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Author(s): Sabine Wilke

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# Romantic Images of Africa: Paradigms of German Colonial Paintings

Sabine Wilke  
University of Washington

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**Abstract:** The German colonial painters Fritz Behn, Wilhelm Kuhnert, and Ernst Vollbehre were sent on expeditions to Africa during the first three decades of the twentieth century to capture the essence of the black continent in their paintings. Their mission was to record the beauty of the lost colonies and, through the exhibition of their work, make a case for colonial revisionism. These painters situated themselves within the romantic tradition of landscape painting. An image of a romantic Africa, depicted with a longing eye, emerges from their art—an Africa that never existed, but still lingered in European fantasies of the other.

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As early as 1982, Sander Gilman claimed that in the context of German cultural history the image of blackness was fictional, projective, and that it constituted a mythic structure: “The mythic structure of blackness permeated even the image of the Black under German colonialism in the nineteenth century. It underlay the implications of blackness in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophical and anthropological treatises. It is present in the first-hand accounts of explorers in the nineteenth century as well as in the world of twentieth century utopian fiction.”<sup>1</sup> This mythic image of the Black that shaped the reception of Africa in German-speaking discourses relies, according to Gilman, a great deal on an aesthetics of ugliness and the fact that black Africans always constituted the object of the gaze in classical aesthetics:

Beginning with Burke the Black had been viewed as an object of aesthetic perception. The central interest of aestheticians was the mode of the European’s reaction to him. The uniqueness of the Black in Western Europe had as its result this attempt to explain the negative reaction to the Black. Racism, as a force, was explained in terms of perception. With the ever greater awareness of the political exploitation of the Black through the institution of slavery, the question shifted ground. More and more, aestheticians asked whether the Black perceived reality in the same manner as the European. Racism gave way to the question of cultural relativism. The Black attained, by the end of the century, the position of an observer rather than an object perceived.<sup>2</sup>

At this point the systematic political engagement of Germany and the “dark continent” began with the establishment of the four African colonies, Southwest, Togo, Cameroon, and East Africa, in the 1880s. If we extend Gilman’s thesis to include forms of visual as well as narrative representation we could claim that

German encounters with Africans always happened within the framework of this pre-determined mythic structure of "Blackness" through which Germans perceived Africa and Africans as the aesthetic other. The gaze onto Africa was always already a constructed one.

In this essay, I would like to study this construction more closely. What I noticed in my studies of the history of the German colonial imagination is the fact that all encounters with Africa are mediated through images. I therefore wish to analyze the role paintings have played at the beginning of the twentieth century in shaping the German colonial imagination of Africa. At that time a number of lesser-known German painters traveled to the colonies, or former colonies, on a national agenda, worked there as painters and sculptors, and then exhibited their work all over Germany upon their return.<sup>3</sup> As the British art historian Anne Maxwell has pointed out, images are better suited to represent the idea of primitive cultures than texts: "The visual representation of colonized peoples as savages not only helped to sustain imperialist expansion but also supplied Europeans with a new, empowering framework for identity based on racial and cultural essences."<sup>4</sup> Hence, it is of vital importance to examine not only the official communiqués and the fictional texts but also the works of visual artists, especially those that were supporting the colonial idea.

The secondary literature includes only a few references to these individuals. Joachim Zeller recently provided a survey of the Berlin painters and sculptors that worked for the colonial agenda.<sup>5</sup> His paper emphasizes the countless illustrations in colonial books, pamphlets, dioramas, and portraits of colonial pioneers. Zeller shows that the work of the lesser-known Africa painters is essentially untouched by the encounter with primitive cultures and by the trajectory of modernist art. Here I would like to reexamine the genre of colonial painting not so much in the context of modernism but as against the longstanding tradition of representing foreign cultures and continents in European art. Christian Ernst and Sabine Tischler recently argued that the representation of the non-European in European painting is filtered through the mechanism of allegory where the figure of Europe usually occupies a central function in the composition of the painting and other continents and cultures are represented on the margin and are highlighted by their exoticism.<sup>6</sup> Others have claimed that the representation of people from other cultures in European art is usually mediated through their depiction in roles that satisfy European desires and concerns.<sup>7</sup> The paintings analyzed here, instead, project a Romantic image of Africa that was instrumental in building a mythic image for the new colonial space.

The first artist to be examined, the sculptor Fritz Behn, worked in Africa between 1907 and 1909 after completing his training at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts. In 1925, he became a faculty member at his alma mater and, between 1939 and 1945, taught at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. After the war, he lived and worked in Tyrol. His most important works are an Antelope statue

in front of the Lübeck Holstentor, a memorial for the colonies in Bremen, the monumental lions near the Lübeck Burgtorbrücke, and various animal sculptures in Lübeck's Eschberg Park. Behn had studied the physiognomy of animals as a boy while visiting Hagenbeck's zoo in Hamburg. In 1907, he went on a hunting trip through East Africa and at the same time started searching for artistic *sujets*. His biographer, Hugo Schmidt, talks about Behn's work in Africa:

Dort in der Wildnis machte er als erster neben erschöpfenden Studien seine Naturabgüsse der von ihm selbst erlegten Tiere—vom gewaltigen Nashorn bis zur kleinsten Gazelle—und lieferte damit grundlegende Dokumente für Kunst und Wissenschaft. Seine Plastiken der afrikanischen Tierwelt können wohl als die einzigen modernen Verkörperungen ursprünglicher Tierhaftigkeit angesehen werden.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the allegorical tradition in European painting analyzed by Ernst and Tischler, Behn tried to give artistic shape to the encounter with the other landscape, the animals and, to a lesser extent, the human beings. The figure of the African is no longer shown as a servant transported to a European court. Instead, the German artist now lives in the colony and includes this experience in the shaping of the artistic product.

Fig. 1: Behn, *Haizuru*, frontispiece.

Hugo Schmidt's volume about Behn shows the artist in a variety of poses—all deliberately chosen: the artist next to the bronze of a rhinoceros in East Africa, in his African studio, and polishing a lion statue. Behn's sculptures, however, are not realistic representations of East African animals, but highly stylized studies of strong animals in action. His African statues emphasize the danger and the primitive force captured in a scene in which a lion hunts a leopard. The animals are captured "in ihrer eigentümlichen Bewegung im Kampf oder auch nur in der ganzen Stimmung ihres Daseins."<sup>9</sup> His animal statues also pose next to mythical figures: "Europe" becomes a female figure embracing a bull, and physical power is symbolized by an Atlas-figure on horseback.

In his two books, *Haizuru* and *Kwa Heri*, Behn features a series of quill drawings that, together with the photos taken in the African bush, make up the self-imposed and highly stylized image of the German artist as hunter. His drawings are accompanied by extensive commentary that shows how the racial and cultural identity of the German artist as colonial master is always part of the artistic encounter with the African landscape, its animals, and its people. In *Haizuru*, Behn explains that his travels to Africa provided him with a new measuring stick for European values.<sup>10</sup> This new measuring stick is made up of crucial elements of a conservative critique of the modern age: he particularly mentions the meaningless masses of people in modern Europe and contrasts that with Africa as the charming image of primeval nature (12). He also criticizes the business attitude of modern "American-style" society and demands a return to nature as a healthy measuring stick for cultural values (14). Steve Clark has shown how travel narratives usually demonstrate a typical "hyper authenticity" that calls for detailed explanations of specific events, quasi as proof of the fact that the author was really at the scene. The drawing "Karawane" (fig. 2) reflects such a hyper-authentic style that reflects the experience of the grandiose African landscape, but only shows the trek of carriers schematically in the middle ground.

In *Haizuru*, Behn makes extensive comments about the indigenous population and likes to share quasi-ethnographic insights. An entire chapter of *Haizuru* is dedicated to the description of "the African." The African carrier appears simultaneously as an "it" as well as a "he" (32)—a judgment that stereotypically mirrors the contemporary discourse on native Africans as servants for colonial masters. "The negro" is measured against European standards. Behn finds it practically incomprehensible, "was so ein Msukama erträgt, ohne anders zu denken (falls er überhaupt anders denkt), als das es so sein muß" (32). "The black African" is said to have a great heart (37), and a positive psyche (38), but needs to be handled strictly (38). "Alles in allem, wir haben an den erwähnten Beispielen gesehen, daß der Neger im allgemeinen ein gutwilliger Bursche ist, daß man viel mit ihm erreicht, wenn man ihn regieren kann. Er will, wie alle unselbständigen, abhängigen Naturen, den Herrn sehen. Er will sogar streng behandelt sein, wenn es nur gerecht ist. Dafür hat er, wie die Kinder [...], ein ausgesprochenes Gefühl" (43). Following the conventions of the contemporary

Fig. 2: Behn, *Haizuru*, 25.

ethnographic discourse, Behn describes Africans as children that are all alike, without any history and development, and that can only exist alongside Europeans within a framework of a master-slave relationship.<sup>11</sup> In Behn's drawings, this attitude is expressed in the fact that only nature and animals appear as dignified. Human beings are represented schematically.

In *Kwa Heri* of 1933 this attitude and its artistic counterpart become a systematic study of the psychology of the dying continent that—laden with feminine connotations—has been penetrated by Europeans.<sup>12</sup> The book begins with a map—quasi a topography of rape—that charts all routes of discovery, train lines, maritime approaches, and projected flight routes (fig. 3). *Kwa Heri* is about the necessity of experiencing primeval African wilderness for the renewal of European society—should the sick European desire healing. The drawings in red pencil that illustrate *Kwa Heri* are of women at work, women carrying water, male warriors, shepherds, but also of wild animals (fig. 4). They are kept deliberately simple, more like schematic sketches or studies of certain movements.

Fig. 3: Behn, *Kwa Heri*, frontispiece.

In the tradition of the travel narrative, Behn begins his book with the *topos* of the European flight from over-civilization and a nostalgic attitude toward primitive Africa, which is sadly losing its connectedness to nature. In the African interior he tries to rediscover “his old Africa” (3), a space where one could allegedly leave behind the world of American business. He desires to see the animals, but “auch Neger will ich sehen, so habe ich doch wieder Eindrücke von nackten und unverbildeten Menschen, natürlich in Bewegung und Gesten” (25). The encounter with the foreign world is constructed according to a binary model where African culture and nature only have the function of placeholders for “naturalness.”<sup>13</sup>

Encounters with native women have a particular place in this discourse: “Früher waren die Frauen hier ein Stück der Natur, man nahm sie, weil alles zusammenklang. Sie gehörten zu Afrika, wie die Landschaft und das Tier” (96). Now that even white women populate Africa, this old image of the native woman as part of African nature has been complicated. Behn, however, wishes to maintain his image of Africa as a place of wilderness and refuge for white

Fig. 4: Behn, *Kwa Heri*, i.

men: “Das tropische Africa ist eine Kolonie der Männer, nicht der Familie” (98). Landscape needs to be penetrated, Africa needs to be conceptualized as “virgin” (188) and a “marriage” with Africa can only be an unhappy one (154). Behn’s drawings mirror this attitude of the European master who penetrates the foreign (female) space and experiences the landscape as cruel, yet attractive, including the encounters with native women. Behn’s drawings and sculptures create projective images of Africa that satisfy the perspective of the European male as conqueror—of nature, of the foreign space, of woman. Gilman’s argument about the mythic structure of the German image of blackness needs to be modified to be applicable to Behn’s art work as the framing of the German image of Africa itself is thematized. Artistic representation of stylized hunting scenes, extensive commentary in the style of contemporary ethnographic discourse, and the nostalgic tone of the drawings are all elements in a world of projection that responds to the needs of the artist tired of modern European

civilization and looking to Africa for artistic and quasi-spiritual renewal.

The second case, Wilhelm Kuhnert, is a painter and illustrator specializing in animal pictures. He studied in Berlin at the *Königliche Akademische Hochschule für bildende Künste* from 1883 to 1887, then traveled to Northern Europe, Egypt, East Africa, and India in order to study landscapes and animals. His favorite motifs were African lions. Against the common practice at the time, he did not study animals in zoos but in their natural habitat. His images of East Africa played a huge role in determining how his German audience pictured the colony in their minds. Aside from animals, he depicted the native fauna and flora, as well as native people in war regalia. During this era, Kuhnert was considered the leading interpreter of the tropical animal world not only in Germany.<sup>14</sup> Defiant of the modernist art of his time, Kuhnert wondered, “ob heute, in einer durchaus auf Materialismus und Technik gestalteten Welt, der künstlerisch bewußte Naturalismus nicht doch am Ende der einzige logische Stil der Gegenwart ist und bleiben muß” (xiv). He pleads for a naturalistic style *vis à vis* the style and *sujets* of modern photography. He observed the animal in its natural environment and artistically recreated it emphasizing its energy (xvi). In *Im Lande meiner Modelle* he asserted that the “Geschöpf echt nur in seiner urenigensten heimatlichen Umgebung darstellbar ist, und nicht, wie herkömmlich, in einer phantastischen.”<sup>15</sup>

Kuhnert wanted to draw rhinoceroses and crocodiles in their natural habitat. His passion was the artistic rendition of hunting and battling animals. When he depicted indigenous people in his art, he noticed, “daß die feste Umrißzeichnung eines Menschen oder Tieres für die Wilden verständlicher und erkennbarer ist, als eine ausgeführte Zeichnung” (88):

Ganz anders wirkten die farbigen Darstellungen. Die bunte Farbe ist und bleibt nun einmal für diese Naturkinder das kräftigste Hilfsmittel zum wirklichen Erkennen eines dargestellten Gegenstandes. [...] So darf es auch nicht wundernehmen, wenn in dieser Hinsicht der noch unberührte Naturmensch lediglich instinktiv oder unbewußt erkennt, wenn ihm die Farbe erst den dargestellten Gegenstand verständlich macht. Einen blau gemalten Löwen wird der Wilde niemals für einen Löwen ansehen! (89)

Kuhnert's drawings and plates are, therefore, a lot more detail-oriented than Behn's. *Im Lande meiner Modelle* systematically charts the African animal population and discusses the artistic challenges connected with questions of representation. In his narrative, he mixed hunting stories with reflections about artistic problems. The animals are shown in such a way that the viewer feels drawn into the scene similar to the effect created by the dioramas displayed in ethnographic shows and museums at the time. In the case of Fritz Behn's sculptures and drawings, we were looking at stylizations of African landscapes within the projective space of male fantasy. Kuhnert, instead, recreates moving images that draw the viewer into the scene. He is not celebrating a grand nature

Fig 5: Kuhnert, *Meine Tiere*, 22.

Fig. 6: Kuhnert, *Im Lande meiner Modelle*, 113.

from a nostalgic perspective of loss, like Behn, but his animals are shown in a moment of dialectical standstill. The paradigm of the Romantic representation of Africa, however, is what unites the two artists' worlds.

Ernst Vollbehre is probably the best known of all German colonial painters. The Web site dedicated to his work shows a selection of his images and gives background information about the artist, his exhibits, and his works.<sup>16</sup> In his travel narrative, *Bunte leuchtende Welt* (1935), he shared his impressions of the former German colonies.<sup>17</sup> He considered himself a painter who documented what is happening at the time and who dedicated his work to a greater cause:

In meinen Bildern habe ich die ehemals deutschen Kolonien in Afrika festgehalten, den Weltkrieg, dessen größte Schlachten ich als vom Generalstab zugelassener Kriegsmaler in dokumentarischen Skizzen und Bildern wiedergeben durfte, und schließlich die Arbeitsschlachten, die das deutsche Volk jetzt unter Hitlers Führung auf allen Fronten des Wirtschaftskampfes gegen Not und Arbeitslosigkeit schlägt und die ich mit Zustimmung des Führers in zahlreichen Bildern der Nachwelt erhalten will. (7)

Three of the chapters in his travel narrative were dedicated to the former German colonies of Southwest, East Africa, Cameroon, and Togo. It was Vollbehre's mission to capture, "dieses wilde, furchtbare und schöne Land, das uns so viel Blut gekostet hat," in order to show these images to Germany's youth, "damit sie weiß, um was es geht" (85). How does one go about accomplishing such a task? How do you give "daheim einen Eindruck von diesem deutschen Land in Übersee" (87)? Vollbehre typically chose motifs and *sujets* that were familiar to the German viewer of his paintings; for example, he created family portraits that show the figure of an African chief with his two wives in front of his round hut—rather than capturing him in his warrior outfit (fig. 7). The African landscape is also constructed through the tradition of European landscape painting and usually has a characteristic nostalgic look (fig. 8). In the case of German Southwest the viewer is invited to undertake "weite Ritte in die glühende Einsamkeit der Wüste" (92, fig. 9). Vollbehre also captured the black workers of the diamond fields in Southwest and commented on the process that "fast den Eindruck eines kindlichen Spiels hinterläßt, nur wenn man die schweißgleißenden Körper der Neger sieht und ihre Gesichter [...] weiß man, daß hier schwer gearbeitet wird" (92, fig. 10).

In contrast to Behn and Kuhnert, Vollbehre did not paint animals but mainly landscapes and native people. He also commented on their—primitive—reaction to his paintings. These artistic recreations of encounters with indigenous people remained stylized and constructed for the European viewer. He chose not to capture sick people in hospitals, for example, and he mainly portrayed chiefs and sultans while holding audiences in their palaces. His paintings were constructed scenarios from colonial everyday reality. Africa is recreated not as hunting ground, but as intensely attractive primitive space, a space that once belonged to Germany.

Fig. 7: Vollbehr, Der Wambugo-Häuptling Kitodio mit seinen beiden Frauen vor der Hütte ([www.ernst-vollbehr.de](http://www.ernst-vollbehr.de))

Fig. 8: Vollbehr, Nachmittag im Hafen von Tanga ([www.ernst-vollbehr.de](http://www.ernst-vollbehr.de))

Fig. 9: Vollbehr, Wanderdünen auf den Diamantfeldern von Lüderitzbucht  
([www.ernst-vollbehr.de](http://www.ernst-vollbehr.de))

Fig. 10: Vollbehr, Ovambo auf der Wanderschaft zu den Diamantfeldern  
([www.ernst-vollbehr.de](http://www.ernst-vollbehr.de))

Behn, Kuhnert, and Vollbehr were part of a number of German artists who traveled through Africa and portrayed the colonies, or former colonies in Vollbehr's case, from their perspective. Others were Hans-Martin Lemme-Schwerin, who worked mainly in the Congo under Belgian rule; Heinrich

Mostert, who portrayed East Africa as a dreamy German landscape under a veil of mysticism; and Hede Berber-Credner, whose trademark was the nostalgic representation of the tropical landscape of Togo.<sup>18</sup> Werner Peiner may have been the only one whose paintings documented an artistic encounter with the African cultures as his works display elements of primitivism in stylized form.<sup>19</sup> These and other artists, such as Ernst Heims, Fritz Raußen, and Carl Arriens, were all part of a grand scheme to create colonial masters out of everyday Germans.<sup>20</sup> Africa appeared as romantic landscape that anxiously awaited European penetration. The German colonial painters captured their special “call” to travel to and work in Africa. They represented the native landscape as hunting ground where artists studied their models in motion, portrayed native people, animals, and the plant world, and created in the viewer a longing for this primitive and utterly beautiful space.

The artistic representation of Africa as tropical romantic landscape—never without danger for humans, if we keep in mind Behn’s and Kuhnert’s wild animals—created this endless form of longing in the viewer of these art works. The images of the German colonial painters prestructured the modern gaze onto colonial *subjects* during colonial times and particularly during post-colonial revisionism. This gaze continued to operate in the colonial photography of snow-capped mountains surrounded by white clouds and amid lush landscapes. The representation of native Africans—bracketed by some of the German colonial painters—showed them in serving functions, if at all, and according to a stereotypical pattern that was popularized by Wilhelm Busch’s drawings in the nineteenth century. In sum, the paradigms of representing Africans, African landscapes, and the African animal and plant world that post-colonial critics discovered in narratives also operated in the visual work of German colonial painters, even though on a different level. Africa was recreated in the viewers’ eyes as nature in its entire dramatic grandeur, not as cultural space that is already inhabited. As nature, Africa was without history. The German artists were filtering the experience of the foreign culture and different physical terrain through European artistic traditions. An artistic encounter with the foreign environment and non-European forms of representation did not take place. Rather, the German artist recreated himself as traveling master, whose desire was directed towards the penetration of the African landscape, the mastery of the animal world, and the representation of native people as one element of that landscape.

<sup>1</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1982), xi-xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>3</sup> On art cf. “Afrika mit den Augen des Malers gesehen,” *Deutsche-Kolonial-Zeitung* 50/3 (1938): 101; “Die Kolonien in der Kunst: Eine anspruchlose kunstgeschichtliche Plauderei,” *Kolonie und Heimat* 7:16 (1913): 2-3; M. Rapsilber, “Ostafrika in der Kunst,” *Kolonie und Heimat* 1/19 (1908): 2-3; Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular*

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<sup>4</sup> Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Joachim Zeller, "Berliner Maler und Bildhauer im Dienste der Kolonialidee," in: *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, Ulrich Van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds. (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002), 159-67.

<sup>6</sup> Christian Ernst and Sabine Tischler, "Die Darstellung der Kolonisierten in der europäischen Kunst," in: *Andenken an den Kolonialismus: Eine Ausstellung des Völkerkundlichen Instituts der Universität Tübingen*, Volker Harms, ed. (Tübingen: Attempto, 1984), 46ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-4.

<sup>8</sup> Fritz Behn als Tierplastiker, Hugo Schmidt, ed. (Munich: Schmidt, 1922), 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-23.

<sup>10</sup> Fritz Behn, "Haizuru. . .": *Ein Bildbauer in Afrika* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1917), 10.

<sup>11</sup> For contemporary examples of this kind of discourse see Hans Vogel-Hamburg, *Eine Forschungsreise im Bismarck-Archipel* (Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co., 1911); Adolf Bastian, *Der Papua des deutschen Inselreichs im Lichte der psychologischen Forschung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885); Augustin Krämer, *Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa: Meine zweite Südseereise (1897-99) zum Studium der Atolle und ihrer Bewohner* (Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder, 1906).

<sup>12</sup> Fritz Behn, *Kwa Heri-Afrika! Gedanken im Zelt* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1933).

<sup>13</sup> See Wolfgang Reif, *Zivilisationsflucht und literarische Wunschräume: Der exotistische Roman im 1. Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1975), 13ff.

<sup>14</sup> Wilhelm Kuhnert, *Meine Tiere: Die Radierungen Wilhelm Kuhnerts* (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1925), xi.

<sup>15</sup> Wilhelm Kuhnert, *Im Lande meiner Modelle* (Berlin: von Klinckhardt & Biermann, 1907), 3.

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.ernst-vollbehr.de> (January 5, 2006)

<sup>17</sup> Ernst Vollbehr, *Bunte leuchtende Welt: Die Lebensfahrt des Malers* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1935); Also see "Afrikamaler Ernst Vollbehr," *Deutsche-Kolonial-Zeitung* 49/1 (1937): 13.

<sup>18</sup> Hans-Martin Lemme-Schwerin, "Bilder vom Kongo," *Kolonie und Heimat* 5/27 (1912): 2-3; Hans Reepen, "Deutsch-Ostafrika in der Kunst: Der Maler Heinrich Mosterz," *Deutsche-Kolonial-Zeitung* 48/3 (1936): 68-69; Josef Viera, "Die Afrika-Malerin Hede Berber-Credner," *Deutsche Kolonial-Zeitung* 50/3 (1938): 117.

<sup>19</sup> Hans Reepen, "Afrika als künstlerisches Erlebnis: Der Maler Werner Peiner," *Deutsche-Kolonial-Zeitung* 49/4 (1937): 116-18.

<sup>20</sup> Carl Arriens, "Schwarzes Hausgesinde," *Kolonie und Heimat* 7/13 (1913): 2-3; Carl Arriens, *Am Herdfeuer der Schwarzen: Erlebtes aus Westafrika* (Weimar: Verlag für Urgeschichte und Menschforschung, 1928).