

# FARINELLI AND THE CIRCLE OF SICINIO PEPOLI: A LINK WITH THE STUART COURT IN EXILE

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Anyone with an interest in Farinelli's career is likely to be familiar with the sixty-seven surviving letters that he sent to his patron and friend Sicinio Pepoli of Bologna. They cover the years 1731 to 1749 and are now readily available in a scholarly edition prepared by Carlo Vitali.<sup>1</sup> Although an examination of these letters makes it clear that Farinelli and Pepoli were acquainted with a circle of people who were closely connected with the Stuart, or Jacobite, court in exile,<sup>2</sup> this has apparently gone unnoticed until now. Determining its significance will no doubt require further research, but my argument here is that the connection should henceforth be taken into account. In order to explain this point, the present article is divided into two parts. The first draws attention to the links between Pepoli, Farinelli and the Stuarts, and identifies the Italian members of the Jacobite court. The second recalls some well known facts about Farinelli's later career which need to be reconsidered.

There had been a connection between the exiled Stuarts and the city of Bologna for several decades before Farinelli was invited to sing there in Orlandini's *La fedeltà coronata* in April 1727. The connection was established by Mary of Modena, the wife of James II. Queen Mary employed several people from Bologna in her household in exile at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,<sup>3</sup> while James II gave a Scottish earldom to one of the senators of Bologna, whose brother subsequently became Cardinal Protector of England.<sup>4</sup> Sicinio Pepoli's godfather was the brother of a previous Cardinal Protector of England.<sup>5</sup>

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- 1 Carlo Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli: La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2000). See also the three related articles by Vitali: 'Una fonte inedita per la biografia di Farinelli: il carteggio Pepoli presso l'Archivio di Stato di Bologna', *Accademia Clementina: Atti e memorie*, Nuova Serie 27 (1990), 239–250; 'Da "schiavottiello" a "fedele amico": lettere (1731–1749) di Carlo Broschi Farinelli al conte Sicinio Pepoli', *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 26/1 (1992), 1–36; 'Sicinio Pepoli conte di Castiglione e il "divino" Farinelli', *Savona setta Sambro* 10/19 (2000), 76–82.
- 2 For the Jacobite court in France see Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). I am currently working on a second volume, to cover the Jacobite court in Italy, from 1717 to 1766. For a preliminary study see *The Stuart Court in Rome: The Legacy of Exile*, ed. Edward Corp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
- 3 They included Francesco Riva, the master of the Queen's robes, who accompanied her on her dramatic flight to France in December 1688, and whose account is referred to by virtually all historians of the Glorious Revolution. The most important was the Queen's childhood friend Vittoria Davia (née Montecucculi), who served her as a Lady of the Bedchamber. Other servants came from Modena.
- 4 Senator Virgilio Davia, the husband of Vittoria, was created Earl of Almond in 1698. His brother, Cardinal Giovanni Davia, was appointed Cardinal Protector of England in 1727.
- 5 His godfather was Field Marshal Enea Caprara, whose brother Cardinal Alessandro Caprara was Cardinal Protector of England from 1694 to 1712. Another important cardinal from Bologna was Ferdinando D'Adda, the papal nuncio in England during the 1680s. When he died in 1719 he left all his gold, gilt and silver plate to James III; see Royal Archives, Stuart Papers, hereafter SP, Misc. 33, p.145. I am grateful to Her Majesty The Queen for permission to make use of the Stuart Papers.



Another link between the exiled Stuarts and Bologna was provided by the painter Benedetto Gennari, who came from there. For several years Gennari worked at the Jacobite court, where he was given a warrant as James II's official painter. When he returned to Bologna in 1692, the first portrait that he painted was of Sicinio Pepoli's aunt.<sup>6</sup> We should not attach too much significance to this: painters accepted commissions from whoever was prepared to pay them. Yet it is certainly curious to find the principal or First Painter of James II being immediately employed, after his return to Bologna, by a member of the Pepoli family. Let us therefore consider the connection between the Stuarts and Farinelli's patron, Sicinio Pepoli.

The first thing to notice is that Pepoli and the Stuart King-in-exile James III were cousins by marriage. James himself and Pepoli's wife were both descended from the two sisters of Cardinal Mazarin, the mothers of the celebrated 'Mazarinettes'. One of the 'Mazarinettes' was Mary of Modena's mother, the Duchess Laura. Another was Laura's first cousin Maria Mancini (best remembered as the first love of Louis XIV), who married Prince Lorenzo Colonna. Mary herself was therefore the second cousin of Lorenzo's son Prince Marcantonio Colonna. Moving to the next generation, James III was the third cousin of Marcantonio's daughter Eleonora, wife of Sicinio Pepoli. In March 1718, when James sent his portrait to Marcantonio's wife Diana (née Paleotti), he asked to be remembered to Eleonora, whom he described as her 'amiable daughter'.<sup>7</sup>

The family relationship between Eleonora Pepoli and James III was strengthened by their mutual hostility to the Whig Hanoverian regime in London. Eleonora's mother was from a Bolognese family named Paleotti. Her aunt, Adelhilda Paleotti, had married the Duke of Shrewsbury during his Grand Tour in 1705.<sup>8</sup> Her uncle, Marquis Ferdinando Paleotti, had then gone to live in England with his sister, the Duchess. He was accused of murdering one of his servants, found guilty and sentenced to death. Despite the repeated pleas of the Duchess of Shrewsbury to George I that her brother should be executed as befitted his rank as an Italian nobleman, he was hanged at Tyburn as a common criminal. George I's blank refusal, an insult to her mother's Bolognese family (which involved not only the execution of her uncle Paleotti but also the subsequent complete ostracism of her aunt, the Duchess), took place two years before Eleonora Colonna married Sicinio Pepoli, and strengthened the bond between James III and Eleonora.<sup>9</sup> Writing about the Colonna family to one of the Italian cardinals in May 1718, shortly after the execution of Paleotti, James commented that 'you know my interest in that illustrious house'.<sup>10</sup>

By 1718 the Italians at the court of Saint-Germain, whether from Bologna or from nearby Modena, had all returned to Italy. James III himself arrived at Bologna in March 1717 and stayed there briefly with his banker, Giovanni Belloni.<sup>11</sup> The Belloni bank was based in Rome, but it had an important branch in Bologna and had

6 Prisco Bagni, *Benedetto Gennari e la Bottega del Guercino* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1986), 167, 181. The aunt was Marianna Pepoli, the wife of Luigi Bentivoglio. After his return to Bologna Gennari also painted two portraits for Francesco Riva, four for the Davia family and one for Cardinal D'Adda (Bagni, *Benedetto Gennari*, 167–191).

7 Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers . . . [p]reserved at Windsor Castle*, hereafter HMC *Stuart*, volume 6 (London, 1916), 151 (James III to the wife of Constable Colonna, 15 March 1718). Eleonora had an aunt who joined the Stuart court at Saint-Germain and remained there until her death. She was Maddalena (née Gouffier), the wife of Carlo, Duke of Northumberland, whose sister Cristina married Marquis Paleotti of Bologna. Carlo and Cristina were two of the children of Sir Robert Dudley (recognized in the Holy Roman Empire as Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, 1573–1649) and his wife Elizabeth (née Southwell).

8 Shrewsbury was the nephew of the second Earl of Middleton, at that time the Jacobite Secretary of State.

9 See the two anonymous publications *The Life, Actions and Amours of Ferdinando, Marquiss Palleotti, Lately Executed at Tyburn, for the Murther of his Servant* (London, 1718) and *A Particular Account of the Life and Actions of the Marquiss Palliotti, Executed at Tyburn, on Monday, March 17. 1718. for the Murder of his Servant. By an Italian Gentleman* (London, 1718). I am grateful to Xavier Cervantes for bringing these pamphlets to my attention. They are fully discussed in his article 'La duchesse de Shrewsbury et son frère; deux crimes, deux châtimens', in *Crime et châtimens dans les Iles Britanniques au dix-huitième siècle*, ed. Serge Soupel (Moscow and Paris: Cathedra, 2001), 59–74.

10 HMC *Stuart* 6, 436 (James III to Cardinal Sacripanti, 15 May 1718). The news of Paleotti's execution had been received at the Stuart court shortly before James wrote this letter; see HMC *Stuart* 6, 249 (Dillon to Mar, from Paris, 4 April 1718).

11 Maurizio Ascari, 'James III in Bologna: An Illustrated Story', *Royal Stuart Paper* 59 (London, 2001), 3.



been used by Mary of Modena to manage her Italian investments.<sup>12</sup> James then moved on with his court to Pesaro,<sup>13</sup> and then Urbino. However, he returned to the Casa Belloni in October 1718, hoping to meet and marry his young bride, Maria Clementina Sobieska, in a city where he knew he could count on a sympathetic reception. In the event, his bride was captured on the orders of the Emperor Charles VI and the marriage had to be postponed. James III went instead to see his childhood friend King Philip V of Spain. But when Maria Clementina escaped from captivity she was married to James by proxy, in Bologna as originally planned.<sup>14</sup>

From 1719 to 1726 James III and his wife lived in the Palazzo Muti in Rome. Farinelli made his debut in Naples in 1721, but he performed almost exclusively in Rome during the carnival seasons of 1722, 1723 and 1724, in works by Porpora, Predieri, Pollarolo and Vinci. As Jane Clark has pointed out in a recent essay, James and Maria Clementina regularly attended the opera and had their own permanent box in the Teatro Aliberti, where every single new opera from 1720 to 1727 was dedicated to them.<sup>15</sup> The Aliberti was the theatre in which Farinelli sang each year, performing in all the operas dedicated to the Stuarts during the three years that he was there.<sup>16</sup> This is important because James III frequently invited the singers to perform privately at his court in the Palazzo Muti,<sup>17</sup> and on at least one occasion a new Aliberti opera is known to have been given a complete performance in rehearsal at the court.<sup>18</sup> No documentary evidence has yet emerged that proves Farinelli sang at the Jacobite court, but it would be very surprising indeed if he did not do so – and on several occasions.<sup>19</sup>

During 1725 the opera houses of Rome were all closed, so Farinelli returned to Naples and began to sing elsewhere. He returned in March 1725 to sing in an oratorio at the Seminario Romano,<sup>20</sup> but he was not in

12 British Library Add MSS 31267, fos 11 and 13 (Caryll to Gualterio, 15 and 19 June 1711); BL Add MSS 31258, f.1 (Stafford to Gualterio, 5 October 1711).

13 In Pesaro the Jacobite court occupied a palace belonging to Cardinal Davia.

14 The best and fullest biographies of James III are still Alice Shield and Andrew Lang, *The King over the Water* (London: Longmans, 1907), and Martin Haile, *James Francis Edward, the 'Old Chevalier'* (London: J. M. Dent, 1907). Except where shown, details concerning James are taken from these two books.

15 Jane Clark, 'The Stuart Presence at the Opera in Rome', in Corp, *The Stuart Court in Rome*, 86.

16 Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994), volume 7, Indici II, 122–123. Except where shown, all information about opera performances is taken from these volumes. The operas dedicated to the Stuarts in which Farinelli performed were Porpora, *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and *Adeläide*; Predieri, *Sofonisba* and *Scipione*; Pollarolo, *Cosroe*, and Vinci, *Farnace*. Richard Rawlinson noted that James III attended a performance of *Adeläide* on 26 January 1723; see Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS. D.1183, 1520 (diary entry).

17 Edward Corp, 'Music at the Stuart Court at Urbino, 1717–1718', *Music and Letters* 81/3 (2000), 362–363.

18 The opera was a pasticcio setting of *Artaserse*, with a cast headed by Nicolini. It was performed in the Palazzo Muti on 26 December 1720; see Bod., Rawlinson MSS. D.1180, 192 (diary entry).

19 It must be remembered that while he was in Rome, Farinelli only sang in operas that were actually dedicated to James III or Queen Maria Clementina. The following story, which concerns the behaviour of the singers in an opera that was not dedicated to either of them, helps us to appreciate the significance of this. It concerns a performance of *Griselda* by Alessandro Scarlatti at the Teatro Capranica on 12 February 1721. Richard Rawlinson was struck by 'the respect paid to [James III] and his spouse', recording that 'the opera began on their entry, and the curtain was lett down upon their exit':

Went this day to the Theater of Capronica, where we saw the opera of Griselida, played without any life or action, the songs sung so low as to be hardly heard, and the whole received without any extraordinary marks of satisfaction from the auditory: as soon as [James III] and his spouse entred a front box . . . a young child representing a naked angel descended from the clouds or top of the Theater holding a silver plate in which were two books of the opera, and papers of verse in favour of the author, which he presented to [James III] and his spouse who returned a present of gold into the plate: immediately after . . . the curtain was drawn up by two more angels from the top of the stage.

Bod., Rawlinson MSS. D.1180, 271 (diary entry).

20 The oratorio was *Sant' Ermenegildo*, with music by Domenico Sarri. Rawlinson attended performances on 21, 24 and 25 March 1725, noting that the first performance was not very well sung; see Bod., Rawlinson MSS. D.1185, 2137–2142 (diary entries).



Rome for the new operas dedicated to the Stuarts in 1726 and 1727. By 1727, however, James III was no longer living in Rome either. He had transferred his court to Bologna, where, as already mentioned, Farinelli was immediately engaged for the spring of 1727.<sup>21</sup>

James III transferred his court to Bologna because his relations with his wife became seriously strained in 1726. Maria Clementina left her husband and retired to a convent, with the evident support of the Pope. James decided to move away from Rome, and he chose Bologna because he knew that there was a strong pro-Jacobite group among the senators of the city. Pictorial evidence of this is to be found in a series of painted illustrations that commemorate the Stuart presence in Bologna, commissioned by as many as ten different Gonfaloniers between 1717 and 1729.<sup>22</sup>

The leading opera house at Bologna was the Teatro Malvezzi, the directors of which included Count Sicinio Pepoli and two brothers, Marquis Marcantonio and Count Angelo Ranuzzi.<sup>23</sup> We shall return to the name Ranuzzi later, but it was these men who were responsible for planning the opera season for 1727 and who had to take account of the arrival in Bologna of James III, one of the most important patrons of opera in the Papal States. It was immediately after the establishment of the Stuart court in Bologna that they engaged Farinelli to sing there. And it was James III's cousins, Prince Fabrizio and Cardinal Carlo Colonna, who wrote recommending the singer to the protection of Sicinio Pepoli.<sup>24</sup>

While he was in Bologna, James III attended performances of Orlandini's *La fedeltà coronata* at the Teatro Malvezzi. He probably also went to hear works by Buini at the Teatro Formagliari, which was the most important of the city's other three opera houses. The Teatro Formagliari had been built in the Palazzo Formagliari,<sup>25</sup> and this is a second name to which we shall return.

In the summer of 1727 Queen Maria Clementina agreed to leave her convent in Rome and rejoin James III in Bologna. This, however, coincided with the death of George I, which raised Jacobite hopes of a possible restoration. Just before the arrival of his wife, James left Bologna and went to Lorraine, where Duke Leopold and his son Francis were among his strongest supporters. Francis, born in 1708, had been no more than a boy when James had lived in Lorraine from 1713 to 1715. He was now nineteen years old, and this visit enabled him and James to get to know each other. This was important because Francis, as Duke of Lorraine, then Grand Duke of Tuscany, and finally Holy Roman Emperor, was to be sympathetic to the Jacobite cause.

Although no restoration took place in 1727, it was not until January 1728 that James returned to Bologna and was reunited with his wife. The fact that Queen Maria Clementina lived for six months in Bologna without her husband had important social implications. While James and his wife had lived in Rome they had shared a single household. Most of the household servants, however, had been taken by James to Bologna in 1726 after Maria Clementina's retreat into a convent. They had also been taken by James when he left Bologna in 1727. When, therefore, Maria Clementina arrived in Bologna in July of that year, a new and separate household had to be established for her. The lower servants were partly recruited from the Jacobites left behind by James, most obviously various chambermaids and other female servants who had always waited on the Queen rather than the King. But it was necessary to recruit some new servants to fill the higher ranks, and these, as we shall see, came from the immediate circle of, and were perhaps even recommended by, Sicinio Pepoli.<sup>26</sup>

Queen Maria Clementina was provided with an entourage of three gentlemen and two Ladies of the Bedchamber. The first gentleman was the Earl of Nithsdale, whose wife had been appointed Governess of

21 James III arrived in Bologna on 9 October 1726 and lodged temporarily in the Casa Belloni. Twelve days later he moved into the Palazzo Fantuzzi; Ascari, 'James III in Bologna', 16–17.

22 They are all reproduced in colour in Ascari, 'James III in Bologna', 18–27.

23 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 308.

24 Prince Fabrizio Colonna (1700–1755) was Eleonora Pepoli's brother. Cardinal Carlo Colonna (1665–1739) was her uncle. Their letters to Pepoli, of 29 March and 1 April 1727, are reproduced in Vitali, 'Da "schiaivottiello" a "fedele amico": lettere', 33–34.

25 *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), volume 1, 531.

26 The new household of the Queen at Bologna is shown in SP 108/19 (July 1727) and SP 111/79 (October 1727).



James III's second son Prince Henry, the Duke of York.<sup>27</sup> The other two gentlemen were Marquis Fabio Albergati and Count Girolamo Formagliari. The ladies were Marchioness Legnani and Countess Ranuzzi. These four Bolognese aristocrats were retained as servants of the Queen after the King's return at the beginning of 1728.

Let us then establish the identity of these four new servants. Marquis Fabio Albergati was the brother-in-law of another Eleonora, Eleonora Albergati, who is mentioned in all of Farinelli's letters to Sicinio Pepoli. (Carlo Vitali describes this Eleonora and Pepoli as an inseparable couple ('coppia inseparabile').<sup>28</sup>) Fabio Albergati was also a close relation of Count Albergati Capecelli, whose harpsichord so impressed Farinelli that he wrote to Pepoli in 1738 asking him to purchase it and send it to Spain.<sup>29</sup>

Count Girolamo Formagliari is not mentioned in Farinelli's letters, but we have already referred to the Teatro Formagliari. It was the second most important opera house in Bologna and (to judge by the evidence provided by Sartori's lists of libretti) was more active than the Malvezzi while the Stuart court was there. We may probably assume that in Bologna, as elsewhere, there were links between the people who ran the rival opera houses.

Marchioness Legnani was the wife of Marquis Filippo Legnani. The Legnanis were definitely a family known to Farinelli, because he sent his respects to Vincenzo, the Marchioness's brother-in-law, in a letter of July 1731.<sup>30</sup> Members of the Legnani family had also been painted by Benedetto Gennari soon after his return from the Jacobite court.<sup>31</sup>

Countess Ranuzzi was the wife of Count Angelo Ranuzzi; the Count and his brother Marcantonio were Pepoli's fellow directors in the management of the Teatro Malvezzi. While James III was in Bologna, he rented the Palazzo Ranuzzi to provide extra accommodation for his court.

The Albergati, Formagliari, Legnani and Ranuzzi were not, perhaps, among the most important aristocratic senatorial families of Bologna, but they *were* among those which seem to have been closest to the Pepolis. And in this context that is a point of some significance.

We do not know for sure what operas James III heard during 1728, after his return to Bologna. Sartori lists no librettos from the Teatro Malvezzi for that year. James and Maria Clementina probably attended works by Albinoni at the Formagliari and by Aldovrandini at the Teatro Angelilli. Perhaps they attended the Teatro Marsigli Rossi, where one of the operas that year was dedicated to Eleonora Pepoli – clear evidence that there were links between those rival theatres.<sup>32</sup> However we *do* know that the Stuarts made at least two visits to hear operas elsewhere. They went to Faenza, where a new work by Orlandini was dedicated to James III.<sup>33</sup> More significantly, they also went to Parma to hear Farinelli sing the role of Giasone in *Medo*, a new work by Vinci. They stayed with the dowager Duchess of Parma, who was not only Maria Clementina's aunt, but also the mother of Farinelli's future patron, Queen Elizabeth Farnese of Spain.<sup>34</sup>

At the end of January 1729 James III returned to Rome, where he again occupied the Palazzo Muti. His elder son Prince Charles left Bologna to join him there at the end of April, and the Queen and Prince Henry followed in May. A contemporary account describes part of the ceremony of her departure and illustrates how Sicinio Pepoli's Bolognese friends and associates Albergati and Formagliari had become part of Maria

27 For the Nithsdales see Henrietta Tayler, *Lady Nithsdale and her Family* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1939).

28 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 225.

29 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 148–149 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 22 February 1738). Count Albergati Capecelli was a well known amateur composer who had died in 1735.

30 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 84 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 28 July 1731).

31 Bagni, *Benedetto Gennari*, 170, 187.

32 The opera dedicated to Eleonora Pepoli was a pasticcio entitled *Il Filindo*.

33 *Arsace*. It was performed with an intermezzo entitled *Monsieur di Porsugnacco* which was based on Molière's play for the *comédie-ballet*, which James III had last seen at Fontainebleau in 1707; Corp, 'Music at Urbino', 352.

34 Dorothea Sophia, Duchess of Parma (dowager Duchess since 1727), was the elder sister of Maria Clementina's mother. Her daughter Elizabeth had married Philip V in 1714.



Clementina's English household. Eight senators were apparently chosen to serve as ambassadors to express the regret of the city that the Queen was leaving Bologna and returning to Rome:

As they arrived at [her] Palace, the first two Carriages, carrying the Ambassadors, entered [the courtyard], and at the foot of the staircase they joined marquis Fabio Albergati, count Girolamo Formagliari and an English Knight. The Ambassadors, who were preceded by these people and *their* Court, started to mount the stairs and halfway up they met other Knights of the Queen, and in the Gallery on the first floor they were welcomed by Lord Nithsdale and were accompanied to the Queen's Antechamber. Then the aforesaid Lord went to announce their arrival to the Queen.<sup>35</sup>

The extract makes it clear that Albergati and Formagliari, although Bolognese aristocrats, were regarded as members of the Queen's English household, which received the deputation of Bolognese senators.

When Queen Maria Clementina joined James III in the Palazzo Muti, she was accompanied by both Albergati and Formagliari, and also by Marchioness Legnani, though not by Countess Ranuzzi, who remained with her husband in Bologna.<sup>36</sup> Albergati died in 1733, but Formagliari and Legnani remained with the Stuart court in Rome until the Queen's death in January 1735.<sup>37</sup>

We do not yet have enough information about these people, and a great deal more research needs to be done in the Bolognese and Roman archives to establish what significance, if any, to give to these contacts. But there is enough here to show that Farinelli's obligations to Sicinio Pepoli brought him into contact with a circle of Bolognese aristocrats that had very close links with the Jacobite court in exile. We might add that James III later recruited another Italian aristocrat to serve as one of his own gentlemen. This was a certain Count Bernardini. In a letter of August 1733 written from Lucca, Farinelli informed Pepoli that he had seen Count Bernardini and that the latter was looking forward to an imminent visit from the husband of Eleonora Albergati.<sup>38</sup>

Once we accept that the circle of Sicinio Pepoli had close links with the Jacobite court, then we should keep an open mind about Farinelli's political preferences. A Neapolitan opera singer would not normally have been involved with the dynastic problems of the English succession, and would not normally have cared very much whether the King of England was called George or James. But Farinelli would certainly have had to be sensitive to the politics of his patrons, whether Sicinio Pepoli or the Duke of Leeds, or King Philip V and Queen Elizabeth Farnese of Spain. His letters to Pepoli reveal that Farinelli was closely connected with people who wanted a restoration of the Stuart monarch.

The political implications of the rivalry between the Opera of the Nobility at the King's Theatre and Handel's opera at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, and also of the opposition's support for Frederick, Prince of Wales, against his father George II have been much discussed.<sup>39</sup> The presence in London of a group of highly paid Catholics from Italy, some of whom had performed for James III in Bologna and Rome, perhaps even at the Stuart court, and who now had ready access to the houses of the English aristocracy, was bound to open up the possibility of new channels of communication for the Jacobites. But let us consider the relations between Farinelli and his English patron Thomas Osborne, the fourth Duke of Leeds.

35 Ascari, 'James III in Bologna', 31–32.

36 SP 129/88, a list of pensions given by James III to the people who had returned to Rome, June 1729.

37 SP 136/53 (1729–1730), 137/39 (1730), 151/107 (1731–1732), 158/41 (1732), 167/44 (1733), 176/89 (1734), 184/161 (1735), lists of the pensions given by James III in Rome, 1729–1735.

38 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 121 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 28 August 1733). Count Bernardini joined the court 'en qualité d'écuyer' in 1752; *Correspondance de Benoît XIV avec le Cardinal de Tencin*, ed. Emile de Heeckeren, 2 volumes (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1912), volume 2, 185 (Benedict XIV to Tencin, 3 May 1752). The list of pensions that shows Bernardini is SP Box 3/69.

39 See particularly Carole Mia Taylor, 'Italian Operagoing in London, 1700–1745' (PhD dissertation, Syracuse University, 1991), chapter 5.





The latter's grandfather, the second Duke, was a declared Jacobite. His father, the third Duke, who died in 1731, was believed at the time to be a Jacobite.<sup>40</sup> The fourth Duke himself was only twenty years old when Farinelli arrived in England in October 1734 and may also have been brought up with Jacobite sympathies. It is curious that Farinelli informed Sicinio Pepoli on two occasions, in his letters of 8 and 23 May 1735, that he was planning to visit Scotland with the Duke of Leeds.<sup>41</sup> But the evidence suggests that Farinelli never did visit Scotland and it is tempting to dismiss this as of no consequence on the grounds that he was simply too ignorant of British geography to know (and not curious enough to discover) the difference between Scotland and Yorkshire. Given the well known link between Scotland and the Jacobite cause, however, that seems somewhat doubtful.

Farinelli's attitude towards the Imperial court at Vienna also needs to be reconsidered. He was extremely well received at the Habsburg court in 1732, and informed Pepoli of the generous treatment he had received from the Empress Elizabeth Christine, her two daughters the Archduchesses Maria Theresa and Maria Anna, and Duke Francis of Lorraine.<sup>42</sup> Francis, as we have seen, was the son of James III's friend and supporter Duke Leopold, and he married the Archduchess Maria Theresa in 1736. Farinelli's letters from Spain refer to his continued attachment to the Empress and to the Imperialist cause. But what did that mean by the late 1730s? The world had moved on since the time when the Habsburgs were necessarily anti-Jacobite. The Empress was herself from Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and therefore a close relation of George II, but she was nevertheless pro-Jacobite. In 1738 she asked to be shown some portraits of James III and his two sons, which she then showed to both Duke Francis of Lorraine and her husband, the Emperor Charles VI. Owen O'Rourke, previously Grand Chamberlain to the Duke of Lorraine and now James III's minister at Vienna, wrote to James that the Empress's 'interiour sentiments incline more for Your Majesty and your family than for her own now in possession of your crown'.<sup>43</sup> The portraits of the two princes were miniatures and prompted the dowager Duchess of Parma, who also saw them, to ask James III for large full-length portraits.<sup>44</sup> The Duchess was particularly friendly with the Stuarts and, as already mentioned, was the mother of Farinelli's patron and employer, Queen Elizabeth Farnese of Spain.

What, then, were Farinelli's 'interiour sentiments' towards England? He was well received there from 1734 to 1736 and wrote of the generous treatment he was given. He then went to Spain in 1737 and, as is well known, was persuaded to remain there by Queen Elizabeth Farnese, in order to revive the spirits of King Philip V. This involved breaking his contract with the directors of the Opera of the Nobility, who retaliated by refusing to pay him the money they owed him.<sup>45</sup> Embittered by this, he then seemed to become anti-English. Evidence of his new anglophobia has been found in his letter to Pepoli of 8 August 1741, reporting with pleasure the news of a Spanish naval victory over the English fleet – 'una vittoria completa sopra il Rost Bif'.<sup>46</sup>

40 The second Duke of Leeds visited James III at Lucca in 1722 and asked (unsuccessfully) to be given a post in his household. For him and his son (the third Duke) see Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Magistrato de' Segretari, 1721–1722, Carte Diverse, a secret report dated 20 August 1722, quoted in E. E. Whipple, *A Famous Corner of Tuscany* (London: Jarrolds, no date), 139–140.

41 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 134 and 136 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 8 and 23 May 1735). Farinelli's relations with the fourth Duke of Leeds are fully discussed in Thomas McGeary, 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: "tanto mio amico e patrone particolare"', *Early Music* 30/2 (2002), 203–213.

42 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 97–105 (Farinelli to Pepoli, five letters from 26 March to 14 June 1732).

43 SP 206/166 (O'Rourke to James III, 17 May 1738).

44 The miniatures, and the half-length portraits from which they were copied, were by Jean-Étienne Liotard. The full-length portraits for the dowager Duchess of Parma were by Louis-Gabriel Blanchet and are now in the National Portrait Gallery. See Edward Corp, *The King over the Water: Portraits of the Stuarts in Exile after 1689* (Edinburgh: The National Galleries of Scotland, 2001), 74–78.

45 Farinelli's reception in England, and the 'behind-the-scenes story' of his defection to the Spanish court in 1737, is very fully discussed in Thomas McGeary, 'Farinelli in Madrid: Opera, Politics, and the War of Jenkins' Ear', *The Musical Quarterly* 82/2 (1998), 383–421.

46 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 177–178 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 8 August 1741).



But we must be cautious, because the words England and English (or in this case ‘Rost Bif’) were ambiguous. Defeating the English Hanoverian fleet was an essential preliminary to any English Jacobite restoration. This may not necessarily have been what Farinelli wanted, but it is probably what Pepoli wanted, and it is at least reasonable to interpret the letter in that sense.

The Spanish court, like all centres of power, included different political factions. Philip V’s personal physician until 1729 was an Irish Jacobite named Dr John Higgons. His Jesuit confessor from 1726 to 1734 was an English Jacobite named Father William Clark.<sup>47</sup> It is difficult to judge how much direct Jacobite influence there still was at the Spanish court after Farinelli arrived there in 1737, but there were certainly many Jacobites, most notably the second and third Dukes of Berwick and Liria. Don José del Campillo y Cossío, the *Ministro de Marina*, who was effectively Prime Minister of Spain until his death in 1743, was married to a granddaughter of the Jacobite Duke of Melfort. Her father, José de Rozas y Meléndez de la Cueva, Conde de Castilblanco, was the Jacobite Duke of St Andrews. After Campillo’s death she married the third Duke of Berwick and Liria; her sister’s daughter later married the youngest son of Philip V and Elizabeth Farnese.<sup>48</sup> In particular, the chief Spanish Secretary of State during the 1750s, appointed by Farinelli’s patrons and friends King Ferdinand VI and Queen María Bárbara of Braganza, was an Irish Jacobite born at Nantes in France in the 1690s named Richard Wall. We need to take these factors into account when considering the career of Farinelli during the years when he lived, and was believed to wield considerable political influence, at the Spanish court. And it is worth noticing that Queen María Bárbara’s father (King John V of Portugal) was the son of another aunt of Queen Maria Clementina.<sup>49</sup>

In his recent biography of Farinelli, Patrick Barbier refers to the double language (*double langage*) used by the singer in speaking to Benjamin Keene, the British minister at Madrid.<sup>50</sup> In February 1749, nearly three years after Jacobite hopes had been dashed at Culloden, we find Farinelli assuring Keene that, despite appearances, he really did like the English nation, and Keene emphasizing to Farinelli that the Hanoverian regime in England was now both strong and tranquil.<sup>51</sup>

We should finish, however, by returning to the question of musical patronage. In 1738, shortly after Farinelli’s arrival in Spain, the opera houses of Rome once again began to dedicate the librettos of new works to the exiled Stuarts – to James III himself, but now also to his sons Prince Charles and Prince Henry. During the five years from 1739 until 1743 the Teatro delle Dame and the Teatro Argentina took it in turns to dedicate their new operas to the two Stuart princes. The Teatro delle Dame was managed by the husband of Eleonora Pepoli’s cousin Anna.<sup>52</sup> The Teatro Argentina was managed by Francesco Maria Albergati, a close relation of Sicinio Pepoli’s inseparable friend Eleonora Albergati. Indeed it was Francesco Maria Albergati himself who wrote the dedications in both 1740 and 1742.<sup>53</sup>

47 Valentine, Marquis MacSwiney of Mashanaglass, *Two Distinguished Irishmen in the Spanish Service: Sir Toby Bourke and Dr John Higgins* (Dublin, 1939). For the potential importance of Clark’s appointment see the letters of David Nairne in Bologna to William Stuart in Rome, Scottish Catholic Archives 2/289/11 (2 November 1726: ‘I am told for certain that our friend Father Clark is made Confessor to the King of Spain’) and 2/289/13 (13 November 1726: ‘I have already writt to F. Clark to congratulat him . . . I wish F. Clark in his new post may do something for the King [James III]’).

48 The first Duke of Berwick was the half-brother of James III. The second Duke inherited both his father’s Spanish Dukedom of Liria and his status as a grandee of Spain. The Jacobite who later married the Infante Louis, brother of the future Charles III, was Teresa de Vallabriga. See Luis Española Bouché, *Nuevos y viejos problemas en la sucesion de la corona española* (Madrid: Hidalguia, 1999), 159–204. Campillo is described as ‘Ministro de Marina y el equivalente a Primer Ministro’ on pages 180–181.

49 Maria Sophia of Neuburg, who married Peter II of Portugal (brother of Catherine of Braganza).

50 Patrick Barbier, *Farinelli: Le castrat des Lumières* (Paris: Grasset, 1994), 183.

51 Barbier, *Farinelli*, 183.

52 Marzio Domenico Carafa, Duca di Maddeloni, who had married Anna Colonna, managed the Teatro delle Dame until 1748; Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 196.

53 The operas that Francesco Maria Albergati dedicated to Prince Henry were *Latilla*, *Siroe*, and *Manna*, *Tito Manlio*. The one he dedicated to Prince Charles was *Leo*, *Demetrio*.





By 1740 Prince Henry had developed a very strong interest in opera. His preferred composer at that time was Gaetano Latilla, who was described as ‘virtuoso del duca di York’,<sup>54</sup> but he was also a patron of Niccolò Jommelli.<sup>55</sup> After 1747, when Prince Henry was created a Cardinal, and stopped going to the opera,<sup>56</sup> Jommelli’s work ‘gravitated towards sacred music’, beginning with an oratorio which he dedicated to Cardinal York in Rome in 1749.<sup>57</sup> Farinelli’s last letter to Pepoli, written a few months later during the same year, contains a promise to look after Jommelli’s interests in Spain.<sup>58</sup> Shortly afterwards Prince Henry became a patron of Baldassarre Galuppi, whom he appointed to be a temporary choir master at his parish church of Santa Maria in Campitelli.<sup>59</sup> It may be pure coincidence, but when we look at the list of works performed at the Buen Retiro between 1747 and 1758, when Farinelli was director of the Spanish Royal Opera, we find that there were only three composers not attached to the Spanish court whose operas and serenades were performed. They were Latilla, Jommelli and Galuppi.<sup>60</sup>

The purpose of this article has been to draw attention to the links between Farinelli, Pepoli and the Stuart court in exile, which so far have been overlooked by all of Farinelli’s biographers and by musicologists who have examined the singer’s career in Italy, England and Spain. I hope that the present article may stimulate further research into Farinelli’s career.

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54 In the libretto of *Siroe*, performed at the Teatro delle Dame.

55 Saverio Mattei, *Memorie per servire alla vita del Metastasio ed elogio di N. Jommelli* (1785; facsimile edition, Bologna: Forni, 1987), 76. I am grateful to Xavier Cervantes for bringing this reference to my attention.

56 *Correspondance de Benoît XIV*, volume 1, 464 (Benedict XIV to Tencin, 12 February 1749): ‘malgré son goût pour la musique, le cardinal ne s’est jamais montré au théâtre, et il n’y paraîtra pas’.

57 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 13, 178; *New Grove Opera*, volume 2, 907; and Mattei, *Memorie*, 78. The oratorio was *La passione di Gesù Cristo*.

58 Vitali, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, 188 (Farinelli to Pepoli, 26 August 1749).

59 ‘He spent much time in his titular church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, where he rehearsed masses and got up concerts with Buranello the Venetian, his choirmaster. Baldassare Galuppi, called Buranello . . . Galuppi’s opera *Antigona* was performed in Rome at the Teatro delle Dame in January 1751. His *Sofonisba* was performed there in February 1753.’ Alice Shield, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and His Times* (London: Longmans, 1908), 142.

60 Barbier, *Farinelli*, 241–242.