JUAN BAUTISTA MAINO'S ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS: AN ANALYSIS OF ICONOGRAPHY, ICONOLOGY, AND STYLE

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of North Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Christine A. Berry, B.A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1998

This thesis investigates the iconography, iconology, and style of Juan Bautista Maino’s *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1615-1620) located at the Meadows Museum, Dallas, Texas. The study begins with an overview of general information on Maino and his works. Chapter 2 explores the evolution of the Adoration of the Shepherds depiction in art, while examining social and political factors which may have influenced Maino’s iconographical choices. Chapter 3 is a comparative analysis of the Meadows *Adoration of the Shepherds* to two other *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Maino, revealing a stylistic progression and presenting an argument for the dates the Meadows painting was rendered. Chapter 4 reviews the findings and suggests further study on this and other paintings by Maino.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Juan Bautista Maino (c. 1578-1641) was well known in his life as an established artist and teacher at the courts of Philip III and Philip IV of Spain. Maino had both Italian and Portuguese ancestry. His father, Juan Bautista Maino, was Milanese, while his mother, Ana de Castro, held the title Marquesa de Figueredo at the court of the Princess of Eboli in Pastrana, near Toledo.¹

As a young man, Maino moved to Italy from his birthplace in Pastrana to receive his artistic education. In Italy, Maino developed his style by incorporating ideas from the Italian tradition. Little is known of his sojourn in Italy; exactly where and when his visit took place is in question.² It is probable that he painted some pieces while in Italy, although only his works from Spain are known.

During this visit, he became friends with Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Annibale Carracci (1560-1609). Jusepe Martinez, a seventeenth-century writer and biographer, states that Maino had been a "pupil" and "friend" of Annibale Carracci.³ Based on this information, works in a classical mode by Annibale Carracci, who may have influenced

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¹ Fernando Marías, "Juan Bautista Maino y su familia," Archivo Español de Arte 49 (October 1976): 469.

² Jusepe Martinez, Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura, ed. Julián Gállego (Barcelona, 1950), 199-203.

³ Ibid.
Maino’s painting in terms of color, draftsmanship, and basic compositional format.

Followers of Annibale Carracci, like the previously mentioned Guido Reni, may have also played a role in the development of Maino’s style while he was in Italy. Both of these artists were living and working in Rome at the same time Maino was studying there.4

Although in a contrary tradition to Annibale Carracci, Caravaggio (1571-1610) was another Italian influence on Maino. In Spanish art history, Maino is known as one of the few successful followers of Caravaggio of his generation, and it is said by Martínez that he viewed works by the artist while in Rome during his stay as well.5 As we see in chapter 3, many of Maino’s paintings exemplify typically Caravaggesque lighting effects. Additionally, his portrayal of certain characters seems to recall Caravaggio in that they are not idealized, but faces from real life.

After his studies in Italy, Maino returned to Pastrana, his hometown in Spain, around 1608 where he painted a Trinity (1608) for the church of the Franciscanas Concepcionistas.6 Maino then moved to Toledo where payment for a commission by the Toledo cathedral was documented in 1611.7 Even though Philip II had moved the Spanish court from Toledo to Madrid in 1561, Toledo continued to be economically, culturally, and intellectually stimulated because of the cloth industry and numerous

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5 Martínez, 199-203.


religious figures connected with the cathedral. These factors made Toledan noblemen connected with industry or the Church a sophisticated society with artistic tastes considered more worldly and open-minded than other parts of Spain.

In 1612, Maino received a major commission for the main altar of the church of the Dominican convent of San Pedro Mártir, also in Toledo. The paintings rendered represent the four Christian feasts: the Adoration of the Shepherds (1612-13), the Adoration of the Magi (1612-13), the Resurrection (1613), and the Pentecost (1613).

Smaller paintings for the predella of the altar are Saint John the Evangelist in a Landscape (1613) and Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (1613). While working on the altar, Maino became a friar at the same convent around 1613.

After several years of living piously, Maino was appointed drawing master to Prince Philip, the future King Philip IV. He moved to the court in Madrid around 1621 and rarely produced any art of his own, being known to the King and court, including the powerful advisor, the Count Duke of Olivares, as a “taste maker.” Maino was prominent at court in terms of artistic matters. In 1627, the young artist from Seville, Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), along with two established painters for the King, Vicente Carducho (1576-1638) and Eugenio Cajés (1574-1634), were asked to participate in a

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painting competition. Each artist was to paint his own rendition of the subject of the Expulsion of the Moors with the winner to have his painting placed in a prominent stateroom in the Alcázar. Maino and his counterpart, Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, selected Velázquez as the winner. Through this triumph, Velázquez was appointed to his first position in the King’s palace, exemplifying Maino’s ability to identify artistic genius.\textsuperscript{12}

Many years later, under the guidance of the prime minister, the Count Duke of Olivares, King Philip IV was ready to decorate the new Buen Retiro Palace. Philip IV’s goal was to design a program that exemplified the magnificence of the Spanish court and to commemorate the recent battles won by Spain under his rule. Maino was one of several artists, including Diego Velázquez, Vicente Carducho, and Francisco de Zurbarán (1598-1664), who were asked to execute this grand commission. All of the works in the Hall of Realms were rendered between 1634-1635.\textsuperscript{13}

Although it seems that Maino had not been able to focus solely on his own art for some time, \textit{Recapture of Bahía} (1634-35) is one of the finest of the program with its rich description of an emotional battle scene. Instead of presenting the usual glorification of war and victory, Maino tucked the battle scene into the far right side of the painting where the banner of Philip IV is being presented, while leaving the emotive war-torn area of the painting to take up the majority of the panel. Maino’s interpretation of the scene was influenced by \textit{El Brasil restituido}, a play written by Lope de Vega, which gave a full

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 164.
account of the victory prior to the return of the soldiers from Brazil.\textsuperscript{14} Maino adapted Vega’s use of symbolism and allegorical references, making the painting unique in its interpretation.\textsuperscript{15} It was several years later in 1641 that Maino died in Madrid at the age of sixty-three.\textsuperscript{16}

Very little research has been conducted on the works of Juan Bautista Maino; this is true of a painting located at the Meadows Museum in Dallas, Texas, \textit{Adoration of the Shepherds}, c. 1615-1620 (Fig. 1). While no extensive research has been completed on this particular piece, there is a long tradition of Adoration of the Shepherds as a subject. The iconography of this painting is particularly important in that while there were very strict guidelines according to the doctrines of the Counter Reformation, artists were able to incorporate these standards without compromising their individual styles.

In conjunction with an iconographic analysis, an iconological study is essential to the complete understanding of this painting. During the early seventeenth century, conditions at the Spanish court as well as in the Catholic Church contributed to the overall meaning of the work. With the Counter Reformation in full swing, art was often used to convey meaning or instill devotion in the common worshipper. While the iconology for this particular painting is conventional, there are areas of the painting, such as the shepherds’ gifts and the still-life elements, which need to be explored in relation to the social context of Toledo at that time.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Lope de Vega, \textit{Obras}, 28 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1970).
\item \textsuperscript{15} Brown and Elliott, 186-88.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Marias, 469.
\end{enumerate}
Juan Bautista Maino was a prominent painter in Toledo and at the courts of Philip III and Philip IV, but very little study has been given to the artist and his paintings. The Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas acquired their Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-20) in 1994. Before that date, it had been held in a private collection and was not published. Therefore, central to this thesis is the specific analysis of the painting in terms of the subject matter and symbols in addition to its overall meaning. Also, a comparative analysis between the Meadows Museum’s Adoration of the Shepherds and his two other known Adoration of the Shepherds, one being at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Fig. 2) and the other at the Prado in Madrid (Fig. 3), identifies stylistic changes to determine better the placement of the Meadows painting in Maino’s œuvre.

This study of the Adoration of the Shepherds by Juan Bautista Maino reveals information on the artist and his paintings at a period in the artist’s career that remains unknown to this point, as well as confirming information about the artistic situation at the Spanish court during the first half of the seventeenth century. Additionally, a comparative analysis of Maino’s three Adorations reveals a progression in the works, making it possible to re-evaluate each painting’s respective dates.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the iconography, iconology, and style of Juan Bautista Maino’s Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-1620) at the Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.
Methodology

In order to analyze fully Juan Bautista Maino’s Adoration of the Shepherds, I have viewed the painting at the Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas on numerous occasions.

While visiting Spain, I viewed firsthand other works by the artist, including another Adoration of the Shepherds (1612-1613) in the holdings of the Prado, Madrid, which is central to this thesis. In addition to the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Prado owns several other works by Maino which I was able to study, such as the Adoration of the Magi (1612-1613), Pentecost (1613), Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (1613), Saint John the Evangelist in a Landscape (1613), and Recapture of Bahia (1634-35).

Other excursions included a stay in Toledo where I visited the former Dominican convent of San Pedro Mártir where Maino was a friar, now incorporated into the University of Castille-La Mancha. Several of Maino’s frescoes for the church are still in situ; these works were also viewed.

Secondary data included an interview conducted with Trinidad de Antonio, chief curator of Spanish painting at the Prado. Additional secondary data was obtained from books, articles, dissertations, exhibition catalogues, newspaper articles, and museum files pertaining to Maino, his paintings, and to Spanish art of the early seventeenth century. Reproductions of Maino’s works from printed materials were examined for those that could not be viewed firsthand; especially important, a work from St. Petersburg, also an Adoration of the Shepherds (early seventeenth century) at the Hermitage.
Review of the Literature

There is no one definitive source of information on Juan Bautista Maino and his paintings. Early documentation of Maino was provided by Jusepe Martínez and Antonio Palomino, Spanish biographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The writings by Martínez were published in Madrid in 1724 and titled *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*. In addition to Maino’s friendship with Guido Reni, Martínez wrote that the artist was a student and friend of Annibale Carracci as well. Martínez also mentioned that while in Rome, Maino viewed works by Caravaggio. This book introduces the relationships Maino had with several Italian artists, but it does not discuss specifically in what way these artists from very different schools influenced Maino’s style or subject matter.

*Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors* by Antonio Palomino was written during the seventeenth century and was translated and edited by Nina Ayala Mallory in 1987. This book contains information on Spanish artists, including Maino, but without detail. Most importantly, Palomino stated that Maino was a student of El Greco while living in Toledo.

Juan Bautista Maino is discussed in many publications, but in limited scope. These works tend to focus on Maino’s role at the court of Philip IV, where he is noted for his painting the *Recapture of Bahía* (1634-35) in the Hall of Realms at the Buen Retiro

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Palace. Many art historical surveys of Spanish art mention Maino's paintings, but in most, the discussion concentrates on the stylistic influences that Caravaggio had on the artist, thus noting Maino as one of the few Spanish artists heavily influenced by the Italian master. For example, Benedict Nicolson devotes two pages to Maino in his book *The International Caravaggesque Movement* published in 1979. While this book identifies Maino as one of those influenced by Caravaggio, little mention is made of specific examples.

Enriqueta Harris wrote an article in 1934 entitled “Aportaciones para el estudio de Juan Bautista Maino” in *Revista Española de Arte*. She discussed definitively for the first time in modern scholarship Maino’s role of bringing Caravaggism to Spain. While this point is important to this study, Harris did not fully develop her discussion on Maino. Also critical was Harris’s confirmation of the commission of the San Pedro Mártir altarpiece through original source documents. This data was used as a basis in determining the dates for the Meadows *Adoration of the Shepherds*.

Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez have written the most comprehensive source to date on Juan Bautista Maino, as part of their survey entitled *Historia de la pintura española* from 1969. This work discusses most of the paintings by

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Maino and includes illustrations and basic documentation on each, including information on commissions, provenance, and stylistic influences.

Unfortunately, this book does not include the Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-20) owned by the Meadows Museum as it was apparently not known to the authors at that time. Nevertheless, it does have entries on the Adoration of the Shepherds (1612-1613) at the Prado and the Adoration of the Shepherds (c. seventeenth century) at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, giving an opportunity for comparison between all three versions of the subject. Additionally, the authors have created the most detailed chronology of the artist's life to date, which includes several important personal events as well as stating further information regarding career highlights.

Also of significance is a short, two-page article written by Fernando Marias entitled "Juan Bautista Maino y su familia" from Archivo Español de Arte published in 1976. This source is important as it is one of the few articles devoted solely to Maino; because of its brevity, a great deal of information is not covered. However, it does give information on Maino's family heritage, emphasizing their prominent social status and their "purity of blood," that is, being Christian for generations.

More recent sources of information are El Greco to Murillo: Spanish Painting in the Golden Age, 1556-1700 by Nina Ayala Mallory and Jonathan Brown's Spanish

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22 Fernando Marías, Juan Bautista Maino y su familia.” Archivo Español de Arte 49 (1976): 468-70.

Painting in the Golden Age. Both sources relay the importance of Juan Bautista Maino as an artist in Toledo and Madrid, although both fail to cover the artist in depth due to their nature as survey texts.

Brown focuses on Maino as a follower of Caravaggio in addition to being an artist who helped bring a sense of naturalism to Spanish painting. He writes a detailed stylistic analysis of the Prado’s Adoration of the Shepherds, but does not mention any other versions. Similarly, Ayala Mallory accomplishes one of the most complete studies of Maino’s work, but again, only the altarpiece from San Pedro Mártir is discussed in detail.

As noted, there is mention of Maino in many publications of Spanish seventeenth-century art, but his paintings are generally discussed in brief from a stylistic standpoint, establishing his relationship to artists in Italy, such as Caravaggio, Annibale Carracci, and Guido Reni. Writings on the iconography and iconology of his works are limited. General iconographical references to this subject have been made in publications like the Iconography of Christian Art by Gertrud Schiller; however, no full-scale study has been written to determine the overall meaning of this particular painting.25

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CHAPTER 2

ICONOGRAPHY AND ICONOLOGY

Introduction to the Iconography

Juan Bautista Maino’s interpretation of the Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-1620) derives from traditional representations of the same subject (Fig. 1). In his rendering of the theme, Maino held true to conventional Western format and subject matter, using standard iconographical symbols to present this Biblical narrative to the seventeenth-century viewer.

The story of the Adoration of the Shepherds comes from the Gospel of Luke, which stems from this passage:

And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.1

With this announcement, the shepherds went to Bethlehem to find Mary, Joseph, and the new baby Jesus.

Evolution

Depictions in art of the Adoration of the Shepherds represent the Biblical account of the arrival of the shepherds at the manger where they saw the child whom the Lord told them would bring salvation to the world. This subject became common in Western art in the middle of the fourteenth century, creating a standard iconographical formula which would be used for over three hundred years before Maino painted his versions. The Adoration of the Shepherds as a sole theme was first popularized in Italy. The subject became important because of ideas spread by Saint Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226), who stressed the importance that those who first heard the announcement and viewed the new born savior were hard-working shepherds, not men of privilege. He also praised the notion that Christ was born in a humble setting with common parents. Fifty years after his death, the ideas of Saint Francis became paramount for followers of his order, which in turn made the Adoration of the Shepherds a popular theme for commissions from that time through the seventeenth century. One of the first examples of this subject was rendered by Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1332-38) (Fig. 4). This painting's sole subject is the Adoration of the Shepherds. The composition contains only a few elements, such as Mary doting over Christ, Joseph kneeling in the foreground, two shepherds pointing in reverence towards the baby, and an ox and an ass.

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3 Ibid., 76.
The scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds evolved from the theme of the Nativity, that is, the depiction of Mary and Joseph in a cave or decrepit barn watching over their new-born son. In many early Nativities from the fourth through the eighth centuries, shepherds were not necessarily part of the scene. There are depictions with no shepherds, like a sixth-or seventh-century Nativity painting from Palestine and now located in the Sancta Sanctorium in Rome, which depicts Mary and Joseph sitting in front of the baby Jesus, who is being hovered over by the ox and the ass (Fig. 5). The earliest remaining example of a shepherd in a Nativity (c. 320-25) is from the Great Frieze Sarcophagus located at the National Museum, Rome in which the shepherd leans on his staff and gazes at the child (Fig. 6).\(^4\)

By the ninth century, the Nativity scene started to be combined to include the Annunciation to the Shepherds story. An example of this is an ivory plaque from the cover of the Lorsch Gospels (c. 810), depicting the scenes of the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Nativity side by side, but still separate entities (Fig. 7). Eventually, the two themes merged fully, with the usual placement of the Annunciation in the background of the painting, making the Nativity the main scene in the foreground.\(^5\) An example of this type of depiction from the early fifteenth century is Nativity (1423) by Gentile da Fabriano from the predella of the Strozzi altarpiece, now located at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (Fig. 8).

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\(^4\) Ibid., 87.

\(^5\) Ibid., 84.
Precedents for this subject in Spain are numerous. The subject's iconographical development is similar to that in the rest of Europe, as can be seen in Alonso Berruguete's painting of the Nativity (1526-32) (Fig. 9). Although Berruguete's Mannerist tendencies are evident in the exaggeration of the figures and their gestures, he stays within the noted tradition of the subject's iconography by including the Annunciation to the Shepherds scene in the background. He also depicted a youthful Mary and Joseph hovering over Jesus, who lies on a linen cloth placed on the ground, a standard representation for the time. Similarly, El Greco and his follower, Luis Tristán, both completed paintings of the Adoration of the Shepherds in the early seventeenth century in Toledo, the city in which Maino was living when he painted his three known Adoration of the Shepherds pictures. These examples suggest the popularity of the Adoration of the Shepherds as a subject for religious painting in the early seventeenth century.

A General Description of the Scene

Generally in renderings of this subject, there are three principal shepherds surround the Christ child, however, sometimes there may be more or fewer depending on compositional factors. The number of shepherds in the Adoration of the Shepherds subject is based on earlier renditions of the Nativity, which generally included anywhere from one to three shepherds, such as the previously mentioned Nativity carved in stone

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6 Ibid., 85.
on a Roman sarcophagus (c. 320-25), which incorporates only one shepherd (Fig. 6). The shepherds are often shown presenting Christ with gifts, such as a flute, a lamb, or flowers, or they are shown kneeling and presenting themselves in reverence. There is no reference to specific gifts given by the shepherds in the Bible, but since gold, frankincense, and myrrh were mentioned in the Adoration of the Magi narrative found in Matthew, the shepherds often present rustic gifts to parallel and to contrast the story of their royal counterparts.

Most Adorations center around the figure of Mary, who either holds Jesus, or looks at the baby in a make-shift crib. The positioning of Mary has evolved from the earliest Nativity scenes to seventeenth-century depictions of the Adoration of the Shepherds. In the fifth century, because of a declaration by the Council of Ephesus (431) that Mary was the Mother of God, representations of her in art situated her next to the manger, closer to Jesus. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Mary was depicted neither standing nor seated, but lying down on a cushion that functioned like a bed. It was also during this time that a recognizable bond was formed between Mary and child with the first example in Italy being a fresco by Giotto from the fourteenth century (Fig.

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7 Ibid., 59.
8 Ibid., 87.
10 Schiller, 61.
11 Ibid., 72.
Mary’s positioning of kneeling or sitting by Jesus reappears in the early fourteenth century. This was perhaps based on the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (late thirteenth century) by the Franciscan, Johannes de Caulibus (Pseudo-Bonaventura), who emphasized the devotional nature of this scene. This new-found connection between mother and child is represented in a *Nativity* by Pacino di Bonaguida (1310-20) (Fig. 11). This imagery was used throughout the transition to the Adoration of the Shepherds scene from that of the Nativity.

Joseph often stands next to Mary with his arms crossed, piously looking down at the child, but this was not always the case. Sixth- and seventh-century *Nativities* depict Joseph with a pensive expression. Also at this time, he is shown pointing towards Jesus, as seen in the ivory relief from Maximian’s Throne from Ravenna (545-56) (Fig. 12). Starting in the twelfth century, Joseph was sometimes situated some distance away from the Virgin and child. A later example is the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (late 1470s) by Hugo van der Goes from the Portinari Altar (Fig. 13), in which Joseph is standing to the far left of the composition with Mary and the child in the central part of the panel. Starting in the fourteenth century, Joseph began to take a more prominent role in the scene, appearing closer to the Virgin and child, sometimes kneeling side by side with the

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12 Ibid., 75.
13 Ibid., 10, 77.
14 Ibid., 62.
15 Ibid., 73.
Virgin. This shift happened after the depictions of the Nativity began to take on the role of scenes of adoration in which Jesus was represented with loving parents.\textsuperscript{16}

Traditionally, the setting of this subject was place outdoors at night with the figures grouped just inside either a rock cave or a decrepit barn. Occasionally instead, the scene was set in an interior space, but that was not the norm. The earliest versions of the Nativity gave no account in terms of place,\textsuperscript{17} but by the sixth century, both Eastern and Western artists used a cave as the setting as an alternative to the stable.\textsuperscript{18} Both oral and written legends describe the scene inside a grotto.\textsuperscript{19} Depictions of the Nativity scene were also placed outdoors in the landscape without any type of cover.\textsuperscript{20} Part of a diptych from Dijon and now part of the collection of the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, a Nativity (c. 1390-1400) in Antwerp, illustrates the use of a landscape setting for the scene (Fig. 14). Sole renderings of the Adoration of the Shepherds theme from the fourteenth century onward incorporated the use of the cave, stable, and landscape traditions of the Nativity.\textsuperscript{21}

The background imagery usually depicted a landscape, either painted in detail or left as a subordinate part of the composition. In the Renaissance, the landscape became an important part of the composition and was often given more space and painted in a

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 77.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 59.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 62.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 62-63.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 81.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 87.
detailed manner. Giorgione, typical of Italian artists, represented his *Adoration of the Shepherds* (c. 1503) with the figures set in an inspiring landscape (Fig. 15).

Angels who adorn the Adoration theme may be shown looking down from the heavens or placed kneeling on the grounds throughout the composition. The first appearance of an angel was in the Western tradition of the Nativity theme from the ninth century and then later appeared in the Eastern tradition in the tenth century. The angel became included in the scene once the Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds scenes were fused. The angel Gabriel announces the birth of Jesus to the shepherds in one part of the scene as the Nativity is taking place in another. This is exemplified in an ivory plaque (c. 810) from the Court School of Charlemagne (Fig. 7).

With these precedents, the iconography for the depiction of a seventeenth-century Adoration of the Shepherds theme may be considered standardized, however, artists were able to choose which basic elements were to be incorporated into the composition. This enabled them to create the most appropriate work of art according to the guidelines of the commission, making variations on this scene numerous. In the Meadows *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1615-1620), Maino followed the iconographic tradition of many of the artists previously mentioned. However, his artistic choices in deciding what symbols to incorporate into the composition and how he should render them, make his rendition of the subject unique, while they remain in keeping with the standard that was already set. The youthful characterization of the Virgin Mary, the shepherds and their gifts, the

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22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 67.
placement of ox and ass, and the inclusion of a broken pillar are all areas that need to be explored in Maino's version of the subject, as they affirm his conformity to a traditional rendering of an Adoration of the Shepherds.

Virgin Mary and Joseph

The general compositional layout of Maino's Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-20) from the Meadows Museum takes the form of two diagonals, which cross to form an "x" shape (Fig. 1). This use of perspective draws the eye to all parts of the canvas, and at the same time focuses on the Virgin Mary, as all points converge on her. She is rendered in conventional garb, wearing a red habit with a blue cloak draped over her shoulders. In this case, Mary has one arm outstretched while the other rests on her chest over her heart. The latter gesture is echoed in other figures throughout the composition.

The Virgin is also shown with long hair pulled to one side, resting beneath the hand placed over her heart. The attribute of long flowing hair symbolizes virginity in Western painting. Virgin saints are often portrayed in this manner, and Maino used this imagery to represent his Virgin Mary. In fact, in Maino's Hermitage version of the painting (c. early seventeenth century), Mary's hair is not pulled to one side, but flows all the way down her back (Fig. 2). It is extremely long, covering most of her upper body and extending past her arms. This appears to be an obvious exaggeration for iconographical purposes.

The representation of a youthful Mary, age twelve or thirteen, became a requirement in seventeenth-century Spain for depictions of the Virgin, as is explained by
Francisco Pacheco, a painter from Seville, in his three-volume treatise entitled Arte de la pintura written between 1600 and 1638. One section of the book deals entirely with Counter Reformation iconography in which Pacheco tried to establish specific formulas for creating religious art.

In this loveliest of mysteries Our Lady should be painted as a beautiful young girl, twelve or thirteen years old, in the flower of her youth. She should have pretty but serious eyes with perfect features and rosy cheeks, and the most beautiful, long golden locks. In short, she should be as beautiful as a painter’s brush can make her.

By looking at Alonso Berruguete’s Nativity (1526-32), which was painted prior to Pacheco’s writings, it is evident that while he depicted a young Virgin, she is by no means a youthful teenager (Fig. 9). It is possible that Maino met Pacheco, as it is documented that Pacheco visited Toledo in 1611. In following these requirements, Maino depicted a fair-skinned, rosy-cheeked Virgin, who looks as though she is close to being a child herself. Her gaze towards Christ is one of modest happiness tempered by the melancholy with which she contemplates the child’s impending future. Pacheco’s words were taken to heart by artists of Maino’s time.

In the Meadows picture, Joseph leans over Mary’s left shoulder with his arms crossed at his chest, slightly clasping his brown cloak. With tilted head, he looks down at the newborn child in awe. Joseph is depicted as a youthful bearded man placed in the

24 Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la pintura (Seville: 1649).


heart of the composition, a positioning that was not always the norm as previously mentioned. Earlier examples of Adoration of the Shepherds with Joseph portrayed as an elderly man can be found in paintings of the same subject by Taddeo Gaddi (1332-38) (Fig. 4) and Hans Burgkmair (1518) (Fig. 16).

Jesus

The infant Jesus lies atop straw and hay in his make-shift manger constructed from stones and wood. Light seems to radiate from the entire body of the baby. The contrast of the darkness of the overall composition to the bright, cream-colored skin of Jesus creates a dramatic effect. While brushstrokes of gold radiate only from Christ’s head, the glow from his whole body creates an aureole because of the pale pinks, yellows, and whites Maino used in contrast to the darker colors surrounding the child. The baby Jesus is positioned somewhat propped up in his bed. His right arm echoes the position of the Virgin’s, placed over the heart.

A passage from Luke states “And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and lain him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.”27 Maino chose to depict the child unclothed, lying on top of his wrap; the white cloth extends over the edge of the manger and folds onto the ground. This may be a reference to the white linen used as an altar cloth, symbolizing the shroud that covered Christ after the Crucifixion.28 Maino depicted the baby Jesus grasping one


28 Schiller, 75.
edge of the elongated cloth, perhaps foreshadowing his future Resurrection. If so, Maino was not the first artist to use this device. In Matthias Grünewald’s Nativity (c. 1510-15) from the Isenheim Altarpiece, Christ’s swaddling clothes are worn and torn, similar to the loin-cloth Christ wears in the Crucifixion (c. 1510-15) from the same altarpiece (Fig. 17).  

Christ’s wrap has often been associated with Eucharistic symbolism. Starting in the twelfth century, the character of Nativity scenes became “sacramental.” Christ’s manger may be referred to as altar-like in many renditions of this theme. A connection may be made symbolically between Christ lying on his bed and the bread on the altar, the bread which is his body. Besides Maino’s, an earlier example of this motif is a Nativity from the west portal of Chartres Cathedral (1150-55) (Fig. 18). Above Mary, the artist depicted Jesus lying on a flat surface, which is supposed to be his manger. The manner in which the manger is rendered with its very hard, square edges, makes the shape appear to be table-like, similar to an altar.

Shepherds and Their Gifts

Three adult shepherds and one youth appear in Maino’s painting. The standing shepherd at the upper right is portrayed as a middle-aged man with a beard, who gazes

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 70.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
downward at the Christ child. In his hands, he holds the legs of a lamb which is wrapped around his neck. The lamb symbolizes many things in Christian art, but most obviously denotes Christ as the sacrificial lamb, once again revealing Christ as the Messiah.\textsuperscript{33} "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."\textsuperscript{34}

Often the lamb is depicted with its feet bound, but Maino substitutes the grasp of the shepherd's hands around the lamb's legs. Both the Hebrews and the ancients used sacrificial animals as part of rituals. This led the Christians to borrow this motif, so that Christ was represented as a sacrificial animal to save the world. The lamb also represents the qualities of innocence, gentleness, patience, and humility, all of which may be associated with Christ.\textsuperscript{35}

The shepherd bearing the lamb around his shoulders alludes to the "Good Shepherd." This symbol was derived from ancient sources in which Mercury is considered "guardian of the flocks," carrying a ram around his shoulders. In the Adoration of the Shepherds theme, this image of the shepherd holding the lamb symbolizes Christ as the shepherd tending his flocks, with the sheep representing his followers.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{33} Hall, 185.

\textsuperscript{34} John 1: 29.

\textsuperscript{35} Hall, 185-86.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 280.
Just below the figure of Joseph kneels a shepherd at the bottom right of the picture. He is more youthful in appearance, lacking the beard of the other adult shepherds. He gazes down at the child and repeats the gesture of Mary, the hand over the heart. He balances himself with his staff, which identifies him as one of the shepherds.

At the kneeling shepherd’s feet is a wicker basket full of eggs, another of the gifts the men brought to the child. The eggs symbolize birth or rebirth, directly corresponding to Christ and his future sacrifice and resurrection. This idea stems from the chick breaking through the shell at birth as well as pagan precedents relating to festivals celebrating Spring, fertility, and the harvest.\(^37\) An Italian example is Domenico del Ghirlandaio’s *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1485), where the shepherd to the far right of the composition steadily balances a basket of eggs on his arm as his hands are clasped in prayer (Fig. 19). In an earlier mosaic from Palermo, the *Nativity* (c. 1143) includes two shepherds to the right of the composition offering a primitive rendering of what appears to be eggs in a basket, which contributes to the establishment of this symbol being used in Christian art (Fig. 20).

While eggs were incorporated into depictions of the Adoration of the Shepherds in Italy in the late fifteenth century, Palomino cited an example of the inclusion of eggs in a *Nativity* (1586) painted by Italian artist Frederico Zuccaro in Spain in the late sixteenth century. According to Palomino, Zuccaro invited King Philip II to view his *Nativity* and *Adoration of the Magi* paintings before they were hung on the walls of El Escorial. This

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 110.
was an unusual practice, but Palomino reports that Zuccaro believed the paintings looked as good up close as they did far away, unlike some of the other works he had painted for the altar, so he believed it was an appropriate offer. Upon viewing the Nativity, the King focused on one particular area of the painting where a young shepherdess was carrying a basket of eggs. Palomino mentioned how badly the eggs were rendered and further stated how displeased the King was with the works. He continued that everyone in the room thought it was “inappropriate” for a young shepherdess to be running with a full basket of eggs at night if she was supposed to be tending her flocks, “unless she was a shepherdess to a flock of chickens.”

This example shows the King and his attendants were not aware of the use of the basket of eggs in this scene in relation to the symbolism of rebirth and the resurrection of Christ. Zuccaro was only incorporating a symbol that was common for depictions of this scene in Italy. However, this symbol became common and part of the visual vocabulary in seventeenth-century Spain because of artists like Maino, who studied in Italy. When Spanish artists returned home after their travels, they introduced many artistic conventions that they had eye-witnessed firsthand in Italy.

The eldest of the shepherds is at the left-hand side of the composition. He has removed his hat, revealing his unkempt hair, which matches his full beard. Gazing at Christ, he leans in to get a better look at his future Savior. His cloak is the purple color of

penitence, symbolic of Advent and Lent. His left hand reaches down steadying the dog that stands by his side.

Precedents for the dog as a component of the Adoration of the Shepherds subject evolved similarly to other aspects of the composition through renderings of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The earliest example of a dog accompanying a shepherd occurs in Byzantine examples of the Nativity from the sixth century. A dog was occasionally included in paintings when the painter or patron was of the Dominican order like Maino, who was a Dominican friar. A pun on Saint Dominic's name is created by domini canes, which translated from Latin means "dogs of the Lord." The dog, a useful companion to the shepherd, keeps wolves away from the flock. This is also a Christian metaphor, meaning that the dog's duty is to keep the unbelievers away from the faithful followers of the Lord. So, appropriately in Maino's painting, the large brown and white dog watches over the Christ child as protector. Maino, although in varying manners, includes a dog in his other two Adoration of the Shepherds as well.

A similar example of the use of the dog is Pedro Orrente's (1580-1645) version of the Adoration of the Shepherds (n.d.) located in the Toledo Cathedral (Fig. 21). The dog

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40 Schiller, 85.

41 Pamela Patton, unpublished acquisition recommendation to Samuel K. Heath, April 8, 1994, regarding consideration of acquisition, permanent collection file for the Adoration of the Shepherds, 1615-1620 by Juan Bautista Maino, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

42 Hall, 105.

43 Ibid.
and shepherd are placed in the same left-hand area of the painting similar to Maino’s Meadows Museum version. Both works have the animal cropped off, so that only the head, upper body and parts of the legs are included. Here again, the dog looks towards Christ as though symbolically suggesting he is watching over his flock. Also, in a later version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1672-82), Bartolomé Murillo incorporates an energetic dog into the composition, suggesting this inclusion is common in depictions of Spanish *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the later part of the seventeenth century (Fig. 22).

Often the younger shepherds in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* subject are shown playing musical instruments, showing their praises to God, but this is not the case in this version of Maino’s painting.⁴⁴ Here he places the young shepherd behind the Virgin; in effect, he is looking over her shoulder at the newborn child. In Maino’s Prado version of the painting, the young shepherd seated in the foreground of the painting playing a pipe resembles the boy to the left of Mary in the Meadows version. Perhaps Maino intended to paint the young Meadows shepherd with a musical instrument, but changed his mind for compositional reasons, thus representing the young shepherd with his arms hidden.

An early example of an inclusion of the shepherd playing an instrument is in a *Nativity* and *Annunciation to the Shepherds* walrus ivory relief from a twelfth century copy of an Ottonian ivory located in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 23). In the foreground of the plaque, two of the shepherds are standing and looking up towards Christ, while the other shepherd sits on the ground playing a pipe.

⁴⁴ Schiller, 86.
Background Imagery

The background of the Meadows painting consists of a landscape with a village in the distance. In many examples of the Nativity, the image of Gabriel announcing to shepherds who are tending their flocks is incorporated into the landscape. On either side of the landscape in the composition are an ox and an ass and a classical pillar, both of which have had symbolic meaning throughout their use in art. In the Meadows Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-20), only a small portion of the composition is devoted to the landscape, which is contrary to many Italian and Northern European renditions of the same subject. For example, Giorgione situates his small grouping of figures in a composition that is largely landscape in his Adoration of the Shepherds (c. 1503) (Fig. 15). Half of the scene depicts a darkened cave with the other portion of the painting devoted to a stream, which trails off into the distance towards a town. Maino’s interpretation places the viewer very close to the action of the scene. For this reason, the figures comprise the majority of the composition in the foreground and middle ground of the canvas, thus leaving a small percentage of the scene to the landscape. In order to make his depiction realistic, Maino had to paint the landscape so that it appeared to be far in the distance, which allowed very little room for details in terms of foliage and architecture.

On the right side of the landscape is a white Roman pillar that has been broken; only the bottom half is still intact. The pillar represents the leaving behind of the pagan
world, as the new era of Christianity began with the birth of Jesus.⁴⁵ In depictions of the Nativity from 1420 onwards, a ruin, including a classical pillar, may be incorporated into the composition.⁴⁶ In Hugo van der Goes' Nativity from the Portinari Altar piece (c. 1475), the ancient column is part of the architecture used as shelter for the Holy Family (Fig. 13). The pillar may also allude to the flagellation of Christ on a column, prior to the Crucifixion, although the prior interpretation is the more likely meaning for the Adoration of the Shepherds subject.⁴⁷

The inclusion of the ox and the ass has long been a tradition in the Nativity scene since the fourth century and then later in the Adoration of the Shepherds subject. One of the first known renderings of the Nativity is a stone relief from a pediment of the Sarcophagus of Silicho, Sant’ Ambrogio, Milan (c. end of the fourth century), which depicts Jesus flanked by an ox and an ass, sans the Virgin or Joseph (Fig. 24). It is in later examples that the animals are moved to different areas of the composition, perhaps in the background or directly above the baby Jesus.⁴⁸

This passage from Isaiah may be the source for the use of the animals in artistic renderings of this particular subject: “The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.”⁴⁹ In general symbolic

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⁴⁵ Ibid., 81.
⁴⁶ Ibid., 82.
⁴⁷ Hall, 247.
⁴⁸ Schiller, 59.
⁴⁹ Isaiah 1: 3.
Thus, the inclusion of the ox and ass in Maino's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1615-1620) shows acknowledgment of Christ as the Messiah, simultaneously denouncing the Jews for not believing (Fig. 1). A more emphatic example is Maino's *Adoration of the Shepherds* from the Hermitage (c. early seventeenth century), in which the ox is moved to the foreground of the composition, placed directly above the head of Christ (Fig. 2). In fact, the ox is as prominent in the scene as Joseph or any other of the main characters in the narrative.

An Italian Renaissance example of the inclusion of these animals is an *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1485) by Domenico del Ghirlandaio, where the faithful ox peers out at the viewer, and the ass looks onward towards the Virgin in the center of the composition (Fig. 19). In his Meadows version, Maino placed the ox and ass on the left side of the painting in the background, a less prominent placement than Ghirlandaio had used, probably for compositional reasons.

In Maino's Meadows Museum version of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1615-20), the iconographic elements identified in this chapter indicate a traditional rendering of the subject. Analyzing some of these symbols, such as the shepherd's gifts and the still-life elements from an iconological standpoint support a better understanding of why Maino made the choices he did, and how these choices related to his contemporary world.

50 Schiller, 72.
Introduction to the Iconology

Spain's history is a turbulent one. Numerous determinates, including political conquests, religious differences, the Counter Reformation, and countless other factors contributed to the subject matter, general compositional format, and iconographic substance of painting in Spain in the early seventeenth century. While the circumstances surrounding the creation of Juan Bautista Maino's Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-1620) (Fig. 1) are unknown, certain ideas relating to the iconology of the painting suggest reasons why this particular subject was chosen and reveal how the images in the work relate to the situation in Spain during his time. Maino painted this Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-1620) in a manner that suggests he was following specific guidelines in order to produce a work that was emotive as well as didactic. Two specific elements of the painting to be examined are the still-life elements and the gifts the shepherds presented to Christ.

Rustic Gifts

While the Bible does not list specific gifts given by the shepherds, Maino followed the iconographic tradition set by other artists by including a basket of eggs, a shepherd's crook, and a sheep. While these gifts have various meanings in the Christian tradition, they also have meanings relating to the state of the Catholic church, as well as to the Court, in seventeenth-century Spain.
Throughout Maino’s life, the Counter Reformation was in full-force.\(^5\) The influence the Catholic church had on all aspects and levels of society, including the Spanish Court, was staggering. With the advent of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, Catholic kings and queens as far back as Ferdinand and Isabella (1479-1516) became intent on keeping their people in line with Spain’s traditional orthodoxy, so much so that a person or group who showed the slightest alignment with Protestantism, or deviated in any way from what was considered the normal practice of Catholicism, was suspect.\(^5\) Art was a tool used to maintain piety and to inspire the converts’ faith.

The German theologian Martin Luther started the Protestant Reformation in the early sixteenth century. From that time on, the Popes in Italy, as well as the clergy in other areas of the Catholic world, were ready to retaliate in full force. The Council of Trent (1544-63) was enacted in order to establish the exact dogma necessary to battle the Reformers.\(^5\) The religious fervor that resulted, especially in Spain, ignited the Counter Reformation, almost completely stifling the reformist philosophy that was becoming part of church and government systems.\(^5\) In addition to an order stating that all books printed

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\(^5\) Elliott, 224.
in Spain had to be approved by the Council of Castile, in 1558 a law was passed forbidding the importation of foreign books.\\(^{55}\)

These sorts of reactions emanating from the Spanish government and supported by the Catholic church were instilled to prevent the spread of Protestantism. A central issue for the Catholic Church was the Reform notion against transubstantiation, that is, the conversion of the Eucharist to the body and blood of Christ during communion.\\(^{56}\)

Bitter disputes over this issue occurred for many years, but this was not the only point of division. Equally intense was the debate over attaining salvation. The Catholic church was adamant in emphasizing the doctrine of charity and good deeds, and free will, contrary to the Protestant belief that one may overcome original sin and attain salvation by faith alone.\\(^{57}\)

With the acts of charity at the heart of the Catholic doctrine of the Counter Reformation, narrative images like Maino’s Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-1620), may have served as a metaphor for this idea. It is not known whether a person or group commissioned this work, but it can be suggested that the subject matter was employed not only to create a visual story from the life of Christ, but to communicate the positive rewards of giving, as well. Since many books were banned, in addition to the fact that many people could not read, art was a vehicle to tell stories and communicate ideas,

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\(^{55}\) Ibid., 225.


\(^{57}\) Ibid.
especially those of a Catholic church that was under fire. Art was created with a human side, appealing to the viewer’s senses, an approach which the Spanish Church advocated. Viewing the humble shepherds giving their gifts, though not as rich as the gifts of the magi, would have reaffirmed the importance of doing charity work as a way of attaining salvation for the common viewer, who might well have been a poverty stricken church-goer. There are no known examples of an Adoration of the Shepherds work of art that was commissioned for this purpose, however, artistic renderings of this theme became popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as suggested by the numerous depictions of the subject that survive today.

Along similar lines, the political situation in Toledo, where Maino painted this work, may have contributed to his choice in subject matter, particularly the image of giving gifts. Bearing most of the burden of keeping the government afloat, Castile was stretched to its economic limits.

The Golden Age of art in Spain coincided with the country’s economic and political deterioration. After a century of intense imperialism, lasting through most of the sixteenth century, Philip II (1556-1598) became the leader of this war-torn country and continued the conquests initiated by his father, Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles I of Spain. Attempts by the Spanish Armada to invade England in 1588 were a

59 Elliott, 285.
60 Mallory, xix.
disaster, causing even more hardship for Philip's countrymen. In order to recoup some of
the monies lost, a new tax was imposed on the citizens of Castile. The tax was placed on
meat, wine, oil, and vinegar, items that were staples in the Spanish diet. As had been the
case under previous taxing systems, the poor felt most of the burden because the rich
were basically self-sufficient and had access to these items from their own resources.
Although this fiscal endeavor aided the plight of the government, it by no means solved
the problem. In fact, in 1596, Philip II declared the Spanish government bankrupt.\textsuperscript{61}

Two years later, Philip II died, leaving the Crown to the young, twenty-year-old
Philip III. With the King weak in presence, the court became ruled by Don Francisco de
Sandoval y Rojas, later known as the Duke of Lerma. Lerma outlined several things that
needed to be done in order to revive Castile from its economic decline; however, many of
these plans were left undone, such as the plan to improve the taxing system.\textsuperscript{62}

The economic problems for Castile were far from over. Maino, who came from a
somewhat privileged background, may not have felt the same economic pressures as
some of the parishioners with whom he congregated. The giving of the gifts in Maino's
\textit{Adoration of the Shepherds} may have had a persuasive motivation. While Maino's
patron(s) probably did not make any specific requests regarding which elements should
be included in the painting, this subject as a whole might have become popular in Spain
and Italy because the narrative could be used as a reminder of how one should go about
attaining salvation. With many Castilians feeling overburdened, this painting may have

\textsuperscript{61} Elliott, 286-87.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 300-01.
assuaged their anger, reminding them they were giving to their country as well as to God, as many political conquests made in the name of Spain were supposedly religious in nature. To keep Catholicism strong by paying taxes was an act of devotion, perhaps another step on the road to salvation.

The Still-Life Genre

Maino’s painting technique reveals a skill of the highest caliber. His depictions of facial features, drapery, and landscape are masterful, but most inspiring is his rendering of the still-life elements in the Meadows painting. An extreme degree of care and concern was given to minute details which could have been left unattended to by many an artist.

The basket of eggs is the most prominent still-life element in the painting and Maino gave much attention to it. It rests in the lower right of the canvas, slightly cropped. Each strand of straw in the basket is visible, allowing the straw which cushions the eggs to jut through the tiny spaces between. The eggs are cradled almost side by side with barely any overlapping.

While the basket of eggs is not an essential iconographical element in the Adoration of the Shepherds narrative, Maino took great care to arrange the basket and eggs in each of his three renderings of the subject. Although the eggs may be read as a symbol, Maino’s rendering also shows his interest in painting everyday objects. The paintings depict the basket in three different positions, as though the artist were challenging himself to try something new each time he painted the scene. The Prado
basket (Fig. 3) is similar in type to the Meadows basket (Fig. 1), however, it is much more controlled in form. The hay that is poking through the weave and haphazardly arranged in the Meadows painting is displayed very neatly in the Prado painting; no hay is coming through the sides, and the hay that cushions and protects the eggs conforms to their shapes. Maino also was experimenting with the perspective of the basket. In the Meadows version, the container is seen in three-quarter view, while the Prado’s is rendered frontally, making the handle of the basket straight-on in perspective. Finally, the Hermitage painting (Fig. 2) suggests that Maino was using a different style of basket; it does not have the rope-like weave around the edges and handle, but it is larger in size. Maino’s close examination of this object stresses his interest in devoting much time to painting the ordinary. The inclusion of the basket of eggs as a symbol allowed Maino the opportunity to paint a miniature still-life painting.

Just as the basket of eggs is rendered in pristine detail, other still-life elements in the composition are painted with great care as well. For example, the water gourd, hanging off the shepherd’s belt at the lower right of the composition, is finished in a delicate manner with a smooth surface and a reflective dash of light. The pouch of the shepherd above Joseph in the upper right of the canvas is painted so that the light radiating from Jesus and the heavens create areas of shadow, which emphasize the folds in the leather or skin.
The development of early still-life painting in Spain was concurrent with that in the Netherlands, Italy, and France. With the Renaissance, a revival of classical artistic traditions emerged. This resurgence of Greek and Roman ideas was profound in the arts as well as in the rest of civilization. During the Renaissance, records indicating that the Greeks painted small easel paintings of fruits and vegetables were found. The Romans had initiated the idea of using food as a subject for their wall paintings, as seen in Pompeii, although those frescoes were unknown until their discovery through excavation in the middle eighteenth century. Pliny the Elder, the ancient historian from the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), classified paintings into two categories. The noble genre of painting dealt with subjects of gods and mythology, while the lesser, minor genres included paintings of "humble reality," "animal paintings," and "representations of food."

Often in the fifteenth century, still lifes of food appeared, not alone in a composition, but in conjunction with religious scenes. Although sixteenth-century Europe was in the throes of the Counter Reformation, beginning in the sixteenth century, certain segments of society were aware of a growing sense of humanism in the arts and

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64 Ibid., 5.


66 Ibid., 28.
These new ideas were not lost on the more intellectually stimulated members of the Church living in Toledo. They were the first to collect paintings of this genre, and they did so avidly. These men were learned in art and literature from other areas of Europe and were more accepting of works that deviated from the norm.68

The following examples are evidence for this idea that Toledo was a center for growth of fledgling ideas. El Greco never was accepted as a court painter, but was patronized by some of the most important men in Toledo, such as Cardinal Bernardo Sandoval y Rojas.69 Also, in a 1590 inventory of a Toledan nobleman, Alonso Tellez de Girón, several references to "canvases of vegetables" were made as part of his art collection.70 One of the greatest still-life painters of all time and also a part of the Toledo art scene in the late sixteenth century before he moved to Granada in 1603 was Juan Sánchez Cotán (1560-1627).71 The intensity and naturalism of his paintings is evident in Still Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon and Cucumber (c. 1600) (Fig. 25). Sánchez Cotán’s arrangement of the food lined up in a symmetrical arc contrasts with the square format of the window setting. The juxtaposition between the dark background and the light which radiates from inside the ledge creates dramatic effects of light and shade. The

67 Ibid., 58.
68 Jordan, 45.
69 Ibid., 31.
70 Brown, 98.
71 Jordan, 45.
stark realism of this painting is related to the growing naturalism that was becoming part of the visual and literary arts of Spain at the turn of the seventeenth century.

These examples show the wide-spread acceptance in Spain, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, of the still life as a favorable genre to paint as well as collect. Maino, after studying in Italy, spent much of his adult life in Toledo, and in addition to becoming part of the Catholic church system, was surrounded by scholars and artists aware of this new aspect of humanism. In fact, Maino may have been a contributor to this broadened outlook in Toledo as he was part of a circle of artists in Italy who were accomplished in practicing some of these ideas.

The acceptance of the still-life genre was only a small part of an overall trend toward naturalism in Spanish art. Maino’s focus on such small details as the straw in the basket eventually would develop into an interest in rendering figures, expressions, as well as entire compositions with a naturalistic sensibility. Whoever commissioned Maino’s Adoration of the Shepherds (1615-20) was most likely from the upper ranks of political or religious society, probably aware of the contemporary fascination with the realism and naturalism that was evident in art and literature of that time. For those reasons, Maino, an artist who had studied with artists and viewed works of art created with these characteristics, was a logical choice to carry out the task of the commission as he would render the painting with these modern ideas at hand.
CHAPTER 3

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS THROUGH STYLE AND FORM

Introduction

Although a relatively small number of works by Juan Bautista Maino is known, it is fortunate for this study that there are three paintings of the same subject. Since there is little specific information regarding the Meadows Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig. 1), confirmed data about the two other Adoration of the Shepherds (Figs. 2, 3) become necessary in order to make connections between the three. Through a comparative analysis of Maino’s three known Adoration of the Shepherds paintings, a progression in the artist’s style and formal development becomes apparent. The remainder of this chapter supports the above thesis and determines the placement of the Meadows Adoration of the Shepherds in Maino’s oeuvre.

One piece of information used as a standard for determining the dates in question was the 1612-13 date of the Adoration of the Shepherds at the Prado (Fig. 3). Official church documents uncovered by Enriqueta Harris state that Maino was commissioned to paint the altarpiece of the church of the Dominican convent San Pedro Mártir on February 14, 1612.1 All of the elements of this altarpiece are now located in the Prado in Madrid. The paintings rendered represent the four Christian feasts: the Adoration of the

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Shepherds (1612-13), the Adoration of the Magi (1612-13), the Resurrection (1613), and the Pentecost (1613). Other smaller paintings from the altar are Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (1613) and Saint John the Evangelist in a Landscape (1613).

Another useful piece of information revolved around Maino’s Italian sojourn. The exact time of Maino’s visit to Italy was in question, however, it was important to examine this time period, as his return to Spain determined a possible date for which he could have painted the Meadows and Hermitage Adorations. Therefore, crucial to this investigation are documents for a commission in Pastrana which have Maino situated back in Spain in 1608. In 1611, a commission for the Toledo Cathedral is also documented, making his move to Toledo from Pastrana within the three-year time period between 1608 and 1611.

Maino’s three Adorations of the Shepherds vary in complexity. By analyzing them from a formal and stylistic perspective, an evolution can be observed from the earliest painting to the latest painting. As the artist worked through issues, such as composition and design, transitions are identified, suggesting a particular order in which the works were rendered.

Maino is often identified as an artist who aided the development of the Baroque in Spain. By looking at his paintings, this transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque is revealed. The Meadows painting is a classical rendering of the subject, while the other two Adorations are rendered in a more Baroque style because of their animated

\[\text{Juan J. Junquera,} \text{ "Un retablo de Maino en Pastrana,"} \text{ 50 Archivo Español (1977):} \text{ 135.}\]

\[\text{Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez,} \text{ Historia de la pintura española,} \text{ Vol. I: Escuela madrileña del primer tercio del siglo XVII,} \text{ (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1969),} \text{ 306.}\]
compositions. This naturalistic development continued in Maino’s later works, as seen in *Recapture of Bahia* (1634-35). In this painting, Maino created a complex composition, giving emphasis to the emotional aspect of the battle scene. This investigation suggests that the Hermitage painting is the bridge between the earliest piece, the Meadows painting, and the Prado painting, the last to be completed. Since the Prado painting was commissioned in February of 1612, the other two paintings were rendered between the time Maino returned to Pastrana from Italy in 1608 and the time he was awarded the commission for the San Pedro Mártir altar in 1612.

The theoretical basis for this comparison comes from Heinrich Wölfflin’s definitive writings on connoisseurship entitled *Principles of Art History* first published in 1915. In this study, Wölfflin suggests that in order to understand individual style, it was necessary to examine particular parts in relation to the whole. By looking at specific characteristics, formulations are revealed regarding a general style. Specifically, this can be done by investigating an artist’s personal style, a national style, or a period style. As an example, Wölfflin compares the styles of the Renaissance and the Baroque to determine a progression from one to the other by using these five categories: linear and

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4 Harris, 334.
5 Junquera, 135.
6 Harris, 334.
8 Ibid., 6.
9 Ibid., 9.
painterly, plane and recession, closed and open form, multiplicity and unity, and clearness and uncleanness. While these categories were not used in this study, Wölfflin’s model of comparative analysis to unveil a progression or evolution in style was used to determine specific dates for each of Maino’s three Adoration of the Shepherds.

Descriptions of Each Painting

The Meadows Museum bought its Adoration of the Shepherds in 1994 from a private collection in Britain (Fig. 1). Until this time, the painting was completely unpublished. The date of this painting was first cited as early seventeenth century, but has now been narrowed down to 1615-1620.11 This painting is a tenebristic rendition of the Adoration of the Shepherds narrative. The scene takes place in a decrepit barn with Mary as the center of the composition seated near Jesus. She is flanked by Joseph on one side and a youthful shepherd on the other. Three adult shepherds also appear in the scene bearing gifts for the baby Jesus, who lies in a make-shift crib in the foreground of the painting. Behind the main characters, the ox and the ass look toward the central scene, peering through remnants of a barn wall. A classical pillar is also included in the background of the composition, leading the eye to the landscape in the distance. The upper portion of the canvas is filled with a billowing

10 Ibid., 14-16.

11 Permanent collection file for the Adoration of the Shepherds, 1615-1620 by Juan Bautista Maino, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.
cloud on which an angel and several putti hover, as they watch the serene happening below.

The Hermitage acquired its Adoration of the Shepherds in 1815 from the collection of W. G. Coesvelt, a British businessman (Fig. 2). Like the Meadows Adoration of the Shepherds, little research has been conducted on the Hermitage painting. Although the attribution of the work is concrete with Maino’s initials signed on the recto, the exact date of the painting has not been investigated. Therefore, the date listed in publications is the early seventeenth century, a non-specific reference. With this open-ended information, it may be possible to narrow down the date of this painting by looking at the others.

Although the date of the Hermitage painting is inconclusive, Diego Angulo Iniguez wrote a brief paragraph on this painting in Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico from 1971. No date for the work was cited; however, he briefly mentioned that the work was painted around the same time as the San Pedro Mártil altar in 1612-13. While discussing the Resurrection (1613) (Fig. 26) from the altarpiece, he identified a figure in the foreground who appears in the exact same place and in an identical manner in the Hermitage Adoration of the Shepherds, giving him reason to believe that the works were painted in the same time period.


14 Ibid., 34.
The Hermitage painting is different from the Meadows painting in that Maino did not create a tenebristic scene, but a lighter and brighter composition. Maino incorporated three shepherds, one being elder in years. Mary is still central in the composition, but Joseph has taken a more prominent role, as he is situated directly leaning over Jesus. The ox and the ass are no longer placed next to each other in the background of the painting, but are separated with the ass behind Joseph and the ox placed so close to Jesus that the animal is almost touching him. There are three additional figures dressed in seventeenth-century garb in back of the main characters, whose identities are debated. The middle ground of the canvas is filled mostly with the dilapidated stone barn used to house the Holy Family. The heavens represent the upper third of the canvas with a swirling energy, filled with light and angels. Most of these angels and putti look downwards towards the scene of adoration.

As the painting from the Prado is the most refined in terms of style and form, it was likely the final Adoration of the Shepherds to be conceived between 1612 and 1613 (Fig. 3). Another reason to suggest that the Prado piece was the final painting of the three comes from Jonathan Brown. He states that after Maino professed as a friar in 1613, he rarely ever painted again. Brown does not explain his point, but it is probably based on the small number of known works by Maino. Within these works, there are only a few firmly dated after 1613.

The Prado painting is similar in format to the Meadows painting, but differs from it in compositional design with fewer figures. Like Maino's other Adorations, Mary is still the center of the composition, but now Jesus is moved off to the right side of the canvas. Mary sits next to the child, while a kneeling Joseph leans over and kisses the baby's hand. Next to Mary, a middle-aged shepherd leans into the scene holding the horns of a goat. The rugged man looks towards Jesus in awe. In the foreground of the composition are the remaining two shepherds. To the left is a young shepherd seated on the ground playing a musical instrument and to the right is an adult shepherd stretched out holding the legs of a lamb. Also in the foreground are a dog and several still-life elements, such as a basket of eggs, a water gourd, and an animal-skin pouch. The ox and the ass are placed together behind the main scene. Two classical pillars are placed to the left of the composition, directing the eye to the mountainous landscape in the background. Different from the Hermitage painting, the heavens in the Prado are much more contained with only three angels bursting from a cloud in the sky. Two of the angels have similar facial features and body structures, while the angel in the middle is wearing seventeenth-century clothes.

By looking at all three paintings, Maino's general style becomes apparent. However, it is possible to identify influences from his Italian sojourn, as well as from his Spanish contemporaries in his work. A closer look at the particular artists who influenced him were useful in the comparison, allowing correlations to be made between certain areas of Maino's painting and that of his peers.
General Influences on Maino’s Style

While a long tradition of Adoration of the Shepherds in art affected Maino’s depiction of the subject, other aspects of his painting, such as style, were also influenced by the surrounding art world. Although somewhat segregated from the rest of Europe, the art of Spain was important to Maino’s development as an artist, but was by no means the only force. In fact, Maino was most influenced by those artists living and working in Italy, particularly Rome. As biographer Jusepe Martínez documented in Discursos practicables del nobiliísimo arte de la pintura originally published around 1675, Maino received his artistic education in Italy in the early part of the seventeenth century. He was a student of Annibale Carracci and a friend of Guido Reni. Martínez also mentioned that Maino viewed works by Caravaggio while in Rome.

If Martínez’s writings are accurate, a general time frame of when Maino was in Italy can be determined with relation to An. Carracci’s, Reni’s, and Caravaggio’s respective sojourns in Rome. Annibale Carracci went to Rome from Bologna in 1595 and stayed there until the end of his life in 1609. Guido Reni, a follower of the Carracci in Bologna, moved to Rome in 1601 or 1602, returning to Bologna in 1614 after completing his masterwork Aurora (1613-14) for the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome.

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17 Ibid., 199-200.


Caravaggio moved to Rome just prior to Annibale in 1593. His stay was cut short in 1606 after he killed a man and was forced to leave the city. Maino studied in Italy prior to 1608, as he was commissioned to do a painting in that year in Spain, thus making the close of his sojourn in Italy somewhere around that time. Maino most likely stayed in Rome for several years, situating him there at the same time as these three masters in the first years of the seventeenth century. Most likely, Maino lived in Rome between 1602 and 1608. The start of his journey is marked by the date when his “friend” Guido Reni first moved to Rome and the closing date signaled by documentation that states he was living back in Spain.

Studying with and viewing works by these Italian masters, Maino inevitably came back to Spain with a new artistic outlook, ready to explore some of the ideas that were flourishing in Italy as the Baroque was taking hold there. When Maino is written about in survey texts of Spanish art history, it is most often noted that he was foremost in bringing characteristics of Caravaggio’s style to Spain, which in turn advanced the progression of the naturalism that was already coming to life in the art of Spain. Jonathan Brown states, “During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, painters from Holland, Flanders, and France descended upon Rome en masse and were entranced by Caravaggio’s emotional, theatrical brand of naturalism, which they reinterpreted and then brought home. Among

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21 Junquera, 135.
22 Martínez, 199-200.
23 Junquera, 135.
Spanish painters, however, Maino alone was able to assimilate this distinctive mode of expression.”24 Enriqueta Harris’ definitive article “Aportaciones para el estudio de Juan Bautista Maino” from 1934, was devoted solely to Maino and cited him as one of the most influential followers of Caravaggio in Spain.25 Years later in 1974, she wrote an entire article on Caravaggism in Spain, which further stated her previous argument.26 This influence is visible in areas of many of Maino’s paintings, but most notably, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1612-13) (Fig. 3) and the *Adoration of the Magi* (1612-13) (Fig. 27) from the San Pedro Mártir altar, in which Maino created dramatic contrasts in light and incorporated naturalistic characters into an animated composition.

While the impact of Caravaggio’s paintings is evident in Maino’s works, the influence of a different type of painter, Annibale Carracci, is also important. While most scholars spend time discussing Maino’s connection to Caravaggio based on Martínez’s writings, it is important to investigate the classical influences of Carracci and his students as well. Maino’s draftsmanship is legacy to this connection, visible in the musculature and drapery of the figures in the previously mentioned *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1612-13) and *Adoration of the Magi* (1612-13). Diego Angulo Iniguez and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez briefly mention the skill Maino had in order to incorporate ideas from both the Carracci and Caravaggio traditions with such success. They also mention the influence of

24 Brown, 104.


Guido Reni in parts of the altar and choir of the convent of San Pedro Mártir, which is discussed further in the chapter.27

Antonio Palomino in his Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors originally published in Madrid in 1724, also identifies Maino as a student of El Greco.28 This idea was followed by Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez in the early nineteenth century, who wrote a dictionary of artists and their students from the preceding centuries in Spain.29 While Palomino’s suggestion is noted briefly by scholars like Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, they usually do not find any connection between the two artists stylistically, but mention that they may have known each other because they both lived in Toledo during the same time.30 Both artists were probably aware of the other’s paintings, especially Maino of El Greco’s work. Upon Maino’s arrival in Toledo in 1611, El Greco was an established artist, long patronized for over thirty years by the ecclesiastical population.31 However, it is possible that once Maino became a part of the art community, they may have been rivals for the same commissions. In terms of their art, no direct influences are apparent.

27 Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, 303.


29 Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes (Madrid, 1800).

30 Angulo Iñiguez and Pérez Sánchez, 304.

31 Brown, 71.
All three of Maino's Adorations of the Shepherds were influenced by the previously noted Italian artists. References to these artists was made in the following pages as specific elements of each of the paintings were compared. As characteristics of style and form were observed, a progression became evident, suggesting a chronology of these paintings.

The Virgin Mary

Although in all three paintings Mary is depicted as a pious, sweet youth, Maino's representation of her changes in each painting. While this idealized manner of depicting the Virgin became standard because of the writings of Francisco Pacheco, Maino also incorporated his Italian studies into his rendering. Annibale Carracci was asked to paint the altarpiece for the Cerasi Chapel in Rome in 1600-01. The subject of the painting is the Assumption of the Virgin with Mary surrounded by angels as she ascends into heaven (Fig. 28). Carracci painted the Virgin with the same characteristics as Maino, a softly modeled face with soft skin and small features. Their expressions are also similar, depicting the Virgin with a serious face, but with a hint of a smile. This classical rendering of the Virgin encompasses the spirit of what was critical to the Carracci style that was so influenced by Michelangelo and Raphael. While the Virgin has a mild-

32 Francisco Pacheco, Arte de la pintura, ed. Francisco J. Sánchez Cantón (Madrid, 1956).


mannered face, she still exudes a strong presence that is not lost with such youthful sweetness. It is possible that Maino was present when his teacher was painting this piece, or at least he might have become familiar with it while living in Rome.

The Carracci Virgin is influential on Maino’s three versions of the Adoration of the Shepherds, although in each work she is painted in a slightly different manner. For example, in the Meadows piece, the Virgin is presented in a frontal position seated just behind the baby Jesus. Maino kept the general character of the Virgin the same in the Hermitage painting, but made her positioning somewhat ambiguous. She is neither sitting nor fully standing, making her presence appear slightly larger than in the Meadows piece. As Christ is moved towards the left side of the composition, Mary’s positioning has shifted as well. She now appears in three-quarters view and skewed slightly to the right of the canvas. In the Prado piece, she is still situated to the right of the composition; however, Christ is now placed at the right edge of the work. Mary is still positioned in three-quarter perspective, but turns to the right side of the painting instead of to the left. Most importantly, her body is now fully seated on the ground, very close to Christ. The somewhat awkward distance between mother and child that is seen in both Adorations prior to the Prado piece has disappeared. The delicate Virgin is now placed at a natural distance away from the baby she is adoring. In a Caravaggio version of the same subject from around 1608, Jesus is no longer lying in his crib, but is being held in the arms of the Virgin (Fig. 29). This image suggests Caravaggio’s concern with the common person, by depicting the holiest of religious figures, such as the Virgin and Child in a loving pose of an everyday family. Often Caravaggio carried his interest in populist ways even further
by placing a religious narrative in an genre setting, like *Calling of Saint Matthew* (1599).\textsuperscript{35}

The Virgin’s hair is another point of comparison. The Meadows *Adoration* depicts the Virgin with long, slightly wavy hair, pulled to one side, similar to renderings of the Virgin in numerous Renaissance and Baroque paintings. In the Hermitage piece, Maino painted the Virgin’s hair in an extremely exaggerated manner. Her hair is so long and full that her upper body is completely covered by it, making her blue cloak visible only near her arms and lower body. Although there are symbolic and traditional reasons for this, Maino’s depiction is unusual. Perhaps Maino was struggling with the way in which to paint the Virgin’s cloak in the Hermitage work. In order to avoid spending time on the details of the clothing, like the intricate embroidery or the elaborate folds in the drapery of the Virgin in the Prado version, he painted her hair extremely long to cover those areas in the Hermitage work. In the Prado version, Maino lost interest in emphasizing the length of the Virgin’s hair, giving it more of a dressed look, with less hair pulled back in a hairband, allowing the drapery of her cloak and habit to be viewed completely.

The gesture of the Virgin suggests an evolution as well. In the Meadows painting, her right arm is outstretched while the other rests on her heart, a gesture that is repeated by other figures throughout the composition. While it is common for Mary to have her hands rendered in this manner, she is also often depicted with her hands clasped in

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 60-61.
prayer. Maino switched to this hand positioning in his Hermitage version, where Mary’s delicate hands meet fingertip to fingertip. He again used this gesture in the Prado piece, which complements her closer positioning to Christ. An outstretched arm would have been compositionally unnecessary to draw the eye of the viewer down towards the baby like the earlier version needed to do. In this example, the progression began with the gesture in the Meadows painting, to the hand placement in the other two paintings, which is the same. This suggests a connection between the later two paintings.

In the Meadows and Hermitage paintings, Maino’s depiction of the Virgin is related in that both figures share the same rendering of the facial features. Perhaps the same model was used for both works. Her gesture and placement in the Hermitage and Prado paintings are similar, breaking with the Meadows piece in these respects. These observations suggest a successive rendering of all three works with Hermitage Adoration of the Shepherds painted between the other two.

Joseph

It was common practice in Maino’s time to represent Joseph as a youthful man in his twenties or thirties, and Maino followed this tradition in all three Adorations. In the Meadows piece, likely the earliest version of the painting, Maino painted Joseph with a beard and looking down at the child, but in the Hermitage work, he looks particularly youthful with no facial hair. In this work, his head is tilted down so far in reverence that it is difficult to decipher anything but the top of his head. In the Prado painting, Maino reverted back to the bearded Joseph, allowing more of his facial features to be shown than
in the previous work. The shifting of the positioning of Joseph in all three paintings suggests Maino was concerned with the placement of Joseph in each version.

Like the Virgin in all three compositions, Joseph began in the Meadows painting to be set back in the scene and progressively evolved to the point of touching Christ. In the Meadows painting, Joseph is positioned slightly away from the child, making a kneeling shepherd to the right of the composition the figure nearest to Christ. Joseph’s body is somewhat hidden by that of Mary and the kneeling shepherd, giving him the appearance of being farther back in the composition. Joseph takes on another persona in the Hermitage painting. In this case, Maino moved Joseph to a kneeling position directly in front of Christ, causing him to be more central in the composition. The Prado version keeps Joseph kneeling over Christ, but now has him actually kissing the baby’s hand. This gesture from Joseph rivals Mary’s representation from previous Adoration of the Shepherds and Nativity scenes, as the second most central character to that of Christ.

According to Joseph’s placement, a stepping stone order is revealed beginning with the Meadows piece. In this case, Joseph is positioned somewhat away from the child compared to the next work, the Hermitage painting, where Joseph is placed directly above Jesus. In the final Adoration, the Prado piece, Maino placed Joseph just as close to Jesus as the Hermitage painting, but added more intimacy between the two by depicting Joseph kissing the baby’s hand.
While the baby Jesus is depicted in each of the paintings in a similar pose, there is an increased level of animation in his demeanor from one painting to the next. With his arm over his heart, imitating Mary, Jesus lies naked atop a linen cloth in a reclined, although somewhat propped up position in the Meadows painting. Maino again placed Jesus propped up in the Hermitage painting, but this time with his body turned, allowing him to see Joseph better. His hands are now raised up in the air, as if in motion. While the previous two paintings showed the child in a slightly awkward, propped up position, the Prado painting remedies this. Maino depicts Jesus wrapped in a linen cloth, used as a pillow to support his body. One hand rests on his stomach, while the other is being lifted and kissed by Joseph. The reserved and slightly awkward pose of Jesus in the Meadows Adoration eventually evolves into a naturalistic rendition of the child with a settled appearance in the Prado painting.

It is in this same naturalistic vein that Maino decided not to incorporate the halo around Christ's head in the Prado painting. In the two earlier versions, Jesus seems to radiate light from his entire body, especially at his head, where Maino painted golden white rays of light to form a halo. In the final composition, Jesus still glows as a source of light in the painting, but does not have the emphatic halo around his head. Maino was able to depict the holy child with the same heavenly intensity, but without the obvious symbols.

During the early seventeenth century, many artists, including Caravaggio, depicted religious figures with the painted halo or without it, making the light source come from the figure itself or from another outside source. In some works by
Caravaggio, all three types of light sources are incorporated into the composition. 

Madonna and Child with St. Anne (Madonna dei Palafrenieri) (1605-6) depicts circular halos above the heads of all three figures, but also uses other light sources as well (Fig. 30). Jesus seems to glow with his pale skin and while the Virgin is illuminated by this effect; St. Anne is left off in the shadows. Most important in Caravaggio’s case is that this light is coming from an outside source somewhere off the canvas. In this painting, at the upper right corner, a divine light casts down onto Mary and child, enhancing the already bright body of Jesus.

Maino used these lighting effects in his depiction of Jesus, which resulted in a progression of style in all three of the Adorations. In terms of depicting holy light, the Meadows and Hermitage paintings show Christ radiating light from his entire body, especially at his head, where light rays create a halo. In the Prado version, a holy light still exudes from Christ, but the lack of the obvious halo from painted rays of light defines this piece as different from the other two, making the Hermitage version the bridge to the Prado painting.

Palette and Light

The palette, coupled with the lighting, affects the general mood of Maino’s paintings, whether it be luminous or tenebristic. Each of the three Adoration of the Shepherds paintings has its own unique mix of both elements. The Meadows painting has an overall soft feeling because of the rich browns and deep grays found throughout
the composition. Where more outspoken colors are used, like the purple in the shepherd’s shirt and the red and blue in Mary’s mantle and habit, they are still deep and rich. This color usage along with the localized lighting in the scene, makes the scene appear darker, which is common in Spanish paintings of this time. Many artists painted works with the use of dramatic lighting in a tenebrist setting like Francisco Ribalta and still-life painters like Juan Sánchez Cotán (Fig. 25). Caravaggio too, rendered paintings in this manner by juxtaposing dark backgrounds with richly colored drapery to cause a breathtaking effect in works such as St. John the Baptist (c. 1605), which probably was created while Maino was in Rome. St. John is situated in the dark wilderness wearing a fur wrap and a bright, deep red cloth, creating a dramatic juxtaposition (Fig. 31).

In the Meadows painting, light seems to radiate from three different places: the baby Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the Angel Gabriel. Jesus is a light source not only because of the halo radiating from his head, but because of the bright pink, yellow, and white used to paint his body. His coloring makes him appear to be glowing slightly. Similarly, the milky white skin of the Virgin makes a strong impact. Also, Gabriel in the heavens is painted with the same skin tonalities as Christ. Creating a glow even more intense is the golden light Maino painted behind the angel, the light of God the Father.

While Maino continued to use the tans and browns of the Meadows painting in the Hermitage piece, he also found ways of brightening up the composition. This was caused in part because he devoted a large section of the composition to the sky and the heavens. The overall scene is lighter than the other two versions. The upper portion of the canvas includes a larger area of heavens with many angels in comparison to the
Meadows and Prado paintings, causing a great deal of light and light rays to descend onto the scene. The yellow behind Gabriel’s head is the source of light in the Meadows painting, with sprays of white light radiating out to the edges. In the Hermitage painting, the light source behind Gabriel is now positioned somewhere above the actual canvas. Instead, thick gold rays of light stream down from the upper portion of the painting. One band of gold stretches down and stops just above Joseph’s head, directly above Christ in the middle ground of the composition. The rays of light seem random as they do not all come directly from the light source, creating a strong sense of light. Maino used the rays as directionals, moving the viewer’s eye around the heavens and down into the lower areas of the canvas.

While the figures appear to have the same coloring as the Meadows painting, areas around the people are generally lighter. For example, both the ground and the concrete and wooden structure of the barn are much lighter shades than the Meadows piece. Because of this general effect, the halo and fair skin of Jesus, in addition to the Virgin, do not make as strong an impact as sources of light. This lighter scene may be a result of Maino’s workings with Annibale Carracci and his friendship with Guido Reni. Both of these artists created paintings with an overall brighter feeling than that of Caravaggio. For a brief time while Reni was in Rome, he worked in a Caravaggesque style, but soon came back to his own style rooted in the tradition of the Carracci. In his Adoration of the Shepherds (1639-40), Reni portrayed a scene which usually takes place

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in the dark of night with more light than previous renderings from over the years. In addition to Reni’s overall use of a lighter palette, the reds, blues, and browns of the figures’ drapery also brightens the scene (Fig 32). This coloring is similar to Maino’s in the Hermitage painting.

The Prado painting became a combination of the two earlier Adorations by Maino, supporting the idea that this work was created last. The main light source in this piece is the baby Jesus. While he no longer has the halo from the previous paintings, the brightness of his skin is an ample substitute for this effect. Also, the pristine white linen wrapped around him serves as additional brightness. Throughout this painting, areas that are closest to Christ are a slightly lighter. For example, the three characters in the middle ground of the painting are depicted as if the light source was radiating from Christ, since all of their faces are brighter than those who look away, like the shepherds located in the foreground. The light from Christ emphasizes the upper back and musculature of the arm of the shepherd at the bottom right of the composition, while the rest of his body and face, which are turned away from Christ, are in shadow.

In this piece, the golden glow from behind the angels is not as strong and as bright as the previous paintings and is not really considered a source of light except for the few rays that stretch down from the cloud. Maino used a more earth-toned, golden yellow to depict the heavenly light rather than a whitish-yellow color like before. This gives two of the angels a softer, golden glow as opposed to the angel dressed in contemporary garb, who is bright from the effects of leaning down into Christ’s light.
The top part of this composition where the angels hover is very dark, the darkest part of the painting. This differs from the Hermitage painting where Maino rendered the upper portion of the painting with lighter colors, causing this area to radiate with brightness. Maino seems to have concentrated on the darker elements in the Meadows painting and then combined them with a overall brighter scene from the Hermitage painting to come up with the Prado piece. The foreground of the Prado work is a lighter brown like the Hermitage painting, while the areas behind the figures and the sky are dark like the Meadows painting, thus creating an Adoration of the Shepherds which embodies a combination of two different styles by incorporating natural light, as well as holy light, in a more tenebrist setting.

The Angels and Heavens Above

Only a small portion of the Meadows painting is comprised of angels appearing from the heavens. Maino represented one main angel at the very top and center of the composition. This figure is possibly Gabriel, who announced the birth of Jesus to the Shepherds in the fields and is now positioned to watch the adoration of the scene below. He is surrounded by heavenly clouds that billow from him, as his powerful presence radiates light. At the bottom of the clouds where the heavens meet the sky, three putti look down towards the gentle scene. Unlike the Meadows piece, the heavens in the Hermitage painting take up the entire top third of the composition. While all action revolves around and radiates from the main angel in the center of the Meadows painting, this area of the Hermitage piece is entirely different.
In the case of the Hermitage painting, a central angel is not the sole source of energy; the focus seems to shift from one angel or putto to the next, spanning the entire top third of the canvas. Canvas shape may be the reason for such divergence between the Meadows and Hermitage paintings in terms of compositional design. The dimensions of the Meadows and Prado canvases create rectangular formats, while the Hermitage painting is more of a square shape. Because of their sizes, Maino used many of the same compositional devices in the Meadows and Prado paintings. The size of the Hermitage painting allowed Maino to move away from some of the conventions he followed in the Meadows painting. He compensated by extending the middle ground to show more of the setting, included more figures in the scene, and expanded the heavens.

While the heavens in the Hermitage painting are much larger than the other two with numerous angels and putti, that is not to say that all angels in the painting are of equal importance. Two of the angels seem to be especially distinct, with wings brilliantly colored of blue, red, and gold. These angels appear to be preparatory versions of two angels from the Prado piece. The angel to the left in the Hermitage painting is rendered in a typical manner, looking down towards the adoration, while the other, at the right, is turned away from the scene. This angel reveals all of his back, as he looks away from the viewer towards another angel to his right. His left arm is tensed as it is outstretched above his head, touching the gray cloud by which he is surrounded. Angels in the heavens most often focus their attention and energy on Christ, making Maino’s depiction of this angel unusual. It is here that Maino studied the twists and turns of the human body by imposing an atypical position for a subordinate character in the narrative.
Maino singled out the two angels who are painted with the most detail in their wings, heads, and bodies in the Hermitage painting and placed them next to each other in the Prado piece. In their stylistic analysis of Maino’s oeuvre, Diego Angulo Iníguez and Alfonso Pérez Sánchez cite the origin of these angels as being influenced by two versions of the Coronation of the Virgin (1605-7) by Guido Reni, located in London and Madrid (Figs. 33, 34). They speculate that Maino saw the paintings, and they believe the angels undoubtedly confirm his friendship with Reni.\footnote{Angulo Iníguez and Pérez Sánchez, 303.} In the Prado painting, the angels are rendered in full detail so that the wrinkled folds of drapery from their wraps and the soft, colorful feathers of their wings are visible. Unlike the Hermitage piece, the two figures are grouped in a balanced area with hand, head, and arm gestures that complement one another. The positioning of the angels suggests a mirroring effect. While they both look downwards towards Jesus, the angel on the left touches his chest with his left hand, as the angel on the right touches his chest with his right hand. The same is true with the opposite arm. While the left angel props himself up with his right arm, the right angel, also with a bent arm, points downward. Most importantly, Maino focused on the musculature of the angels, whereas in the Hermitage painting, these two angels are softly modeled without definition. The development of these two figures in each composition adds credence to the hypothesis that the Hermitage painting precedes the Prado painting.

In the Prado painting, Maino tightens up the upper portion of the composition by leaving behind the chaos of the heavens in the Hermitage painting. Also included is an
angel wearing earthly clothes, who replaces the numerous putti in the Hermitage painting.

All the angels now direct their attention towards the Christ child as one of the angels points in the direction of the baby. The angels continue to protrude from a billowing cloud like the Meadows piece, but the cloud is now only visible in areas around the edges or where the angels lay their hands. The cloud seems to come into the viewer's space as it is more full-bodied and full of energy, whereas the action is more diffused in the previous paintings. This shows Maino's concern with space, a quality that is of utmost importance to Baroque artists.

Again, the Prado painting becomes more controlled, more subtle. As the heavens and earth are compacted together more than the previous paintings, there is less of a need to have rays of light jutting down into the space of the narrative to connect the planes. There are rays of golden light within the cloud of the angels, but there are fewer than the Hermitage work. The three rays seem to follow a logical pattern, radiating from the center of the cloud. The beams of light are still used to guide the eye from the upper portion of the canvas to the middle portion, however, they are presented in a much more refined manner.

Still-Life Elements

Maino's interest in the still life is obvious in each of his Adoration of the Shepherds, and as he paints each one, more of these elements are added to the scene. In the Meadows picture, the basket of eggs is amazingly naturalistic. The basket of eggs
was a convenient iconographical element for Maino to incorporate into this scene.

However, his acute interest in painting this small, somewhat incidental part of the narrative is proof of the growing interest of the still-life genre in Spain during the first part of the seventeenth century.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Maino painted the basket of eggs from different perspectives in all three works. He was challenging himself each time he shifted the basket in a new direction. It is also possible that Maino painted these elements with such great detail because he was able to bring a basket or water pouch into his studio and actually move it physically from position to position. Again, with the basket of eggs and other still-life elements, the Hermitage painting seems to be the interim piece. Maino painted the basket of eggs with less detail than the Meadows basket, but brought back the original basket from the Meadows painting for the Prado piece. Maino seemed to be focusing on the other details in the Hermitage piece, like the positioning of the figures, and less concerned with aspects of the composition that he believed were complete, like the basket of eggs. By doing this, he was able to spend more of his time on elements that were unresolved, such as the placement and number of the figures in the scene, the large upper portion of the canvas to be the heavens, as well as the type of architecture used to create the setting.

At the bottom right edge of the Hermitage painting next to the basket of eggs, Maino added two dead birds as additional offerings to the holy family. While it is possible that these birds may have iconographical interpretations, Maino rendered them in a way that they are not identifiable as particular birds, making them difficult to read as
symbols. They appear to be simply still-life elements; after all, it was not compositionally necessary for him to include them, as an empty foreground would have looked acceptable. For this reason and the fact that Maino did not include the birds in the other paintings, it is likely he was trying his hand at this particular type of still life.

When creating the Prado painting, Maino decided not to include the birds, but chose to incorporate other elements instead. The basket of eggs reappears in all of its beauty, along with the water bottle and animal pouch from the Meadows painting. Instead of having these two elements attached to the bodies of shepherds, they are now grouped in a pile in the foreground. The water bottle, as in the Meadows piece, has a pristine reflective surface. Maino juxtaposed the smooth texture of the bottle to that of the soft, animal pouch which lays next to it, creating a powerful pairing.

In the Prado piece, Maino created miniature still-life paintings in the foreground of the composition. The same is true in the companion piece to this painting, the Adoration of the Magi (1612-13), also at the Prado (Fig. 27). Maino left the entire foreground of this piece to the drapery of a king and a gold vessel, one of the royal gifts. The detail and rendering of this component is masterful. He took the utmost care and concern with painting the raised decoration of the metal container. The naturalism with which the rustic and royal gifts are rendered makes Maino more than an artist talented in the noble art of religious painting, but also, an experimenter in the newly important genre of the still life.

Other artists in the Italian Baroque tradition with whom Maino was familiar also took great care in situating and painting still-life objects in religious or mythological
works. Caravaggio focused as much time and energy on the glassware, fruits, and leaves as he did on the figure in *Bacchus* (1597-98) (Fig. 35). Another example, shows that Maino and Caravaggio shared an interest in painting plant life as well. *Saint John the Baptist* (c. 1605) reveals Caravaggio’s inclination to paint vegetation, as he has included a few different types of plants not necessary formally or stylistically to the composition, at the foot of Saint John (Fig. 31). Maino focused his attention on nature as well. In the Prado *Adoration of the Shepherds*, he detailed the rugged parts of the ground and included areas of grass. In its companion piece, the *Adoration of the Magi*, he painted ivy hanging down from the old barn, as well as taking particular care with a grouping of rocks, plants, and mushrooms at the lower right of the composition (Fig. 27).

The shepherds in their adoration of Christ have taken many different character types throughout art history. While there were strict guidelines on representing the Virgin, the shepherds in the scene do not have to conform to any specific standards or guidelines. This allowed artists leeway in depicting both mature and youthful shepherds. Maino followed in Caravaggio’s path as he chose men from everyday life to portray the shepherds. Their faces and body types are not classical or idealized in the Renaissance tradition, but are individuals with unique character. Caravaggio’s *Supper at Emmaus* (1606) exemplifies the notion of depicting the common person, even in religious paintings (Fig. 36). The disciple to the right of the table appears to be somewhat rugged. The tendons in his neck are visible, along with the veins in his hand. Both standing
figures show the ravages of time, with wrinkles covering their distinctive faces. Maino furthered this concern with naturalism in several of the figures in his paintings, especially the older shepherd at the left of the composition in the Meadows version. He has matted brownish-gray hair that is disheveled, surrounding a face that is sunburned from tending his flocks.

In the Meadows painting, Maino represented three older shepherds and one young shepherd. They are situated at the left and right edges of the composition adoring Christ. The shepherd at the far left holding the dog is replaced in the Hermitage painting by an older shepherd, who is sitting down, leaning on his crook. Maino chose not to use this character in the Prado Adoration of the Shepherds, but instead incorporated the individual into the companion piece, the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 27). Maino changed his pose very slightly, placing him directly on the ground. The king’s gesture over his heart is a slight variation from that of the shepherd with his crook removed from his hand. While this character was not included in the Prado Adoration of the Shepherds, his inclusion in the Prado Adoration of the Magi still supports the idea that the Hermitage painting was completed at an earlier date, since both Prado pieces were painted during the same years, 1612-13.

The shepherd with the lamb around his shoulders who stands to the right of the Meadows composition is moved from the middle ground of the composition to the foreground of both the Hermitage and Prado paintings. His character becomes a study tool for rendering the human figure, as this figure in the Hermitage and Prado works are positioned in two related, but contrasting poses. In the later two paintings the shepherd
no longer stands, but lies in the foreground of the composition. In the Hermitage painting, he is turned away from the viewer, gathering his sheep, while in the Prado painting, he faces the viewer with one hand grasping the lamb’s hind legs. The shepherd Maino placed in the foreground of the Hermitage painting is found in another part of the San Pedro Mártrir altarpiece. The exact figure is placed in the very same part of the composition in the identical manner in Maino’s Resurrection from 1613 (Fig. 26). This poses an interesting problem in dating the Hermitage painting. This figure could help make the case that the Hermitage Adoration of the Shepherds was painted prior to the Prado piece and thus Maino used the composition to work through figurative issues. He twisted this shepherd in the foreground trying to see what positioning worked best and then decided to incorporate the same figure into another part of the altarpiece. On the other hand, Maino may have painted the figure in the Resurrection first and then later quoted it in the Hermitage Adoration of the Shepherds. The former seems to be more likely in this case because there are other factors which suggest the Hermitage piece was completed before the Prado piece, such as the two angels and overall coloring of the piece.

This shepherd in the foreground of the Hermitage and Prado versions allowed Maino to study human anatomy. He has shed the ragged shepherd’s clothes of the Meadows figure and has clothed his counterpart in the Hermitage painting with a brown wrap around his lower body. The details of the drapery become more complete in the

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38 Angulo Iniguez, 33-34.
Prado painting, giving the man pants in addition to the wrap. In both cases, the upper body and legs are exposed, a choice Maino made in order to experiment in painting the musculature of the body.

Maino’s focus on the body was no doubt inspired by his teacher Annibale Carracci. Carracci’s greatest achievement was the ceiling fresco of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome between 1597-1600 (Fig 37). It is here that his style became more classical as he looked to ancient sources to depict the human figure with a weightier quality. With hundreds of figures to incorporate into and around numerous scenes, Carracci experimented painting various body types in different poses. A detail of the ceiling shows Carracci’s debt to Michelangelo in his use of bulky, muscular forms in twisted and contorted positions; however, compared to the Sistine ceiling, the Farnese ceiling qualifies as a Baroque masterpiece because of the animation of the scenes in terms of space. Carracci used different artistic devices, such as trompe l’oeil, grisaille, and foreshortened perspective to create numerous individual scenes which billow out at the viewer, while still keeping the overall ceiling a unified whole. Maino followed this example by experimenting with the body positioning and musculature of the shepherd in the foreground of the Hermitage and Prado pieces. Throughout the ceiling, Carracci used similar characters, but arranged them in ways that focus on different parts of their anatomies. Maino did the same thing with this particular shepherd. He painted him facing away from the viewer with very little definition in the musculature in the

39 Martin, 21.
Hermitage piece, while in the Prado painting, he turned his pose so that he lies facing the viewer with a more tensed body, making his musculature more defined.

The brown, dirty feet exposed to the viewer are common in Baroque painting, probably based on Caravaggio’s brand of naturalism, and Maino painted them with the utmost detail. In fact, the feet of the shepherd in the foreground of the Hermitage painting may be one of the reasons Maino chose to have the figure facing away from the viewer. Another reason was his interest in painting the shepherd’s back. The shepherd lies in an awkward, twisted pose, enhancing the contortions. While Maino attempted to define the areas in the shoulders and upper arms, for the most part, they are softly modeled. He did, however, reposition the shepherd in the Prado painting, exemplifying his solid technique by rendering the anatomy in detail. By grasping the legs of lamb, the shepherd’s arm becomes tensed, making the muscles sculpted and defined; a good way for an artist to show his skill in rendering parts of the body.

Other shepherds in the painting reflect on evolution as well. The shepherd with the dog at the left of the Meadows painting goes through a transformation and as a result, he takes a more prominent place in a later composition. In the earliest painting, he stands as though he has just walked into the scene and has removed his hat. He is accompanied by his faithful dog. His character is replaced in the Hermitage painting by the shepherd who becomes a king in the Prado Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 27). After a few changes in his dress and posture, he reappears in the Prado Adoration of the Shepherds in a similar, but transformed manner. In this painting, no longer standing, he kneels next to the Virgin holding the horns of a goat in his hand, rather than guiding the dog. Instead of including
the hat, Maino painted the shepherd with his hand over his heart in awe of the newborn savior. This gesture is the same one used throughout the Meadows painting, and now Maino limited its use to this shepherd and one of the angels. Maino chose not to use this device to move the eye around the canvas, but instead used lines from the characters’ entire bodies as directionals, creating a more subtle design.

This shepherd exemplifies the increased attention to detail in the Prado painting, which can be seen throughout most of the composition. The garb of this shepherd varies from its original rendering in the Meadows painting, this time with more emphasis on the drapery. In the Prado piece, Maino added layers of clothing to the shepherd’s outfit, and by doing this, he had to contend with painting the intricacies of the folds of cloth, as well as realistically depicting various textures side by side. For example, the shepherd’s shoe was painted to show minute scuffs and holes, allowing the viewer to see the natural wear and tear of the leather. Also, the folds in his pushed up sleeve show the light weight of the cloth, revealing Maino’s ability to paint the smallest of details with the utmost of skill. Maino’s mastery of painting drapery is equal to that of Zurbarán’s, whose interest and skill in painting fabric is renowned.

At the left of the Hermitage painting are two middle-aged gentlemen wearing contemporary garb with ruffles and skins, signaling both men come from the middle or upper levels of society. Less emphasis is given to the shepherds, while more details are given to the unknown figures in the work, who are probably the patrons or donors. Angulo Ifíguez in his brief discussion of the painting suggests that these men are
additional shepherds. This does not seem plausible because of their attire, in addition to their facial features. Both men appear to be specific individuals with wrinkles and receding hairlines. Also, their faces are not identifiable or connected with any other of Maino’s works, unlike the Virgin and the shepherds, whose likenesses may be found in each of the three Adorations. At the right of the composition between Mary and the standing shepherd is a character that is suggested to be El Greco in a catalogue entry from a Hermitage publication. This was most likely based on Palomino’s suggestion that El Greco was Maino’s teacher in Toledo. Angulo Iñiguez also believes that this figure resembles El Greco, but thinks it is probably Saint Joseph. Maino in the other two Adorations rendered Joseph as a younger man and much closer to Jesus, making it unlikely that this is the case. While there is an approximation between the features of this figure and El Greco, the likelihood of Maino including El Greco in this composition is unfounded, unless the incorporation was a tribute to the aging painter.

The shepherds in the Hermitage painting lack some of the character they once had in the Meadows painting and are now painted in a more idealized manner. Two shepherds are in profile, while one shepherd has his back fully turned to the viewer. This makes their faces somewhat difficult to read, although both shepherds in profile seem to have more softly modeled bodies in addition to having less individualized faces than the

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40 Angulo Iñiguez, 34.
41 V. F. Levinson-Lessing, cat. entry 32.
42 Palomino, 114.
43 Angulo Iñiguez, 34.
Meadows piece. For example, the shepherd to the right, leaning on his crook, has a similar face to some of the angels above him. Each of these figures seems to have the same short cropped brown hair and nondescript facial features, rendered with a pale, youthful look. Perhaps Maino was focusing on the patrons in the picture more than the shepherds, or maybe Maino wanted to render the faces of the holy figures in the scene with a sweeter, less worn look.

The shepherd’s dog also went through changes of breed and placement in the composition. In the Meadows painting, the dog accompanies his master to witness the blessed event, while overseeing the situation as protector of the newborn. The dog in the Hermitage painting is situated on the right side of the canvas, but seems to take a subordinate role, placed in a grouping of other animals and hidden behind the cloak of a shepherd. In the Prado painting, the dog, although positioned in the foreground of the painting, becomes of less importance to the scene. Instead of watching over the flocks or the infant, the dog takes a nap.

The dog is one of the few elements in the Prado painting rendered without the utmost detail. The fur on the back, the coloring of the face, and the awkward positioning of one of his front paws, suggest less time was taken on this aspect of the work. This is not the case with the dog in the Meadows painting; in this case, the fur is painted realistically, so that the smooth and scruffy areas of the dog’s hair are visible. Perhaps Maino painted the dog into the composition last in order to fill the immediate space in the foreground, as he tends to fill that space in his works.
This suggests that each time Maino painted an Adoration, he would vary the kind and number of animals he would incorporate into the scene, while always including the ox and the ass. In the Meadows painting, there is one brown and white dog and one sheep. The Hermitage piece includes a smaller black and white dog and two sheep, while the Prado painting has a similar black and white dog curled up in the foreground, a sheep, and a goat. The Hermitage painting becomes the bridge between the other two as it has the most animal elements in the scene with the number then being reduced in the Prado painting. The later two works also share the same black and white dog, which differs with the larger, brown dog of the Meadows painting.

The Setting

The scene of Maino's three Adorations takes place inside a decrepit barn, with all three paintings showing variations within that standard. In each case, Maino created a structure out of wood as well as stone, painting slight deformities into both materials to express a run-down quality to the setting. In the Meadows painting, Maino grouped the figures in a shelter made mostly of wood with a small section of stone visible behind the heads of the ox and ass. The figures are positioned directly on the ground, and behind their heads, the landscape appears through an area of the barn that is no longer standing.

In the Hermitage painting, there is an entire area behind Joseph's head in which the barn walls can be seen easily, not just as part of the background. Like the Meadows painting, the structure is made of stone and wood, but now the stone seems to be the main structural element instead of the wood. Large sections of stone become the backdrop for
the figures, unlike the Meadows painting where the wall is set behind Mary’s head, a much smaller portion of the background. Maino gave the barn details, such as depicting one section with the stone chipped off revealing the inner structure in order to express the notion that this event took place in an unglamorous setting. Above the figures, the structural wood beams are exposed, signaling the roof and most of the walls are no longer in place. These beams are also used to direct the eye around the canvas as each one forms a vertical, horizontal, or angled line. This is especially true of the vertical beams supporting the stone walls, which guide the eye from the heavens down into the foreground of the composition.

In the Prado painting, the barn becomes more of a shell-like structure encompassing the scene. Less of the structure is visible than in the Hermitage painting, but Maino kept the stone wall behind the characters, using the horizontal line of the wall to keep our eyes from constantly moving up towards the angels. The figures in the foreground are seated on the ground, as in the earlier two versions, but in this work, Maino placed the main characters in the scene on a wooden platform. Mary and Joseph sit behind the platform and dote over the child, while one of the shepherds kneels with one leg on and one leg off of the raised structure. This use of space signals a hierarchy of characters, creating a wooden pedestal, which Maino did not incorporate into the other two paintings. Also, this structure initiates a change between the foreground and middle ground of the composition. For example, next to the shepherd on the left, several wooden beams still stand, separating the shepherd from the foreground scene. The beams direct
the viewer to look down from the angels above to the most important part of the scene, Jesus.

Although Maino used some of the same ideas in all three settings, within the structure of the barn an evolution occurred. Through the rotted wood and chipped off stone, the barn is depicted as a bare-boned structure in each work, setting the tone of the scene. Maino used the barn in each work to develop the composition. While all the basic elements he used are present in the Meadows painting, such as the stone wall and wooden beams, Maino began to use these elements for more obvious compositional purposes in the later two versions. In the Hermitage painting, the middle ground of the work is mostly taken up by the structure, connecting all areas of the painting to each other. He added more beams and made the stone wall a little taller to pull everything together. This was probably determined by the square format of the canvas, giving Maino more horizontal space to fill. In the Prado painting, he brought the viewer closer into the scene. He used the previously mentioned elements of the barn, such as the stone wall and wooden beams, but included additional elements like the pedestal. Another new aspect of the Prado painting is his positioning of the figures on both sides of the wooden structure, making the painting more intricate in terms of usage of space.

Conclusion

By examining all three Adoration of the Shepherds, a general progression is established. The Meadows painting was the first to be rendered, followed by the
Hermitage painting, which can be described as a bridge to the final piece, the Prado painting. This was determined by looking at specific areas of each painting and comparing them to each other.

Both the Meadows and the Hermitage Adorations reveal a progressive development in relation to the Prado piece. Joseph evolved from being somewhat distanced from the baby Jesus to kissing his hand in the Prado version. The shepherds, too, stay identifiable in each work, but were moved throughout the composition and rendered with varying degrees of detail. The Meadows painting, for all of the reasons examined in this chapter, seems similar in composition to the Prado piece, but rendered in a more traditional and perhaps less developed style. The figures, as well as the overall compositional format, foreshadow the Prado painting. In many ways, the Meadows piece is directly linked to the Hermitage piece because the rendering of Mary is similar in both works. Christ and other characters in the scene, such as the shepherds, also suggest a connection between the two works.

Coming to a conclusion on the Hermitage painting is more difficult in that it appears to be rendered close to the time of the San Pedro Mártir altarpiece, but was it before or after? The two main arguments in this chapter suggest that it was painted before the Prado piece because of the similarities in the characterization of figures, such as the shepherd in the foreground as well as the two angels. These figures were softly modeled in the Hermitage painting and then rendered with sculpted musculature in the Prado piece. The lighter coloring of the Hermitage piece and the tenebrism of the Meadows piece resulted in a combination of the two lighting effects in the Prado piece.
Even after comparing Maino's three *Adoration of the Shepherds*, one finds it is not possible to determine exact dates for the Meadows and Hermitage paintings since no specific documentation is known regarding their commissions. Only ranges of dates (1608-1612) can be specified for the Meadows and Hermitage paintings based on Maino's return to Spain from Italy in 1608, and the dates that he rendered the San Pedro Mártir altarpiece in 1612-13.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

There is so little published information on Juan Bautista Maino that it is necessary to piece together the limited concrete research that exists with ideas that are speculative in order to make observations on his life and art. Writers from previous centuries, such as Jusepe Martínez and Antonio Palomino determined the basis for areas of study on Maino. While some of this early information has proved to be less than accurate, other areas, like Martínez’s description of Maino’s Italian studies have become cornerstones for any research on this artist.

As an early Baroque artist in Spain, Maino was on the forefront of bringing back from Italy new information in the area of the arts, as well as other intellectual pursuits, to his fellow countrymen. Maino was able to combine parts of the Italian style with the tradition of his forebears in Spanish art. The spreading and assimilation of these ideas aided the development of the Baroque in Spain. As Maino was eventually asked to be the drawing master to the future King Philip IV, it is evident that he was well respected as a draftsman of the highest caliber. Maino acquired prominent status at the Court as he was asked to discuss, challenge, and judge artistic matters.¹

There is no definitive information on the commission of the Adoration of the Shepherds in the holdings of the Meadows Museum in Dallas, Texas. The general rendering of Maino's work is conventional in terms of the symbolism used. An analysis of the iconography and iconology of the particular painting relate the symbols and subject of the work to past traditions, as well as to the context in which they were provided.

In his standard iconographical formula, Maino used symbols relating to each character in the scene. For example, one of the shepherds carries a lamb around his shoulders, referring to the baby Jesus as the lamb that will be sacrificed for the good of the world. The imagery in the background of the painting includes a broken pillar. Placed in this setting, this remnant of classical architecture symbolically refers to the believers of non-Christian religions who lived during the dawn of Christianity with the birth of Jesus.

Maino probably did not deviate from the standard way of representing this subject because of his strong religious beliefs as a Dominican friar in conjunction with the overall religious fervor of Spain during the Counter Reformation. By looking at the basic iconographical elements used in the painting, additional interpretations may be drawn which relate to the situation in Toledo at the time Maino painted the work. The rustic gifts given by the shepherds to Christ may have been seen as encouragement to the viewer of the painting. With economic hard times facing Spain after numerous invasions

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and conquests, Toledans were forced to pay more taxes to support the government dealings.4

Stylistically too, Maino was able to incorporate ideas from the Italian tradition to advance the advent of the Baroque in Spain. He is most noted for his connections to Caravaggio in terms of his naturalism, coloring, and lighting. However, he is also associated with a different tradition that was taking place in Rome at the same time, that of Annibale Carracci and his followers. Maino's draftsmanship techniques were heavily influenced by the classicism of Carracci and thus enabled him to eventually acquire his teaching position for Prince Philip, the future Philip IV.

Stylistic and formal factors in conjunction with the iconography and iconology of painting were used as evidence in determining the dates Maino rendered the Meadows Museum's Adoration of the Shepherds. Heinrich Wölfflin's model of connoisseurship provides a basis for tracing the evolution of Maino's style as a means of establishing a time-line for his three known versions of the subject. As there are so few known works painted by Maino and so few that have confirmed dates, it was necessary to use those works whose dates are exact as a basis of the investigation. The San Pedro Mártir altarpiece was this starting point, dated from 1612-13.5 Also, the Adoration of the Shepherds from the Hermitage was used to add another example of the same subject by the artist, although the date of this painting is also unconfirmed. By looking at all three

Adoration of the Shepherds, general stylistic developments were determined, suggesting that the Meadows and Hermitage paintings were rendered prior to the Prado painting. In conclusion to this study, both works were dated 1608-12, between the years Maino received a commission in Pastrana and the commission of the San Pedro Mártir altarpiece.

Recommendations

The Meadows Museum’s Adoration of the Shepherds is a work undoubtedly by the hand of Juan Bautista Maino, but there is still much to learn about the work and the artist who painted it. Determining the exact provenance of the painting would be beneficial in tracing the work back to its original location, and would also provide details of the work’s commission. Circumstances surrounding the commission of the piece would confirm many of the issues explored in this paper and would also reveal additional information on why many of iconographic and stylistic choices were made.

Also needed is an overall study of Maino’s works. Even the most famous paintings by Maino are in need of a full study, such as the Recapture of Bahía (1634-35) and the entire altarpiece from San Pedro Mártir (1612-15). Both works have been studied independently, but without regard to his other pieces. By making connections between Maino’s entire œuvre, a wealth of information could be gathered by comparison. As a result, dates could be determined for those works in which authorship is confirmed, and those works where authorship is questioned could also be authenticated. Through this kind of study, it may be possible to determine more specific information on Maino’s life,
especially the part he spent at the Court of Philip IV. His status at the Court is
documented through a few works of art as well as a contest he judged, however, there is
much evidence to be uncovered that verifies his position as an advisor to the King on
artistic matters, such as bringing certain artists to the Court, commissions, and stylistic
concerns.

This study is meant to supply one piece of research on the Meadows *Adoration of
the Shepherds*. Additional research on this painting, the other *Adorations*, and Maino’s
entire *oeuvre* is recommended. As more information on his work is gathered, it no doubt
will reveal the multitude of ways in which Maino was influential in the development of
the Baroque in Spain.
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