BARA: OF DEATH, DESIRE AND DRUMSTICKS

Morris Fraser

Joseph Bara, boy-icon for several generations of French schoolchildren, was born just over two centuries ago and died suddenly and unpleasantly in 1793, shortly after his fourteenth birthday. Because of the circumstances of his death, Bara has since then been the subject of at least thirty statues, as well as of countless paintings, medallions, poems, songs, and monuments; schools have been named after him, and festivals and pageants have been staged in his honour. But he is probably best remembered because of an extraordinary painting by Jacques-Louis David (Fig. 1), a painting full of mystery and enigmaone that attracts considerable argument, debate, and analysis even today, almost exactly two hundred years after its completion.

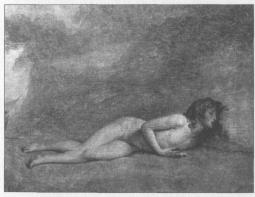


Fig. 1. Jacques Louis David. Joseph Bara (1794)

Who was Joseph Bara? He was born to a poor family in Palaiseau, France, on 30 July 1779. His father, a gamekeeper, died when the boy was an infant, and it was natural that young Joseph should follow his two elder brothers into the revolutionary forces. In spite of his tender years, he was enlisted as a hussar under General Desmarres, and it is recorded that he sent most of his meagre earnings home to help support his mother. In the autumn of 1793, his platoon was ambushed by "Royalists" (more accurately a group of Vendéeans, essentially bandits); they demanded at sword-point that their young captive shout "Vive le Roi!" but he shouted "Vive la République!" and was butchered on the spot.¹



Fig. 2. Jacques Louis David. Sapho, Phaon et l'Amour (1809)

Within days the story had reached Robespierre, then at the height of his power, and it affected his imagination mightily; Joseph Bara, he decreed, should be elevated to the ranks of the Immortals. There would be commemorations, statues, and-at a major festival the following year-a picture of Bara would be carried in procession and a copy sent to every school in France, to be displayed as a stirring example to *les jeunes*.² Naturally, Robespierre sent for Representative J.L. David.



Fig. 3. Correggio. Ganymede and the Eagle (c. 1530)

Jacques Louis David, born in Paris in 1748, was one of the first and possibly the greatest of the neo-classical painters. He had studied in Rome, had won the Prix de Rome in 1774, and already he was widely celebrated as artist and teacher; he was known throughout Europe for his classical and allegorical subjects in the grand style, and his successes had included The Oath of the Horatii (1785), The Death of Socrates (1788), and Brutus Condemning His Sons (1789). When the Revolution came, he identified strongly with the Republican cause and became a close associate of Robespierre. He was a representative for Paris in the Convention of 1792, and when, in the Convention of 1794, Robespierre brandished a cup of hemlock and threatened to drink it rather than surrender, the emotional David rushed to his side, offering to be the first to drink the poison with

his leader-a gesture treated with proper cynicism by Carlyle as something a deal easier to say than to do.³

Nevertheless, with Robespierre's encouragement, David devised a number of festivals and set-pieces based on classical and revolutionary themes, and in 1794 he was himself briefly President of the Convention, but after the execution of Robespierre he spent a year in prison, fortunate to escape with his own neck. He was released on the intercession of his numerous pupils and rehabilitated under Napoleon, to whom he became court painter. After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, he fled to Switzerland, then to Brussels, where he died in 1825. As a final act of vengeance by the Royalists, Charles X refused an application for his burial in France.⁴



Fig. 4. Damiano Mazza. The Rape of Ganymede (c. 1570)

In 1793, however, fired with enthusiasm, David began work on *The Death of Bara* immediately after his interview of December 28th with Robespierre.⁵ Alas, with the fall of Robespierre and the arrest of David in the following year, the planned celebration never took place; during David's imprisonment, one of his pupils, Etienne Delécluse, recalls seeing a forlorn group of paintings abandoned in his studio, including "a charming sketch of a nude boy, dying with the tricolour pressed to his breast...."⁶ After David's death, the painting passed through a number of private hands, and finally found a home in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, where it remains.



Fig. 5. Stefano Maderno. Santa Cecilia (18th C.)

The painting is indeed an extraordinary one, in that Bara the boy-soldier presents a virtually girlish appearance, with his long hair, rounded facial features and hips, and-most peculiar of all-his genitals tucked back and almost completely hidden between his thighs. David's artistic style ran generally to muscular soldierly types; from within his huge output, only the roundhipped *innocento* in his *Sapho, Phaeon et l'Amour* of 1809 (Fig. 2) appears to have any kinship with Bara, and only remotely so.

So why Bara's apparent femininity? Why the nudity? Indeed, is the picture finished? Or, had history decreed otherwise, did the artist plan to add other details? In 1989, as part of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, the Musée Calvet mounted a major exhibition surrounding *Bara*; this also was the occasion for the publication of a number of papers in which these questions were specifically addressed. But, whether the painting is finished or not, the discussion is of much wider interest, because at the very core of *Bara*'s symbolismand the questions it raises-lies the primordial metaphor of the beautiful nude boy, one of the most ubiquitous and powerful images in the whole of art.

The first question about *Bara* has to be, however, whether the painting is complete. The art critic Régis Michel urges that it is; David, he

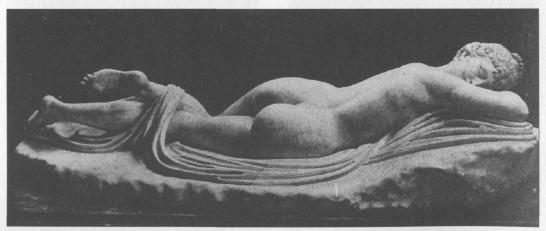


Fig. 6. Sleeping Hermaphrodite (Hellenistic)

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Fig. 7. Anne-Louis Girodet. Endymion (1791)

recalls, had had over seven months to finish the work, and the simplicity of the background is not unique in the artist's output; less convincingly, he adds the argument that the painting's sketchy nature is in itself a symbol of the evolving nature of the Revolution, or at least that its simplicity of conception is consistent with the "art for the masses" rhetoric that was to underlie the work.7 But Jean-Clément Martin quotes David's own plan for the painting and points out that many elements are missing,⁸ and the art historian Prof. A. Schnapper added more recently that, although David had catalogued all his paintings carefully, he had never catalogued Bara.9 Further, the picture was destined-on Robespierre's orders-to be copied, for which in its sketchy condition it appears to be unsuitable. (In the event, there is only one copy of Bara, by an unknown hand but probably by a pupil of David's, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille). Schnapper, in short, is robustly dismissive of the claims that Bara is

complete. Equally, the painting's near-impressionistic style and pastel colouring set it very much apart from the general body of David's meticulously detailed work. Therefore, taking the above evidence as a whole, the indications are that the painting is indeed unfinished; given the events of 1794, one can scarcely blame the artist for having lost heart for the project. However, all sides agree that one element is complete—the boy Joseph Bara himself—and also that the artist did not, for example, intend to add any clothing.

So why the nudity? asks Michel. Even those who insist that the painting is unfinished, he writes, admit that David had intended to paint a nude Bara. Was the boy stripped by his murderers, as several writers have assumed?¹⁰ Not so, writes the historian J. Sloane; in the circumstances of the ambush, the Vendéeans would scarcely have had time to escape with their own lives, let alone steal a small Republican uniform, useless to them.¹¹ These arguments are peripheral anyhow; the nudity, declares Michel, has its own polemic; it is



Fig. 8. David d'Angers. Jeune Berger (1815)

the ne plus ultra of classicism, the nudity of a god or a hero, of a Greek kouros, of Michaelangelo's David, of a Cupid, an Amor, it gives the boy-martyr Bara his own place among the Immortals. It is also, writes Michel, the nudity of la grâce. He refers to J. J. Winckelmann, the great German art historian and one of the founders of neo-classicism: Winckelmann expanded on the supreme grace and serenity of the young subject who is neither child nor vet man, neither truly male nor female, and Michel analyses the painting against Winckelmann's distinction of "three orders of grace" within the evolution of antique art-"la grâce sublime", "la grâce aimable", and "la grâce enfantine".¹² Bara, writes Michel, evinces something of all three; the first, the sublime, in the boy's agonised facial expression; the second, the aimable, in the sensuality of his pose-the crossed legs, the arched hips; the third, the enfantine, in his childish innocence, his immaturity, his androgyny.¹³

And why the androgyny? The full meaning of *Bara* may, in the end, escape the modern-day inquirer, but the most rewarding search will begin from the tradition and imagery within which the artist was working, more familiar in his time than now. To begin with, consider the following:

His is a pose of erotic passivity.... He has delicate facial features, a soft and female body-type, long curly hair and roundlymodelled contours.... [The artist] conceals the boy's masculine-active penis and reveals his feminine-receptive buttocks.



Fig. 9. David d'Angers. Barra [sic] (1838)

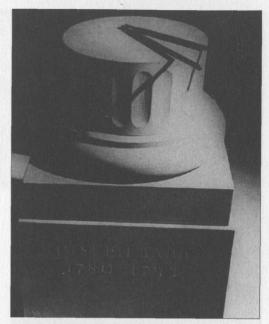


Fig. 10. Ian Hamilton Finlay. Monument to Joseph Bara (1896)

This is certainly a graphic description of the dead Bara, but in fact it comes from Ganymede in the Renaissance, James M. Saslow's encyclopaedic examination of the Ganymede myth in art and society of that period.¹⁴ He is describing the Ganymede in Correggio's painting of 1530 (Fig. 3). and, continuing to follow the Ganymede myth from its origins, he adduces a large number of similar paintings that provide the boy with this same feminine body-image, for example concentrating especially on the boy's full, globular buttocks, more so than those of the average prepubescent boy (see also Fig. 4); writing that the Ganymede myth is probably the prime historical metaphor for man-boy love,¹⁵ he shows convincingly how a girlish Ganymede was used by Correggio and others to signify ideal homoerotic beauty.

The same almost certainly applies to *Bara*, and the erotic element in the painting has by no means escaped notice. In his analysis, Edouard Pommier also quotes Winckelmann, this time on the androgynous Bacchus: He has the beauty of androgyny, uniting male and female; a male body, but with forms more gentle, limbs more rounded, hips more generous, all animated by a gentler breath than we know.... A beautiful child crossing the frontier between youth and maturity, his childishness still evident in the fluidity of his form, the softness of his elbows, his back, his knees.... The bud of sensuality has already begun to germinate in him as in a tender plant, yet he is still between sleep and waking, still half in his dream....¹⁶

Winckelmann, the high neo-classicist, was one of David's first mentors, and Pommier suggests that, as a formulation for *Bara*, the above could scarcely be bettered. It is impossible to disagree. *Bara* too is indisputably androgynous-perhaps even more so than any of Saslow's examples, and his origin is partially evident in David's more immediate artistic antecedents. David, while



Fig. 11. Jean-Joseph Weerts. La Mort de Bara (1883)



Fig. 12. Jean-Jacques Henner. Bara (1882)

studying in Rome, would have seen Maderno's *Sainte Cecile* (Fig. 5), also the Borgese *Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (Fig. 6), and Foissy-Aufrère points out the clear resemblances of Bara to both, in both the pose and the manifest androgyny of the Borgese sculpture.¹⁷

David was also known to have greatly admired the famous *Endymion* of 1791 by his pupil Girodet, in which a curly-haired round-hipped boy exchanges distinctly coquettish glances with the drowsy Endymion (Fig. 7).¹⁸ Here the sexuality is more explicit, but this painting, in its many resemblances, can again be read as part of a contemporary artistic vocabulary upon which David drew alike for *Bara*.

Much of this is now forgotten, but the realm of the androgyne-the mysterious zone between the male and the female-has always been a magical and fascinating one, and still is. Hermaphrodite himself was the child of two gods, Hermes and Aphrodite; and the boy was considered so beautiful that he might have been taken either for a god or goddess.¹⁹ The terms "hermaphrodite" and "androgyne" were frequently used interchangeably by Greek and Roman writers, equally so in old Gnostic texts where the notions of male-female ambivalence were strongly associated with other forms of magical transformation, especially alchemy.²⁰ Some refer explicitly to the magical power of the young nude feminine boy-his youth, freshness and his unique ability to evoke sexual desire. And his power is still undiminished. Camille Paglia writes:



Fig. 13. Auguste Paris. Bara Mourant (1883)

The beautiful boy's androgyny is visionary and exalted.... [It is] like the voice of a singing-boy... with an ethereal beauty that no words can describe. The rosy English or Austrian choirboy, disciplined, reserved, and heart-stoppingly beautiful, is a symbol of spiritual and sexual illumination, fused in the idealising Greek manner. We see the same thing in Botticelli's exquisite longhaired boy-angels.²¹

The androgyne, being both boy and woman, available to both sexes, thus possesses magically heightened sexuality. He partakes in the nature of Cupid, that delectable creature eternally hovering between male and female, between child and adult, between angel and human, and, like Girodet's flirtatious boy-pixie, between heaven and earth.

And yet....

The domain of the androgyne is equally a place of danger and death. If there is one common element

in the lives of beautiful human boys beloved of gods it is that all, like Bara, came to sudden and often gruesome ends. Hyacinthus, beloved of Apollo, was killed by a discus blown by a jealous Zephyr. Cyparissus, a handsome boy from the Greek island of Cea, also loved by Apollo, accidentally killed his pet stag and died of grief. Crocus, a beautiful boy beloved of Jupiter, was killed by a quoit from the hand of Mercury. Hylas, boy-companion of Hercules, was drowned by water-nymphs.²² Daphnis, the little cowherd befriended by Pan (in some versions by Hermes) was later blinded and subsequently drowned. Ganymede too, detested by a jealous Hera, was in a sense sacrificed, transmuted by Zeus into a star and set in the constellation Aquarius. Of the mythic brotherhood of androgynes, in fact, only the true gods escaped death-Cupid, Bacchus, Hermaphrodite himself.

The moral is clear: only a god can take upon himself a dual nature, can be both male and female. The human androgyne-the mortal boy

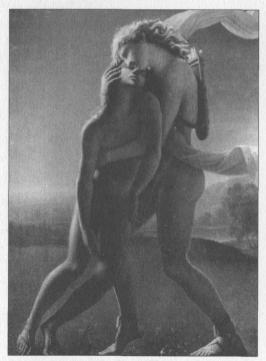


Fig. 14. Jean Broc. La Mort d'Hyacinthe (1801)



Fig. 15. Francis Joseph baron Bosio. Hyacinthe (1817)

who would also be a girl-has arrogated to himself the nature of a god, has stolen the magic of a god, and is thus guilty of capital sacrilege; there must inevitably be blood sacrifice.

And Bara too is, I suggest, essentially a mythic representation, so far does David's painting differ from what the reality must have been.²³ Bara is shown not primarily as a fourteen-year-old soldier, but instead as another of the elect company of mortal androgynes beloved of the gods-in this case the temporal deities of the revolution-and he too is shown ripe for sacrifice.

Whom the gods love do indeed die young.²⁴ Yet all is not death and destruction; the necessary sacrifice of the androgyne is followed by resurrection, or at least by metamorphosis.

We can pursue this theme further by examining *Bara's* successors and the ways in which the painting's themes were developed or replicated.

The Successors of Bara

David d'Angers (1788-1856) is probably David's best-remembered pupil; he was so called to distinguish him from his master. He was at the time France's most celebrated sculptor, with a prodigious output; there was probably no notable Frenchman of the time who was not the subject of one of his several hundred statues, busts, or medallions. He had already amply proved his neo-classical credentials with the charming *Jeune* Berger of 1816 (Fig. 8); on his master's suggestion in 1838 he embarked on a statue of Bara (Fig. 9).

As a boy David d'Angers had himself served among the Republican volunteers, and he was deeply attached to the completed statue, which remained in his studio for many years;²⁵ in 1858 it was acquired by Prince Napoleon, and the finished version has been lost, though high-quality casts remain in Angers and Cholet. The image of la belle morte is perfectly captured, and the boy holds to his breast a cockade in the Republican tricolour. Clearly the artist subscribes to the view that the boy was roughly stripped by his murderers; Bara is near-nude, only a strip of clothing preserving his sexual ambiguity; otherwise nothing but one sock remains, half pulled from his left foot. The boy (erroneously) holds a drumstick in his left hand, indicating that the sculptor had also absorbed the myth of Bara the Drummer-Boy. Bara first appeared as a drummer-boy in engravings of 1794, and the image has been surprisingly tenacious, resurrected most recently in 1986 in England



Fig. 16. Francis Joseph baron Bosio. Hyacinthe (1817)



Fig. 17. Alexandre Falguière. Tarcisius, Martyr Chrétien (1868)

by way of a statue by Ian Hamilton Finlay. The theme is nevertheless treated here with beautiful simplicity; a pair of drumsticks is laid across the top of a truncated column, with the words JOSEPH BARA inscribed on its base (Fig. 10).

Still, though there have been a number of heroic French drummer-boys-Darruder, Stroh, Estienne, for example,²⁶-and, though the image of the heroic youngster who rallies the troops to battle with his drum is a seductive one, there is little doubt that Joseph Bara at the time of his death was a hussar; the magnificent life-size painting of 1883 by Weerts (Fig 11) is probably the one which comes closest to historical accuracy. Harsh realism, however, is also the keynote of Henner's Bara of 1882 (Fig. 12). While the boy himself is undoubtedly handsome, and though there is no denying the sensual appeal of his nude body spread-eagled on the grass, there is equally no belle morte here. Nor in the striking 1883 bust by Auguste Paris (Fig. 13), an example of many.²⁷

By contrast, Jean Broc's *La Morte d'Hyacinthe* of 1801 (Fig. 14) stands very much in the mythic tradition of the exquisitely beautiful boy, blond locks caressed by the wind, struck down in the flower of his youth. Broc, like David d'Angers, was a pupil of J.L. David and here too, like Bara, the boy dies prettily, clasped in the arms of his lover Apollo. The jealous Zephyr had deflected the boy's discus to strike a fatal blow; his blood drips to the ground where already the hyacinth flower is springing up.

In 1817 Baron Bosio completed his own Hyacinthe (Figs. 15 & 16);²⁸ the pose is almost an exact mirror-image of the dying Bara's; in the sculpture, however, the boy is shown still alive, discus in his hand, as if watching the game and awaiting his own turn.

Bara is also considered to be a reference for Falguière's Tarcisius of 1868 (Fig. 17); again the pose is similar and the concept of *la belle morte* is central, though this boy by contrast is very fully wrapped–as thoroughly befits a little Christian.²⁹

The erotic dimension in Broc's and Bosio's works is unmistakable–even more so in Caraglio's Apollo and Hyacinth of 1500-7 (Fig. 18), and in the depictions of the parallel myth of Cyparissus (Figs. 19 and 20). After Cyparissus accidentally killed his pet stag and died of grief, Apollo changed him into a cypress, the tree of mourning.

Bara too is a partaker in this miracle, in the wondrous metamorphosis of the beloved but sacrificed androgyne. He is therefore a Hyacinthus, a Ganymede, a Cyparissus, a Narcissus,³⁰ a



Fig. 18. Giovanni-Jacopo Caraglio. Apollo and Hyacinth (1500-7)



Fig. 19. Alexandre Andreëevitch Ivanov. Apollo, Hyacinth and Cyparissus (1831-4)

Crocus³¹–also a youthful, flaxen-haired Jesus, born too of human flesh but beloved of a god, sacrificed, resurrected, and transfigured. And in the same way, just as Bara's innocent blood was spilt, writes Foissy-Aufrère, from the ground would spring the tricoloured flower of the Revolution.³²



Fig. 20. Guilio Romano. Apollo and Cyparissus (c. 1530)

Editor's Note:

Morris Fraser is a consultant psychiatrist and the author of several books, including a ground-breaking study on the psychological origins of paedophile desire, The Death of Narcissus.

NOTES

1. R. Duvauchel, Joseph Bara, son Histoire et sa Légende (Paris: 1881), pp. 431-6; see also F. Wartelle, "Bara, Viala: Le Thème de l'Enfance Héroïque dans les Manuels Scolaires, III^e République" in Annales Historique de la Révolution Française (1980), p. 365; and R. Monnier, "La Culte de Bara en l'An II" in Annales Historique de la Révolution Française (1980), pp. 321-337.

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T. Carlyle, The French Revolution (London: Dent Dutton, 1906).

P. Borden, David (Paris: Nathan, 1988); A. Schnapper, David, Témoin de son Temps (Paris: Friborg, 1980).
J. David, Le Peintre Louis David (Paris: 1880), p. 208.
E.J. Délecluze, Louis David, son Ecole et son Temps (Paris: 1855; reprinted Paris: Souvenir, 1983).

7. R. Michel, "Du Martyr à l'Ephèbe" in M-P. Foissy-Aufrère et al., *La Mort de Bara: de l'Evènement au Mythe* (Avignon: Musée Calvet, 1989), pp. 43-77.

8. J-C. Martin, "Bara: De l'Imaginaire Révolutionaire à la Mémoire Nation" in Foissy-Aufrére, ibid., p. 93.

9. A. Schnapper, "David, Peintre Populaire Mal-Aimé" in L'Estampille-l'Objet d'Art Hors, Série 2H (1983), p. 12.

10. A. Lenoir, "Memoires: David" in Souvenirs Historiques, Journal de l'Institut Historique III (1835), p. 6; E.J. Délecluze, op. cit., p. 160; J. David, op. cit., p. 640.

11. J-C. Sloane, "David, Robespierre and *The Death of Bara*" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 33, (September 1969), pp. 144-151.

12. J.J. Winckelmann, "De la Grâce dans les Ouvrages de l'Art" in *Récueil de Différentes Pièces sur les Arts* (Paris: 1786; Geneva: 1973), pp. 285-295.

13. The aesthetic theory of "the sublime" was first put forward by Edmund Burke in 1746 (*Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* [London, privately printed]). It referred to works of art that evoked in the viewer strong emotions, such as terror, awe, or pity.

14. James M. Saslow, Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986).

15. "Catamite" is the corrupted Roman form of "Ganymede".

16. E. Pommier, "Rêver devant l'Antique en Winckelmann à la Main" in Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., pp. 79-80; see also T. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); J.J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altenums* (Edition Darmstadt, 1982), pp. 149-50; J.J. Winckelmann, "Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst," (1759) in W.Rehm, *Vorreden Emvürfe* (Berlin: 1968), p. 152.

17. Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., pp. 11-25.

18. R. Michel, op. cit., p. 70.

19. Ovid, Metamorphoses, iv.

20. Jean Halley des Fontaines, La Notion d'Androgynie (Paris: 1938).

21. C. Paglia, Sexual Personae (New York: Vintage, 1991), pp. 115–116. Botticelli was accused in 1502 of sexual misdemeanours with his young pupils, doubt-less those same "exquisite boy-angels" who also served as models. Around the same time, however, he fell under the influence of the evangelising Savonarola, at which time he also may have destroyed a number of his paintings on the infamous "Bonfire of Vanities." Whether this is the case or not, it is noteworthy that from that time the boy-angels disappeared from his work, to be replaced by grown females of the species! 22. Hercules could hear Hylas calling from the depths as the envious nymphs dragged him down, but he

could do nothing to help. He wandered the earth, distraught, for two years thereafter.

23. See notes 1 and 11.

24. Menander, Dis Exapaton, Frag. 125; Plautus, Bacchides, 1:816.

25. V. Huchard, David d'Angers (Angers: Musée David d'Angers, 1989), p. 29.

26. F. Wartelle, op. cit., p. 365; J. Kryn, Le Petit Tambour d'Arcole, 1777-1837 (Paris: 1987); H. W. Janson, Sculpture 1848-1870 (19th Century Art, 1984), p.314; A. Schnapper, "A Propos de David et des Martyrs de la Révolution" in M.Vouvelle, Les Images de la Révolution (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1988), pp. 29-39; Ecomusée de la Vendée, Les Traces de la Guerre de Vendée dans le Mémoire Collective 18 (La Roche-sur-Yon) (1983); J. Mossay, Histoire de la Ville d'Avesnes (Avesnes: 1956), pp. 176-177; G. Ransard & J-Y Herbeuvel, Maubeuge et le Docteur Forest (Paris: 1986), p.78; G. Sivery, Histoire de Maubeuge (Maubeuge: 1986), p. 156.

27. M-P. Foissy-Aufrère, "Les Métamorphoses de Bara dans le Souvenir National. Le Mythe du Tambour" in M-P Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., p. 113.

28. G. Hubert, F.J. Bosio, Sculpteur Monégasque (Extrait des Annales Monégasques, 1968-9), pp. 27-76.

29. Falguière was nevertheless capable of splendid boy-

nudes, as witness his *The Winner of the Cockfight* (1864), which dominates the foyer of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. This work also appears, together with *Tarcisius*, on the sculptor's tomb in Père-Lachaise Cemetery.

See Morris Fraser, *The Death of Narissus* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976). This analysis proposes that paedo-philia can be understood in terms of the Narcissus myth.
Jupiter dipped the dead boy's body in celestial dew, and it was transformed into the crocus flower.
Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., p. 24.

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4. Damiano Mazza. *The Rape of Ganymede* (c. 1570). National Gallery, London.

5. Stefano Maderno. Santa Cecilia (18th C.). Chiesa di Santa Cecilia, Rome.

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