ He noted that Charles booked boxes at the two most prestigious theatres in Rome, the Teatro Aliberti (or delle Dame) and the Teatro Argentina.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the court expense accounts in the Stuart Papers show that the Prince did not limit himself to those two theatres. Payments for boxes in the Teatro Valle and the Teatro Tordinona also exist.⁵⁷ Having to rent them was indeed a humiliation for James III's successor. The King enjoyed so much prestige that he had not one but three boxes perpetually reserved for him in all the city theatres.⁵⁸

So, after almost twenty years since Paris, Charles's public reappearance on the Roman opera scene was no small feat. Even if Lumisden left his impressions and not the Prince's on the Carnival performance, in the eyes of the small court, the protagonist of the theatrical season was the contralto Gaetano Guadagni.

⁵³ RA, SP 434/2, Dunbar to Lumisden, 1 March 1766.

⁵⁴ Horace Walpole, W.S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (48 vols., New Haven, CT, 1960), vol. XXII, pp. 514–7, Mann to Walpole, 19 May 1767. See also RA, SP Box 2/94–5, 'Drafts of a letter to Clement XIII', 1766.

⁵⁵ We have no further information about Charles from 1767 because the Papal Government suppressed that year's theatrical season. Oriol, *Vivre de la musique*, pp. 275, 287 (Oriol provides a complete compared analysis of the five theatrical seasons from 1766 to 1771).

⁵⁶ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Strange and Lumisden*, vol. II, p. 98.

⁵⁷ RA, SP 443/115, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', February 1768. In addition to renting the boxes, further expenses show Charles's demonstration of his desired status by redecorating them to his taste. He also added chairs, highlighting these venues as places to invite guests or to enjoy time with his courtiers. More practical accessories or luxuries, including dividers and urinals, were installed to provide comfort for the considerable time he and others spent there.

⁵⁸ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 260.

According to Lumisden, Guadagni was the best actor he had ever seen on the stage.⁵⁹ The latter had been one of George Frideric Handel's favourite singers in London during the 1750s, and the 1768 performance, which seems to have been his first in Rome, must have been eagerly anticipated. Guadagni performed two different operas for the Teatro Argentina: Antonio Sacchini's *Artaserse* and Niccolò Piccinni's *L'Olimpiade*.⁶⁰ One wonders if Charles remembered that a work of the same name as the former by Leonardo Vinci had been dedicated thirty-eight years earlier to his mother, Queen Maria Clementina Sobieska.⁶¹

In 1769, the Prince went on *villeggiatura* in Viterbo to take the waters there. This lengthy sojourn helped to revitalise his enjoyment of social activities. The townspeople received him with significant distinctions, notably by Marquess Especo, the captain of the local militia, who accorded him a guard of honour and loaned his box at the opera.⁶² Bernardo Rotolo, one of Charles's servants, reported that his master visited the opera and theatre daily. At the opera, the show never started until his arrival, and when the Prince appeared in his box, he received great applause from everyone. It was probably the first time the Stuart claimant received such public approbation since his time in Paris and Avignon.⁶³ The opera performed repeatedly for that season was Piccinni's *La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola*. Charles commented, 'it was very preti and well executed as well as ye dances'.⁶⁴ It is, therefore, evident that the Prince enjoyed the concerts and the opportunity to present himself to such a welcoming audience.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Strange and Lumisden*, vol. II, p. 99.

⁶⁰ Andrea Pini, 'GUADAGNI, Gaetano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 60 (Rome, 2003), Treccani, Online edn., [Accessed 4 February 2024].

⁶¹ Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 265.

⁶² RA, SP 447/154, Francesco Antonio Prioli to Cantini, 28 August 1769; RA, SP 447/196, Bernardo Rotolo to Cantini, 1769. Especo's full name was Paolo Especo y Vera. He was from an Italian family of Spanish origin.

⁶³ RA, SP 447/196, Rotolo to Cantini, 1769.

⁶⁴ RA, SP 447/182, Prince Charles and John Waters to Prince Henry, 10 September 1769.

⁶⁵ One of Charles's gentlemen-in-waiting, Guido da Veiga, also commented on this opera enthusiastically, inviting others to see it. His observation demonstrates that the Prince enjoyed spending time there with his courtiers. See RA, SP 447/182, Guido da Veiga to Cantini, 10 September 1769.

EMPLOYING AND PATRONISING MUSICIANS AGAIN

We view Charles as a musician well-versed in different instruments and a passionate spectator of all forms of music popular in his time. The famous cellist Giovanni Costanzi continued playing at the Prince's peripatetic court during 1766 and likely in the following years. However, in 1768, a new figure appeared to enrich the musical life of the Stuart Court: Domenico Corri.⁶⁶ Corri was born in Rome on 4 October 1746. He was already a member of the Aliberti and Argentina orchestras at age ten.⁶⁷ In 1761 or 1762, Corri moved to Naples, where he studied music under the famous teacher and composer Nicola Porpora, becoming one of his final pupils.⁶⁸ On Porpora's death, Corri returned to Rome, joining the court almost immediately. The composer wrote in the short autobiography enclosed in his leading treatise on music published in 1810:

With Prince Charles I had [. . .] lived two years, during which time he had kept entirely private, not seeing any one whatever, it being in the reign of the preceding Pope [Clement XIII], who had refused to acknowledge the title he assumed. In his retired life Prince Charles employed his hours in exercise and music, of which he was remarkably fond. I usually remained alone with him every evening, the Prince playing the violoncello, and I the harpsichord, also composing together little pieces of music; yet these *tête à tête*s were of a sombre cast; the apartment in which we sat was hung with old red damask, with two candles only, and on the table a pair of loaded pistols, (instruments not at all congenial to my fancy,) which he would often take up, examine, and again replace on the table; yet the manners of this Prince were always mild, affable, and pleasing.⁶⁹

Corri described living with the Prince at the Palazzo del Re in the last two years of Clement XIII's reign, which would have placed his occupancy there from early 1767 to early 1769.⁷⁰ However, though the initial part of this comment is

⁶⁶ RA, SP 446/32, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', November 1768.

⁶⁷ Domenico Corri, 'Life of Domenico Corri', in *The Singers Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (2 vols., London, 1810), vol. I, unpaginated.

⁶⁸ Most biographies of Corri limit his Neapolitan period from 1763 to 1767. However, Corri reported in his autobiography that he spent five years with Porpora. It is also uncertain whether Porpora died in 1766 or 1767. See David J. Golby, 'Corri family (per. c. 1770–1860)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online edn., May 2014, [Accessed 12 March 2024].

⁶⁹ Corri, *Singers Preceptor*, unpaginated.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

accurate insofar as confirming his residence alongside Charles, the *Stati d'Anime* 'State of the Souls' reveals that Corri lived at court in later years, from at least early 1770 to 1771.⁷¹ Corri did not appear on any household rolls, so it remains unknown if he had a fixed salary. Yet payments are registered to him as early as November 1768, receiving fifteen *scudi* for his role as *Maestro di Cappella* and twelve some months later.⁷² His father, Antonio, a Florentine man, began offering services to the court in 1767 and receiving payments from the Prince in May of that year to supply the stables.⁷³ In time, the Stuarts enlisted him as *credenziere* 'yeoman confectioner', a permanent role, in late 1769 or early 1770. Antonio would continue serving them until at least 1775, and, most notably, the entire Corri family lived in the Palazzo del Re till the 1780s.⁷⁴ Since Domenico Corri's autobiography does not mention Giovanni Costanzi, we can presume that the latter ceased to be a regular companion of the Prince. Although there is little information on the subject, we may suppose that Charles hired Corri to have a Chapel Master of his own.⁷⁵ As observed, Costanzi would maintain that role in Cardinal York's household until his death.

⁷¹ Archivio Storico Vicariato di Roma [*hereafter* ASVR], Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d'Anime*, vol. 78 for 1767–71, p. 126, 1770, p. 134, 1771. The Corri family consisted of Antonio, his wife Francesca di Lei, and their children, Maria Clementina, Giovanni Battista, Maria Augusta and Natale. Originating from the Council of Trent (1545–63), the *Stati d'Anime* were parish censuses listing all living parishioners and compiled annually throughout Catholic realms during priests' Easter visits to their flock's homes.

⁷² RA, SP 446/32, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', November 1768. Other payments to Domenico appear in several other sources around this time. See RA, SP 446/86 and 447/54, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', December 1768, June 1769; RA, SP 447/10, 'Account of expenses in May and June 1769'.

⁷³ RA, SP 440/58, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', May 1767.

⁷⁴ ASVR, Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d'Anime*, vol. 79 for 1771–4, p. 65, 1772; RA, SP Box 3/1/68, 'Rollo di tutta La Famiglia di S.M.B. Il Re d'Inghilterra', 1769–70 to RA, SP 483/66, 'Rollo della Famiglia del Re', December 1775. These rolls are the first and last to mention Antonio Corri, though he appears in many others between these years. When Charles moved to Florence, Antonio remained in Rome but continued working for his master. Some 'bills for His Majesty' from Antonio to Charles from 1772 to 1775 have survived. See RA, SP 458/73 to RA, SP 483/112, Antonio Corri to Prince Charles, 14 February 1772–30 November 1775. Also, according to the *Stati d'Anime* entries for the 1780s, another son named Luca was born around 1774 after his much older brother Domenico had left for Edinburgh. See ASVR, Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d'Anime*, vol. 81 for 1778–1791, unpaginated, 1780.

⁷⁵ RA, SP 447/197, Stuart to Cantini, 13 September 1769. However, even in 1769, the Prince occasionally entrusted Costanzi with acquiring musical supplies.

By enlisting the young maestro, Charles attempted to find someone less busy than the aged cellist who could live at court and serve him full-time. Corri was a musician of the highest calibre, but still young and not renowned, who would have been interested in the minimal economic stability offered by a permanent job serving the Stuarts. In his autobiography, Corri described how Porpora's name brought access to Roman high society, especially the British nobility residing in the city. He remarked, 'This period was the pontificate of Ganganelli [Pope Clement XIV], who was the friend of Prince Charles [. . .]; That prince frequently gave entertainments and concerts to the nobility, the conducting of which was also assigned to me'.⁷⁶ These few lines shed further light on the Prince's revived social and musical life and the still active role of the Palazzo del Re as a venue for otherwise completely forgotten performances. Evidence from the Stuart Papers corroborates Corri's testimony, verifying the frequency of these shows and conveying an impression of their grandeur.

Monthly payments remain for routine *Academias* 'Concerts' from March 1770 to April 1771, comprising fifteen to seventeen musicians that formed a full orchestra and assisted by up to three men charged with transcribing the music sheets. This orchestra included many instruments, such as violins, violas, double basses, trumpets, oboes and cellos.⁷⁷ Corri's name does not appear in any of the

⁷⁶ Corri, *Singers Preceptor*, unpaginated.

⁷⁷ RA, SP 449/89, 136 and 453/35, 80, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', March, April 1770, March, April 1771. Among the *Accademia's* musicians were the already mentioned Giobbe and Salamoni. New entries included names of some renown. One was 'Giuseppino', probably the recently retired castrato Giuseppe Guspelti, who had enjoyed an over twenty-year-long career. Another was the tenor Andrea Cianchetti, who had recently been admitted to the Sistine Chapel Choir in March 1770, the most important musical institution of the Catholic Church. The violinist Girolamo Ghilarducci, who, like Giobbe, had been in the Aliberti Orchestra since at least 1746, reached its prestigious 'First Violin' position in 1770. He was probably a close relative of Domenico Ghilarducci, whom La Via describes as a virtuoso in Cardinal Ottoboni's household and one of the best violinists in Rome during the previous generation. This view aligns with Oriol's underlining how there were often 'dynasties' of players from the same family, cultivating the tradition of playing a specific instrument. The Polanis were such a family mentioned by La Via. The former were all violinists; two of them, Carlo and Giovanni Battista, had served the Stuarts before Charles's return to Rome, and one who remains unknown appeared in his *Accademia*. Furthermore, La Via's work demonstrates how monikers like 'Giuseppino' and 'Antoniuccio' were common and recurring among singers and musicians, making it challenging to identify some individuals with certainty. Oriol, *Vivre de la musique*, pp. 277, 297, 305, 331–2, 422; Giacomo

orchestra lists, but we can infer from their dates and his later description that he was its director. We may also suppose that Charles played within the *Accademia* since maintenance for a ‘violino di Sua Maestà’ appears in the same documents.⁷⁸ The Prince gave so much importance to his orchestra that he set up an ‘Appartamento dell’Accademia’ as a dedicated space inside the Palazzo del Re.⁷⁹ While still living there, Domenico Corri married the soprano Francesca Bacchelli between 1770 and 1771 (Fig. 4). She came from Frascati to live with her new husband and family at the Stuart Court.⁸⁰



FIGURE 4 ‘Domenico Corri and his wife’, attributed to Francesca Corri, née Bacchelli, EU0510 (© By kind permission of the University of Edinburgh Art Collection).⁸¹

Cardinali, *Il giovane Mozart in Vaticano: L'affaire del Miserere di Allegri* (Palermo, 2022), pp. 118–28; La Via, ‘*Il Cardinale Ottoboni*’, pp. 492, 496; RA, SP 389/10, ‘Lista della Accademia di S.A.R., December 1758’, 2 January 1759; see Appendix.

⁷⁸ RA, SP 449/136, ‘General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles’, April 1770. This reference may be the only trace of Charles still playing the violin. Meanwhile, several accounts of specific supplies highlight the Prince’s dedication to the cello and the harpsichord. See RA, SP 436/117, 437/28, 441/164, 443/115, 444/38, 447/29 and 448/27, ‘General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles’, August, September 1766, September 1767, February, May 1768, May, September 1769. See also RA, SP 444/33, Steuart to Cantini, 29 May 1767 (dated incorrectly; should be 1768).

⁷⁹ RA, SP 453/35, 80, ‘General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles’, March, April 1771. Charles likely ordered the creation of this apartment in the space previously hosting the chapel, which the noble Muti family had constructed during their earlier occupancy. The Prince had it redecorated and adapted for its new purpose.

⁸⁰ ASVR, Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d’Anime*, vol. 78 for 1767–71, p. 134, 1771; see Appendix.

⁸¹ Robertson-Kirkland argues that Francesca Corri painted both portraits in her forthcoming study, ‘Rediscovering Francesca Corri’.

Bacchelli had been his pupil and collaborator, and we can easily imagine that she was among the constant elements of all the entertainments Corri continued to direct, including those at court.⁸² Indeed, it was thanks to the praise of Bacchelli from the eminent British critic and music historian Dr Charles Burney and the intercession of Abbé Peter Grant, Agent of the Scottish Clergy in Rome and a staunch supporter of Charles, that she obtained an invitation to go to Edinburgh, which extended to her husband.⁸³ There, both would embark on dazzling careers in Great Britain – Bacchelli as a singer and Corri as a teacher, composer and publisher, and became the progenitors of a family of renowned musicians.⁸⁴ Oddly, historians of Jacobitism have rarely remembered Corri's fascinating and precious testimony of Charles. The few who have inexplicably misinterpreted it, placing it in the Prince's final years, around 1786, after his return to Rome from Florence.⁸⁵ Beyond the clarity of the composer's evidence,

⁸² Golby, 'Corri Family', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Corri, *Singers Preceptor*, unpaginated. Bacchelli's name never appears in the Stuart Papers, including those documents concerning the *Accademia*. However, as she resided at court, it is highly plausible that Bacchelli participated in the concerts.

⁸³ Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, 'Rediscovering Francesca Corri née Bacchelli (c.1750–1802)', in Kim Simpson and Alison Daniell (eds.), *Adventurous Wives* (Manchester, forthcoming). Dr Robertson-Kirkland has kindly provided the authors with a preview of her latest research. Grant was Agent from 1737 until his death in 1784. During James III's time, he was responsible for introducing visitors to the Stuart Court, a role he retained under Charles. See Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 6, n. 32; William Johnstone (ed.), *The Bible and the Enlightenment: A Case Study: Alexander Geddes 1737–1802* (London and New York, NY, 2004), p. 49, n. 21. For examples of Grant's intermediary role, see RA, SP 442/131, Abbé Peter Grant to Lumisden, 12 November 1768; RA, SP 462/37, Grant to John Baptist Caryll, Jacobite Baron Caryll of Durford, 4 September 1772; RA, SP 463/138, John Nairne to Grant, 20 December 1772; RA, SP 474/213, Mr Hay to Grant, 28 July 1774.

⁸⁴ Even if not attested elsewhere, the *Stati d'Anime* changes from 1771 to 1772 suggest that Domenico's brother, Giovanni Battista, ten years his junior, accompanied the couple to Edinburgh. Giovanni became John Corri, but previous music historiography has erroneously described him as Domenico's son. John developed into a musician and music publisher. Later, in the 1780s, their younger brother, Natale, born around 1765 and who grew up in the Palazzo del Re, joined them in Edinburgh, where he commenced a musical and theatrical career. ASVR, Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d'Anime*, vol. 78 for 1767–71, p. 134, 1771; vol. 79 for 1771–4, p. 65, 1772; Golby, 'Corri Family', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁵ See Moray McLaren, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London, 1972), p. 202; Hugh Douglas, *Bonnie Prince Charlie in Love: The Private Passions of Prince Charles Edward Stuart* (Frome, 1995), p. 201; Bernard W. Kelly, *Life of Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York: With a Notice of Rome in His Time* (London, 1899), p. 84.

hypotheses of Charles's further employment of Corri in those years cannot explain these assumptions as the composer never returned to Italy after 1771.⁸⁶

The next well-known figure who appeared in the musical life of the Stuart Court was the *wunderkind* Maria Rosa Coccia (Fig. 5). Coccia was an extraordinary character: a child prodigy, formidable musician and composer. However, what most people usually forget about Coccia is that the Prince was among her most ardent supporters at the beginning of her career. This connection was primarily lost because Charles adopted pseudonyms in public life.



FIGURE 5 Maria Rosa Coccia as *Maestra di Cappella*, attributed to Antonio Cavallucci, 1779, inv. no. B 11891/B 39191 (© By kind permission of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna).

⁸⁶ Golby, 'Corri Family', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

All Coccia's biographies – which universally refer to the *Elogio storico della Signora Maria Rosa Coccia romana, maestra pubblica di Cappella, accademica filarmonica di Bologna, e tra i Forti di Roma Trevia*, published in Rome in 1780 – identify the pivotal breakout moment of her career as the harpsichord concerto she performed at the age of ten in the Roman palace and in honour of 'Carlo Odoardo, Barone du Classe'.⁸⁷ The Prince had invited Coccia to his home to inspect her talent after hearing about the ability of this young female *wunderkind*. On this occasion, he even accompanied her in playing the cello.⁸⁸

A few years later, confirmation that Charles was the elusive cellist comes from a dedication. The first composition Coccia published dates to 1772. It comprised six sonatas dedicated to 'the Majesty of Charles III' (Fig. 6), thus notably recognising the Prince's claimed regal title. The *Accademia di Santa Cecilia* preserves a copy of the manuscript in its collection. The dark brown cover is richly decorated with a gilded filigree frame, with the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland in the centre. Around it, on a band, is written in Latin: 'Carolvs · III · D · G · Magnae · Britanniae · Franciae · et · Hiberniae Rex · Fideique · Defensor'. The first page has the title: 'OPERA PRIMA SONATE PER CEMBALO DEDICATE ALLA MEASTÀ DI CARLO III. PER LA DIO GRAZIA, RE' DELLA GRAN BERTAGNA · FRANCIA IBERNIA E DIFENSOR DELLA FEDE da Maria Rosa Coccia Romana'.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Michele Mallio, *Elogio storico della Signora Maria Rosa Coccia romana, maestra pubblica di Cappella, accademica filarmonica di Bologna, e tra i Forti di Roma Trevia, coll'aggiunta di varie lettere a lei scritte da uomini illustri, ed eruditi, e di varj componimenti poetici consecrati al di lei merito* (Rome, 1780), pp. 10–1. In this Italian book, Charles is referred to as 'S.A.R. Carlo Odoardo, Barone du Classe', S.A.R. meaning *Sua Altezza Reale* 'His Royal Highness'. 'Barone du Classe' was an Italian misspelling for Baron Douglas, the Prince's primary pseudonym at the time.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Maria Rosa Coccia, 'FIRST OEUVRE – SONATAS FOR HARPSICHORD DEDICATED TO THE MAJESTY OF CHARLES III. BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH'. The volume has been entirely photo-reproduced for the Digital Archives of the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia and can be consulted on [Bibliomediateca](#), Biblioteca (Library), Coccia, Maria Rosa <1759*1833> (AS A-Ms-194). The authors have based the cover description on this photo reproduction. The transcription has been reproduced as faithfully as possible in the graphic style. 'Gran Bretagna' is misspelt as 'Gran Bertagna'.



FIGURE 6 Front page of the first oeuvre by Maria Rosa Coccia (*© By kind permission of the Bibliomediateca Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome*).

The dedication of the volume reads:

Royal Majesty

the first ideas of Music that presented themselves to my imagination, in an age that was not yet firm, indeed very flourishing, it was well my duty to deposit them in the bosom of Your Majesty, who, knowing their value perfectly, will be able to sympathise even with their defects. Your Majesty, with your Royal Kindness and Protection, of which I earnestly implore you, can give them the greatest value, just honouring them of your Royal pleasure. By this act of Your Sovereign Goodness I will always live with the life of Your Majesty, and my further poor petty labours will enjoy the advantage of an example well worthy of His Royal Munificence in protecting, and guaranteeing what I now venture to give, with sincere humility, to so great a monarch, to whom I devoutly protest myself.

Rome xiv · March mdccclxxii

Most Humble, Most Devoted, Most Obligated Servant
Maria Rosa Coccia, 12 years old⁹⁰

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

The volume's cover and first two pages resemble a Jacobite propaganda pamphlet rather than a musical work, with the impressive number of times that Coccia emphasises the Stuart claimant's sovereignty. No discovered evidence highlights Charles's explicit favours to Coccia. Nevertheless, at sixteen, she became the first woman to obtain a diploma from Santa Cecilia, becoming the inaugural *Maestra di Cappella*, a remarkable achievement. None other than Giovanni Costanzi was on the examination committee.⁹¹ Coccia joined the *Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna* in 1779, where she spent the remainder of her life.⁹² Leopold Mozart was another notable witness to Charles's passion for music. During the first of three visits to Italy with his son, another *wunderkind* and the now world-renowned Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, both met the Prince in Rome on at least two occasions in April 1770. Leopold mentioned to his wife Anna that 'the so-called King of England or the Pretender' was among the guests of honour at two performances by Wolfgang on 20 April 1770 at the Palazzo Chigi and again a little over a week later at the Palazzo Barberini.⁹³

Traces of further musical patronising by Charles in 1773 emerge from several sources. Beginning in January of that year, there are payments to a violin teacher for lessons to instruct one of the Prince's servants.⁹⁴ This teacher was Girolamo Ghilarducci, previously a member of Charles's *Accademia*. The learner was a

⁹¹ Though she received this respected title, Coccia's gender precluded her from performing such duties. For the exam text held in the Archives of the *Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, see [Bibliomediateca](#), Biblioteca (Library), Coccia, Maria Rosa <1759*1833> (AS A-MS-3583).

⁹² See Vincenzo Bindi, 'COCCIA, MARIA ROSA', in *Dizionario degli Artisti Abruzzesi* (L'Aquila, 2010), unpaginated; Bianca Maria Antolini, '[COCCIA, Maria Rosa](#)', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 26 (Rome, 1982), Treccani, Online edn., [Accessed 7 February 2024]. For a complete study of Coccia's later life, see Candida Felici, *Maria Rosa Coccia: "Maestra Compositora Romana"* (Bologna, 2004), *passim*.

⁹³ Cliff Eisen and Patrizia Rebulla, *Lettere della famiglia Mozart* (Milan, 2022), letters nrs. 177, 181, [Mozartiana](#), Il Saggiatore, Online edn., [Accessed 19 January 2024], Letters from the Mozart family, Leopold Mozart to Anna Maria Mozart, Rome, 21, 28 April 1770; Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years 1756–1781* (Oxford, 2006), p. 194; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (Stanford, CA, 1965), pp. 117, 120.

⁹⁴ On his arrival at court, Tuscolano was initially given literature lessons by Agostino Savelli. From December 1773, he also began receiving violin lessons under Ghilarducci. RA, SP 464/154, Savelli to Cantini, 28 January 1773 to RA, SP 483/55, Ghilarducci to Cantini, 23 December 1775 (these sources include a mix of individual receipts by these teachers and Prince Charles's monthly accounts).

fourteen-year-old youth called Vincenzo Tuscolano.⁹⁵ He was the only Moorish liveried servant employed at court, and his role was likely intimate, working in the bedchamber to serve his master attentively.⁹⁶ Raising a violinist inside his household was probably how the Prince attempted to have a musician at his disposal permanently. Although the reason for choosing Tuscolano remains unknown, alongside his youth and supposed talent, Charles may have desired to add an exotic element to his court in line with the fashion of the time.⁹⁷ The importance of his ongoing education is evident insofar as when the Prince left for Florence in 1774, Tuscolano stayed in Rome to complete his studies till the end of 1775. He thereafter constantly served the Stuarts and received a pension in Charles's last will and testament.⁹⁸

A CONJUGAL AND MUSICAL RELATIONSHIP

Charles married the German-born Princess Louise of Stolberg-Gedern by proxy in 1772. Since we know little about Louise's early musical education, it is notable that on the new Jacobite Queen's arrival at court, receipts appear for a flute teacher, always paid by one of her *valets de chambre*.⁹⁹ Though Louise was thirty-two years younger than the Prince, one of their main common interests was music. The new couple emphasised this shared passion in a painting that portrays Louise playing a lute/mandolin (Fig. 7).¹⁰⁰ So, we can presume that given his love for music, he was proud of his wife's musical abilities. Before,

⁹⁵ The sources often name this young man 'Vincenzo Moro' or 'Vincenzo Tuscolano Moro'. The surname Tuscolano may infer a connection with Frascati, known in Latin as Tusculum. It was common for orphaned or enslaved individuals to take the name of the town where they were raised and educated.

⁹⁶ ASVR, Santi XII Apostoli, *Stati d'Anime*, vol. 79 for 1771–1774, p. 107, 1773; see Appendix. Tuscolano was the only servant living in the Royal Apartment at that time.

⁹⁷ Though little known written evidence survives, Moorish servants had long been part of the exiled Stuart Court. For example, two Moors in opulent liveries feature in the painting *The Facciata of Cardinal York* (1748) by Pupalacci, Monaldi and Silvestri. Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, p. 301. See also Anon., '[Prince James receiving his son, Prince Henry, in front of the Palazzo del Re](#)', PG 3269, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Online edn., [Accessed 13 July 2024].

⁹⁸ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, fondo Notarile Moderno, Testamenti Segreti Pubblicati: Filza 13, inserto 25: 'Testamento di Carlo Edoardo di Giacomo III Stuart conte di Albany del 22.X.1784, pubblicato il 2.II.1788/13/25'.

⁹⁹ Recurrent receipts exist from Louise's arrival till she and Charles moved to Tuscany. See RA, SP 463/82 to 475/12, 'General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles', November 1772–July 1774; see Appendix.

¹⁰⁰ John Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits* (2 vols., London, 1977), vol. I, p. 3.

during and after their marriage, he attended the opera and the theatre whenever possible. Louise likely enjoyed these pastimes and engaging with high society.

Nevertheless, her friend Karl Victor von Bonstetten underlined that ‘her first husband, the pretender, tormented her to go [to the performances] every evening’, giving the impression that after some time, she tired of the Prince’s unrestrained passion, even obsession, with music.¹⁰¹ Indeed, Charles continued attending the opera even as his health faltered, requiring assistance from court servants when he could barely stand. The couple’s renting of opera boxes was among the first things Sir Horace Mann, the British Envoy in Florence, who also spied on the Stuarts for the Government in London, reported following their move to that city in 1774.¹⁰² The Stuarts’ frequent attendance at public shows probably meant that musical displays at their residence were rarer. Several sources often mention that they regularly held dinners and banquets at their *palazzi*. Still, none explicitly testify to the presence of music on those occasions. The subject of music arises again only a few times, and it appears the family never sought replacements for Costanzi and Corri in Florence.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Karl Victor von Bonstetten, *Souvenirs de Ch. Victor de Bonstetten écrites en 1831* (Paris, 1832), p. 68; Philip Henry Stanhope, Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), *The Decline of the Last Stuarts: Extracts From the Despatches of British Envoys to the Secretary of State* (London, 1843), pp. 38, 48–9, 53–4, 56, Sir Horace Mann to the Secretary of State, 18 August 1770, 29 November 1774, 5 September 1775, 21, 28 September 1776, 30 November 1779, 29 January 1780.

¹⁰² Mahon, *Last Stuarts*, pp. 38, 48, Mann to Secretary of State, 18 August 1770, 29 November 1774. When Charles was in Siena and preparing to move to Florence, he was nonetheless thinking about music. Around that time, the Prince requested music sheets from *La finta giardiniera*, an opera by Pasquale Anfossi, to a libretto by Giuseppe Petrosellini. Charles had followed with interest its first stage performance at the Teatro Aliberti in Rome for the 1774 Carnival. Mozart composed an opera on the same libretto, which premiered in Munich early the following year. See RA, SP 475/12, ‘General Account of expenses incurred by Prince Charles’, July 1774.

¹⁰³ Mahon, *Last Stuarts*, pp. 52–3, Mann to Secretary of State, 21 September 1776; Bonstetten, *Souvenirs*, pp. 61–4.



FIGURE 7 Louise of Stolberg-Gedern playing the lute/mandolin by an unknown artist
(© By kind permission of the Governors of Stonyhurst College, painting no. 42 in the
College Art Collection).

There is no known record that Charles and Louise employed any musicians at court in Florence nor that they performed for their guests in their *palazzo*. Yet both continued practising on some of their mastered instruments, as evidenced in the Stuart Papers by an account of a musical soir ee at the Casino de Nobili dedicated to the music composed by the Florentine nobleman Ascanio Pitti. This occasion is the only ‘public’ sign of their enduring musical passions. The Prince played the harpsichord at this event. An attachment to this account verifies this late public performance. It provides a list of members of the Casino orchestra, wherein the ‘Conte d’Albania’ is counted as a harpsichord player. On the back, its author mentioned Louise as singing an air from the 1740s opera *Didone Abbandonata* by Baldassare Galuppi entitled, ‘*Son Regina e Sono Amante, di pi u cuori ho gi  l’Impero*’ or ‘I am Queen and I am Lover, of many

hearts I have Command'.¹⁰⁴ It was apt for the Jacobite 'Queen of Hearts' as Karl Victor von Bonstetten and others dubbed her, who would soon abandon Charles to escape with her lover, Count Vittorio Alfieri.¹⁰⁵

COMING TO THE LAST NOTES

In the final years of his life, Charles recalled his long-estranged daughter Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, to live with him. She arrived in Florence on 5 October 1784, and her father made great efforts to introduce the newly appointed Duchess to the Italian aristocracy.¹⁰⁶ He partly did so by hosting private balls in his palace, often thrice weekly. The Prince could no longer dance but admired the dancers as much as he could.¹⁰⁷ Though little evidence exists before Charlotte's arrival, from early 1785, the Stuart Papers again testify to a musical presence at court. Given Charles's increasingly numerous infirmities, he probably had to put aside the cello and harpsichord. Even so, he did not renounce having his favourite instrument played in his house. From January to April 1785, there were multiple payments for an ensemble of cellists, sometimes numbering up to nine players. They played to accompany dances at least twice.¹⁰⁸ In the same year, monthly payments of two *scudi* for a 'petit' or 'jeune joueur de violon' [little cellist] also appear, maybe alluding to another and the final attempt by the Prince to patronise a young virtuoso – emphasising his predilection to discover *wunderkinds* hopefully.¹⁰⁹

Charlotte, who had lived most of her life estranged from her father, also received some musical education in her youth.¹¹⁰ After joining his court, she began learning to play the harp and, according to Henrietta Tayler, the piano,

¹⁰⁴ RA, SP Box 3/1/113–4, 'Orchestra Lists from the Casino de Nobili', 1785, undated. Both lists record Charles at the 'cimbalo' [harpsichord]. In the latter, he played together with 'Mr. Lorenzo Ligneville'. This Lorenzo was probably a close relative of Pierre-Eugène-François, Duke of Conca and Marquess of Ligniville, a composer and Superintendent to the music chamber and chapel of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.

¹⁰⁵ Bonstetten, *Souvenirs*, p. 61. This appellation was also used among Jacobites of the time, as seen in letters by Bishop Robert Forbes, Bishop Robert Gordon and John Farquharson of Alderg. Forbes, *Lyon in Mourning*, vol. I, pp. 181, 203.

¹⁰⁶ Mahon, *Last Stuarts*, pp. 86–7, Mann to Secretary of State, 9 October 1784.

¹⁰⁷ McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 544.

¹⁰⁸ RA, SP 509/2, 64–5, 155 and 510/64, 68, 168, 'Accounts kept by John Steuart', January–December 1785.

¹⁰⁹ RA, SP 509/64, 109, 'Accounts kept by John Steuart', January–May 1785.

¹¹⁰ RA, SP 422/131, Clementina Walkinshaw to Prince Charles, 15 August 1764.

probably at Charles's insistence.¹¹¹ A record of payment to a German harp player in Florence suggests that individual may have been Charlotte's first instructor.¹¹² However, it seems her secondary instrument was not the piano but the harpsichord taught by Salvatore Pazzaglia. Pazzaglia was considered one of the finest virtuosos in Florence, also the teacher of the Grand Duke's children and later Campioni's successor as Chapel Master at the Florentine Court.¹¹³ From the same record exists the continued attendance at the opera by the Prince and his family. The only show explicitly referenced was *The Marriage of Figaro* (1778) by Pierre Beaumarchais, performed at the Teatro Nuovo (or degli Intrepidi) in June 1785.¹¹⁴

After the Stuarts' return to Rome at the end of 1785, the Duchess continued in her musical activities, as testified by accounts of payments for an unknown man periodically tuning her harpsichord. It records other expenses, including music sheets, books and harp strings.¹¹⁵ It does not appear that Charlotte reached a sufficient level to perform in public as her father did. During 1788 and 1789, the Duchess continued employing Vincenzo Tuscolano and hired a certain Luisa de Santis, 'Jeueuse d'Harpe' [harp player], who was paid eight *scudi* monthly and may have been her teacher.¹¹⁶ Throughout the winter of 1786 to 1787, a smallpox epidemic raged in Rome and extensive parts of Italy, and Charlotte fell ill. Nonetheless, as she convalesced and numerous noblemen

¹¹¹ Henrietta Tayler, *Prince Charlie's Daughter: being the Life and Letters of Charlotte of Albany* (London, 1950), p. 75.

¹¹² For the German harpist, see RA, SP Misc 63/55, 'Account Book for Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, 1788–1789', August 1789.

¹¹³ RA, SP 510/168, 'Monies paid for Madame the Duchess by Monsieur Steuart', 12 October 1785; Stefania Gitto, 'Le musiche di Palazzo Pitti al tempo dei granduchi Asburgo-Lorena. Storia della collezione musicale granducale', in *Annali Di Storia Di Firenze*, vol. 6 (2011), pp. 121–54; see Appendix. A payment also appears for a concert by a certain Mademoiselle Davis in September 1785. Other than her surname, nothing is known about this performer.

¹¹⁴ RA, SP 510/68, 'Charlotte's Account', June 1785.

¹¹⁵ For the harpsichord tuner, see RA, SP Misc 63/26, 41, 55, 57, 69, 74, 102, 109, 116, 121, 'Account Book for Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, 1788–1789', August 1789. For other musical expenses, see RA, SP Misc 63/34, 42, 65, 74, 111, 'Account Book for Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, 1788–1789', August 1789.

¹¹⁶ For Tuscolano, see RA, SP 524/194, 'Rollo della Famiglia della Siga. Duchessa d'Albanci', May 1789; RA, SP 526/14, 'Pensioni da Pagarsi in Vigore del Testamento di S. M. Carlo Terzo', July 1789. For de Santis, see RA, SP Misc 63/6, 26, 34, 43, 51, 82, 102, 127, 'Account Book for Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, 1788–1789', August 1789; see Appendix.

continued to visit, Charles hosted a concert in her bedchamber.¹¹⁷ It is one of only two remaining traces of musical life at the Palazzo del Re in this later period. The other reference concerns a musical event hosted by the Stuarts in April 1787. The *Diario Ordinario* noted they held ‘an Academy, in which Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater* was sung, and the same was attended by Their Most Eminent Cardinals Boncompagni and Carandini, as well as many Nobility of every rank, both foreign and national’.¹¹⁸

BETWEEN TRUTH AND LEGEND

Following the Prince’s death, the mythologisation and romanticisation of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the lost Jacobite cause intensified. Some concerted efforts have emphasised his ‘Scottishness’, including his relationship with music, especially the bagpipes. Notably, two *musettes de cour* attributed to Charles are currently on display in Scottish museums. The first one, made wholly of ivory, at the West Highland Museum (WHM) in Fort William (Fig. 1) is said to have been ‘Bequeathed by the Late Prince to the Stewart Wife of his Valet de Chambre and purchased by J. Skene of Rubislaw ROME 1802’.¹¹⁹ The museum purchased these pipes from the Skene-Tytler Trust in 1972.¹²⁰ The dating provided for both the instrument and its purchase aligns with what we know of Rosa Fiorani, the wife of John Steuart, the favourite courtier of Charles.¹²¹ Fiorani survived many years into the nineteenth century. In 1802, after the Napoleonic armies ravaged the Papal States, she could have been obliged to sell anything precious to obtain some money, making this claim credible. The other *musette*, with a tartan bag cover and two sets of chanter (in blackwood with ivory mountings), is the property of the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) and is displayed at the Museum of Piping in Glasgow.¹²² These pieces, too, were purchased in Rome at

¹¹⁷ Tayler, *Prince Charlie’s Daughter*, p. 93.

¹¹⁸ Famiglia Chracas, *Diario Ordinario* (Rome), issues nr. 1,282 (14 April 1787). These cardinals were Ignazio Boncompagni Ludovisi and Filippo Carandini. This composition from 1736 is one of the last made by Giovanni Battista Draghi, Pergolesi. It was already considered a classic at the time.

¹¹⁹ Transcribed by Stefano Baccolo during a visit to the WHM on 30 December 2019.

¹²⁰ Dr Vanessa Martin, curator of the WHM, kindly confirmed this information.

¹²¹ If Fiorani had sold the *musette*, its description would have been wrong. It states that she was ‘the Stewart wife of his valet’ when she was ‘the wife of his Stewart valet’.

¹²² The tartan cover is almost certainly a later addition, predating the NMS’s acquisition. Presumably, the private collector who bought the instrument in Italy succumbed to the

a sale of Cardinal York's effects around 1830. After some ownership changes, the NMS acquired this *musette* in 1872.¹²³

Despite their provenance seeming plausible, and even if the Prince and his brother were proven musicians, no known primary sources verify that they were familiar with this instrument. The only known mention of bagpipes connected with Charles comes from a 1723 letter by John Erskine, Earl and Jacobite Duke of Mar to James III, in which he declares himself happy to know that the young Prince began with 'the bagpip tunes'.¹²⁴ In truth, however, contextualised in the stream of correspondence by Mar, it appears this remark was a metaphor, alluding to Charles's father's decision to furnish him with a Scottish tutor.¹²⁵ Mar and other Scottish courtiers were lobbying James to educate the Prince according to their principles.¹²⁶

Another example of musical metaphors appears in a letter by Mar to Inverness, wherein he uses the term 'piberock' [pibroch] as a codeword for Scottish Protestant Jacobites, meanwhile 'Italian musick' is used to refer to the

temptation to make the 'relic' he had obtained 'more Scottish'. The WHM *musette* has a velvet, colour-faded bag cover, which is more consistent with the instrument's period.

¹²³ See Hugh Cheape, *Bagpipes: A National Collection of a National Instrument* (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 10–1; Anon., 'Set of French bellows bagpipes or musette', H.LT 6 (1), NMS, Online edn., [Accessed 25 March 2024]; Anon., 'Chanter of French bellows bagpipes or musette', H.LT 6 (2), NMS, Online edn., [Accessed 25 March 2024]. Also, the Lyon & Turnbull auction house sold an item in 2015. See Anon., 'Prince Charles Edward Stuart's ivory and silver mounted baroque flute', Lot 48, Jacobite, Stuart, and Scottish Applied Arts | 429, Lyon & Turnbull, Online edn., [Accessed 29 March 2024]. Musicologist and *musette* player Dr Amanda Babington has also discussed Charles's possible connection with the *musette* in her November 2022 talk, 'What did Bonnie Prince Charlie play on his Musette?' for the 1745 Association. See Amanda Babington, 'What did Bonnie Prince Charlie play on his Musette?', 1745 Association, YouTube, Online edn., [Accessed 5 April 2024].

¹²⁴ RA, SP 71/74, Mar to James III, 20 December 1723.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* When Mar wrote this letter, Lord Inverness had recently visited Paris and recruited Sir Andrew Michael Ramsay, the 'Chevalier Ramsay', as the almost three-year-old Prince's tutor in Rome. Shortly afterwards, Mar further referenced the child's education, recommending Ramsay as a tutor for the 'young gentleman'. See RA, SP 72/31, Mar to James III, 10 January 1724.

¹²⁶ For an analysis of this subject and especially the rise and fall of Ramsay as a proposed tutor for the Prince, see Corp, *Stuarts in Italy*, pp. 151–7.

staunchly Catholic James's inordinately close association with the Papacy.¹²⁷ The first letter by Mar may have been the origin of the myth that Charles played the bagpipes and that this instrument was a constant presence at the Stuart Court in Rome, which it was not. As stated, the Prince played the cello, and both Stuart brothers played the harpsichord. All sources that assert this myth come from the nineteenth century or later and could be – perhaps unintentional, forgeries dating back to the Romantic period and time of Sir Walter Scott. Indeed, it is often repeated in many of the Prince's biographies that he played the bagpipes, particularly the tune *Lochaber No More*.¹²⁸ Authors likely based such a story on misinterpreting accounts concerning the Stuart claimant's musical pastimes given by Domenico Corri. However, Corri wrote that Charles played the cello. He does not mention pipes in his account of the period when he lived with the Prince at his court, nor does any reference to such instruments appear in the

¹²⁷ The coded message from Mar runs as follows: 'I hope King Donald [an opera character of which James spoke in the letter of 8 January 1724, and a codename used for the King] behaves himself well on your stage [Rome], but that his having so long been a learning Italian musick [Catholicism] may not have made him quitt forget a Piberock [Scottish Protestant Jacobite interests]. If it has, he should refresh his memory & come a little to the practise of it again [showing independence from the Pope and a policy favouring his Protestant adherents], else his highland subjects [Scottish Protestant Jacobites] will scarce acknowledge him [James]'. RA, SP 72/65, Mar to Inverness, 31 January 1724. The occasion for such metaphorical language emerged from James telling Mar he had been to see an opera about the 'Donalds Kings of Scotland'. See RA, SP 72/25, James III to Mar, 8 January 1724. The opera in this correspondence is *Ginevra, principessa di Scozia* by Antonio Salvi, set to music by Filippo Falconi and performed at the Teatro della Pace in January 1724.

Domenico Sarro previously set it in Naples in 1720 (and many other composers, including Handel, subsequently set it as *Ariodante*). In Salvi's libretto, 'il Rè di Scozia' is called Donaldo. Professor Edward Corp kindly provided the authors with information about this opera.

¹²⁸ For examples of secondary sources stating Charles played the bagpipes, see Andrew Lang, *Charles Edward Stuart: The Young Chevalier* (2nd Ed.) (London, 1903), p. 447; McLaren, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, p. 202 (McLaren asserts that Charles played the bagpipes and the French horn); Rosalind K. Marshall, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 204 (Marshall adds the *flageolet* to the instruments quoted by McLaren, and notes that Charles kept a personal piper at court. This work also includes a picture of the *musette* at the NMS but provides no source); Peter Pininski, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: A Life* (Stroud, 2012), p. 106 (Pininski repeats Marshall's claims). The same anecdote mentions Charles playing *Lochaber No More* on the French horn but omits the bagpipes. See Douglas, *Bonnie Prince Charlie in Love*, p. 201.

inventories of Charles's possessions passed to his daughter on his death.¹²⁹ Yet his cello and harpsichord are recorded.¹³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

As shown, Prince Charles Edward Stuart was a proven and versatile musician. He was trained in multiple instruments and could sing and dance, exhibiting palpable virtuosity in these eclectic art forms. Highlighted evidence testifies to Charles's natural inclination for music by the exceptionally early age at which his instruction began. His continual musical practice and public displays reveal a sincere passion for it in every period of his life, including at times of grave adversity. Music also held a relevant social role for the Prince, both as a way to affirm his status in public and increase his popularity to achieve his objectives. Nevertheless, he showed considerable interest and knowledge of traditional Scottish music and Jacobite songs during the '45. This article has argued that all other connections with Scottish popular music and instruments were myths forged after his death. Charles's primary musical interest was the Italian baroque style, for which he maintained a lifelong love.

¹²⁹ Corri, *Singers Preceptor*, unpaginated.

¹³⁰ Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide (Vatican City), 'Stato Temporale Eredità del Card. Duca di York, Inventario Contessa d'Albany, vol. 4, no. 29: "Inventario delle Gioje e tutt'altro". This document is the inventory of the properties Charlotte Stuart left at her death to her uncle, Cardinal York, primarily the inheritance of Charles, of whom she was the only heiress. The harpsichord is 78 on the inventory, and the cello is 182.

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APPENDIX: MUSICIANS ASSOCIATED WITH PRINCE CHARLES’S COURT

Name	Role	Joined	Left	Notes
Alessio	<i>Suonator di Viola/ Violist</i>	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Bacchelli (Mrs Corri), Francesca	<i>Cantante/ Singer</i>	1770	1771	Lived in the Palazzo del Re in 1771.
Biagino	<i>Cantante/ Singer</i>	1770	1770	A soprano singing masses for Saint Peter’s Basilica under Costanzi’s directorship. <i>Academia</i> Member
Cappanna	Unknown	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Cardi	<i>Violinista?/ Violinist?</i>	1766	1766	
Ciancaleone (most probably), Venanzio	<i>Suonatore di Violoncello/ Cellist</i>	1770	1771	Probably to be identified with Ciancaleone, a cellist playing constantly for Saint Peter’s Basilica under Costanzi’s directorship. <i>Academia</i> Member
Cianchetti, Andrea	<i>Cantante/ Singer</i>	1770	1771	The tenor Cianchetti of the Sistine Chapel Choir. <i>Academia</i> Member
Corri, Domenico	<i>Suonatore di Cembalo/ Harpsichordist Maestro di Cappella/ Chapel Master</i>	1768	1771	Lived in the Palazzo del Re from 1770–71. <i>Academia</i> Director
Cosmino	<i>Cantante?/ Singer?</i>	1770	1770	<i>Academia</i> Member

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Singer?

Costanzi, Giovanni Battista	<i>Suonatore di Violoncello/</i> Cellist <i>Maestro di Cappella del Cardinal York/</i> Chapel Master of Cardinal York	1766	1778	On the payroll of Cardinal York.
Davis, Mademoiselle	<i>Cantante?/</i> Singer?	1785	1785	
De Rossi	<i>Copista/</i> Copier (Music Sheets)	1770	1774	<i>Academia</i> Member
De Santis, Luisa*	<i>Jeueuse d’Harpe/</i> Harpist	1788	1789	
Diamantino	<i>Violinista/</i> Violinist	1770	1771	Probably a violinist playing for an earlier <i>Academia</i> of Cardinal York directed by Costanzi. <i>Academia</i> Member
Fantoni	<i>Suonator di Oboe/Oboist</i>	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Franze	Unknown	1772	1772	
Frosini	<i>Contrabbasso/</i> Bassist	1770	1771	Played constantly for Saint Peter’s Basilica under Costanzi’s directorship. <i>Academia</i> Member
Ghilarducci	<i>Violinista/</i>	1770	1775	<i>Academia</i> Member

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(also called Gherarducci), Girolamo	Violinist			
Giobbe (also called Giobbetta), Carlo	<i>Suonator di Tromba/</i> Trumpeter	1766	1773	<i>Academia</i> Member
Guspelti (also called Giuseppino), Giuseppe	<i>Soprano/</i> Sopranist (Singer)	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Leopoldo	<i>Copista/</i> Copier (Music Sheets)	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Maneschi	<i>Suonator di Oboe/</i> Oboist	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Marcantonio	Unknown	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Pazzaglia, Salvatore	<i>Maitre de Clavecin/</i> Harpichord Teacher	1785	1785	Worked for Lord Cowper as a harpsichord player. Later became teacher of the Grand Duke of Tuscany’s children and then the <i>Maestro di Cappella</i> of the Grand Duke.
Pollani (or Polani)	<i>Violinista/</i> Violinist	1770	1771	Probably either Carlo, Giovanni Battista or Francesco Polani. <i>Academia</i> Member
Ratta	<i>Cantante e Musicista/</i> Singer and	1770	1772	<i>Academia</i> Member

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Musician

Salamoni (also called Antoniuccio), Antonio	<i>Suonator di Tromba/</i> Trumpeter	1766	1773	<i>Academia</i> Member
Tarlatti	<i>Cantante?/</i> Singer?	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Tomassini	<i>Cantante/</i> Singer	1770	1771	A soprano singing masses for Saint Peter’s Basilica under Costanzi’s directorship. <i>Academia</i> Member
Torti	<i>Copista/</i> Copier (Music Sheets)	1770	1771	<i>Academia</i> Member
Tuscolano, Vincenzo*	<i>Violinista/</i> Violinist	1773	1789	A Moorish liveried servant who, in 1773, lived in the Royal Apartment of the Palazzo del Re with Charles and Louise.
Unknown	<i>Maestro di Flauto/</i> Flute Teacher	1772	1774	
<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Joueur de Violon/</i> Cellist	1785	1785	

* Served Charlotte after Charles’s death

PATRONS OF THE 1745 ASSOCIATION

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Lois MacDonell of Glengarry

HONORARY VICE-CHAIRMEN/WOMEN (IN ORDER OF ELECTION)

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Figure on rear page:
Giovanni Battista Costanzi as *Maestro di Cappella* of Saint Peter's Basilica by an unknown artist, 1775, inv. no. B 11797/B 39122 (© By kind permission of the *Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna*).



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