

Poussin, the Gasc Pendants and the *Navis Ecclesiae*:
A Case of 'Iconographic Attribution'

A pair of fine Baroque paintings in the collection of Mme. Françoise Gasc represent the subjects of *Jonah and the Sea Monster* (fig. 1) and *Christ Calming the Seas* (fig. 2).¹ The paintings came to the attention of scholars more than a decade ago, yet the artist's identity has not been definitively established. Painted in oil on canvas, identical in size and rather small (29.4 x 40.1 cm), the two images are iconographical pendants, meant to be viewed and interpreted as a conceptual ensemble.² The paintings have a common provenance, having been in the possession of the Gasc family since the nineteenth century, when they were acquired by Mme. Gasc's distant ancestor, the Abbé Henri Gasc (d. 1882). Gasc served as parish priest and administrator at the sanctuary of Notre Dame de Marceille at Limoux (near Rennes-le-Château) from 1838 to 1873, during which period he undertook major renovations there.³ It has been supposed that he may have acquired the pendants at that time, although we have no direct evidence of their prior provenance. The Abbé Gasc's ecclesiastical vocation provides a broad context for his acquisition of the paintings. Indeed, the Gasc painter's juxtaposition of these two subjects, *Jonah and the Sea Monster* and *Christ Calming the Seas*, is plainly designed to address a famous exegetical problem: The comparison between Jonah and Christ. The implied analogy between them was of course a commonplace of Christian exegetical typology—the practice of recognizing mystical prefigurations of Christ or Christian Salvation amidst the narratives of the Old Testament.⁴ But, as I argue here, the artist has developed this traditional argument in a distinctly novel manner, transforming the underlying exegetical analogy of Jonah-Christ into a Baroque *conchetto*—that is, an elaborate rhetorical or poetical comparison

¹ I am most grateful to Mme. Gasc for allowing me the opportunity to study the paintings in person, for permitting me to study and reproduce the photographs of them illustrated in this article, and for permitting me to cite and discuss her research.

² The paintings have not yet undergone cleaning or conservation treatment.

³ Gabriel Migault and Pierre-Marie Puech, *Notre-Dame de Marceille, Limoux, Carcassonne* 1962, 69–78, here 73.

⁴ For the Christian exegetical practice of typology, see Frank Leslie Cross and Elizabeth Anne Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, second edition (1974), reprint with corrections Oxford, 1983, 1401, s.v. 'Types,' with further bibliography. For the patristic basis, history and context of Christian exegesis through the European Renaissance, see especially David C. Steinmetz, *The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis*, in: *Theology Today* 37, 1980, 27-38.

between two unlike persons or things, designed to reveal a deeper, otherwise imperceptible metaphysical similarity between them.⁵ In the present article, I am primarily concerned to explicate the symbolic argument embodied in the paintings. I shall demonstrate that the combination of these two subjects, as the artist has developed them, was designed to allude specifically to the notion of the *Navis Ecclesiae*—the ‘Ship of the Church’— which the early Christian writer Tertullian first invoked as a metaphoric expression of Christian salvation amidst the roiling seas of worldly persecutions and temptations.⁶ As I further intend to show, this pictorial argument bears unique and surprisingly close conceptual relationships to the iconographic inventions of Nicolas Poussin (1592–1665).

What initially attracted my attention to the Gasc pendants was not simply typological basis of the painter’s binary argument, but Mme. Gasc’s own observation that the Old Testament story of Jonah has some remarkable resonances with the story of Jason and the Argonauts—particularly with respect to a little-known mythical narrative in which Jason, like the Old Testament prophet Jonah, is swallowed up and regurgitated by a sea monster. She connected this story with the painting of Jonah (fig. 1), in which the prophet appears not to be falling into the creature’s mouth, but rather rising from it: Since the Old Testament text specifies that Jonah was vomited up onto dry land, she argued that the allusion to Jason might explain the anomalous portrayal of Jonah, seemingly emerging from the creature’s belly and floating upwards.⁷ Such a conceit would be entirely consistent with the artist’s Poussinesque manner. Poussin is known to have been fascinated by such pagan-Christian comparisons. In a lecture for the 1994 international colloquium on Poussin (Paris, Musée du Louvre), Anthony Colantuono investigated the case of Poussin’s *Exposition of Moses* painted for his friend Jacques Stella (1654) (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) (Fig. 3), in which the artist enigmatically

⁵ For the fundamental definition of literary conceitism, see Margaret Drabble (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, fifth edition, Oxford, 1985, 222, s.v. ‘Conceit.’

⁶ See principally Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 12: “... navicula illa figuram Ecclesiae praeferebat, quod in mari, id est saeculo, fluctibus, id est persecutionibus et tentationibus.” Concerning the meaning and iconography of the *Navis Ecclesiae*, see Friedrich Möbius, *Navis Ecclesiae: Sinnschichten des zeitgenössischen Sprachgebrauchs*, in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 22, 1989, 15-22; Nathan T. Whitman, *The First Papal Medal: Sources and Meaning*, *The Burlington Magazine* 133, 1991, 820-824; and Martin Kemp, *Navis Ecclesiae: An Ambrosian Metaphor in Leonardo’s Allegory of the Nautical Wolf and Imperial Eagle*, in: *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43, 1981, 257-268.

⁷ See Mme. Gasc’s website *Le secret de Poussin*, URL <https://www.lesecretdepoussin.com/en/index.php> (last access 26 November 2020).

adorned a fairly traditional portrayal of this familiar Old Testament story with the images of a Pan-pipe, shepherd's crook, bow and quiver hanging in the trees nearby (fig. 4)—symbolic elements which turn out to refer to the ancient myth of the Phrygian sun-god Attis, whose mother similarly exposed him on the banks of the river Gallus.⁸ Since Moses, too, was understood as a typological precursor of Christ, Poussin thus appears to imply that Christ's divine truth had been revealed in successive stages, not only through Moses and the Commandments, but even earlier through pagan mythology. As explained by Julian the Apostate, Attis was in fact a divine 'Sun' whose rays brought universal truth to the world: By placing Attis's attributes adjacent to the infant Moses, Poussin has not only signaled the narrative similarities between their respective stories, but has also implied that they embodied one and the same divine spirit.⁹ In fact, as Charles Dempsey first documented in brilliant articles of 1963 and 1966, Poussin had been exploring such syncretistic notions in his paintings at least since the 1620s, drawing upon the antiquarian research he encountered at the court of Pope Urban VIII Barberini in Rome.¹⁰

Given the nature of the Gasc pendants' basic conceptual structure, which (as I shall explain) proposes not merely the similarity but indeed the transcendent metaphysical *identity* of Jonah and Christ, I was therefore struck by the fact that in portraying the story of Jonah, the Gasc painter has envisioned the ship not as an ancient galley (as the Old Testament text unmistakably implies), but rather as a modern vessel, whose elaborate ornaments might well belong to a Western European ship of the seventeenth century.¹¹ This stands in strange contrast to the *Christ Calming the Seas*, in which St. Peter's boat is portrayed as a humble fishing vessel, the sort of generically 'ancient' boat that one imagines in reading the Gospels. The Gasc *Jonah* thus seems to imply not merely that the Old Testament prophet was a precursor of Christ, but also that his ship was itself an exemplar of the eternal 'Ship of the

⁸ Anthony Colantuono (translated into French by Jeanne Bouniourt), *Interpréter Poussin: Métaphore, similarité et maniera magnifica*, in: Alain Mérot (ed.), *Nicolas Poussin, Acts of the international colloquium*, Musée du Louvre, Paris 1994, Paris, 1996, II, 649-665.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 652-53, citing Julian the Apostate, 'The Mother of the Gods,' in: *Orations* V.161-165.

¹⁰ Charles G. Dempsey, Poussin and Egypt, *The Art Bulletin* 45, 1963, 109-119; and idem, The Classical Perception of Nature in Poussin's Earlier Works, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29, 1966, 219-249.

¹¹ Jonah 1:13, mentions that amidst the storm, the men on the ship rowed hard to try to return to land—hence the implication that the ship was specifically a galley. The vessel portrayed by the Gasc artist does not appear to be a galley, since no oars extend from its upper deck.

Church'—the *Navis Ecclesiae* as it would survive into the artist's contemporary world, and indeed throughout all time. It is a remarkable coincidence that one of the Barberini antiquarian writers whose works Poussin demonstrably consulted, the Jesuit scholar Girolamo Aleandro the Younger (1574-1629), happens to have composed a learned discourse on the same subject. Titled *Navis Ecclesiam Referentis Symbolum in Veteri Gemma Annulari Insculptum* (*The Symbol of a Ship Referring to the Church Engraved on an Ancient Ring Gem*), the treatise was published at Rome in 1626 with a dedication to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), favorite nephew of Pope Urban VIII—and Poussin's most important early patron.¹² Here, Aleandro's entire point is that the Church is eternal, foreseen not only in the fractured visions of the Old Testament, but even in the veiled, distorted mirror of pagan myth. Even more remarkably, as we shall see, he makes the specific point that just as Jonah's ship presaged the ship of the Church and the salvation it would bring, Jonah's plight had itself been prefigured in the myth of Jason and the Argonauts.

The investigation presented here will show that the Gasc paintings as an ensemble do indeed reflect, with almost eerie precision, the discursive content of Aleandro's treatise. And since Poussin had not only studied Aleandro's ideas but rather uniquely incorporated them into the conception of several of his earlier works, the iconographic content of the pendants may constitute evidence to establish their linkage with Poussin's own intellectual and spiritual milieu. Of course, a definitive attribution and scholarly consensus on the authorship of the objects themselves will have to await a full technical examination and cleaning of the paint films, as well as an analysis of the original supports (now largely concealed by relining).¹³ I therefore introduce the notion of 'iconographic attribution' as a means of measuring the relationship between the Gasc paintings and Poussin's oeuvre in strictly conceptual and discursive terms. In this context, I argue not only that the Gasc pendants should indeed be seen

¹² See Hieronymus Aleander Iunior [Girolamo Aleandro the Younger], *Navis Ecclesiam Referentis Symbolum in Veteri Gemma Annulari Insculptum*, Rome 1626. For Poussin's use of Aleandro's antiquarian research (particularly his treatise *Antiquae Tabulae Marmoreae Solis Effigie Symbolisque Exculptae Explicatio*, published in 1616, see Colantuono 1996 (as note 8), 653; and Dempsey 1966 (as note 10), 237-41, also setting Aleandro's work in the larger context of antiquarian scholarship at the Barberini court.

¹³ An X-radiograph of the Gasc *Christ Calming the Seas* reveals that the composition is superimposed upon a portrait of a man at the right, seen in bust-length and vertically oriented. The costume is rather unclear, but if the forms of the man's collar and hairstyle can be properly identified, it may be that the image will help to localize the painting's origin as well as confirming a *terminus post quem* for the visible paint surface.

in the same sort of interpretative framework that scholars have applied to Poussin, but that their iconographic argument might even have originated in Poussin's own Roman orbit. The case may turn out to be complicated. For even the most cursory visual analysis reveals that the two paintings may have been made at different times. Not only is the coloring decidedly different between the two, but if the *Jonah* employs the conceit of portraying a modern vessel in order to symbolize the temporal transcendence of Christ's divine truth, and indeed the permanence of the Christian Church, the *Christ Calming the Seas* in itself seems to carry no such connotation. Based upon the stylistically more archaic-looking portrayal of the face of Christ, it is my preliminary conclusion that the Gasc *Christ Calming the Seas* might have been painted first, and that the *Jonah* was later joined with it at a somewhat later date in order to construct the *concetto* as we now experience it.

Yet it can hardly be doubted that, in broad stylistic terms, both of the Gasc pendants are reminiscent of Poussin's manner. Indeed the compositional and coloristic features of the Gasc pendants may be related to a fairly large class of Poussin's works dating from the 1620s, for example the *Et in Arcadia Ego* (ca. 1630) (Chatsworth, Coll. Duke of Devonshire and Chatsworth Settlement Trustees) (fig. 5).¹⁴ The noted expert Patrick Laycock (Brussels Art Laboratory)—to my knowledge the only researcher to have undertaken a technical examination of the paintings—has investigated the pendants' relationship to the works of the great seventeenth-century French master with respect to pigment composition.¹⁵ Laycock's preliminary technical analysis found the composition of the pigments in the Gasc artist's *Christ Calming the Seas* to be consistent with those of Poussin's recently re-identified *Death of the Virgin* (Sterrebeek, Sint-Pancratiuskerk) (1623) (fig. 6), among the master's earliest surviving works and one of the

¹⁴ For this version of *Et in Arcadia Ego*, see Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue*, London, 1966, 80, cat. no. 119; and *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665*, exh. cat., Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 1994, ed. by Pierre Rosenberg and Louis-Antoine Prat, Paris 1994, 142–143, cat. no. 11. The Gasc painter's figure style and drapery, although on a much smaller scale, are likewise comparable to those encountered in Poussin's *Christ in the Garden of Olives*, painted in oil on copper around 1626–28 (Private Collection), identified and published by T[imothy] J. Standring, 'A Lost Poussin Work on Copper: 'The Agony in the Garden'', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 127, 1985, 614–617.

¹⁵ See Mr. Laycock's Certificat d'Expertise (16 November 2008), Brussels Art Laboratory Ref: ANA/Laha/2008(104); and Complément (21 November 2011), Réf.: ANA/Laha/2011(-), published on Mme. Gasc's website (as note 7), <https://www.lesecretdepoussin.com/en/index.php>. Both canvases have been relined on double-key stretchers, surely dating to the mid nineteenth century.

very few assigned to his early Parisian period—prior to his departure for Rome in 1624.¹⁶ Given the results of this comparison with the *Death of the Virgin*, as well as the strong stylistic correlation with works of that period, Laycock has in fact assigned the Gasc paintings to the chronological frame of 1623–30, and does not exclude the possibility that the paintings could be original works by Poussin.¹⁷ The iconographic evidence presented in this article is consistent with these parameters.

With these observations in hand, it seems clear that the Gasc artist was at the very least deeply familiar with the style, technique, thematics and symbolic language of Poussin's early works. In terms of pictorial genre, the Gasc pendants also pertain to the rather complex history of later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European marine painting. The Gasc *Jonah and the Sea Monster* suggests a link to the early development of this genre, particularly to the *Jonah* compositions of the Flemish Mannerist Paul Bril, whose influential compositions created in Antwerp and Rome were widely imitated through the early decades of the seventeenth century. Bril's dramatic treatments of this Old Testament subject (e.g., the version in Venice, Ca' d'Oro, Galleria Franchetti, c. 1595) (fig. 7), in which Jonah allows himself to be thrown overboard in order to save his imperiled shipmates, initiated a long pictorial genealogy of stormy seascapes. Encompassing a wide range of subjects involving ships in peril, the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century marine genre is perhaps most often associated with the Franco-Italian master Claude Lorrain (1600–82), and Dutch painters from Hendrik Dubbels (1621–1676) to Hendrik Rietschoof (1678–1747)—a tradition ultimately culminating in the work

¹⁶ The comparative analysis of materials in the Gasc *Christ Calming the Seas* and Poussin's *Death of the Virgin* is detailed in Mr. Laycock's Certificat d'Expertise (16 November 2008), Brussels Art Laboratory Ref: ANA/Laha/2008(104) §A and B; and Complément au Certificat d'Expertise (21 November 2011), Brussels Art Laboratory Réf.: ANA/Laha/2011(-) (21 November 2011), §A, B and C (as note 15). Blunt 1966 (as note 14), 62, cat. no. 90, had regarded *The Death of the Virgin* as a lost work. Originally painted in Paris in 1623 for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, *The Death of the Virgin* was transferred to Brussels in 1802, and, had been considered lost since 1815. Its identification with the Sterrebeek painting has been argued in a series of articles by Pierre-Yves Kairis, Poussin avant Poussin: la 'Mort de la Vierge' retrouvée, in: *Revue de l'art* 128, 2000, 61–69; La 'Mort de la Vierge' de Nicolas Poussin: de la découverte à la controverse, in: *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, Académie Royale de Belgique*, series 6, 13, 2002, 91–94; and La 'Mort de la Vierge' de Nicolas Poussin: approche interdisciplinaire: point de vue de l'historien d'art, in: *Bulletin, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 30, 2003 [2004], 85–91.

¹⁷ See Mr. Laycock's Complément au Certificat d'Expertise (21 November 2011), Brussels Art Laboratory Réf.: ANA/Laha/2011(-) (21 November 2011) (as above), §4C (Conclusion) (as note 15): "Les résultats des analyses élémentaires et la comparaison des pigments/éléments découverts avec ceux d'une oeuvre de Poussin n'interdisent pas d'attribuer le tableau étudié au célèbre peintre français du 17e siècle."

of such artists as the English painter Peter Monamy (1681–1749) (e.g., fig. 8).¹⁸ One might also compare the Gasc *Jonah* to a rather similar *Jonah* composition in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace (fig. 9), which Anthony Blunt attributed to Poussin’s brother-in-law, Gaspard Dughet (1615–1675).¹⁹ Assigning the London painting a date around 1653–4, The Royal Collections Trust must surely have observed that its compositional structure is inspired by Poussin’s later, classicizing landscapes around mid-century—a point supported by the presence of the figures in the foreground at lower right, which serve to divide the spatial recession into a stately, measured series of parallel planes. The Gasc *Jonah*, on the other hand, lacks this additional figure group, and hence seems innocent of the highly intellectualized refinement that characterizes Poussin’s later stylistic development: Its composition—like that of its pendant—is instead structured by an unimpeded Baroque diagonal, as would be typical of Poussin’s so-called ‘neo-Venetian’ works of the 1620s. The Gasc *Jonah* is therefore more consistent, again in broad stylistic terms, with Poussin’s works of the 1620s, while the London painting might thus be understood as a decades-later, classicizing re-interpretation of a much earlier Poussinian compositional prototype.

As Lawrence Goedde has shown, the marine painting tradition—especially as regards the portrayal of ships in peril at sea— was laden with metaphoric and symbolic resonances.²⁰ This certainly included Tertullian’s notion of the Ship of the Church, as well as the idea, encountered in the Church Fathers, that Christian Salvation had been foreseen and symbolically expressed in ancient myth.²¹ But in terms of their actual symbolic framework, the Gasc paintings do not sit comfortably in this group as a whole, for the artist’s use of a pendant format as the foundation for a typological argument was atypical in the marine genre, perhaps even unprecedented. Poussin might here provide a closer model, for we know that he did

¹⁸ On the importance of Bril in shaping the marine painting genre, see especially Lawrence Otto Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art: Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation*, University Park and London, 1989, 82. For Bril’s relationship to the broader European marine painting tradition, including the Franco-Italian Claude Lorrain, see also Kristina Herrmann Fiore, Osservazioni sulle marine di Paul Bril, in: *Bollettino d'arte* 100, 1997, 191–200.

¹⁹ Blunt 1966 (as note 14), 170, cat. no. R17. The most updated catalogue information on this painting is to be found in the Royal Collection Trust website URL <https://www.rct.uk/collection/405355/seascape-with-jonah-and-the-whale>: Gaspard Dughet (1615–75), *Seascape with Jonah and the Whale*, c. 1653–4, RCIN 405355.

²⁰ Goedde 1989 (as note 18), 25–45; cf. Laurent Bolard, La symbolique des ports chez Claude Lorrain: une revision, in: *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 118, 1991, 221–230.

²¹ Goedde 1989 (as note 18), 38–40, here 39.

invent conceptually (though not *typologically*) related pendants on biblical themes as early as the 1620s—for example his Old Testament *Joshua's Victory Over the Amorites* (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) and *Joshua's Victory Over the Amalekites* (Saint-Petersburg, Hermitage Museum), painted in 1625–26.²² If we can better understand the spiritual discourse informing the Gasc artist's interpretation of the underlying typological commonplace—the Jonah-Christ comparison—it may be possible to reconstruct a more precise context for his binary invention. As I have suggested, even while the iconographic invention of the Gasc pendants may be founded upon a commonplace of medieval and early modern exegetics, the argument itself has been relocated into the context of seventeenth-century literary concettism—thus allowing the artist to develop that argument in terms never foreseen in traditional exegetical learning. In order to grasp the implications of this conceptual novelty, it is first necessary to gain a more nuanced familiarity with the standard exegetical commonplaces, identifying the painter's specific textual sources.

At first glance, the iconographic argument of the Gasc pendants might well seem to reflect a completely familiar exegetical tradition. Indeed the identification of Jonah as an Old Testament 'type' or prefiguration of Christ was regarded as one of the most theologically significant cases, for Christ himself endorses this same typological comparison in the Gospel of Matthew:

But [Jesus] answered [the scribes and Pharisees]: 'An evil and adulterous generation asks for a sign, but no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the sea monster, so for three days and three nights the Son of man will be in the heart of the earth.'²³

²² Blunt, 1966 (as note 14), 23-24, cat. nos. 29 and 30; and *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665*, 1994 (as note 14), 134-137, cat. nos. 6 and 7. Poussin's non-typological juxtaposition of Old Testament narratives is paralleled in the work of other artists. See for example Diane De Grazia's entry concerning Guercino's pendants of *Amnon and Tamar* and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (ca. 1649–1650) (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art), in: Diane De Grazia, Eric Garberson et al. (eds.), *Italian Paintings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue*, Washington, D.C., 1996, 162–170. For Poussin's pendants in general, see also Stefano Pierguidi, 'Uno de quali era già principiato, et l'altro me l'ordinò': i pendants di Poussin, o la libertà dai condizionamenti del mercato e della committenza, *Schifanoia*, 36/37, 2009, 233–249; and Denise Allen, Poussin's *A Calm and a Storm*, *Apollo* 147, 1998, 28-34 concerning Poussin's use of the pendant format in a secular context.

²³ Matthew 12:39–40, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible – New Revised Standard Edition with the Apocrypha*, fully revised fourth edition, eds. Michael Coogan et. al., Oxford and New York, 2010, 1764. The Vulgate

The underlying doctrine or theory of typological exegesis is that, with divine providence, God's plan for human salvation, finally realized only with Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, was in fact established from the beginning of time and mystically encoded in Old Testament scripture. Christian readers could therefore find Old Testament premonitions of these future events in the hindsight of Christ's revelation. For medieval and early modern exegetical writers, Christ's own identification of Jonah as the precursor of his entombment and resurrection gave unique authority not only to this particular typological case, but to the exegetical practice of typology itself.

The Gasc artist has thus combined the subjects of *Jonah Thrown into the Sea* with that of *Christ Calming the Seas* on the basis of an unquestioned typological paradigm. The Gasc *Jonah Thrown into the Sea* portrays the fundamental narrative elements required to support that exegetical comparison: We see Jonah's ship tossed on stormy seas, and Jonah in mid-air, thrown overboard and about to be swallowed up by the great fish. In the Book of Jonah, Jonah had disobeyed the Lord's command to go to Nineveh and preach, instead purchasing a passage on a ship to Tarshish. When the Lord sends a mighty storm to punish him, the sailors awaken him from his sleep, and he admits that his sin must be the cause of the unforeseen tempest: "He said to them, 'Pick me up and throw me into the sea; then the sea will quiet down for you; for I know it is because of me that this great storm has come upon you.... So they picked up Jonah and threw him into the sea; and the sea ceased from its raging.'"²⁴ The Old Testament scripture further tells us: "But the Lord provided a large fish to swallow up Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights."²⁵ In his prayer for salvation, Jonah offers himself in sacrifice: "'But I with the voice of thanksgiving will sacrifice to you; what I have vowed I will pay. Deliverance belongs to the Lord!' Then the Lord spoke to the fish, and it

has: "Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit: et signum non dabitur et nisi signum Iona prophetae. Sicut enim fuit Iona in ventre ceti tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus, sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus."

²⁴ Jonah, 1:12–15, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (as note 23), 1303. Cf. the Vulgate: "Et dixit ad eos: Tollite me, et mittite in mare, et cessabit mare a vobis; scio enim ego quoniam propter me tempestas haec grandis venit super vos.... Et tulerunt Jonam, et miserunt in mare; et stetit mare a fervor suo."

²⁵ Jonah 2:1, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (as note 23), 1303–04. Cf. the Vulgate: "Et praeparavit Dominus piscem grandem ut deglutiret Iona; et erat Iona in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus."

spewed Jonah out upon the dry land.”²⁶ Christ’s own endorsement aside, it is not difficult to understand why patristic and later medieval commentators would have perceived a mystical analogy between Jonah’s penitential sacrifice and that of Jesus Christ. For, like Christ himself, Jonah willingly embraced self-sacrifice to secure the salvation of others, then enduring three days of apparent ‘death’ before experiencing a virtual resurrection.

Expanding on Jesus’s own interpretation, and summarizing patristic speculations, the *Glossa Ordinaria*—the standard medieval exegetical commentary on the text of the *Vulgate*—affirms that the story of Jonah’s three days in the belly of the whale and his unscathed emergence prefigured the death and resurrection of Christ, and thus also the story of Redemption. Writing in the twelfth century C.E., the glossator comments thus: “By the fact that Jonah was in the whale’s belly three days and three nights, this indicates a type of the Lord’s Passion....”²⁷ Another handbook of popular theology, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (early fourteenth century), sums up the typological implications in these verses:

Once upon a time Jonah prefigured the burial of Christ,
 [That Jonah] whom the whale devoured,
 when he was thrown from the ship into the sea.
 Jonah was inside the whale for three days and nights;
 So too was Christ in the tomb until the third day.
 Just as the story of Jonah reflects that of the Savior,
 It is made manifest in the chapter on the Resurrection.²⁸

²⁶ Jonah 2:9–10, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (as note 23), 1304. Cf. the *Vulgate*, Jonah 2:10–11: “Ego autem in voce laudis immolabo tibi; / Quaecumque vovi, reddam pro salute Domino.’ Et dixit Dominus pisci; et evomuit Ionam in aridam.”

²⁷ The translation quoted here is from *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Prophet Jonah*, trans. John Litteral, Consolamini Commentary Series, West Monroe, La. 2015, 13. Litteral’s translation is based upon the Latin *editio princeps* in *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis aliorumque et interlineari Anselmi Laudunensis*, ed. Adolph Rusch, 4 vols, Strassburg 1480/81, here Pars III (Book of Jonah), 549: “sicut Ionas pro hoc quod fuit tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in ventre ceti, indicat passionem, sic et oratio eius tipus est or[at]ionis Christi.”

²⁸ I have translated the text from J[ules] Lutz und P[aul] Perdrizet (eds.), *Speculum humanae salvationis (kritische ausg., übersetzung von Jean Miélot, 1448: Die quellen des Speculums und seine bedeutung in der ikonographie, besonders in der elassässischen kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Mülhausen, 1907, 57, Book XXVII, lines 93–97:

“Sepulturam etiam Christi olim Jonas praefiguravit.
 Quem projectum de navi in mare cetus devoravit.
 Ita Christus erat usque ad triduum in monument.
 Quomodo autem historia Jonae Salvatori appropriator,

Here, as in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Jonah's emergence from the whale prefigures Christ's Resurrection—and indeed, Salvation itself. These exegetical concepts were still commonplace in early modernity, and were commonly reflected in pictorial iconography.²⁹ The subject of the *Gasc Jonah*—even without its pendant—would have carried this connotation. For this same reason, Michelangelo placed the figure of Jonah at the head of the Old Testament prophets in the Sistine Chapel, directly above the altar where the Eucharist is celebrated—thus recalling not only Christ's sacrifice but also Christ's resurrection and the consequent promise of redemption for all humanity.³⁰

With this exegetical insight in mind, it is not to be overlooked that in the *Gasc Jonah Thrown into the Sea*, Jonah displays the 'orant' gesture—a gesture of *prayer*—often seen also in portrayals of Christ's Resurrection: A typical example might be found in Paolo Veronese's *Resurrection* (c. 1570) at Dresden (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister) (fig. 10).³¹ Yet as Mme. Gasc rightly observed, the gesture seems peculiar here, for it seems to imply that Jonah is indeed *rising* from the mouth of the great creature, not falling into it—as if to foreshadow not only Jonah's future emergence from the monster's belly, but also Christ's own resurrection. The artist has also shown powerful sunlight apparently breaking through the cloudy sky behind the ship, near the horizon, and reflecting off the surface of the sea immediately to its right. While the marine painters of seventeenth-century Europe often used this dramatic device to impart a sense of hope amidst the perilous, stormy seas, the glimpse of sunlight here serves more particularly to symbolize the hope found within the 'light' of Christ's future redemption, yet to be revealed.³²

In capitulo de resurrectione manifestatur.”

²⁹ See Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror*, Berkeley 1984, 26–28 concerning the format, context and purpose of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

³⁰ For the general theological context, see John W. Dixon, Jr., The Christology of Michelangelo: The Sistine Chapel, in: *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 55, 1987, 503–533, here 525–28.

³¹ Poussin also made use of this same gesture in several works. See, most relevantly, his *Miracle of St. Francis-Xavier* (1641) for the Jesuit novitiate at Paris (Paris, Musée du Louvre), where the image of the risen Christ hovers above with an orant gesture and *ostentatio vulnerum*, while the saint and his companion Juan Fernández, below, give thanks to Christ for resurrecting the deceased daughter of an inhabitant of Kagoshima (Japan); or *The Ecstasy of St Paul* (1649–50) (Paris, Musée du Louvre), painted for the poet Paul Scarron, in which the saint similarly displays the orant gesture as he is lifted heavenwards.

³² For the theological virtue of Hope and its relationship to Salvation, see Cross and Livingstone (eds.) 1983 (as in n. 4), 665–66.

The Gasc painter's pairing of the pictorial subjects of *Jonah and the Whale* and *Christ Calming the Seas* was designed not only to suggest the underlying allusion to Christ's Resurrection, and to develop the salvific implications of the Jonah-Christ typology, but also to articulate a further similarity with respect to the question of faith. *Christ Calming the Seas* represents a story told in the synoptic Gospels, in which, when Jesus and the Apostles were crossing the Sea of Galilee, a sudden storm upset their boat while Jesus sleeps—just as Jonah had slept amidst the perilous tempest. And just as Jonah's shipmates had summoned him forth from sleep, the terrified disciples awakened Jesus, asking why he seemed so unconcerned. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus said to his disciples: "Why are you afraid, you of little faith?"³³ Jesus then commanded the unruly waves to be still, and the winds immediately relented, the seas became completely calm. In the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the commentator on the Book of Jonah interprets the words and actions of Jonah's shipmates in similar terms. According to scripture, after Jonah reveals that the storm will be calmed only when he has been thrown overboard, the sailors cry out to Jonah's God: "Please, O Lord, we pray, do not let us perish on account of this man's life. Do not make us guilty of innocent blood; for you, O Lord, have done as it pleased you."³⁴ The medieval glossator interprets this passage precisely as a demonstration of the sailors' newfound faith, saying: "The sailors' faith is strong: they are all in danger of losing their lives, and yet pray for the life of another. They know well that spiritual death is worse than natural death of the body."³⁵ The glossator further explains:

Before the suffering of Christ, the errors that are contrary to the various teachings of the Church, the ship, that is, all human kind, was in danger. But, after the passion of Christ there is the calm of faith, the peace of the world, conversion to God, and all

³³ Matthew 8:23–27, here 8:26, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (as note 23), 1758. Cf. the Vulgate: "Quid timidi estis, modicae fidei?" The story reappears in the synoptic Gospels, Mark 4:35-41; and Luke 8:22-25.

³⁴ Jonah 1:14, as translated in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (as note 23), 1303. Cf. the Vulgate: "Quaesumus, Domine, ne pereamus in anima viri istius; et ne des super nos sanguinem innocentem, quia tu, Domine, sicut voluisti, fecisti."

³⁵ As translated in *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Prophet Jonah* (as note 27), 12; cf. *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria* 1480/81 (as note 27), Pars III, 548 [interlinear]: "Scientes mortem peccati peiorem sic quam vite. Et ex magna fide pro anima alterius praecantur, cum ipsi perclitentur corpore."

things secure. So we will see how after Jonah has been thrown overboard the sea ceases from its raging.³⁶

If Jonah and his shipmates exhibited faith in God, thus calming the seas, it therefore follows that Jobah's own self-sacrifice did indeed anticipate the Lord's passion. The New Testament narrative of Christ calming the seas likewise illustrates the tranquility brought by genuine faith, again pointing the way to the passion and the joyous promise of redemption. The two pictorial subjects portrayed in the Gasc pendants are thus conceptually unified not only by their portrayal of ships in peril, and the lesson of faith offered by their respective protagonists, but also by their common imagery of the storm as worldly sea of sin, and the calm as the salvation to be achieved only through Christ's suffering and death.

While the analogical juxtaposition of Jonah and Christ in the Gasc pendants is entirely standard in Christian iconography, the choice of these two *specific* subjects, *Jonah Thrown into the Sea* and *Christ Calming the Seas*, was not at all common—at least not as regards the later Renaissance or Baroque periods. In Andor Pigler's monumental iconographic study, *Barockthemen* (1956), no other such pairing is documented, and even the traditional likening of Jonah and the sea monster to its New Testament typological analog, the entombment of Christ, is documented only with one rather dubious example.³⁷ Indeed, typological pairings of any kind were seemingly rather rare in Baroque pendant paintings. By the seventeenth-century, the philological methods of Christian humanism had profoundly transformed the practice of exegetical typology, rendering medieval commentaries like the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* obsolete, and placing primary emphasis on the direct consultation and interpretation of early Christian and patristic sources.³⁸ As regards the

³⁶ As translated in *The Glossa Ordinaria on the Prophet Jonah* (as note 27), 12; cf. *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria* 1480/81 (as note 27), Pars III, 548: "Ante passionem Christi errores et diversa dogmata quasi contrarii fluctus turbabant naviculam ecclesiae, et totum humanum genus. Sed post passionem est tranquillitas fidei, pax orbis, conversio ad deum, omnia sicura. Ita post praecipitationem Iona mare stat a fervore."

³⁷ See A[ndor] Pigler, *Barockthemen: Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (1956) reprint Budapest 1974, I, 230, where it is stated that the German Renaissance painter Augustin Hirschvogel (1503–1553) portrayed the subject of Jonah thrown into the sea and devoured by the sea monster in typological juxtaposition with that of Christ's entombment. Although Hirschvogel produced etchings of both subjects as part of a larger series of biblical images, Pigler seems to refer to a print by Hirschvogel (1548) in which the image of Jonah is juxtaposed with an epigram (not a visual image) alluding to the Resurrection.

³⁸ N. Scott Amos, *New Learning, Old Theology: Renaissance Biblical Humanism, Scripture, and the Question of Theological Method*, in: *Renaissance Studies* 17, 2003, 39–54; and Donald R. Dickson, *The Complexities of Biblical*

Baroque period, this supported a general tendency towards iconographic originality and novelty.³⁹ The individual who conceived the argument of the Gasc pendants—if not the artist himself, perhaps a learned patron or iconographic advisor—probably did not rely on medieval commentaries, but instead derived the typological comparison of Jonah thrown into the sea with the episode of Christ calming the seas directly from an authoritative early Christian source: The *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 313–386 CE). Indeed, Cyril notes not only the typological relationship between Jonah’s emergence from the whale and the Resurrection of Christ, but also the specific connection between the episodes of Jonah’s and Christ’s calming of the seas, for example citing the fact that both Jonah and Christ had *slept* amidst the perils of their respective storms, and then awoke to quell the angry waves—each by his own means. Cyril offers the following typological arguments:

But again they say, ‘A corpse then lately dead was raised by the living; but shew us that one three days dead can possibly arise, and that a man should be buried, and rise after three days.’ If we seek for Scripture testimony in proof of such facts, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself supplies it in the Gospels, saying, For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale’s belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. And when we examine the story of Jonas, great is the force of the resemblance. Jesus was sent to preach repentance; Jonas also was sent: but whereas the one fled, not knowing what should come to pass; the other came willingly, to give repentance unto salvation. *Jonas was asleep in the ship, and snoring amidst the stormy sea; while Jesus also slept, the sea, according to God’s providence, began to rise, to shew in the sequel the might of Him who slept.* To the one they said, Why art thou snoring? Arise, call upon thy God, that God may save us; but in the other case they say unto the Master, Lord, save us. Then they said, Call upon thy God; here they say, save Thou. But the one says, Take me, and cast me into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you; the

Typology in the Seventeenth Century, in: *Renaissance and Reformation*, new series 11, 1987, 253–272.

Concerning sixteenth-century typology in the visual arts, cf. also Giovanni Careri, Typology at its Limits: Visual Exegesis and Eschatology in the Sistine Chapel, in: Walter Melion, James Clifton and Michel Weemans (eds.), *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700*, Leiden 2014, 73–87.

³⁹ See the essays gathered in Ulrich Pfisterer and Gabriele Wimböck (eds.), *Novità—das “Neue” in der Kunst um 1600: Theorien, Mythen, Praktiken*, Berlin 2011.

other, Himself rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. The one was cast into a whale's belly: but the other of His own accord went down thither, where the invisible whale of death is. And He went down of His own accord, that death might cast up those whom he had devoured, according to that which is written, I will ransom them from the power of the grave; and from the hand of death I will redeem them.⁴⁰

The most hallowed patristic sources (e.g., Augustine and Jerome) merely build upon Christ's own words in the Gospel, observing that Jonah's emergence from the sea monster's belly was a 'type' of Christ's resurrection.⁴¹ But Cyril's lesser-known argument vividly and very specifically recalls the Gasc pendants, which portray precisely the same two scriptural episodes.

Intriguingly, Anthony Blunt has observed that Poussin apparently consulted St. Cyril's *Catecheses* in conceiving the iconographic details of his portrayal of the Eucharist in the series of *Sacraments* for his friend and patron, Cassiano dal Pozzo.⁴²

Understood in the context of early modern European humanism, the Gasc pendants present the conceptual relationship between these two particular subjects—*Jonah Thrown into the Sea* and *Christ Calming the Seas*—in terms that would have been somewhat unfamiliar to medieval scholars. For while they might have recognized the relevance of St. Cyril's comments,

⁴⁰ The translation is from Edwin Hamilton Gifford (ed. and trans.), Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures* 14:17 (On the Words, 'And Rose Again from the Dead on the Third Day, and Ascended into the Heavens, and Sat on the Right Hand of the Father'), in: *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, gen. ed. Philip Schaff, Buffalo 1886–1890, series 2, VII, 98–99. The Greek text and a Latin translation may be found in Dom Antonius Augustinus Touttaeus (ed.), Cyril of Jerusalem [Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus], *Catecheses*, in: *Opera Quae Extant Omnia* (Patrologiae Cursus Completus... Series Graeca, gen. ed. J[acquis]-P[aul] Migne) (Patrologiae Graecae Tomus XXXIII) Paris, [s.d.], coll. 846–847, §XVII (Latin version): "Verum iterum aiunt: Mortuus equidem recens tum defunctus a vivente exsuscitatus est. At ostendite nobis posse fieri ut mortuus trium dierum resurgat, et sepultus homo post dies tres ad vitam revocatur. Hujusmodi rerum testificationem quaerentibus, hanc nobis suppeditat Dominus Jesus in Evangeliiis aiens: 'Sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tres dies et tres noctes; sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tres dies et tres noctes.' Quando autem historiam Jonae diligenter indagamus, plurima occurrit similitudinis vis atque efficacia. Jesus poenitentiam praedicatum missus est: missus et Jonas. Sed ille future inscius fugit: hic autem voluntarie poenitentiam salutis daturus accessit. Jonas dormiebat in navigio et stertebat, dum mare tempestate jactaretur: Jesu quoque dormiente certo consilio excitatum est mare, ut dormientis virtus postea cognosceretur. Illi dicebant: 'Quid tu stertis? Surge, invoca Deum tuum, ut salvos nos faciat Deus.' Hic autem Domino dicunt: 'Domine serva nos.' Ibi dicebant: 'Invoca Deum tuum; hic autem serva.' At ille quidem dicit: 'Tollite me et projicite in mare et quiescent mare a vobis;'" hic vere ipse "ventos et mare increpavit, et facta est tranquillitas magna." Et ille projectus est in alvum ceti; iste vero sponte descendit in locum, ubi erat intelligibilis cetus mortis; sponte vero descendit, ut mors eos quos absorbuerat evomeret, juxta quod scriptum est: 'De manu inferi liberabo eos, et de manu mortis redimam illos.'"

⁴¹ See for example St. Augustine, Letter 102, §30–38, Question VI; and St. Jerome, *Commentariorum In Jonam Prophetam*.

⁴² Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, 2 vols, New York 1967, I, 189 and note 47.

the artist's anachronistic portrayal of Jonah's ship as a seventeenth-century galley has no scriptural or patristic source, instead introducing a novel, indeed unexpected conceit. Acknowledging the existence of three spiritual 'senses' of Scripture beyond the literal, including the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical, St. Thomas Aquinas certainly located scriptural typology within the allegorical sense, in which the Old Testament narratives (e.g., God's miraculous dispensation of the Manna to save the starving Israelites in the Book of Exodus) may, by virtue of their underlying 'likeness,' 'prefigure' or 'symbolize' the similar events of the New Testament (e.g., Christ's offering of the Eucharistic bread and wine as a divine nourishment, the sacramental means of salvation).⁴³ But, at least in Thomistic terms, such argumentation would have been considered unsound unless its premises were underwritten by divine authority. In this theological tradition, the implicit truth claim is deterministic, representing a form of certain knowledge encoded within the allegory: It was thus a *certainty* that Jonah was a mystical precursor of Christ's passion and resurrection, not only because Christ himself invoked this idea, but also because the Fathers of the Church had studied and sought to clarify its meaning. However, in the intellectual culture of Italian (and, eventually, pan-European) humanism, this same sort of typological resemblance was re-conceptualized as a form of *rhetorical* comparison, whose implied truth is instead probabilistic—that is, merely *likely* to be true, but nonetheless capable of illustrating or revealing truth.⁴⁴ In such a context, to demonstrate that the stories of Jonah and Christ are rhetorically 'similar' suffices to suggest that Jonah was, in some deeper metaphysical sense, *identical* with Christ. It was this latter epistemological model that must have structured the seventeenth-century beholder's interpretation of the Gasc pendants—and must similarly have informed the artist's and/or iconographic advisor's process of pictorial invention. Hence, the Gasc artist's conceit of portraying Jonah with a modern ship, although a departure from the literal sense of the Old

⁴³ For general orientation see Jean Daniélou, SJ, *From Shadows to Reality Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. Wulstan Hibberd, London 1960; and regarding the four senses, see the fundamental study by Henri de Lubac *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Marc Sebanc, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1998.

⁴⁴ See Colantuono 1994 (as note 8), 654–55 concerning the origins of Poussin's use of pagan-Christian typology in Giambattista Marino's literary concettism. See also Karl Josef Höltgen, Emblem and Meditation Some English Emblem Books and Their Jesuit Models, in: *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 18, 1992, 55–92 concerning the humanistic rhetorical-poetical transformation of typological analogy. For the larger epistemological context of humanistic negotiations between logic and rhetoric, see Brian Vickers, Rhetoric and Poetics, in: Quentin Skinner et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, gen. ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Cambridge 1988, 715–745.

Testament story, was *rhetorically* justified, because such a symbolic device could reveal an otherwise imperceptible truth: The reality that Christian revelation and the Church itself were foreseen and known not only before Christ, but throughout all time.

Girolamo Aleandro the Younger's above-mentioned treatise, the *Navis Ecclesiam Referentis Symbolum in Veteri Gemma Annulari Insculptum*, exemplifies this rhetorical repurposing of exegetical typology. It also happens to address precisely the same themes we encounter in the Gasc pendants. Published in 1626, the text is dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini on his return from diplomatic missions as papal legate *a latere* in Paris and Madrid.⁴⁵ Although illness prevented him from making the journey to Spain, Aleandro had personally accompanied the Cardinal on his mission to France in 1625. In his dedication to Cardinal Barberini, Aleandro begins by weaving the subject of the Cardinal's journeys abroad and peace-making efforts into the nautical theme of his discourse, which will revolve around the images of ships and sailing in Holy Scripture, including that of Noah's ark—the archetype of the Ship of the Church: "Rome rises up, full of veneration and congratulation, Most-esteemed Cardinal, at your return from your double legation to the two greatest kings: Happy, she admires you as Noah's dove, holding that olive branch, and, exultant, she salutes you as the angel of peace."⁴⁶ As I have previously noted, Aleandro's text explicates the mysterious symbolic image engraved on an early Christian ring gem (fig. 11).⁴⁷ He explains that the gem portrays a boat at sea—St. Peter's fishing boat—resting upon the back of a gigantic fish. Even if Aleander does consider other possibilities, he generally assumes that the creature portrayed is the sea-monster that swallowed Jonah.⁴⁸ Atop the ship's mast, a dove is perched upon the crow's nest, which

⁴⁵ See Alberto Asor Rosa, Aleandro, Girolamo, il Giovane, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, eds. Alberto Maria Ghisalberti et al., 95 vols., Rome 1960ff, II (1960), 135–136.

⁴⁶ Aleandro 1626 (as note 12), 3–4: "Reduci tibi, Card. Amplissimus, ex gemina ad maximos Reges legatione gratulabunda assurgit Roma, & venerabunda: teque tanquam Noëticam illam coumbam ramum oleae gestantem laeta intuetur, tanquam angelum pacis exultans salutatur."

⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, 13 for the illustration.

⁴⁸ I thank Dr. Herbert L. Kessler, Professor Emeritus, Department of the History of Art, The Johns Hopkins University, for his generous assistance in identifying the type of gem in question and for locating the relevant bibliography. The gemstone most commonly used for such rings was onyx. For the particular image that Aleandro illustrates, and his interpretation of it, see Raffaele Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*; scritta dal P. Raffaele Garrucci, D. C. D. G., e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scultura, incisi in rame..., 6 vols, Prato 1872–81, VI, pl. 478, fig. 13; and 118, where Garrucci notes that Aleandro is unsure whether to identify the great fish as Jonah's sea monster, as symbolizing Christ, or as signifying evil. This type of Early Christian annular gem is discussed also by Theodor Klauser, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der*

resembles the shape of a smaller boat identified by Aleandro as Noah's ark. A second dove is perched on the poop, where a helmsman is seen working the rudder. And finally at the right, we see the figure of Jesus (identified by the Greek abbreviation ΙΗΣ) standing and coaxing the hesitant, kneeling St. Peter (ΠΕΤ) to walk with him upon the waters. Aleandro argues that even before the Coming of Christ—and indeed from the beginning of time—the institution of Christianity and the reality of Christian salvation were somehow known and prefigured in all their aspects. Aleandro's operative assumption is that the artist who engraved the gem has superimposed the images of Noah's ark, Jonah's sea monster (thus alluding to his own ship) and St. Peter's boat not only in order to suggest that the ship of the Church was made manifest in each, but also to emblemize this temporal transcendence, implying the mystical identity of each ship with the others—as if the Ship of the Church itself existed outside the boundaries of time. This is precisely the same point embodied in the Gasc pendants.

Aleandro's approach to the explication of the gem's imagery is informed by his taste for literary *concettismo*: He perceives the enigmatic image as teeming with metaphor and allusion, while he himself revels in adorning his own text with these same rhetorical conceits. As Marc Fumaroli has observed, this 'asiatic' taste was typical of the Barberini court at that moment—resulting from the influence of Poussin's friend and mentor, the poet Giambattista Marino (1569–1625).⁴⁹ Explaining why Jonah's monstrous sea creature should happen to appear beneath St. Peter's boat, as if bearing the vessel on its back, Aleandro invokes already-familiar typological arguments, derived, however, not from medieval compendia, but rather from original sources including St. Paul, St. Augustine and Tertullian. He says:

Who would oppose the interpretation of this fish as that sea monster in whose belly Jonah spent three days, and as many nights? Which, as no one is unaware, was a symbol of Christ risen from the dead, as even Christ himself teaches it. Principally two

Christlichen Kunst IV, in: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 4, 1961, 128-145, here 141, fig. 6b, for an example identified as portraying the story of Jonah.

⁴⁹ See Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Eloquence: Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Geneva 1980, 212–219. For the narrative of Poussin's meeting with Marino in Paris, his relocation to Rome and Marino's role in introducing him to Cardinal Barberini and his circle, see Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, ed. Evelina Borea, Turin 1976, 424–26; and cf. Asor Rosa 1960 (as note 45), p. 135, where it is noted that Aleandro had not only been Cardinal Barberini's secretary at that time, but was also an ardent defender of Marino's poetical manner.

of Christ's works firmly support the ship of the Church like twin anchors—doubtlessly the Passion and the Resurrection, from which we draw tolerance even amidst adversity and conceive hope of happiness yet to come. Which the Apostle, exhorting us, affirms: 'Rejoicing with hope, patient in tribulation.' Who indeed, knowing that the Son of God so steadfastly bore such bitter pain would not himself willingly suffer 'the passions of this world, which are unworthy of future glory?' Who is not excited in the hope of future glory, while he knows of the Resurrection of our flesh in Christ? For hence also emerges the hope of our resurrection, which is called the 'confidence of Christians' by Tertullian. It is ours to sow, with Christ, the seed of His passion, and to mortify the grain of our senses, so that in time we might mete out the fruit of His Resurrection. That which the great teacher of the gentiles did, pondering the power of the Resurrection and likewise of the Passion of the Lord: Thus indeed he wrote to the Philippians: 'that I may know him, and the virtue of His Resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, made to conform to his death; if by any means I might attain to that resurrection which is from the dead.' And so too Augustine, in the epistle to Honoratus: 'So that, therefore, He might exhort the faithful with the example of His flesh to spurn worldly happiness in favor of the eternal, He endured those who persecuted Him, and those filled with rage [against Him], as if arrogantly mocking [a man] defeated and oppressed.'⁵⁰

Adducing Christ's own now-familiar testimony, Aleandro argues that Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale did indeed prefigure Christ's resurrection. As regards the Resurrection, he

⁵⁰ Aleandro, 1626 (as note 12), 104–106: "Quis verò vetat, hac piscis imagine cetum illum intepretari cuius in ventre Ionas tres dies fuit, totidem noctes? Quam sane rem Christi à mortuis excitati symbolum fuisse nemo ignorant, ipso etiam Christo id docente. Duo praecipue Christi opera quasi geminae anchorae Ecclesiae navem obfirmant, Passio nimirum, & Resurrectio, è quibus & tolerantiam in adversis haurimus, & spem concipimus de futurorum felicitate. Ad quae nos Apostolus exhortans aiebat, 'Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes.' Quis enim tam acerba pro nobis Dei filium, perpeffum sciens non & ipse ferat libenti animo 'passiones huius temporis, quae non sunt condignae ad futuram gloriam?' Quis non in futurae gloriae spem erigatur, dum nostrae carnis in Christo factam noscit resurrectionem? Nam & hinc nostrae resurrectionis spes emergit, quae 'fiducia Christianorum' à Tertulliano appellatur. Nobis enim serendum est quodammodo semen passionis cum Christo, & granum nostrorum sensuum mortificandum, ut resurrectionis illius fructum suo tempore metamus. Quod magnus Doctor gentium faciebat, vim cogitans tàm Resurrectionis quàm Passionis Domini. Sic enim scripsit ad Philippenses: 'ad cognoscendum illum, & virtutem resurrectionis eius, & societatem passionem illius, configuratus morti eius, si quomodo occurram ad resurrectionem, quae est ex mortuis.' Itaque eleganter D. Augustinus in epistola ad Honoratum: 'Ut igitur (ait) exemplo suae carnis exhortaretur fideles suos temporalem pro aeterna felicitate contemnere, usque ad mortem pertulit persequentes atque saevientes, & quasi victo & oppresso superbè illudentes.'

goes on to say: “And truly, he who wished to display the type of the Church in this gem, wished [also] to insert the figures of both the Resurrection and the Passion. Indeed having portrayed [the type of] the Resurrection with Jonah’s whale, which, suffering him in its mouth for some time, as if hurled back from the door of the tomb, he indicates that [the creature] has discharged its still-living prey, which it had held for three days: It is for this reason that Jonah is absent, and because (as we have said), there is no need for the type, where the portrayed prototype is discerned.”⁵¹ Likewise, Aleandro finds the image of the Passion in the allusion to Noah’s ark, whose wood turns out to be the wood of Christ’s own Holy Cross: “But concerning the sign of Jonah, most beautiful are those things which we read in Augustine in epistle XLIX: That the Passion is signified by that same wood of the ark, or of that ship, as if by the very wood of the Cross, as is easily permitted by the words of Justin or of Augustine already adduced above. On account of which the author of the commentaries on Mark quoted by Jerome spoke thus concerning the Cross: ‘we are borne across the seas by this wood, to the land of the living.’ And in that which we read in the book of Wisdom concerning the ark of Noah: ‘Blessed is the wood, through which justice is done,’ Solomon’s opinion has always seemed to me true, when he wrote these words, that that famous instrument of justice was not so much a reference to the wood of the ark, but rather to that of the true Cross.”⁵² In the context of his discourse, Aleandro is here constructing the argument that the wood of Noah’s ark is the wood of Christ’s cross, and hence the very substance on which the *Navis Ecclesiae* is founded.

Aleandro’s reading of the enigmatic ring gem is of obvious relevance to the interpretation of the Gasc pendants. For the painter’s pairing of the subjects *Jonah and the Whale* and *Christ Calming the Seas* similarly implies the eternity of the Church, proposing a comparison between the ships of Jonah and Christ—and thus suggesting their mystical

⁵¹ Ibid, 106–107: “Ac sane qui typum Ecclesiae in hac gemma exhibere voluit, voluit etiam figuras addere tam resurrectionis quam passionis. Resurrectionis quidem effictio Ionae ceto, qui ore nonihil [sic] patenti, quasi revoluto ab ostio monumenti lapide, praedam, quam triduo custodierat, sese emisisse viventem indicat: Ideoque abest Iona, ea quoque de causa, quia (uti diximus) typo non est opus, ubi prototypus effictus cernitur.”

⁵² Ibid, 107: “Porrò de signo Iona pulcherrima sunt quae apud Augustinum leguntur epistola XLIX. Passionem verò significari per ipsum sive arcae, seu navis lignum, quasi per crucis lignum, ex Iustini, & Augustini verbis supra allatis facile patet. Quapropter de Cruce tanquam de navi sic loquebatur auctor Commentarij in Marcum apud Hieronymum, ‘ligno hoc vehimur per mare undosum ad terram viventium.’ Ac quo de Arca Noe in libro Sapientiae legimus: ‘Benedictum est lignum, per quod fit iustitia,’ mihi sane verisimile semper visum fuit, Salomonis mentem, cum isthaec verba sciberet, à divino Spiritu directam fuisse non tam ad arcae, quam ad Crucis lignum praeclarum verae iustitiae instrumentum.”

equivalence with the Church itself. In this respect, it is particularly important to observe that, amidst the waves surrounding the figure of Jonah, the Gasc painter has portrayed a foamy whitecap resembling the form of a dove (fig. 12)—a creature which evokes not only the Hebrew meaning of Jonah’s name, but also the dove of Noah and the eternal Holy Spirit, in simultaneity. The symbolic device of Aleandro’s ancient annular gem likewise features the images of two doves, similarly identified as precursors of the Holy Spirit.⁵³ As already observed, however, the Gasc painter takes the argument a step further by envisioning Jonah’s ship as an unmistakably modern vessel. In effect, the painter has proposed a further rhetorical analogy, implying that the ship of Jonah is somehow metaphysically ‘like’ or ‘similar to’ the ships known to the artist’s contemporaries—and that our modern ships are no less a manifestation of the ship of the Church. The Gasc painter’s portrayal of a modern vessel might perhaps be explained away as a common sort of pictorial license. But given the typological basis of the pictorial argument, the anachronism surely takes on deeper symbolic significance, suggesting that the Church and the salvation it offers were manifested not only in the ancient ships of Noah, Jonah and Christ, but even in this modern sailing vessel—the metonymic sign of modernity itself. Such an argument goes beyond traditional typology, reconfiguring a hallowed exegetical commonplace as a kind of rhetorical or poetical figure—a symbolic device structured in a manner similar to that of the ancient gem. Indeed, just as the Gasc painter has suggested the eternity of the Church not only by juxtaposing the typologically-related images of Jonah and Christ in similarly perilous maritime conditions, but also by situating Jonah’s plight in the world of present reality, the ancient artist has, in Aleandro’s reading, proposed this same concept by superimposing three images of it (the ships of Noah, Jonah and St. Peter), thus compressing the passage of time into a single figurative ‘moment.’

Aleandro’s thinking belongs to a broader strain of Jesuitical discourse which claimed, in fact, that not only the Hebrew seers of the Old Testament, but even the pagan world had somehow already known Christ, whose coming was mysteriously foretold in the images of

⁵³ Ibid, 87–94.

sibylline prophesy and in the stories of the pagan gods.⁵⁴ In early modernity as in the Middle Ages, it had already been well accepted that the pagan sibyls had foreseen Christ's coming, but in the *Navis Ecclesiam Referentis Symbolum*, Aleandro takes the argument somewhat further in his discussion of the famous prophecy of the Cumaean Sibyl, reported by Virgil in the fourth Eclogue:

And so that which the Sibyl so transparently shall have foretold, [Virgilius] Maro ridiculously transferred to the son of Pollio—for by what rationale could he adapt it to [that child], while everyone knows whose son this really was: 'Now a new progeny is sent down from high heaven'? Perhaps the Sibyl might have said that this 'progeny' was equivalent to God, [that he is] either God's own living image, or his character: The poet calls him 'Jove's great increment.' That which the Sibyl shall have sung concerning the Virgin mother, [the poet] redirects to the fabled Astraea. Those 'vestiges of ancient error might remain,' namely that same original sin [that was] to be erased by Christ, as Augustine interpreted them, referred to the remnants of the civil war, calmed by Augustus. What truly is it (that I might proceed [through Virgil's conceits] one by one) that [Virgil] inserts concerning that other ship, the Argo, and that other helmsman Tiphys? Either I am mistaken, or the Sibyl had spoken not a little concerning that ship, which is the Church, and concerning that same master of Peter's ship. Which ship, without doubt, was not constructed by the wisdom of Minerva, as someone might advise, but rather by that same divine wisdom of God. [That same ship] which slipped unharmed through the Symplegades not with the guidance of a dove, but with the Holy Spirit leading the way, it rides safely beyond [the danger] while on one side the perverseness of faith, and on the other the depravity of [bad] doctrine, like two rocks smashing together, strive to crush it. Which refers not to that golden ram famous in mythical fiction, but rather to that same immaculate lamb — the true treasure divinity.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ For general orientation, see Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance*, Baltimore and London 1970, 135–247 concerning the discovery of Christian meanings in Vergil and more generally in pagan myth.

⁵⁵ Aleandro 1626 (as note 12), 64–65: "Itaque quod adeo perspicuè de Dei filio vaticinata fuerit Sibylla, ridicule Maro ad Pollionis filium transtulit, cui qua nam ratione poterat illud aptari, dum nemo ignorabat, cujus esset filius, 'Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto'? Hanc progeniem dixerat fortasse Sibylla Deo aequalem, aut ipsius Dei

In this passage, Aleandro comments on the famous line from Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* (IV. 5-8): "iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto"—that is, "now a new offspring is sent down from the high heavens." Continuing medieval and Renaissance interpretative tradition, Aleandro sees this "offspring" as Christ, who brings a "new order of the ages" ("novus ordo saeculorum")—the new order announced in Christian revelation.⁵⁶ Amidst Virgil's mysterious language, Aleandro also recognizes an allusion to the myth of Jason and the Argo. This allusion was likewise well known to his contemporaries, as it had been noted by the commentator Servius Grammaticus—a text which Renaissance readers of Virgil regarded as an indispensable and authoritative guide.⁵⁷ But his equation of the mythical Argo with the *Navis Ecclesiae*, the ship of the Church, may be somewhat less familiar. Alluding to the ancient myth in which Jason and his men brave the fearsome crashing rocks of the Symplegades, first sending a dove through the perilous passage to find the safest route (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.549-592), Aleandro concludes that this dove must in fact be a veiled allusion to the Holy Spirit, while the sought-after ram of the golden fleece must likewise allude to the immaculate Lamb of God—with the Argo itself prefiguring the Ship of the Church.⁵⁸

It is here that I return to the notion that the Gasc *Jonah* might entail an allusion to the story of Jason and the Argonauts. It is true that in the Gasc painting, the appearance of Jonah's rising can be explained as an proleptic allusion to Christ's resurrection—as plainly implied by

vivam imaginem, virtutemve: poeta 'magnum Iovis incrementum' nominavit. Quod de Virgine matre cecinerat Sibylla, ille ad fabulosam Astaeam deflexit. Quae 'suberant priscae vestigia fraudis,' ipsum videlicet originis peccatum à Christo delendum, quemadmodum Augustinus interpretatur, trahit ille ad reliquas belli civilis ab Augusto sopitas. Quid verò est (ne singulari persequar) quod inserit de altera navi Argo, de altero gubernatore Typhi? Aut fallor, aut non nihil Sibylla effata erat de navi, quae Ecclesia est, deque ipso navis magistro Petri. Quae nimirum navis non Minervae nescio cuius consilio, sed ab ipsa vera Dei sapientia constructa fuit. Quae non columbae ductu inter Symplegadas inoffenso cursu elabatur, sed Spiritu sancto dirigente, dum hinc fidei perversitas, illinc doctrinae pravitas quasi concurrentes scopuli illis comprimere illam moluntur, tuta praetervehitur. Quae non ad auream illam ovem fabulosis mendacibus celebrem, sed ad ipsum immaculatum agnum verum divinitatis thesaurum nos deducit."

⁵⁶ Concerning this Christological reading of the fourth *Eclogue* and its situation in the larger context of ancient religions, see the classic study by Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes: Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*, Leipzig 1924; and for medieval and Renaissance interpretations of the text, Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics*, Oxford 2015, 51–52; and David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2010, 70–73. The principle early Christian comments on the passage are Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 7.24; and Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10.27.

⁵⁷ See *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, eds. Georg Thilo and Hermann Hagen, 4 vols (1887), reprint: Cambridge 2011, III.1, 49–50, concerning Virgil, *Eclogues* IV.34.

⁵⁸ Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.14 for the idea of Jonah as a precursor of Jason.

the typological context. Moreover, no classical textual source known the Renaissance explicitly mentions the episode in which Jason was swallowed and vomited up by a sea monster—this idea appears to have originated from modern analyses of iconographic evidence. And, as a result, one finds no reference to such a myth in the corpus of Renaissance mythography—not even in the most allegory-prone writers such as Natale Conti.⁵⁹ But the fact that Aleandro’s philological analysis of Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* should happen to reveal an allusion to Jason and the Argonauts makes essentially the same point: If the Argo was indeed a prefiguration of the Ship of the Church, as Aleandro argues, the Church was therefore already present in the pagan world, long before Christ’s coming. Jonah’s ship is thus identical with the Argo, even in the absence of any explicit sign of such a connection. It is entirely clear why Aleandro should have deployed such argumentation in a text dedicated to Cardinal Barberini upon his return in 1626 from his twin diplomatic missions in France and Spain, for the worldly struggles of the two kingdoms amidst the Franco-Spanish conflict in the Valtelline, which Barberini had sought unsuccessfully to address, seemed to place in question the authority and dignity of the papacy and of the Church itself. In such a context, Aleandro’s assertion of the earthly permanence and eternity of the Roman Catholic Church represents a powerful, indeed devastating rhetorical response. But if the Gasc pendants may be described as vectors of this same genre of argumentation, embracing not only the basis of exegetical typology but potentially also that of the *prisca theologia*, do they necessarily carry this same Roman Catholic discourse?

Given the Poussinesque sources and symbolic language of the Gasc pendants, it seems no small coincidence that the two paintings, strongly correlating with Poussin’s style around 1623-30, should also closely align with the argument of Aleandro’s treatise, published precisely in 1626. Aleandro had taken his position as Cardinal Francesco Barberini’s secretary in 1624—the same year when Poussin arrived in Rome. Since Poussin is known to have made extensive use of Aleandro’s antiquarian scholarship in the invention of pictorial imagery, and since we know, too, that Giambattista Marino had provided the artist with an introduction to Cardinal

⁵⁹ See Hamel, 9–10 concerning the absence of classical literary evidence. Cf. also Marion Lawrence, *Ships, Monsters and Jonah*, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 66, 1962, 289–296, here 294 concerning pagan echoes of Jonah’s story. In comparison with the Old Testament episode of Jonah, Lawrence, 294, cites the best iconographic evidence for the story of Jason and the sea monster, a red-figure vase preserved in the Vatican—the so-called Duris Cup—which portrays the pagan hero emerging from the creature’s mouth.

Barberini and his circle in that same year—an introduction which resulted in numerous commissions for the artist—it seems a virtual certainty that Poussin himself had known Aleandro in person.⁶⁰ The spiritual discourse embodied in the Gasc pendants is therefore most readily explained as a product or precipitate of that same moment in Rome, in the 1620s, when Marino had brought Poussin into the orbit of the Barberini court, enabling what appears to have been a highly productive intellectual interaction between the young French painter and Aleandro.

If the argument and imagery ultimately embodied in the Gasc pendants may have originated in the intellectual and spiritual world of the Barberini circle, specifically informed by Aleandro's discourse on the immutable and eternal presence of the Ship of the Church, one might also speculate upon the specific spiritual and contemplative context in which the Gasc artist or his patron intended to deploy these images. Given that the individual subjects of the two pendants were evidently selected to feature scenes of ships in distress amidst stormy seas, I offer the speculation that the artist's patron might not only have been highly educated in theological and exegetical matters, but also involved in some aspect of maritime commerce or perhaps naval warfare. Indeed, the symbolic argument of the Gasc pendants would have been particularly comforting to Christian worshipers whose social identity somehow entailed the survival of dangerous conditions at sea. Here, I must also endorse Mme. Gasc's speculation that the conceit of the pendants might reflect the context of Poussin's own spirituality. As she has rightly observed, the imagery of Poussin's well known signet ring might also connect the artist to the religious context and purpose of the pendants, for it bore the figure of a woman identified by the inscription 'CONFIDENTIA,' holding a ship in her hands.⁶¹ In his treatise *Iconologia*, the early modern symbolic theorist Cesare Ripa explains that:

[The personification of] 'Confidence' bears with her the awareness of imminent danger, and the firm belief that one must be able to escape, free from [that danger]. And without these two qualities she would have to alter her name and change her essence.

⁶⁰ See Asor-Rosa 1960 (as note 45), 135 concerning Aleandro and Marino; and cf. Bellori 1976 (as note 49), 424, where we learn that Marino had met Poussin in Paris in the specific context of a Jesuit festival, which may suggest a basis for Poussin's intellectual connection with Aleandro.

⁶¹ Françoise Gasc, in: *Le Secret de Poussin* (as note 7).

Therefore she is depicted with a ship, which is the sign of confidence: With their ships, sailors yearn to inhabit the waves of the sea which, with the ease of their perpetual motion, seem to threaten the ruin, death and extermination of [any] man, who, as he passes [from] the land, goes beyond his confines.”⁶²

Although Ripa’s primary literary reference is in Horace (*Odes* I.3), his argument resonates also with a passage in Tertullian (*De Resurrectione Carnis* I.1), where a discourse on the Resurrection begins with a rather similar conceit: “Fiducia Christianorum resurrectio mortuorum” — “The confidence of Christians [is] the resurrection of the dead.” In his treatise, Aleandro cites this same passage from Tertullian in the context of relating the Ship of Jonah, and hence the *Navis Ecclesiae* itself, to the salvific concept of ‘resurrection,’ writing: “Who is not excited in the hope of future glory, while he knows of the Resurrection of our flesh in Christ? For hence also emerges the hope of our resurrection, which is called the ‘confidence of Christians’ by Tertullian.”⁶³ Bellori tells us, however, that Poussin adopted the seal of ‘Confidentia’ upon his unwilling return to Paris in 1640 as a symbolic expression of this “navigazione incerta,” imposed upon him by the French king.⁶⁴ Even if the artist’s decision to fashion a signet ring based upon this conceit may suggest another link to Aleandro’s treatise on the early Christian annular gem, it is therefore difficult to know whether he intended this device to imply a specifically spiritual resonance, or merely a secular moral principle.⁶⁵ But to the extent that the Gasc pendants necessarily allude to a Christian notion of *confidentia*, the signet ring may provide yet one more reason to connect their argument with the world of Nicolas Poussin.

⁶² Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia ovvero descrizione d’imagini della virtù, vitij, affetti, passioni humane, corpi celesti, mondo e sue parti*, Padua 1611, 93–94 (with my emphasis): “La confidenza porta seco la cognitione dell’immanente pericolo, & la salda credenza di doverne scampare libero, & senza queste due qualità varierebbe nome, & cangiarebbe l’essere suo. Però si dipinge con la nave, che è segno di confidenza, con la nave i naviganti ardiscono di praticare l’onde del mare, le quali solo con la facilità del perpetuo moto, par che minaccino ruina, morte, & estermio all’uomo, che quando passa la terra, esce fuori de suoi confine.”

⁶³ Aleandro 1626 (as note 12), 105: “Quis non in futurae gloriae spem erigatur, dum nostrae carnis in Christo factam noscit resurrectionem? Nam & hinc nostrae resurrectionis spes emergit, quae ‘fiducia Christianorum’ à Tertulliano appellatur.”

⁶⁴ Bellori 1976 (as note 49), 455.

⁶⁵ Our knowledge of Poussin religious faith and its relationship to his moral philosophy remains insufficient. For the artist’s religious ideas, see especially Blunt 1967 (as note 42), 177–207; and Alain Mérot, “Des grâces visibles aux grâces secretes,” in: Nicolas Milovanovic et Mickaël Szanto (eds.), *Poussin et Dieu Poussin et Dieu: la fabrique des saintes images*, Rome-Paris, 1580–1660, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, 2 April–29 June 2015, Issy-les-Moulineaux 2015, 76–83.

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IMAGE CAPTIONS

Fig. 1: Anonymous, Jonah and the Sea Monster, 17th century, oil on canvas, Coll. Mme. Françoise Gasc (© Francis Laharrague)

Fig. 2: Anonymous, Christ calming the Seas, 17th century, oil on canvas, Coll. Mme. Françoise Gasc (© Francis Laharrague)

Fig. 3: N. Poussin, Exposition of Moses, 1654, oil on canvas, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (© Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

Fig.4: N. Poussin, Et in Arcadia Ego, c. 1630, oil on canvas, Coll. Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth Settlement Trust, Great Britain (© Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

Fig. 5: P. Bril, Jonah Swallowed by the Sea Monster, c. 1595, oil on canvas, Venice, Ca' d'Oro, Galleria Franchetti (© Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY)

Fig. 6: P. Monamy, Ships in Distress in a Storm, ca. 1720-30, oil on canvas, London, Tate Britain (© Tate, London / Art Resource, NY)

Fig. 7: G. Dughet, Seascape with Jonah and the Whale, c. 1653-4, oil on canvas, Royal Collection Trust, Buckingham Palace (Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020)

Fig. 8: P. Veronese, Resurrection of Christ, c. 1570, oil on canvas, Dresden, Gemaeldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (© bpk Bildagentur / Gemaeldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden / Photo: Elke Estel and Hans-Peter Klut / Art Resource, NY)

Fig. 9: Anonymous, Early Christian Annular Gem, from Girolamo Aleandro the Younger, Navis Ecclesiam Referentis Symbolum in Veteri Gemma Annulari Insculptum, Rome 1626, engraving. Cumberland, Maryland (U.S.A.), Coll. Anthony Colantuono (Photo: © Anthony Colantuono)

Fig. 10: Detail: Jonah's dove, from Jonah and the Sea Monster (Coll. Mme. Françoise Gasc) (© Francis Laharrague)