Liana De Girolami Cheney

Bernardino Poccetti's ceiling

134
BERNARDINO POCCKETTI’S CEILING OF
THE LOGGIA IN PALAZZO MARZICHI-LENZI: AN
ICONOLOGICAL STUDY
Liana De Girolami Cheney
SIELAE, Universidad de Coruña, Spain

Bernardino Barbatelli, known as Il Poccetti (1542–1612), was an Italian Mannerist artist, who was a prolific fresco painter, decorator, and printmaker. During his artistic career, he completed religious frescoes for Santa Maria Novella, Saint Mark, the Cloister of Santissima Annunziata, and the vault at the entrance of the Hospital of the Innocents. He also decorated numerous secular ceilings, façades, and palaces in Florence, including the ceiling with Apollo and the Muses of 1575, for Casa Zuccari (now Kunsthistorisches Institute), the sale of Palazzo Capponi Lungarno of 1583–85, the sgraffiti façade of the Palazzo of Bianca Cappello of 1580, and the grotteschi ceiling in the loggia of the Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi of 1585, the last of which is the focus of this study (Figs. 1 and 2)¹.

The purpose of this palace commission is still unknown. The iconography of these emblematic imprese is problematic in its ensemble, as is the individual identification of their literary sources; hence the interest in decoding the meaning of this ceiling. This study will examine some of the frescoed imagery in the sunken ceilings of the Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi. The ceiling consists of 15 cassettoni (wooden recessed squares) displayed in three and five horizontal and vertical rows. In each cassettone, the imagery is composed of a background filled with a variety of grotteschi decorations.

In the center, there is an emblematic *pictura*, with a Latin motto\(^2\). The geometrical shape of the pictura varies among square, circular, oval, and octagonal in each *cassettone*. The motto above the *pictura* alludes to a moral code.

**History of the Edifice: Convent or Palace**

Before analyzing some of the emblematic imprese, a summary of the history of the palace may shed light on the signification of the imagery. There are two unclear historical sources regarding the origin of the Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi in via Borgo Pinti, 27. One source claims that the edifice was built in the early 1300 as a convent or a place for Christian meditation and prayers.

At the entrance of the building, on the left side of the wall, above a reconstructed Renaissance doorway, there is a marble plaque. This relief represents a radiating sun. In the center of the image, there is a cabled circle containing the Christogram HIS, *Iesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus Savior of Men). Above the letter H, there is a small cross. Twelve flaming rays encircle the name, while in each corner of the plaque, small single flames complete the decoration (Fig. 3). This type of design with its symbolism was devised by Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444), who preached in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in 1424–25, near the edifice in via Borgo Pinti. For Bernardino, the sun symbolizes Christ, and the rays with their irradiation allude to His charity and love. The mystical signification of the number twelve represented in the flaming rays refers to the twelve apostles and the twelve gifts of the Holy Spirit, while the four flames in the corners are an allusion to the four Evangelists who spread the gospel of Christ. The knitted cable around the insignia of Christ implies the happiness of the faithful with the blessings of Christ (compare Figs. 3 and

\(^2\) See Patrizia Vezzosi, *Dalle Grottesche al Fantasy: Le grottesche nel corridoio di Levante della Galleria degli Uffizi* (Florence: Alinea, 2010).
4). This plaque suggests that a monastic order resided or took refuge in the premises.

Cloistered nuns, known as *Le Monache delle Murate* or *Le Murate* (the walled up), lived in small cells on the old Rubaconté Bridge of 1237 (Figs. 5 and 6). In 1290, numerous wooden structures were built over this ponte, including shops and tabernacles, which later became chapels. One of these chapels was named St. Maria delle Grazie. When the Rubaconté Bridge was restored, the name was changed to Ponte delle Grazie or Bridge of the Graces in reference to the religious chapel on the bridge. Hermitages were also constructed along the bridge, which became small cells for the so-called *Le Murate*, a group of community-cloistered nuns who resided there until 1320. The bridge constantly flooded, prompting *Le Murate* to relocate to a dryer area, to local edifices of private or public religious communities nearby in via Borgo Pinti and via Ghibellina. *Le Murate* resided in these communities until the Renaissance period. Perhaps the Marzichi-Lenzi palace was a temporary religious residence for these nuns, Santa Caterina and Le Murate of SS. Annunziata, who took refuge from the floods.

Another source alleges that the Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi was built in the Trecento as a mercantile house, not a monastery. Perhaps after the *Le Murate* occupied the mercantile house, the mercantile edifice became a temporary convent, returning to its original use as a mercantile edifice when

---


4 Bernardino Poccetti, because of his Christian name and living during the religious Reform in Florence, might have sympathized with San Bernardino’s exemplary life.

they left the premises. During an unknown period in the Dugento or Trecento, a Tebaldi family resided in the palace. Renovated in the Quattrocento, the edifice became a palace and the residence of the Ferrantini family when the Tebaldi family was exiled for political reasons from Florence. In 1439, during the Ecumenical Council of Florence, the Ferrantini family received the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadio II, Giorgio Scolario (1405–72), and twenty of his orthodox bishops as guests in this palace. The significance of the council in Florence is visualized by Benozzo Gozzoli’s Procession of the Magi of 1459, for the Chapel of the Medici, in their palace in via Cavour.

In the middle of the Quattrocento, the Lenzi family, a branch of the Tebaldi family who returned to Florence after their political exile in the Trecento (1293), acquired the palace from the Tebaldi family and became members of the guild of the Arte della Lana (Wool Makers). It is unclear how in the 1500s, the Neri-Ridolfi, a noble family, owned the edifice. In the ceiling loggia, a large cassettone with the Neri-Ridolfi coat of arms is still visible (Fig. 7). In the center of the emblematic impresa there is a gold background containing a rampant blue lion and a silvery transversal band.

---

6 See Archivio di Stato Fiorentino (ASF) Fondo Geramelli Papiani: Marzichi: Fascicolo 3063, which contains documents that are a collection of unpaginated loose leaflets. Doc. 11, printed in 1953, was compiled by Carlo Segrebondi. One of his leaflets reads: “Tebaldi furono esiliati da Firenze dopo la riforma del 1293” (“Tebaldi were exiled from Florence after the [political] reform of 1293”).


8 ASF Fondo Geramelli Papiani: Marzichi: Fascicolo 3063, Doc. 11, printed in 1953 by Carlo Segrebondi (cf. n. 7 above), describes the lineage of the Tebaldi, Lenzi, and Marzichi families and their connections with the Florentine guilds. The Lenzi family descends from the first branch of the Tebaldi family.

9 See ASF, Fondo Ceramelli Pappiani, Fasciolo 3384; and Raccolta Sebregondi (N. 256), Fasciolo 3800.
decorated with three stars that are three-pointed. In 1515, Filippo Neri (1515–95), known as Pippo il Buono (St. Philip of the Merry Man), was born in this palace, probably in today’s rooms marked 19 or 21. Neri moved to Rome in 1533, became a priest, and was ordained in 1551. In 1552 he was associated with the hospital and church of San Girolamo della Carità of Rome and founded an oratory, San Filippo Neri Oratory. Then, in 1564, he was asked by the curia to care for the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, keeping his connection with his Tuscan origin.

In the middle of the Cinquecento, the Marzichi family, a second branch of the Tebaldi family, which was related to the Lenzi family, the first branch of the Tebaldi family, adopted the Lenzi name to become the Marzichi-Lenzi family. They were members of the guild of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali (Doctors and Apothecaries), in particular, Francesco de Michele (1535–1616), who became an official apothecary in 1585. At this time, the

---

10 See ASF Fondo Ceramelli Papiani, Cittadino Fiorentino, Fascicolo 3384, Doc 3, loose sheet, unpaginated on the description of Neri-Ridolfi’s crest: “stemma e d’oro, al leone d’azzurro, e alle bande attraversate d’august caricate di tre stele del campo” (“their coat of arms is in gold, a blue lion, and three bands across in the manner of [Emperor] Augustus, containing three field stars. See also, Libri D’Oro della Nobiltà Toscana, Doc. 6, Firenze Nobil Tomo I, No. 68, containing a pencil drawing of the Neri-Ridolfi’s coat of arms, similar to that depicted in Poccetti’s painting in the ceiling loggia.

11 He continued his major religious reforms, founding a confraternity and Oratory of San Filippo Neri. In 1635 the Milanese Baroque architect Francesco Borromini built for the Roman congregation an Oratory for the Saint Phillip Neri in Rome.

12 See ASF, Raccolta Sebregondi, Lenzi (2742) from 1520–74, loose sheet, unpaginated, states: “Per decreto del Supremo Magistrato del 5 ottobre 1567, registrato al Libro di Leggi Nomine a 16 (or 56?) fu dichiarata la consertei de Marzichi del Quartiere di S. Spirito, Gonf.e Drago, pendere da questa medesima de’ Lenzi, che perciò se ne fa la presente nota” (“By decree of the Supreme Magistrate on October 5, 1567, registered in the Book of Law on Names at 16 (or 56), it was declared by the Lenzi to consent the Marzichi, from the parish of S. Spirito, Chief Magistrate of Drago, to acquire from them Lenzi [their name Lenzi], that for this reason it is here noted”).

13 ASF, Raccolta Sebregondi, Marzichi: Fascicolo 3406: loose sheet, unpaginated, notes also that the Marzichi-Lenzi family were members of the Ordine di S. Stefano of Malta. See also ASF, Fondo Ceramelli Papiani: Marzichi: Fascicolo 3063, loose sheets, unpaginated, Doc 7 from the Archivio della Deputazione sulla Nobiltà e Cittadinanza. Filza di GIUST. Nobili di Firenze, No. 20, Inserto 6, notes: a) the coat of arms reads, “Marzichi”; b) in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, the Marzichi family has a chapel; and c) Francesco di Michele Marzichi married Lucrezia di Girolamo Rucellai in 1563.

A question is raised to what extent Francesco Marzichi’s apothecary interests were connected with his wife’s family association to the prominent pharmacy Officina of Santa Maria Novella, located
Marzichi-Lenzi family renovated and beautified the edifice, transforming it into a patrician residence by adding ceramic floors composed of the cotto fiorentino and a sunken ceiling, *soffitto a cassettoni*¹⁴. Because of the apothecary interests of Francesco de Michele Marzichi, his marriage connection with the Rucellai family and their pharmacological interests, along with the symbolic emblematic imagery of health and good living, I suggest that he might be the patron of this ceiling decoration¹⁵.

From the late Cinquecento until the twentieth century, the information on the ownership of the palace is also unclear. In 1901 the palace was registered by the Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti as part of the national artistic patrimony¹⁶. In 1956 the family of the Ciardi Duprè purchased the palace and transformed it into a pensione, *Monna Lisa*. The well-known Sienese sculptor Giovanni Duprè (1917–82) restored and improved the palace, preserving in part some of the earlier decorations and structures. In 1966, the owner of the pension renovated it again, due to the devastating Arno flood. In 2001 the Florentine restorer Gioia Germano made further adjustments, and now the edifice is transformed into a commercial venue, Hotel Monna Lisa¹⁷.

---

¹⁴ ASF Fondo Geramelli Papiani: Marzichi: Fascicolo 3063, Doc 7 states that the Marzichi’s coat of arms is seen in their family chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine as well as in their residence in Pinti [via Borgo Pinti].

¹⁵ See n. 11 in this text.


¹⁷ Ibid.
The “cassettoni” of the loggia

In 1585, Poccetti with assistants decorated a *soffitto a cassettoni*, an ornate sunken ceiling for a room or loggia in the palace (Fig. 2). Today this ceiling is found at the entrance or loggia of the palace. However, it is questionable whether this type of ceiling decoration is a design for an entrance to a palace. Likely, this type of ceiling is seen in a studiolo, library, or receiving hall. I suggest that during the numerous restorations of the palace, the ceiling was moved from its original location (unknown today) to the entrance. Although not documented with certainty, it is suggested that Poccetti resided in the palazzo when he painted the ceiling loggia; his bottega or workshop was located near in via Ghibellina, near via Pinti, were the palace is located\(^{18}\).

Fifteen of the *cassettoni* contain an emblematic impresa, with the exception of one cassettona that has a rectangular frame and depicts a seascape scene with a black bear in the sky decorated with seven stars, referring to the constellation of Ursa Major. Below the constellation there is a large scroll with the Latin inscription *Nunquam Spectata Feffellit* (Never Regards an Escape or Never Immerses in the Ocean)\(^{19}\). In a calm sea, two sailboats are seen at the seashore—a large one with an open sail, and a small one with a closed sail.

The other *cassettoni* depict the following imagery. The listing here is according to the pictura geometrical design. In the octagons are: a terrestrial turtle, with the Latin motto *Tutta Labor Nullo* (Nothing is Produce without Labor); a white ibis or stork holding a snake in the mouth, with the Latin motto *Prodesse Bonis* (I Provide Good); a coral tree on a islet, with the Latin motto *Pulchrior in Luce* (More Beautiful in the Light); a head of the

---


\(^{19}\) The Latin motto is from Claudius Caesar Germanicus (15 bce–19 ce), *Aratea Phenomena*, 45–47, Germanicus relates the legend of the two Bears, who were the nurses of Jupiter in Crete, see heml.mta.ca. See also www.heraldrys institute.com.
Medusa crowned with living serpents, with the Latin motto placed below her severed head and reading *Malio Lumina* (Evil Eyes); and a siren holding her sea tails in the middle of a calm sea, with the Latin motto *Vitanda Est Impoba* (One Must Steer Clear of Wicked Temptress).

The *cassettoni* with a *pictura* in a circle or tondo are: a radiant sun with the face of a putto, with the Latin motto *Omnibus Idem* (The Same to All); a winged caduceus, with the Latin motto *Votis Multis* (May Vows to the Divinity of the Eyes); and a fishing rod suspended from the sky, with the Latin motto *Suo Cadit Pondere* (He Holds his Weight).

The *cassettoni* with a *pictura* in an oval shape are: a planter in the shape of a lily bulb containing several sprouting leaves, with the Latin motto *Suo Succo* (Perfumed Without Compromise); bees flying while posing on blooming flowers in an open garden, with the Latin motto *Ex Pulchri Optima Librant* (The Most Beautiful are the Best Poised); a hand that holds a rudder in the open sea, with the Latin motto *Tenet Usque* (He Constantly Holds); and a brass holder, with an oval mirror reflecting the sky with the Latin motto *Te Ipsum* (Know Thyself).

There are fewer *cassettoni* with a *pictura* in a square frame, but they include a large image of closed red lips with a ring in a center, with the Latin motto *Fideli Tuta Silentio* (Loyalty has Rewards Secured); and a suspended bellow in mid-air, with the Latin motto *Accipit Redditqu* (It Takes Maketh or It Takes Skills).

**Emblematic Imprese**

I consider Poccetti’s *cassettone* to be a visual emblematic text. Similar to a page in an emblem book, Poccetti provides a *pictura*, a Latin motto, and an epigram\(^\text{20}\). But unlike an impresa or an emblem, his epigram lacks text and contains a visual message through the *grotteschi*, a background depicted

---

for his *pictura* and motto. Thus Poccetti’s epigram (*grotteschi*) is composed of visual vignettes to clarify or obscure the meaning of the *pictura* and motto.

In the center of the ceiling loggia, a large *cassettone* with the Neri-Ridolfi coat of arms depicted in a gold background contains a rampant blue lion and a silvery transversal band decorated with three-point stars (Fig. 7)\(^{21}\). When Poccetti completed the rest of the ceiling loggia, he may have embellished Neri-Ridolfi’s coat of arms, forming a double cartouche. An exterior layer of green coloration is in the shape of an opened scalloped shell, decorated with gemstones and dangling oval pearls\(^ {22}\). The second cartouche, of lilac color, is ornamented at the top with a winged angelic face and at the bottom with a reclining female figure in a landscape. This lower motif is a projection from Poccetti’s early *sgraffito* design from the Palazzo of Bianca Cappello in via Maggio in Florence (compare Figs. 7 and 8). In both lower corners of the coat of arms, a whimsical cornucopia of flowers, fruits, and vegetables complements the Mannerist decoration. Poccetti’s coloration and the imaginative decoration for Marzichi-Lenzi’s coat of arms recalls his decorations of 1583 in the Palazzo Capponi in Florence as the *Cartouche of Maddalena* and sala decoration of Pietro Capponi’s portrait\(^ {23}\).

Presently, it is difficult to ascertain if there is a symbolic vertical or horizontal emblematic connection between these emblematic imprese. My study aims to decode all the *cassettoni*. But in this essay, I plan to unveil a possible *clavis interpretandti* of only four emblematic imprese, selecting as an underlying connection the symbolism of water, which are contained in

\(^{21}\) See ASF, Fondo Ceramelli Papiani: Marzichi Lenzi: 3063–2742, 4585; Raccolta Sebregondi (N 256) Lenzi de’ Tebaldi poi (then) Marzichi: 3406; and ASF Fondo Ceramelli Papiani: Marzichi Fascicolo 3063, Doc. 3: I Lenzi (Fascicolo: 2742), I Tebaldi (Fascicolo: 4485). These archival documents in loose sheets describe the various coats of arms of the Marzichi and their acquisitions of designs from their ancestor, the Tebaldi and Lenzi families, focusing on the coat of arms with the image of the golden bull and red ball. See also www.heraldrys institute.com.

\(^{22}\) See Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 79 ce, Book, IX, 80 and 103.

\(^{23}\) See Vasetti, *Palazzo Capponi Lungarno*, passim.
the *cassettoni* of the *Coral-Tree*, the *Rudder*, the *Siren* and the *Medusa*.

**The “cassettone” of the Medusa**

The cassettoni designed with the *Medusa* and the *Siren* are vertically adjacent to each other. In its center, in a hexagonal design, the pictura contains a head of a Medusa with a Latin’s motto, *Malio lunima* (Evil Eye). With the exception of the rectangular *cassettone* with the image of the *Ursa Major* with a Latin’s motto *Nunquam Spectata Feffellit* (Never Regards an Escape or Never Immerses in the Ocean) this is the only emblematic impresa where the Latin inscription appears below the image (compare Figs. 9 and 10). The *Medusa*’s head is of an old woman crowned with snakes. The *grotteschi* decoration surrounding the central image depict in each corner a winged siren, between the decorative sirens in the center of the square, there are on each side female portrait heads. These severed heads relate to the central theme of the *pictura*, the cut-off head of the Medusa. The ornamentation on the background of the *cassettone* is completed with flying birds, floating vases with spring flowers, and burning urns (Fig. 9).

The origin of the literary and visual representations of the Medusa derives from a Greek myth recounted in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Homer’s *Iliad*, Euripides’ *Ion*, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis Historia*\(^\text{24}\). Medusa, whose name means ruler or queen\(^\text{25}\), is a primordial earth goddess, granddaughter of Gaia, and the only mortal of a triad of Gorgons. She offended Athena by making love with Poseidon in one of her temples. The Goddess Athena transformed Medusa’s hair into serpents, made her glance turn beholders to stone, and exiled her and her sisters to a dreary island. Medusa’s myth continues with the association of Perseus,


son of the mortal Danäe and the divine god Zeus, father of Athena, who decapitates Medusa in order to punish an evil king from Ethiopia, Polydectes.

In Greece and its colonies, since the early 6th century bce, visual representations of the Medusa’s head are common in relief decoration of temples, as in the metope at the Temple of Selinute, Temple C, sixth century bce; or in the Black Figure vases, *Perseus and Medusa Hydra*, third century bce, at the Archeological Museum in Florence. In the Renaissance, there are well-known paintings—such as the *Medusa* of 1500, attributed to Leonardo, at the Galleria degli Uffizi—with a disturbing depiction of a severed head with snakes, worms, frogs and insects of all types. And in sculpture we have Benevento Cellini’s remarkable bronze sculpture *Perseus and the Medusa* of 1545, at the Loggia dei Lanzi (Fig. 11), and Bernardo Buontalenti’s large sculpture of a shield with a Medusa’s head of 1570s, in the Boboli Garden. Poccetti knew these works, in particular Buontalenti’s *Medusa* of the Boboli Garden, where there are strong artistic similarities in terms of the design of the Medusa’s exaggerated facial expression, wide-open mouth, large nostril formation, and the transformation of her tresses into living serpents (compare Figs. 9 and 12).

The motto *Malio lumina* may allude to the popular saying “evil eye” associated with the ancient myth. The dative word *malio* alludes to evil, and the word *lumina* in Virgilian terms alludes to eyes (brilliant light or seeing); hence an allusion in *malio lumina* to signify to cast an “evil eye” or “I [Medusa] provide an evil eye.” It is known from the ancient myth that to look at the Medusa’s head is to be transformed into stone. In *Emblemata* (Paris 1584), Emblem 156, *In Morten praeproperam* (Untimely death), Andrea Alciato also uses the Medusa’s head to allude to the ill fate of an individual and to warn the reader (viewer) against looking at such an image or behaving with transgression of moral conduct (Fig. 13). The epigram reads:

---

That handsome lad, famed throughout all the city, who attracted and tormented tender-hearted girls with his beauty, has perished before his time, mourned by no one more than you, Arestius, to whom he was joined in chaste affection. Therefore you build him a tomb as a memorial of such great love and assail the heavens with cries of grief: Beloved, are you gone away without me? Shall we never be together again? Will you never again spend happy leisure hours with me in study? But the earth will cover you, a Gorgon’s head and dolphins shall provide doleful symbols of your fate.

The “cassettone” of the Siren

The adjacent cassettone is also decorated with grotteschi, in an octagonal frame. The pictura is of a Siren at sea (Fig. 14). The single composition of the Siren recalls Poccetti’s sgraffito decoration of a Siren from the façade of 1583 in the Palazzo Bianca Cappello (compare Figs. 14 and 15). Another visual source available to Poccetti was Benvenuto Cellini’s Siren of 1571, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 16). While the background of the scene depicts similar imagery as in the Medusa cassettone, for example, the flying birds now rest on the same type of vase flowers decoration, four angelic heads accent the corners of the octagonal frame, and winged male heads alternate with the depiction of winged sirens placed along the frame of the square. In the corners of the cassettone are portrayed four allegorical females residing in fanciful cartouches. It is difficult to ascertain their identification. Perhaps these images personify the four seasons because of 1) their depiction of females from young to old age, representing the ages of life; 2) the attributes they hold, such as objects of offerings; and 3) their attire coloration, changing from light colors to dark colors, symbolizing the transformation of the seasons (e.g., spring and summer are associated with light colors and fall and winter with darker colors). Or their attributes, attire, and actions could represent four goddesses: one wears a helmet and a cuirass and holds a shield and a

---

27 See www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk.
lance, likely the warrior Minerva. Another image depicts a bare-breasted female with a reddish dress, also carrying a shield and a lance, emerging from the dark background, probably the hunting Diana. The third image is a woman dressed with a celestial garment and carrying a wind-blown sail, likely the traveling Venus of Cyprus. The last image is of a young woman holding a staff and making an offering, likely Ceres, the Goddess of Nature. In classical mythology, these goddesses were involved in the punishment of the Siren and her sisters Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepi.

Poccetti’s *Siren* is crowned with a motto, “Vitanda est improba”; the rest of the phrase is left out: “siren desidia”. The motto probably derives from the Roman poet Horace’s *Satirae or Sermones* (a collection of satirical poems). It translates into “One must avoid that wicked temptress”\(^\text{28}\). In *Emblematum libellus* (Venice, 1546), Emblem 102, *Sirenes*, Alciato alludes in the epigram to seductive women and advice for moral conduct (Fig. 17)\(^\text{29}\). The epigram reads:

Birds without wings, girls without legs, fish without snouts, yet singing with their mouths—who would think such creatures exist? Nature said such things could not be combined, but the Sirens show that it could happen. Woman is an enticement, and she ends in a black fish, because lust brings many monstrous things in its train. By looks, by words, by radiant charm, men are drawn on, by Parthenope, by Ligeia and by Leucosia. These Muses strip of their feathers, these Ulysses also dupes. The wise of course

---


have no truck with a whore\textsuperscript{30}. The etymology of “Siren,” from a Greek word “siren” signifies a temptress who entices and entraps men’s senses. According to Greek mythology, the Sirens are special sea nymphs who live on the isolated island of the Faiakes or Sirenum scopuli, perhaps Surrentum, near Naples, where there is a temple dedicated to them\textsuperscript{31}. Surrentum (Sorrento today), a Latin word for murmur, is an interesting association with the incantation actions of the Sirens or with the sound of waves of the sea, which carry a murmur, the reason for the name of this area. The Sirens, beautiful half-woman, half-bird, are the sea counterparts of the harpies, bird-women, on earth\textsuperscript{32}. Poccetti depicts only one Siren residing at sea, unlike the trio of Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepi represented in Alciato’s emblem.

The Siren’s hybrid formation is a result of a punishment inflicted by the Goddess of Harvest and Fertility, Demeter (Ceres), when the Sirens failed to save her daughter, Persephone, from being kidnapped by the God of the Underworld, Hades (Pluto). Demeter provided the Sirens with special wings for their bodies to assist them in finding her daughter, Persephone\textsuperscript{33}. But they subsequently lose their wings. Then Hera tricks the Sirens into a musical contest with the Muses. They lose the contest, and the Muses punish them by plucking their wings and making crowns out of the feathers for themselves\textsuperscript{34}. In turn, the Sirens provide evil gifts with their seductive

\textsuperscript{30} See www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk.

\textsuperscript{31} Strab. i. p. 23, v. p. 246.


\textsuperscript{33} Ovid, \textit{Met.}, v. 442. For images of siren as bird or harpies, see the \textit{Siren} from Canosa of 340 bce, National Archaeological Museum of Canosa, Spain (commons.wikimedia.org); \textit{Siren} of mid-4th century bce, from Kerameikos, at the Walter Art Museum, MD (art.thewalters.org); and \textit{Funerary Harpies} morning with primitive tortoise-shell lyre of mid-4th century bce, from Kerameikos, at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (www.flickr.com). The Siren’s body is composed of a human head and torso but with the legs of a bird (Virgil V, 846; Ovid XIV, 88).

\textsuperscript{34} Paus, ix 34 & 2. See Kestner, \textit{Mythology and Misogyny}, pp. 43–46; and an extraordinary sarcophagus at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, \textit{The Sarcophagus with the contest between the Muses and the Sirens}, Late Imperial, Gallienic, third quarter of the 3rd century ce, from the Roman Villa of Nero. In Roman mythology, the Sirens are beautiful sea monsters, with faces and partial
chanting, their spellbound melody, unfulfilling appetites and passions for human beings with destructive consequences\(^{35}\).

In classical times, music is associated with cosmological vibration, for example, “Plato places the Sirens and their music in a Pre-Olympian system, among the feminine entities regulating the destiny of the universe and the human race”\(^{36}\). Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts employ animal tales from the classics to imply allegorical and moral messages in their narrative. In the case of the Sirens, although they possess hybrid bodies of animals and human creatures, their enchanting voices allure humans to worldly pleasures, which in turn will transform, destroy, and kill them\(^{37}\). In the Renaissance, for example, the association with the Sirens is connected with Ulysses's action and Aristotle's practical wisdom\(^{38}\). In his bodies of women with tails of fishes, resembling mermaids (\textit{Ulysses and the Sirens}, 2nd century, Roman mosaic, Bardo Museum, Tunisia). As with Greek mythology, the Sirens bewitch sailors with their melodic sounds. Roman poets recounting this myth, for example, Claudian, claim that the sailors, once captured, expired in rapture, alluding to the Sirens' sensual pleasures and bewitching sweetness of voice, in addition to their enchanting singing.

In Mount Parnassus, Orpheus, Apollo, and the Muses reject the Sirens, also named Sea-Muses, because they tended to indulge in odes of violence and destruction; their sonorous voices contrasted with the Orpheus and the Muses lyrical performances. In the musical contest between the Muses and the Sirens on Mount Olympus, the Sirens, who lured men to destruction with their seductive whispers, lost the competition to the Muses, who elevated men to the highest pursuits with their poetical evocations.

\(^{35}\) See Lao, \textit{Sirens}, pp. 36–47, for a discussion on sirens and music. Their singing lures sailors to pass by their island. Once they hear the siren's melodic murmur, they are condemned to stay forever and die in the Siren's haunted island. The classical tales of Homer, \textit{Odyssey} (Hom. Od. xii. 39), and Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses} (Ovid, Met v. 552), recount that all throughout the island of Faiakes, there are rocks as well as bones and remains of sailors who were transformed and butchered after they succumbed to the Sirens' divine melody, as illustrated in the Siren Vase Painter, \textit{Odysseus and the Sirens} of 480 bce, from Vulci, at the British Museum, London (en.wikipedia.org), and \textit{Ulysses resists the song of the Sirens} of 50–75 ce, from a fresco in Pompeii, also at the British Museum, London (www.ajaonline.org).

\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 39.

\(^{37}\) In the Middle Ages, the thirteenth-century \textit{Bestiaries} of Guillaume Le Clerc or Bartholomaeus Anglicus claims that the Sirens become monsters. From the waist up, they are the most beautiful shape of a woman, but the rest of the body is of a bird or a fish. They sing so sweetly, entrancing men to fall asleep, and then the Sirens kill the men (\textit{Siren}, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 3466 8º, Folio 37r).

\(^{38}\) For example, Reginaldus Piramus’s \textit{Odysseus as Aristotle’s’ Ideal of Practical Wisdom}, an illuminated \textit{Nicomachean Ethics}, 1490s, Manuscript Codex Phil. Gr. 4, Österreichische
book on ethics, Aristotle emphasized the concept of moral conduct in practical living. A similar moral message is conveyed in Alciato’s *pictura* and *epigram*, where the three Sirens—Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepi—allude to the pleasures of the senses such as taste, hearing, and touch, respectively manifested in the drinking of wine, the hearing of music, and the touching of love. These erotic pleasures are the most powerful means for seducing a man. Poccetti’s *Siren* combines the three desires in one, becoming a symbol of sensual and cruel pleasures. A moral lesson for individuals is their feeling of victimization when indulging in their human appetites and passions.

In these two *cassettoni*, Poccetti has selected two classical representations for the embodiment of evil through the depiction of a female form: the head of the Medusa and the body of a Siren. Both images are depicted with a motto, which alludes to a warning and a moral message for the viewer who perceives and engages with them.

The second group of *cassettoni* is also associated with the element of water: the *Coral-Tree* and the *Rudder*. In addition, both emblematic imprese unveil allusions to the element of air and also reveal complementary moral symbolism.

**The “cassettone” of the Coral-Tree**

In the background of the *cassettone* of the *Coral-Tree*, the *grotteschi* decorations depict in each corner a cartouche composed of a scalloped shell that contains the precious gift of a pearl, and above the cartouche rests a classical vase with spring flowers (Fig. 18). Between these shells are paired-off depictions of fanciful winged Capricorns or Dracos (Hydras) spouting fire from their mouth\(^3^9\) and victorious putti riding on mythical

---

Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. For the image see medieval.tumblr.com.

\(^3^9\) See Derrick, nd. microcosmographia.com. Among the first recorded illustrations of the constellations in print are those found in the edition of the *Poeticon Astronomicum* attributed to Gaius Julius Hyginus (64 bce–17 ce) that Erhard Ratdolt printed in Venice in 1482.
camels or horses. These animals turn their heads away from a fiery urn that faces them. In the center of the cassettone, there is a hexagonal design whose border is decorated with small pearls. Inside the hexagon the pictura contains a large coral-tree sprouting from a small islet in a vast tranquil sea. The rippling water around the islet suggests a gentle breeze. The pink and violet clouds in the open sky establish the season and the day: a summer at sunset. In a white ribbon, a Latin inscription, Pulchrior in Luce (“More Beautiful in Light”), crowns the scene.

What could this imagery signify? Coral is an aquatic tree, known as the garden of the sea or a sea-tree because it grows in an earth-tree shape but underwater. Like an earth-tree, the sea-tree expands horizontally with tree roots and vertically with branches of a tree. Hence, sea-tree is named coral-tree because its branches are similar to the earth-tree’s branches and roots. For this similarity, the symbolism of the coral parallels the tree’s signification. Both are rooted in a horizontal surface: the coral in the deep sea and the earth-tree in the ground of the earth. Both arise vertically to connect one natural element with another, e.g., the tree bound to the earth expands its forces in the air, whereas the coral from the bottom of the sea extends into the sea and sprouts above the sea, as depicted in Poccetti’s pictura. The coral’s vertical growth and tree shape allude to the symbolism of world axis, the axis mundi, as the coral forms in the abyss of the sea and vertically moves toward the light of the sky. In this manner, the coral connects with three elements in nature: water, earth, and air (light). Also in its chemical formation, the coral partakes of the three aspects of nature: animal, vegetable, and mineral.

The meaning of coral as a symbol of fertility is based on its mode of reproduction and the formation of a skeletal residue, which provides a platform for further coral growth. In ancient times, the coral was considered a plant, but later became known as a formation of living animals called

41 See Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrandt, Dizionario dei simboli, 2 vols (Milan: Rizzoli, 1997), 1:317.
polyps, which rapidly reproduce at sea\(^{42}\). This fruitful aspect of the coral is associated with fertility, whose aquatic nature as a sea-tree reveals its association with the Lunar or Moon Goddess, a symbol of fertility\(^{43}\). This allusion is visualized in the marriage ceremony of the young couple painted by Petrus Christus in his *Saint Eligius in his Workshop* of 1499, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where a coral amulet and a necklace are displayed in the jeweler’s shop during the wedding celebration (Fig. 19). The coral is a good omen of fecundity for the new couple.

Many mythical legends associate the coral with female and male divinities such as Athena, Medusa, Mercury, and Saturn. Alchemical and medical traditions connect the coral’s red coloration and chemical substance with blood and healing Mercurial powers. When considered as an apotropaic talisman, in pagan times, the coral is associated with Athena’s endowed power to prevent evil, while in Christian times, children wore coral as a protective amulet against the evil eye\(^{44}\). Italian Renaissance religious paintings depict the Christ Child wearing, holding, or being surrounded by coral decorations for protection against the Devil, as depicted in the sacra conversazione of Piero della Francesca’s *Madonna of Federico Montefeltro* of 1472, at the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan (Fig. 20), and in Andrea Mantegna’s *Madonna of Victory* of 1496, at the Louvre Museum in Paris (Fig. 21). In the painting, not only is the altarpiece decorated with garlands of coral but also a magnificent large, inverted clustered coral-tree hangs above the Christ Child as protective talisman. The symbolism of the protection against the evil eye is also depicted in previously discussed *cassettone* in the ceiling, with a head of a Medusa and with a Latin’s motto,

---

\(^{42}\) In the third century, the Greek philosopher-physician Sextus Empiricus was interested in animals resembling plants and coined the epithet “zoophyte” or “polyps” for invertebrate animals such as the coral.


Malio lunima, alluding to the casting of the evil eye (Fig. 9).

In addition to the coral’s abyssal or axis mundi connotation, a visceral significance is added in considering the substance and chemical properties of the coral. The red color of the coral relates to the color red in human and animal blood. According to ancient legend, coral grew out of the drops of blood from the Medusa’s severed head. The Greek origin of coral is also recounted in Ovid’s Metamorphose episodes 4.663, and 5.249. The coral’s symbolism is linked to Perseus’s liberation of enchained Andromeda. With the head of Medusa, Perseus petrifies the guardian dragon and frees Andromeda. As Perseus washes his hands in the sea, he places the Medusa’s head on a bed of leaves and seaweed. Blood from her head pours out onto the seaweed, transforming its green color into red. The seaweed hardens at the contact of the blood and magically turns into corals. Giorgio Vasari’s Perseus Freeing Andromeda of 1570, in the treasury of Francesco I de’ Medici at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, best depicts this Ovidean legend. In the painting, one sees the delight of the sea-nymphs, who keep playing with the seaweed now transformed into coral, touching the twigs, breaking them off, and inspecting their form and color (Fig. 22).

In analyzing the grotteschi (my suggested visual epigram) in the background of this cassettone, interesting parallels can be associated with the center image (pictura) of the coral-tree. In the corner of this composition, there are depictions of scalloped shells with pearls. The pearl is an aquatic animal, as is the coral. Both contain a chemical

45 According to the classical sources of Lucius Accius, Andromeda; Ovid, Metamorphoses 4.663 and 5.249; Apollodoros, Biblioteca 2.4.3; Hyginus, Fabulae 4; Poetica astronomica 10.11; Lucian, Dialogues of the Sea Gods 14; “Triton and Nereids”; and Philostratus, Imagines 1.29.


47 See Liana De Girolami Cheney, The Offering of Oyster in Dutch Genre Paintings, Artibus et Historiae (Spring 1987), 135–58 (translated and published in Russian in 2013), for a discussion on the difference between the formation of an oyster containing a pearl, which is not edible, and the edible oyster, which does not contain a pearl.
substance composed of calcium carbonate from the sea, both are created by living animal’s reproduction and discarded as an irritant substance, both are considered as fruitful gifts from the sea, and both are gems coveted for their beauty and rarity.

On the side of the cassettone are paired-off mythical animals. One group is composed of putti riding horses, perhaps alluding to the two horses, Phobos and Deimos, of the red, hot, and fiery planet Mars. In Roman legend, Mars, the God of War, rides a chariot pulled by two horses, known as symbols of Fear and Panic as seen in Vincenzo Cartari’s The Chariot of Mars in Imagini degli Dei Antichi (Venice, 1556 and 1571)\textsuperscript{48}. The other group of the paired-off mythical animals may be associated with Capricorn or Draco (Hydra) constellations. Through the ages, alchemists associated the coral with the influences of the planet Saturn. “Its skeletal growth of the coral typifies Saturn’s work under water and the calcium carbonate composition of this coral’s growth is held to be Saturn’s chief counterpart in the astro-chemical world”\textsuperscript{49}. Saturn is the ruler of the zodiacal sign of Capricorn, which is closely associated with crystallization\textsuperscript{50}, fecundity, and early gestation. Poccetti’s design of Capricorn or Draco is a visual variation on Hyginus’s constellations of Capricorn or Draco in Poeticon Astronomicon, published in Venice in 1485\textsuperscript{51}. Perhaps Poccetti is making an allusion to the constellations to impart celestial or divine powers to the meaning of the image. Although a sea element, the coral relates to the earth element because of its tree formation, as well as to the air element because of its planetary references and associations with the divinities Athena, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn.

In attempting to decode the meaning of the motto Pulchrior in Luce ("More

\textsuperscript{48} For the image, see www.oggicronaca.it.


\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{51} For the image, see www.bridgemanimages.com.
Beautiful in Light”) in relation to the symbolism of the coral, the didactic message could allude to the beauty of the coral as a gem that can be seen better in the open light than in the deep ocean. The talismanic allusions of the coral are revealed in the light. The source of the Latin motto is likely Quintilian’s classical allusions to Apollo (Phoebus Apollo), Sun God or God of Light, as a source of light. The sun is praised as a giver of light, a gift of grace and beauty to the individual. Similarly in the Christian religion, God, as a source of light, purifies the souls of individuals and reveals moral and intellectual truths. In Instituto Oratoria of 95 ce, Quintilian notes that the coral, like a genuine gem, when it is exposed to the light of the sun reveals a splendorous color that is superior to the color of the coral seen under the deep sea. The light is a symbol of truth. In a later emblematic source, the coral is considered a precious gem as well as a symbol of endurance. Diego Saavedra Fajardo, Empresa III, Robur et Decus (Strength and Honor) in the Idea de un príncipe político cristiano (Munich, 1640, Fig. 23) symbolizes the positive qualities of the coral as a substance that is both morbido y duro (“soft and hard”).

Al Coral nacido entre los trabajos, que tales son las aguas, y combatido de las olas y tempestades, porque en ellas haze mas robusta sua hermosua la qual endurecida despues con el viento, quèda a prueva de los elementos, para ilustres y precious usos del hombre.

The “cassettone” of the Rudder

This cassettone is also decorated with grotteschi, but its center contains a

---


pictura in an oval frame. An inscription of the Latin motto says Tent Usque (He Constantly Holds, Fig. 24). In each corner of the cassettone, the grotteschi depicts personifications of the seasons—Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter—standing on an altar inside a pergola. Poccetti continues with the sixteenth-century emblematic and pictorial tradition in identifying the seasons with corresponding attributes of gender, ages of the individual, and nature, as seen in Vincenzo Cartari’s The Four Seasons in the Imagini degli Dei Antichi (Venice, 1571)\(^{54}\) and Vasari’s Four Seasons of 1560–65, in the ceiling of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

In Poccetti’s personifications, each season resides in a niche, decorated with a pergola containing representative flora for each season. The Spring and Summer personifications are young females, while the Autumn and Winter personifications are males. The personifications stand on altar platforms, holding attributes of their respective seasons. The figure of Spring is dressed in blue and pink colors, wears a floral crown, and holds a bouquet of flowers, recalling Persephone, the young daughter of Ceres. Summer is dressed in a bright yellow color, carries a crown with ears of corn, and clutches a scythe and sheaf of corn, recalling the image of Ceres, Earth Goddess and Goddess of Agriculture. The personification of Autumn is a nude adult male, crowned with grapes, carrying a bunch of grapes in both hands, recalling the image of Bacchus, the God of Wine. His pergola is also decorated with grape vines. The other male is depicted as a sage, who personifies the season of Winter, a likely allusion to Saturn, the God of Winter (Saturnalia). The old man is wrapped in furry clothes and a purple cape. His hands cover his mouth with a handkerchief. His head is covered with a warm hat. The pergola is decorated with dry leafless branches. These personifications depict the natural seasons, the stages of the individual, and the four phases of the sun and noon’s paths\(^{55}\).

In this cassettone, the pictura depicts a seascape with an open sea where

\(^{54}\) For the image, see www.oggicronaca.it.
\(^{55}\) Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p. 269.
a steady hand guides a rudder through the waves of the sea. The light blue sky with a sunset suggests a seasonal summer at dusk. The rudder is a device used to steer a vessel moving through water. In Roman times, ships are controlled by a rudder in the form of a large steering oar that was pivoted or held by hand over one side of the ship. For example, the Capitoline relief with a *Seated Roman Goddess Fortuna* of 150 ce, from the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, represents the deity of luck holding in one hand a cornucopia symbolizing prosperity and, with the other hand, steering the rudder of a ship symbolizing the control of a direction or the change of the direction of one’s fate at any moment (Fig. 25). Based on commemorative Roman gold coins, the majestic Vatican *Goddess of Fortune* of 150 ce, in an elegant contrapposto stance, holds a cornucopia in one hand and, with the other hand, rests the rudder over a globe (Fig. 26). In the *Imagini degli Dei Antichi* (Venice, 1556 and 1571), Cartari appropriates this image for the depiction of Fortuna, Goddess of Abundance and Luck. The rudder, an attribute of good fortune, as a pilot of the universe, symbolizes prudence, stability, and guidance in life. For a ruler, appropriating the symbolism of the rudder metaphorically assists in steering the course of the reign through the events of the world; it helps to trace the course of history. In his *Emblemata* (Padua, 1621), Alciato also appropriates the Roman imagery of good Fortune carrying a rudder. His Emblem 99, *Ars naturam adiuvans* (“Art aiding nature”), is a picture that depicts Mercury crowned with a winged helmet and seated on a cube holding his caduceus, while Fortune, across from him, is resting on a globe and holding a cornucopia and a rudder for balance (compare Figs. 24 and 27). The epigram reads:

As Fortune on her sphere, so Mercury sits upon his cube: he presides over the arts, she over chance events. Art is made against the force of fortune; but when fortune is bad, it often requires the help of art. Therefore, eager youths, learn the good arts, that have with them the advantages of certain

Poccetti as well assimilates the classical tradition in depicting a rudder as a symbol of guidance and prudence. He emphasizes the necessity of constancy in portraying a firm hand controlling the direction of the rudder in the open sea. The rudder, as a ship of life, purposefully leads and guides through the vastness and storms of the sea. Similar to the seasons that project the orderly cycles of nature on earth, although there are vicissitudes and transitions in the cycle, there is also assurance of its natural progression. Poccetti’s *pictura* alludes to guidance and volition in one’s life journey, like the ship at sea.

Unlike the *cassettoni* with the emblematic imprese of the Siren and the Medusa, which both allude to maleficent consequences of bad human behavior, the two *cassettoni* of the *Coral-Tree* and the *Rudder* symbolize the virtue of good moral behavior. Poccetti depicted these aquatic representations with the embodiment of rectitude and goodness. These four emblematic imprese are depicted with a motto that alludes to a didactic message and a moral guidance for a journey to life of positive human conduct.

---

Fig. 1
Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi
Via Borgo Pinti, 27, Florence
Photo credit: author

Fig. 2
Bernardino Poccetti
Loggia Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi, Ceiling, 1585
Florence
Photo credit: author
Fig. 3
Christ Monogram, HIS, Loggia Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi Florence
Photo credit: author

Fig. 4
Jacopo Bellini Christ Monogram, 1459, det. Saint Anthony Abbot and Saint Bernardino da Siena National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC Photo credit: author
Fig. 5
Ponte Rubaconte or Ponte alle Grazie, XVII
Engraving
Florence
Photo credit: Roberto Amerighi

Fig. 6
View of Ponte Rubaconte during an Arno's Flood, engraving
From Stefano Bonsignori's Hidden Florence, 1576-1580
Fig. 7
**Bernardo Poccetti**
Neri-Ridolfi Family’s Coat of Arms, 1585
Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi, Florence
Photo credit: author

Fig. 8
**Bernardino Poccetti**
Reclining Figure, 1580, det.
Facade sgraffito from Palazzo Bianca Capello
Florence
Photo credit: author
Fig. 9  
**Bernardino Poccetti**  
Medusa, 1585  
Cassettone, Loggia, Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi  
Florence  
Photo credit: author

Fig. 10  
**Bernardino Poccetti**  
Ursa Major, 1585  
Cassettone, Loggia, Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi  
Florence  
Photo credit: author
Fig. 11
Benvenuto Cellini
Perseus and the Medusa, 1545, det.
Loggia dei Lanzi
Florence
Photo credit: author
Fig. 12  
**Bernardo Buontalenti**  
Shield of the Medusa, 1570s  
Bobboli Gardens  
Florence  
Photo credit: author
Fig. 13
Andrea Alciato
In Morten praeproperam (Untimely Death), Emblem 156
In Emblemata (Les emblemes) Paris, 1584
Photo credit: www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk

Fig. 14
Bernardino Poccetti
Siren, 1585
Cassettone, Loggia
Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi, Florence
Photo credit: author
Fig. 15
**Bernardino Poccetti**
Siren, 1580, det.
Facade sgraffito from Palazzo Bianca Capello
Florence
Photo credit: author

Fig. 16
**Benvenuto Cellini**
Siren, 1565-70
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Photo credit: author
Fig. 17
**Andrea Alciato**  
Sirenes  
From Emblematum libellus, Venice, 1546  
Photo credit: www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk

Fig. 18
**Bernardino Poccetti**  
Coral-Tree, 1585  
Cassettone, Loggia  
Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi, Florence  
Photo credit: author
Fig. 19

Petrus Christus
Saint Eligius in His Workshop, 1449
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fig. 20

Piero della Francesca
Montefeltro Altarpiece, 1470-72
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan
Photo credit: Dimitry Rozhkov
Fig. 21
Andrea Mantegna
Madonna della Vittoria, 1495
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Fig. 22

Giorgio Vasari
Perseus Freeing Andromeda, 1570
Francis I de’ Medici Treasury Room
Palazzo Vecchio, Florence
Photo credit: ART47048, Art Resource, NY
Fig. 23
**Diego Saavedra Fajardo**
Robur et Decus (Strength and Honor), Empresa III
In the Idea de un principe politico Cristiano, Munich, 1640
Photo credit: Courtesy of Prof. Sagrario López Poza, Universidad de Coruña, Spain

Fig. 24
**Bernardino Poccetti**
Rudder, 1585
Cassettone, Loggia, Palazzo Marzichi-Lenzi
Florence
Photo credit: author
Fig. 25
Roman Goddess Fortuna, 150 CE, relief
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome
Photo credit: author
Fig. 26
Roman Goddess of Fortune, 150 CE
Vatican Museums, Rome
Photo credit: author

Fig. 27
Andrea Alciato
Ars naturam adiuvans (Art Aiding Nature), Emblem 99
In Emblemata, Padua, 1621
Photo credit: www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk