

# Art and Architecture of Anomabo, Ghana: A Case Study in Cultural Flow

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In 1750, William Anseh Sesarakoo, a young Fante prince of Anomabo, Ghana, stepped off the British warship *H.M.S. Surprise* triumphantly returning to his father's city "magnificently equipped in a full-dress scarlet suit, with gold lace à la Bourgoyne, *point d'Espagne* hat, handsome white feather, diamond solitaire buttons, etc."<sup>1</sup> This visual spectacle sparked the imagination of a people familiar over the past century with European traders and goods in their city. It also serves as a signpost marking the history and politics of the time period when French and English factions were attempting to dominate trade at Anomabo, considered the "best and strongest place" along the Gold Coast in West Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Today, Anomabo is a small coastal town without a port, although Fort William remains open for tourists who rarely visit. The town is now entirely populated by the Fante. Ruined buildings abound, some reused as schools or hostels, others waiting to fall down. The town is replete with global images stemming from twenty-first century mass media. Unlike the metropolis of Accra, Ghana's capital, there are only two makeshift cinemas and just a few black-and-white television sets complete with rabbit-ear antennas. One must travel to another town to dial into the internet.

The historically-significant town of Anomabo, provides an example of long-term cultural contact, the flow of visual forms and cultural ideas, and the resulting choices that cultures, communities and artists make in appropriating, transforming and recontextualizing visual forms in art and architecture. It is worth stressing that these choices are consciously made for specific purposes, and not merely evidence of influence. The coastal city of Anomabo, the primary commercial hub along the Gold Coast during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, serves as an example of the impact of globalization, or the interconnections between countries and cultures as defined by James Ferguson in *Global Shadows*.<sup>3</sup>

Many pre-colonial African cities, such as the Edo city of Benin in Nigeria, experienced similar urbanization, attracting and combining cultures. The absorption of ideas and their translation into visual forms however, is not always evident in the historical documents or visible in the contemporary setting. The art and architecture visible today in Anomabo can be analyzed through numerous surviving historical documents and an active contemporary art scene. It brings to the fore the enduring influence of cultural and artistic practices that developed during the pre-colonial period. Anomabo's historic cosmopolitanism continues to influence current art forms evidencing the openness of artists to new influences, motifs, experimentations, and cultural blending. The deliberate choices made by the artist and client become visible and are examples of what Tonye Victor Erekosima and Joanne Bubolz Eicher have termed "cultural authentication." This term is applicable to many Fante art forms and involves the four stages described by the authors: selection, characterization, incorporation and transformation. Selection refers to the appropriation of a motif (or object) without alteration. Characterization is the naming of the motif to make it better understood within the culture. Incorporation involves the ownership of a motif by a specific group within the community. Lastly, transformation is the creation of something new from this original motif. This is the stage where such a motif, or object, is most valued.<sup>4</sup>

Scholars have studied visual forms in post-colonial African urban centers within large, contemporary environments such as Dakar and Kinshasa and claim that current art forms are the result of colonial occupation and dominance. For example, art historians Allen Roberts and Polly Roberts have explored Sufi imagery of the saint Cheikh Amadou Bamba in *A Saint in the City*<sup>5</sup> and anthropologist Filip de Boeck has investigated apocalyptic imagery in his study *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*.<sup>6</sup> These artistic forms are ascribed to the

<sup>1</sup> E.J.P. Brown, *Gold Coast and Asianti Reader*, bk. 2 (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1929), 112-115.

<sup>2</sup> Willem Bosman, *New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (London: Printed for James Knapton. . . and Dan, 1705), 56; and William Anseh Sesarakoo, *The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Reeve, 1750), 16.

<sup>3</sup> James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 29.

<sup>4</sup> Tonye Victor Erekosima and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, "Kalabari Cut-Thread and Pulled-Thread Cloth," *African Arts* 14 (2 February 1981): 50-51.

<sup>5</sup> Allen F. Roberts and Mary Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Filip de Boeck and Marie-Francoise Plissart, *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City* (Ghent, Belgium: Ludion, 2004).

direct result of colonial dominance, whereas research in Anomabo distinguishes between the urban center greatly influenced by pre-colonial commerce, as in Anomabo, and the urban center that rises from European political domination. Anomabo is a case study demonstrating that global cultural flow and urban, international African cultures are not always the result of colonialism.

In 1471 the region received its first European visitors, the Portuguese, at Elmina, a small village located a mere 17 miles west of Anomabo. According to informants, the palace of the local ruler, or *omanhene*, was constructed in Anomabo in 1641 by Fante builders (Figure 1). Scholarship on coastal forts states that a Dutch lodge was built in Anomabo in the early 1640s under the direction of Polish mercenary Heindrick Caerlof.<sup>7</sup> After the Dutch-Anglo war ended in 1667, the British gained a foothold in Anomabo and began building Fort Charles in 1672. It seems likely that the *omanhene* took the Dutch lodge as his palace during this period. The structure itself was appropriated, or selected, renamed the Omanhene's Palace, incorporated via its royal ownership, and transformed for Fante purposes into a site of royal habitation and practices.

By 1730 Fort Charles was abandoned by the British, and the French moved into the fort for about two decades. The British returned in 1753 to reestablish their station and rebuilt the small Fort Charles into the fort known today as Fort William (Figure 2). The fort is almost square, with bastions at each corner. Even though the original design did not include a prison,<sup>8</sup> Anomabo quickly became the Gold Coast's most active slave-trading port.

By the late seventeenth century, alternating European contact built the village of Anomabo into a prosperous merchant town. It continued to thrive well into the eighteenth century, becoming the largest city on the coast with a population of some 15,000 by 1806.<sup>9</sup> Europeans were not the only influence upon the Anomabos. Traders from Europe, America and the Caribbean as well as the African interior brought goods and slaves to the coastal hub to exchange with gold, guns, brandy, New England rum, Nigerian and Indian textiles, European linens, Brazilian tobacco, Iberian ceramics, and a variety of other goods. In addition, Anomabo came in contact on a daily basis with a wide variety of other peoples from

the interior—namely the Asante (a related Akan group) and Islamic Mande traders from the north as well as Fon traders from the east. Merchants of the Royal African Company in the eighteenth century came to the coast to make their fortunes. They came from all over Great Britain, including Ireland. Repatriated Brazilian slaves were brought to the Gold Coast at the end of the eighteenth century. Indian soldiers were brought to the forts to serve. Some migrants built homes, shops and storage facilities in the port cities.<sup>10</sup>

These interactions, goods and buildings provided exciting visual stimuli. Historical documents offer examples of the clothing, goods and architecture that became part of the Anomabo culture. By the eighteenth century, Anomabo was the largest trading center on the coast, yet today its small, rural atmosphere and building ruins hardly convey its once important stature.

Post-colonial theory is currently used as a means to analyze African urban cities. Although many of the theories put forth by Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large* describe post-colonial African cities, they can also be applied to the urban historical Anomabo and to a lesser degree to Anomabo today. Appadurai's theories regarding "culturalism," defined as a construct that cultural differences tend to take in the era of mass mediation, migration, and globalization, can be utilized to deconstruct historical urban Anomabo. This "engagement with modernity"<sup>11</sup> takes place prior to colonial rule and illustrates the impact of cultural contact upon this early commercial metropolis. It continues in Anomabo's on-going receptivity to cultural flows, as evidenced in the town's vibrant visual culture today.

According to Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch in *The History of African Cities*, "the urban lifestyle transforms the habits and mentalities" of city dwellers and those who are subject to the power of urban institutions and culture.<sup>12</sup> Theories regarding urbanity are debated by scholars of differing fields and can be tested with the historical study of Anomabo. For example, in "Urban Design and Architecture in Precolonial Africa," Richard Hull defines the city as a center, a place where both population and civilization are concentrated, attracting and blending cultures and memories. A city becomes a site for cultural sharing and dissemination.<sup>13</sup> Coquery-Vidrovitch adds that the city absorbs, integrates,

<sup>7</sup> Kwesi J. Anquandah, *Castles & Forts of Ghana* (Paris: Atalante, 1999), 10, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Fort William, as it was called later in the nineteenth century when the second story was added, was mostly built between 1753 and 1759. Construction was overseen by Irishman and then Governor Richard Brew. Newell Flather, "Anomabu: The History of a Fante Town on the Ghana Coast" (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1966), 20-32, 45-46, 70-76.

<sup>9</sup> Equal urban populations of 15,000 were recorded in Kumasi (Asante) and Abomey (Fon/Dahomey kingdom) later in the nineteenth century. Anomabo's size was very large in comparison for its time period. Flather, "Anomabu," 102; Richard W. Hull, "Urban Design and Architecture in Precolonial Africa," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (4

August 1976): 389; and Rebecca Shumway, "Between the Castle and the Golden Stool: Transformations in Fante Society in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2004), 146.

<sup>10</sup> Flather, "Anomabu," 57-95; and Shumway, "Transformations in Fante Society," 111-112.

<sup>11</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996), 10-16.

<sup>12</sup> Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From the Origins to Colonization* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 9.

<sup>13</sup> Hull, "Urban Design and Architecture," 388.

and blends these contributions from the outside to create new cultures, and in turn, conveys the result to the outside world.<sup>14</sup> Anomabo grew from a village to a town to a thriving city with the increasing importance of coastal trade in the seventeenth century. Then it reverted to a town again when it was defeated by the Asante in 1806, lost its commercial prominence, and the port was eventually closed in 1912.<sup>15</sup> A more complex definition of the urban phenomenon can be applied to Anomabo because it retains much of its character as a new culture, continuing to appropriate and transform culturally, although it has reverted back into a town. Contemporary art makes visible this character developed during Anomabo's height.

Visual forms of primary importance are textiles, architecture, posuban or cement shrines, performance, sculpture and painting. In many instances, these media are combined. Of particular relevance to this study are the many Fante constructs that create something new from seemingly-unrelated sources. One contemporary example in Anomabo is a group of paintings found on the façade of a building titled *Holy Land* (Figure 3). They blend Christian, Fante and Hindi religious iconography. Depicted are Christian figures of Jesus, Daniel, Moses and Nebuchadnezzar as well as copied images from Hindi prints labeled as the Fante nature gods Dansu and Ayensu. These were painted by artist, songwriter, priest and healer Mark E. Adiou (or Aidoo). He practices the Catholic, Methodist and Pentecostal Christian faiths as well as various Fante faiths.

Though the blending of faiths is found among the Fante generally, this painting group is unique. Adiou offers healing sessions that blend the local and Christian faiths, resembling both Afro-Christian practices and Mami Wata worship. The connection between art and healing sessions are akin to Afro-Christian sculptural healing gardens,<sup>16</sup> yet this is the only example documented at this time where paintings, rather than sculpture, surround the healing space. Art historian Henry Drewal has noted that the Hindi deity Dattatreya with three heads and multiple arms offering gifts is known as Papi Wata, or Mami Wata's husband, by the Ewe in southeastern Ghana and others. Although Adiou's painting of Dansu resembles the Hindi print of Dattatreya, Papi Wata was not mentioned in interviews. However, a possible "Mami Wata table" was observed during an evening visit to *Holy Land*. A small table next to the space contained a crucifix, candles and herbs or flowers, resembling that of a Christian altar.<sup>17</sup> Cultural authentication is visible through the selection of Christian and Hindi icons, characterization of these figures in Afro-Christian or Fante terminology (i.e. Dattatreya becomes "River Dansu gods"), incorporation into an advertisement or healing garden created and used by Adiou, transform-

ing these motifs into a montage of paintings that promote Fante, and more specifically, an individual Anomabo priest's healing practices.

Fante posuban are architectural and sculptural cement shrines (Figures 4 and 5) that developed into an art form in the late nineteenth century out of long-established sacred mounds. Fante artists are commissioned to build posuban by asafo organizations, companies of men and women who historically functioned as military troops. The posuban serve as asafo religious, political and community centers today. The display of appropriated power motifs on the posuban serve as bold statements of bravado, visually and verbally boasting about the power and abilities of the asafo company. Posuban function as both sculpture and architecture, often housing ritual paraphernalia. Some of these shrines are richly painted and covered with sculpture, and they can reach three stories in height.

Anomabo has seven posuban that span important periods of recent history—during British colonial occupation and after independence in 1957. Their shapes incorporate forms of the European fort (Figure 4) and European naval vessel (Figure 5). Art historian Doran H. Ross mapped out many of the developments of posuban based on his research in the 1970s and early 1980s. The motifs, text, and proverbs chosen to adorn these posuban are significant to Anomabo and aid in charting the cultural map of the town. For example, A. A. Mills, a.k.a. Kojo Abban, of Enyan Denkyira, transformed the image of a British destroyer, the power symbol for the Kyirem No. 6 company, into a two-story posuban. This symbol emanates from a long history of visual observation of ships docked at port in Anomabo and the appropriation of power symbols, in general, from outside cultures. The deliberate selection of power imagery for use in Fante art and architecture allows the Fante to both harness this power for their own use as well as weaken the power communicated in outside cultural symbols or structures. Kwamina Amoaku (b. 1898; d. 1987) was a prolific artist born in Anomabo. He built three posuban in Anomabo for the asafo companies: Etsiwa No. 2 in c. 1972-73, Dontsin No. 3 in 1948 and Akomfodzi No. 7 in 1977 (Figure 4).

The arch is one of several forms on posuban that demonstrate cultural authentication. Arches are a common form in posuban and architecture in the Fante area. It is equally possible that the technique for building an arch was imported via European training on the coast or imported through the southern trade route from Asante or Islamic Mande traders and contractors. Despite its origin, the arch is an imported technology and form, selected for both European and Fante structures. In the posuban, arches juxtapose the power structures of the large European forts and mansions

<sup>14</sup> Coquery-Vidrovitch, *History of African Cities*, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Flather, "Anomabu," 136.

<sup>16</sup> See Paul S. Breidenbach and Doran H. Ross. "The Holy Place: Twelve

Apostles Healing Gardens," *African Arts* 11 (4 July 1978): 28-35, 95.

<sup>17</sup> Henry John Drewal, *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum, 2008), 58-62. For an image of the Dattatreya print, see Figure 41 on page 58.

with their arcades (see Figures 2 and 8). Arches are incorporated into asafo structures and transformed to serve Fante purposes as a statement of asafo identity as well as a shrine and community center. Thus, cultural authentication was a process continuing through the colonial period and after independence.

Appadurai cites examples of locality emerging in a globalized world in the post-colonial era. He discusses the cross-cultural implications of modern Indian cricket. Introduced by the English as an upper-class sport, cricket was appropriated and transformed into not only an Indian game but also a social structure.<sup>18</sup> Evidence of similar locality in the globalized world is seen in both contemporary Anomabo and the pre-colonial Anomabo. For example, the popularity of football (soccer) is widespread in southern Ghana. A recent development in Anomabo is the visual demarcation of football club neighborhoods with stenciled lettering and logos on the newly-tarred surfaces of paved roads in late 2007 (Figure 6). Football clubs and painted forms are new cultural expressions born of the recent media splash of games and long-held Fante traditions of using text and image as group identification and of delineating neighborhoods. Examples of the latter include clan paintings marking family houses in designated areas and posuban situated in asafo neighborhoods.

Other examples of pre-colonial globalization are the clothing worn by the Fante and their appliquéd flags. The Fante are not weavers. The earliest accounts state that the Fante wore garments of bark cloth or animal-hide. In the late sixteenth century, the Fante began to wear strip-woven cloths and other imported fabrics. Strip-woven textiles may have arrived via two different routes—the first by Europeans who purchased strip-woven cloths in Benin or Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria, to trade for gold, slaves and ivory;<sup>19</sup> the second by Islamic Mande or Asante traders from the north. Well-traveled north-south trade routes from centers in Mali reached the Asante and Anomabo.<sup>20</sup>

Europeans brought a wide variety of cloths. In addition to African strip-woven cloths, they traded European and

Indian textiles. In the early seventeenth century Pieter de Marees documents that distinguished Fante wore imported linens, silks or wool as wrappers or mantles, suggesting a local fashion, while commoners wore a small piece of linen over their private parts.<sup>21</sup> Jean Barbot stated that less expensive cloths made in Holland and Cape Verde were worn around the waist in the late seventeenth century. Wealthier nobles and merchants distinguished themselves with larger and richer materials as a mantle, such as China satin, taffetas or colored Indian cloth.<sup>22</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, half the Fante population of Anomabo wore “traditional” textiles, the other half wore European style.<sup>23</sup> Ironically, the so-called “traditional” textiles were undoubtedly imported. Today, the Anomabos wear clothing reflecting multiple influences—Asante, western and Islamic. Often they combine them. Thus, clothing traditions reflect cultural authentication in the fabrics and fashions resulting from varied cultural contact beginning in the pre-colonial period.

The Fante create appliquéd flags for performance or display by asafo groups for festivals and other important events (Figure 7). The technique likely made its way west from the Fon kingdom of Dahomey either by Fon or European traders. Although one traveler reported seeing banners made by the Fon in 1734, later accounts from 1853 and 1874 describe these appliquéd banners with motifs identical to those created today.<sup>24</sup> Fon appliquéd cloths were once instruments of elite power, with kings controlling their production and use.<sup>25</sup> These lively expressions communicate visually the power of the Dahomey kingdom and would have appealed to Fante artists. Asafo flags measure approximately three feet by five feet, with more prosperous companies owning special display banners up to 300 feet long. Brightly-colored swatches of cut fabric depicting animals, objects and humans and are sewn to a monochromatic cotton fabric background. Details may be added with embroidery. The cloth is imported as are many of the designs. Although asafo flags and their imagery are first described by Brodie Cruickshank in 1853,<sup>26</sup> it seems that Fante flags of local design may go back to at least the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> As power statements, flags viewed on

<sup>18</sup> Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 89-113.

<sup>19</sup> Lisa Aronson, “History of Cloth Trade in the Niger Delta: A Study of Diffusion,” in *Textile History*, eds. K.G. Ponting and S.D. Chapman (Bath: Pasold Research Fund, 1980), 92-94.

<sup>20</sup> Venice Lamb, *West African Weaving* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 74-84.

<sup>21</sup> Pieter De Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)*, trans. Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 35.

<sup>22</sup> Flather, “Anomabu,” 36-44; P. E. H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678-1712*, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992), 493-494; and Margaret Priestly, “Richard Brew; An Eighteenth-Century Trader at Anomabu,” *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4 (1 Legon 1959): 36.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Swanzy, “A Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast,” *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society* 2 (2 Achimote 1956): 89.

<sup>24</sup> Betty Marguerite Wass and Barbara Murnane, *African Textiles* (Madison: Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, 1978), 7.

<sup>25</sup> Lisa Aronson, *Threads of Time: African Textiles from the Traditional to the Contemporary* (Brookville, NY: Hillwood Art Museum, 2007); 20.

<sup>26</sup> Herbert M. Cole and Doran H. Ross, *The Arts of Ghana* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1977), 192.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Phillips, “Journal of a Voyage Made in the Hannibal of London,” in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. Awnsham Churchill (London: Messieurs Churchill for Thomas Osborne, 1752), 187-255.

docked ships in the Fante harbors no doubt made an early impression upon the asafo.

Today, asafo flags or *frankaa* serve as the kinetic complement to the posuban and as a marker of asafo identity. The Kyirem No. 6 company of Anomabo chose the ship as their specific power symbol, as evidenced in both their posuban (Figure 5) and some of their flags (Figure 7). Both media provide a surface onto which words and imagery can be applied. Both posuban and flags demonstrate cultural authentication. Lion imagery, originally from European sources,<sup>28</sup> is an example of the complexity of trading and influence. It is difficult to trace whether the asafo flag lions were influenced directly from European sources, from Fon textiles or from numerous Asante works with lion imagery. Their imagery is selected, characterized, incorporated and transformed into Fante meanings and serves Fante purposes of asserting asafo identity and ritual activation during performance.

Architecture also bridges the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods of Anomabo. Many eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth-century buildings still stand in varying states of reassignment of use, renovation or decay. Some were constructed from combinations of local stone, local or imported bricks, and held together with tabby made with imported lime and local oyster shells and sand. These demonstrate a variety of imported architectural styles and often combine elements. Imported forms include the English Gothick Revival, the Portuguese-style lodge, the Afro-Brazilian veranda house, or *sobrado*,<sup>29</sup> and the Georgian Irish country house.

Margaret Priestley in *West African Trade and Coast Society* details the history and construction of the Irish country house named Castle Brew (Figure 8) by its original inhabitant Richard Brew, an Irishman who lived on the coast for more than 30 years. The impressive structure was built across from Fort William which was being constructed at the same time and by the same craftsmen and also overseen by Governor Brew. Brew's intention was to rival the power of the British on the coast, for Brew wanted control of the lucrative trade. Similar to the Fante artisans previously discussed, Brew consciously appropriated the power image of a massive structure to harness the power of the British to make his own power statement. He also imported the form of the Georgian Irish country house, one he was familiar with from his home area in County Clare, to imprint a uniquely Irish styling on Anomabo.<sup>30</sup> Castle Brew is a large and impressive

building with its own warehouses, guns and large courtyard (behind the main house). It often served as the hold for slaves to be traded from the coast when Fort William, small in comparison to the forts of Elmina and Cape Coast, was full. Brew imported fine Georgian furnishings, silverware, textiles, china, paintings and books to appoint his home which often welcomed and impressed dignitaries from many cultural backgrounds.<sup>31</sup>

The *sobrado* is essentially a house with multiple interior rooms, an interior courtyard, second-story veranda or balcony, arcades and grand stairway entrances. The influence of a rectangular or courtyard-style house may be the confluence of multiple sources too: Caribbean influence from the west, or Asante buildings in the north. According to art historian and architect Labelle Prussin in *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*, the origin of the courtyard house may stem from Roman presence in North Africa in the first century. The style later spread south with Muslims.<sup>32</sup> Many of the residences in Anomabo were built by successful European traders or the rising mulatto class who were educated in European-based mission schools or abroad and made their fortunes as the employees and middlemen between westerners and the local African traders and leadership. They play an important role in this new urbanized culture. Many architectural technologies, elements, and details were appropriated for Fante structures during Anomabo's pre-colonial urban history and continuing to the present day.

The globalization of Anomabo and its culture must be placed in a historical perspective. Anomabo's worldliness does not stem from its position as a satellite to Accra, Cape Coast, or any western urban center, nor its positioning at the periphery of global flows, but reflects its past position at the center of a vast cultural and commercial network. Such historic cosmopolitanism is not a post-colonial phenomenon, for the evidence is made visible in the art and architecture of contemporary Anomabo. Since coastal Fante artisans interacted with outside cultures for nearly five centuries, their practice of cultural authentication can be applied to analyze local syncretism. This paper has addressed the ways that external objects, motifs, techniques and materials can be selected, characterized, incorporated and transformed to suit not only Fante purposes but also those specific to Anomabo.

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<sup>28</sup> Doran H. Ross, "The Heraldic Lion in Akan Art: A Study of Motif Assimilation in Southern Ghana," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 16 (1981): 165.

<sup>29</sup> Coquery-Vidrovitch, *History of African Cities*, 181-183.

<sup>30</sup> To my knowledge there is nothing else like it in the Fante area. Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study*

(London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 57, 103. My future research will discuss the variety of building styles in this Fante town as well as their unique development and impact upon the population.

<sup>32</sup> Labelle Prussin, *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 105-108.



Figure 1. Designer: Heindrick Caerlof (Polish), European and Fante Builders, Dutch Lodge/Omanhene's Palace, c. early 1640s, imported bricks, local stone, imported lime, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.



Figure 2. Engineer: John Apperley (English), European and Fante Builders, interior Fort William, 1753-1759, local and imported bricks, local stone, imported lime, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.



Figure 3. Mark E. Adiou (b. 1957), *Holy Land* and Mark E. Adiou, c. 1988, acrylic paints, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph, 2007.



Figure 4. Kwamina Amoaku (b. 1898, d. 1987), *Akomfodzi No. 7 Posuban*, 1977, cement and acrylic paints, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.



[left] Figure 5. A. A. Mills, a.k.a. Kojo Abban (b. 1913-d. c.1980s), *Kyirem No. 6 Posuban*, 1952, cement and acrylic paints, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.

[below] Figure 6. Bantuma Youth Club, 2008, acrylic paint, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.

[bottom left] Figure 7. Kwamina Amoaku (b. 1898, d. 1987), *Kyirem No. 6 Flag*, 1974, Commissioned by Doran H. Ross, Anomabo, Ghana.

[bottom right] Figure 8. European and Fante builders for Richard Brew (Irish, b. c.1725-d. 1776), Castle Brew, 1753-1759, local and imported bricks, local stone, imported lime, Anomabo, Ghana. Author's photograph.

