MOZART AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

THE MYSTERY OF GENIUS
We invite readers to send us photographs to be considered for publication in this feature. Your photo should show a painting, a sculpture, piece of architecture or any other subject which seems to be an example of cross-fertilization between cultures. Alternatively, you could send us pictures of two works from different cultural backgrounds in which you see some striking connection or resemblance. Please add a short caption to all photographs.

**Travel Impressions**
(1991)
crayons on paper, by Hajja Fatima Bakhcha

Hajja Fatima Bakhcha is a Moroccan who visited France for the first time this year, at the age of sixty. Before returning home, she left her hosts this drawing of her impressions.
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Back cover: Requiem II "Mozart", oil on canvas (116 x 89 cm) by the Guadeloupe painter Marcellus.
INTERVIEW

with Professor LÉON SCHWARTZENBERG

A leading French cancer specialist who is also a member of the European Parliament and of the French national watchdog committee for the life sciences, explains how cancers are formed and describes current methods of treatment. In a field where misunderstandings are still all too common, Professor Schwartzenberg sums up some of the lessons he has learned from a lifetime’s experience.

— Lots of people talk about cancer, but not many of them know what it really is. Could you tell us?

— A cancer consists of a colony of cells which have escaped from control by the laws which govern the organization of a living being. Each of the cells in our organism has a specific role. For reasons that we are now beginning to understand, some of them suddenly change into different cells. They cease to co-operate with the other cells and work as it were for themselves. They behave anarchically.

This can happen to all living things. Plants and birds can have cancer. When cells establish themselves within a living being in order to take it over and destroy its life, we talk of a malignant tumour. A tumour is a group of cells. Etymologically speaking, malignant means “diabolical”. It is as if the devil has set up house within a living thing and will, if not eliminated, systematically destroy it.

— What can modern medicine do to eliminate this “devil”?
— Malignant or “diabolical” tumours must be removed. But how? The simplest way has always been the knife, or, to use a more high-flown word, the scalpel. Early this century radiation began to be used to prevent cancerous cells from dividing. Then, around 1950, chemical substances which poison cancerous cells were discovered. But these substances can also poison healthy cells, albeit to a lesser degree, and so this form of treatment, known as chemotherapy, is difficult.

Today a fourth and highly promising form of therapy known as immunotherapy is in its early stages. It may be described as follows. Our immune system provides us with natural defences against foreign agents such as infectious bacteria or viruses, or transplanted cells. In the case of organ transplants an attempt is made to weaken the body’s immune defences so as to allow the recipient to accept the transplanted organ, but where cancer is concerned we try to stimulate these defences so that the patient can reject the cancer. This is a new attitude in medicine. Instead of acting externally by means of surgery, radiation or chemotherapy, we are trying to act from the inside by helping patients to get rid of their tumours by themselves.

Have genetic manipulations become involved in this?
— No that’s something different. The manipulation of cells should not be confused with the manipulation of genes. When a tumour develops, the lymphocytes, the body’s infection-fighting white blood cells, try to fight it. When the tumour becomes too big, they lose the battle. Part of the tumour can then be removed surgically and the lymphocytes which are fighting it can be recovered and cultivated in the laboratory so that their number is multiplied a hundred-, a thousand- or ten thousand-fold. All these lymphocytes are reinjected into the patient who then has more cells with which to fight the tumour. This is cell manipulation.

Genetic manipulation, as its name suggests, consists of modifying the hereditary structure of certain cells, either by using a radioactive substance or by introducing a specific gene. But cells manipulated in this way are not reproductive cells.

Genetic manipulations of human ova are not on the agenda, either scientifically since they are still not feasible, or morally since they are unacceptable to our society.

Could we replace the cells which are in the body?
— This is another possible approach to treatment. Each of the organism’s normal cells has a kind of organized brain. In the liver cell, for example, there is a brain which tells it how to stock sugar and how to secrete certain enzymes. When the cell becomes cancerous, its brain goes mad. This rogue cell has returned to a wild state. A living creature, a human being, is a being whose cells have become civilized in order to acquire maturity and physiological knowledge. The cancerous cells which have returned to a wild state are totally uncivilized. Is it possible to imagine “recivilizing” these cells, making them “normal” again? Some products give grounds for hope.

— Are some people more predisposed than others to have sick cells?
— Until 1975 we did not really understand why some people develop cancers more easily than others. Why, for instance, should some heavy smokers develop cancer and not others? Then a young scientist named Dominique Stehelin, who was working in the laboratory of Doctors J. Michael Bishop and Harold E. Varmus (who were later awarded the Nobel Prize) discovered cancer-causing genes. Each of us has tens of thousands of cells which are “shadowed” by these genes, known as oncogenes, from oncos the Greek word for tumour. These cells can be “silent” or unexpressed throughout our lives, in which case
we die of something else, or be activated and trigger a sequence of events that leads to a cancer. There are also cells known as "anti-oncogenes", which afford protection against cancer. When they weaken, they favour the development of a tumour.

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Do some people have a predisposition towards cancer?

— It is wrong to say that cancer is hereditary except in very rare cases such as cancer of the retina in children. What is usually called heredity is a quasi-automatic induction mechanism. Haemophilia, mucoviscidosis and myopathia are hereditary. Cancer is not hereditary because it is a multifactorial disease. It requires the combined presence of external causes, of oncogenes, a weakening of immune defences, and perhaps too a specific kind of psychological fragility.

Genetic fragility may constitute a predisposition. A woman whose forebears, sisters or aunts have had breast cancer is at greater risk than someone else. In the same way, there may be a family predisposition to cancers of the colon or the rectum, the ovaries or the prostate. In other words, people belonging to such families, who are at risk, should have systematic examinations—breast X-rays, endoscopy of the intestine (colonoscopy)—as well as systematic smear tests for cancer of the womb.

Surely these ideas about genetic predisposition will cause alarm if they are not properly explained?

— Let’s take the example of cancers of the colon or the rectum, which constitute a quarter of all cancers. In 95 per cent of cases these consist initially of a small benign tumour, a polyp the removal of which will prevent the appearance of a cancer.

Regular breast X-rays make it possible to detect small breast tumours which are easier to cure when detected in the early stages.

Some people believe that in fifteen years cancer will be curable.

— It is impossible to say. All we can do is simply press on with research. Today, there is less talk than there was ten years ago about the curability of all cancers. But there is no reason to give up hope. All the problems facing humankind have eventually been solved.

Do you tell your patients about the nature of their illness?

— Yes, provided that their general condition is not too seriously affected. The essential thing is to make patients understand that they are not responsible for their illness. The illness is not a punishment. As long as there is no proof that a person’s psychological make-up can bear any responsibility for the induction of a cancer we have no right to use this argument, for if we do we imply that patients are responsible for their own cancers.

— When you come into the world, you carry within you the genes transmitted to you by your parents who inherited them from the long chain of life which preceded them. This is the capital of risks and possibilities that is available to us. This is how we are made. We do not come from nowhere. We are not born by immaculate conception. We are repositories of all the adventures, possibilities and defects of humanity.

Do you think that patients can do much to cure themselves?

— Yes. Studies carried out in the United Kingdom on several hundred patients who had been operated on for breast cancer showed that those who were most highly motivated lived longest. Unfortunately this should not be considered a law. I have known admirable, extremely courageous people, young mothers, who have fought to be able to bring up their children and have—a terrible injustice—been unable to do so.

Some doctors do not tell their patients the truth.

— I think they are wrong. Human beings have the right to know the truth about their illnesses, their destiny. Unless they expressly do not wish to know. Whatever our convictions or beliefs, we all feel that our earthly course does not end on the day of our death. I am not thinking about what lies beyond but about what happens here on Earth. We are all responsible for a human enterprise towards which we feel certain responsibilities. Love, family life, the arts, our profession... Faced with the possibility of death, we need to take decisions about the fate of those we love...
or those for whom we feel responsible. If you lie to a patient, he or she will die in ignorance.

Even more serious, lying falsifies human relations. Perpetuating a lie has serious consequences. If you give dishonest answers to all the questions asked by a patient, then you create a kind of triangular relationship between the patient who is going to die and does not know, the person who shares the patient’s life and does know, and the cancer itself, the third point of the triangle. Just think of the bitterness the surviving member of such a couple must feel. As long as his or her partner was alive, that person agreed to live a lie without measuring all its consequences. Suddenly the loved one dies and the surviving partner realizes that the moment when he or she began to lie something in their intimate relationship was broken.

I am not saying that I believe in truth at all costs. Perhaps some things should be concealed. But if someone does have to keep a secret then it should be the patient (since it is the secret of his or her own body) rather than the person who shares the patient’s life.

We are all free to build our lives as we think fit. That’s why I ask patients who are near to death whether they are believers, and if so, whether they want to receive the sacraments. They all wish to do so, and contrary to what is often thought, they are not overwhelmed by the experience.
You say that you are a defender of euthanasia, of death in dignity. You believe that people who tolerate the sufferings of others are torturers.

Doctors and nurses are there to cure. When you have succeeded you feel yourself justified intellectually and morally. Intellectually because the knowledge you have acquired has brought about this result. Morally, because the patient who has been for a time handicapped or infirm, has returned to a normal life, to his or her family and profession.

In the case of chronic illnesses, such as certain cancers and neurological diseases, you know that you will manage to prolong the patient’s life without being able to effect a cure. Morally you are ill at ease. But you can make sure that patients benefit from the latest advances in science, improve their conditions and prolong their lives. And this is for you an intellectual justification.

A situation may arise in which all forms of therapy have ceased to be effective. Everything has been tried: surgery, radiation, chemotherapy. You have shot your bolt. All you have learned in order to cure a patient is now useless. Intellectually, you have failed. At this juncture you must change your whole intellectual approach and rediscover what has been the glory of medicine since Greek Antiquity. The battle against the illness is lost, but the struggle for the patient can still be waged. There is a moral justification for this attitude.

To give a complete answer to your question, one also comes across patients who are demoralized by their illness. They even feel degraded and want to leave this world with dignity, so that those around them do not see them disfigured by a facial tumour, say, or...
afflicted with a spinal tumour or creeping paralysis.

In the course of a difficult illness, the patient may ask for help by saying to you, “I accept all the treatment you give me, doctor, but don’t let me go too far. When the moment comes don’t strive too hard. If I come to the end of my tether and I ask you to help me, will you agree?” One says yes, hoping that the moment will never come. But when it does one must keep one’s word. You administer a palliative which eases the disorder caused by the illness without affecting the illness itself. One can say that the doctor has realized that the illness is irreversible. Then we may face the problem of euthanasia, a word coined in the seventeenth century by the English philosopher Francis Bacon. Euthanasia is more than a gentle death, it is a death worthy of a human being. Of course it only concerns patients who are conscious and lucid—they’re the only ones I’m talking about—patients who wish to keep their dignity and their freedom to be human until the last moment.

- From palliative care you have moved on to euthanasia . . .
  — What actually happens? It is possible to fight against pain, thirst, and fear. But it sometimes happens that a patient’s condition deteriorates, that the tumour, paralysis, handicap, infirmity or whatever get worse, and the patient asks for help to preserve his or her dignity. Now this request for help is insistent, profound, and repeated; it is not simply made during a moment of depression. In fact the first thing we do in this situation is to administer anti-depressants, and then we discover that the patient continues to make a request which rests on a certain conception of existence. Make no mistake. All these patients who out of respect for their dignity ask for the opportunity to go to sleep forever are people who love life intensely. As an old peasant woman said one day: “I’m not tired of life. It’s life that’s tired of me.”

- But surely doctors who help their patients in this way face enormous problems if the word gets out.
  — This is because of a medical bureaucracy of which we should be suspicious. In medicine—and this is the glory of the profession—you are always confronted with a person who is different from everyone else. Even if that person is suffering from an illness which affects others, he or she remains unique. A doctor confronted with a patient is one person confronted with another. You cannot ask a bureaucracy to define the relationship between two individuals.

- You see death every day. Does it tell you anything about your own death?
  — Even if contact with the death of another person is terrible, I don’t think it brings you any closer to your own death. It only increases your solitude on Earth.

- Have you gained anything from patients who are at death’s door?
  — Of course. When I began to write about them I did so because some of them seemed to me to be more heroic than soldiers. They displayed courage, dignity, and serenity. This attitude transcends the difference between believers and non-believers. I have known anxious atheists and serene believers and vice versa. An eminent priest whom I had the honour to treat was anxious because he was not sure whether anything lay beyond. That day I understood that faith could be a matter of will, not of certainty.

  I have seen the extraordinary power of maternal love. I know that it is total, a love without equal, and that if fathers have the same feelings then they too feel maternal love. Maternal love is protective, giving and trusting whatever the circumstances. Think of those unfortunate mothers whose children are addicted to drugs and sometimes steal from them. They go on living in order to be able to bring up their children and perhaps to save them.

- It is hard to understand that death is part of life. One hears of children who say that they don’t want to die. How can they have such ideas?
  — Children start to ask themselves the big metaphysical question around the age of seven or eight. These are the most intense thoughts of our lives. For some people they remain intense. For others they eventually lose their force.

  Spinoza was right when he wrote: “The wise man thinks of nothing less than he does of death, for all wisdom is wisdom of life and not wisdom of death.”
Of their time and at loggerheads with it, with one foot in their century and another in eternity, rooted in a particular geographical setting but also possessed of a universal dimension, geniuses are impossible to pigeonhole. To what space-time do they belong? Given that genius essentially defies all explanation or definition, can we at least say something about the context in which it has its being? This is the question to which the present issue tries to find the beginnings of an answer.

Our aim has not been to establish a typology of genius in general or to draw a portrait of that exceptional genius whose bicentenary is being celebrated this year. What we have tried to do is to make our own modest contribution to the casebook by touching on some of the paradoxes that characterize genius. The figure of Mozart, a composer whose genius was long denied or at least underestimated before being universally acclaimed, seemed to us to chime perfectly with our attempt to throw a little light on what might be called the truth—or rather the mystery—of genius.

Mozart cannot be dissociated from the Europe of the Enlightenment whose best qualities he exemplifies. Whether in respect of musical composition or of the movement of ideas, he was a man in the vanguard of his time. What other genius epitomized to such a degree, in his own creative field, all the knowledge of his period? True, Mozart was singularly encouraged by his family. At a very early age, in the course of his travels, he mastered all the major European musical forms, harvesting with amazing sureness whatever suited his purposes wherever he found it.

However, this faculty of assimilation, this power of creative synthesis, rare as it is, cannot by itself provide an adequate definition of genius. For an artist to be a genius, he also needs to be in the forefront of all the intellectual currents of his time. Mozart was not a revolutionary, but he was a fervent Freemason. Philanthropic, philosophical, wedded to the idea of progress and reform without violence, Freemasonry was a cosmopolitan humanism whose ideals Mozart espoused against the intolerance and injustices of his century.

That being said and no matter how aware he may be of contemporary issues, a genius does not simply hold up a mirror to the age. Unclassifiable, unforeseeable, genius spreads its wings far and wide. A genius is one whose work finds an echo in other, increasingly remote periods and cultures, meeting a response in the minds and hearts of people who are more and more at a remove from it. He then transcends the infinite variety of the languages, customs and concerns of the peoples of the world and strikes the chord of their common humanity. Mysteriously, he achieves universality.

And in a sense his contemporaries make him pay dearly for it. Mozart ended up by alienating Viennese audiences. Those who, during his lifetime, were capable of appreciating his works at their proper value were very few. In the nineteenth century his star seemed to have set. Now at last his true stature is recognized, but it has taken almost 200 years...
Europe in Mozart’s time was a patchwork of different cultures. The Enlightenment provided it with a unifying principle and ushered in the modern age. Against this background of cross-fertilization, Mozart’s genius blossomed.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born in Salzburg on 27 January 1756 and died in Vienna on 5 December 1791. He was thus a European of the second half of the eighteenth century.

The geopolitical landscape of eighteenth-century Europe was very different from that we know today. First of all, it would be a mistake, historically speaking, to think of Mozart as an Austrian, even if Austria can claim him as one of her sons. When Mozart was born, Salzburg was the capital of an independent principality under the jurisdiction of a Prince-Archbishop. It was an ecclesiastical principality, like the birthplace of another great composer, Beethoven, who was born in 1770 in Bonn, the capital of the ecclesiastical principality of Cologne.

Cologne and Salzburg were located on arteries of communication that had been important since very early times: in the case of Cologne the Rhine, and in the case of Salzburg the north-south routes leading from Germany to Italy via the Brenner Pass. They were also close to the east-west routes leading from Vienna towards France, England, and the Austrian Netherlands (what is today Belgium). These great axes of trade and communication often follow the old Roman roads.

Mozart was not born an Austrian and never claimed to be one. He always referred to himself as a “German”.

These ecclesiastical principalities, relatively few in number, were part of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire, which was founded in the tenth century and survived, at least nominally, until the upheavals due to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars eventually led to its disappearance in the nineteenth century. All the ecclesiastical principalities were then secularized, and after many vicissitudes the principality of Salzburg was attached to Austria in 1816.

The Holy Roman Empire was an attempt to perpetuate the thinking of Charlemagne. It was to be a union of European states joined politically and spiritually under the banner of Roman Catholicism and ruled by an emperor. By the eighteenth century it had long ceased to consider itself Roman and was actually the Holy Germanic Empire, an agglomeration of some 400 states varying greatly in size and importance (from the large kingdom of Bohemia to the small principedom of Salzburg), with at its head an emperor elected by a college of electors. Since the fifteenth century Austrian Habsburg princes (who were also kings of Bohemia) had traditionally been elected emperors of Germany.
In the eighteenth century, the emperor was elected by the first college of the imperial diet, which consisted of nine electors—six lay princes (representing the Palatinate, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover and Bavaria) and three ecclesiastical princes (representing the Rhineland principalities of Mainz, Trier and Cologne). The archbishop of Salzburg was not an elector, but he was a prince of the Empire and belonged to the second college of the diet. He also bore the title of primate of Germany, which placed him above his national colleagues in relation to papal authority.

While this German empire was the geographical heart of Europe, it did not represent the whole of Europe. Beyond its borders to the east were the Russias, Poland with its shifting frontiers, Hungary and above all Prussia. To the south lay Italy which was also divided into many states, some of which were under Austrian administration. The great kingdoms of Spain, France and Great Britain to the west and the northern kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark-Norway also lay outside the Empire.

The Austrian Netherlands (what is today Belgium) belonged to the Empire, but the United Provinces (today Holland) did not.

Some imperial princes and electors ruled simultaneously over states which were not integrated into the Empire. Thus the Habsburgs of Austria and Bohemia were kings of Hungary, the Guelfs of Hanover became the kings of England, and the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg became the kings of Prussia.

A march towards progress

The European balance of power was determined by five states: Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. The prosperous regions of Europe (Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany and northern Italy) embarked on a period of economic growth which led to a demographic explosion. The population of Europe rose from 115 million at the beginning of the century to 187 million on the eve of the nineteenth century. Between 1750 and 1800, the population of Russia rose from 19 million to 29 million; that of the Habsburg dominions from 20 to 27 million; that of France from 22 to 26 million; that of Italy from 15.5 to 18 million; and that of Great Britain from 10.5 to 15.5 million. The population of Prussia virtually doubled, rising from 3.5 million to 6 million.

Scientific progress called political and social structures into question. Europe began a march towards progress. There emerged a critical spirit towards institutions and the past which called for the participation of all human beings and implied a democratic process. The first thing that had to be done in order to create the spirit of tolerance necessary for the establishment of a pluralist society was to reform the educational system and make it accessible to all.
In its search for a new balance, Europe found a unifying principle in a form of philosophical reflection, a generalized attitude of thought, which became known as the Enlightenment and gave its name to the eighteenth century as a whole—the age of the Enlightenment. It was a century of receptiveness to modernity. Many of the ideas which paved the way for this new mode of thinking came from Great Britain, from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the liberal constitution which ensued, from the experiments of Isaac Newton and the philosophy of John Locke (1632-1704), but it was in France that the new philosophy was most fully and coherently developed.

‘Dare to reason!’

The spirit of the Enlightenment materialized on the public stage around 1750. By that time the Italian historian and philosopher Giambattista Vico had already defended in his Scienza nuova (1725 and 1744), the idea that all peoples pass through three ages: the divine, the heroic, and the human. In France Montesquieu published L'esprit des lois (1748), and Voltaire his Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations (1756), which familiarized the public with the idea of the historical evolution of human nature and with the possibility of progress towards a greater maturity of conscience. In 1750 the Encyclopédie was launched. Its publication continued until 1772.

England, land of freedom

This is what English legislation has finally achieved. It has succeeded in restoring to all men those natural rights of which they are divested in nearly every monarchy. These rights are: complete freedom to dispose of one’s person and property, to speak to the nation through the medium of one’s pen, to be tried for a criminal offence only by a jury composed of independent men, to be tried in all cases only in accordance with the strict terms of the law and to profess in peace the religion of one’s choice.

These are called prerogatives. And it is indeed a very great and very happy prerogative, and one that might be envied by many nations, to be certain when going to bed that you will wake up the next morning with the same fortune as you had the night before, that you will not be snatched from the arms of your wife and children in the middle of the night and led away to a dungeon or to a wilderness, that, on emerging from your sleep, you will be able to publish whatever you think, and that if you are accused of reprehensible conduct, speech or writing you will be tried only in accordance with the law.

Voltaire (1694-1778)
French writer

article on “Government” in the Dictionnaire philosophique (1771)
et des métiers eventually comprised 60,000 articles published in seventeen volumes, plus eleven volumes of illustrations. Over 150 writers, including d'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau, contributed to the vast enterprise, which was directed by Diderot. The Encyclopédie was based on the idea that knowledge is the key to power. This synthesis of knowledge took its place in the vanguard of enlightened opinion, which insisted on the primacy of reason in all research. The Encyclopédie rejected all forms of prejudice and embodied an attempt to develop a truly scientific spirit which would lead to a better understanding of the laws of nature and enable each individual and humanity as a whole to attain a new state of happiness.

In the Germanic world, the Enlightenment, known as the Aufklärung, assumed a more constructive significance in the work of Lessing (1729-1781) and of Kant (1724-1804), both of whom wished to make the individual fully adult rather than to transform the world. Kant’s pamphlet “An answer to the question: what is the Enlightenment?” (1784) is an achievement in itself as well as a step towards the great German philosophy of the nineteenth century. What is the Aufklärung? The emergence of man from his minority, for which he is himself responsible. The word “minority” signifies an inability to use his own understanding, since this state of mind results not from a flaw in understanding but from a lack of decision and courage to use it without the guidance of others. Sapere audel (Dare to reason!) is the motto of the Aufklärung.

European thinkers were united beneath the banner of the Enlightenment. The Italian economist and criminologist Cesare Bonesana, Marquis of Beccaria (1738-1794), the author of a famous treatise on Crimes and Punishments (1764), was one of the most notable representatives of the spirit of reform which seized Enlightenment Europe. Law reform, edicts of toleration, the suppression of torture, the abolition of slavery, the foundation of schools, universities, national theatres and botanical gardens featured in the government programmes of the most enlightened rulers.

The new Europe became truly cosmopolitan. There were exchanges between philosophers and kings, and there were even philosopher-kings. Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1788) invited Voltaire to his court and corresponded with the leading writers and philosophers of his time. Catherine II of Russia (1728-1796) was a friend of Diderot and the protector of French artists and the philosophes. In Austria, Joseph II (1741-1790), the son of Maria Theresa, was a strong advocate of the new reforms and legislation, and almost came to personify this principle of government. “Josephism” was a word often used to describe such policies.

Most Enlightenment sovereigns were not swayed by these ideas so far as to relax their authority, and hence came to be known as “enlightened despots”. “All for the people, nothing through the people” (Alles für das Volk, Nichts durch das Volk), was the terse and eloquent formula of Joseph II. The sovereign wished for the happiness of all but he alone continued to be in charge.

One characteristic figure of the century who played a key role in the spread of knowledge was the pedlar who, weighed down with books, travelled from town to town, from town to country, and in many cases from country to country. Eighteenth-century Europe was a Europe of travellers.

### Ideas without frontiers

Sovereigns and princes dazzled by the glory of Versailles commissioned their architects to create palaces for them along similar lines. Architectural
Europe was a mirror of Versailles. From Lisbon to Madrid, from Naples to Rome, from Vienna to Warsaw, from Berlin to St. Petersburg, fabulous mansions rose from the ground. One of the most notable of these itinerant architects was François de Cuvilliés of Hainaut (Belgium), who created wonderful examples of ornamental art. Among the buildings he designed were the summer home and the delightful Munich residence of the Prince Elector of Bavaria.

Musicians have always been travellers, and they were notably itinerant in the eighteenth century. Mozart’s European travels began in childhood. His contemporary Paisiello journeyed from Naples to St. Petersburg. Late in life, Haydn made long visits to England. Italy has always attracted operatic composers. It was there that the Saxon Hasse achieved fame and became “Il caro Sassone”. Johann Christian Bach, the son of Johann Sebastian Bach, was known successively as “Bach of Milan” and “Bach of London”, after the cities in which he established himself professionally.

Italy, homeland of the arts, held a strong attraction for painters, writers and art-lovers. The figures are amazing. According to the historian Edward Gibbon, no fewer than 40,000 English people visited the peninsula in 1785. Travelling in Europe, in France but above all in Italy, inspired much writing by Stendhal, Goethe and others.

Bigger and bigger publishing houses were founded in Berlin and Leipzig, Geneva, Rome and Florence, Paris and London. Newspapers and

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**Reason, tolerance, humanity**

In England, Collins and Bolingbroke; in France, Bayle, Fontenelle, Montesquieu, and the schools that grew up around these illustrious men, waged battles in defence of truth, employing in turn all the weapons offered to reason by erudition, philosophy, wit and the talent of writing; adopting every tone, using every form, from pleasantry to pathos, from the most learned and most extensive compilation to novels and topical tracts; lenient towards despotism when combating religious absurdities, and sparing religion when rising up against tyranny; attacking these two evils at their roots, even when appearing to be directing their shafts exclusively at the outrageous or ridiculous abuses to which they give rise; at one moment teaching the enemies of liberty that superstition, which guards despotism with an impenetrable shield, is the first chain they must break; at another moment, on the contrary, denouncing it to despots as the true enemy of their authority, but untiringly asserting the independence of reason and claiming freedom to express one’s ideas as a right, and as the salvation of the human species; rising up with inexhaustible energy against all the crimes of fanaticism and tyranny; and taking as their war cry: reason, tolerance, humanity.

Condorcet (1743-1794)

French philosopher, mathematician and politician

*Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humain* (Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind, 1795)
The Residenztheater, Munich, a masterpiece of German Rococo art designed by François de Cuvilliés. It was here that Mozart’s opera Idomeneo, re di Creta was first performed in 1781.

Gazettes crossed frontiers. Baron Melchior Grimm’s Paris newsletter, Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique, was read in all the courts and made Mozart famous when he was still a child.

The market for books was transformed, with Frankfurt as its major centre. At Kehl, across the Rhine from Strasbourg, the French writer Beaumarchais founded his own publishing house and published the complete works of Voltaire for German readers. He also took the opportunity to print his own comedy Le mariage de Figaro, long banned in France, which caused a scandal throughout Europe. Mozart was one of the purchasers of this first German translation and made it the basis of his Italian opera The Marriage of Figaro.

This great movement of cross-fertilization which characterized the Enlightenment, developed “understanding”, encouraged individuals to emerge from a Kantian “minority” which they had hitherto accepted, and also led to the awakening of German nationhood. The many states, great and small, and writers such as Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller and Lessing, realized that their union around a common language, German, was legitimate, and claimed the right to make German a cultural vehicle on a par with French or Italian.

If life and thought in eighteenth-century Europe had not been so open, dynamic and optimistic, Mozart would probably never have been able to write The Magic Flute, a work which for him represented the fulfilment of a long cherished dream, the flowering of German opera.
The concept of genius in the modern sense dates from the eighteenth century. Already at that time, when Mozart was still alive, the word was being applied to him.

When the seven-year-old Mozart first performed in Paris, Friedrich Grimm, whose cultural newsletters were sent to the European courts, spoke of him with enthusiasm and, reporting on the event in December 1763, did not hesitate to use the word genius: “What is incredible is to see him playing by heart for an hour without interruption and then give himself up to the inspiration of his genius and to a host of ravishing ideas which he then goes on to develop one after another with taste and without confusion”.

Three years later, after a concert in Lausanne, one critic spoke in praise of “this forcefulness which is the hallmark of genius, this variety which bespeaks the fire of imagination, this charm which reveals an unfailing taste”. Later, in 1788, just after the triumphal success that had greeted Don Giovanni in Prague, Joseph Haydn, concerned about Mozart’s precarious financial situation, wrote in a letter: “The lives of great geniuses are all too often marred by the thoughtless ingratitude of their admirers”.

The fact is that Mozart’s genius was not recognized by enough people nor indeed to a sufficient extent to preserve him from want or to protect him from the rivalry of lesser talents. In the opinion of many, whose ears could not be trusted, the precociousness of Mozart’s gifts, which made him a “prodigy”, a “wunderkind”, a “miracle”, was not a guarantee of genius. Some people, after being dazzled by him, were convinced that his performance had been just a flash in the pan. For educated audiences of the eighteenth century, being a “genius” was, to say the least, not the same as being a “prodigy”.

After Mozart’s death, when there was no
longer any doubt about his greatness, Count Waldstein wrote to Beethoven, at the time of the latter’s visit to Vienna: “The Genius of Mozart is still in mourning and laments the death of its disciple”. Allegorized in this way, genius becomes an independent being, a kind of graveside statue, examples of which abound in neoclassical art, fond as it is of combining conceptualization with shows of sentiment.

The voice of nature

What was understood by genius in the eighteenth century, and particularly musical genius?

The meaning of the word had changed since the previous century. Genius was thought of primarily in neutral terms as intellectual ability. One might speak of a “narrow genius” or a “fine genius” or an “original genius”. Each and every language in the world had its own “genius”. An individual’s “moral personality” was determined by his or her character (passions and propensities) and genius (gifts or talents). The word genius could be given a favourable or unfavourable connotation.

If we retrace the use of the word in the abundant English, French, German, Italian and Spanish literature of the eighteenth century we see it gradually losing its original neutrality. Its meaning became strictly circumscribed, coming to designate the higher activity and power of the mind as revealed in certain exceptional individuals. Genius was a mysterious gift of nature. Thanks to this gift, man became a creator in nature’s image. Genius was nature at work within the human imagination.

Genius thus became, in Diderot’s words, “A secret, indefinable quality of the soul without which one cannot accomplish anything very great or very beautiful”. Genius made its own rules, which were not the same as those governing the common run of humanity. In the article on genius in the Encyclopédie (written by Saint-Lambert, but largely inspired or revised by Diderot) we find the following: “The rules and laws of good taste would set shackles on genius; genius puts them asunder in order to soar to the heights of the sublime, of pathos, of grandeur. Love of that eternal beauty which characterizes nature and a passion for depicting scenes in accordance with some self-created model from which he derives his ideas and feelings of beauty—these are the inclinations of the man of genius. . . . Power and abundance, an indefinable roughness, unevenness, sublimity, pathos—such, in the arts, are the qualities of genius; it does not affect in mild degree, it does not give pleasure without causing surprise, it is surprising even when it errs”.

To Diderot, genius was “a kind of prophetic cast of mind”. Goethe, taking Shakespeare as his example, was to say the same thing: through the agency of genius, which is its interpreter, nature engages in prophecy. But Goethe, who celebrated genius and the independence of genius, as did Kant, was all the more scathing about the trivialization of the concept and the frauds perpetrated in its name during the period when the “cult of genius” reigned. “On the pretext that they have genius or that they are geniuses, large numbers of young people have indulged in every kind of extravagance, going beyond all bounds: they have lost their way…” This reproach, it hardly needs pointing out, was in no way directed at Mozart, all of whose works were considered by Goethe to possess a “fertilizing power which remains active from generation to generation and which will not soon be exhausted…”

Diderot, in his writings on the arts, did not forget music. In his Leçons de clavecin (“Harpischord lessons”, 1771) he has the pupil ask: “And do you think that eventually one day I’ll be able to compose? Composing is the finest skill!” To which the master replies: “And unfortunately it is the only one that cannot be taught: it is the
preserve of genius. . . . If you have genius you will find songs. . . . Any music which neither paints nor speaks is bad, and you will produce it without genius. . . . you will swell the ranks of those I call the rag-and-bone men of music”.

It will be remembered that Rameau’s Nephew opens with a debate on genius, turning around Racine, Voltaire and Jean-Philippe Rameau. But, concerning the latter, the Philosopher declares that “it is not quite certain that he really is a man of genius”. Voltaire for his part was convinced—Lully and Rameau did have genius—and in this his judgement was that of all his generation, for which moreover genius was but the supreme manifestation of talent and taste.

Diderot and especially Rousseau distanced themselves from French tradition. To know the views regarding genius of the men and women who sided with the Italians on the occasion of their dispute with the partisans of the French theatrical style (the Guerre des Bouffons), one must open Rousseau’s Dictionnaire de Musique (1768) and read in particular the article on prima intenzione: “A melody, a piece of music di prima intenzione, is one which has taken shape at a single stroke and in its entirety in the composer’s mind, like Pallas emerging fully armed from Jupiter’s brain. Compositions di prima intenzione are those rare strokes of genius in which all the ideas are so closely linked as to form so to speak one single idea. . . . This kind of operation of the intellect, which can barely be explained, even analytically, is a wonder to reason and can be conceived only by geniuses capable of producing it. . . . In music, compositions di prima intenzione are the only ones that can cause those ecstasies, those raptures, those flights of the soul that transport listeners into another world”.

Rousseau harks back here to a theory of knowledge subscribed to by the neo-Platonic philosophers of the Italian Renaissance who held that ecstasy afforded a direct view of a supreme reality, composed of pure ideas. This all-embracing vision is offered only to the highest faculty of the soul—to its finest flowering. In the eighteenth century, according to the accepted idea of genius, the gaze ceased to be turned towards the sky of existing truths and was directed towards the future, instantaneously embracing every aspect of an original composition, all the parts and components of a work which the artist then went on to construct.

Mozart, according to the account given of him by his friend Rochlitz, claimed to hold the whole of a work in his head before noting it on paper. However, this totality did not present itself to him at a single stroke: it gradually took shape in his mind: “It grows; I develop it more and more, ever more clearly. The work is then completed in my head, or as good as, even if it is a long piece, and I can view the whole at a single glance like a painting or a statue. In my imagination I do not hear the work as a flow or a succession, but I hold it in its entirety so to speak, as a single unit”.

In the text quoted earlier, Rousseau attributes to musical prima intenzione the privilege of that systematic and organic unity which he claimed to have experienced philosophically on the occasion of his famous “illumination” on the Vin-cennes highway, when all the truths inherent in his system became clear to him in one mind-shattering moment. So numerous and so closely interlinked were they that he was unable to seize hold of each and every one. A piece of music is of narrower compass, and that which has been revealed “at a single stroke” to the composer’s mind can be preserved and transcribed. So it was that Mozart proceeded, if we can believe biographical tradition, during the night when he noted down the overture to Don Giovanni.

An all-consuming fire

Rousseau was very proud of the article on genius that he had included in his Dictionnaire de Musique. Rightly so, for it is outstanding and deserves to be more widely known. It should be read in conjunction with the articles on prima intenzione and composition. From it we learn that genius is by essence indefinable; that it is recognizable by its extraordinary powers; that it draws inspiration from contact with other geniuses, particularly poetic genius; and that, even if it is a gift of nature, it may be fully developed only by dint of unremitting effort: “Young artist, seek not to know what genius is. If you have it, you will find it in yourself. If you do not have it, you will never know it. The musician’s genius subjects the entire universe to his art; it paints every picture with sounds; it makes the very silence speak; it renders ideas by feelings, feelings by tone colours; and the passions it expresses, it rouses them in the depths of people’s hearts: it gives fresh charms to sensuous pleasure; the pain it portrays pierces each breast; it burns steadily and is never consumed: it evokes ice and frost by means of heat; even when depicting the horrors of death, it is animated by a feeling of life that never leaves it and which it communicates to receptive hearts: but
Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Rochecardon park, a painting (1795) by the French artist Alexandre-Hyacinthe Dunouy.

Rousseau had lost its warmth. It burned brightest not in the old Neapolitan master, but in Mozart, who had nothing more to learn from him.

It is hazardous to say that one place offers a more fertile ground to musical genius than anywhere else. This again implies an undue desire to define genius. But genius is recognized by what it produces, regardless of locality, provided that men and women are willing to listen. This capacity for listening, it is true, is not equally present at all times, in all places, in all societies. Is it merely by chance that those who theorized about genius in the eighteenth century, and first and foremost Rousseau, were the very ones who theorized about education?

A model of perfection

What is the secret of an art that decks truth out in cheerful colours while dimly preserving the real grimness of truth? Music has the particular faculty, by inducing moods, of accomplishing this curious feat of incorporating the worst into the best, of achieving the paradox of harmonious dissociation. And Mozart’s music more than any other. Its real lyricism distances it from reality. It contains the things that we are most loathe to consider and which indeed our minds reject. It is steeped in the ineluctable presence of death. Yet, so that we can bear to recognize these things, it cloaks them in a magnificent, limpid myth. We are not compromised by what we have touched, our hopes remain intact. Mozart thus offers to Art a model of perfection.

Pierre Jean Jouve (1887-1976)
French writer
Le Don Juan de Mozart (1942)
Mozart as a man of the Enlightenment
by Jean Lacouture

The philosophy of the Enlightenment is at the heart of Mozart's work. A convinced Christian and Freemason, Mozart was also a rebel who proclaimed a message of love and fellowship.

Mozart, idol of Versailles, London, Prague and the Vienna court, did not seek disgrace, isolation and grinding poverty: he was too fond of the good life. But he braved them and endured them. He went boldly forward over open ground on routes where the forces of the Ancien Régime, daunted but still well-armed, lay in wait for the enemy—freedom.

He went his own way, this young Wolfgang son of Leopold, born in prudish Salzburg and pampered by the great: at the age of thirty he chose to set to music and without toning it down—Beaumarchais's explosive Marriage of Figaro, already censured by the imperial police. This play, by an adventurer who busied himself supplying arms to the American revolution (forerunner of the French one), was nothing less than an egalitarian, libertarian manifesto—a tract directed against all the privileges of the nobility, starting with the droit du seigneur. It forecasted the night of 4 August 1789, when the last privileges of feudalism were abolished in France.

The rebel

Anybody unfamiliar with Figaro's aria Se vuol bellare, signor Contino can have no idea of the social bravado and temerity needed to use such language and such a tone of voice to a powdered and bewigged Viennese audience. The message is plain: the era of high-handedness, when wearing knee-breeches and a sword was all that was needed to be always in the right, is over, my lords. Other human relationships are on the way. Figaro proclaims as much, and so in her own way does Suzanna to Figaro the man—barely freed from the tyranny of the nobility and already impatient to assert the authority of a husband.

In the following year Wolfgang was to go still further, putting into the mouth of Masetto a challenge to the wife-stealing Don Giovanni which according to the great French poet Pierre Jean Jouve "heralded the subversive movements of the French Revolution... The little aria... seems related to the Ça ira of the coming days... A revolution is on the way, and it will settle human difficulties by more drastic and more impersonal methods."

Let us not, however, make Mozart out to be a revolutionary militant, a sans-culotte, a Jacobin, a Carbonaro or a forerunner of Sturm und Drang. He would have loathed the "more drastic and
more impersonal methods" that the 1793 revo-
lution saw fit to adopt, just as Pamina loathes the
dagger handed to her by her mother, the Queen
of the Night, for the purpose of killing Sarastro,
who is the voice of wisdom and light.

More light

The key word is out. It was not revolution but
light that Mozart the rebel was after. His whole
life was a search for the light, more light, the
"mehr Licht" of Goethe on his death-bed. Others
saw it as a direction, a stage on the road, a means
to an end: for him it was an end in itself, and a
tremendous one.

The reason why this search accelerated and
intensified during his last ten years, which took
him from Il Seraglio to The Magic Flute, was
because that was when he really entered his
"enlightened" Masonic period under the aegis of
that greatest of German initiates, Ignaz von Born,
regarded by Jean and Brigitte Massin as the model
for the wise Sarastro.

Whether von Born's influence was direct or
indirect, Mozart's support for freemasonry was
reflected in his membership of the Vienna lodge
known as "Hope Crowned". There he was to get
to know Schikaneder, later librettist and producer
of, as well as a performer in, The Magic Flute, in
which the Age of the Enlightenment came to
flower in 1791. This was the very moment when
in Paris the Constituent Assembly broke up
proclaiming that thenceforth "in France every
man is free", enfranchising the Jews, and
abolishing the "imaginary offences" of lese-
majesty and heresy.

Ten years before The Magic Flute, however,

True nobility

It's the heart that makes man noble, and though I'm not a
count I have perhaps more honour lodged in my body than
many a count; and lackey or count, he who insults me is a
scoundrel!

Mozart
20 June 1781
at the start of his life as a freemason, Wolfgang Mozart had rebelled against the hegemony of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Colloredo; and he had fired the opening shots in his campaign of enlightenment in *Il Seraglio*, the highly “philosophical” extravaganza in which the wisdom of the East shines out through a mêlée of turbans, fans and Turkish slippers.

**Fraternal reason**

Here it is no Westerner, guided by Christianity, who lays down the precepts of reason: it is Sultan Selim who transcends passions and intrigues to enunciate the liberating judgement to a gaggle of feather-brained Europeans. This must have been embarrassing to the Viennese, still quaking from the incursions of Turkish troops in the Danube basin.

Lo and behold, Europe now begins to break free from Manichaeism, distributing good and evil on both sides of an imaginary line—the cross on one side and the crescent on the other. The Enlightenment informs each of Selim’s utterances, an Enlightenment which is shown to be in no way the exclusive preserve of the West.

Nine years later, Sarastro grandly echoes Selim’s even-handedness. It is no longer a matter of merely restoring physical liberty to a few scatty Westerners who have gone astray in Muslim lands, but of propounding to humankind rules of conduct based on fraternal reason: a reason which under the patronage of Isis and Osiris poses no threat to religious observance.

Though his genius drew sustenance from Christianity, Mozart had no links with the Catholic Church. In a century in which Freemasonry came into being under the wing of Christianity, intending not to destroy it but to guide it and free it of clericalism, he appears as the harbinger par excellence of this creative enlightenment.

To return to Jouve: Mozart, “that religious, almost irreligious genius . . . , cannot be fitted into any ideal category. Like Shakespeare, he is atheist and believer, man of religion and sorcerer at one and the same time”. He adds: “We no longer have yardsticks to measure the stature of such men: our beings have become too small.”

Design for an 1879 production of *The Magic Flute* (1791), Mozart’s last opera, at the théâtre de l’Opéra-Comique in Paris.

Costume for Sarastro, a character in *The Magic Flute*, designed by the French painter Roger Chapelain-Midy.

'Every angel’s terrifying'
by Olivier Messiaen

A great French musician pays tribute to Mozart

Beauty’s nothing but the start of terror, and we adore it because of the serene scorn it could kill us with". These lines by Rainer Maria Rilke apply very well to Mozart’s music. It is a music of purity and perfection, as befits this most musical of musicians. No flaw can be found in it.

Accentuation in Mozart. In his feminine rhythms (anacrusis, stress accents, pauses), the stress is always in the right place. Melody in Mozart. Melodic lines suffused with his own special poetry. What enchantment in Suzanna’s aria in Figaro, what gentle strains of birdsong in the andante of the Haffner symphony!

Harmony in Mozart. Always light, always perceptible, always appropriate. A soothing harmony when it is tonal (listen to the “Ave Verum” and the slow movement of the Jupiter symphony), a heartrending harmony when it is chromatic (listen to the symphony in G minor, the andante of the concerto for piano in A major, K. 488, and the slow movement of the concerto in E flat, K. 271). Sometimes it is an otherworldly harmony, as in the amazing Statue scene at the end of Don Giovanni, where we already find (underscored by the trombones) two sonorities favoured by Debussy: the chord of fifths and fourths, and an altered chord belonging to the whole-tone scale.

Form in Mozart. It is always perfect and constantly renewed (listen to the great symphonies and the piano concertos).

Theatre in Mozart. A man of the theatre if ever there was one, Mozart, at a single stroke, captures with one aria the essence of a character (listen to Cherubino, the Countess, Sarastro, Papageno). His finales are masterpieces of the stage. Pierre Jean Jouve said of the finale of Don Giovanni that it was “an awesome piece of music”.

Mozart’s orchestration carries the same force of truth as his accentuation, his melodic line, his harmonies and his form. Mozart—before Berlioz—had a sense of specific timbre. First example: the trio from the minuet of the symphony in E flat (K. 543) where the two clarinets thread together low notes and high notes, echoed by the flute, and where the chromaticism of the violins gives way to the warm, mellow tones of the horns returning to the theme. Second example: the entreaties of the three masked figures, before Don Giovanni’s ball, where the singing lines of the two female voices are backed only by tenor voice, horns and woodwinds. Third example: in The Magic Flute, the almost modern effect of the high notes of the solo glockenspiel, accompanied by the hushed tones of the male choir. Fourth example: the ballroom scene in Don Giovanni with, before Darius Milhaud, its four superimposed levels of music: the large orchestra, two small orchestras on stage and the dialogue of the characters.

Mozart has been portrayed in a variety of ways: the small boy playing the harpsichord for the elegant ladies of the court; Leopold’s respectful son; the young man in love with all the opera singers; the insulted servant giving his notice to the unpleasant Prince-Archbishop; the misunderstood composer of genius, dying of hunger, cold and fatigue.

All these images are at once true and false. The adjective “angelic” is perhaps the least inappropriate. Angelic, yes, and, on that account, very difficult to come to grips with. His apparent charm hides a deep mystery. To quote Rainer Maria Rilke once more: “Every angel’s terrifying”.

The language of genius

Here he is, the supreme master! He is neither an Italian nor a German. He is of all times and all ages, like logic, poetry and truth. He gives utterance to all passions, all feelings, in their very own language.

George Sand (1804-1876)
French writer
**Two kindred**

by Manfred Osten

Contemporaries and geniuses both, the composer of The Magic Flute and the author of Faust were ahead of their time and hold out a mirror to our own

Goethe had a very high opinion of The Magic Flute (K. 620, 1791), Mozart's last opera, and staged it almost a hundred times during the period when he was director of the theatre at Weimar. In 1795, four years after the composer's death, he began to write a sequel to The Magic Flute, but got no further than the beginning of the second act. Goethe's project may be seen as a late tribute from one creator who was not of his time to another whom he perceived as a kindred spirit.

When in 1830 Goethe evoked the long-dead Mozart, the image that came to his mind was that of the child prodigy, the "little man with his wig and sword" who at the age of seven had given a concert at Cologne. Was he conjuring up a nostalgic picture of a rococo past that had gone for ever? How in that case can we explain the explosions of violence in some of Mozart's work, a vehemence which is in flagrant contradiction with the musical and artistic conventions of his time?

**Autonomy and clemency**

To answer this question we must go back as far as Mozart's second visit to Paris in 1778. The vaudevilles and comic operas performed in the French capital at that time contained social criticism which foreshadowed the coming political upheavals. Melchior Grimm, Mozart's German mentor and protector in Paris, made no secret of his political affiliations as a friend of Voltaire and Diderot. Something of this must have rubbed off onto Mozart. His wife Constance told the music publisher Novello that one of her husband's favourite books was a nine-volume work that was on the Index. "A revolutionary French work", Novello concluded, and may well have been right.

This hypothesis is amply confirmed by Mozart's seven great operas, which were composed in the decade leading up to the French Revolution. These ten years saw a growing distrust of religious and secular absolutism, and a growing demand, both from thinkers and operatic librettists, for the independence of the individual. The hermetic world of the baroque dissolved into the fascinating yet terrifying prospect of the modern. It was in the utopian world of the opera that Mozart celebrated this moment of hope in a humanity whose members could live together on equal terms. In his tragedy Iphigenia in Tauris (1787) Goethe also saluted this historic moment by expressing his faith in utopia, although he did so only in passing and his tone was ironical.

Goethe's Iphigenia and Mozart's Pamina are characters who herald a time when mankind will throw off its shackles, both literally and metaphorically. They dare to imagine the emancipation of humanity from above and from below. Goethe, however, insists that the individual can only achieve complete autonomy if "external and completely unexpected factors come to his aid". This intervention is a form of grace, a pardon, an act of clemency. Pamina expresses this link between the realm of grace (the ultimate and already resigned act of a single person who is the sovereign) and the realm of autonomy (that of the individual freed and revealed unto himself). Pamina, like Iphigenia, calls down an unexpected intervention from on high. She persuades and even forces the sovereign to be merciful to her.

In 1985 the dramatist and theatre critic Ivan Nagel noted in his reflections on Mozart's operas that "Initially musical classicism aspires to an overall improvement in the human condition. Such an aspiration could only emerge during the brief alliance between the nobility and the bourgeoisie which took place in Vienna and Weimar under the protection of enlightened despotism."

This "protection", Nagel added, "soon stood revealed as a political daydream". Pamina and Iphigenia thus seem united in a fleeting utopian moment.
The living present

Mozart is nothing if not elusive. He is, as Nagel has pointed out, a truly protean spirit whose genius oscillates between two poles: the Ancien Régime's idea of pardon as an act of mercy granted from above, and a belief in the autonomy of the individual. For Mozart, the idea of pardon is at the heart of eighteenth-century opera seria, whereas autonomy is the guiding principle of the great musical dramas which he composed between 1781 and 1791 and which broke with a form that had become ossified.

Was Mozart a traveller between different worlds? During the summer of 1791, while in France the people arrested the fleeing King and Queen, he was composing for Emperor Leopold II, who had been crowned King of Bohemia, an opera celebrating a sovereign who is merciful to all conspirators (La clemenza di Tito, K. 621).

If this was a step backward, it was cancelled out by two steps forward. In Don Giovanni, Mozart clearly anticipates the future, the rapid and self-wrought eclipse of the Enlightenment by ideology. In the person of Don Giovanni, an ego of boundless autonomy is brought down by a curse. The sederer's freedom is sacrificed in the name of the same bourgeois morality as that revealed in the second act of The Magic Flute. In the masonic music it is possible to discern the outline of a society which regards virtue as the only universal value and shuns as evil any behaviour that diverges from this norm.

Between these different worlds, Mozart has a place of his own, one that is simultaneously visible and yet secret—the buffa movement at the end of The Marriage of Figaro (K. 492, 1786). Ivan Nagel believes that this final movement reveals with consummate perfection "a way of living in the present unburdened by nostalgia, an unprecedented freedom with regard to utopia which is the culmination of the new musical art."

Why? Because here a sovereign incapable of an act of pardon is graciously admitted into the...
singers’ stage fellowship, into the “non-totalitarian whole” that they form, in the unity, the long dreamed-of fusion between happiness and society, reason and nature.

It is hardly surprising that Goethe should see in the prodigious creator of this operatic grace the repository of a metaphysical—or rather “demonic”—natural grace. “To tease and trick humanity, demons often use solitary creatures they have endowed with an irresistible power of seduction. . . . They have made Mozart an untouchable musical figure.”

It is precisely this inaccessible aspect of Mozart, the miraculous state of grace that his existence represented, which makes him seem a man who did not belong to his time. This would also be the fate of Goethe, of whom Nietzsche observed in 1886 that “His existence has no connection with his nation. He lived—and still lives—only for a few. . . . In the history of the Germans, Goethe is an interlude without a sequel.”

The solitude of genius

Mozart’s early biographers saw a connection between the disfavour into which Mozart fell at the end of his life and his celebrity as a child prodigy. The young Mozart and his sister were admired as phenomena that could be tested by musicians, analysed by philosophers, and coaxed and wheedled by European princesses. But that was not all. Their very existence seemed a manifestation of divine grace in keeping with the concept of the miraculous which was still widely current at that time. The general public was more than ready to admire the image of the child prodigy. Mozart’s final years, and the ever-widening gap between current musical conventions and his own style were unable to affect this limited vision. When in the middle of his life Mozart chose freedom of personal expression, he experienced increasing solitude. What posterity considers a prodigious step forward in quality was greeted by his contemporaries with amazement and incomprehension.

The operas and chamber music in particular aroused hostility. Haydn, who had developed the classical string quartet from galante music, was seen as a conciliator. He knew how to make the new musical genre acceptable to music-lovers and connoisseurs. Mozart, whose composition of string quartets was so close to Haydn, was fiercely criticized. In 1782 in the “Musikalischen Kunstmagasin”, the influential Berlin composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt openly criticized Mozart’s instrumental music for being “extremely unnatural” since it is “first joyful then suddenly sad and then, just as abruptly, joyful again.”

According to Nissen, one of Mozart’s first biographers, when Mozart’s friend and publisher, the composer Anton Hoffmeister, handed over to Mozart the royalties for the quartets for piano and strings (K. 478 and K. 493) which were selling poorly, he begged him not to compose the other four quartets included in the contract and advised him to “Write in the popular style, otherwise I cannot pay for or print anything else for you.”

To set against this lack of understanding there is the famous verdict which Haydn sent to Leopold Mozart in February 1785, just after he had heard the last and most audacious of the quartets Mozart had dedicated to him, the “Dissonances” (K. 465). “I tell you before God,” Haydn wrote, “your son is the greatest composer known to me in person or by name: he has taste, and what is more the greatest knowledge of composition.” Between the demands of his art and the expectations of the public, there was no place for Mozart’s genius in his own time. Goethe

Method of composition

Mozart preferred to play at night and, as the work was often needed in a hurry, the effect that this had on his frail constitution can easily be imagined. He wrote everything with an ease and lightness which could at first sight seem like haste. He never used a harpsichord when composing. His imagination delivered the work up to him in its entirety, clearly and vividly delineated, as soon as it had been begun. His great knowledge of composition enabled him to take in the whole harmonic structure at a stroke. His rough scores rarely contain any passages that have been crossed out or deleted. This does not mean that he composed his works on the page in the twinkling of an eye. The work was always completed in his head before he put pen to paper. When he was given words to set to music, he devoted a great deal of time and thought to them and then gave free rein to his imagination. He went on develop his ideas fully on the harpsichord, then began writing. For him, writing was an easy task and while engaged in it he would often laugh and joke.

Franz Xaver Niemetschek (1766-1849)
Czech composer, author of a biography of Mozart published in Prague in 1798.
suffered a similar fate. Why? A genius of equal stature, he made a similar attempt to accept historicity while also sapping it from within. This conflict ended in an act of renunciation, both theoretical and practical. The writer who did not belong to his time decided not to publish part 2 of Faust even though it was completed. He refused to allow his central preoccupation to be set before his contemporaries in his lifetime.

**Goethe's legacy to Mozart**

This isolation culminated in the paradox of an existence divided between representativity and marginality. Goethe lived much longer than Mozart. After his youthful successes with Götz and Werther, Goethe gradually ascended to a “sovereign height”—though this is not apparent if we look at the long sequence of crises and failures, half-successes and disappointments which he experienced, a disharmony between a man and his age which several times led him to flight. Iphigenia, sister-figure of Mozart’s Pamina, is part of this flight—the play was, incidentally, a literary failure. The same phenomenon can be seen in Goethe’s designation, four years before his own death and thirty-seven years after that of Mozart, of the musician as testamentary executor of his “central preoccupation”, namely his Faust.

The solitary writer of the Restoration, hemmed in by the champions of Germanity and by liberals, caught between ancients and moderns, chose Mozart as posthumous witness of his untimeliness and entrusted to him his great work. This drama which expresses a disconcerting hostility towards his age, albeit tempered by irony and symbolism, this tragic-comedy of humanity and its errors, Goethe handed to the creator of Don Giovanni. His faithful secretary Eckermann noted on 12 February 1829 that “Mozart should have composed the music for Faust.”

Goethe, citizen of the world and inhabitant of Weimar, cosmopolitan and provincial, subject of a kingdom located somewhere between “no longer” and “not yet”, could be sociologically defined as a transitional phase between the pre- and post-bourgeoisie. In a letter dated 3 November 1820 he noted “… There are still many … fantastic errors. Our friend Faust should pass that way too.” Perhaps only Mozart could have composed the music to accompany these “fantastic errors”, this Faustian story, immemorial yet ever topical, in which man passes from illusion to disappointment, a tale of love and violence, of war and economic intoxication, right up to the final moments of grace and redemption.

Goethe was certain that only Mozart could have managed this successfully. The music appropriate to Faust must contain elements that are “repugnant, frightful and repellent,” he wrote, “and that would displease my contemporaries. The music should be in the spirit of Don Giovanni.” For Goethe, Mozart’s opera also contained features that were repugnant, frightful and repellant, and he situated it at the opposite pole to that of the Apollonian, solar grace, which would give the age an aura that Wagner called a “Mozartian ethos of love and light”.

Goethe’s Faust also has repellent features. In his Xenies, Goethe said that the hero of Faust was a man-devil (Teufelskerl): “The devil should be a world unto himself/To harbour such repellent things.” On 6 May 1827, he even suggested a parallel between the destiny of this “Teufelskerl” and Don Giovanni’s journey to hell: “There are those who ask what idea I sought to embody in my Faust; as if I could know and say! From heaven to hell, passing through the world, one could formulate it thus. . . .”

Are Faust and Don Giovanni, two hell-bent travellers, kindred spirits? And Mozart and Goethe? Contemporaries not of their time, yesterday and today? Perhaps this is the secret of their eternal timeliness—not the superior, transcendent human nature it is so often claimed that they possessed, but rather the energy with which each of them opened the door to the modern era.
Long ignored or considered to be a composer of the second rank, Mozart has only recently been fully recognized as a genius. The pattern of his fortunes in Latin America illustrates these whims of posterity.

In 1791, the year of Mozart's death, a little-known musician of Salamanca in Spain published a pamphlet ranking the composers of his day in order of merit. The hit parade he produced says much about the tastes and prejudices of the time. In it one can read: "If Apollo, noted among the gods for the beautiful music of his lyre, was to come down among us, what eulogies would he not deliver for the celebrated Antonio Lolli, Manuel Carreras, Melchor Ronci or Jaime Roquillas? Let him hear the compositions and concerti of the great Joseph Haydn and Ignaz Pleyel, or of our own countryman Josef Castel... not to mention the works of Paesiello and Cimarosa for the theatre."

Antonio Lolli often toured Spain as a standard-bearer for Italian violin music, which no doubt explains his presence on the list. Josef Castel was a Spaniard who belonged to the world of the theatre, of the musical interludes known as tonadillas and of the opera, where Paesiello and Cimarosa were also noted figures. Haydn and Pleyel, great names both, represented instrumental music.

Mozart's name, however, is conspicuous by its absence. And the same neglect is evident in another contemporary source, Tomás de Iriarte's poem La Musica, in which Haydn is frequently praised.

Yet tastes were already starting to change. Notwithstanding the profound admiration felt by the aristocracy for such masters as Haydn and Boccherini, whose music graced many a stately home, a new vogue was emerging. Romanticism was about to explode on the world, and the theatre was to be the place where the new sensibility would find its fullest expression.

At the time no one realized that the struggles of Victor Hugo and Berlioz, the battle of Hernani and the scandal caused by the Symphonie Fantastique, were signs of a revolution whose
roots could be traced back to such works of Mozart as Don Giovanni, The Magic Flute, and the last symphonies of 1788.

Rossinimania

In Latin America in the closing years of the eighteenth century, just before the struggle for independence began, theatrical fashion followed that of Madrid. Tonadillas were still in vogue. These Spanish equivalents of the operetta featured overtures, duets, choruses, and ballets. Their librettos had literary pretensions, but the inspiration was clearly popular, as indeed was the music.

It was the vogue for Italian opera that spelled the end for the tonadillas. Initially, from around 1810 to 1820, the new form was introduced piecemeal. Arias and duets, sometimes even whole scenes, were played on the Latin American stage, but rarely entire works. The situation changed after 1825, the year when the great Spanish singer and teacher Manuel García arrived with his company in New York. This was an important date in the development of attitudes to opera throughout the American continent. García’s production of The Barber of Seville sparked off a movement, best described as Rossinimania, that would only subside a quarter of a century later when the work of the young Verdi came into fashion.

After two successful years in New York, García moved to Mexico City, where he performed the same repertoire. Meanwhile further south two Italian singers, the Tanni brothers, were staging the first Italian opera ever performed in Buenos Aires, doubtless Rossini’s Barber. In

Understanding genius

Mozart’s greatness shines out for all time. Even if one generation or another refused to pay any attention to him, what would it matter? The laws of beauty remain for ever the same and current fashion may cast a veil over them for only a short while. Is our age capable of appreciating Mozart? Does the world of today have the fineness of perception and the healthy simplicity needed to acquire an intimate understanding of Mozart?

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907)
Norwegian composer

article on Mozart und seine Bedeutung für die musikalische Gegenwart, published on 21 January 1906 in the Neue Freie Presse in Vienna.
1830, three years later, Teresa Schieroni and Margarita Caravaglia took the new mode to Chile. Their only innovation was to substitute another Rossini opera, L'inganno felice, for the ubiquitous Barber.

In Lima, Caracas and Rio de Janeiro the same tunes were being played—the roles and trills of the ever-popular Rossini. Mozart in no way benefited from this growing enthusiasm for Italian opera.

In spite of the omnipresence of Italian bel canto Mozart’s music was occasionally performed. Jose Mauricio Nunes Garcia (1767-1830), a native of Rio de Janeiro, performed Mozart’s Requiem there as early as 1819. Introduced to music by his mother, Nunes Garcia had been ordained a priest in 1792 and became choirmaster of Rio’s cathedral six years later. Given the overwhelming preference for Italian works shown by both the city and the court, the knowledge of German music displayed in his work is truly surprising.

Another early champion of Mozart in Latin America was the Milanese baritone Michele Vaccani. Born in 1770, his American career was to take him the length of the continent, following the standard itinerary later taken by the young Toscanini. He made his debut in Rio in 1822, at a time when the presence of the Portuguese court lent great cultural prestige to the city, still basking in the glory of the Braganza dynasty’s baroque heritage. In 1827, he and his wife Maria Candida played Leporello and Zerlina in Don Giovanni in Buenos Aires. In February of that year, Angelita Tanni sang the role of Donna Anna.

These isolated performances were too exceptional to threaten Rossini’s operatic primacy. But tastes were to change. It was a sign of the times that, when the San Felipe theatre opened in Montevideo in 1880, there was a place on the façade for Mozart’s name.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, instrumental music began to play an increasingly important part in Latin American cultural life, on a par with opera and the theatre. As in Europe, musical societies and enthusiastic amateurs were active in taking instrumental music out of the constricting world of the salons and into the concert hall. At first the two genres were juxtaposed, with instrumental works and arias often featuring on the same programme.

One sign of this change in taste can be traced as far back as 1850, when Camilo Sivori, a virtuoso trained by Paganini, gave a recital in Montevideo which was interrupted to allow the orchestra of the Casa de Comedias to play the overture to The Magic Flute. And in Santiago de Chile in 1869, the band of the local philharmonic society played a Mozart symphony in C, perhaps the Linz (K. 425) or the Jupiter (K. 551).
The half century from 1880 to 1930 saw an increase in the number of concerts and the appearance of the first philharmonic societies in Latin America. The growing interest in classical music was also served by new means of communication, notably the radio and the gramophone.

Europe remained the great provider, both of the musical compositions themselves and of the means of appreciating them. Yet even Europe took time to rediscover Mozart. Otto Jahn's great biography—the first to really do justice to the composer's genius—did not appear until almost a hundred years after his death, and it was not until 1912 that the initial tomes were published of the monumental five-volume critical and biographical study by Theodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix. Alfred Einstein's republication of Köchel's thematic catalogue dates from 1937. All of which suggests that the belated appetite for Mozart in Latin America merely reflected his gradual rediscovery in Europe.

Mozart in the twentieth century

In musical terms, the dark years of the 1930s and the catastrophe of the Second World War were beneficial for Latin America. Among the artists who fled from racial and political persecution in Europe to find a haven across the Atlantic were many musicians seeking a place of exile where they could exercise their profession. Such was the case of the distinguished German conductors Fritz Busch and Erich Kleiber, both eminent Mozartians, and also of Bruno Walter, who chose to settle in the United States for similar reasons.

Busch is particularly associated with the Glyndebourne Festival in England, where he made recordings of Don Giovanni, The Marriage of Figaro and Cosi fan tutte which are sublime examples of Mozart interpretation. But, like Kleiber, he also directed brilliant performances of the composer's works at the Colón Theatre in Buenos Aires.

Both Busch (from 1935 to 1948) and Kleiber (from 1938 to 1951) chose to pursue their careers in Latin America. Chile, Brazil and Argentina all benefited from their refined art, dedicated notably to the service of Mozart. The two masters bequeathed their passion to many Latin American disciples, thereby doubly enriching the cultural life of the continent.

At first Mozart's music encountered the same indifference in Latin America as it had in late eighteenth-century Europe. The wheel turned full circle with the arrival of these illustrious representatives of the culture of the old continent who went on to put down new and vigorous roots for Mozart's music in the New World.
A composer in his time

2. Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805).
6. Maria Theresa (1717-1780).
7. Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714-1787).
9. Catherine the Great (1729-1796).
12. Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799).
BACH
Johann Sebastian Bach, the father of German music, died in 1750. As a child Mozart studied the work of one of Bach's sons, Carl Philipp Emanuel, and later met his youngest son Johann Christian in London.

SCHILLER
Born in 1759, Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller, one of the greatest figures of eighteenth-century German literature, was Mozart's exact contemporary. Both shared the same desire for a renaissance of German theatre.

GOETHE
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was a great admirer of Mozart, whom he met when Mozart was a child. "I was about fourteen years old, and I have a perfect recollection of this little man with his wig and his sword." Goethe even thought of writing a sequel to The Magic Flute.

ROUSSEAU
Bastien und Bastienne, the short German opera Mozart composed in 1768, would never have existed if Jean-Jacques Rousseau had not composed his opera Le Devin du village, which had enjoyed a huge success since 1752.

RAMEAU
The French composer Jean-Philippe Rameau died on 12 September 1764, when the Mozart family was en route from Paris to London. His name does not appear in the letters Leopold Mozart wrote from Paris. By that time Rameau's star was in the ascendant.

HANDEL
During his long stay in London in 1765 the young Mozart became aware of the importance of the work of Georg Friedrich Handel. Thereafter his admiration for Handel never waned.

LONGHI
The Venetian painter Pietro Longhi painted scenes from Italian life of the kind Mozart would have seen on his first visit to Italy in 1770.

HAYDN
On a visit to Vienna in 1773 Wolfgang discovered Joseph Haydn's series of "Sun" quartets. He too immediately began to compose a series of string quartets, the six "Viennese" quartets.

DIDEROT
In 1778 Leopold Mozart advised his son to make contact in Paris with the philosopher Denis Diderot, the chief editor of the Encyclopédie.

FRANKLIN
In 1778 Benjamin Franklin was in France to negotiate a treaty of friendship between France and the United States. An inventor as well as a politician, he constructed a glass harmonica for which Mozart composed several works.

FRAGONARD
In many of his works Jean-Honoré Fragonard portrayed scenes from eighteenth-century high life. His reputation was at its height when Mozart was in Paris in 1778. His famous painting The Music Lesson was executed some ten years before.

VOLTAIRE
Mozart made these harsh comments when he heard of the death of Voltaire in 1778: "The Unbeliever, the two-faced master Voltaire has died like a dog, like a brute." (3 July). A few months later, however, he was thinking of writing an opera based on Voltaire's spectacle Semiramide.

MARIA THERESA
In 1780 the death of the Empress Maria Theresa, who had so warmly welcomed Mozart the child prodigy and then advised one of her sons against taking him into his service, took the composer by surprise when he was at Munich preparing his opera Idomeneo. The reign of Joseph II began. Mozart had a real affection for this "enlightened" sovereign.

GLUCK
Of all Mozart's works, the opera Idomeneo, re di Creta, first performed in Munich on 29 January 1781, is the most clearly influenced by the great German composer Christoph Willibald von Gluck, a key figure in the history of eighteenth-century opera.

LESSING
Mozart's opera Die Entführung aus dem Serail, first performed in Vienna in July 1782, cannot be understood without reference to the German writer Ephraim Lessing's Nathan der Weise, which had appeared not long before. In this work Lessing, one of the most outstanding representatives of the German Enlightenment, develops the principles of tolerance and reconciliation which are those of Enlightenment philosophy.

CATHERINE
Catherine the Great of Russia was a friend of Voltaire and the Encyclopédistes. She was a model sovereign of the age of enlightened despotism. On 8 October 1782 Mozart himself directed a performance of Die Entführung aus dem Serail in honour of her son who was then visiting Vienna.

MONTGOLFIER
In 1783 the Montgolfier brothers made their first experiments with hot-air balloons, one of which would later be used to observe the movements of the enemy at the battle of Fleurus.

GOLDONI
Mozart often wrote arias to texts by the Italian playwright Carlo Goldoni and in 1783 even thought of composing a German opera based on one of his plays, Il servitore di due Padroni.

PAESIELLO
The Italian composer Giovanni Paisiello was one of Mozart's true friends. They met in Vienna in 1784 when Paisiello, who had left the service of Catherine the Great in St. Petersburg, was en route for Naples. "It was wonderful to see how happy they were to meet one another; their mutual esteem was well known!

BEAUMARCHAIS
On 27 April 1784, a play entitled La Folle Journée ou le Mariage de Figaro was performed in Paris. It was acclaimed by the whole of Europe, and two years later Mozart transformed it into his opera The Marriage of Figaro.

KANT
In 1784 the German philosopher Immanuel Kant defined the Aufklärung, the German Enlightenment, in these terms: "It is the age of the mind which has attained its majority and its motto is: dare to use your reason."

FREDERICK II
Frederick the Great of Prussia was an excellent flautist. He died in 1786. As a result of his love of literature and the arts he became a friend of most of the leading European intellectuals.

GAINEBOROUGH
The favourite painter of English society for almost half a century, Thomas Gainsborough painted portraits of many musicians. The couple in his painting The Morning Walk could well be the heroes of The Marriage of Figaro, Count and Countess Almaviva.

BEEATHOVEN
In April 1787 a young musician by the name of Ludwig van Beethoven travelled from Bonn to Vienna in order to study with Mozart. His visit was cut short when, after only two months, he received the news of his mother's death.

METASTASIO
The Italian poet Pietro Antonio Metastasio was the most prolific and celebrated librettist of Mozart's time. He had already been dead for ten years when Mozart composed La clemenza di Tito. The libretto by Metastasio was a classic which had already been set to music forty-odd times by as many composers. For his opera, Mozart used an adaptation by Mazzola.
In 1950 the explorer Alain Gheerbrant set off on an expedition into the forests of the Orinoco and Amazon Basins. He carried with him a few records of music, among which was a Mozart symphony, which he intended to play to the Indian tribes he was hoping to discover there. In his book recounting the expedition he describes the meeting between Mozart and the Makiritare:

"Diego having reached the end of his song, we put on our precious Mozart symphony. This record really exercises a magical power over all Indians. Despite all their hesitations, even the young women cannot resist: they come out of the hut one after the other and sit down to listen. . . . The music of Mozart possesses an indefinable charm, in the truest sense, acting like a mysterious potion to which no Indian is immune. On them as on us this record has a soothing effect: one's body relaxes and one's very soul seems to breathe. . . . This is not the kind of music that forces people to sit stock-still with a frozen look on their faces. It unlocks all the most secret recesses of one's being, it is a balm. . . .

"I don't know whether music is really the universal language it is said to be, but never will I forget that it was thanks to a Mozart symphony that we were able, on rare occasions, to bridge almost entirely the gulf created between the Indians and ourselves by centuries of 'civilization'. . . ."

Mozart was by far the Indians' favourite, much preferred to Rameau or to military music. Alain Gheerbrant later informed the musicologist Jean-Victor Hocquard that the Mozart symphony in question was the symphony in F major, K. 184 (composed in Salzburg in 1774). He also told him how a tribal chieftain, after hearing Mozart, suddenly said to him out of the blue: "Since you too possess a sacred music, I can reveal secrets to you. . . ." The explorer was thus able to hear a story recounting the origin and descent of the gods which would not otherwise have been divulged to him. 

Brigitte Massin


Exciting news for Mozart-lovers: all the great composer's scores are now available in paperback, at a reasonable price in a handy format. This compilation is based on the "New Mozart edition" ("Neue Mozart Ausgabe", NMA), a monumental edition of the composer's entire work on scientific principles, representing the culmination of fifty years' efforts by the greatest Mozart specialists and completed only this year. This 32,000-page edition, published in twenty volumes, provides those who can read music with an opportunity to familiarize themselves with all of Mozart's works, from the most famous to the least well-known. Readers of the new publication will be on equal terms with those who have access to one of the world's few major music libraries that boast a copy of the NMA. *

Another milestone in Mozart studies is the forthcoming general release of a videodisc, the fruits of ten years work by Austrian film-maker Titus Leber, which presents everything that is known about Mozart. The videodisc has already been featured in the great Vienna and Salzburg exhibitions devoted to Mozart on the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of his death. It contains over 6,000 still photos and excerpts from films based on eighteenth-century sources. The method of use is as follows: starting from a first given image and through a series of choices made by simply pressing on the screen, users can decide on their own line of approach, entering Mozart's world at their own pace, moving around in it and plunging at will into his biography, his travels and his works.

Titus Leber has made a number of highly acclaimed films dealing with the work of such composers as Mahler, Schubert and Berlioz. He also took part in UNESCO's Silk Roads expedition (see page 44). His videodisc will be released to the public in autumn 1991. 

Brigitte Massin

THE AMERICA-ANTARCTICA CONNECTION
Recent research by American geologists suggests that Antarctica and North America might once have been joined together. If proven, this surprising connection could explain the birth of the Pacific Ocean, which would have been created when North America broke away from eastern Antarctica, leaving a gap to be filled with water. Geologists have long known that the western half of North America was separated from another land mass some 550 million years ago. But where? Previously, the most commonly held view was that it was Siberia.

EUROPE’S CELTIC PAST
A major exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice is bringing back to life the mysterious world of the ancient Celts. Regarded by some archaeologists as the first Europeans, the Celts lived 1,400 years ago in the area between the Upper Danube, the Rhine land, Switzerland and the Lyons region of France. A thousand years later their descendants could be found in places as far afield as Turkey and Brittany. These peoples, who straddled the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, developed a distinctive culture based on metal work. The Venice show, “The Celts, The First Europeans,” presents outstanding pieces from the collections of 250 museums, including sculptures, gold and bronze vases, pottery, tools, weapons and jewellery.

SEA URCHINS KANGAROO-FASHION
Researchers have discovered that sea urchins in the Antarctic keep 4 or 5 eggs in a protective pouch and expel them into the sea when they are ready to hatch. This particular mode of reproduction must have developed in the hostile environment of the South pole. Sea urchins in Europe lay thousands of eggs directly in the surrounding water.

Gamma ray astronomy
A satellite called the Gamma Ray Observatory (GRO), put into orbit by the space shuttle Atlantis, is expected to survey the gamma rays in the universe. These powerful radiations are a source of knowledge about compact galaxies known as quasars and so-called active galaxies which may contain black holes. Gamma ray astronomy could not be effectively developed on Earth as the gases in our atmosphere act as a screen against high-energy rays. The 17-ton Observatory is the largest scientific satellite ever developed by the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the second of four “great observatories” to be launched by the Agency.

Tobacco or health
“Public places and transport: better to be tobacco-free” was the slogan chosen for World No Tobacco Day, which was celebrated on 31 May 1991 on the initiative of the World Health Organization (WHO). The aim was to encourage governments, communities, groups and individuals to be aware of the need for tobacco-free public places and public transport and of the necessity to take action to move towards a tobacco-free society. In many countries laws and regulations have already been promulgated to this effect.

Mozart and the pianists of Asia
To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the death of Mozart, a competition open to young Asian pianists was held in Hong Kong from 20 to 28 December 1991. Competitors should be under the age of 28 and citizens of one of the following territories: China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Macau, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand. The final concert of the competition will be televised in Hong Kong and via satellite to countries in the Asian Pacific region.

Deadline for applications: 15 August 1991
For all inquiries and correspondence: Mozart Bicentenary Piano Competition of Asia Radio 4, RTHK (Radio Television Hong Kong), 30 Broadcast Drive Kowloon Hong Kong Tel: 852-339 6455 Fax: 852-338 0279

The refuge problem
According to figures issued in April 1991 by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are more than 15 million displaced persons in the world. Some migratory movements are on the increase, especially in black Africa, where there are already more than 4.5 million refugees. In Asia the situation appears somewhat more stable. In Latin America, according to the latest statistics from UNHCR, there are 1,200,000 refugees. In the case of Europe a distinction has to be drawn between “true” refugees, who fear for their safety in their own countries, and those who are lured by the mirage of the consumer society. According to figures supplied by UNHCR, the number of persons seeking asylum in the industrialized countries of Europe and North America at the end of 1990 was 1,687,200, as against 222,220 in 1986.

It’s no joke being left-handed
According to a study published in the New England Journal of Medicine, left-handed people have statistically a smaller chance of living to an advanced age than right-handed people. In the United States 13% of those under 20 are left-handed, and less than 1% of those over 80. Right-handed people live on average 9 years more than the left-handed, who are 6 times more likely than others to die accidentally, most often in a traffic accident. The authors of the study believe that this is because left-handed people live in a world designed for the right-handed. In a study published in 1989, a Canadian psychologist specializing in laterality had already reached much the same conclusions, with some qualifications. Napoleon, Charlie Chaplin and Albert Einstein have been among the world’s noted left-handers.

The secrets of smell
Scientists are beginning to understand the mechanism of smell, the most mysterious of our senses. Two biologists at Columbia University, New York, have recently identified a family of “smell genes” which produce the thousand or so smell receptors in the nose, enabling us to recognize nearly 10,000 different smells.

When recognizing colours, the human eye uses only three types of photoreceptors which pass signals for interpretation by the brain. Smells on the other hand are perceived directly in the nose, with very small use being made of our mental capacities. The sense of smell is therefore a very early stage in human evolution, long before hearing and sight.

Great balls of fire
Two Japanese scientists have succeeded in creating under laboratory conditions the mysterious balls of fire that are often observed during thunderstorms. The red, orange, blue or white spheres sometimes pass through closed windows and burn everything they touch. In other cases they do not give out heat and vanish with a muffled thud or with a terrifying bang. The Soviet scientist Pyotr Kapitsa, who won the Nobel prize for physics in 1978, thought that they might consist of plasma, which is sometimes referred to as the 4th state of matter, distinct from the solid, liquid and gaseous states. The Japanese experiment, described in the British scientific journal Nature, confirms his theory.

The leftovers from Pompeii
Fruit, vegetables and seeds carbonized as a result of the eruption of Mt Vesuvius, which buried the city of Pompeii under ashes in 79 AD, have been identified and itemized at the instigation of two American researchers. This inventory enables us to form a picture of the agricultural life and food resources of the region in the first century AD. The cereals include a variety of wheat still used by plant-breeders because of its resistance to disease. For dessert, the Pompeians preferred dates, bitter cherries, hazelnuts, almonds and chestnuts to walnuts and pears (probably baked), while pine kernels were a prized delicacy. Other finds were wild apples, which can be seen on mural paintings, and a large quantity of pomegranates. The bulk of cultivated products originated from outside Italy, but dates were the only fruit that was totally imported.
The rock art of Tassili N’Ajjer
by Caroline Haardt

Famed for its thousands of prehistoric rock paintings and engravings, Tassili N’Ajjer is also one of the last bastions of the Tuareg Berber pastoralists. A 1,200-metre-high plateau shaded by cypress trees, some of which are over a thousand years old, it rises from the desert like a gigantic natural fortress. Its natural and archaeological wonders are spread over a vast area—the Tassili National Park covers more than 80,000 square kilometres.

The first thing you notice about the high plateau is the extraordinary verticality of the landscape. Then, once you have got over your initial surprise, your attention is captured by the odd contours of the place. Curiously eroded sandstone blocks, vertiginous canyons and rock columns 20 to 30 metres high all bear witness to an eventful geological past. It is these remarkable rocks, some as massive as buildings, others as delicate as wax tapers, that give the region what one historian, F. Soleilhavoup, has described as “the look of another planet, unique, mysterious, sometimes unnerving”.

Human activity, changes in climate and the wear and tear of time have all played a part in radically altering the heart of Africa. It is less than 4,000 years since the Sahara became a desert. The valleys, canyons and stacks worn away by erosion are the last vestiges of an earlier, humid time. The fossil record even indicates that, several hundred million years...
A "forest of stone", Tassili N’Ajer.

Agro, the area formed part of the vast Silurian sea. Then wind took over from water, shaping and polishing the rocks like a sculptor. What vegetation now survives the rigours of the desert climate does so thanks to the gueltas and wadis. Here the tarout, the ancient cypress unique to the Sahara, still adds a touch of green. Olive and myrtle, lavender and oleander, call to mind the softness of the Mediterranean climate. Along the Iherir and Edarène wadis, luxuriant reed-beds have survived. Other plants such as the date palm and the acacia play a primordial role in the Tassili ecosystem.

We are accustomed to think of the desert as a hostile, lifeless place, so the ways in which the surviving animal and plant species have adapted to it seem all the more marvellous. Most of the mammals, including the mouflon and the gazelles, have sand-coloured coats, the better to resist the heat and camouflage themselves in its vastness. In even the most arid areas rodents and reptiles survive. There are fish in the gueltas, which also serve as staging posts for birds migrating southwards towards black Africa.

An open-air museum
The Tassili National Park is also one of the world’s finest open-air museums of prehistory. The Neolithic civilization of the Sahara was closely linked to the prevailing geological and ecological conditions. Once the desert started to advance, the people gradually lost much of their nomadic character.

The region’s rock paintings illustrate the animals that were crucial to the survival of the inhabitants of Tassili at different periods in their history. It is possible to distinguish four separate eras via the prevailing fauna, though historians have not established a unanimously accepted chronology for them.

The first is that of the bubal or great buffalo, which is depicted in rock art from about 7000 to 4000 BC. Elephants, rhinoceroses and various savannah antelopes are all typical of this period. Oxen appear around 4000 BC. They are depicted without humps, and with horns that are short or splendidly lyre-like. After 1500 BC horses make their appearance, and finally, around 1500 AD, camels. About this time the first written characters in the Tuareg tifinagh script can also be observed.

Three main styles
There are three principal modes in Tassili’s rock art. Size and symbolism are characteristic of the first, archaic manner. The animals are gigantic and are often represented in isolation; only magic seems to have been capable of coping with their terrible force. Simply drawn in the bubal style, they are depicted with an acute sense of observation. Along Wadi Djerat 4,000 separate figures have been itemized. One bestiary stretching over 120 square metres features giraffes 8 metres high: it is the largest complex of prehistoric engravings in the world.

The appearance of antelopes and mouflons marks the start of a second sub-period within the archaic style. The beasts are more often painted than engraved, and they are pursued by hunters with round heads. One can sense the presence of totem animals, masked men and ritual dances. As well as single figures, groups are depicted in frescoes whose splendours can be admired at Iharen or Séfar.

The second style, best typified at the Jabbarbaren site, is naturalistic. The images are
smaller and more brightly coloured, reflecting a more sedentary lifestyle. Humankind is now in charge, dominating the surrounding animals.

The final mode is schematic or even abstract. The engravings are less finely executed, but the paintings are more elegant and skillful. There are wonderfully stylized horses, chariots and—later—dromedaries. The use of a wash technique allows for delicate portrayals such as the tender scene at Iharen in which a young antelope is shown being suckled by its mother.

The sites

Where are these works of rock art? Hardly any of them are to be found in the so-called “forests of stone”. The strangest paintings are in the heart of the “towns” of Tassili, such as Séfar and Jabbaren. F. Solelhavoup has even suggested that there may have been a sanctuary where rituals were practised by Neolithic men in the archaic period.

The naturalistic works on the other hand, showing everyday scenes from the life of the shepherds and their flocks, are most often situated in isolated spots outside the towns, while the third, schematic style is best represented on standing stones in the regs, or stony deserts, where late works depicting camels point to the degeneration of rock art.

The wall paintings of Tassili provide glimpses of a whole society, its everyday life and the animals that were essential to it. The works indicate that a revolution took place in the region sometime in the Neolithic period, linked to the change from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to one based on agriculture. Nevertheless, many mysteries still remain. Among them are:

• The techniques used in rock art. The engravings generally seem to predate the paintings, yet at Tissoukai the existence of carved sketches suggests that the stone may have been engraved before the paintings were executed. Sculpture is rare in Tassili; the only examples are miniatures like the resting ruminant at Wadi Amazzar.

• The lack of homogeneity within each style. The archaic manner, for instance, is very diverse. There is nothing to link the bull at Séfar with the masked figures also depicted there.

• The secret world of magic and religion. What do the two-headed bulls at Wadi Djerat signify? What is the meaning of the magnificent spiral engraved on the great buffalo at the same site? Is it a symbol of the continuity of life? Or did it form part of a spell cast on the animal, as in hunting rites elsewhere?

Why the heritage is in danger

The cliff walls themselves are at risk. Exposed to the desert winds and eroding particles of sand, they are showing signs of age. As the sandstone base starts to break up, rock crumbles, paintings lose their colour and engravings the sharpness of their line. There are vast areas where the rock art is no longer visible to the naked eye.

Problems of dating. It was once thought that the Neolithic civilization of the Sahara was later than those of North Africa, Egypt and the Middle East. Now scholars tend to believe the opposite, maintaining that the Saharan culture was independent of and even earlier than the artistic flowering of Egypt. André Malraux considered the zoomorphic heads of Wadi Djerat to be “prefigurations of Egyptian zoolatry”. If this is the case, Saharan representations of cattle with discs between their horns may be earlier than Egyptian images of the cow-goddess Hathor. As for the war-chariots of Tassili and Fezzan, their origins are still swathed in mystery.

The spectacle of this rock art, executed by generations of Tuareg and handed down almost intact to the present day, arouses strong emotions in the viewer. Despite their image as “lords of the desert”, warriors living in a hierarchical society, the Tuareg were in fact primarily herdsmen. According to one historian, J.D. Clark, they appeared less than 5,000 years ago, and led their flocks through the Sahara until the time when increasing desiccation drove them out.

Of all African peoples, it was the Tuareg, together with the Peul and the Masai, who remained most strongly committed to the pastoral life, which they refused to combine with arable farming. They also tamed and herded the biggest flocks. The sparse Tuareg population commuted seasonally between the desert regions of the Sahara and the high plateaux, the Hoggar and Tibesti as well as Tassili. Pastoral skills were passed on from father to son. The herders learned how to find their bearings in the desert, how to read the stars and recognize plants.

Now a growing population and changing ways have created new pressures. Djanet, with between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants, Illizi and other centres have become the focus of a relatively sedentary lifestyle that the former nomads do not always handle well. Knowledge of skills is no longer being transmitted from generation to generation. And on top of these problems, the arrival of tourists has forces the Tuareg to come to terms with a radical change in their way of life.

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What can be done to preserve Tassili?

The idea is to preserve the heritage while also opening it up to visitors in a way that will not threaten its natural and cultural riches. For some years now, UNESCO has been working with the Algerian government and, locally, with the Tassili National Park authorities to promote acceptable forms of tourism. The accent is on stricter supervision of the park and on the training of guides.

Yet some local agencies seem completely unaware of the importance of Tassili’s inheritance. Instead of protecting it, they drum up business by promising to take clients to off-limits sites and encouraging them to swim in the watercourses, and even to take away rock fragments as souvenirs. Sometimes they fail to bury the rubbish from their camps; and they permit long evenings round the campfire when it is vital to economize on firewood. These unscrupulous operators should not be allowed to cash in on the attraction of unspoiled sites, and clandestine archaeological excavations should be discouraged.

The preservation of the cultural heritage will require clearly thought-out conservation and security measures. All the rock art will need to be inventoried, and a guttering system will have to be installed to protect the works from rainwater run-off. Sand barriers will have to be constructed to ensure that visitors keep their distance.

Various ways of preserving the paintings and engravings are being tested. Since 1982 UNESCO has operated a solar-powered laboratory in the area and is working on samples from the worst-affected sites. The International Centre for Conservation (ICCROM) is experimenting with the application of silicone to preserve the paintings.

Another crucial problem is that of conserving Tassili’s extraordinary natural environment. As part of a solution, tourists must be persuaded not to pollute the desert. Clear instructions must be given about the gathering of wood, and visitors must be made to understand that the maintenance of water resources is crucial to the ecosystem.

The Tuareg will need help to adjust to the new conditions. A pilot scheme that could serve as a model has already been set up at Ilhérir, a magnificent site that has been at risk since it was opened up to visitors by the Djanel-Illisi road. The local people are being encouraged to develop their crafts, diversify their occupations, improve livestock raising, and above all to protect and develop the existing watercourses. Housing also affects the quality of life, and a special effort will have to be made to ensure that new buildings fit in with the local architecture and conform to the aesthetic imperatives of this exceptional region.

CAROLINE HAARDT, French journalist, was a staff member of UNESCO’s Division of Cultural Heritage from 1983 to 1987. She is currently preparing an exhibition as part of the UNESCO Silk Roads project on the Croisière Jaune, a motor rally from Beirut to Tibet held in 1931-1932.
It is in the minds of men that the strongest defences of the environment can be constructed. Environmental education is an essential element in these defences and one with great potential to provide assistance in the quest to save the planet. Its aim is to raise the awareness and understanding of all people, from their childhood onwards, of the physical and biological systems that support life on Earth, to which they belong and upon which they can act positively or negatively.

In 1977, an international conference was organized by UNESCO and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Tbilisi (USSR) to provide ideas and leadership for an international programme in environmental education. While this was a major global launch and implied recognition of the importance of the subject, it was not the beginning of the concept. Before then educators had recognized the need for environmental education and had begun a number of small programmes tailored to local needs and conditions.

In the industrialized countries, such established activities as nature study, conservation education and outdoor education, which had focused largely on education in the outdoors and about nature, began educating for the outdoors and for the conservation of nature. Non-governmental organizations also launched activities which highlighted the plight of the environment and developed advocacy programmes to protect it. By the mid-1970s, a few urban environmental studies projects had even emerged, as a response to the growing impact of cities on the natural environment. Several universities began to include environmental education in teacher training. Classroom materials aimed at addressing this new concern of students, parents and educators were produced by a number of countries and organizations.

In the developing world, environmental education programmes were particularly aimed at the workplace and at decision-makers in government and industry. To take but one example, agricultural workers handling and applying fertilizers and pesticides, often for the first time as part of local "green revolutions", needed vocationally-oriented environmental education. Environmental education and training were sought to assist professionals in such diverse fields as wildlife management and urban planning.

In all regions of the world, educators working in this new field were and are hampered by a host of similar problems. Most have no environmental education training themselves, the topic being barely twenty years old. There is often no overall conceptual framework within which to organize programmes or curricula. Equipment for "hands-on" discovery approaches is scarce, and the media, advertising, and non-governmental organizations provide an abundance of contradictory information about environmental issues.
Educating the consumer

While too many people live in total poverty or in regions where consumer choice is a luxury, there are still several billion who can make a difference through their purchases. Today enough of them are crossing the environmental apathy line and changing their life styles and purchasing habits to encourage corporations and governments to address the "green" marketing issue. Ecomark in Japan, Eco-logo in Canada and the Blue Angel programme in Germany are but the beginnings. While these programmes are founded on scientific research, much of the information upon which people are basing their new "eco-actions" is fragmented and in some cases totally erroneous. Society’s actions must be based on environmental literacy—access to information and the competence to understand the overall significance of that information.

The consequences of an environmentally illiterate society are incalculable, but enough of them have become apparent to persuade governments and leaders of industry to address the situation. It is costly to repair ecological damage caused unintentionally by the general public, such as the disposal of toxic or hazardous waste into domestic sewer systems or the cavalier use of non-renewable commodities. It is often said that environmental damage costs about ten times as much to correct as to prevent.

In a similar vein, ecological damage caused unintentionally by employees not only costs their employers money in fines, restoration, restitution and lost raw material, it also has an impact on their firm’s image and eventually on its sales. This type of damage may trigger off emotional campaigns against the firms in question by citizen activist groups and thus actually jeopardize large-scale corporate investment. It is both difficult and expensive to overcome a negative image of this kind.

A desperate need for the jobs created by industry may pressure an environmentally illiterate community to accept an ecologically inappropriate enterprise. Ironically, the community may find that by allowing its groundwater or other resources to become polluted it is jeopardizing its possibilities of attracting ecologically sound projects in the future. Eventually, the community may find that the costs of remedying environmental damage caused to the site may outweigh any benefits from the operation.

Environmental education must be re-examined in this new perspective of interactions between the public, industry, governmental and non-governmental action. The early diagnosis is not encouraging. No country has achieved the goals set forth at Tbilisi fifteen years ago. It is not that the goals were unattainable or insufficiently important, but rather that the available resources in the traditional spheres of education have been insufficient. Environmental education has been approached in a traditional way, and traditional sectors have tried to cope using existing resources. This effort is totally inadequate.

Breaking down the barriers between business, government and education

It is time to explore new partnerships in environmental education. All those involved must learn to work synergistically. The combined energies of a multi-sectoral, multi-national and interdisciplinary approach must be sought and mobilized. The forthcoming UN Conference on Environment and Development which will take place in Brazil in 1992 will provide an opportunity to promote this new approach at the highest level.

Advertising and public relations can indirectly support teacher training, and the media and publishing can produce learning materials that highlight areas of environmental consensus and areas of disagreement. Let us teach the citizens of the future basic philosophical principles to follow, the questions to ask, and methods of interpreting data. Let the communications industry explore ways of using new technologies—especially in the developing world—to help all nations and cultures share their environmental knowledge. We all have much to learn regarding such issues as development, biodiversity, environmental accounting and global trade.

Educators themselves must learn to work with the community and ensure that curricula are relevant both locally and internationally. This will be difficult in some countries, where years of mistrust have built up between business, government and education. The task ahead for educators, for the media, for industry and for governments alike, is formidable. It is also urgent if we are to reconcile our technological world with our environment and with our traditional values and cultures.

"Decision-makers are in particular need of environmental education programmes."
The kingdom of Silla and the treasures of Nara
by François-Bernard Huyghe

As UNESCO’s Maritime Silk Roads expedition set sail from the Chinese port of Quanzhou on 19 February 1991, crowds of schoolchildren gave us a rousing send-off from the quayside, waving flowers, streamers, and cardboard lions and dragons. Our ship the Fulk al-Salamah’s two visits to China had taken place in an atmosphere of constant festivity. In addition to our scholarly work, the marathon seminars and visits to historic sites, many less serious moments were still fresh in our memory. Whole villages had turned out to greet us. We had been entertained with firework displays (our arrival had coincided with the Chinese New Year) and acrobats. There had been many colourful scenes and much laughter.

Our hosts had spared no efforts to give the expedition a spectacular welcome. They had deepened a harbour so that the Fulk al-Salamah could enter, built a museum, and brought forward by several weeks the spring parade in which thousands of people take part. In addition to this generosity we would not soon forget the infectious joy and vitality of the Chinese.

Thus we began the last part of our journey. We were about to follow a branch of the maritime silk route that would lead to its easternmost extremity.

Before making for Japan, our ship sailed for Korea, where the links between China and Japan were forged in the ancient kingdom of Silla, once a meeting place for the peoples of central Asia and the Far East, for the maritime route and the land route across the steppes. Our port of call was Kyongju, which was the capital of Silla for a thousand years. In the last century of the pre-Christian era, this region was settled by the Si-Ro, one of many tribes of obscure, possibly Ural-Altaic origins, which occupied the Korean peninsula. After a conflict which lasted several centuries and was often arbitrated by the Chinese, Silla conquered and subjugated the rival kingdoms of Paekche in 660 and Koguryo in 668, before driving out Chinese troops. This kingdom, known as “Unified Silla”, lasted until 935.

Silla or the age of friendship
The golden age of Silla, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, coincided in China with the consolidation of the political power of the T’ang, who reunified the empire, and in Japan with the victory of the central government over the clans. This period of political stability was also a period of intensive political, commercial and cultural exchanges which established via the Silk Roads what a speaker at one seminar in Japan was to call “the age of friendship” between the three nations.

The Unified Silla kingdom sent a hundred-odd ambassadors to the court of the T’ang, who were in theory sovereign rulers. China sent ambassadors in return. As a result of these diplomatic missions Silla came into possession of Chinese writings such as the Taoist classic the Tao-te Ching and important Confucian texts, and sent students to study in China, whence they returned with more treasures for Korean scholars.

Korean envoys also journeyed to Maracanda (present-day Samarkand), the capital of Sogdiana. Late-seventh-century wall paintings discovered in Samarkand show figures dressed in the Korean style among the delegations received by the ruler of Sogdiana. Perhaps, as a Korean scholar suggested during a seminar held at Pusan, they were envoys of the Koguryo kingdom who were in Maracanda to negotiate an alliance to counterbalance that which the rival Silla kingdom was working out with China.

By way of trade or tribute, Silla sent to China horses, artefacts produced by its excellent jewellers and metalworkers, silk, which had been cultivated ever since the first tribes had settled in Korea, and medicinal plants. To Japan it exported its own products and merchandise which passed through its ports, including, oddly enough, horses and camels, whose presence in seventh-century Japan is mentioned in the “Written Chronicles of Japan”.

But Silla was also in contact with the Persian and Arab world, and traded with the Muslim merchants who travelled through China, where some of them eventually settled. As early as the middle of the ninth century, the writings of Arab travellers and geographers tell of a fabulous kingdom, described by Ibn Kurdaibih who wrote that “Beyond China is a land where gold abounds and which is named Silla. The Muslims who have gone
there have been charmed by the country and tend to settle there and abandon all idea of leaving."

Later, the Arab geographer al-Mas'udi also penned a description of Silla, which he located behind the Great Wall which protected men from the demoniac hordes of Gog and Magog. He wrote that the kingdom had been founded by Alexander the Great, whose myth (which kept cropping up throughout the maritime Silk Roads expedition) here makes a surprising appearance. Other texts describe, with greater credibility, how Shiites sought refuge in Korea during the Umayyad period. Many objects discovered in Korean tombs were certainly brought to Korea by Muslim traders.

The physical type and dress of two of the statues we saw guarding the tumulus of King Kwaenung at Kyongju suggest that Persian mercenaries may have served the Silla court.

Kyongju, a city which attracted many foreigners, enjoyed great prosperity. The court was reputed for its luxurious way of life, and especially for its finery. The clothes people wore were determined by their rank, and the common people were forbidden to wear silk clothes or gold and silver jewelry. "The houses of the leading ministers possessed boundless resources", says the Chinese chronicle. "Some of them had as many as 3,000 slaves." A Korean historical document, the Samguk yusa (1285; "Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms"), says of Kyongju that "There is not a single cottage. The houses touch, wall follows wall. Singing and music fill the streets without ceasing day and night."

The Buddhist ferment

Two of the three Koreans on the Fulk al-Salarnah were musicologists, and the spotlight was on music during our visit to Korea. On board ship they accompanied their demonstrations, one instrumentally, the other with a fine baritone voice, and ashore took care that the pieces we heard were authentic. They revealed to us a little-known musical culture, showing the extent to which it influenced court music in Japan and describing its origins in China, central Asia, and in Buddhist songs. Music gradually came to symbolize for us the cultural flowering of the Silla kingdom.

Buddhism, one of the major sources of Korean music, was brought to Korea largely by Chinese monks. But soon Korean monks in their turn were setting out along the Silk Roads to study the Buddhist canon.

One of them, Hye-cho, who travelled as far as India at the beginning of the eighth century, wrote a "Diary of a journey to the five countries of India" a fragment of which was discovered in 1908 in the famous grottos of Dun-Huang in western China. Writing in Chinese, the Korean monk described various stages of his initiatory journey, and gave details of the different Buddhist sects and their monasteries, the regions through which he had travelled and the customs of the people who lived there.

The journey, which was to take him to Kashmir and a number of central Asian countries, provided him with opportunities to engage in historical and political reflection, and to observe Arab incursions into India. Like the great Chinese pilgrims who preceded him, Hye-cho was a witness of the great movement of intercultural contact generated by Buddhism.

This movement is also reflected in the flowering of Buddhist architecture and sculpture, strongly influenced by T'ang China, and by more distant India. The Korean chronicle even reports the Indian emperor Asoka, a major figure in the spread of Buddhism, as having sent a model of the image of the Buddha directly to Korea and describes the installation of a reproduction of it in the temple of Hwangyong-sa. But the influence of Buddhist art in Korea was exercised on a culture profoundly influenced by shamanism and the art of the steppes.

Our visit to Korea brought us into contact with another silk route, part of which would be explored by an expedition through the Islamic republics of the USSR between 18 April and 18 June. During a seminar in Pusan Korean specialists described to us Korean weapons similar to weapons discovered in Kazakhstan and Turkestan, a Korean animal art close to that of the Scyths, and the presence of Uighurs in Silla.

This affinity with central Asia is nowhere more evident than in the many royal burial mounds at Kyongju. The wall paintings and jewelry such as the famous Silla gold crown with shamanistic symbols, as well as the weapons found there, testify to a heritage that China would not supplant.

The Shoso-in treasures

The ocean routes extend much further, and lead firstly towards Hakata, on the island of Kyushu, Japan. It was via this port, at once an administrative, military and trading centre, that relations with China and Korea were established at a very early period. Our first
visit was to the remains of the Korokan, an important guest-house where ambassadors from Silla and China were lodged between the seventh and the eleventh centuries. Diplomatic, commercial and cultural missions set out from Hakata, and in the eighth century, the imperial court sent monks and students to Chan'an, present-day Xian, in China. There is evidence that relations with China existed as early as the first century of the Christian era.

The maritime expedition ended at another symbolic place, the Shoso-in repository of imperial treasures at Nara, which was built after the death of emperor Shomu in 756 and is often referred to as the eastern terminus of the silk roads. Most of the treasures were gifts made to the Todaiji, the temple of the imperial family, in whose precincts the Shoso-in stands, and objects relating to an important moment in the history of Buddhism in Japan, the consecration of a giant statue known as the Daibutsu, or Great Buddha. The immense log building was thus a storehouse of art which reached Japan from China along the Silk Roads.

For thirteen centuries the Shoso-in has preserved these treasures in a state comparable to that which modern technology could be expected to achieve. The building is only open to the public once a year, and even then only a small part of it can be visited. It is a mysterious and, for scientists who would like to understand its secrets, a somewhat frustrating place. Scholars who have studied the collections have identified many works produced by T'ang craftsmen with materials brought to China from across the sea: ivory and rhinoceros horn from India, tropical timber, pearls and tortoiseshell, wood from Indochina, metal artefacts from Persia and Sogdiana.

The objects in the emperor Shomu's collection had a considerable impact on Japanese society, introducing a new taste for foreign arts and thus contributing to the opening of Japan to the outside world.

The treasures of Shoso-in possess a symbolism which is perhaps even more powerful than their outstanding aesthetic qualities. They remind us that the silk roads were not only a conduit for trade in everyday commodities, and that the travellers who for centuries braved great risks as they wended their way in caravans across steppe and desert or plied the oceans in their fragile craft were also serving an inexhaustible appetite for beauty.

FRANÇOIS-BERNARD HUYGHE, French writer and journalist, is a former member of UNESCO's Division of Cultural Heritage.

Freedom of the press: an appeal by the Director-General of UNESCO

Throughout the world, it becomes daily more apparent that freedom of the press is a constituent of democracy and development. It is a constituent of democracy inasmuch as the pluralistic expression of opinion necessarily favours openness, dialogue and mutual respect among individuals, peoples and cultures; a constituent of development inasmuch as the exchange of know-how, technical information and ideas contributes to the training of human resources, to the spread of knowledge and to economic progress.

Unfortunately, freedom of the press is still flouted in all too many countries. In 1990 some forty journalists were killed in the exercise of their profession; 200 or so were imprisoned; while others have been held hostage for years, and may already have abandoned hope.

In addition to these breaches of the most elementary human rights, many news organizations have been subject to censorship. For there are still those who think that by reducing people to silence they can cover up the facts, prevent the spread of ideas and shackle freedom of the spirit. This is gravely to underestimate the force of the mind, the fertility of ideas and the eloquence of facts.

Today, I call on people everywhere to defend this form of freedom. Let each and every one of us, through individual or collective action, demand or facilitate the release of those journalists taken hostage or imprisoned and the lifting of politically or economically motivated curbs on the press. Let governments become aware of the wider implications of freedom of the press. We shall then have won a guarantee of greater balance in the future.

Federico Mayor
During the IMC's 1991 General Assembly in Bonn and on the occasion of International Music Day, on 1 October, the UNESCO-IMC Music Prize, already awarded to Ephraim Amu, Munir Bashir, Nadia Boulanger, Alberto Ginastera, Benny Goodman, Yehudi Menuhin and Ravi Shankar among others, will be presented to the winners, who will have been selected for their standing contribution to music and to UNESCO's objectives.

The latest issues in the UNESCO Collection of Traditional Music (UNESCO/Audvis) include "North Indian Folk Music" (D 8033) and "Tibetan Ritual" (D 8034). They are available from UNESCO, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France, from record shops, and from AUVIDIS, 12 Avenue Maurice Thorez, F-94200 Ivry-sur-Seine, France.

UNESCO INFORMATION SERVICES

A 70-page brochure has been produced by UNESCO in English and French to provide an overview of the Organization's information services. The Directory of UNESCO Information Services covers the documentation centres and information units of UNESCO and some non-governmental organizations, and describes the resources of UNESCO's main library and the holdings of its archives.

STOLEN STATUETTE

The Turkish authorities have informed UNESCO that a precious object—an ancient Egyptian statuette—was stolen in July 1987 from the site where it was originally discovered, the village of Kale-Denizli. They also report that the statuette was subsequently seen in Germany, but that since then there has been no trace of it. The cubical (21 cm x 21 cm) basalt sculpture (below) depicts a human being, with the head missing. The figure is seated, arms folded on knees, and bears in front and behind an inscription in Greek containing a reference to the Egyptian king "Psommetikhos".

UNESCO ISSUES MOZART MEDAL

On the occasion of the two-hundredth anniversary of Mozart's death, UNESCO has issued a medal bearing the great composer's image. Struck by the Paris Mint, designed and engraved by Raymond Joly, the medal is available in gold, silver or bronze. Order forms may be obtained from the UNESCO Philatelic and Numismatic Programme, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

THE WORLD'S LITTLE SINGERS

On 21 July 1989 a unique international children's choir was launched when 45 youngsters from 15 countries gave a concert in Autun Cathedral (France) on the occasion of the bicentenary of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The choir, the World's Little Singers, not only provides children from different cultures and backgrounds with an opportunity to sing together, it is also creating an extensive record library of choral music, a collection of musical scores and a documentation centre. The World's Little Singers enjoy the support of the French Committee for UNICEF and the official patronage of UNESCO, which has included them among its projects for the World Decade for Cultural Development. A recording of the concert given in Autun cathedral is available as a compact disc: "The World's Little Singers, inaugural concert, Cathedral of Autun, 21 July 1989", SOCD 73 CYD 85, distributed by Solstice, 147 Rue de Bercy F-75012 Paris, France. Tel: (1) 43 45 64 81.

THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COUNCIL

The International Music Council is a non-governmental organization which was founded in 1949, shortly after UNESCO, to provide the Organization with support for its programmes in music. The IMC receives part of its financial support from UNESCO and is the principal musical organization associated with it. Through its 65 national committees and some 20 international organizations, the IMC is active in every continent and reflects many aspects of musical culture throughout the world, ranging from Mozart to Bolivian folk music, and from Stockhausen to the Hat Cheo (theatre with dance and song) of Viet Nam.

For the last 30 years, the IMC has been performing one of its functions, the preservation and promotion of forms of traditional music which are in danger of dying out, through the UNESCO Collection of Traditional Music, now available on CD and cassette from Audvis. Every two years the IMC organizes radio rostrums in every continent, and an annual International Rostrum of Composers is held in Paris with the participation of more than 30 national broadcasting organizations. Over the years, this Rostrum has revealed major works by present-day composers like Berio, Dutilleux, Hans Werner Henze, Penderecki, Takemitsu and others.

For some years now a large international team has been working, under the auspices of the IMC, on the preparation of a world encyclopaedia of music, which will be the first work of its kind to be produced by authors originating from the different world regions.

The world-wide membership of the IMC is closely associated with such UNESCO projects as the Five-Hundredth Anniversary of the Encounter between Two Worlds, the Integral Study of the Silk Roads, and study of the Baroque World, for which it organizes concerts and symposia. In this Mozart bicentenary year, the IMC is planning to organize in October, through its Musicians' International Mutual Aid Fund, a Mozart concert for the delegations of the 165 countries participating in the UNESCO General Conference. During the IMC's 1991
Dee Dee Bridgewater.

**JAZZ**

Stan Getz. Sérenity.

Getz (tenor sax); Kenny Barron (piano), Rufus Reid (bass), Victor Lewis (drums).

CD Emarcy 838770-2.

In this CD, recorded at the Café Montmartre in Copenhagen in 1987, the late, great Stan Getz treats us to a few standards—"On Green Dolphin Street", "I remember you" and "I love you"—and offers us two new tunes: "Voyage" by his pianist Kenny Barron, and "Falling in Love" by Victor Feldman. Getz, as lyrical as ever, is flanked by ideal sidemen. Kenny Barron, whom I have long considered to be one of the best pianists around, is an admirable accompanist whose playing grows steadily more subtle. He never hits a dud note and his chord work provides the soloists with a perfect backing. Rufus Reid, a musician with perfect pitch, plays a bouncing, swinging bass, wonderfully matched by the dazzling rhythms of Victor Lewis on drums. Reid, Barron and Lewis have often worked together, and the results are there for everyone to hear in the shape of a very tight rhythm section which must have been a joy to Getz. The playing of Barron, in particular, is sometimes even more subtle and imaginative than that of Getz. At the Antibes festival two years ago, he was the star of Getz's group.

Miles Davis, E.S.P.

Davis (trumpet), Wayne Shorter (tenor sax), Tony Williams (drums), Ron Carter (bass), Herbie Hancock (piano).

CD Columbia 467889 2.

This is a reissue in CD of a landmark in the history of jazz, featuring Miles at the head of one of his greatest groups, which still inspires many imitations. Seldom has there been such a degree of complicity among musicians, performing here a restrained, understated music ringed around with silences. Hancock's note clusters anticipate developments in contemporary jazz, while his piano runs, which opened up polytonality, have proved spellbinders for many a present-day pianist. As Miles would say to Hancock in his shorthand jive at the time, "Don't play the butter notes", meaning that he should skip the expected harmonies and find what was essential, always making it new. Hancock learned the lesson wonderfully well. The drummer, Tony Williams, does not lay down a beat but suggests it intelligently, rapping on an equal footing with each of the other musicians. As for Wayne Shorter, whose sinuous compositions are full of invention, his tenor saxophone soars to soulful heights. The waltz "Little One", "Irish" and "Mood" are absolute masterpieces. This is music that will never date.

Wynon Marsalis. The Original Soundtrack from Tune in Tomorrow.

Wes Anderson (alto sax), Wynon Mazzlais (trumpet), Herlin Riley (drums), Marcus Roberts (piano), Reginald Veal (bass), Todd Williams (alto and soprano sax, and clarinet) and others.

CD OSS 467785-2.

Marsalis, hailed by journalists as the "new Miles Davis" when he appeared on the scene five or six years ago, continues to go his own way, returning now to his musical sources in New Orleans. His current model is not so much Miles Davis 1960s-vintage as Louis Armstrong and the contrapuntal style of the 1920s, updated and with new harmonies. Increasingly called on for soundtrack music, he has proved more than capable of meeting the challenge, as is demonstrated by this recording. All the compositions are by him except for one, "I can't get started". Some of the tracks also feature the clarinet of Alvin Batiste and the voice of Shirley Horn, whose latest record has Wynton as guest performer. Mario Vargas Llosa, the author of Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter, on which the film is based, must surely have appreciated this catchy music, so close to the Latin American spirit.

Hank Jones, Dave Holland, Billy Higgins. The Oracle.

Jones (piano), Holland (bass), Higgins (drums).

CD Emarcy 846 376-2

Hank Jones, one of the great heirs of bebop, belongs to a musical family in which his famous brothers, the cornetist Thad and the drummer Elvin, have particularly excelled. He is a deceptively simple musician. Hank, a smart and seasoned jazzplayer, possesses a strict inner logic and has an extremely subtle way of phrasing between the beats, defying imitation or transcription. Solid backing is provided by Dave Holland, who is particularly appreciated by his fellow jazzmen for his ability to fit in with a wide range of musicians, from exponents of free jazz like Anthony Braxton to performers of mainstream. Higgins is every jazzman's Ideal drummer, always good-humoured, always on the ball. Each and every one of his notes falls pat and his solos verge on perfection. All the tracks on this CD—"Beautiful Love", "Maya's Dance" and "Jacob's Ladder"—are pure gems.

Dee Dee Bridgewater. In Montreux.

Bridgewater (vocals), Bert van den Brink (piano), Hein van de Geyn (bass), André Caccarelli (drums).

CD Polydor 847 913-2.

The performances of the charismatic Dee Dee Bridgewater, who for a number of years now has made Paris her home, are a regular highlight of international jazz festivals. Besides having a warm, deep-throated voice, she is particularly well-endowed with physical charms which she deploys for the greater pleasure of her male audiences. But Bridgewater, who sang for a long time in New York alongside her ex-husband, the trumpeter Cecil Bridgewater (now with Max Roach), is not a mere entertainer, one of those fly-by-night performers who fill the hot spots of Hollywood or Las Vegas, but a real musician with a sure instinct. Displaying her legendary swing, she offers us here a vibrant, direct, communicative jazz of which one never tires.

**POPULAR**

Mezcla. Frontera de Sueños.

Pablo Monández, Sonia Cornuchet, Lucía Huerco, José Antonio Acosta, Juan Carlos Abreu, Octavio Rodríguez (miscellaneous instruments).

CD Intuition Records INT 3047 2.

Mezcla—which means "mixture" in Spanish—is a perfect example of musical crossbreeding. This Latin American group, which was previously unknown to me, has created an attractive blend of song, synthesizer, guitar, percussion and other instruments at the confines of pop, nueva trova, rock and salsa. Influences also include the music of the Yoruba ("ikiri Adú") and Dominica ("Ando buscando un amor"). The last track features a guest performance on güiro by the only one of the musicians previously known to me—the salsa and Latin jazz percussionist Nicky Marrero. The music, recorded in Cologne and mixed in New York, reminds me at times of the Molaíi Vídrio group, which enjoyed some success in Puerto Rico in the 1970s.
Kid Frost, Hispanic Causing Panic. CD Virgin Records America CDVUS 22.

"Kid Frost", alias Arturo Molina Jr., is currently the best known name in Latin rap music. A Chicano living in Los Angeles, he raps in "Spanglish", a slangy mixture of Spanish and English spoken, in variant forms, by young Latin Americans in United States cities. Kid Frost pulls out all the stops here, giving voice to the violence of the ghettoes, expressing his pride at belonging to "La raza" (the Latin "race"), and asserting his virility and identity. This is music in the tradition of the desafío—that challenging stance characteristic of Latin American and Afro-West Indian cultures which also marks other types of music such as joropo in Brazil, dozens in the south of the USA, and rumba brava in Cuba. Frost displays an excellent sense of rhythm and intelligent phrasing, often lacking in European rap performers. This is high-quality rap with a bite to it.

Isabelle Leymarie

CLASSICAL

Joseph Kosma.

Chansons + Baptiste.

J.-C. Benoit (baritone), B. Ringeissén (piano), Orchestra of the Paris Opera, conducted by Serge Baudou.

CD ADES 13.292.2

In France there is a tradition of songs with a literary flavour. One of its main founders was Joseph Kosma, who was born in Budapest, spent some time in Berlin where he worked with Brecht, and then came to France in the early 1930s. A prolific composer of film music—this record includes the famous pantomime written for Baptiste, the celebrated mime of a musical form that was built around his vision of a kind of vocal hysteria which rings true with the image we now have of Van Gogh.

Serge Prokofiev.

Early Works.

Abdel Rahman El Bacha, piano.

CD UCD 16596

The hundredth anniversary this year of the birth of one of the greatest twentieth-century Russian composers is in danger of being somewhat eclipsed by the Mozart bicentenary celebrations. Himself a brilliant pianist, Prokofiev was described by Neuhaus, the Soviet master, as being possessed of a determination and power combined with a prodigious lyricism, devoid of sentimentality. This description is also valid, mutatis mutandis, for this record of the composer's earliest works (with the exception of the first piano and violin sonata, which dates from 1948). The soloist here is a Lebanese-born pianist with many prizes to his name, including the Queen Elisabeth of Belgium prize (1978). His highly developed technique goes hand in hand with a sensitive approach which augurs well for the recording of the complete sonatas of Beethoven which Abdel Rahman El Bacha is currently making for the same label. A pianist to look out for.


San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Edo de Vaart.

Box of 2 CDs. Nonesuch 7559-79115-2/979144-2

The enfant terrible of new American music, whose Death of Doctor Klindthoff was recently premiered in Brussels, after the Houston Opera had put on the famous Nixon in China (box of 3 CDs, Nonesuch 979177-2), is represented here by strictly orchestral pieces. These reveal a highly personal style of repetitive music, punctuated by unexpected events which help to sustain the listener's interest in the manner of variations. A playful, bucolic atmosphere is imparted by this music, which can be said to exemplify a worldwide trend towards a new orchestral romanticism, steeped in nostalgia, which has made itself felt in film music. However, a question arises. This apparent simplicity seems at one stroke to have written off decades of experimentation. This makes for a more easily accessible music, but is it not also one which is formally less inventive?
What about steel bands?
As a constant reader and collector of the UNESCO Courier, I was delighted with the cover story "A world of music", in the March 1991 issue. However, I am surprised that a publication which has gained worldwide admiration for its coverage of cultural topics should have omitted to make any reference to steel bands. These groups which play on steel drums form part of the musical culture of Trinidad and Tobago where they first appeared in 1941-1942. They have now spread all over the world, from Brazil to China. The quality and sound of these instruments and the dexterity of the players have earned them an international reputation, with their renditions of classical pieces from Handel to Bach.

Derrick John Jeffrey
United Nations Secretariat New York

Art Nouveau and the Russian soul
For a very long time in my country Art Nouveau, to which you devoted your August 1990 issue—of which I bought four copies—was banned (buildings pulled down, books burnt). It was regarded, in the definition of the Soviet Encyclopaedia, as "a decadent bourgeois trend in art".

For me Art Nouveau is not only a source of inspiration but also a way of life and a philosophy. My friends and I have formed an art group which is called "Iris". It's not an official body, but we have already held three art exhibitions, launched several activities and carried out a number of projects.

We have encountered many obstacles, but we believe in culture and belong to a generation that is searching for its roots. For us there is no future without our past.

It was during my studies at art college that I discovered by myself, through love of natural forms, the principles of Art Nouveau which, incidentally, was not represented and which I was told I should forget about.

Learning that what I was looking for in nature did exist as Art Nouveau style, I rediscovered Moscow for myself by going in search of Art Nouveau buildings and design. But whenever I tried to talk about it I met with the same scornful attitude or, at best, condescension.

And then your magazine arrived. For me it's extraordinary. Where before I had been told that Art Nouveau was "superficial", "vulgar" and "sterile", I now read about its subtle, expressive qualities and about what was referred to as "architecture with a smile". I couldn't believe my eyes. Although I'm Russian, every stone in Europe is very dear to me. I admire Tiffany, Mackintosh and Guimard as much as Shehtel, Kekuschev, Bakst, Lidval, Korovin, Borisov-Musatov, Vrubel and others.

I believe that Art Nouveau did not fully exhaust itself and that the future belongs to it. My country must go back to its roots in order to rediscover its true identity.

This is why I am appealing to you, hoping that you can succeed where I have failed in alerting certain Soviet organizations to this problem and in encouraging them to protect the vestiges of Art Nouveau in this country. It would also be great to have a museum of Art Nouveau here, especially since, through its cosmic inspiration, this style admirably reflects the Russian soul.

Semya, an artist
Moscow (USSR)

My friend the Courier
A secondary school pupil, I am always very happy to find the UNESCO Courier in my mail. No other publication has such an appeal for me. I am of course more interested in some topics than in others, but when I read the magazine I feel that I am widening my educational, scientific and cultural horizons.

So I regard the UNESCO Courier as a friend who brings me knowledge and learning.

A subscriber since February 1989, I hope that this friend will find its way into other people's homes. It doesn't contain any advertising singing the praises of a perfume or vaunting the mildness of a cigarette and it's not too expensive.

Thank you for this book, and I use the term advisedly as the word "magazine" doesn't do justice to this fine collection of photos and texts brought every month by my friend the Courier.

Séverine Marotin
(aged 15)
Le Grand Bulgarin
03360 Saint-Bonnet-Tronçais (France)

Food for thought
Several of your recent issues have focussed on important and topical subjects. I am thinking of "The Media, Ways to Freedom" (Sept. 1990), "Sacred Places" (Nov. 1990), "The Enigma of Beauty" (Dec. 1990), "Cities under Stress" (Jan. 1991), "Somewhere, nowhere... The Quest for Utopia" (Feb. 1991) and "A World of Music" (March 1991).

There are other questions, again of central importance in our everyday lives, which to my mind need urgently to be raised in a magazine such as yours, profoundly concerned with moral issues as it is. For instance, is nationality in itself a source of conflict or does politics make it so? Why is there no mutual respect between cultures? Is this the fault between peoples due to economic problems or is it the result of culture? I should be very glad to read the answers that might be given to these questions by a writer, an economist, a politician and others.

Victor H. Guevara
Tbilisi, Georgia (USSR)