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### AFRICAN STUDIES IN GERMANY, PAST AND PRESENT

Let me say right at the start that, as an historian and ethnologist, I am necessarily limited and cannot report on all the activities of German scholars who are working in and on Africa. For that I would need several evenings. I must confine myself to talking about those disciplines, with which I am acquainted - ethnography, history, linguistics and cultural geography; all of these have a certain tradition in Germany, whereas other subjects, such as African jurisprudence or economics, are in the process of gradual development, and the natural sciences lie outside my province. I shall also not try to speak about the multiplicity of German individual activity in Africa. The number of those who, in recent years, have concerned themselves with Africa is larger than is generally supposed. But that would not provide any overall view and would suffocate you with a wealth of detail. Let me rather attempt, in so far as that is possible, to inform you about the most important personalities, research tendencies, and research projects, beginning with the historical development of African Studies in Germany. It will not be possible for me, of course, to mention all institutions and personalities. Should you miss one of those names particularly familiar to you, please consider it merely a necessary oversight on my part.

The names of four men must stand at the head of any lecture on German studies of Africa: Diedrich Westermann and Carl Meinhof for linguistics, Leo Frobenius and Hermann Baumann for ethnography and cultural history. Whereas the first three died in the course of the last generation (during the last thirty years), Hermann Baumann is still at work as the leading personality in German African studies. It is only since these men that one can really speak of intensive African studies, of continuous research and theory. Not only did they raise African studies to the level of a recognized discipline at the German universities, they also freed the scientific concern with the people, the culture and the history of this continent from the stigma of one-sided and subjective viewpoints which, unfortunately, prevailed in an age of colonialism and racial prejudice, when one saw distant people and countries more under the aspects of their exoticism or of exploitation.

It was Germany's good fortune not to have contributed much to this kind of colonial "science". The end of the First World War left Germany without any colonies. Thus German African studies were relatively uninteresting for politics or business, and often enough did not even have the financial stimulus which, in other countries, was not always a disadvantage to the development of such studies. The total number of publications on Africa declined after 1918, in comparison with the previous period. On the other hand, German African studies could be pursued undisturbed in the liberal atmosphere of the Republic between 1918 and 1933 and there were no such developments as "colonial anthropology" or an "applied anthropology". Whereas in Western Europe pragmatic points of view prevailed - under the motto: "Research will be done that is at the moment important for the administration of African colonies" - in Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia the perspective had been shifted to the historical development of the cultures of Africa and their relationships with neighbouring areas. The consciousness that peoples can only be understood from their past and from their multifarious interrelationships, was always very much alive. This consciousness has enabled us to avoid the errors of a functionalistic point of view directed or determined merely by colonialistic interests.

It speaks for itself that a man like Leo Frobenius was considered the guiding spirit of German African studies. And that, in public, he could answer the question - "What does race have to do with cultures?" - with a resounding "Nothing!", shows that even in the dark years between 1933 and 1945, when an apocalyptic racial craze was part of the official state ideology, the voice of reason and humanism was not entirely silenced in Germany.

Before reporting on the present state of German African research, it seems necessary to me to make a few remarks about the historical development of this discipline in Germany, and the great personalities in it. As I have already indicated, it was decisive for this development that Germany was only for a short time a colonial power, and that this circumstance was unable to influence scientific work in the years before 1914. That is to say: German African studies were not subject to the pragmatic pressures that the colonial system inevitably brought to bear; they remained a pure science, abstract, and little concerned with practical application. The

sociological point of view which prevails today, especially in the Anglo-Saxon countries and, in no small part, owes its development to the colonialistic contacts between Africans and Europeans, has hardly gained a foothold in Germany. But this is also in harmony with the German mentality.

When I said, in my introduction, that genuine research in African studies in Germany began with the four great names of Westermann, Meinhof, and Frebenius-Baumann, I did not wish to underestimate the achievements of their great predecessors in the study of Africa. Heinrich Barth, Gerhard Rohlfs, Gustav Nachtigal and Georg Schweinfurth are names written large in the book of African history. But they remained isolated figures, their activities were confined largely to the publication of the results of their great research expeditions; they had no possibility of handing down their knowledge and could train no pupils. They were genuine representatives of their age. Although the states or other institutions who supported their undertakings, were motivated by self-interest in the economic exploitation of Africa, still there was alive in these men themselves the true scientific and research spirit of men who spoke African languages, lived as Africans among Africans, and experienced African culture as persons involved and not as strangers. You will feel that yourselves when you read the works of these men who, alas, with the exception of Barth, have not been translated from German into other languages. Permit me in a few words to outline for you the personality and achievement of these four men. As friends of Africa, and as great forefathers of German African studies, they deserve not to be forgotten.

Heinrich Barth, to begin with the first and most famous of them, was originally a geographer and historian and pupil of the founder of modern geography in Germany. Karl Ritter, in Berlin. He was a part of that Sudan expedition, financed by the British government, which, after the death of most of its members, finally consisted only of himself. During the course of this journey, which lasted almost six years, he went from Tripolis via Air into the Hausa countries, to Bomu, Adamaua and Bagirmi, to Timbuctoo on the Niger, and again back to Tripolis. His great five-volume work with the ponderous title "Travels and Scientific Discoveries in North and Central Africa in the Years 1849 to 1855", today not only remains one of the most important historical sources from the Central Sudan, but also contains many excerpts and copies of historical sources and resumes

of oral tradition which he was able to collect, principally in the big cities. Therefore they are of inestimable value for us today because many of the records were destroyed in the confusions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that is to say, in the wars with which the area was forced into the European colonial systems. What a hundred years ago still existed as oral tradition was gradually lost in the meantime, not only because there are limits to human memory, but also because the spreading of printed histories gradually causes the history preserved in the memory to crumble away.

Gerhard Rohlfs who, apart from the significance of his work, seems to typify most strongly the adventurous explorer, only gradually developed into a genuine scholar. As a physician in the French Foreign Legion, he criss-crossed the Maghrib and, from 1866 to 1867, undertook his own major journey from Tripolis to Lagos. In the capital of the state of Bomu, Kuka; like Barth and other deceased Germans before him, he enjoyed the overwhelming hospitality and support of the ruler of Bomu.

This hospitality of the generous sultan Sheik Mohammed el Kanemi led to a third great expedition which, in its results, almost surpassed the previous two. Again it was not an African specialist, not even a scholar, who thus entered the ranks of the great German scholars. Gustav Nachtigal was a physician for the Tunisian government and, thanks to his long sojourns there, he was very much at home in North Africa, speaking and writing Arabic fluently. It was almost a coincidence that one entrusted him with the mission of carrying gifts to Lake Chad, gifts which the King of Prussia wished to present to the ruler of Bomu in gratitude for the hospitable reception given to the German travellers. Out of this conveying of gifts developed a six-year-long expedition, from 1869 to 1875, during which time Nachtigal became the historian of the Lake Chad area and the territories bordering it to the east. His information about the kingdoms of Bagirmi, Wadai and Dar Fur are a priceless treasure for African history, since soon afterwards these states were destroyed by the Mahdi and Rabeah wars, and finally by the European conquest, that their culture today represents only a shadow of its former greatness. If one tried to work on their history today, one would discover but a fraction of that which was still very much alive in Nachtigal's time. But - and this we must admit to our shame - almost no one has worked there since that time.

These three great pioneers of African studies had worked in the Western Sudan, in the area of those great states whose high culture they so eloquently admired; the field of work of the fourth pioneer lay further to the south-east. Georg Schweinfurth, originally a botanist, in the years 1868 to 1871, travelled through the south-eastern Nile-Sudan and the adjacent area of the Congo. During his stay at the court of King Munsu, he wrote his famous and unforgettable portrayals of the culture of the Mangbetu which, at that time, was in full flower and soon thereafter perished under the assaults of the Nubian slave-traders. Later political developments, especially the Mahdi wars, so changed the cultural structure of this region that, without Schweinfurth's reports, it would not be possible to form an image of the original cultural situation there.

The years immediately after 1900 saw the beginnings of genuine and methodical African studies in Germany. Another four great men, whose lives and work I will outline briefly, set the course along which German African studies have developed ever since.

Diedrich Westermann came from Northern Germany, where he was born in the vicinity of Bremen, in 1875. He always remained typical Lower Saxon and demonstrated all the virtues ascribed to this branch of the German people: persistence, thoroughness, devotion to a task once undertaken and concealed under a rough exterior - a soft and generous heart. Westermann began as a self-taught man. When still a young fellow, he became a missionary and very soon was working in an area which he was to call his second home: on the coast of Ghana and Togo, principally among the Ewe. His work on the languages of these coastal peoples, especially his comparative studies on the system of West African languages, made him so famous that soon he was able to devote himself entirely to scholarly work, though he remained attached to the missionary endeavour right up to his end. His contribution to the linguistics of West African languages and Shilluk made him internationally famous, even if today his theory is out-dated that African languages were to be divided into Sudan and Bantu groups; toward the end of his life he himself abandoned this theory. His fame as a great pioneer of comparative linguistics remains unchallenged. Along with his linguistic research - and this is typical of German studies in African linguistics - he was intensely concerned with cultural and historical problems and emphasized again and again his view that, without considering the cultural records, linguistics work in a vacuum, and that, on the other hand,

cultural history requires a solid linguistic basis and that a sound language training was the pre-condition of every historical or sociological research. In more than a half-century of intellectual effort Westermann, who lived to be 81 years old, not only kept up with developments in general, he never avoided new problems but rather ventured prognoses for the future development of Africa. In this connection I would like to mention the biographies of eleven African that he collected, an eloquent tribute to the closeness of his relation with the people of this continent, as well as his "History of Africa", a mature work of his old age, which remains to this day the most detailed and comprehensive work in its field. Much of his life-work was destroyed by the War, many of his pupils did not find it possible in the post-war chaos to continue their scientific work, and even his famous chair at the University of Berlin, now the East Berlin University, was not filled again after his death. Still, his spiritual heritage lives on in many of his pupils who continue to teach and work in his spirit at other German universities.

Less notable for the outside world, but scientifically no less significant than Westermann, was Carl Meinhof who lived from 1857 to 1944 (African studies are apparently a very healthy profession at least in Germany!) Whereas Westermann concerned himself primarily with the Sudan languages, Bantu and the Hamitic languages were the field of Meinhofs research. His "Outline of Phonetics of the Bantu-languages" is still basic in this area, Meinhof occupied the chair of African Studies at the University of Hamburg which today is the most important centre of African linguistics in Germany. Like Westermann, Meinhof also combined linguistics with cultural studies. and did research in African religions.

All German scholars in African studies are overshadowed by the towering figure of Leo Frobenius, the great cultural historian of Africa. It will take a special lecture to do justice to him, his influence, his teaching and those ideas of his which are still at work today. Frobenius was born in 1873 and, when only 21 years of age, surprised the scientific world with an extensive work on "Secret Societies in Africa". In accordance with his very independent character, Frobenius always went his own way. Although he had many pupils who today are among the most prominent ethnologists in Germany, he did not associate with a university until late in life - 1932 - and never did join a faculty. He was not only a scientist of genius but also

an impressive manager. His entire life-work - his expeditions, his own research institute with many associates, his vast scientific archives - all these he supported with money he raised himself. Only shortly before his death was his institute taken under the sponsorship of the city of Frankfurt and financed by it.

A series of twelve great expeditions, beginning in 1904 and ending, shortly before his death, in 1935, took him to the Congo, to West Africa, where he stayed for four years, to the North African countries, to the Sahara, the Nile-Sudan, to the shores of the Red Sea and to South Africa. Thus he spent many years of his life in the savanna and in the virgin forests of the continent which had become his second home. His close and intimate contact with African people brought his work to the perfection in which we find it. With a diligence, almost bordering on fanaticism, this man - who was no enemy to the pleasures of life-work his innumerable books; let me mention only the twelve-volume collection of African myths, the three significant volumes describing his West African travels, the works on rock-paintings and engravings in North and South Africa, and much more. He pursued two ideas with persistent energy. In the first place, he proposed the doctrine that all cultures on this earth are entitled to be judged on equal terms and are subject to the same laws, that it is unjust to speak of "non-historical" peoples and that culture exists wherever people live. With this concept he put an end to the Europe-centred historical perspective which had prevailed up to that time, and opened the way to a new universal-historical approach to the entire world. In the second place, he was the first scholar to try to relate the chronology of African cultures to their historical relationships with one another. He did this principally by means of a minutely detailed mapping-method which enters on maps the distribution of certain cultural elements and, from their frequency, permits conclusions as to the original presence of certain cultures. Thus he was not only the great pioneer of modern African history and cultural studies, but also the founder of an unprejudiced free humanism which - to use a phrase of Leopold Senghor - has restored to African culture its dignity.

The end of the Second World War also brought most serious consequences for German science: prominent scientists emigrated or had been killed in the war; universities, libraries and museums had been destroyed, or were lost due to the new frontiers drawn in 1945; this period also meant

that German African studies had to start all over again, and not under the most auspicious circumstances. A Germany bowed under devastation and catastrophe, had other worries than sponsoring the studies concerned with an overseas continent. Up to 1955 a large number of good students were lost, due to the poor conditions at the universities which, for years, did not increase their teaching-staff despite the enormous growth in the student body. These students would have been a good succeeding generation of scientists for African studies, as well as for other disciplines. As it was, they went into other professions. Now professorships and institutes were established or strengthened at a very slow pace.

Not until recent years - say, during the past ten years - did this situation change for the better, largely due to an increased interest of the German public in Africa, and mainly since the independence of the African states. New professorships and institutes were established. Thanks to the support of the German Research Council long-term and expensive research projects have again become possible. The German universities, as is the case also with the state universities of the United States of America, are not administered by the Federal authorities as their highest German administrative unit, but instead by the Ministries of Education of the various federal states. This does not favour a concentration of certain disciplines or the establishment of a scientific African centre for the whole of Germany. It is, at this point, that the German Research Council often lends a hand. As a central institution it gives aid to German research in several or all states. Most of the larger projects in African research, and almost all scientific journeys, have only been possible because of its aid.

Since the War, German African studies have in the main followed the path that their great initiators first marked out. They have remained fundamentally orientated to history and cultural history. We are still, however, far removed from an officially recognised specialisation in African studies. There are, to be sure, two chairs for African languages in Hamburg and Cologne, but African history, cultural history, sociology, and ethnography are still lumped together under the extremely vague catch-all title of "Volkerkunde" - which might be translated as "Study of Peoples" (or ethnology). The same is true of geography in which there are still no professorships for the geography of Africa. There is still no official specialisation of the field. The holder of a professorship in "Volkerkunde" (Study

of Peoples) is still expected - at least theoretically - to give lectures on all the peoples of the entire world. Every new appointment to such professorship still threatens to interrupt whatever tradition and continuity had existed up to that time. If the previous two incumbents of such a chair had been specialists for Africa, their successor may very possibly be a specialist in oceanic culture. However, the efforts in Germany are increasing to form African centres at several universities, if possible at those who already have good African libraries and where lectures and research on Africa are in progress. This would be possible, and to be recommended, for Hamburg, Frankfurt and Munich. Whereas at most of the nineteen West-German universities "Volkerkunde" (Study of Peoples) is taught - though several universities do not even have a chair for this field - it is still not possible for the majority of students to pursue specialized African studies. Munich Freiburg and Mainz are the only German universities where chairs for "Volkerkunde" are occupied by scholars who lecture and do research primarily on Africa. Of the six East German universities only two - Berlin and Leipzig - list lectures on "Volkerkunde" or African history.

The situation is made somewhat less discouraging by the existence of a number of large ethnographic museums of cultural history, or ethnology, the associates of which often pursue African studies. Great and even world-famous collection of Africana are to be found in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Stuttgart, and Munich. Here we are confronted with an enormous treasure of cultural documents waiting to be made use of. I should like to prophesy that the scientific importance of these museums will increase from year to year, and that soon, next to the universities, they will develop into the most important research facilities for African culture and history.

And now let us turn to concrete research projects. First of all, there is the science of linguistics. There are two chairs with good-sized institutes. Furthermore, African languages are being taught at the universities of Marburg, Mainz and Giessen. Hamburg, with the Carl Meinhof chair, now occupied by Johannes Lukas, is the most important centre of African linguistics in Germany. It is here (in Hamburg) also that the only linguistic periodical for African languages - "Africa and Overseas" - is published. Johannes Lukas has as his field of specialization those central African languages usually grouped under the heading "Chado-Hamitic" and

which, from the point of view of linguistics and cultural history, belong to the more important branches of the great Hamitic family of languages. Lukas has made several expeditions to investigate these language-groups, largely in the vicinity of Lake Chad. A comprehensive work on this subject is to be published shortly. It would be unfair were I not to mention Argus Kl ingenheben in connection with Hamburg, who was the predecessor of Lukas and who has worked for many years at the Institute there and whose speciality is Fulbe and various other West African languages such as the Vai, along with the Ethiopian languages.

After the war, the Hamburg professorship was, for a long time, the only possibility for research in African languages, since the Berlin chair remained unoccupied after the death of Dierich Westermann in 1955 who had held it up to that time. A new chair for African languages was then established in Cologne for Oswin Kohler, the friend, pupil and spiritual heir to Westermann; this department has since then developed into a worthy successor of the Berlin Institute. Kohler, who has made several journeys to South Africa, is concerned primarily with the languages of the bushmen and hottentots (Koi-San) which, despite their great complexity, he masters with inimitable linguistic ingenuity. The element most characteristic for these languages is the so-called "click-sound" which has the value of a consonant and the appearance of which, in other languages, is a clear indication for remnants of ancient languages. True to the Westermann tradition, Kohler has not remained merely a linguist. He does not pursue language studies for themselves alone but considers them as part of human culture. In a whole series of publications he has pointed out previously unknown relationships between the Bushman and Hottentot languages which could only be revealed in the light of linguistic materials and which throw an entirely different light on the cultural history of these peoples. Furthermore, he has studied the language of the Kindiga and Sandawe in Central Tanzania, which is also characterized by click-sounds; he is now preparing a comprehensive study of "click"-languages.

Among Leo Frobenius' most important undertakings were the reproductions of rock-paintings, these paintings and engravings on cliffs and rocks, primarily in North Africa, in the Sahara and in South Africa, that have outlasted millenia. They are not only of the greatest significance for cultural history since they give us information about the artistic sensitivity,

the habitat, and cultural artifacts of long-dead peoples, but they are also in themselves wonderful works of art, the fascination of which is not lost on us even today. Frobenius copied, or had copied by painters whom he had trained himself, whole galleries of these pictures. Although his hope was not fulfilled that these rock-paintings would some day furnish so much visible material that one could refer to them like a picture-book of African history, still they continue to be one of the most important aids in reconstructing the cultural history of Africa. It must be our tasks to date them reliably: only when the chronological relationship of the rock-painting with other facts of cultural history has been established, will the picture have their full scientific value. This is being undertaken today by two men who come from the Frobenius Institute and its tradition: Hans Rhotert, Director of the Museum of Ethnology in Stuttgart, and Helmut Ziegert, lecturer at the University of Hamburg. Both have photographed rock-engravings in Libya; both have achieved considerable success, working with different methods. Rhotert is trying, to elaborate certain definite stylistic principles, by means of a comparative method, and also to correlate themes, such as races of domesticated animals, or cultural elements, with similar data of presently living African peoples, or well-documented older cultures, such as the Egyptian. He has already done this with good results in his book published in 1953, on the East Libyan rock-paintings, and is continuing in this method with his new West Libyan discoveries. Helmut Ziegert is using another method. He is attempting to correlate the rock-engravings with the original environment of the people who produced them. Starting with the questions: what kind of vegetation prevailed at the time the rock-engravings and paintings were made? and; what were the climatic conditions?, which questions are often answered by the morphological findings, he likewise arrives at dates which, in comparison with other chronological estimates, are characterized by their scientific exactitude.

In the period between 1950 and 1956, members of the Frobenius Institute, in Frankfurt under the leadership of the Frobenius pupils and successor Adolf Jensen, who died in 1965, carried out a whole series of research projects, two of which took them to Ethiopia. I was able to take part in them. They were planned as the continuation of a shorter research in Southern Ethiopia, which Leo Frobenius had started in 1935, and which had never been properly carried to its end because of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and, later, the Second World War. Twice a larger group of the

Frobenius Institute was in Southern Ethiopia during the years 1950 to 1956. On these two journeys which altogether lasted four years, it was demonstrated that a group with a co-ordinated plan can work much more successfully than can an individual. During these expeditions a general catalogue of the cultural inventory was prepared which has in part been published in a number of large volumes. Furthermore, a number of new insights were gained, significant for the history of Africa. The most important results was the investigation of the South-West Ethiopian Negro culture. This culture represents one of the oldest population layers in Southern Ethiopia. The successive waves of peoples who later penetrated the South, presumably coming from central Ethiopia, pushed out, assimilated or decimated this oldest population element. It is now extant only in remnants in the high mountains of extreme South-West Ethiopia on the Sudanese border. This is a proof that the spreading out of Negro culture from its center, in the central and Western Sudan, did not take place in relatively late times, as some authors claim, but in earliest times. At any rate, it took place long before the immigration of the various Hamitic and Semitic groups into South Ethiopia. It is astonishing how the substance of this old culture has maintained itself despite the pressures of centuries and millenia. Thus one finds in South-West Ethiopia many elements which only appear much further to the West among the Nuba and the Bongo. I will mention only two of the most important elements: the custom of putting wooden statues on the graves of important men - a custom practically unknown in the rest of Ethiopia, and the construction of iron-smelting ovens, which bear an astonishing resemblance to the ones built in the Sudan. The art of iron-smelting, as well as iron-manufacturing, was brought to full flower precisely by the African Negro culture. Let me mention one more significant historical result of these trips. The linguistic and historical materials gathered in South Ethiopia lead us to believe that the states of the area between the lakes, such as Buganda, Kitar-Nkole, Ruanda, Burundi, etc, or at any rate the dynasties that have ruled them for 4 to 500 years, originated in Ethiopia. A number of states existed in Southern Ethiopia - which later were absorbed into the Ethiopian empire - with their own royalty, state ideology, administration and so many other elements to be found in the area between the lakes, that one can no longer believe in accidental borrowings. Still, these insights require more supporting evidence.

In the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt am Main, African studies are now pursued only in a marginal way; Oceania is now the centre of research-activity. Thanks to the personality of Hermann Baumann, the true successor to Frobenius' work, the University of Munich has now become the effective centre of research in African history and cultural history. I mentioned his name at the beginning of this lecture as one of the great founders of the genuine science of African studies. There are few who can compete with him in universality of perspective, scientific acumen and almost legendary mastery of detail. As a young man he absorbed Frobenius' ideas about African cultural history and has perfected them scientifically. At the age of 35 and 38 he published his two great works "Creation and Primeval Times in the Mythology of the African Peoples" and "Cultural Anthropology of Africa", both of which are unexcelled compendiums of African culture, although since that time much new material has been found and many new relationships discovered. The first of these books is just now being published in a revised edition. The second, which has been translated into French, will - we hope - be published next year in an expanded and changed version, this time as a collaborative project edited by Baumann, but written by him and twenty of his pupils and friends. Next to the "Ethnographic Survey" of the International African Institute in London, it offers the most comprehensive survey of African peoples, languages and cultures, unfortunately only in the German language. Hermann Baumann made two longer journeys into Southern Africa where he worked among the Lunda and the Tschokwe. His studies on the Zimbabwe problem deserve special attention. You will recall those enormous ruins not far from Bulawayo which, since their discovery, have produced a flood of literature. Many authors were of the opinion that Africans could not have constructed these buildings, an idea demonstrating the most regrettable underestimation of the creative faculties of African culture. Baumann does not exclude the possibility of overseas contacts or inspiration. He does show, however, by means of example of much smaller and largely overlooked stone-buildings in other parts of Rhodesia, Zambia and Angola, that such structures were nothing new to South African culture and that Zimbabwe simply represents a magnificent paramount example, an apotheosis of this structural concept. Baumann also established a close relationship between Zimbabwe and the so-called Djaga, those wandering, politically creative groups who were instrumental in the formation of many an older state of Southern Africa. And when we consider that Baumann is at present working on a survey of African

archaeology, then we see here a life-work that is not far behind that of Frobenius. By German standards, he has trained an unusually large number of pupils so that, at least in this case, the difficult problem of the succeeding generation in research seems to have been partly solved. Formerly Africans interested in ethnology visited the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt; now they turn their steps toward Munich as the centre for African cultural history.

Finally let me mention the Hamburg Ethnological Museum, a centre of German African studies rich in tradition, in part favoured by the cosmopolitan attitude of Hamburg's merchants and their old contacts with Africa. Kunz Dittmer, who before the war made a name for himself with several ethnological works, has visited Western Africa twice in recent years. I should like to mention above all his monumental books on the "Forms of Authority among the Gurunsi" in Southern Upper Volta. Not only does it give an exhaustive portrayal of the social conditions among this great people, it also attempts to illuminate certain historical processes on the basis of the forms of authority. Central to the book is the conflict between the ancient African institutions, such as the Lord of the Earth and the clan elder, with the divine kingship introduced by the newer immigrants, represented in this area by the Mossi. Kunz Dittmer not only wrote a convincing report, a reconstruction of the historical struggle between these two cultures, he also related the kingship of the Mossi to other African states. One of Kunz Dittmer's collaborators is Jurgen Zwernemann, who today is working for the Ethnological Museum of Stuttgart and has likewise treated the cultural history and sociology of the Volta Region.

As over against the predominant historical-cultural perspective and research-style of German African studies, the discipline, such as sociology, political science, economics and law, which are necessarily more tied to present-day perspectives, have not been able to make their weight felt. In the natural sciences, which we have not treated here, the conditions are naturally different. In these mentioned disciplines, so far as African studies are concerned, only beginnings have been made. In this connection, the names of two Institutes should be mentioned that have distinguished themselves, not so much by research but by co-ordinating and planning, and have done significant work in the field of documentation: the African Society in Hamburg, (not to be mixed up with the African Society in Bonn)

and the IFO, the Institute for World Economics, in Munich.

Also not to be overlooked as an individual of distinguished reputation is Amspranger of the Historical Institute of the University of Berlin whose book on political parties in former French West Africa has been generally recognized.

German cultural geography has been active in Africa with a large number of individual projects since about 1955, but there is still no comprehensive research-planning. Among the names important in this area, I should like to mention Kuls in Bonn, who is working on Ethiopia, Troll in Bonn (Ethiopia and problems of Africa as a whole) Hetzel in Bonn (Togo), Mensching in Hannover (Tunis and East Africa), Kayser in Cologne (Southern Africa), Manshard in Giessen (Ghana and Nigeria), Budel in Wurzburg (West Africa and Ethiopia), Schultze in Berlin (Eastern Sudan). Although far more impressive in numbers than the few African ethnologists and linguists the geographers have in their projects remained isolated scholars. Larger works, such as the excellent book on Ghana by Manshard, who was for many years a teacher of geography in Kumasi, or the book on the East Sudan by Schultze, have remained exceptions. This is due primarily to the instructional overburdening of German university teachers of geography. Only a few years ago, the individual teacher had to take care of 200 and more geography students. Due to the increased number of professorships and institutes, and the additional appointment of lecturers and readers, it has become possible to increase research activity.

Now about three years ago the German Research Council gave the funds with which to begin a major Geographical research-program in Africa. It was begun as an experimental project and is to be expanded if progress justified it. The "Africa-Mapping Project" - which is the official name - is not intended to produce a work of original cartography, that is to say, a large topographical atlas, but it is intended instead to result in a great collection of "applied cartography" with thematic maps. The soil-forms, geology, flora, and utility plants will be considered as well as linguistics, ethnology, history, or the problem of migrant labour. Maps on a scale of 1:1 million are to be the basis. To date three African areas have been selected as examples, Tunis, Southern Nigeria, and Uganda. Central Ethiopia is to be the subject of the next map.

Let me conclude. I have tried to give you a survey of the present status of African studies in Germany, of the historical development of these disciplines, their most important representatives and the most significant research projects. I have shown that in the disciplines referred to - linguistics, ethnology, history and cultural history, the point of view that has always been dominant in Germany, the historical point of view, still prevails. We hope that the studies of African history and African cultural history will soon emerge from their fusion with general ethnology and be recognized as individual disciplines in Germany. There are good beginnings for this. The possibilities for financing large-scale research projects are favourable. What is lacking are the men. Our number is small. With regret we see how - before our own eyes - the traditional African cultures, the still living material of African history, is disappearing without any hope of our being able to record it in its fullness. The process of disintegration is a historical event which it is useless to deplore. Human cultural history is a process of incessant change. We would only wish that we had sufficient time to register the facts - whether it be gradually dying languages, or historical traditions, the manifold products of African arts, traditional forms of building, the old social structure or religious life. These things are priceless witness to human creativity. They are also important elements in the cultural history of Africa that is yet to be written. "Save vanishing data" was the battle-cry of the ethnologists even at the beginning of the century. Today it is more urgent than ever. Of what use are all the well-meant investigations concerning sociological or functionalistic-structuralistic problems of the difficulty of adaptation to the machine-age without a profound knowledge of African culture? Science - it is going to remain true science - must always be pursued of and for itself. Here we are not only talking about the interest of the scientist in the history of Africa within the framework of World history, but also about the thought that no people can know itself, or be conscious of itself and its potential, without knowing its own culture.

In speaking to you here today about German African studies, it was not my intention merely to inform you about our work and to promote contacts. I hope that I have been able to illustrate for you the significance of historical and cultural-historical research, even if at times it seems far removed from contemporary events. Far too few people are working on African cultural history in all its forms - in comparison with the vastness of

this continent and the time that is still left to us. I should like to wish and hope that, in the future, more Africans will try to fill this gap. It is their country and their realm in which they should assume scientific leadership also. In so doing they can be assured of our help.

Eike Haberland