



1 – Antonio Selvi (c.1679-1753), detail of reverse of JOHN MOLESWORTH, showing the Molesworth coat of arms (see Plate 5)

Two Shaftesburian commissions in Florence: Antonio Selvi's portrait medals of John and Richard Molesworth¹

WILLIAM MOLESWORTH

Mr. Addison's works are come out ... there is little new in it except ... a discourse upon Medalls.²

IN AROUND 1712, JOHN AND RICHARD MOLESWORTH, THE TWO ELDEST SONS OF Robert (later 1st Viscount) Molesworth,³ sat to the Florentine medallist Antonio Francesco Selvi (c.1679-1753). The resulting portrait medals may justifiably claim to be among Selvi's masterpieces. Yet, the Molesworths were among just a small number of British and Irish patrons to commission from Florentine medallists, mostly confined to the first two decades of the eighteenth century, so that Selvi is usually unfamiliar to all but the scholar of numismatics or the late Florentine Baroque, two areas neglected until well into the twentieth century. In the first part of this article, I shall therefore give a summary of Selvi's place within the Florentine tradition of the medal, as revived by his master Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656-1740), the ways in which the medal functioned as an *objet d'art*, and its contemporary reception within the British Isles. In the second part, I shall then offer a critique of the Molesworth medals as representative of Selvi's extraordinary finesse in this important sub-genre.

Correspondence between John and Richard in the Molesworth family papers⁴ shows that they were intimately bound with one another, confiding their innermost thoughts and exchanging Latin verses and anagrams of their own invention that held specific meaning for them.⁵ As biographical narratives in miniature, the medals would have undoubtedly participated in this dialogic exchange of intimacy. Of their several siblings, perhaps the closest to them was Mary Monck, whose remarkable

gifts of poetic insight into her brothers' sensibilities endowed her with an almost bardic role within the family. In juxtaposing her literary imagery with the social, cultural and professional environments of all three in the years surrounding 1712, the personal motivations behind the patronage to Selvi begin to emerge. Above all, I shall also argue that the Molesworths' long-standing friendship with the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury provided the philosophical rationale underlying the commissions' inception. Moral, aesthetic and political correlations between Shaftesbury and the Molesworths will thus permeate this essay to illustrate how the former's unique credo was inspiring an allegorical portraiture that not only adheres to the tenor of his ideology, but also succeeds as exciting and original works of art.

PART I: CONTEXTS

SELVI, THE MEDAL AND INTEREST FROM THE BRITISH ISLES

Relatively little documentary information on Selvi is available.⁶ So closely do his medals depend on those of his master that it is sometimes difficult to tell them apart, particularly during the first decade and a half of the century when there is much evidence of collaboration.⁷ Selvi's lasting reputation has unfortunately rested on the disappointing Medici series (1740), however these were by no means all his own work.⁸ On the other hand, such was his mastery of the portrait in profile – which the relatively recent publication of his surviving wax models amply corroborates – that his first biographer, Francesco Gabburri, pronounced him a '*virtuoso molto eccellente nel fare ritratti in medaglia, nel modellare figure ... bravissimo gettatore di metallo*'.⁹ In his reverses, Selvi successfully adapted Soldani's broad relief style, reducing it to the scale of the medal and delighting in intricate allegorical nuances. The 'rococo' elegance that later commentators have read into his small heads and thin, angular bodies has been imputed to his presumed origins from Venice, but there is no supporting evidence for this.¹⁰ Current biographies still incorrectly state that Selvi's earliest medal was in 1711, when his *Antonio Vallisnieri*, first published in 1979, is signed and dated 1707.¹¹ The latter's rather laboured manner betrays a more primitive stage in Selvi's evolution in the first decade that is hardly indicative of a precocious refinement honed in Venice. In any case, the playful, decorative Venetian style was already popular in Florence when Selvi was apprenticed under Soldani. Grand Prince Ferdinando's enthusiasm for painters like Sebastiano Ricci and Giuseppe Maria Crespi effected a transition away from the solidly built figures of the previous century towards a slender, gracile modelling that recalls elements of

Florentine Mannerism.¹² Ferdinando, a frequent visitor at the Soldani workshop until his death in 1713,¹³ demanded a style that was expansive (*gran gusto*), graceful (*grazioso*) and faintly erotic (*morbidezza*), vague terms admittedly, but ones which engendered the ornate, flowing rhythms of Soldani's celebrated bronze relief series, *The Four Seasons* (1708-11, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich).¹⁴ This court-led style provides a far more likely starting point for Selvi's delicate, elongated figures, whose gently undulating bodies in diaphanous drapery or semi-nudity were fully in line with the Grand Prince's libertine proclivities.

Given the strict court etiquette under the last Medicis, a surprising informality between nobility and artists obtained. In particular, Soldani's workshop opposite the Uffizi became a notable meeting place and forum of cultural exchange. For instance, Antonio Maria Salvini, a professor of Greek, man of letters and one of John's correspondents, composed the Latin inscriptions for Soldani's *Four Seasons*.¹⁵ Selvi's up-to-date 'Venetian' manner was bringing him patronage from a succession of luminaries that almost reads like a 'who's who' of contemporary Florentine cultural life.¹⁶ Indeed, there is little doubt that the second decade marked his maturity as a medallist, who at his best was the equal of his famous master, albeit he rarely ventured beyond the scale of the miniature. As Velia Johnson has commented, Selvi's output in these years forms a distinct group within his chronology, identifiable by their correlations in diameter, quality of casting, high degree of finish and fine patination.¹⁷

Soldani seems to have been content to foster his pupil's gifts as a miniaturist, leaving as his sole preserve the larger and more lucrative commissions he was chasing from wealthier British and Irish patrons such as the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Burlington and the Duke of Kent.¹⁸ Such tantalising prospects for Soldani probably coloured his guarded response to his London agent, Gian Giacomo Zamboni, who had suggested in 1716 that Selvi might come to England.¹⁹ Selvi may well have regretted such a lost opportunity. Although the collecting of medals in England had long since passed its zenith in the great age of collecting under Charles I and the 'Whitehall Cognoscenti', it was still the intellectual contents of a gentleman's library of books, manuscripts, medals and prints, in preference to his gallery of pictures or sculpture, by which he was judged as a virtuoso. Numismatists such as John Evelyn, Elias Ashmole and Ralph Thoresby epitomise the collecting tastes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The latter's *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* attracted leading collectors such as Sir Andrew Fountaine, the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Hans Sloane, each of whom were in contact with collectors in Ireland.²⁰ The Molesworths' Yorkshire seat of Edlington made them Thoresby's close neighbours and friends, so that it is inconceivable they could have been unfamiliar with one of the most celebrated collections of the day.²¹ Fountaine accompanied the Earl of Pembroke to Dublin in 1707, where Robert Howard, the future

bishop, noted he was 'fam'd here for his skill in ancient Coins'.²² Medals were part of an artist's training: the Irish artist Hugh Howard, brother of the bishop, was studying them in Rome as early as 1700.²³ Among Irish patrons in Florence in the early years of the century, the most important was Sir John Perceval, a Molesworth kinsman.²⁴ Unfortunately, his two shipments of Italian sculpture were captured by privateers in 1709, amongst them a set of twenty-four Roman heads by Soldani.²⁵ Perceval's loss was gently belittled by George Berkeley, who doubted their 'neighbours in the county of Cork would relish ... the sight of rusty medals'.²⁶ Berkeley had yet to amass his own collection of art; however, his sarcasm usefully reminds us that the primary purpose of a medallic collection was social enjoyment by the leisured class. Ancient originals or contemporary imitations were admired as much for their aesthetic beauty of medium, relief and finish, as for their historical dimension.²⁷ Numismatic collecting was also an important status symbol: inspection and handling of the specimens of a well-stocked library afforded the owner, in like-minded company, a unique opportunity to display tangible evidence of his wealth, foreign travel and classical education.

Despite these attractions, the mere handful of patrons of the Italian medal from the British Isles casts doubt as to whether Selvi would have found lasting success in London. Soldani had had just three such patrons, namely William De Villiers (later 2nd Earl of Jersey) and Dr John Inglis, both in 1703, and the British envoy Sir Henry Newton in 1709, while only two more sat to Selvi besides the Molesworths, the expatriate Sir Thomas Dereham and Fountaine, both in 1715. One isolated commission came towards the end of Selvi's career in 1746, a commemorative medal of Frances Hutcheson, the disciple of Robert Molesworth.²⁸ Selvi must have soon seemed outmoded, when Londoners were already accustomed to the fully fledged rococo of Jacques Dassier by the 1750s. Unable to compete, this perhaps accounts for Selvi's coarsening in later reverses when set alongside his auspicious beginnings.²⁹ As J. Pollard has wistfully concluded, this enlightened phase of British patronage of the Italian medal was all but over by mid-century.³⁰

THE MOLESWORTHS IN ITALY

The Molesworths' associations with Florence can be traced to the continental journeys of Robert Molesworth of the 1680s, from which he subsequently manifested a first-hand knowledge of a wood outside Pisa.³¹ Robert tentatively advocated foreign travel so that men 'would know experimentally the want of Publick Liberty'.³² Accordingly, his two eldest sons embarked upon a number of excursions to the continent in the early years of the century.³³ For John (1679-1726), such forays will have familiarised him with the ways of foreign courts,³⁴ as they had done for his

father, who had been a controversial envoy in Denmark. John eventually served as the British envoy in Florence (1711-14) and Turin (1720-25), where he formed several notable friendships with local artists and cognoscenti, and mediated in a number of commissions on behalf of Grand Tourists and Italian noblemen. The most important of these was Soldani's four life-size statues for Marlborough after antique originals in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, whose completion and dispatch John was supervising throughout 1711.³⁵ In early 1713 John took the Florentine architect Alessandro Galilei on a study tour of Rome. In 1714 he invited him to England, where he became a member of the Molesworth's self-styled 'New Junta for Architecture', and to Ireland in 1718, where his influence was to be far-reaching.³⁶ Significantly, we see Edward Lovett Pearce making contact with Galilei in 1723, who had by then returned to Florence, and one assumes John introduced his kinsman to the best architecture of Turin in 1724, including that of Filippo Juvarra.³⁷ John considered the study of medals to be one of the skills Galilei should acquire in preparation for his mooted return to the British Isles in 1721.³⁸ In that year, Joseph Addison's works were posthumously published, including his *Dialogues upon the usefulness of Ancient Medals*, based on his earlier tour of Italy, to which John was a subscriber. Throughout this time, John was employing Galilei as his agent to liaise between Florentine artists such as Antonio Montauti and Tommaso Redi, and their respective protectors Salvini and Gabburri.³⁹ Another established rapport was with Rosalba Carriera, whose self-portrait John was arranging to present to the Medici court in 1712. In 1722 the Venetian pastellist produced two miniatures of John and his wife, both of which are now sadly lost.⁴⁰ When Gabburri was preparing the publication of the Grand Duke's numismatic collection in 1724, he regretted that John could not assist him in person, thereby paying tribute to his *virtù*.⁴¹ In the conversations of the other envoys at Turin, John was known as the 'virtuoso', a distinction corroborated by the collector and historian Giovanni Bottari, for whom he was 'un uomo di lettere e di finissimo discernimento'.⁴²

For Richard (1681-1758),⁴³ going overseas meant the prospect of honour and glory on the battlefield, which came in 1706 when he had the good fortune to save Marlborough's life at Ramillies. During lulls of inactivity in the war in Spain, Richard was able to visit Florence as the brother of the envoy, where, in the summer of 1712, Dereham noted the hasty departure from a court hunt of '*Col.o Molesworth fratello del Sig.re Inviato ... senza vedere nemeno il principio della caccia.*'⁴⁴ By November, Richard was back in Barcelona and making his way to Port Mahon to meet his new commander-in-chief, the Duke of Argyle, the Tory replacement following Marlborough's dismissal.⁴⁵ With the Treaty of Utrecht in April 1713 and the disbandment of his regiment, we find him again in Italy over the winter of 1713-14, when William Kent twice noted the brothers' presence in Rome with Lord Dalkeith, Gilbert Elliot and a Mr Pye, in what sounds like a Grand Tour party.⁴⁶ Following

John's recall in May 1714, the brothers returned homewards with Berkeley, who embarked at Genoa in July 'with Mr. Molesworth the late envoy at Florence, and the Col. his brother and ... had a very pleasant journey in their company to Paris'.⁴⁷ Presumably arising from his Italian sojourn, Richard was later introducing an Italian singer to Dublin, who met with the Percevals' approval in 1716.⁴⁸

Robert Molesworth's eldest surviving daughter, Mary (c.1680-1715), has received scholarly attention in recent years.⁴⁹ As an Anglo-Irish poetess published shortly after her death, she occupies a rare place in the canon of eighteenth-century feminist literature. Probably born in between her two brothers, she was married by 1700 to George Monck, who had entered Trinity College Dublin in 1680 and later became an MP for Philipstown, King's County (now Daingean, county Offaly).⁵⁰ She was later living in Yorkshire, where she cultivated a coterie of poetesses that indirectly involved the future Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.⁵¹ Following Mary's death in February 1715, her father published a number of her works under the title *Marinda. Poems and Translations upon Several Occasions* (London 1716).⁵² Not all of these poems can be ascribed to her pen, but the last, 'Moccoli', bears the explanatory subtitle 'Address'd to Col. Richard Molesworth at the Camp at Pratz del Rey in Catalonia. Anno 1711'. Another is a 'Sonnetto of Ablate Salvini's. Sent from Italy on occasion of the foregoing Translation', attesting both to her mastery of the Italian language and vicarious experience of John's Florentine environment. Mary's association by proxy with the literary interests of the intellectual circle at the Soldani workshop furnishes the connection to Selvi, who was executing a medal of Salvini in the same year as the Molesworths. More crucially, the many thematic parallels between Mary's Moccoli and her brothers' commissions suggests that her encomium acted as a conduit between Richard's military career in Spain and the brothers' patronage of Selvi in Florence. While the provision of a date in the subtitle does not necessarily establish any chronological precedence to the Selvi medals, Mary's subject matter clearly derives from within the family and, as I shall argue, serves as a uniquely valuable illumination of Selvi's complex iconography.

SHAFTESBURY AND JOHN MOLESWORTH

Shaftesbury's close friendship with Robert Molesworth became public knowledge in 1721, when John Toland controversially published their intimate correspondence; in 1709 Shaftesbury had declared Robert to be 'my Oracle in publick affairs ... a thorough Confident in my private', whose *An Account of Denmark* 'prophecy'd of the things highliest important to the growing age'.⁵³ Robert, who allegedly claimed to have been Shaftesbury's teacher, described him as 'possessing right reason in a more eminent degree than the rest of mankind' and his character as the 'highest that

the perfection of human nature is capable of'.⁵⁴ Robert represented Shaftesbury at Westminster on occasions, and encouraged him in his suit for a countess.⁵⁵ Edward McParland has convincingly argued that Shaftesbury's pro-Greek, anti-baroque stance and emphatically Whiggish politics make him a probable sympathiser of the New Junta.⁵⁶ More recently, Finola O' Kane has discerned common elements in the landscaping schemes of Robert's Brackenstown in county Dublin and Shaftesbury's St Giles in Dorset, as well as a Shaftesburian vein to John's advice from Italy to his father in 1721 for statuary and other garden furniture, featuring a scheme of classical inscriptions in both Latin and Greek.⁵⁷ In view of such resonance, it is entirely plausible to posit that Shaftesbury's proximity to the Molesworths manifested itself in other areas of their cultural endeavour.

The ramifications of John's friendship with Shaftesbury, beyond that of hospitality and practical help in Shaftesbury's long overland route to Naples in 1711, tend to be overlooked in standard accounts of his final years.⁵⁸ On learning that Shaftesbury and his countess had reached Bologna, John ordered his secretary John Eckersall to conduct them across the Apennines. John himself met them some six miles out and escorted them to his villa, where after some days' rest, Shaftesbury was sufficiently recovered to resume his poignant journey south.⁵⁹ John's succour was certainly crucial to Shaftesbury's peace of mind, for 'his utmost hopes were to reach this place [John's villa] & dye here, that he might leave a Lady ... in Safe hands: for he was one of those in ye world (& he had very few of ym) that he could call his friend.' Indeed, following Shaftesbury's death in 1713, John showed his widow 'many Civilitys both in my Journey from Italy, and since my coming home'.⁶⁰ Shaftesbury's letters to John from Naples mostly concern politics, but they also indicate how deeply he valued his friendship in its own right and 'the remembrance of a few hours' conversation'.⁶¹ Given Shaftesbury's vexations with current political developments, in particular the prospects of peace with France, it is likely that public affairs dominated their rendezvous in Florence. It is tempting, nonetheless, to speculate what other matters may have engaged these rare minds. Perhaps John attempted to steer their conversation to matters more congenial to Shaftesbury's recovery, such as their mutual love of the fine arts. Certainly, they will have touched upon the practicalities of forwarding to Naples the revision of *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (3 vols, London, first published 1711), in which Shaftesbury had summed up his most important philosophy to date. Following Shaftesbury's visit, John was safeguarding Shaftesbury's post via Florence, including Simon Gribelin's engravings for the second edition at the end of the year and a trunk from Leghorne (now Livorno) containing the corrections in the following April.⁶²

Shaftesbury's views on painting were idiosyncratic and even contradictory. Highly condemnatory of portraiture as a genre, and a detester of Van Dyck, one of



Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (c.1656-1740)

2 – HENRY NEWTON

1709, bronze medal, 8.7 cm diameter

inscribed around: HEN·NEVVTON·ABLEG·EXT·BRIT·AD·M·ETRVR·D·ET·R·P·GEN; below truncation: FLOREN·1709

opposite 3 – HENRY NEWTON, reverse

inscribed around: ALTERIVS·ALTERA·POSCIT·OPEM; signed in exergue: MAX·SOLDANVS·F

(by permission of the British Museum)



his final acts of patronage before his death was to commission from the Neapolitan painter Paolo de Matteis a portrait of himself as the dying philosopher, employing a highly personalised and historiated iconography.⁶³ Although he essentially regarded his artists as the medium through which his philosophy could speak, he was not indifferent as to which artists he employed. De Matteis had enjoyed a successful international career, while the Irishman, Henry Trench, the illustrator of *Characteristicks*, had been collecting laurels in Rome for a succession of prize-winning history drawings.⁶⁴ Significantly, Shaftesbury's didactic approach is reflected in John's later commissioning activities in Turin in 1724, when John was dispensing firm guidance via Gabburri regarding Redi's two history paintings, *Cincinnatus* and *Brutus*.⁶⁵ As we know from his earlier commissioned portraiture, Shaftesbury

attached great importance to iconography. Correspondences in the Molesworth medals with the portraits of Shaftesbury and his brother Maurice by the German painter John Closterman reveal several Shaftesburian motifs percolating into the Molesworths' own iconographical agenda. These are evident, above all, in the Molesworths' preoccupation with morality and virtue, the only themes admitted by Shaftesbury for portraiture's claim to be a true art form.⁶⁶

Finally, there is Shaftesbury's well-attested interest in the medal. Although he left behind a substantial library of numismatics in England, the numerous acquisitions of medals listed in his account books in Italy show his passion remained unabated.⁶⁷ From Naples he was asking his friend, Pierre Coste, to bring with him 'a good book or two relating to medals ... I can get none here but the Italian; none either in Latin or French.'⁶⁸ Quite possibly, the complementary colour scheme in Closterman's double portrait of Shaftesbury and his brother (c.1700, National Portrait Gallery, London), based on silver and bronze, prompted the Molesworths in their choice of medium. Shaftesbury insisted in *The Moralists*, however, that 'Medals, Coins, Imbost-Work, Statues, and well-fabricated Pieces, of whatever sort, ... [should be admired] not for the Metals' sake ... But [for] the Art'.⁶⁹

PART II: THE MEDALS

A NEW ENVOY IN FLORENCE

Medals had long played a prominent role in the heated arena of international diplomacy, an agency Selvi would have been aware of through Soldani's earlier services to the French court. When Spain had been obliged in 1662 to cede precedence to France at all official gatherings of envoys, for instance, a silver medal commemorating France's diplomatic victory was much exploited by Louis XIV as propaganda.⁷⁰ In this context, Soldani's medal of Henry Newton, John's immediate predecessor in Florence, was not only a masterly demonstration of physiognomy within the Florentine tradition of the learned portrait, but an important public statement of Britain's accreditation at the Medici court (Plate 2). As a distinguished scholar, antiquary and man of letters, Newton's range of interests bore resemblance to John's.⁷¹ Comparisons between outgoing and incoming envoy would have been inevitable, a parity underlined by Selvi's retention of wording for the British envoy's style, omitting only Newton's tenure at Genoa.⁷² One attribute of Newton's that Selvi will not have wished to emulate, however, was his apparently brusque manner. Newton had clashed with the court over Protestant interest at Leghorn, a matter eventually

resolved by the British threat of force.⁷³ Although exercised by the same bone of contention, John's more moderated style of diplomacy avoided being 'obnoxious to either Party'.⁷⁴ The impression of a model diplomat is prefigured in *The Tatler* of June 1710, in which Sir Richard Steele had referred to John's 'Complacency in his Manners'. Complacency was a term expatiated upon by Addison as that which 'smooths Distinction, sweetens Conversation, and makes every one in the Company pleased with himself'.⁷⁵ Although Shaftesbury was to fundamentally disagree with Addison and Steele as to which members of society were eligible to be true gentlemen, it is clear from approval by all three that John's personal virtues qualified him as such. One of John's dining companions in Turin observed how he had been 'the Delight of this whole Court'.⁷⁶ One can imagine, on the other hand, Newton's vehement temperament precipitating the apoplectic fit that suddenly ended his life in 1715,⁷⁷ a fate presaged in Soldani's modelling of furrowed brow, heavy eyelids and jowled cheeks. In a telling departure, Selvi could thus distinguish the younger diplomat's affability and charm by enlivening the portrait with a subtle contraction of cheekbone muscles, expressive mouth and engaging demeanour (Plate 4). Complacency, moreover, entailed a concern with one's public image, evident in John's orderly attire and carefully arranged wig, intimating the 'Learning [that] is so well woven into his Mind'.⁷⁸ By contrast, Newton's cloak casually spills onto the rim of his medal, while his dishevelled hair looks as if he has just come from a heated audience with the Grand Duke.

MYTHOLOGY FOR PROTESTANTS

In effect, the medal provided a double opportunity for portraiture. In the reverse, no longer constrained by representational considerations, one encounters an abstract imagery of the sitter in which subliminal analogy is encoded within a conventional allegorical language.⁷⁹ Drawing from arcane mythology, this alluded to the sitter's classical virtues, the interpretation of which was accessible to the learned humanist. Allegory was widely perceived by Shaftesbury and other Protestant Whigs, however, as a vehicle for the aggrandisement of princes and potentates, a continental practice redolent of absolutism, not to mention priestcraft and superstition.⁸⁰ The view was part of the contemporary trend in Britain and Ireland away from the grandiosity of the baroque, as exemplified by the New Junta's call for neo-classical purity. One might then wonder why such staunch supporters of the 'Glorious Revolution' as the Molesworths were prepared to commemorate themselves in a courtly language that to them so ostensibly connoted Catholic despotism. This was not to say that Protestant leaders could not be despotic – Robert Molesworth had witnessed arbitrary power at work in Denmark⁸¹ – nor that they did not wish to be portrayed in



Antonio Selvi (c.1679-1753)

*4 – JOHN MOLESWORTH, 1712, bronze medal, 9 cm diameter
inscribed around: IO·MOLESWORTH·ABLEG·EXT·BRIT·AD·M·ETRVR·D; below truncation: MDCCXII*

*opposite 5 – JOHN MOLESWORTH, reverse
inscribed around: GLORIE·PRINCIPVM; signed in exergue: A·SELVI·F*

(courtesy Molesworth Trustees; photos: Douglas Howden)

Other specimens are at the Staatliche Museum, Berlin (Münzkabinett 1555, 1556); Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (7780), Giovanni Pratesi Antiquario (Cantelli 52); British Museum, London (M8134, GIII Illustrious Persons 595, latter cast in lead); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (A.20-1963, until recently attributed to Soldani).



allegorical scenes – both William III and Marlborough made much use of them. Rather, to Whigs like Addison, the problem lay in the contaminated state of allegory, which had long degenerated into a loose re-employment of the established symbols and an attendant dilution to their meanings, a state of affairs precipitated by the plethora of manuals such as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (first published 1593).⁸² Shaftesbury's solution was to exercise strict control of emblematic content, avoiding confusion and gratuitousness, and to promote the clarity of design and strong linearity in Trench's illustrations to *Characteristicks*.⁸³ With Selvi, the miniaturist's love of detail would have well suited the Molesworths' own programme of emblematics, while his nimble figures would have met a requirement for elegance and dexterity that was far removed from the heaviness of the previous century, a quality encom-

passed in Johnson's term, *già settecentesco*.⁸⁴

As a comment on this allegorised portrait, an appropriate Latin inscription, perhaps suggested by the sitter himself, crowned the reverse to convey the sitter's abiding characteristics. A possible inspiration for the Molesworths' inscriptions, *Gloriae Principum* and *Per Ardua*, was a pair of marble statues representing Glory and Valour, which Giovanni Baratta (1670-1747) was executing for Marlborough before 1715, whose *modelli* John reported seeing to the duke in 1711.⁸⁵ These twin virtues encapsulate the Molesworth brothers' respective careers in diplomacy and soldiery, a complementarity that recalls Closterman's individual portraits of Shaftesbury and his brother (both c.1701, Earl of Shaftesbury collection). In one, Closterman presents the philosopher interrupted from his private reverie by an approaching attendant bearing his peer's robes and beckoning to the world of public interaction beyond, while in the other, Maurice stands as the active huntsman, whose horse is reined in as a potent symbol of the restraint necessary to man's baser instincts.⁸⁶ Likewise, John immersed himself within the world of the arts, at the same time fulfilling his diplomatic obligations, while Richard, in seeking his personal fortune on the battlefield, was also serving his queen and country. Such tensions between the contemplative and active life were perceived in eighteenth-century philosophy in terms of female vice opposed by male virtue. Both Shaftesbury and his disciple, George Turnbull, another self-confessed follower of Robert Molesworth, discoursed upon the changeable nature of the feminine versus the permanency of the masculine.⁸⁷ The division between these states becomes complicated in the two faces of the medal, however, insofar as the outward persona was usually that of the male sitter, whereas his immutable inner self was represented by a feminised allegory. In Selvi's two medals, nonetheless, both internally within each medal and in relation to each other, such polarity projected a fuller spectrum of the sitter that would have accorded felicitously with Shaftesbury's love of the complete man.

A CELEBRATION OF VIRTUE

The four secular virtues of John's reverse, Prudence, Abundance, Peace and Commerce, stand as a mission statement of his professional calling (Plate 5). Compositionally, they are remarkably without precedent in Soldani's medallic oeuvre, although, as Charles Avery has pointed out, the pose and reciprocated glances of the pair on the right recall the *Newton* reverse of three years earlier (Plate 3).⁸⁸ On the far right, Prudence, her mirror and snake in hand, represents the 'good Oeconomy in his Affairs' that Steele considered to be one of John's salient qualities.⁸⁹ Prudence is partnered by Abundance holding a sheaf of grain. Her boun-

ty is further symbolised by the coins issuing from the cornucopia at her feet, one of the attributes of the Glory of Princes and a reminder of the prosperity that flows from the wise management of princely affairs.⁹⁰ Since true prosperity thrives under peace, Selvi's Abundance reaches out to link with Peace, recognisable from her caduceus, the passport for peaceful passage and emblem of ambassadors.⁹¹ The fourth member of the quartet points to the caduceus in reference to Mercury's role as the god of commerce.⁹² The sun-face on her breastplate signifies that just as the sun lights the earth, so virtue lights the heart and leads to good deeds,⁹³ an interpretation consonant with Shaftesbury's theory of natural benevolence.

As envoy, John had been preoccupied in protecting the commercial routes of British merchants and mariners via the Italian ports.⁹⁴ The stimulation of commerce was an article of faith for Whigs like Shaftesbury, who declared that 'Impositions and Restrictions reduce it [trade] to a low Ebb. Nothing is so advantageous to it as a Free-Port'.⁹⁵ The accumulation of private wealth through economic activity was fully endorsed by Whiggish journals like *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* as promoting the public interest through the cultivation of refinement and taste. Nowhere was this more tangible in the British Isles than through the importing of continental art, a trade in which John played his part. Although the debate about the morality of material self-enrichment was by no means settled during the eighteenth century, John's diplomatic activities in Florence make it clear he viewed the exercise of free trade as a manifestation of liberty, one of the principles underpinning *An Account of Denmark*. Finally, as the contemporary meaning of commerce extended to the conduct of social intercourse, the four Virtues, like John himself, stand as exemplars of conversation in the new era of politeness, the channels through which, according to Shaftesbury, the virtues of friendship were to be engaged.⁹⁶

The mirrored poses in *contrapposto*, exchanging glances across the picture space and common attribute of laurel wreath link the two pairs of virtues compositionally. The intimate scene imparts a sisterly tenderness reminiscent of the Graces, an allusion not as far-fetched as it seems.⁹⁷ The Graces accompanied Apollo in his role as leader of the Muses and patron of the arts, and were held to have a beneficial influence on intellectual activities, for which reason they were often depicted with emblems of learning, such as the books seen here. Their leader was Mercury, whose connection with Commerce and Peace has been stated. The first-century stoic philosopher Seneca thought the Graces should be portrayed as smiling maidens, either completely naked or as here, clothed in fine, transparent draperies. For him, they represented the three characteristics of generosity – giving, receiving and exchanging – important gestures of goodwill in the protocol of diplomacy and peaceful trade.⁹⁸ The focal point of the composition is a flaming altar decorated with the Molesworth arms (Plate 1), which may be compared to Robert Molesworth's Letters Patent of 1716 for Selvi's fidelity to source and fine relief technique (Plate



Antonio Selvi (c.1679-1753)

6 – RICHARD MOLESWORTH

c.1712, bronze medal, 8.7 cm diameter; inscribed around: RICCARD·MOLESWORTH·BRIT·TRIB·MIL

opposite 7 – RICHARD MOLESWORTH, reverse

unsigned and undated, inscribed above: PER·ARDVA

(courtesy Molesworth Trustees; photos: Douglas Howden)

This medal is very rare. The only specimen known to the writer in the public domain is at the British Museum (GIII Illustrious Persons 610). The obverse was later used as the model for a portrait medallion by Josiah Wedgwood, c.1773 (R. Reilly and G. Savage, WEDGWOOD: THE PORTRAIT MEDALLIONS (London 1973), 244). Both Molesworth medals were engraved in THIRTY THREE PLATES OF ENGLISH MEDALS by the late Mr Thomas Snelling (London, 1776) pl. 28, nos 2, 3.



8). The sturdy stone rostrum on which all stand provides architectural solidity to counterbalance the slender figures amid the vaporous rings of smoke. Crowning the assembly, the inscription, *Gloriae Principum*, invokes one of the axioms of An Account of Denmark. In this seminal Whig tract, Robert Molesworth held that a prince's glory should be measured not by his military might or forceful acquisition of territory (the Arts of War), but by the free prosperity of his people, understood in the Aristotelian sense as the political virtues necessary for peaceful governance (the Arts of Peace).⁹⁹ Selvi's virtues thus celebrate the flourishing of arts under liberty, a tenet at the heart of Shaftesbury's philosophy of cultural progress. That these virtues were also incumbent upon the Medici court may be inferred from the 'Lion lying by, an ancient Altar ... with Fire on it...', a well-known symbol of Tuscany.¹⁰⁰

CATALONIA: PLAINS OF HEROISM

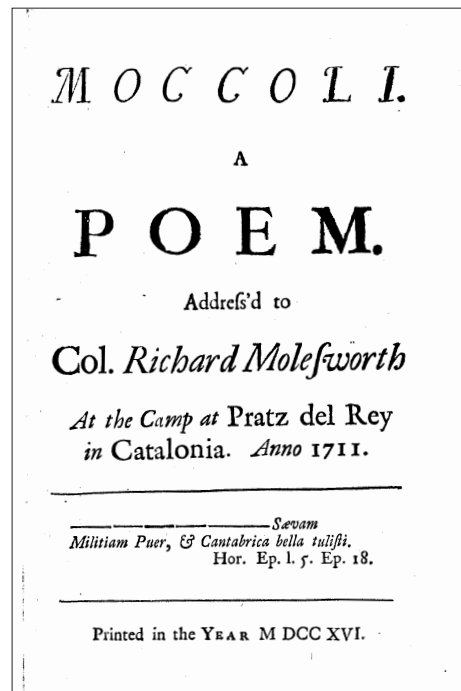
The tradition that Selvi went to England probably arose for no better reason than that, like Soldani, a number of his patrons were British.¹⁰¹ All of them, however, were either well-documented Grand Tourists or else already resident in Florence. Notwithstanding Soldani's close interest in the British market, it is unlikely that Selvi, who was his family's sole breadwinner, could have contemplated leaving Florence and his master's employ.¹⁰² Richard, on the other hand, was independent, mobile and clearly had opportunity for sittings in Florence during the summer of 1712. For him, the commission would have represented the culmination of events stemming from a remarkable military action in Spain of the previous autumn. The British at that time were holding Barcelona, where Richard was commanding an Irish regiment of foot.¹⁰³ Having heard that the French were approaching with the intention of laying siege, the British sent out a large interception force. The ensuing events are described in a letter from the regimental quartermaster at Barcelona to John in Florence.¹⁰⁴ After some three days shadowing each other, the two sides took up positions near the village of Pratz del Rey.¹⁰⁵ After much of the day in stalemate, a French brigade put in a feint, which stopped short on the far banks of a rivulet. Richard was then ordered to take his regiment, supported by two others and six

8 – Unknown Irish artist, detail of *Letters Patent of Robert, 1st Viscount Molesworth*.

The arms shown are those of the Molesworths and their antecedents, the Mortimer, Westcot, Hurland and Bysse families.

9 – Title page to Mary Monck's *MOCOLI*

Published posthumously by her father in *MARINDA, POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS* (London 1716). *The British Library*, 994.c.19.



companies of grenadiers, to oppose the enemy's entire brigade. Accordingly, 'he drew his Durindana turned to his Batalion & desired they would follow him', giving 'such a charge firing [sic] in Platoons. that in ten minutes he broke 2 of the Batallions of their Brigade with his single one'. He then pursued the French brigade 'within forty paces of their whole line at wch time orders came from my Ld of Argyle to desire Coll Molesworth to face his Regiment to ye right & return to his ground in ye line of battle'.¹⁰⁶ While this conspicuous gallantry was loudly applauded by Richard's superiors, including Argyle himself, its tactical achievements would have been limited. Nevertheless, the event must have been of immense personal significance for Richard, in not only vindicating his earlier bravery at Ramillies, but also banishing any lingering doubts that that prior incident had been due to fortuity alone. On this new occasion, Richard's heroism had emanated from a desire to meet with the enemy and the premeditated action entailed. The key word in the quartermaster's report, however, was the 'Durindana', the Spanish name for the legendary sword of Roland, one of the twelve knights attending Charlemagne in his conquest of northeast Spain during the eighth century. According to the Spanish version of this popular romance, an angel commanded Charlemagne to give his sword to his best captain.¹⁰⁷ Charlemagne had reached as far as the Ebro, a region comprising virtually all of Catalonia. Serving in the same theatre of war, Richard was, by extension, the bravest colonel under Argyle's command. Such embellishment with the vocabulary of legend at once elevated Richard's heroism to epic status. With the appearance of the Durindana in the narrative, the process of mythopoesis had begun.

TUSCANY: THE TRIAL OF VIRTUE

Having learned of this stirring news, John's chaplain, Francis Lockier, excitedly relayed a version of events to Mary, then living in Handsworth in Yorkshire.¹⁰⁸ To what extent Lockier embroidered the original is unknown, but given his literary credentials, a poetical context may be presumed.¹⁰⁹ With Mary's assimilation of Lockier's narrative, *Moccoli*, her extended paean to her brothers' fame, was but a small step (Plate 9).¹¹⁰ The Festa dei Moccoli was a popular Roman carnival of great pageantry and spectacle, in which thousands of tiny candles were borne through the streets. The image would have no doubt conjured an appropriate celebratory air for Richard's triumphs and appealed to John's love of the theatre.¹¹¹ The revelry of the carnival, however, was also a byword for temptation and immorality. When Toland was introducing Shaftesbury to his readership in 1721, he noted approvingly that he 'did not live to see Masquerades, or the ancient Bacchanals reviv'd, nor to hear of promiscuous Clubs'.¹¹² The aim in *Moccoli* was to extinguish other people's candles while keeping one's own alight, to which end, as Charles Dickens' nineteenth-cen-



10 – Antonio Selvi (c.1679-1753),
detail of reverse of RICHARD MOLESWORTH (see Plate 7)

tury account graphically confirms, the norms of social decorum were temporarily suspended.¹¹³ The grand finale was a carriage race along the Via del Corso, recalling the ancient charioteers of the Circus Maximus. In evoking the carnivalesque, Mary's heroic verse thus becomes the moral testing-ground, wherein Virtue itself must run the gauntlet.

Although the poem's premise is informed by Richard's heroism on the plains of Catalonia, its locale is the arcadia that is John's villa in the Tuscan campagna. Such geographical dislocation would have reflected the family's scattered readership across Ireland, England, Italy and Spain, but it is instructive to note the autobiographical resonance in the Horatian *topos* of rural retreat and sober restoration. John had been unable to maintain an ostentatious embassy, owing to the treasury's inability to pay its envoys and the consequent strain this placed on his father's purse.¹¹⁴ In 1711 he was informing his mother at Brackenstown that he lived 'very retir'd, for the most part in the Country going to town only the Night before Postdays & returning the Morning after, so that I give no time for Visitants to pester me'.¹¹⁵ John's modest lifestyle beyond the city limits, avoiding the nuisance of trivial callers but going out of his way for elevated conversation, sounds like the abstemious Theocles in Shaftesbury's *The Moralists*, and in its frugality drew Shaftesbury's approbation as a sign of his public incorruptibility.¹¹⁶ Over this same period, Mary's husband was suffering from a severe mental disturbance that obliged her to leave Ireland and seek refuge near the family's Yorkshire estate, where no doubt her poetic pursuits provided solace. In his preface to *Marinda*, Robert observed how Mary had lived latterly 'in a Remote Country Retirement, without any Assistance but that of a good Library, and without omitting the daily Care to a large Family'.¹¹⁷ This last remark that she had not neglected her domestic responsibilities was a crucial moral qualifier, without which her literary pursuits would have been condemned as self-indulgent and reckless. Shaftesbury, always a classicist by instinct, subscribed to the neo-Platonic belief that the natural world was revelatory of divine order, a position from which he formulated his theory of benevolence through art's capacity to respond aesthetically to the truth in nature. Shaftesbury rigorously enacted this in his own withdrawal from urban life – albeit one imposed by ill health – which finds iconographic expression in Closterman's double portrait of Shaftesbury and his brother posing as classical philosophers within an idealised woodland setting. Significantly, it was from the same exultant letter carrying news of Richard's bravery that Mary learned of Shaftesbury's stay at John's villa. While there is no evidence she had ever met Shaftesbury, she may well have imbibed his precepts from within the family. It is no coincidence, then, that in transferring Richard from the noise of battle to the quietude of John's bucolic demesne, Mary unites the world of active public duty with that of private virtuous retirement.

The remainder of this section draws from Betsey Taylor-Fitzsimon's analysis

of *Moccoli*, insofar as its content corresponds with Selvi's. For Mary, the *locus operandi* of her georgic is the dramatised confrontation of virtue and vice, in what Taylor-Fitzsimon has called a 'Topology of Honour'.¹¹⁸ For soon the tranquillity of Mary's opening stanza is marred by the intrusion of subtexts of misfortune and betrayal, as Mary steps up the narrative pace by drawing an analogy between the fall of Fiesole and the perils that await England, should it fail to value true honour and virtue.¹¹⁹ The moral is followed by three models of feminine guile, each personifying the corrupting influence of ambition and greed.¹²⁰ Further unease emerges in the gradual shift from the picturesque to the sublime, as an increasingly menacing landscape instils a disquieting tone. Within this disturbing scene, the cliff-top monastery of Vallombrosa and the moral decay of its inhabitants stand as a metaphor for Fortune's giddy heights and plummeting fall.¹²¹ Mary disrupts the idyll yet again by introducing the topical plight of Francesco Maria de' Medici, the brother of Cosimo III, who had surrendered his cardinal's hat for dynastic purposes in 1709, but soon returned to his homosexual lover, only to die of dropsy two years later. Even if Mary was not apprised of such intimate details, this recent nadir in Medici virtue will have served as an apposite tale of moral entrapment and downfall. The moral is reinforced by the thrills of the chase, the courtly pastime of the Medicis in which Richard, as we have seen, was a participant in the summer of 1712. In this context, the elements of risk and reward unmistakably mirror Richard's ordeal of danger and triumph on the battlefield. The primitive hunting instinct and its traditional connotations of bacchanalia, however, needed to be firmly sublimated, as Closterman's portrait of Maurice implies. In seeking our destiny, Mary seems to be suggesting, we may succumb to its temptations, just as the hunter, in pursuing his quarry, may become ensnared as the prey. As a bulwark against temptation and desire, Mary conceives John's villa as a virtuous stronghold, from whose lofty walls Richard may survey the vicissitudes of fate. Endowing her brother with the honour befitting a Roman general, she apotheosises him in the role of Caesar, by adapting lines from Horace in direct allusion to his military triumphs and republican virtue. Concluding her eclogue is the figure of Pierus, father of the Muses, whose balm Mary offers as the just reward for Richard's martial prowess.¹²²

TRIUMPH IN ADVERSITY

In keeping with the explicit classicising of Richard's name, Selvi historicises him in the guise of a military officer of imperial Rome, that of a tribune according to the surrounding inscription, a rank analogous to a colonel (Plate 6).¹²³ In marked contrast to his brother, Richard imparts a stern, bellicose image, accentuated by the peak of his helmet that cuts sharply into his profile.¹²⁴ The aquiline nose, creased

upper lip and clenched jaw signify his resolute countenance, epitomising a Roman contempt for death. Chased into the helmet is a lion's snout from which emanates an intricate arabesque. The wearing of a lion's skin to resemble a helmet or cowl was associated with Hercules, who slew the Nemean lion, and became a prominent feature of Roman battle dress and thus an attribute of Fortitude.¹²⁵ Here, the lion's mane merges imperceptibly with Richard's curly locks – another Herculean attribute – from which it may be inferred that courage is innate to his character. Likewise, the crest of his helmet curves forward to flow into the surrounding inscription, symbolically interposing within the letters of his name. The lionising continues in the grinning mask of his cuirass, which acted as a talisman in battle and struck fear into the enemy, just as Richard had intimidated the French lines in Catalonia. The gleaming surfaces of armour symbolically rebound and reflect the courage contained within, although, as Avery notes, the severity of the military image is mitigated by the soft fabric of Richard's undergarments.¹²⁶ Missing from this classical panoply is the shield. The medal, however, in the latter days of the Roman Empire, was perceived as an *imago clipeata*, so called from the circular shields bearing the engraved image of the emperor's head. These were carried by soldiers into battle, who upon victory could symbolically hold their emperor aloft. Central to this concept was the notion that the head stood for the subject's whole body, hence revealing of his overall character.¹²⁷ Selvi's portrait thus presents both the record of a real person in recent history and his mythological interpretation in antiquity. Transmuted into wholly classical terms, Richard stands as the embodiment of courage itself.

Just as Richard's feat of arms served as the *primum mobile* of Mary's feminised landscape of doom and salvation, so Selvi's allegorical struggle with destiny is personified by female ambivalence and resolve. Indeed, it is Richard's demonstration of virtue, as opposed to an accident of luck, upon which Selvi's iconography is predicated. Thus, the reverse features two females locked in a conflict of minds and bodies (Plate 7). From her helmet and spear, the figure on the right is Bellona, the sister of Mars, or alternatively the war goddess Minerva. She may also represent Fortitude, who was often cast as a female warrior.¹²⁸ Her opponent is a surprised Fortuna, unarmed yet resisting, at whom the former launches herself at full stretch to catch her by the arm. As the likeliest source for this composition, Avery has identified Soldani's relief, *Time unveiling Truth*, whose surprised Truth is mirrored here by Fortune's unconcealed dismay.¹²⁹ Selvi's light musculature and attenuated anatomy may seem incongruous with the intended martial tone. In contrast to John's clothed Virtues, however, the combatants' nudity heightens their vulnerability, both physical and moral, against a backdrop of harsh rockery and sheer precipices. Fortuna stands on her spinning wheel, the symbol of her fickleness, since it could raise the fallen, while lowering the proud.¹³⁰ Like fortune itself, her revealed beauty makes her desired by all, yet her lack of balance means she is continually elusive.¹³¹

Myriad further nuances are legible. Fortuna holds up her drapery to flutter in the breeze like the billowing sails of a ship, recalling the inconstancy of the winds over which she held control. Related to her is Occasio, the personification of opportunity or fortunate occasion, whose blowing locks signified the fleeting moment by which time was to be seized. In the low horizon are the beguilingly calm waters of the sea, over which Fortuna was mistress. Fortitude's near relation is the virtue of Constancy, often featured in Renaissance medals as a woman in militant attitude holding a raised spear, whose steadfastness is stressed by the sturdy rock on which her feet are firmly planted and from which she assails her foe.¹³² In pointed contrast is the plight of Fortuna, one of whose feet dangles hesitantly in mid-air, while the other supports her entire weight at the most precarious position of her wheel. Beneath her, the discarded accoutrements of battle warn of the perils awaiting the unwary. A frequent theme in Soldani's medallic oeuvre, the abandoned battlefield signified Victory sitting upon a 'Multitude of Trophies and Arms, and Spoils of Enemies of all Sorts'.¹³³ Soldani's early medal of Carlo V di Lorena, the Austrian field marshal who relieved Vienna from the Turks in 1683 (1686), is clearly another source. This reverse depicts a Roman soldier attacking Turkey, personified by a turbaned female, in between whom lies the defenceless female figure of Christianity. Several elements in Soldani's triangular design find echoes in the present composition, namely the act of arresting, outstretching of limbs, accoutrements of battle, wheel of fortune and strong tension of diagonals, yet the effect is entirely Selvi's.¹³⁴



11 – Antonio Selvi (c.1679-1753), detail of RICHARD MOLESWORTH, reverse

Like *Moccoli's* menacing landscape, the jagged outcrops framing Selvi's protagonists on either side present a portent of dashed hopes, while in the distance a cluster of buildings – like the monastery of Vallombrosa – perches precariously on a high cliff top, perilously close to the edge (Plates 10, 11). Ultimately, Fortitude's destiny depends on the whims of Fortuna. The predicament is reminiscent of *The Judgement of Hercules* that de Mattheis executed for Shaftesbury in around 1712 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). This depicts Hercules at the moment of decision, but from the rigorous upward path positioned centrally across his line of sight towards Virtue herself, it is abundantly clear where his destiny will lie.¹³⁵ In the festival of Moccoli, as the revelries reached their frenzied climax, all was suddenly stilled by the peals of church bells summoning the faithful to prayer, so bringing the carnival to a virtuous conclusion.¹³⁶ Likewise, in defiance of the forebodings about her, Selvi's Fortitude stays the hand of Fate, while the latter yet stands on the crest of her wheel, the acme of her luck. Selvi's overlying inscription, *Per Ardua*, if it were needed, confirms Richard's good fortune as not so much the happy consequence of an indifferent fate, but the just reward reaped by virtuous courage and high endeavour.¹³⁷

NOBLESSE OBLIGE

The eighteenth-century Whig saw no difficulty in perceiving himself as the legitimate heir to the republican virtues of ancient Rome.¹³⁸ For him, there were obvious parallels between a sitter depicted in the classical medium of the medal and the ideals of duty, justice and liberty that such imagery evoked. These were embraced in the concept of patriotism, a virtue specifically associated since the Renaissance with the Romans, who were believed to have preserved patriotism in its highest state by instructing their children from their earliest moments. Robert Molesworth, who took *Vincit Amor Patriae* as his motto, advocated just such a training for the sons of his own time as the means for safeguarding the nation's liberty, so recently enshrined in law.¹³⁹ The patriot was to be symbolised by a Roman warrior with a precipice nearby, for 'a public-spirited Man apprehends no Danger for the love of his Country'.¹⁴⁰ Steele admired the enthusiasm with which Richard learned of the story of Codrus, the Athenian king who instigated his own death rather than allow the Dorians to prevail over his country.¹⁴¹ Patriotism was openly applauded by Shaftesbury, who eagerly welcomed the news from John of his brothers' exploits in 1712: 'What you communicate from Spain of both your brothers' safety after the hazard of that glorious action of Cardona, is a sincere joy to me,'¹⁴² Indeed, if patriotism, as inherited from antiquity, was to be defined in terms of the virtues entailed, it would have followed for Commonwealthmen like the Molesworths that a love of one's country

constituted the nation's primary bulwark against the tyranny of arbitrary power.¹⁴³ An allegory of patriotism thus serves as Selvi's overall template, a line of reasoning that can be read from his momentous landscape, in which Ripa's 'vigorous young Warrior ... being just upon the brink of a Precipice ... marches courageously over Spears, and tramples upon naked Swords'.¹⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

There is no question, then, that in his iconography, Selvi was following specific direction from the Molesworths. Selvi's obliging manner towards his patrons is implicit from one of Soldani's letters to Zamboni, whose taste Selvi wished to know in order to satisfy him.¹⁴⁵ Considering John's later interventions in his commission to Redi, he is likely to have involved himself keenly in Selvi's creative process. The ends are achieved not just through thematic content, however. In applying a Wölfflinian analysis, it becomes evident that Selvi consciously sought to highlight the brothers' duality by means of formal concepts, in one employing a classical restraint, in the other a more overtly baroque dynamism. Hence, the overall schema of the John reverse is characterised by stability and balance, its arrangement of figures essentially harmonious, symmetrical and ordered frontally along firm horizontals and verticals parallel to the picture plane. Compositionally, it is self-contained, referring only to the scene presented within the limits of the rim and single plane of the medal's surface. Within this visual calm, admittedly, the ensemble is enlivened by a connective swaying rhythm – Johnson calls this quality *danzante*¹⁴⁶ – suggestive of some continuous activity, such as a ceremonial rite or conversation. The contrast with the rushing, diagonally accentuated figures of the Richard reverse, on the other hand, could not be more striking. Bellona's body, unleashed at maximum extension, is answered by Fortuna's writhing *figura serpentina*, their violence dissipated by their spiralling, flaring draperies. The scene is played out against a recessionary landscape, in which distortions of foreshortening and perspective heighten the pitch. The events that have just taken place and are about to occur imply activity beyond the frame's boundaries of time and space, as a prerequisite for comprehending its totality. Paradoxically, this allusion to both past and present imbues the scene with a transient quality, like a moment suspended in timeless motion.

It is this complementarity that informs the concatenation between Selvi's medals and Mary's *Moccoli*. As her brothers' interlocutress, Mary reconciles the *vita activa* with the *vita contemplativa*, the classical world with the contemporary, the world of virtue with that of worldliness itself, all dualities prefigured in Closterman's earlier Shaftesbury portraits.¹⁴⁷ In his portrait of the earl standing next to the books that meant most to him, Closterman placed those of Xenophon higher

in the canvas than those of Plato. Xenophon, an Athenian general, had emphasised both the practical and moral teachings of Socrates, whereas Plato had dwelt only on their metaphysical aspects, a factor that has led Felix Paknadel to read the relative positioning of their works as intimating Shaftesbury's preference for a man of action as well as philosophy.¹⁴⁸ To Shaftesbury, who had been an active Whig, despite the threat this posed to his health, it was all a matter of balance. For the whole man, stoicism needed to be countered by sensibility, effected through social interaction as well as self-refinement, combining the outer self with the inner, the public domain with the private, the masculine virtues with the graceful arts.¹⁴⁹ Selvi's Richard is thus both the antithesis to his John as well as its companion. In recalling Ripa's 'Learning, [which] join'd with Arms, makes a Man famous, and for ever renown'd',¹⁵⁰ Selvi allegorises the Molesworth brothers as the resolution of the Arts of War with the Arts of Peace, wherein the war-weary Richard may dwell in John's pleasing companionship and love of arts.

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ENDNOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

<i>HMC, Var Coll</i> , VIII	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections</i> , VIII (London 1913)
<i>IADS</i>	<i>Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies (The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society)</i>
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
<i>Oxford DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 60 vols (Oxford 2004)

Unless stated otherwise, all years are deemed to begin on 1 January, irrespective of Old Style or New Style

- ¹ This article derives from my research carried out to date for a thesis at the Department of the History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin.
- ² NLI, Clements Papers (Molesworth Correspondence), N4081, W. Molesworth to J. Molesworth, 9 November 1721.
- ³ John and Richard succeeded as 2nd and 3rd viscounts respectively. For John, see *Oxford DNB*, XXXVIII, 532 (as postscript to his father). For Richard, see *Oxford DNB*, XXXVIII, 529-30; E. Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800*, 6 vols (Belfast 2002) V, 258-59.
- ⁴ The Molesworth family correspondence forms part of the Clements Papers at the NLI (microfilm, N4081 and 4082), partially transcribed in *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 214-417. For ease of reference, the latter is cited where transcriptions are given. At the time of writing, the NLI is attempting to acquire a quantity of the original letters from a private dealer.
- ⁵ See for example, *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 282, R. Molesworth to J. Molesworth, 15 November 1719; 308, same to same, 4 May 1721.
- ⁶ For a biographical summary of Selvi, see the entry by J. Pollard in J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Grove*, 34 vols (London 1996) XXVIII, 393. A comprehensive chronology of oeuvre is given in F. Vannel and G. Toderi, *La medaglia barocca in Toscana* (Florence 1987), nos 122-354. Most of what is known beyond the standard biographies is contained in C. Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', *The Medal*, no. 26, 1995, 26-41. Representative collections are held at Brescia (Civico Museo Bresciano), Florence (Bargello) and London (British Museum). A projected monograph by Charles Avery on Soldani and his workshop is eagerly awaited.
- ⁷ See B. Ballico, 'Rapporti tra Massimiliano Soldani e Antonio Selvi', *Medaglia*, no. 19, December 1984, 47. An unsigned specimen of Selvi's John Molesworth was ascribed to Soldani by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2002.
- ⁸ The worst of these are thought to be by his colleague Bartolomeo Giovanni Vaggelli, see K. Lankheit and J. Montagu, 'Sculpture: Introduction' in S. Rossen (ed.), *The Twilight of the Medici* (Florence and Detroit 1974) 31.
- ⁹ F. Gabburri, 'Vite di pittori e scultori', unpublished, 1730-40, as cited in F. Vannel and G. Toderi, *Ritratti Medicei in cera* (Florence 1993) 8, in which Selvi's wax models were first published.
- ¹⁰ V. Johnson, 'La medaglia barocca in Toscana: aggiunte e pezzi anonimi' in *Dieci anni di studi di medagliistica 1968-78* (Milan 1977; reprint 1979) 182. This is despite Gabburri's insistence

- that Selvi was a Florentine, see Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', 27, 31. See also Bartolomeo Vaggelli's medal of him, inscribed 'Anntoni [sic] Selvi Florentinus', Vannel and Toderi, *La medaglia barocca*, no. 361.
- ¹¹ See, for example, the on-line *The Grove Dictionary of Art* (www.artnet.com). For Selvi's Vallisneri, see G. Cantelli, *Una raccolta fiorentina di medaglie tra 600 e 700* (Florence 1979) 153, no. 72R.
- ¹² F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (New Haven and London 1980) 235-39.
- ¹³ C. Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals in the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto 1988) 79.
- ¹⁴ K. Lankheit, 'Florence Under the Late Medici' in Rossen (ed.) *Twilight of the Medici*, 23.
- ¹⁵ K. Lankheit and J. Montagu, 'Introduction', and K. Lankheit, 'Four Seasons' in Rossen (ed.) *Twilight of the Medici*, 31, 124. Salvini's letters to John are in *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 321, 372, 396.
- ¹⁶ Other Florentine artists and intellectuals who sat to Selvi in these years include the poet Vincenzo dell' Ambra (1712), the anatomist Tommaso Puccini (1713), the painter Onorio Marinari (1713), and the eccentric court librarian Antonio Magliabecchi (c.1714). The latter's medal is attributed to Selvi by Charles Avery, see Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals*, 113.
- ¹⁷ Johnson, 'La medaglia barocca in Toscana', 182.
- ¹⁸ See Avery, 'Lord Burlington and the Florentine Baroque Bronze Sculptor Soldani', in E. Corp (ed.), *Lord Burlington – the Man and his Politics. Questions of Loyalty, Studies in British History*, 48 (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter 1998), 35-38, from which Soldani's grasping nature emerges. For the Duke of Kent's commissions, see T. Friedman, 'Lord Harrold in Italy 1715-16: Four Frustrated Commissions to Leoni, Juvarra, Chiari and Soldani', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXX, no. 1028, November 1988, 843-45.
- ¹⁹ Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', 27, 32.
- ²⁰ T. Barnard, 'From Imperial Schatzkammer to the Giant's Causeway: collecting in eighteenth-century Ireland', *IADS*, VI, 2003, 144-45, 153.
- ²¹ See J. Hunter, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby* (London 1830) 250, and J. Hunter, *Letters of Eminent Men, addressed to Ralph Thoresby* (London 1832) 443-45.
- ²² NLI, PC 227, unsorted Howard of Shelton MSS, R. Howard to H. Howard, 15 July [probably 1707]. I am grateful to Dr Edward McParland for this information. Thoresby's description of Fountaine's 'admirable curiosities and antiquities from Ireland' is in Hunter, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, 28-29.
- ²³ A. Crookshank and D. FitzGerald, Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters 1600-1940* (New Haven and London 2002) 28.
- ²⁴ This was through Sir Richard Southwell, who had married Anne Nevill, a first cousin once removed of Robert Molesworth. A sister of Anne married Thomas Pooley, father of the painter, see J. Fenlon, "'Old Pooley the Painter": the Life and Career of a Seventeenth-Century Painter in Dublin', *IADS*, VII, 2004, 13-14.
- ²⁵ Charles Avery is convinced that these are a duplicate set of uniface medals of the Twelve Caesars after the antique that has recently come to his notice, see C. Avery, 'Soldani's Mythological Bronzes and his British Clientele', *Sculpture Journal*, XIV, 2005.
- ²⁶ Crookshank and Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 27.
- ²⁷ K. Pomian (trans E. Wiles-Porter), *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500-1800* (Cambridge 1990) 125-28.
- ²⁸ Vannel and Toderi, *La medaglia barocca*, nos 56, 55, 61, 143, 144-46, 207. The posthumous Hutcheson medal was commissioned by his pupil, Basil Hamilton.

- ²⁹ See the cumbersome modelling in the reverses of his Francesco del Teglia (1729), Francesco Gaetano Incontri (1741), Frances Hutcheson (1746), Gaetano Antinori (1752), and Carlo Goldoni (1753), reproduced in Vannel and Toderi, *La medaglia barocca*, nos 187, 199, 207, 224, 228.
- ³⁰ See J. Pollard, 'England and the Italian Medal', in E. Chaney and P. Mack (eds), *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp* (Woodbridge 1990) 191-201.
- ³¹ *Oxford DNB*, XXXVIII, 530, and *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 349, R. Molesworth to J. Molesworth, 20 October 1722. Hugh Mayo also notes Robert's familiarity with other regions of Italy and the Italian language, see H. Mayo, 'Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark – its Roots and Impact', unpublished PhD thesis, Syddansk Universitet 2000, 137-38.
- ³² R. Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 169* (London 1694) preface, iv. Like many Protestants, Robert's chief fear was that impressionable young minds, swayed by the luxury of foreign courts, might convert to Catholicism, see *ibid.*, preface, viii.
- ³³ *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 221, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 24 May 1700; 228, J. Molesworth to R. Molesworth, 13 May [1703?].
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, 228, Comte Lorenzi to J. Molesworth, 8 June 1703; 237, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 11 June 1707. Note especially the letter from Lorenzi, the French minister at Florence, regretting they had missed one another and referring to their mutual Florentine friends.
- ³⁵ John had inherited this role from his predecessor, Henry Newton, see C. Avery, 'The Duke of Marlborough as a Collector and Patron of Sculpture', in E. Chaney (ed.), *The Evolution of English Collecting* (New Haven and London 2003) 444-45, and Avery, 'Soldani's Mythological Bronzes' (forthcoming).
- ³⁶ See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 63 vols to date (Rome 1960-) LI (1998), 467; I. Toesca, 'Alessandro Galilei in Inghilterra' in M. Praz (ed.), *English Miscellany. A Symposium of History, Literature and the Arts*, 3 (Rome 1952) 189-220, and E. Kieven, 'Galilei in England', *Country Life*, 153, 25 January 1973. For the New Junta, see E. McParland, 'Sir Thomas Hewett and the New Junta for Architecture', in G. Worsley (ed.), *The Role of the Amateur Architect* (London 1993) 21-26, and E. McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for Architecture' in T. Barnard and J. Clark (eds), *Lord Burlington. Architecture, Art and Life* (London and Rio Grande 1995) 151-65.
- ³⁷ Pearce's mother, Frances Lovett, was the sister-in-law of Thomas Coote, John's maternal uncle. For this and Pearce's Italian tour, see E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680-1760* (New Haven and London 2001) 179, 182-84.
- ³⁸ Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Galilei, Filza V, no. 1, Fogli Inglesi, Carteggio di A. Galilei, no. 37, J. Molesworth to A. Galilei, 4 June 1721. Galilei probably already had a good knowledge of medals as a cicerone, see E. Kieven, 'The Gascoigne Monument by Alessandro Galilei', *Leeds Art Calendar*, no. 77 (Leeds 1975) 13.
- ³⁹ John's letters to Galilei are at Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Galilei, Filza V, no. 1, Fogli Inglesi, Carteggio di A. Galilei. Several of Galilei's replies are in *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII.
- ⁴⁰ See B. Sani, *Rosalba Carriera: lettere, diari, frammenti* (Florence 1985) 211-12. These portraits descended in a collateral branch of the Molesworth family until recent times, see S. Drumm, 'The Irish Patrons of Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757)', *IADS*, VI, 2003, 217-18, no. 7a, 7b; 220, no. 8.
- ⁴¹ *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 373-74, F. Gabburri to J. Molesworth, 21 July 1724.
- ⁴² *ibid.*, 325, [C.C. Sazienza] to [J. Molesworth], 16 October 1721. G. Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere*

- sulla pittura scultura ed architettura*, 6 vols (Rome, 1754-68) II, 127-28, n.2. John's cultural activities in Italy are summarised by Edward McParland in John Ingamells, *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* (New Haven and London 1997) 666. See also M. Wynne, 'Some British Diplomats, Some Grand Tourists and Some Students from Great Britain and Ireland in Turin in the Eighteenth Century', *Studi Piemontesi*, XXV, fasc. 1, March 1996, 147-48.
- ⁴³ Richard's birth is generally put at 1680 without citation of source. However, a family history, now in the possession of Mrs Ann Molesworth, by his brother Coote, entitled 'Pedigree of the Family de Molesworth ... 1765', f.10, states this as 'Ap.l 4. O.S. 15.th N.S. 1681'. For Richard's own account of saving Marlborough's life, see J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 4 vols (London 1754) III, 213-15.
- ⁴⁴ Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, Inventario Sommario, Carteggio dl Sig.r Sen.re Montemagni col Sig.r Molesworth, Inviato d' Inghilterra, f.4238, T. Dereham to the Medici court, 20 June 1712. Also NLI, Clements Papers (Molesworth Correspondence), N4081, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 8 May 1712: 'I believe Dick & Watty are now at Florence with their brother'. Richard's fifth son, Walter, was a captain of foot in Spain. There is no entry for Richard in Ingamells, *Dictionary*.
- ⁴⁵ *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 260, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 8 November 1712.
- ⁴⁶ C. Blackett-Ord, 'Letters from William Kent to Burrell Massingberd from the continent, 1712-1719', *The Walpole Society*, LXIII, 2001, 84-85, W. Kent to B. Massingberd, 3 December 1713 and 26 January 1714. Mr Pye has been wrongly assumed to be Byse Molesworth (1700-79), the youngest brother, see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 665-66. According to Coote Molesworth's 'Pedigree of the Family de Molesworth, f.16, Byse was attending Westminster School at around this time, and is probably the Molesworth listed in the Under School for 1715 and 1716, see G. Russell Barker and A. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, 2 vols (London, 1928) II, 651.
- ⁴⁷ A. Luce and T. Jessop, *Works of George Berkeley*, 9 vols (London 1948-57) VIII, Letters, 84-85, G. Berkeley to J. Perceval, 13 July 1714. Berkeley would have concurred with the Molesworths in matters architectural, see E. McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for Architecture', 157-58. His doctrine of passive obedience, however, placed him diametrically opposed to Robert Molesworth, see Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, preface, xxviii-xxx.
- ⁴⁸ British Library, Egmont Papers, ff.55, P. Perceval to Lord Perceval, 20 April 1716. The singer was Scarpetini, who married a sister of Galilei's wife, Letitia Martin, see L. Lindgren, 'Musicians and Librettists in the Correspondence of Gio. Giacomo Zamboni (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson Letters, 116-138)', *Research Chronicle*, 24, 1991, 28, no.35a. The Martin girls were possibly the sisters of an Irish artist, Charles Martin, see A. Laing (ed.), *Clerics and Connoisseurs: The Rev. Matthew Pilkington, the Cobbe Family and the Fortunes of an Irish Art Collection through Three Centuries* (London 2001) 93.
- ⁴⁹ See B. Taylor-Fitzsimon 'Writing, Women, Honour and Ireland', unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 1999, 738-43, and B. Taylor-Fitzsimon, 'New Light on Mary Monck', paper given at 10th International Congress on the Enlightenment, University College Dublin, 1999, whose information may be regarded as superseding that in *Oxford DNB*, XXXVIII, 592-93. Monck was also spelt Monk.
- ⁵⁰ Mary was eight at the time of her father's *Genealogia Antiquæ Familiae de Molesworth*, which

- is dated September 1688: ‘*filia secunda genita aetat 8 annor. Ao 1688*’ (Molesworth Trust, roll on vellum; transcript at Cambridge, University Library, Ba.2.72(33), published in *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, New Series (London 1870) II, 280-83. As John was baptised on 4 December 1679 (Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, III, 212), and Richard was born in April 1681 (endnote 43). This would just accommodate her birth for the summer of 1680. Philipstown was part of the Molesworth estate.
- ⁵¹ I. Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Comet of the Enlightenment* (Oxford 1999) 24, 28.
- ⁵² A memorial at St Peter’s Church, Edlington, where she is buried, states she died 17 February 1715, see J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (London 1828) I, 95. Betsey Taylor-Fitzsimon has identified the only reference to Mary’s terminal decline, when she was being tended by the royal physician, Dr Wellwood, in Chelsea in late 1714 or early 1715, see B. Taylor-Fitzsimon, ‘New Light on Mary Monck’, 7. The tradition that Mary died in Bath is dependent upon the increasingly untenable attribution to her of Thou who dost all my earthly thoughts employ, first published in *Poems by Eminent Ladies* (London 1755), see M. Steggle, ‘The Text and Attribution of “Thou who dost all my Earthly Thoughts Employ”’: a new Mouldsworth poem?’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 6.3, January 2001, 3.1-8, <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/06-3/stegmoul.htm>.
- ⁵³ J. Toland (ed.), *Letters from the Right Honourable the Late Earl of Shaftesbury, to Robert Molesworth...* (London 1721) 26, Letter VIII, Shaftesbury to R. Molesworth, 12 January 1709.
- ⁵⁴ *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 366, W. Wishart to R. Molesworth, 7 November 1723. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., 24 vols (Edinburgh 1875-89) XXI, 732.
- ⁵⁵ Toland (ed.), *Letters from ... Shaftesbury, to ... Molesworth...*, *passim*. Many of these intimate letters concern Shaftesbury’s procrastinations over a choice of wife. His widow was still living at the time of Toland’s publication, which was for a long time widely condemned. Also see J. Yolton, J. Price, J. Stephens (eds) *The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century British Philosophers*, 2 vols (Bristol 1999) II, 453, and R. Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (Baton Rouge and London 1984) 285-86, 296-98.
- ⁵⁶ E. McParland, ‘Sir Thomas Hewett and the New Junta for Architecture’, 24-25. For a summary of Shaftesbury’s views on architecture, see E. Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour, Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London and Portland 1998) 314-21.
- ⁵⁷ F. O’ Kane, *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Mixing Foreign Trees with the Natives* (Cork 2004) 38-39. The letter in question is largely transcribed in *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 328-29, J. Molesworth to R. Molesworth, 10 December 1721.
- ⁵⁸ See C. Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstances of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass 1959) 128. See also Voitle, *Third Earl of Shaftesbury*, 384.
- ⁵⁹ Shaftesbury’s visit to John is described by both John’s chaplain, Francis Lockier, see *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 254, F. Lockier to M. Monck, 16 October 1711, and by his secretary, John Eckersall, see London, British Library, Add MS 28,916, Ellis Papers, Foreign Correspondence, xxi, ff. 263, J. Eckersall to J. Ellis, 27 October 1711.
- ⁶⁰ NLI, Clements Papers (Molesworth Correspondence), N4082, J. Lockier to M. Monk, 16 October 1711; N4081, Lady Shaftesbury to J. Molesworth, 18 March 1718.
- ⁶¹ B. Rand, *The Life ... of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London and New York 1900) 461, Shaftesbury to J. Molesworth, 19 January 1712.
- ⁶² *ibid.*, 455, Shaftesbury to T. Micklethwayte, 29 December 1711; S. O’ Connell, ‘Lord

- Shaftesbury in Naples, 1711-1713', *The Walpole Society*, LIV, 1988, 164, Shaftesbury to T. Micklethwayte, 5 April 1712.
- ⁶³ The project got no further than a few preparatory sketches before Shaftesbury's death in February 1713, see J. Sweetman, 'Shaftesbury's Last Commission', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIX, 1956, 110-16.
- ⁶⁴ See the entry on De Mattheis by Oreste Ferrari in Turner (ed.) *Dictionary of Art*. XX, 841-43. Given his attraction to philosophical matters, De Mattheis' collaboration with Shaftesbury is likely to have been mutually fulfilling, see O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples', 151. For Trench, see N. Figgis, 'Henry Trench (c.1685-1726) Painter and Illustrator', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 10, 1994 (Dublin 1993) 217-18, and Crookshank and Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 28. For Trench's employment by Shaftesbury and illustrations of *Characteristicks*, see F. Paknadel, 'Shaftesbury's Illustrations of *Characteristicks*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVII, 1974, 290-312, and O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples', 149-219.
- ⁶⁵ John's letters to Gabburri were published in 1757, see Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere*, II, 127-33, J. Molesworth to F. Gabburri, 21 June, 18 October and 22 November 1724. Gabburri's reply to the first of these is in *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 373-74, F. Gabburri to J. Molesworth, 21 July 1724. This correspondence affords a fascinating glimpse into contemporary ideas about disegno, composition and taste, which I intend to examine in my thesis.
- ⁶⁶ See D. Mannings, *Shaftesbury, Reynolds and the Recovery of Portrait-Painting in Eighteenth-Century England*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48, no. 3 (Munich 1985) 323.
- ⁶⁷ The catalogue to Shaftesbury's library, established around 1709, lists more than thirty titles on numismatics, see Paknadel, 'Shaftesbury's Illustrations of *Characteristicks*', 295. Shaftesbury's account book for 1711-12 is calendared in O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples', 181-87.
- ⁶⁸ B. Rand, *The life ... of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London and New York 1900) 494, Shaftesbury to P. Coste, 5 June 1712.
- ⁶⁹ Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (London, 2nd ed. 1714; reprint 1968) 404. David Solkin has argued that Closterman, in turn, had depended on the sculptural quality to the silvers and golds of Van Dyck's *Lord John Stuart and his Brother, Lord Bernard Stuart* (National Gallery, London, 6518), see D. Solkin, *Painting for Money* (New Haven and London 1992) 9-10.
- ⁷⁰ See P. Barber, *Diplomacy, The World of the Honest Spy* (London 1979) 125-26. This catalogue provides an informative history of medals, medallions and miniatures within the arena of international diplomacy.
- ⁷¹ See *Oxford DNB*, XXXX, 704-05. Newton took his leave from the Tuscan Court on 11/12 March 1711, and was formally succeeded by John on 20 March, see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 706.
- ⁷² John was originally appointed to both Florence and Genoa in 1710, but the latter posting was revoked early the following year, see D. Horn (ed.) *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789*, Camden Third Series, 46 (London 1932) 74.
- ⁷³ Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 705-06.
- ⁷⁴ British Library, Ellis Papers, Foreign Correspondence, XXI, Add MS 28,916, f.278, J. Eckersall to J. Ellis, 22 March 1712. Official records of John's liaison with the Medici court on Protestant interest at Leghorn are in Florence: Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, Carteggio dl Sig.r Sen.re Montemagni col Sig.r Molesworth, Inviato

- d'Inghilterra, f.4238.
- ⁷⁵ D. Bond (ed.), *The Tatler*, 3 vols (Oxford 1987) III, 25, essay 189, 24 June 1710 and J. Addison, *The Guardian*, no. 162, 16 September 1713. Also R. Allen, *Steele and the Molesworth family*, *Review of English Studies*, 12 (London 1936) 450.
- ⁷⁶ C. De Sainte-Maure, *A New Journey through Greece, Italy* (London 1725) 137.
- ⁷⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 66 vols (London 1885-1901) XIV, 370.
- ⁷⁸ Bond (ed.), *Tatler*, III, 25, essay 189, 24 June 1710.
- ⁷⁹ Strictly speaking, this was an abstraction from the sitter's temporal likeness, one which Richard Brilliant in his discussion of the fabrication of the persona has described as a 'displacement', since it entailed a removal from the primary subject, see R. Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London 1991) 104.
- ⁸⁰ See J. Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: 'The Body of the Public'* (New Haven and London 1986) 29, and D. Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians: Eighteenth-Century Portraiture & Society* (London 1990) 35.
- ⁸¹ Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, 258-62. Also see Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, 99-100.
- ⁸² Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians*, 33-35. Also J. Hall, *A History of Ideas and Images in Italian Art* (London 1995) 335-38, 'The Decay of Allegory'.
- ⁸³ See O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples', 153. Also Barrell, *Political Theory of Painting*, 30-32. Trench may be indirectly linked to the Molesworths through his later friendship with Pearce, with whom he was in Rome in 1723, and his services in 1735 for Thomas Hewett, an erstwhile member of the New Junta, see E. McParland, *Public Architecture*, 12, 183.
- ⁸⁴ Johnson, 'La medaglia barocca in Toscana', 171.
- ⁸⁵ British Library, Blenheim Papers, LIII, Add MS 61,153, ff.204-205, J. Molesworth to Marlborough, 29 March 1711. The commission was among the several terminated by the Marlboroughs; its fate is charted in Avery 'The Duke of Marlborough as a Collector', 438-43.
- ⁸⁶ M. Rogers, 'John and John Baptist Closterman: A Catalogue of their Works', *The Walpole Society*, XLIX (1983) 240, no. 5, 259; no. 87 & pls 57-58.
- ⁸⁷ See J. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (Cambridge 1985) 114, and J. Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (London 1992) 63.
- ⁸⁸ C. Avery, 'Medals and Bronzes for Milords', *The Medal*, 24, 1994, 17.
- ⁸⁹ Bond, *Tatler*, III, 25, essay 189, 24 June 1710.
- ⁹⁰ C. Ripa, *Iconologia: or, Moral Emblems* (Padua 1611; rep New York and London 1976) 207. It is also worth remarking on the vague resemblance between the pose of Abundance and that of Baratta's Glory. Unfortunately, Baratta's Valour is lost. For the Baratta commission, see Avery, 'Duke of Marlborough as a Collector', 439.
- ⁹¹ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London 1974; rev. 1979) 55, 'Caduceus'; also Barber, *Diplomacy*, 37.
- ⁹² See also L. Börner, *Bestandskataloge des Münzkabinetts Berlin* (Berlin 1997) 317, who believes Commerce is wearing a purse, an attribute of Mercury in his commercial guise, however this is not legible to the writer.
- ⁹³ E. Maser (ed.), *Cesare Ripa. Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery* (New York 1971) 145.
- ⁹⁴ See endnote 74.
- ⁹⁵ Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, I, 64, as cited in Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, 113.

- ⁹⁶ For a discussion on the morality of commerce and its associations with culture, sociability, refinement and taste, see the introduction and first chapter to Solkin, *Painting for Money*. As Solkin notes in a later chapter, it was Francis Hutcheson who first formulated a coherent moral defence of commerce and luxury (82-84). A useful summary of contemporary notions of politeness is given in J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London 1997) 99-103.
- ⁹⁷ The Graces very occasionally numbered four in Italian art. For instance, one of Botticelli's frescoes for the Villa Tornabuoni depicts a lady receiving four young maidens, usually taken to be the Graces, see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton 1966) 216-17.
- ⁹⁸ Seneca, *Of Benefits*, 7 books (trans. London 1899) I, 3, 'The three Graces moralised'.
- ⁹⁹ See Mayo, 'Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark', 424-25, which cites Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, preface, xxxvii; also Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 314-16.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ripa, *Iconologia*, 40, fig. 158, 'Tuscany'.
- ¹⁰¹ E. Hawkins et al. (eds) *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (London 1885-1909; reprint London 1978) II, 739; L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, 8 vols (London 1904; reprint 1980) V, 472. Franco Rosati even suggests Selvi's style evinces English traits, see F. Rosati, *Italianische Medaillen und Plaketten* (Köln 1966) 89.
- ¹⁰² Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', 32. A medal of William and Mary, improbably attributed to Selvi by Hawkins (see previous endnote), may be dismissed as evidence for his stay in England on chronological grounds, see Vannel and Toderi, *La medaglia barocca*, 183.
- ¹⁰³ Richard's regiment was originally raised in Ireland in 1703, when it had been under Col Richard George's command. From the latter it passed to Col Thomas Moor, whom Richard succeeded on 11 July 1710, see C. Dalton (ed.), *English army lists and commission registers, 1661-1714*, 6 vols (London 1892-1904) V, 244; VI, 153.
- ¹⁰⁴ *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 253-54, Francis Lockier to Mary Monck, 7 October 1711. This is a transcription by Lockier of the quartermaster's report, which survives as a copy in Robert Molesworth's hand.
- ¹⁰⁵ Some 25km due west of Manresa in north-east Spain.
- ¹⁰⁶ NLI, Clements Papers (Molesworth Correspondence), N4082, Francis Lockier to Mary Monck, 7 October 1711. The transcription in HMC (see endnote 104) is substantially the same, save punctuation.
- ¹⁰⁷ I am grateful to Comandante Julián Rivas Salgado of the Spanish Royal Navy (retired) for verifying this information.
- ¹⁰⁸ See endnote 104.
- ¹⁰⁹ Lockier's ecclesiastical career has tended to obscure his distinguished literary pedigree, see *Oxford DNB*, XXXIV, 257. Taylor-Fitzsimon has plausibly proposed him as a member of Mary's literary circle in Yorkshire, see Taylor-Fitzsimon, 'Writing, Women, Honour and Ireland', 729.
- ¹¹⁰ The connection between Lockier's letter and Mary's Moccoci was first made by Betsy Taylor-Fitzsimon, see Taylor-Fitzsimon, 'Writing, Women, Honour and Ireland', 732.
- ¹¹¹ John was an admirer of Bibienas' stage designs and the opera-singer, Faustina, see Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Galilei, Filza V, no. 1, Fogli Inglesi, Carteggio di A. Galilei, J. Molesworth to A. Galilei, 4 June 1721 and Bysse Molesworth to A. Galilei, 4 August 1723.
- ¹¹² Toland (ed.), *Letters from ... Shaftesbury, to ... Molesworth...*, introduction, xiii.

- ¹¹³ C. Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (London and New York (1846) 1908) 366-73. My thanks to Betsey Taylor-Fitzsimon for bringing this description of the festival to my attention. For a discussion of the moral ambivalence inherent in the carnivalesque, see Solkin, *Painting for Money*, 120. Intriguingly, John's former mistress, Camilla Constanza Sazienza, wistfully recalled the carnivals of Florence in one of her love letters to John, see *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 383, [C.C. Sazienza] to J. Molesworth, 16 February 1725.
- ¹¹⁴ See for example *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 248, 249, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 6 November, 14 November 1710.
- ¹¹⁵ NLI, Clements Papers (Molesworth Correspondence), N4081, J. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 9 July 1711.
- ¹¹⁶ B. Rand, *The life ... of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London and New York 1900) 521, Shaftesbury to J. Molesworth, 25 October 1712. However, Shaftesbury possibly advised John to curb his living expenses at his father's behest, see Voitle, *Third Earl of Shaftesbury*, 401.
- ¹¹⁷ Robert Molesworth's dedication (unpaginated) in *Marinda, Poems and Translations upon Several Occasions* (London 1716). Her separation is discussed in Taylor-Fitzsimon, 'Writing, Women, Honour and Ireland', 738-43.
- ¹¹⁸ For the complete textual treatment of *Moccoli*, see Taylor-Fitzsimon, 'Writing, Women, Honour and Ireland', 569-92. Mary was obviously an admirer of Milton's *Lycidas*.
- ¹¹⁹ In this she follows her father's precedent, who held up Denmark's absolutism as a warning that England should be ever vigilant in safeguarding her liberties, see Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, preface, xxxvii-xxxviii.
- ¹²⁰ These were the ancient Roman, Tullia, the biblical Delilah, and Armida from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1574).
- ¹²¹ Vallombrosa had featured in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (Ferrara 1532), and was supposed to have been visited by Milton. Its dubious reputation for Protestants in the eighteenth century was due to Gabril d'Emiliane, *The Frauds of Romish Monks and Priests* (London 1691), see Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, 280-84.
- ¹²² Horace, *Odes*, Book Three, fourth ode, lines 37-40. This is translated by Henry Rider, *All the Odes and Epodes of Horace...* (London 1638), as: 'You recreate in your Pierian grove / The Mightie Caesar [Molesworth], lab'ring to remove / His troubles, when he in his garrisons / Has lodged up his war-spent legions.'
- ¹²³ A Roman legion, normally 4,500 men, was commanded by six tribunes, roughly equivalent to the battalions under their colonels that make up a brigade, see R. Holmes (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Military History* (Oxford 2001) 780.
- ¹²⁴ The type of helmet clearly derives from Soldani, such as the Mars from the *Winter* of his *Four Seasons* of the previous year, see Avery, 'Medals and Bronzes for Milords', 18. Avery suggests an earlier prototype helmet came from Gioacchino Travani's medal of Queen Christina of Sweden (1665), see Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals*, 77. Avery also notes the correspondence with Soldani's statuettes of Minerva, see C. Avery, *Soldani's small bronze statuettes after 'Old Master' Sculptures in Florence*, *Studies in European Sculpture* (orig. pub. in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana* [Munich 1976, reprinted London, 1981]) 130-31.
- ¹²⁵ Hall, *Dictionary*, 148, 'Hercules 1'; 193, 'Lion'. Ripa has Hercules in the role of Heroic Virtue, see Ripa, *Iconologia*, 79, fig. 317.
- ¹²⁶ Avery, 'Medals and Bronzes for Milords', 17.
- ¹²⁷ M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century*

- England* (New Haven and London 1993) 65-66.
- ¹²⁸ Hall, *Dictionary*, 127, 'Fortitude'.
- ¹²⁹ See Avery, 'Medals and Bronzes for Milords', 18.
- ¹³⁰ Hall, *Dictionary*, 127-28, 'Fortune 2'
- ¹³¹ Maser (ed.) *Cesare Ripa*, 152.
- ¹³² Hall, *Dictionary*, 127, 'Fortune 1'; 229, 'Opportunity'; 73, 'Constancy'.
- ¹³³ Ripa, *Iconologia*, 51, fig. 203, 'Victory'.
- ¹³⁴ Vannel and Toderi, *La medaglia barocca*, no. 45.
- ¹³⁵ De Mattheis' *Judgement of Hercules* is treated in O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples', 149-219.
- ¹³⁶ Dickens, *American Notes*, 373. Dickens likens this, appropriately, to the extinguishing of a candle.
- ¹³⁷ This psychomachic theme, already implicit in Selvi's *John Molesworth* reverse, had also been treated in Soldani's statuette, *Virtue Triumphant over Vice after Giambologna*, see Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals*, 44. Avery believes the *Richard* reverse affords a clue to Selvi's four little battle scenes in wax relief which he was working on between 1717 and 1719, see Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', 32-34.
- ¹³⁸ Shawe-Taylor, *The Georgians*, 52.
- ¹³⁹ Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, preface, xxiv-xxv.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ripa, *Iconologia*, 5, fig. 18, 'Love of our Country'.
- ¹⁴¹ Bond, *Tatler*, III, 25, essay 189, 24 June 1710.
- ¹⁴² Shaftesbury to J. Molesworth, 29 March 1712, as cited in B. Rand, *The life ... of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London and New York 1900) 480. The other brother in Spain was Edward, Robert Molesworth's fourth son, a captain wounded at Cardona, see *HMC, Var Coll*, VIII, 257, R. Molesworth to L. Molesworth, 23 February 1712.
- ¹⁴³ See Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, 100.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ripa, *Iconologia*, 5, fig. 18, 'Love of our Country'. Selvi's warrior is a voluptuous female nude. However, this would have been admissible by Shaftesbury, as it functioned as part of the moral narrative, see Barrell, *Birth of Pandora*, 76-77. Selvi later recycled the reverse as a variant to his medal for Sir Andrew Fountaine (1715), see A. Moore, *Norfolk and the Grand Tour* (Norwich 1985) 95, no. 20. The suggestion offered by Andrew Moore that *Per Ardua* alludes to Fountaine's studious character is unconvincing, however.
- ¹⁴⁵ See Avery, 'Who was Antonio Selvi?', 33.
- ¹⁴⁶ Johnson, 'La medaglia barocca in Toscana', 182.
- ¹⁴⁷ Solkin, *Painting for Money*, 23.
- ¹⁴⁸ See Paknadel, 'Shaftesbury's Illustrations of Characteristicks', 297.
- ¹⁴⁹ The separation between balance and excess was a fine one. An excess of virtue, for instance, could lead to vice, too much abundance or commerce to greed, too much prudence to niggardliness, too much fondness for the arts to effeminacy, see Solkin, *Painting for Money*, 53-57. Although one might not have too much peace, it was only truly valued, as Robert Molesworth had warned with liberty, when one knew the want of it.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ripa, *Iconologia*, 8, fig. 32, 'A Virtuous Action'.