



The Courier

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A SILKEN BOND
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST
PERSIA'S GREATEST LYRIC POET
THE ONCE AND FUTURE
REVOLUTION
POLLUTION UNLIMITED



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Educational planners go back to school

Statuette of a musician playing a double flute,
4th century BC. Greek influences can be seen
in the robes and headdress of the 12-cm high
figure, which was found at Carthage on the
north coast of Africa.

The American poet-essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote that "Great geniuses have the shortest biographies". His compatriot and contemporary, James Russell Lowell, declared that the highest form of genius could be described as the voice that speaks "out of the eternal to the present". The great Persian lyric poet Hafez, the six hundredth anniversary of whose death we commemorate this year, qualifies as a genius on both these counts. We have only the sketchiest outline of his personal life, yet his poems speak to us across the centuries as though they were written yesterday.

Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian poet who died a hundred years ago, was a genius of another order. A true Romantic and an expert in folklore and comparative mythology, his writings express the genius, the spiritual embodiment of an entire nation. The same might be said of the Rusalka Dnistrovaya, the "Mermaid of the Dniester", the first collection of Ukrainian literature to appear in the western Ukraine.

The third anniversary we salute in this issue, as a foretaste of a fuller treatment in our June number, is, of course, the bicentenary of the French Revolution. But when we speak of revolution today does the word have the same meaning for us as it did for the revolutionaries of two hundred years ago?

French revolutionary ideas have since been carried to the four corners of the world, just as for centuries both merchandise and ideas have flowed back and forth between East and West along the great cultural and commercial highway we call the Silk Road. As leisurely caravans plied from Changan to Istanbul, from Kashgar to Samarkand, Portuguese seafarers, too, were forging new links between East and West as they opened up the Spice Route, becoming in their travels the first Westerners to marvel at the sight of the Comoros, the "Islands of the Moon".

Today, sadly, the caravans and the caravels have been replaced by jet aircraft, giant trucks and fast cars. Trade in both goods and ideas between East and West may have expanded, but so too has the pollution associated with our energy-hungry industries and our modern "convenience" transport.

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A SILKEN BOND BETWEEN EAST

BY AHMAD HASAN DANI



The Buddha's first sermon. Arch-shaped stele in the Gandhara (Graeco-Buddhist) style, Lahore Museum.

THE Silk Road originated in the early centuries of the Christian era as a channel of trade in silk and other goods between China and India in the east and the Roman world in the west. It has a permanent place in world history as an important means of contact between peoples and cultures and a conduit for the two-way transmission of ideas, science and technology, languages and literature.

Such contact was not always easy to maintain in the face of political pressures and other hindrances, but when one stretch of the route closed down another would take its place. Several routes, both overland and maritime, were actually followed by travellers between east and west, and the expression "Silk Road" is a symbolic one evoking an enduring spirit of communication between peoples. It is in order to rediscover that eternal spirit

that the project for the "Integral Study of the Silk Roads" has been undertaken (see the *Unesco Courier*, November 1988).

The Silk Roads project is a many-sided undertaking. Some scholars will be retracing the various itineraries which connected China and the West and studying the geography of the countries through which they passed. Others will be focusing on the mechanics of road building and transport technology and the ways in

AND WEST

which they were influenced by climatic conditions and the physical barriers which had to be overcome. Still others will study the technologies used by different peoples for the exploitation of material resources, and analyse the social systems, languages and literatures of these peoples, as well as their folklore, their myths and other aspects of their culture.

Population movements, the great migrations that shaped the history of entire regions, will also be studied. But the individual travellers who made their way along the Silk Roads will not be forgotten—the artists, musicians and craftsmen who were prepared to risk their lives in pursuit of knowledge from other cultures and societies, to which in turn they contributed their own skills.

Love of adventure, a hunger for knowledge about others, these were but two of many motives which fuelled the process of exchange between different societies and helped to break down the barriers which isolated people in different regions and to establish the bonds of co-existence that make human progress possible. This was the legacy of the Silk Road and the spirit which brought it into being.

Orient and Occident: the first contacts

The foundations of the east-west contacts, which were later channelled along the Silk Roads, were laid in the last

few centuries of the pre-Christian era with the formation of a number of Asian states whose peoples exploited the resources they found locally and competed for trade. This quest for profit led to a flourishing exchange of goods and the movement of men from region to region. Gradually, the peaceful conditions necessary for trade came into being. The diverse peoples involved in this process are vividly portrayed by the Greek historian Herodotus, who describes how their societies were organized, their ways of life and their close relationship with the Achaemenid empire in Persia.

One example of this commercial and cultural exchange is that of the Aramaean merchants who travelled through Central Asia where their alphabetic script,

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The miracle of Sravasti. 3rd-century AD Gandhara bas-relief depicting the Buddha's most famous miracle which occurred in the ancient Indian town of Sravasti (in the present-day state of Uttar Pradesh) where he lived and preached for part of his life.



Art on the move

Gold pendant resembling a Byzantine coin (6th century AD), comes from the archaeological site of Astana, near Turfan in the Xinjiang region of northwest China.

Chinese bronze from the Warring States period (475-221 BC) found at Canterbury. It was probably taken to Britain by a Roman official stationed there around the 1st or 2nd century AD.

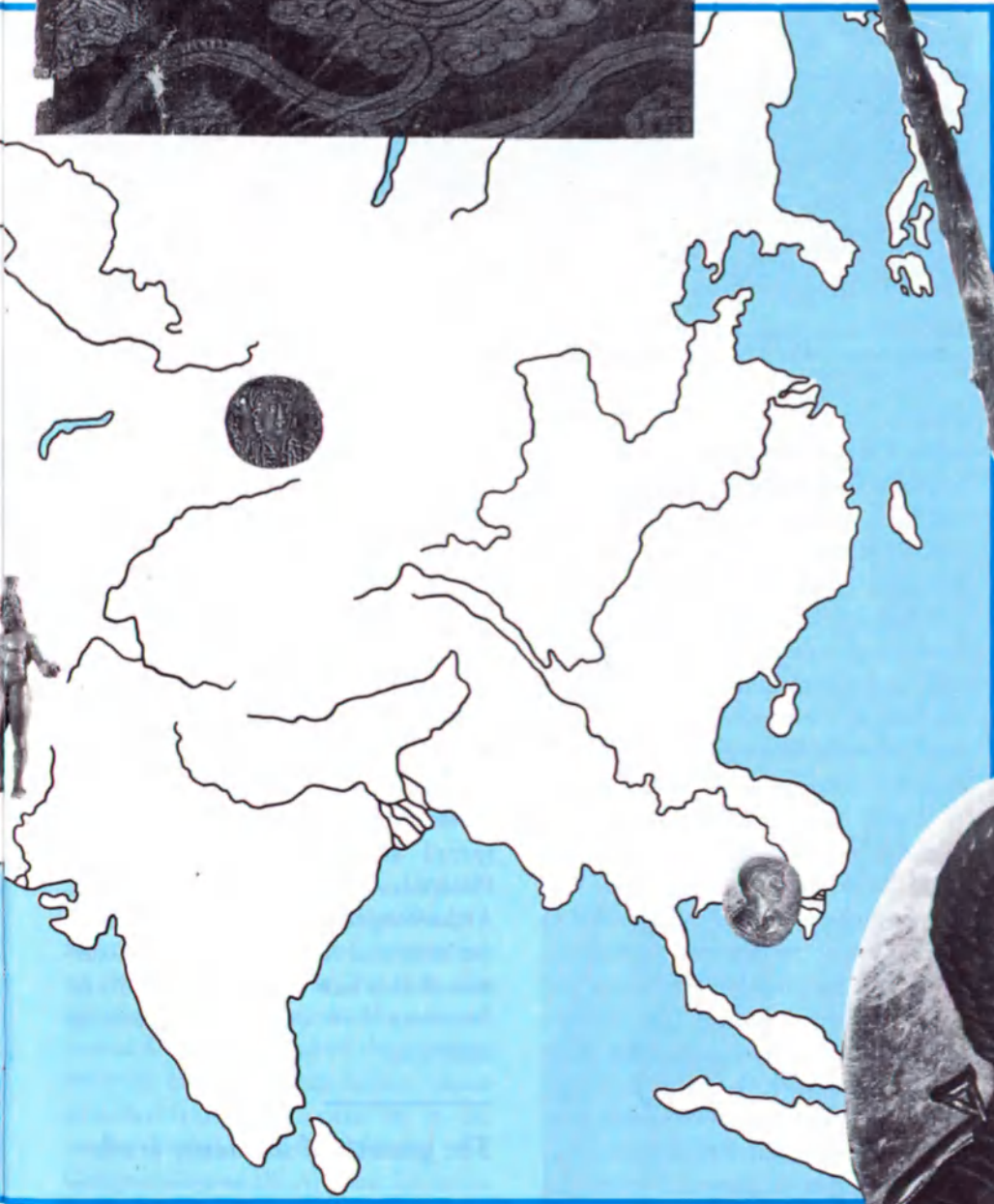


This Chinese bronze from the Warring States period (475-221 BC), unearthed in the garden of a house at Rome, is thought to have reached Italy in the 1st or 2nd century AD.

Detail of blue silk damask cloth (13th-14th century), discovered in the necropolis of Al-Azam, Egypt. Chinese artisans sometimes used Arabic characters in the designs of silks bound for Egypt, in order to gratify the tastes of their Muslim clients.



This bronze statuette of a deity (1st century AD), from Alexandria or an eastern province of the Roman empire, was found at Begram, Afghanistan, the site of one of the ancient capitals of the Kushan kingdom.



Intaglio figure carved in carnelian (3rd-4th century AD), of Mediterranean origin, which was found during excavations at the port of Oc Eo on the southern coast of modern Viet Nam. The Roman figure with upraised index finger may represent a philosopher.



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Aramaic, influenced the evolution of other alphabets such as Sogdian and Kharoshti. Among the other peoples described by Herodotus are the Scythians, the “Indians”, and the Persian-speaking people who moved eastward, where their language had a strong influence on the ancient languages of the region.

The meeting of the peoples of east and west, the exchange of ideas and technologies, and the two-way transmission of languages and literature was made possible for the first time by the Achaemenid empire between the sixth and fourth centuries BC. People were attracted from many points of the compass to the capital of the empire, Persepolis, along roads built by the emperor Darius. At the same time, in the outlying central Asian provinces, cities such as Balkh¹, Samarkand and Taxila, which later became important staging posts on the Silk Roads, were connected by overland routes and developed as meeting points between east and west. During this period the spirit of dialogue between the peoples of east and west was the primary form of the enrichment of human civilization.

The conquests of Alexander the Great

Contacts between east and west were facilitated in the late fourth century BC by the conquests of Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Achaemenid empire and campaigned eastwards as far as India. A Macedonian who became steeped in Greek culture after his conquest of Greece, and then an oriental monarch, captivated by the idealism of the East, Alexander was himself the embodiment of cultural intermingling.

During his time the culture of the Greek world was transmitted into Asia in an unprecedented flow of men and ideas, technologies, artistic trends and architectural formulae, as well as drama, poetry, music, religions and above all language and literature. However, the



Shiva with three heads. A bas-relief from the 12th-century monastery of Pandrethan, near Srinagar, State of Jammu and Kashmir, India.

traffic was not only one-way. Alexander and the scholars who accompanied him met Asian philosophers, whose ideas they took back to Greece along with tributes of gold, cattle and artefacts which enriched the classical world of the West. Alexander founded several new cities in Asia, and his men intermarried there, introducing Hellenism but at the same time becoming thoroughly Asianized and integrated into the local population.

Shortly after Alexander invaded the sub-continent, Chandragupta Maurya seized the throne of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, thus taking the first step in the creation of the mighty Mauryan empire, which inherited both the Greek and the Achaemenid legacy. The empire reached its zenith during the reign of his grandson Asoka (274-237 BC). Asoka, who inaugurated an era of Buddhist missionary activity that was to have a far-reaching impact on central Asia and the Far East, received many Greek envoys and in return sent his own ambassadors to the Hellenistic world.²

After its founder's death, Alexander's great empire disintegrated into smaller units including such peoples as the Bac-

trian Greeks, the Sogdians, the Parthians, and later the Sassanians and the Scythians. This fragmentation did not prevent the movement of people and goods; on the contrary, commercial activity was intensified as a result of advances in geographical knowledge, which also encouraged the movements of learned Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Manicheans and other missionaries. The ruins of monasteries and other religious centres provide a clue to the routes they took. Cultural influences spread along the river valleys of Mesopotamia, Central Asia and India. Archaeological excavations at Taxila on the Indus and Ai-Khanum on the Oxus³ have shown how art and architecture of that time drew on a wide variety of traditions.

The growth of sea-borne trade

Another significant development, thought to have taken place around 100 BC, was the discovery of the monsoon, which enabled ocean-going vessels to cross the Indian Ocean from west to east in spring and then to return in winter when the

winds reversed, laden with products of the East. For the first time the Indian Ocean had become a lake for ships travelling between the Roman world, Indian ports, and the coast of China.

The work of geographers such as Pliny the Elder in the first century AD and Ptolemy a century later testifies to increasing knowledge of the world. The anonymous author of the first-century *Periplus Maris Erythraei* gives a detailed description of the countries around the Indian Ocean, their peoples, trade, imports and exports, climate and currency.

New sea routes were developed, extending the range of the coastal shipping that in ancient times had linked Egypt, via the land of Dilmun (possibly Bahrein) with the distant eastern countries of Magan and Meluhha, which may have been located in the Indus valley. Sea traffic along these new routes would reinforce, and when necessary replace, the overland Silk Roads.

China's opening to the West

Meanwhile, tribal conflicts on the western borders of China had caused the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC) to build the Great Wall of China as a defensive measure. Chinese sources describe how these tribes subsequently moved down the Oxus valley and penetrated south of the Kun-lun, Karakorum and Hindu Kush mountains.

The rulers of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) which followed kept a strict watch over these tribal movements on their western borders, but they also opened up for the first time the route to central Asia and maintained close contact with the mighty Kushan empire which stretched from the Caspian Sea in the north through the Oxus, Indus and Ganges valleys to the Arabian Sea in the south. The Kushan empire was so vast that it also had close contacts with the Roman empire. This period of close collaboration between East and West helped to create the propitious conditions for the opening of the Silk Road.

Traces of intense cultural activity still mark the routes that joined East and West centuries ago. Ruins of ancient cities, such as Kapisa (near modern Charikar) in the heart of Afghanistan, tell a story of complex exchanges with other countries. Rock carvings portray people wearing the costumes of different tribes and rock inscriptions speak of different peoples and

languages. In the great ancient capital of Changan (modern Xian), Buddhist monks from Japan and Korea met learned scholars from Sri Lanka, India and Central Asia. Sculptures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas stand in spectacular natural surroundings, most notably at Bamiyan in Afghanistan, where there are two colossal Buddha figures carved from the

An apsaras, a goddess-nymph of Indian mythology. Detail from an 11th-century fresco, Alchi monastery, Ladakh, in which both Indian and Persian influences can be seen.



living rock and hundreds of man-made caves, many of which bear traces of fine fresco painting which links them with contemporary caves in Xin-jiang (Sinkiang).

The expansion of Islam

The rise of Islam in Arabia in the seventh century triggered a profound social and religious revolution among the

mathematics, the new symbols of number and the decimal system that became the foundations of modern science. They also disseminated the science of chemistry, knowledge of the properties of metals and of new Chinese technologies, and above all medical information which opened up great possibilities in the human and biological sciences. Arab interest in astronomy led to the development of new concepts of the universe and of cosmogony. In the fields of art and architecture they allied the traditions of the past with scientific and mathematical precision and contributed new forms in building and new tastes in decoration which incorporated calligraphy and arabesque.

In this way the spirit of the Silk Roads was carried on. As the caravans plied from Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar to Samarkand, Bokhara and Merv and beyond to the markets of the western world, or further south through Balkh, Hamadan and Damascus to Aleppo, or from China westwards to the Caucasus and then on to Istanbul and Venice, they kept alive a dialogue between the peoples of east and west, a process of mutual contact and cooperation that encouraged the peaceful growth of human civilization. ■

1. Balkh: the ancient city of Bactria, capital of Bactria.

2. After conquering the kingdom of Kalinga (the modern Indian state of Orissa), Asoka renounced war. The name of Kalinga lives on in the Kalinga Prize for distinguished popular writing in science which is awarded annually by Unesco. The Prize was created in 1951 after a donation from an Indian industrialist from Orissa, Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik.

3. Oxus: ancient name of the Amu Darya River, central Asia, which flows into the Aral Sea. *Eduor*



Engraved and embossed silver plate (4th century) showing Shapur II (310-379 AD), king of the Sasanian empire of Persia, hunting wild boar. Merchants from Khorezm on their way to Europe via the Caspian Sea and the Volga River may have brought the plate to Perm, in the central Urals, where it was discovered.

While the Han Dynasty ruled in China, the Huns spread from the western borderland of China and Mongolia into the heart of Asia and Europe and down to India. A loose confederation of peoples, the Huns built a vast empire in central Asia stretching from China to Persia and from the Oxus to the Arabian Sea. Many Chinese and western travellers have left a vivid picture of the Huns' horsemanship, polo-playing, weapons and dress. The Huns were followed by Turkic tribes who established states in Central Asia which obstructed passage along the old-established Silk Roads, although the T'ang Dynasty which began to rule China in 618 AD still managed to send goods and people to the West.

Arabs, who expanded into Asia, Africa and Europe. Their expansion also opened up new vistas in science and philosophy as they began to plumb the ocean of knowledge contained in Greek manuscripts and to translate them into Arabic. Through their contacts with India and China they also followed new developments in mathematics, medicine and astronomy and learned how to manufacture paper, gunpowder, ceramics and silk and muslin cloth. The Arabs now became the intermediaries in a dialogue which extended from China to Venice and then westwards to France, Spain and Portugal. As well as passing on Greek science and philosophy to the newly-developing world of the time, they propagated Indian

AHMAD HASAN DANI, of Pakistan, Professor Emeritus at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, and honorary director of the Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, is the author of many books and articles on history and archaeology. This article is adapted from a paper presented by Professor Dani at the first international seminar on Unesco's Integral Study of the Silk Roads project, held in Osaka (Japan) in October 1988.

MIHAI EMINESCU, ROMANIA'S NATIONAL POET

MIHAI Eminescu (1850-1889) is recognized as the foremost Romanian lyric poet. His mastery of language has also earned him a high place in world literature.

Eminescu led a tormented life. Born into the minor aristocracy, he was educated at the universities of Vienna (1869-1872) and Berlin (1872-1874) and tried his hand at several jobs before joining the editorial staff of the newspaper *Timpul* ("Time"). In 1883 he suffered a mental breakdown which, punctuated by periods of lucidity, lasted until his death.

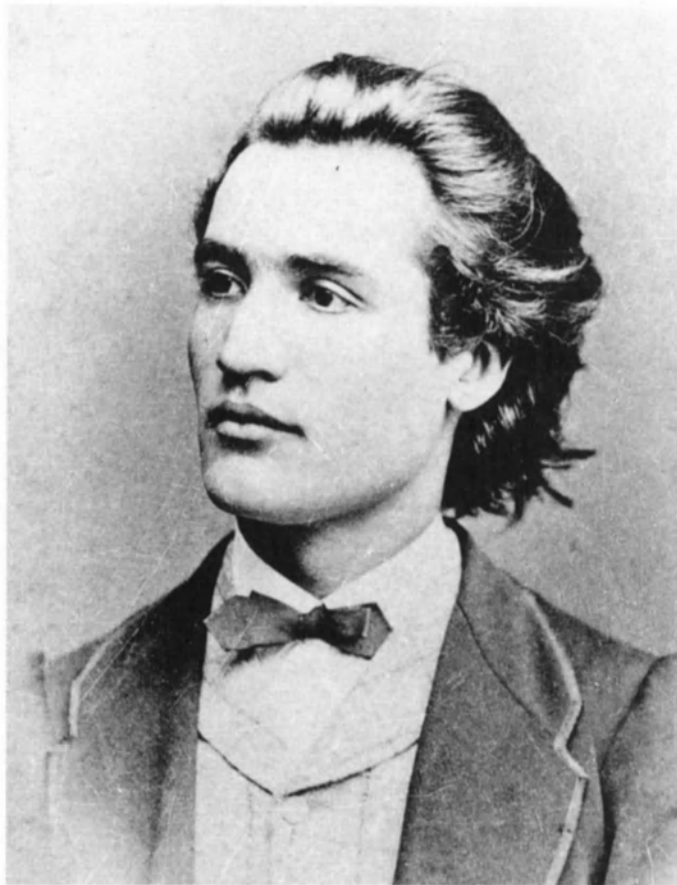
Poet, dramatist, journalist, a specialist in Romanian folk poetry, Eminescu was a man of wide intellectual interests.

He produced a vast body of work, but only published one volume of verse in his lifetime, under the title of *Poezii* (1883; "Poetry").

The poems he wrote in his youth, such as *Inger si demon* ("Angel and Devil") or *Impărat si proletar* ("Emperor and Proletarian"), are marked by a Byronic and Faustian revolt against the social and the cosmic order. Later, his reading of the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer modified his vision of the world. A short prose fantasy, *Sărmanul Dionis* ("Dennis the Pauper"), published in 1872, illustrates his determination to transcend time and space in a quest for absolute liberty. He gave a new and original slant to the Romantic theme of the fallen angel.

His interest in folklore and comparative mythology was reinforced by his knowledge of the work of the German Romantic poets, particularly the Heidelberg school (Achim von Arnim, Clemens Brentano, Joseph von Görres). After 1874, love becomes a dominant theme of his poetry, in which woman is portrayed in harmony with Nature, bathed in moonlight and the heavy perfume of lime blossom. His rhyme and verse forms, as in *Floare albastră* ("Blue Flower") and *Povestea teiului* ("The Tale of the Lime Tree"), have a gentle, lyrical quality never before attained in the Romanian language.

After 1877, a cold aura of gloom and death begins to pervade his work. His love poetry becomes the expression of



unrelieved solitude and suffering. Some poems, such as *Despărțire* ("Separation"), evoke emotional crisis, while others, such as his sonnets, are imbued with a heart-rending and enchanting beauty.

In the third of five *Scrisori* ("Epistles") from his mature work, the patriotic poet evokes episodes from the glory of the Romanian medieval past and, alternating between lyricism and satire, contrasts them with the bitterness of the degraded present.

Eminescu was a true Romantic, creator of mythological worlds in which the tragedy of the human condition is played out. Like the great lyric poets Friedrich Hölderlin and John Keats, he used the classical myth of

Hyperion in his long ballad *Luceafărul* (1883; "The Evening Star"), in which he suggests that genius is condemned to solitude in a society hostile to spiritual values. Written in four-line stanzas with seven or eight syllables to the line and the rhythm and style of a folk tale, it is a masterpiece of lyric poetry.

Hyperion, the evening star, who is in love with a mortal princess and ready to renounce his immortal existence and become human for her sake, engages in an epic astral journey which leads him into the presence of God. Warned of the fickleness of mortal love (the princess has fallen in love with a young page), he understands the futility of the sacrifice which he was about to make and does not return to the world of humanity:

*But this time he does not fall
down to the depths of the sea
but says: "Does it matter to you,
clod of earth, if it's any man or me?"*

*You live in a narrow world,
a plaything of fortune.
But I live in my own universe,
immortal and immune.* ■

This article is based on a study by Zoe Dumitrescu Busulenga, a professor at the University of Bucharest.

LOVE SACRED AND PROFANE

Decoding Hafez' mystic message

BY REZA FEIZ

HAFEZ is considered in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the land of his birth, and beyond the frontiers of the Persian-speaking countries, as the poet of love and as one of the greatest Muslim Sufi mystics, even though his worldly language presents him as a very human and sensual poet.

The meaning of love in Hafez must first be elucidated and an attempt then be made to establish the relationships between "Love", "the Lover", and "the Beloved". This may help to clarify Hafez' use of language and to define the level at which his poetry should be read and appreciated.

For a Sufi like Hafez, love has a sacred dimension and cannot be understood in its profane sense. Love is enacted in a sphere in which even a profane act automatically becomes sacred. Thus for a Sufi, even humdrum everyday life remains spiritual. It is in this sense that Hafez sings the praises of love:

I have never heard a sweeter word than the word love,

It is the only memory that remains beneath the cupola of the heavens.

However, this "sweet word" is accompanied by pain, the pain of man's separation from his celestial origin, a theme magnificently treated by another great Persian Sufi poet, Mawlana ("Our Lord") Jalal ad-Din ar-Rumi (1207-1273), in his great work the *Masnawi*.

Thus all the poetry of Hafez is a hymn to love; for him poetry is simply a way of revealing and glorifying it. He is also intensely aware of love's influence on the success of his verse, for he says:

Since love has taught thee eloquence

Thy words are heard in every gathering.

What is the place of love in this movement of the lover towards the Beloved? The starting point of the process is surely the lover's longing. For Hafez, however, the Beloved is always the originator. It is when the Beloved is fully revealed that the lover's ecstasy and passion come into being. The lover finds the beauty and perfection to which he aspires embodied in the Beloved:

In the beginning the reflection of thy beauty revealed itself

Love appeared and enflamed the whole universe.

In Sufi forms of expression, the lover's overwhelming need for union with the Beloved is called *Suluk*, which might be



15th-century miniature from a *Divan* (collection of poems) by Hafez.

translated as "spiritual journey". The circle of love begins and ends with the Beloved. He who accomplishes the journey towards union with the Beloved lives in the material world but also inhabits a spiritual universe. He sees the world as the reflection of the beauty of the Beloved, but he is not thereby attached to it. Hafez says:

I was not interested in the affairs of this world,

It is thy face that has made it beautiful for me.

Contrary to what might be supposed from his worldly and even licentious language, Hafez is a great Sufi who becomes a poet and not a poet who speaks as a mystic. He approaches poetry from a sacred and spiritual viewpoint. He speaks of wine, cabarets, cup-bearers; of loved ones, singers, harpists; of curls and tresses, of beautiful faces and marks of beauty ... Ostensibly these are all worldly images, but to accept them at their face value is to misunderstand completely the social and cultural ethos of the society of which Hafez was writing.

The personality of Hafez ("he who has learned the Qur'an by heart"), also known as "the tongue of the invisible" (*lisan-ol ghayb*), and "the interpreter of mysteries" (*tarjoman-ol asrar*), directs the reader to look for a further meaning to his words. It is evident that his is a symbolic and allegorical language written in the literary style of the period and still valid. The fact that those poems which seem the most worldly are sung as psalms at Sufi gatherings is proof that Sufis consider him to be a spiritual master.

Hafez' poetry is universal because he touches on eternal truths. For Hafez, light comes straight from the sun, unfiltered by any earthly medium, and it is through this pure light of inspiration that he distinguishes between truth and illusion and, with unusual realism, recommends forgiveness and tolerance:

Forgive the quarrel of seventy-two rites and religions

Not having known truth, they have followed the path of illusion. ■

REZA FEIZ, of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is the author of a number of articles and papers on philosophical themes. A former director of the Iranian Centre for Cultural Studies, he is currently serving as his country's Ambassador to Unesco.

HAFEZ

The golden age of Persian literature

BY CHARLES-HENRI DE FOUCHECOUR



View of the interior of the Regent's Mosque, Shiraz, Islamic Republic of Iran. Hafez was born in Shiraz and spent most of his life there.

SHAMS od-Din Mohammad (c. 1325-1389), known throughout his life as Hafez, was born and died at Shiraz, Persia, a town he rarely left during a lifetime of over sixty years.

The year 1353 was a milestone in Hafez' life. He was nearly thirty years old and his obvious talent had already earned for him the patronage and protection of the Vizier Qevam od-Din Hassan. In 1353, however, his protector died and was replaced in the seat of power by a certain Mobarez od-Din Mohammad, who imposed a rigorous religious and moral régime that was totally at odds with the lifestyle of many of the citizens of Shiraz. Poems by Hafez and others, ironizing on the tyrant's rigid attitudes, were circulated surreptitiously.

Mohammad's reign lasted eleven years, until the day when his son, Djalal od-Din Shah Shoja, rose up against him and took his place. Shoja was to reign from 1364 to 1384. These were

golden years, especially for Persian literature, and it was in this period, when he enjoyed the patronage of the ruler and of court and state functionaries, that Hafez achieved his greatest literary output. It was not long, however, before Hafez fell out of favour again, for a period of some twelve years during which, it appears, he frequented the courts of Ispahan and Yazd.

It remains difficult to establish an accurate chronology of the poems of Hafez on the basis of these facts. The details of the poet's life can only be deduced, and then very summarily, by taking the political life of his period as a starting point and searching in his works for allusions to that life. What else do we know of him? Many legends, but virtually nothing of which we can be certain. In a manner typically Persian, he was very discreet about himself and he may have lived his true life elsewhere than in the court circles in which he earned his living.

Here, for the record, are a few more facts about him. The



Seated in a garden in flower, a monarch reads a manuscript as a servant pours him some wine and musicians play. This miniature from a *Divan* by Hafez, published in the 16th century, accompanies one of the poet's *ghazals* (poems).

date of his death, the year 792 of the Hegira (1389 AD), is known to us from the introduction to an anthology of poems by Hafez compiled by an anonymous copyist (later identified as a man called Golandam). There is no indication that he fulfilled any particular function at the court, not even that of poet. Could it be that he worked as a teacher at a Qur'anic school, as his pseudonym Hafez ("he who has learned the Qur'an by heart") has led many to believe? In Tashkent, there is a manuscript copy of the works, in five volumes, of the poet Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (1253-1325) which is signed by Hafez and dated 1355. Perhaps Hafez was himself working as a copyist at that time. One of his *ghazals* (lyric poems of from six to fifteen couplets) laments the death of a child; Hafez, then, like Ferdowsi or Nezami, wept for the death of a dear one.

Although the elements that can be gleaned from the poet's works are insufficient to provide even the skeleton of a biography, it should be noted that, as the British critic G.M. Wickens has pointed out, his *Divan* is much more directly related than it was once widely thought to the court circles in which the author moved at the time of its composition, and which provided the patronage essential to literary life.

The works of Hafez mark the apogee of the lyric poetry produced by the giants of Persian literature. The borrowings he made from the works of his forerunners are gracefully transformed and exemplify his mastery of the finest figures of the Persian poetic tradition; he conjures with them, turning them upside down and giving them new life. The intellectual skill with which he gives meaning and implosive force to all these

figures, simply and as though at play, is such that a hearing of a *ghazal* by Hafez is an occasion of high rejoicing. Each figure is set within the poem in such a way as to give off an endless series of allusive ripples. Properly to understand Hafez, therefore, we must first place him as a poet.

A *ghazal* is a poem, that is to say, in the spirit of the time, a formal construction within which a number of propositions can be arranged. This construction has two constituent elements: a group of scanning lines with a single rhyme. Each line, or *beyt*, has two scanning sections each with the same metre. The metre is the same throughout the poem. The two sections of the first *beyt* rhyme with each other.

Consisting normally of eight to twelve *beyt*, this poetic form is to be found among the earliest examples of Persian literature that have come down to us. Short, highly elaborated, it was the preferred form in which to speak of love and to sing the praises of wine. Because of its formal constraints, the *ghazal* is very demanding, obliging the poet to develop a technique and an artistry by which he will for ever be judged.

It was in the twilight of his career, or, more often, after his death, that a poet's works were brought together in a compilation known as a *divan*. Hafez' *Divan* consisted basically of *ghazals*, which was rather unusual, since Persian poets normally write their poems in a variety of forms.

However, as it happens, we do not have the authentic texts of Hafez. Of course, a *ghazal* was written down by its author, but it was also recited aloud, with all the niceties of accentuation, pauses, voice manipulation and articulation. Thus we have several scattered *ghazals* of Hafez that were taken down individually in writing during his lifetime. Perhaps the author of the introduction to the *Divan* mentioned above was the very first compiler of his works. It would seem, however, that collections of Hafez' *ghazals* circulated both before and after his death and that, as they circulated, he made alterations to some of his poems.

The two oldest anthologies (consisting of forty-three and thirty-six works) date from 1404 and before 1408. The first more or less complete manuscript of the *Divan* (455 *ghazals*) dates back to 1410. But a century after the death of Hafez, there had been a multiplication of both manuscripts and *ghazals* (up to 725) and the manuscript tradition had become corrupted. Today, there are numerous printed editions of Hafez' works. They include a notable critical edition by Parviz Natel Khanlari, published in Teheran in 1983 and based on fourteen ancient and reputable manuscripts.

Thousands of studies of Hafez' works have been published in many languages. The central question that they address has been, and continues to be, the meaning that should be given to Hafez' poetry. Is it hedonistic, mystical, or pure lyricism? As early as the fifteenth century, the historian Khandamir reported that, one day, Shah Shoja reproached Hafez for the lack of homogeneity in his *ghazals*, each of which, he said, spoke of wine, then of mysticism and then of the Beloved One. To



16th-century miniature depicting the all-conquering Tamerlane (1336-1405). He may have met Hafez at Shiraz in 1387, when he was seeking to gather sages and poets around him at his court at Samarkand.

which Hafez is reported to have replied that all this was true, but that he was the only poet whose *ghazals* were famous throughout the world.

Critical studies of his works were first undertaken in the Ottoman empire and took the form of commentaries. Those of Sham'i and of Sorouri stressed Hafez' mysticism and by the sixteenth century, in the time of the Safavids, this had become the accepted interpretation in both Persia and India. The great sage Soudi, who also wrote commentaries on the works of Sa'di, restricted himself to a sober study of Hafez based on grammatical analysis and, in so doing, gave a lead to European critics.

Modern commentators on Hafez abound. The rich scope of the *ghazals* is such that none of the accepted interpretations has succeeded in excluding the others, an exclusive interpretation being taken as a sign of weakness.

Two major elements attract our attention. The first is that, very often, it is difficult to say whether the person to whom Hafez is addressing his poem is the object of his praise (*mamdouh*), his love (*mahboub*) or his adoration (*ma'boud*): prince or friend, beloved one, or God. The second is that, despite the seeming disconnectedness of many of the *ghazals*, they all have a subtle unity which becomes apparent in the atmosphere they exude. As a number of commentators have expressed it: the intertwining of figures and allusions around a few central themes (Wickens); a symphony of themes (Arberry); a hidden coherence (Stolz); a delicately rational lyricism (Bausani); a symbolic structure taken to the third degree and capable of offering incomparably rich resonances (Lazard).

The *ghazal* has much in common with a diamond, bringing out all the sparkle of the poetic imagery accumulated in the literary tradition, and, with a prism, diffracting all the meanings with which word sounds have become loaded over the centuries. The commentator Nasrollah Pourdjavadi has aptly demonstrated the weight of mysticism with which the word "glance", for example, has become charged as used in the writings of Ahmad Ghazali and retained in the sure hand of Hafez. And the same applies to countless other images—a glass of wine, Noah's Ark, a tavern, a mirror, the blood, the wise man, the libertine, the face ...

Another commentator, Anne-Marie Schimmel, has rightly spoken of the circular nature of Hafez' *ghazals*. The mind of the poet does not focus on a single point, it transports the listener into the heart of his own realities and breathes meaning into them. If Hafez succeeds in speaking to each one of us, it is because his language encompasses two spheres, the worldly and the spiritual, to both of which he belongs. In Hafez' writing there is a kind of accomplishment of unification, the *towhid* at the heart of all Persian mysticism—the reality of human life, of love, of wine and, especially, of the prince are in fact but a metaphor for spiritual reality. ■



Map of Shiraz and its surroundings from "The Book of Highways and Kingdoms" (*Kitab al-masalik wa l-mamalik*), by al-Istakhri or al-Farisi (10th century).

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THE ONCE AND FUTURE REVOLUTION

BY MAURICE AGULHON



THIS year France is celebrating the bicentenary of the 1789 Revolution and, to judge by the long list of public functions and learned conferences already announced, the eyes of most of the world will be upon her.

For France, this is the occasion for an extra-special national day. Celebrated each year on 14 July, the official national day is, after all, a tribute to the Revolution to which it is directly linked. The Bastille was taken by storm on 14 July 1789, and 14 July 1790; the first anniversary of this event, was also the occasion of the grand and joyous Fête de la Fédération (a federation of communes set up in many towns and villages to replace the former local authorities). Indeed, the entire French panoply of national symbolism refers back to the Revolution—the tricolour, adopted in July 1789, the national anthem, *La Marseillaise*, composed in 1792, and *La Liberté*, the figure of a woman wearing the famous red Phrygian cap which became an official French emblem at this period.

The French people of the day were very conscious of the fact that France had existed as a state for nearly a thousand years and had already produced many heroic, symbolic figures—great kings, such as Philippe-Auguste, François I or Henri IV, and great servants of kings, from Jeanne d'Arc to Richelieu. The year 1789, however, marks the beginning of the modern age of which the world of today is the direct continuation.

Since then, French public life has been ordered by a written constitution and by laws equally applicable to all. The people, through their elected representatives, have shared in the exercise of power, and basic rights and freedoms have been affirmed, at least as an objective or an ideal. 1789 marks, not the birth of France, but

Earthenware figurine (1794-1795) which represents Liberty bringing down despotism.

rather her attainment of adulthood, of reason and of freedom. That 14 July should have been chosen as the national day is very indicative of the extent to which the desire to achieve the political ideal is inherent in the French national character.

Revolution as Enlightenment

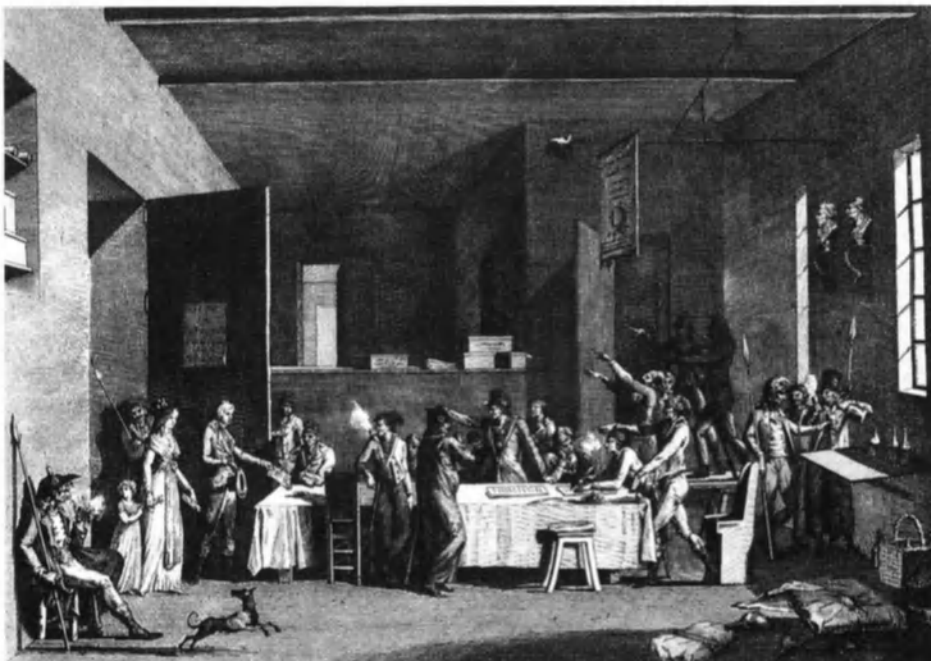
Why are the events of 1789 seen and celebrated as being more than simply an incident in French history? It is because Revolution is seen as having its own intrinsic value.

What, then, it must be asked, is "Revolution"? Contemporary thought, especially perhaps in Europe, defines Revolution in a rather abstract, formal way as sudden and violent social and political change. If we accept this view, then the principal alternative to revolution is reform, that is to say, gradual, non-violent change. Today, a humanitarian ethos, which fortunately is fairly widespread, encourages us to prefer the reformer to the revolutionary.



A lady from Mainz (in the present-day Fed. Rep. of Germany). Round her waist is a sash bearing the words "Equality" and "Liberty" in French. Some of the city's intellectuals supported the ideals of the French Revolution and unsuccessfully attempted to create a Republic of Mainz in 1792-1793.

Contemporary engraving of a Revolutionary committee meeting under the Reign of Terror (1793-1794). Those who instituted it saw the "Terror" as an arm of national defence in face of counter-revolutionary intrigues within France and the threat from abroad. 17,000 people are estimated to have been executed, and 500,000 imprisoned, during this period of the French Revolution.



This point of view, however, and this interpretation of words, is quite recent. Throughout the nineteenth century at least, Revolution, in political terms, was defined above all by its content, its programme and its aims. And the alternative to Revolution was Counter-revolution. Revolution thus meant change for the better, change inspired by faith in the possibility of progress, greater rationality in the means used to achieve it and having, as its final objective, greater collective well-being. Just as clearly, Counter-revolution meant resistance to change by, and possibly the restoration of, the former centres of power and former social groupings, based on the old values of authority, hierarchy and tradition, often founded in religion and often oppressive.

The repercussions that the events of 1789 had throughout the world were due not to the fact that the change they brought about was sudden, radical and

complete, but because it appeared to be initiated in the name of positive values: Liberty, Equality, Happiness, Justice.

France leads the way

Did the France of 1789 deserve her reputation as an example to the world, which earned her both hatred and affection? At first sight this is debatable. We need go no further back than the eighteenth century to be reminded that the idea of applying reason to the government of states or of societies was due to enlightened despots such as Frederick II of Prussia, the Empress Catherine II of Russia, Joseph II, Emperor of Germany, and Gustav III, King of Sweden. And the notion that a political relationship could be modified by the will of the people, or that a government could be set up whose legal power was based on the consent of the governed, had been proclaimed in 1776 by the American Revolution.

The dominant ideas of the French Revolution of 1789 were undoubtedly closer to those of the American Revolution than to those of enlightened despotism. Louis XVI could have been France's enlightened despot. That he did not take on this role can be put down to indecisiveness, due perhaps to lack of personal attachment to the philosophy of the day (he was a pious believer whereas the rulers named above were all more or less agnostic) and also—though this may have been another aspect of his religious convictions—to his failure to agree to break with the aristocracy. Thus Louis XVI soon came to resist a nascent Revolution that had vested hopes in him and as a consequence lost control of it. And, as soon as the Revolution was seen to be in opposition to the King, the formerly progressive, reforming European monarchies became fiercely hostile to it.

Declared a Republic in 1792, revolutionary France did not for all that follow the American model. This was because France remained a great state, an ancient and a powerful state, which was soon

obliged by the exigencies of war to strengthen itself still further.

The distinguishing feature of the French Revolution was, perhaps, that it emerged as the first synthesis of the two great changes that preceded it, as the point of convergence between the philosophy proclaimed by the American Revolution (Natural law and inalienable rights, including the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) and the techniques of rational administration that had been tried out in the Old World.

However this may be, the world was soon struck by the novelty of the French experiment. The story is told of how Kant, the philosopher of Koenigsberg, in

1789 changed the previously unvarying route of his daily walk so as to hear more quickly the news from France. And who has not heard quoted the words of the German poet Goethe on the night of the battle of Valmy¹: "From this day and this place dates a new era in the history of the world."

The French Revolution drew attention not only because of its novelty but also because France herself was prominent on the world scene. At the end of the eighteenth century, all that could be described as being on a world scale, that is to say, everything relating to world politics that was collective, rational and interconnected, was to be found in

Freed slave from the Antilles, wearing around his neck the tricolour ribbon and a plumb level, both revolutionary symbols. The French National Convention abolished slavery in 1794.



Europe of the North Atlantic. And in this European world, France was the most populous country (after Russia), the most powerful and (after Great Britain) one of the most advanced economically. French was the main instrument of international communication and the language of the cultivated élite. This gave France claim to a literary hegemony paralleling that of Greece and then Rome. Exorbitant or not, this pretension, in addition to other more objective factors, undoubtedly helps to explain why the events of 1789 so strongly alarmed and shook the world. And although the long periods of warfare between 1792 and 1815 in some respects limited the impact of 1789, they also helped to prolong and propagate it.

The universal Republic

It is undoubtedly the case that, throughout the nineteenth century, France, as “the country of the Revolution” or, to put it slightly differently, “the country of the Rights of Man”, was to evoke a degree of enthusiasm among the supporters of Progress and Liberty matched only by her own messianic zeal.

Although French was then the universal language of the educated élite, the message it bore was unreservedly universal.

Le char de la monarchie (“The Royal Coach”) sepia pen and wash drawing by Victor Hugo from his years of exile.



Not a word in the text of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was specific, all the assertions it made were general and therefore could be applied to any nation. The notions of Liberty and Equality were enhanced by the universality of their formulation. Even the form of Republicanism adopted by the French after 1792 followed the same pattern. What, indeed, could be more specific than a monarchy, which belongs to a dynasty with a family name and a geographical location and origin? What could be more universal than a Republic, an abstract term like Liberty or Justice, and a collegial system directly applicable everywhere?

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the most idealistic of the heirs to the French Revolution had come to the conclusion that the French Republic itself was destined to disappear one day within a World Republic. In evocation of this grandiose, utopian notion I quote not an isolated dreamer but the most famous and most venerated poet of his time, a man whose poems were known by heart in Republican France and on whom she bestowed the highest symbolic and political honours—Victor Hugo.

No anthem could be more revolutionary or more universalist than the last poem of his anthology *Châtiments*, dated 1853.

*Within the seed-bed of our present woes,
The Hymen of the brother-peoples grows...
Republic universal, you we acclaim
Today a spark, a tiny flame,
Tomorrow the sun!*

Nobody really believed, either in 1870 or in 1900, that this “Tomorrow” was very near. But the fact that, by adopting Hugo as their leading prophet, French revolutionary thinkers allowed themselves to indulge in such dreams has had its consequences.

The magnificent tribute paid to Victor Hugo at his death, in 1885, by the Portuguese writer José Maria Eça de Queirós, has recently (1985) been republished. He had a profound admiration for Hugo for many reasons both moral and aesthetic. However, he admits that Hugo perhaps went too far in his affirmation of French messianism and that it would be more reasonable to declare that all the peoples of the world will take part in “the final liberation of humanity”. This, however, is but a mild reproof and he nonetheless holds it as evident that:

No country has contributed more than France to fashioning from the rough barbarian of the sixth century the cultivated man of the nineteenth. France possesses to the highest and purest degree the divine spiritual qualities of sweetness and light, which are the most powerful agents of human education. No country, like France, has taught the world the lesson of equality; and equality is, in truth, the surest hallmark of civilization ...

It was in terms such as these that, at the end of the last century, people outside France were speaking of France. The vaunted “spreading influence of the French language and culture”, due initially to such literary figures as Corneille and Bossuet, was given a kind of re-charge of energy by the Revolution, and became associated also with Voltaire, Mirabeau and Victor Hugo.

A controversial model

Times, however, have changed, and for two kinds of reasons that neither

Victor Hugo nor his extollers could have foreseen. The French Revolution had been a long, troubled affair interspersed with the vicissitudes and drama of both external and civil war. Doctrinal struggles, which at times interrupted the war between the classes, set the partisans against one another. Various constitutional systems were tried out, rejected and replaced, giving those ten years of French history the appearance of a political testing ground, throwing up a whole stock of models for the world to follow.

For a hundred years, in a host of countries, many political figures who knew

French and were well informed and passionately interested in French history, borrowed French ideas and terminology: the Right, the Left, political "clubs", Jacobin, Montagnard, Thermidorian, Bonapartist, Chouan, émigré, and so on. The most popular and most radical phases of the Revolution, those of the year II (September 1793-August 1794) of the Republican calendar, were to be of special interest (directly as well as indirectly through the subsequent events of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871) to socialist revolutions of the twentieth century. In them, undeniably, can be seen a further series of historical effects stemming from 1789. The French Revolution could no longer be seen as simply a repetition of the message and aspirations of the American Revolution. It became the first in the series that was to lead to the Russian Revolution.

This French Revolutionary print, entitled *Citoyen né libre* ("Free-born citizen"), symbolizes the birth of the new political man.



A declaration for the third millennium

ON the occasion of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, an international association of young people has set itself the task of updating the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen which was adopted by the French Constituent Assembly in August 1789. Founded in 1985 by three French students, the Association for the Declaration of 26 August 1989 ("AD 89") is currently rethinking the concept of human rights for the twenty-first century, taking into account the radical changes that are transforming society today.

The founders of the Association unveiled their project at the United Nations in Geneva in 1985, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the UN.

Since then, the activities of AD 89 at both the national and the international level have centred on two major concerns. First, how can technological progress be used positively, in the service of humanity? A second and more ambitious aim is to formulate a doctrine of human rights based on humanist concepts of identity and universality.

The young people from very different geographical, political and social backgrounds who make up the Association's over 300 members have been organized into working groups to study a number of themes, including information, computer science, genetics, the environment and space.

The Declaration of 26 August 1989, based on the proposals put forward by these groups, will be drafted at an Extraordinary Convention of European Youth (16-23 July 1989), when 500 young delegates from the twenty-one member states of the Council of Europe and representatives of AD 89 groups all over the world will meet at the Palais de l'Europe in Strasbourg.

The Association's founders point out that "1789 brought the individual and the state face to face, by assigning to the state a duty to refrain from any interference with the individual's physical and moral integrity. But, paradoxically, the state was itself given the responsibility of guaranteeing its own non-intervention. We are still suffering from the consequences of this grave misunderstanding, by which the arbitration of our rights was entrusted to institutions ...

"Don't give up!", young people are insisting, as are men and women of goodwill all over the world.

"The next bridge to be crossed is to put human rights back into the hands of mankind, beyond all frontiers and beyond all cynicism. This is the basis of a new revolution." ■

From this follow two consequences, both of which tend to diminish the impact of the French example. On the one hand, the only possible link that can be made between 1789 and its aftermath and 1917 compromises 1789 in the eyes of those who dislike radical social struggles. On the other hand, for those who have revolutionary aspirations, the recent model of 1917 seems better suited than that of 1789, which was formulated long ago when the industrial revolution was in its infancy. The internationalism proclaimed by Marx, Lenin and Trotsky was to blot out the memory of the Universal Republic of Mazzini and Hugo.

From the universal to the specific

The Third French Republic, officially inspired by the 1789 Revolution, acquired a great colonial empire conquered by force of arms but with a perfectly clear conscience, in the sure knowledge that, under the French flag, the Republic was spreading a morally and intellectually superior message, an alluring message that was both civilizing and French inspired. This was but the French facet of a more widespread phenomenon. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe and North America, that is to say the industrialized and developed world of the day, dominated the other continents by a combination of their material strength, their cultural and technological superiority and their liberal beliefs.

From this was to stem the last and most important change in the status of the Revolution of 1789 in the panorama of world history—it fell victim to an anti-Western counter-current.

How do things stand today?

The conditions which existed in the last century and which promoted the spread of French revolutionary ideas are clearly much weakened if not virtually non-existent.

France no longer ranks as a major power.

French is no longer the main language of international discourse.

Europe is no longer the centre of the world.

The world has become a unified, interconnected, inter-related whole with a better mutual knowledge which has upset notions of a cultural hierarchy that were formerly taken for granted. Western

liberalism is no longer held to be the only acceptable form of civilization. Indeed, we now speak of civilizations in the plural.

All this puts the message of 1789 in a truer perspective and lessens its impact.

One has only to see how the great decolonization movement, or, alternatively, the great uprising of the Third World against the imperialism of the North, has achieved its ends. At first it seemed to be an uprising against France (or against Europe and the West) in the name of her, or their, own liberal principles—demanding from those who had colonized in the name of the Rights of Man the application to the colonies of those universal rights. This then developed into a desire to affirm national differences, or national authenticity. Rather than its own universal values, imperialism found brandished in its face the particular values specific to the oppressed.

Towards a new universality

Was this to be the final, definitive moral climate of the world, with equal, complete, but incommunicable cultures? If this were so, if the Revolution of 1789 were no more than a fragment of French folklore, and if the ideal of Liberty were no more than a historical cover-up for European hegemony, then there would be no reason for a magazine such as the *Unesco Courier* to exist.

Yet the *Unesco Courier* does exist, as does Unesco and the United Nations Organization and, for better or for worse, the international community. If a few common rules and a few common values are accepted, then this means, at least implicitly, that a philosophy universal in application indeed exists.

This moral code of Justice and of Liberty, this notion of Humanity united by possession of a rationality common to all, transcends all religious and national specificities. For if this were not so, nothing would hold back the world from the slippery slope that leads to head-on confrontational crusades and the chaos of war.

Universality, that distant heritage from the Enlightenment, is indeed the philosophy implicit in, or at least the working hypothesis of, our international institutions. Why should we not recall for a moment—with no outdated triumphalism, yet without unnecessary deprecation—that two centuries ago France was the setting for a step forward in the journey towards the making of humanity? ■

1. On 20 September 1792, the French Revolutionary army halted the invasion of Prussian troops at Valmy, north of Paris.
Eduor

MAURICE AGULHON, of France, is professor of modern French history at the Collège de France. Among his published works translated into English are *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880* (1981), and *Republican Experiment, 1848-52* (1983), both from Cambridge University Press.

Allegorical engraving from the French Revolution. Reason triumphant, with the support of Nature, demonstrates that all men are equal. The black man holds the Declaration of the Rights of Man in one hand, and, in the other, a decree according freedom to mixed races. At left, the demons of despotism and injustice are fleeing.



THE MERMAID OF THE DNIESTER

BY OSYP PETRASH

IN 1772, Galicia, in the western Ukraine, became a part of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy. The people of the new province were severely oppressed and remained largely illiterate. Intellectual life was impoverished by the fact that no books were published in the Ukrainian language; only a rich tradition of folk songs and legends nourished the spiritual life of the people.

At that time a number of Slav peoples (Czechs, Serbs and Croats) were undergoing a national and cultural revival. The first indications of a similar revival also began to appear in Galicia. In 1833, a clandestine circle was organized in Lvov, the capital, with the objective of reviving the national culture of the Ukrainians of Galicia. Its founders were three friends, Markiyian Shashkevych (1811-1843), Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866) and Yakiv Holovatsky (1814-1888). Instead of speaking German or Polish, as was the rule when societies held meetings, they used their native Ukrainian language, and discussed the culture and destiny of their people.

The activities of the Shashkevych circle constituted not only a literary phenomenon, but a social and democratic movement. Its greatest achievement was the publication of an almanac entitled *Rusalka Dnistrovaya* ("The Mermaid of the Dniester"), which was the first collection of Ukrainian literature to appear in the western Ukraine.

Shashkevych prepared a collection of literary works and folk songs, originally entitled *Zoria* ("The Dawn") and submitted the manuscript to the board of censors. As there was no censor of Ukrainian books in Lvov, *Zoria* was sent to Vienna, where Varfolomei Kopitar, the censor of Greek and Slav books, made positive comments on the manuscript but pointed out that it was "purely political" and sent it back to Lvov. Under the new title of *Rusalka Dnistrovaya*, the almanac was then sent to the Hungarian censor at Pest. He allowed it to be published and 1,000 copies appeared in Buda in 1837. One factor which had helped to make publication possible was Holovatsky's friendship with the Serbian writer Georgi Petrovich and other leading figures in the Slav revival.

What were the contents of this almanac that the Habsburg authorities found so disturbing? Its 150 pages open with an epigraph by the Czech poet Jan Kollar: "Not sad eyes, but the hands of the worker bring hope." These words were meant as an appeal to readers not to give way to pessimism about the destiny of the people, but to work towards its cultural and national awakening. The preface,



A copy of the *Rusalka Dnistrovaya* ("The Mermaid of the Dniester") which escaped the clutches of the censor. This was the first collection of Ukrainian literature to appear in the western Ukraine.

by Shashkevych, is a manifesto calling for the revival of Ukrainian literature in Galicia. It lists Ukrainian publications which appeared in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kharkov.

Most of the almanac consists of Ukrainian folk songs, as if confirming Kollar's claim that "Folk songs are the most solid foundation of education. An element of culture, the support of national identity, they protect and beautify language." A chapter is devoted to original writing by Shashkevych, Vahylevych and Holovatsky. There follow translations of Serbian folk songs, extracts from "The Kraledvorski Manuscript" by V. Hanka, an article by Shashkevych on the importance of historical monuments in spiritual life, examples of the vernacular Ukrainian language, a short description of the ancient manuscripts of Saint Basil's monastery, Lvov, and a review of a

collection of marriage songs and folk customs.

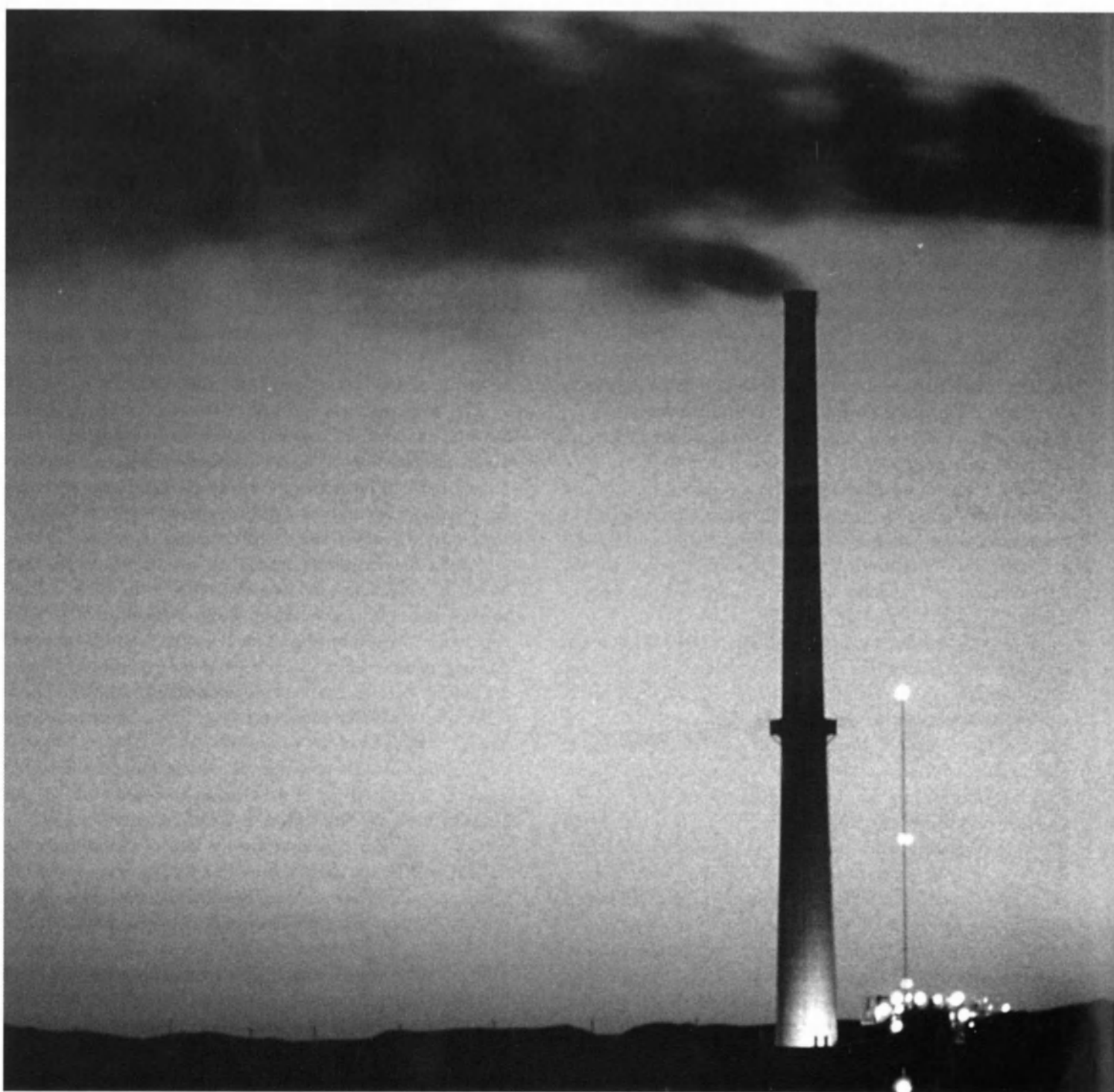
The Lvov censor objected both to the contents of the almanac and its use of popular speech and phonetic orthography. He decided that its distribution should be prohibited. About 800 copies were confiscated and legal proceedings were brought against the publishers. But *Rusalka Dnistrovaya* was not doomed to perish. Some 200 copies were widely distributed with the help of friends of the circle in Buda.

Rusalka Dnistrovaya was intended by its authors to lay the foundations of a Ukrainian literature in tune with the ideological and aesthetic principles proclaimed by Shashkevych in his work "The Alphabet": "Written language is for every people its life, its way of thinking, its other self; it should be born and grow among people... it must not become like the bird of paradise which is said to be without feet and is thus condemned to stay in the air for ever. Literature is a vital need of the people."

The *Rusalka* was a powerful voice which spoke out about the lives and national dignity of the Galician Ukrainians. Mainly consisting of works by Slav authors, it became a literary landmark in the Slav world. It is significant that the ideas of the Serbian writer and scholar Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864), a leading figure in the Slav Renaissance, should have inspired Shashkevych's circle, and that the lexical and orthographical principles set forth by Karadžić should have been the basis of the phonetic spelling system used in the almanac. "The Mermaid of the Dniester" thus has an important place in the Slav Renaissance as a whole. ■

OSYP PETRASH, of the Ukrainian SSR, is the author of a number of studies on the history of 19th-century Ukrainian literature.

POLLUTION UNLIMITED



BY FRANCE BEQUETTE

MOST human beings seem to be quite unaware that the small blue planet on which we live is very fragile. Although, some twenty years ago, general concern began to be expressed about the state of our natural environment, we continue to inflict irreversible damage upon it.

The atmosphere, our water resources, the soil, even our food, are all contaminated, largely as a result of our own actions. Rather than the quality of life, the level of industrial development achieved is taken as the yardstick by which we judge our civilization. We create deserts and cause floods by destroying our forests. Our homes and work-places are polluted by the tobacco we smoke, by harmful particles from the materials we use and the emanations from ill-adapted fireplaces. We can no longer afford to ignore the warnings we are given by our most capable and conscientious scientists. If we do not want to condemn our children to a life of stagnation on a decaying planet, it is time for us to reflect upon the consequences of our daily actions.

Once the atmosphere was pure. Now the quantity of polluting gases emitted into the atmosphere exceeds Nature's capacity to absorb them. The equilibrium is broken and we are threatened by an ever-lengthening list of perils—the "greenhouse effect", the gap in the ozone layer, climatic change, a rise in the sea level.

This copper smelting plant at Douglas, Arizona, was closed down in January 1987 by order of the United States Environmental Protection Agency. Noxious gases and particles emitted from its smokestacks had caused untold damage to the environment of the American southwest and of neighbour country Mexico.

What is happening? The more the world becomes industrialized, the more energy is consumed. No source of energy, however, is completely innocuous. Combustion is a chemical reaction in which carbon, sulphur and nitrogen oxides are produced as well as all kinds of molecules, some of which are highly toxic. Since wood contains chlorine, an ordinary domestic fire gives off dioxin (a highly toxic substance made notorious by the Seveso disaster¹), in minute quantities only, it is true, but which augment the other pollutants present in the air, especially in poorly-ventilated dwellings. And the use of fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas), and the need for them, are continually increasing. Industry, transport and heating systems emit a constant stream of pollutants into the atmosphere in quantities which, though they may seem small compared to the volume of the Earth's atmosphere, are sufficient to have a marked effect.

The greenhouse effect

The most widespread pollutant is carbon dioxide, annual emission of which has increased from 90 million tonnes in the last century to 5,000 million tonnes today. The two World Wars and increases in the price of oil have slowed this upward trend somewhat, but the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) estimates that output of carbon dioxide may double by the year 2050. Carbon dioxide is the principal cause of the greenhouse effect. It is transparent to incoming radiation from the sun which penetrates the Earth's atmosphere, although a large proportion of the ultra-

violet rays are absorbed by the ozone layer, situated some 10 to 50 kilometres above the Earth's surface. On the other hand, it traps the infra-red radiation reflected back by the Earth, like the glass of a greenhouse, thus causing a heating up of the atmosphere .

Other gases also contribute to the greenhouse effect. These include the chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), 700,000 tonnes of which we release to the atmosphere annually through the use of aerosols, refrigerators, and air conditioners and the manufacture of plastics and the cleaning of electronic components.

With a lifetime in the atmosphere of about one hundred years, a CFC molecule is 20,000 times more efficient at trapping heat than is a molecule of carbon dioxide, so, proportionately to their



This Canadian scientist is analysing the composition of tiny bubbles of air trapped in glacier ice at the beginning of the 19th century.

Desert scene in North Dakota. The three-month drought that hit the central United States last year could presage the onset of global warming.



concentration in the air, CFCs contribute much more to the greenhouse effect than does carbon dioxide. Furthermore, CFCs are capable of destroying ozone. The gap in the ozone layer observed over the Antarctic has become 40 per cent larger since 1957 and another gap has appeared above Australia and New Zealand. The B type ultra-violet rays which can now pass through these gaps and reach the Earth's surface are thought to be the primary cause of some skin cancers.

Nitrous oxide, another gas which contributes to the greenhouse effect, has a life of nearly 200 years. It is released by microbial fermentation in the soil and the burning of wood and fossil fuels. Of the 12 to 15 million tonnes released into the atmosphere annually, nearly 10 per cent is due to the use of nitrogen fertilizers.

Other forms of atmospheric pollution

Until recently, the industrialized countries were the main propagators of atmospheric pollution, but they are being rapidly caught up by countries which are becoming industrialized. In Eastern Europe and China, for instance, factories and non-nuclear power stations draw their energy from cheap, locally-produced coal. The combustion of coal releases sulphur dioxide to the atmosphere. When mixed with rain and carried by the wind it can travel thousands of kilometres. The acid deposits it produces attack forests and buildings and can also be harmful to man.

The alarm was sounded in 1970 by the

Scandinavian countries where "acid rain" has destroyed all life in many of their lakes. These countries soon realized that, since the prevailing winds were from the west, the sulphur dioxide being deposited on their territory came from British and American factories. Winds from the east, however, were the source of the sulphur dioxide deposited on the Federal Republic of Germany, which was in turn responsible for deposits reaching the forests of the Vosges in France.

In addition to burning tree leaves and pine needles, these acid deposits also seem to make the forest floor itself sterile. Furthermore, they are causing severe degradation to historic monuments that were still intact at the beginning of the century, such as the Parthenon in Greece, the Coliseum and Venetian palaces in

Dhaka inundated. The catastrophic flooding to which Bangladesh is subject may be in part due to deforestation on the slopes of the Himalayas.



Italy, the Cathedral of Strasbourg in France, the Taj Mahal in India, and various buildings in the United States. As these few examples show, the phenomenon occurs wherever industrial concentration is accompanied by heavy automobile traffic releasing exhaust gases rich in sulphur dioxide.

Exhaust gases also contain lead, emissions of which are estimated at 450,000 tonnes annually and are harmful to health. The struggle for lead-free petrol is still far from being won.

Soiling the soil

Other heavy metals pollute not only the atmosphere but also the soil, groundwater and the water table. The quantities involved annually include: mercury, 11,000 tonnes, cadmium, 5,500 tonnes, and arsenic, 78,000 tonnes. At present we are handling over seven million different chemical products and new ones are constantly being produced. Production, which amounted to 250 million tonnes in 1985, appears to be doubling every seven or eight years.

Although the accumulation of small quantities of these products, dangerous though it may be, passes unnoticed, major disasters, which are becoming more frequent, draw our attention to them. In 1959, for example, at Minamata, in Japan, mercury which drained into the water table resulted in 400 deaths and left 2,000 people seriously ill or deformed. Farmers continue to lavish fertilizer on their fields to obtain ever greater yields, while the nitrates these fertilizers contain pollute the adjoining water resources.

Another scandalous example of pollution is the stocking of dangerous toxic industrial wastes on the ground in humid areas with permeable soils. The industrialized countries do not know what to do with their industrial wastes and allow themselves to be cajoled by unscrupulous agents who are prepared to take these wastes off their hands and dispose of them in poorer, less populated countries where environmental protection is not a priority consideration.



Beauty discounted. Air pollution and acid rain have defaced this once-graceful marble maiden (420-415 BC), at the Acropolis, Athens.

As they become more industrialized, the developing countries are experiencing similar problems. The factories and refineries installed around the Bay of Hann, at Dakar, have caused a level of pollution of the sea which is causing the Government of Senegal great concern. The techniques necessary to master this problem are costly and take a long time to learn. An equally dangerous and daily occurrence is pollution by untreated human wastes. Illnesses linked to water pollution account for 25,000 deaths per day, mainly in the developing countries.

Climatic change

It is in these countries that the hydrological cycle has been the most disturbed, owing to the deforestation of mountain areas to make way for agriculture, to supply the timber trade or to provide wood for fuel. After the trees have been cut down, rain water streams down the slopes carrying with it the cultivable topsoil and causing flooding. A recent example has been the serious flooding in Bangladesh, which was due to deforestation in Nepal.

If the practice of firing the bush continues in Guinea, the Fouta-Djalón mountain massif, where floods alternate with seasonal periods of drought, may well soon cease to be "Africa's water tower".

The danger for the world is very real. Twenty hectares of forest disappear every minute and it is estimated that 160 million hectares of woodland are degraded annually. Clearing Amazonian forest impairs the Earth's "green lung". For carbon dioxide is taken up not only by the oceans, but also by plant life which transforms it, by photosynthesis, into carbon hydrates. The fewer trees there are on the planet the more carbon dioxide there will be in the atmosphere, and this can only aggravate the greenhouse effect.

If, as most experts predict will happen, global warming, a process that has already begun, drives the planet's average temperature up by 2°C to 4.5°C, melting of continental glaciers could cause ocean levels to rise from 40 to 120 centimetres. The great deltas of the Ganges, the Nile and the Mississippi would disappear, as would the Netherlands and a host of islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, including the Maldives, Tuvalu and Tonga.

A joint counter-attack

The fight against pollution comes up against powerful economic and social interests. Old, heavily polluting factories which could not afford to install costly anti-pollution devices would have to close down, leaving their workers unemployed. The installation of catalytic converters would increase the cost of automobiles and discourage buyers, thus dealing a blow to the automobile industry. The new propellant gases for aerosols now under study are more expensive than the existing chlorofluorocarbons. Renewable energy sources which could perhaps replace fossil fuels, such as solar and tidal power, are still far from being competitive. Only nuclear energy can supply cheap and abundant electricity, thanks to which certain highly toxic wastes can be

destroyed in very high temperature incinerators.

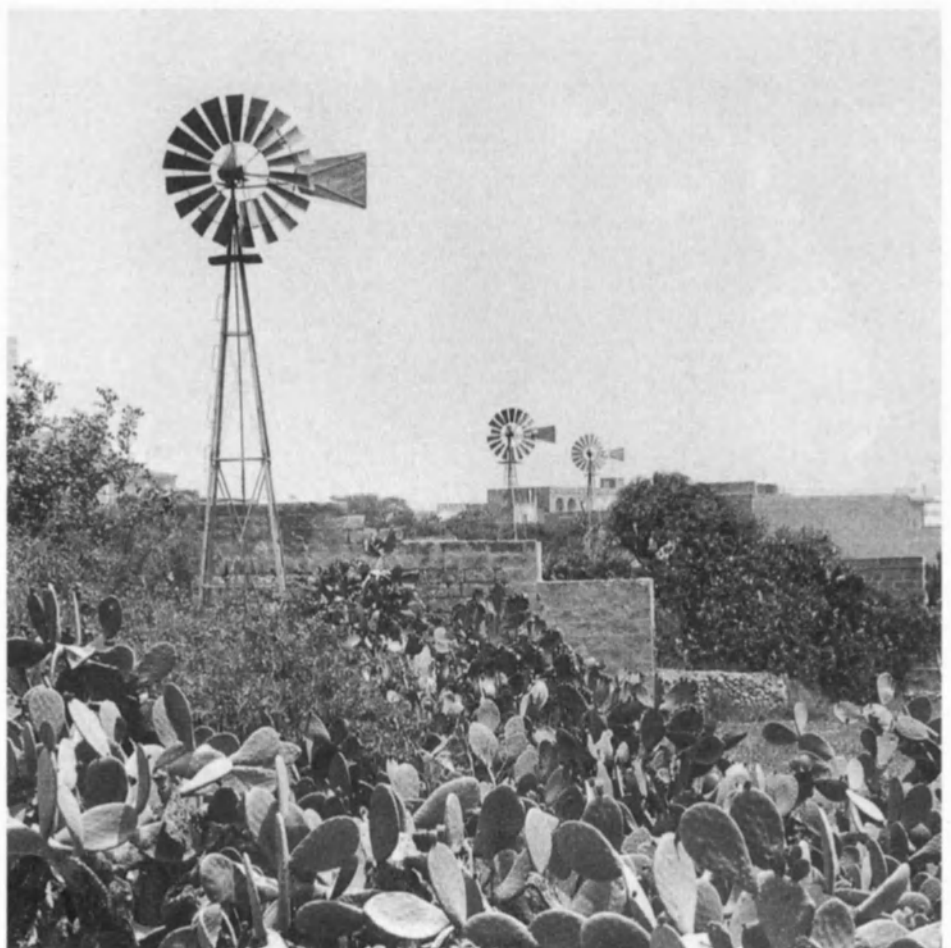
Unfortunately, no country wants to stock on its territory nuclear wastes, which have an extremely long radioactive life. Furthermore, it is impossible to eliminate the risk of recurrence of accidents such as those that occurred at Three Mile Island in the USA in 1979 and at Chernobyl in the USSR in 1986. Finally, the further the cost of oil falls, the less justification there is for economizing on energy consumption and the more pollution will increase.

Nevertheless, the international community seems determined to take action. Negotiations on global reduction of the emission of sulphur oxides opened in 1979 under the aegis of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Seventeen countries undertook

to reduce their emissions of sulphur oxides by 30 per cent within twenty years. At Vienna, in 1985, and in Montreal, in 1987, a Protocol was signed concerning the production of chlorofluorocarbons. It was agreed that the heaviest users of CFCs would reduce their consumption by 50 per cent by 1999. An extended time limit was agreed for the developing countries, whose annual consumption amounts to only 0.30 kilograms per capita. However, since the ozone layer is being damaged at a faster rate than that predicted by experts before the Protocol was signed, it may be questioned whether these undertakings are sufficient.

One of the steps being taken by Unesco for the conservation of the environment is the creation, within the framework of its Man and the Biosphere (MAB) Programme, of a network of

Wind power is harnessed to pump water for irrigation for these garden-smallholdings in Malta. Greater use of non-polluting, renewable energy sources would help to reduce atmospheric pollution.



biosphere reserves. This work is being undertaken in collaboration with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). There are now 273 biosphere reserves in some seventy countries. Some of these reserves, such as the Kavkazskiy reserve in the USSR, are specially equipped to monitor atmospheric pollution.

Conservation in daily life

Quite apart from the efforts being made at the national and international levels, each one of us should become more aware of the consequences of our

actions. Throwing a mercury or a silver oxide battery away on a rubbish tip could lead to the pollution of a cubic metre of soil or 500 litres of water. Emptying out the engine oil from an automobile on to the ground could pollute 5,000 cubic metres of water. Each time we press the button on a CFC-powered aerosol we contribute to the destruction of the ozone layer. To respond to the state of emergency call put out by the world's scientists, we must all react, and react quickly.

Pollution knows no boundaries. The greenhouse effect could have dire consequences for the environment and for human societies. It is already late in the day both for study and for action. Yet the stakes are high—the survival of the Earth itself. ■

1. In July 1976, as a result of a leak in a reactor at a chemical plant producing chlorophenol, a cloud of poisonous vapour spread over the town of Seveso, near Milan, killing hundreds of birds and small animals and causing respiratory problems, burns and other skin lesions among many of the inhabitants. *Editor*

FRANCE BEQUETTE is a French-American journalist with a special interest in environmental topics. For the last four years she has been responsible for training African journalists in the fields of health and the environment for Unesco's West and Central Africa News Agencies Development Project (WANAD).

At Donon in the Vosges, France, a research worker examines a batch of young pine trees that have been exposed to acidic fog.



REDISCOVERING 'THE ISLANDS OF THE MOON'

BY ANDRE LIBIOULLE



BECAUSE of a paradox inherent in the history of the islands on which they live, the people of the Comoros archipelago have only had access to their age-old cultural heritage since 1979, when the first public library containing a collection of historical and contemporary sources relating to their identity was opened at Moroni, the capital.

This tropical archipelago of four islands—Ngazidja (Grande Comore), Mwali (Mohéli), Nzwani (Anjouan) and Mahoré (Mayotte)—has cast a spell on travellers ever since the first voyages of Arabs and Persians to what they called the “Islands of the Moon” (*al-Kamar*) because of the moonlit radiance of their rugged shores. Sixteenth-century Portuguese explorers opening up the Spice Route first made the islands’ existence known to the West.

Navigators must have been attracted to this volcanic archipelago at the north-

ern end of the Mozambique Channel in the Indian Ocean by its mild climate. But they were surely also drawn by the singularity of the population, a mixture of Bantu, Arab and Persian peoples living in closely-knit communities, whose tempestuous history was marked by rivalry between local chiefs and forays by pirates. Epic folk tales chronicled the myths and legends of a culture left astonishingly intact between its two great neighbours—the African mainland (Dar es-Salaam is some 700 kilometres away), and Madagascar, whose northern coast lies 300 kilometres from the Comoros.

Why should the Comoros be isolated? During the colonial period, from 1912 to 1946, when the islands were administered from Madagascar as a French colony, they were considered of negligible importance because they were so small. This archipelago which neither forms part of Madagascar nor of the

Creole-speaking world was overlooked by researchers. The little that was known about the Comoros was filtered through Madagascar, as in the “Comoros room” established half a century ago in the Tananarive Museum.

The isolation of the Comoros was further intensified by the dispersal of ancient writings and legal, historical and ethnographic documents into east Africa, where the Swahili civilization (of which the Comoros constituted a kind of ocean outpost) had become an Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence.

The Comorians—like the people in the outside world—thus did not know their own country. In order to discover their cultural identity, they had to take matters into their own hands, a task which was all the more urgent since economic instability, dependence on foreign aid and imports of essential commodities had made their country vulnerable.

In October 1978 the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros was constituted, including all the islands except Mayotte, which remained a French dependency. A decree was issued the following year creating a National Centre of Documentation and Research on the Comorians (CNDRS), whose facilities include a library and a national museum and archive as well as a research centre on oral traditions.

The multidisciplinary work of the CNDRS is concentrated on research on the history and communities of the archipelago. The Centre and its specialized associations have succeeded in motivating people to study traditions which were erased during the colonial period. These deeply rooted traditions can be used fruitfully when they are adapted to modern circumstances.

The guiding principle is that a link should be created between the CNDRS and village communities, where groups of young people—who are the best catalysts in that they are aware of tradition yet sensitive to modern technology—would bring about an attitude change, not with the idea of blind acceptance of the transfer of technology but rather of cultural transformation based on a “revival” of the past.

None of the pilot schemes of the CNDRS, such as the establishment of associations to safeguard historic or archaeological sites, the restoration of ancestral dwellings, the setting up of reading rooms and small ethnographic collections, the reconstitution of forgotten dances or traditional musical instruments, are secondary to urgent social needs, although they may seem to be so. They are all intended to enrich the present by looking to the cultural heritage of the past.

In its early days the CNDRS received aid from many quarters, including Unesco and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation; and a number of European and African countries have contributed either to the purchase of video equipment or to the training of technicians. The Centre is now seeking



In a school at Ikoni, near Moroni, the capital of the Comoros, children recite to the rhythm of tambourines in preparation for the *Maulid*, the Islamic festival that marks the birthday of the Prophet.

to improve its facilities to train Comorian experts to an international level, particularly in the natural and environmental sciences. Moreover it is essential that a CNDRS unit should be set up on each island in order to disseminate information and identify new needs.

Two progressive educational institutions, the National Institute of Education (INE) and the National School of Higher Education (ENES), are working with the Centre. The INE aims to establish the historical and linguistic content of school-books and promote appropriate teaching methods, while the ENES wishes to encourage students to produce original work on oral traditions, epidemics, botany or village communities.

Thus a cultural identity, a real inspiration to the future of the Comoros, is consciously and progressively taking shape. ■

ANDRE LIBIOULLE, a Paris-based Belgian journalist and producer of radio programmes on cultural topics, has worked in the Comoros on behalf of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation. He has recently contributed articles to a Larousse chronicle of the 20th century.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS GO BACK TO SCHOOL

IN a modern building not far from Unesco's Headquarters in Paris, forty-four men and women from all regions of the world are following a rigorous nine-month training programme covering the design, implementation and evaluation of strategies and plans for the development of education.

All the participants are specialists who hold key positions in educational planning or training in their respective countries. One has been responsible for the evaluation of Rwanda's educational reform programme; another is deputy director of educational planning in Oman; a third is a section chief at the State Education Commission in China; a fourth is responsible for the development of basic education in Brazil.

They have been selected from a large number of applicants to participate in the twenty-fourth annual training programme organized by Unesco's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP). The Institute, which celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1988, has so far trained some 850 specialists from 129 countries. It is

acknowledged as the world's leading training institution in its field.

The annual training programme acquaints participants with the most recent ideas and practices concerning the relationships between the educational system and economic, technological, social and cultural development. It is also designed to improve their knowledge of methods of administering educational systems as well as diagnosing and forecasting techniques.

In practice this means that a statistician from Ghana, grappling with a problem of cost analysis and budgetary processes in his country's technical education sector, can compare his experiences with those of colleagues from Brazil, Finland and Indonesia. An economist from India, who is particularly concerned with the relationships between education, employment and the labour market, is able to discuss her problems and learn from some of the solutions already worked out by her counterparts in Canada, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea or Senegal.

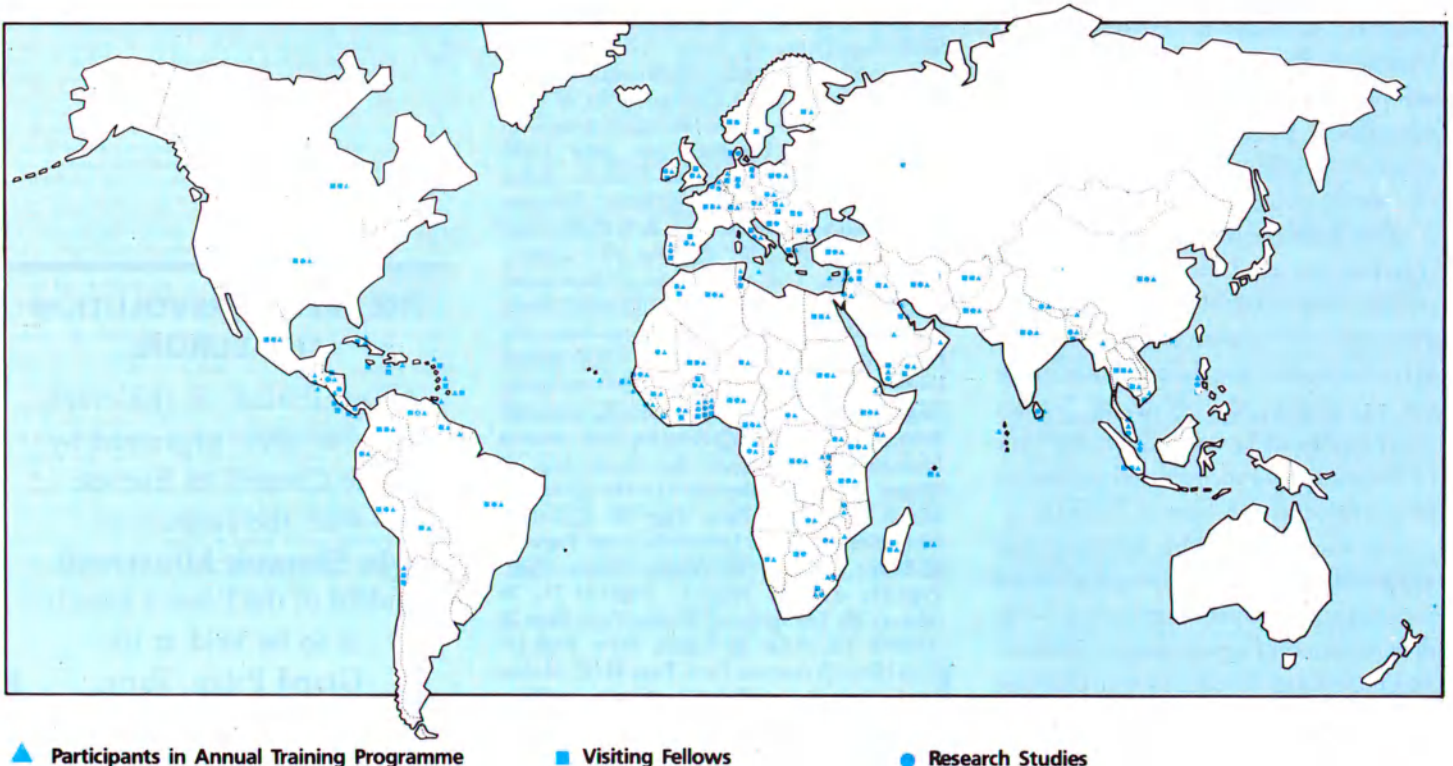
The first phase of the 1988-1989 programme took place last September in the home countries of the participants, who began to study specially-produced teaching materials designed by the Institute to update their knowledge of basic educational planning concepts and techniques.

The training methods at the Institute are based on team work and the active involvement of each participant in exercises which, as far as possible, reflect actual working conditions. Simulation exercises, seminars, and work in small groups are combined with lectures, discussions, study visits, computer work and the presentation of experiences in different countries.

During the final stage of the programme, scheduled for April and May, each participant will have the opportunity to make an in-depth analysis of an educational problem concerning his or her country.

The annual training programme is only one component of the IIEP's training activities, however. Each year the Institute organizes several intensive train-

Participation by nationality in IIEP training programmes and countries in which research and studies have been undertaken.



ing courses on particular aspects of educational planning and administration, such as the evaluation of educational systems, the utilization of microcomputers in educational planning or the financing of vocational and technical education. These courses, lasting a maximum of four or five weeks, are held not at the Institute's Paris Headquarters but in different countries. Each one caters for some thirty planners from the country in which it is held and often also a few participants from neighbouring countries. So far, fifty-one of these intensive courses have been held, in countries ranging from Jamaica to Thailand and from Burundi to China, providing specialized training to some 1,800 participants.

IIEP offers a whole spectrum of other training opportunities, including an individually-tailored visiting fellows programme and a series of workshops and seminars. Yet training is only one side of the Institute's activities: an equal share of its resources goes towards research.

In carrying out its research programme, IIEP's basic aim is to increase understanding of the social, economic and political aspects of education in order to facilitate planning for educational development and reform. In the twenty-five years since its foundation, the Institute has carried out research projects on a wide range of topics in most of Unesco's Member States. Some of these projects have been focused on the orientation and the organization of educational planning processes in individual countries; some have been concerned with developing the methodologies used in educational planning; and others have examined the implications for planning of specific policy issues.

The Institute is currently drawing together the results of over twenty case studies undertaken during the past five years on subjects as diverse as educational training policy for the computer industry in Mexico, the effects of literacy programmes in Kenya and the Republic of Tanzania, and the role and utilization of the information base in Tunisia.

All these studies are reviewed and evaluated by the IIEP in preparation for the Institute's third main activity—the dissemination of new concepts, methods and techniques in educational planning to individuals and institutions in all Member States.

A constant effort is made to take account of the needs of different categories of clientele. IIEP's traditional public, which includes decision-makers, planners and administrators, researchers, trainers and teachers, is continually changing and expanding to include development economists, sociologists, political scientists and other specialists in the many branches of the social sciences.

The broad objective of the dissemination programme is to ensure that this clientele is informed of the evolution of ideas, concepts, practices and techniques of planning and administration; that practitioners are kept up to date on important research concerned with their specialities; and that the results of significant national experiences in the field are brought to their attention. Special care is taken to satisfy the needs of the Institute's clientele in developing countries, who are very often starved of relevant publications and information. ■

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EUROPE

An exhibition on the events of 1789-1799, organized by the Council of Europe with the support of Mr. François Mitterrand, President of the French Republic, is to be held at the Grand Palais, Paris, from 18 March to 28 June 1989.



Alexander the Great as depicted in an Indian miniature. The Macedonian general's invasion of India in the 4th century BC influenced Indian culture by initiating contacts with the Graeco-Roman world (see article p. 4).