



PROJECT MUSE®

The Influence of James Anquandah on the Development and
Practice of Eclectic Archaeology in Ghana

Mohammed Mustapha, Wazi Apoh

Ghana Studies, Volume 22, 2019, pp. 206-221 (Article)

Published by University of Wisconsin Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/ghs.2019.0010>



➔ *For additional information about this article*

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/739690>

THE INFLUENCE OF JAMES ANQUANDAH ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICE OF ECLECTIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN GHANA

MOHAMMED MUSTAPHA
WAZI APOH

ABSTRACT: This paper elucidates the impact and influence that Professor James Anquandah's work and efforts had on the development and practice of archaeology in Ghana. As the first Ghanaian-trained archaeologist, Anquandah committed his life and expertise to the establishment and consolidation of archaeological training in the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, at the University of Ghana. In doing so, he trained five generations of archaeology students over five decades. His passion for archaeological fieldwork, community participation in archaeology, and, ultimately, the use of eclectic archaeology in solving societal challenges has influenced the scholastic practices of many of the students he trained. In this paper, the coauthors explain how

Mohammed Mustapha (mmustapha@ufl.edu) is a doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of Florida. His research is examining the relationship between ironworking and social complexities in northern Ghana. He is currently conducting fieldwork for his PhD dissertation at the Nasia archaeological smelting sites.

Wazi Apoh (wapoh@ug.edu.gh) is a senior lecturer and Frederick Douglass Teaching Scholar at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana. His previous Volkswagen Foundation-funded project focused on the archaeology of German missionization and colonization of Togoland. He is currently involved with the Coastal Volta Slave Route Archaeology Project in Ghana.

Anquandah's concept and practice of eclectic archaeology has influenced their ongoing research projects in Ghana.

KEYWORDS: archaeology, archaeology of colonialism, eclectic archaeology, ironworking

Introduction

The establishment and the practice of the discipline of archaeology in Ghana have undergone many stages and transformations to make it one of the formidable disciplines taught at the University of Ghana and practiced in the country today. The development of archaeology in Ghana into a one-of-a-kind discipline and professional career would not have been possible without the huge contributions of Professor James Anquandah. The late Anquandah dedicated his professional career to championing the nurturing and growth of what is now the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies (DAHS). His tutelage has also contributed to the training of several generations of Ghanaian archaeologists and students. Born in 1938, Professor James Anquandah became the first Ghanaian archaeologist after joining a graduate archaeology program in the department in 1963 under the supervision of Africanist archaeologists such as Peter Shinnie, Merrick Posnansky, and Oliver Davies (Apoh, 2017). Before his passing in September 2017, Anquandah initiated and participated in many research projects, the findings of which have culminated in approximately 50 published papers to his credit. His passion for archaeological fieldwork, community participation in archaeology, and, ultimately, the use of eclectic archaeology in solving societal challenges has influenced the scholastic practices of many of the students he trained, including the coauthors of this article.

Anquandah's Research Philosophy and Eclectic Approach

Anquandah's idea of using eclectic archaeological practice and knowledge to benefit research communities was a paradigm shift in the field of archaeology in Ghana in the 1970s (Anquandah, 1996). In 1951, during the time the Department of Archaeology was created at the University of Ghana, Ghana was being colonized by the British; therefore, the pioneer archaeologists in the country were foreign expatriates who were mainly focused on discovering the antiquities and evidence to complement research on

human evolutionary trajectories and origins of complex societies in Ghana. Oliver Davies is known to have carried out the most extensive field reconnaissance and surveys in the archaeology of Ghana. He engaged in several fieldworks and projects to identify, record, and describe Stone Age and Iron Age sites he chanced upon in Ghana (Anquandah, 1982; Davies, 1960, 1967). It was not until Anquandah was trained that Ghana could boast of its first indigenous archaeologist in the 1970s.

Taking inspiration from the eclectic orientation and practices of ancient Egyptians (e.g., Imhotep and Manetho); early Greek and Roman eclectic scholars (e.g., Stoic Panaetius and Cicero) (Dillon & Long, 1988; Kidney, 1974; Zeller, 1883); and those of modern scholars, particularly Lewis Binford and John Drewal, Anquandah (1996) modeled the “eclectic approach” (p. 75) within his style of archaeological practice in Ghana. For the many generations of students and scholars whom Professor Anquandah mentored and inspired, his eclectic approach has remained an enduring legacy that is firmly instituted in the discipline of archaeology in Ghana. His epistemological philosophy was characterized not just by the need to know but by being thorough and deep in the acquisition of knowledge. He epitomized the metaphorical adage in Alexander Pope’s (1711) poem that “a little learning is a dangerous thing; / Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring: / There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain, / And drinking largely sobers us again” (see Eiche, 2014). Anquandah practiced his perspective of eclectic archaeology in Ghana through a multidisciplinary approach. From Anquandah’s experience, the selection and integration of multiple methods and theories enables the archaeologist to produce cutting-edge research. A researcher must not be limited to a single method or theory but rather must consider a multiplicity of methods and theories in order to permit the widest possible understanding of research findings (Engmann, 2018). For Anquandah, the researcher must be acquainted with all the key disciplines related to his or her work and be able to bring different kinds of skills and knowledge together to complete a project (Apo, 2017, p. 140).

In some of his accounts (Anquandah, Kankpeyeng, & Apo, 2014b), Anquandah expounds the notion that it is through the combination of multiple approaches that the widest array of meanings can be inferred from archaeological materials. Moreover, research should produce meaningful results not only for academics but for the communities in which research is conducted and the larger society as well. One of the paramount goals of archaeology, to him, is the conduct of deep research and conveyance of meanings associated with ancient materials, indigenous technologies, and

knowledge systems to the public (Anquandah, 1996). This is to serve as a source of inspiration to positively encourage and transform cultural lifestyles of communities.

The eclectic approach to archaeological research is better understood in the context of the development of methods and theory of archaeology in general and Anquandah's peculiar position as the first Ghanaian-trained archaeologist in the processual school of thought (Anquandah, 1996; Binford, 1962). Prior to the 1960s, the practice of archaeology was mainly focused on the classification and description of cultural materials and traits for the construction of cultural history, notably, the cultural historical approach. The interest was limited to identifying variabilities or similarities in cultural traits to build descriptive typologies of cultures (Binford, 1962; Taylor, 1948). It was only in the 1950s and 1960s that the cultural historical approach in the practice of archaeology was challenged and alternative perspectives developed (Binford, 1962). This strand of new archaeology adopted a scientific approach to the creation of research design with emphasis placed on hypothesis testing, sampling, and explanatory archaeology. The paradigm shift in archaeology coincided with the advent of radioactive technology after the Second World War, which allowed for the dating of cultural materials through radiocarbon aging methods. The potential of radiocarbon dating to determine the chronometric dates of materials defused the emphasis on the creation of typologies and relative dating of materials and thus allowed researchers to also focus on the function and processes of cultural change (Trigger, 2006).

Lewis Binford, who was one of the most influential in the new archaeology movement, argued that archaeology must put emphasis on understanding the functions of cultural materials that can give insights into various cultural systems. He suggested that artifacts are created to perform certain functions within a culture; therefore, within the assemblage of cultural materials, a researcher has the ability to identify artifacts based on their systematic functions within the culture (Binford, 1962). To better understand and explain the functions of cultural materials in the archaeological context, Binford and scholars like him subscribed to the conduct of ethnographic research in communities to understand archaeological site formation processes (Binford, 1978; Raab & Goodyear, 1984). Many archaeologists have since relied on ethnoarchaeology and ethnographic data as analogues to interpret materials from the archaeological record, especially when there is evidence of a direct or indirect relationship between the past and the present societies (David & Kramer, 2001; Stahl, 2001).

Being a product of the processual school of thought, Anquandah incorporated aspects of the new archaeology into his eclectic perspective. He advocated for the practice of “archaeology of meaning” through meticulous ethnoarchaeological fieldwork. In this case he championed the need for researchers to collect ethnographic data that could best explain excavated remains. Anquandah spent a lot of time teaching the concept, methods, and technique of ethnography to his students at both the undergraduate and the graduate levels. He practically demonstrated the use of ethnographic data in the interpretation of many of his archaeological research projects. During his research works at Dangmeland, which he initiated in 1976, he excavated sites at Ladoku, Kpoete in Prampram, Kpone Beach, and the Shai Hill settlement. In addition to such excavations, he conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the descendant communities to collect information on ethnomedicine, potting, folklore, and Dipo rites of passage among the Ga-Dangme people for many years (Anquandah, 1986, 1996). He used the data collected from his ethnographic research to corroborate archaeological finds and their meanings, which in turn contributed to the reconstruction of the history of the Ga-Dangme people and their migratory patterns in the Accra Plains (Anquandah, 1992, 2006, in press). In addition, he called for the inclusion of other methods and techniques from different disciplines to foster comprehensive analyses and interpretations (Anquandah, 2014a, 2014b).

Although a devout archaeologist, the works of scholars like John Drewal, an American art historian of Yoruba arts and culture, induced Anquandah’s interest in art history as well (Abiodun & Drewal, 1994; Drewal, Houlberg, & Fowler Museum, 2008). In his art historical studies of Komaland terra-cotta figurines, Anquandah (1998) paid greater attention to the aesthetics and artistic components of these indigenous first millennium C.E. artifacts found in the archaeological record of northern Ghana. He argued that the aesthetic value of African art is embedded in various forms of African material culture. In addition, he viewed African art objects as symbolic and aesthetic materials that bear cultural messages, and, therefore, their interpretation must not be required to conform with any European sense of beauty and standard. Anquandah identified the fact that sculptural images and symbolic representations from Africa, such as terra-cotta figurines, pottery decorations, and brass gold weights, as well as Adinkra symbolic textiles, have aesthetic values with intrinsic cultural meanings. He encouraged his students to engage artifacts as objects of art in order to broaden the scope of their interpretation in adding value to African history (Anquandah, 2014, pp. 204–217).

Impact of Anquandah's Tutelage on Five Generations of Ghanaian Archaeologists

Professor Anquandah directly spawned at least five generations of archaeologists with his style of methodology, scholarship, and mentorship at the University of Ghana from the 1970s until his death in 2017. His eclectic methodical approach to research and deep scholarship has had an apparent and deep influence on our “holistic” archaeological practices of today. Most of the archaeologists he trained benefited from his eclectic tutelage on the art history of Ghana, the archaeology of Ghana, and the foragers and farmers of West Africa prehistory, along with the archaeology of the Nile Valley. As a pioneer of archaeology in Ghana, Anquandah's foundational research on the Komaland figurines of Yikpabongo and the archaeology of the Shai and Krobo people of the Accra Plains, plus his historical archaeological expositions on Ghana's forts and castles, has influenced ongoing research by those whom he mentored.

In identifying the successive generations of archaeologists tutored and influenced by him, we calculated that a student who came to pursue a master's program in archaeology, and ultimately evolved to start teaching in the DAHS as an assistant lecturer or lecturer, could be counted among those trained by Professor Anquandah. One of his oldest students, Professor Boachie-Ansah, who is still teaching in the department, as well as L. B. Crossland, can be counted among the first generation since they began their studies in archaeology under Anquandah in the 1970s. Professor Agorsah, Professor Quarcoopome, Professor Kodzo Gavua, Dr Osei-Tutu Brempong, Professor Benjamin Kankpeyeng, and the late Professor Bredwa-Mensah all can be considered among the second generation, having been tutored in the 1980s. Professor B. Kankpeyeng has continued with research on the Komaland terra-cotta figurine sites of northern Ghana over the last decade. The students trained in the 1990s by Anquandah, including Drs. Wazi Apoh, Samuel Nkumba, and William Gblerkpor, can be considered as the third generation. Gblerkpor (2011) has continued with Anquandah's pioneering archaeology of the Accra Plains by focusing on the Krobo and the Se people of the Shai area.

The fourth generation is made up of students trained under Anquandah in the 2000s, and these include Drs. Fritz Biveridge and Aba Eyifa Dzidzienyo, the first female PhD-trained Ghanaian archaeologist. The last generation, trained under Anquandah from 2010 to the period of his passing, can be noted as the fifth generation, which includes students like Samuel Gyam, Daniel Kumah, Margaretta Morgan, Victoria Aryee, Appiah-Adu

Siaw, and Mohammed Mustapha. To get a deeper sense of the influence of Anquandah on the ongoing research of his trained generations, the ensuing section examines the works of the coauthors of this article, being samples from the third and fifth generations of his students.

Application of Multidisciplinary Approaches in the Nasia-Mamprugu Research Project

The doctoral research of this article's first coauthor (Mohammed Mustapha) intends to chart a way of challenging and reassessing the history of Ghana by problematizing and sieving out the colonial narratives that had engulfed the discourse and historiography of ancient ironworking in Ghana. Overall, the research project explores the relationship that may exist between the practice of large-scale ironworking and processes of sociopolitical complexities at the Mamprugu Traditional Area in northern Ghana. The research challenges long-standing assumptions and constructed documented and oral narratives that suggest a relatively recent cultural imposition, replacement, and incorporation of sociopolitical complexities and technological activities by external groups horse-riding into the savannah societies of Ghana (Awedoba, 2009; Drucker-Brown, 1989; Tamakloe, 1931). The horse-riding-invader narrative could be found in most accounts of the beginnings of state/kingdom formations in West Africa before the Atlantic contact (Law, 2018, p. 3). The narrative has been widely cited without scrutiny, although it implicitly serves to rationalize an earlier colonial project that delegitimizes the idea of indigenous political authority and local innovations (MacGaffey, 2013; Monroe, 2013). The hypothesis occludes the possibility of internal political developments and obfuscates the agency and innovation of local populations while suggesting a simple unilinear pathway to complexity (Crumley, 2017). Nevertheless, scholars are increasingly questioning the historical and anthropological literature and application of this common narrative as a way of deconstructing its universal applicability (MacGaffey, 2013; Rattray, 1932; Richard, 2018; Tamakloe, 1931).

Mustapha's project, which he initiated in 2012, is designed to draw on concepts and methods from multiple disciplines in order to interrogate the ancient ironworking site of Nasia, located in the Mamprugu Traditional Area of Ghana. The goal is to reconstruct these indigenous knowledge systems associated with ironworking and to understand the sequences of such sociocultural developments in the savannah societies of Ghana. Preliminary findings (Mustapha, 2014) reveal that the archaeological record in the Mamprugu area contains evidence of a long occupational history,

development of early indigenous complex societies, and ethnolinguistic interactions, as well as evidence of large-scale iron production activities across the region, which extends to neighboring states, notably, Bassar in northern Togo (Casey et al., 1997; Dakubu, 2015; de Barros, 2012; Godfrey-Smith & Casey, 2003; Mustapha, 2014; Okoro, 1989). One core concern of this research project includes the determination of whether the large-scale ancient metallurgy practiced in the area in the past was a result of any or all of the following explanations: gradual internal innovative processes of long-term experimentations, local innovations, and exchange through long-distance interactions. The second concern is to determine whether the rise in ironworking activities in the region and abrupt changes in material culture in the archaeological record suggest external political influence and incorporation of new groups into the sociotechnological life-ways of the Mamprugu societies.

Inspired by the eclectic archaeological perspectives of Professor Anquandah, the project uses a combination of methods and strategies, including archaeological approaches such as site surveys and excavations that will be conducted to recover material culture for analysis. These analyses will help us to understand the distribution and scale of ironworking activities and to establish cultural typologies for the area. Archaeometry will be employed using various scientific analyses such as x-ray fluorescence examinations and petrography, as well as different types of dating methods including radiocarbon and thermoluminescence (Roberts & Thornton, 2014). These analyses will reveal the sources of raw materials used and firmly establish the chronology for the region. In addition, historical and ethnoarchaeological investigations will be conducted to corroborate the archaeological evidence. The use of these multiple methods from different disciplines will assist not only in the interpretation and derivation of meaning from the archaeological record but also in gaining insight into the multiple elements that contributed to the promotion of complex societies in the savannah regions of Ghana. As Professor Anquandah suggested, it is only when sound archaeological interpretations are attained and disseminated for the good of society that archaeological pursuit becomes useful as a scientific and humanistic discipline (Anquandah, Kankpeyeng, & Apoh, 2014a).

Application of Exemplary Multidisciplinary Approaches in the Archaeology of the German Togoland Project

The application of similar eclectic approaches is exemplified in the works of Wazi Apoh, the second coauthor of this article and one of the third-generation Anquandah mentees. His works on the archaeology of German

missionization and colonization of Togoland have opened a new discourse that hitherto was nonexistent. Until 2005, Ghanaian historical archaeology was deficient in deriving comparative data sets from the archaeology of Togoland sites that were impacted by German missionaries, capitalists, and colonial agents from the mid-19th century. Sustained research by Apoh (2008, 2013a, 2013b, 2016a, 2016b, 2019) and his students has culminated in a collection of peer-reviewed publications and master's theses (Amedekey, 2018; Ayipey, 2016; Dogbey, 2015; Fiador, 2017; Mensah, 2017; Ocloo, 2017; Owusu-Ansah, 2018). The examination of the array of archaeological and ethnographic findings from approximately ten sites impacted by imperial German agents offers clear cases where the application of multidisciplinary and eclectic approaches in the collection, examination, and analyses of derived varied data sets has been successful.

Using the source text of critical archaeology, the ongoing studies offer a comparative examination of images and excavated historical artifacts to broaden the field of such a marginalized discursive colonialist and postcolonialist discourse within areas once called German and British Togoland. When compared to archaeological research on British and French colonial sites, the discourse on the archaeology of German colonialism in Africa is still in its infancy but gathering steam. Such a discourse cannot be complete without a multidisciplinary examination of the residues of these dual colonial competitions and convergences, which often played out in the same locations or contexts in West Africa. Many sites in the eastern landscapes of present-day Ghana, such as the colonized sites of Ho, Kete-Krachi, Peki, Adaklu, Nkonya, Yendi, Akpafu, Kpando, and Amedzofe in the Volta and Oti Regions of Ghana, do reveal tangible and intangible residues of German and British colonial imbroglios within palimpsest archaeological contexts (Apoh, 2008, 2019).

By way of a historical backdrop, published historical documents and oral narratives have revealed evidences of the German presence in the "Togoland" area since the 1840s (Nussbaum, 1962; Sebal, 1988). Their presence is noted in the agencies and deeds of missionaries, scientists, explorers, merchants, cartographers, anthropologists, and colonial officials. With strongholds along the Guinea, Slave, and Gold Coasts of West Africa, the British, French, and Germans carved up inland territories in West Africa with the backing of the Berlin Act of 1884–1885. Following consolidation and pacification, the Germans partitioned the Togoland Colony into manageable zones, which later developed into administrative stations and districts that were ultimately lost to the French and the British in the First World War of 1914–1919. Some of these German-local cross-cultural contacts have left tangible and intangible positive and negative traces

on Togoland; unfortunately, most of these physical vestiges are in ruins, and some intangible memories are conflated with those of the British and French colonial regimes that arose out of the ashes of the German colonial demise in Togoland. Such sites can be found in the Volta, Oti, and Northern Regions of Ghana as well as within the Republic of Togo today.

In line with the use of critical archaeology and multiple approaches, research on this discourse from 2005 until now has focused on de-silencing the archaeology of German colonialism and missionization in Togoland. The excavations have centered largely in the areas of what was Western Togoland (Volta/Oti Regions of Ghana) and select sites in the Republic of Togo. The ongoing work has provided unusual and innovative approaches to understanding the history and material culture of the era of German and British colonialization and missionization in Togoland. The multidisciplinary methods used at these sites include archival research to retrieve and examine primary background historical data (Furley Report, 1915), which was compared with selected published postcolonial secondary historical and theoretical papers on German colonialism and missionization acquired from library sources (Bremen Mission, 1936; Nussbaum, 1962; Sebald, 1988). In pursuing such historical archaeological area studies, one of the crucial needs is to conduct ethnographic research at these villages and towns, since there are still descendant communities and families who can recount secondary memories and narrate received oral accounts about the past German encounters. Documentation of such memories, in addition to the examination and description of extant tangible German buildings, graveyards, landscapes, and monuments, provides an in-depth look into how such imperialized sites are viewed or used in the present as well as in postcolonial times. The historical narratives also help in the documentation of precolonial baselines pertaining to the precolonial settlement histories, in whatever murky or straightforward form they may exist.

The use of intrusive archaeological excavations at these sites to understand their stratified sequences in order to clearly delineate precolonial matrixes from the colonial periods was a part of the productive endeavors carried out at these sites. Most of the sites revealed multiple occupation levels relating to the precolonial local practices, often characterized by such items as local pottery, remains of daub architecture, seed and stone beads, cowries, local floral and faunal remains, and terra-cotta clay art and smoking pipes. Successive levels reveal foreign transatlantic trade goods such as remains of ceramics (e.g., earthenware, pearlware, whiteware, porcelain, and creamware). These goods are often mixed with imported glass beads, glass receptacles (e.g., liquor, ointment, condiment, water bottles); metallic objects (nails, door locks, hinges); and remains of imported fauna and

flora used as subsistence at these locations, among many others. In most of these matrixes, there is a diversely layered mix of these Atlantic trade goods, which makes it difficult to pin them down to the German period or to the succeeding British periods or to the postindependence periods at the sites. The agencies of the users of these materials on the site also present challenges when it comes to the analysis of the finds. However, through a multidisciplinary comparative analysis, and cross-references to other excavated historical sites, good progress is being made in understanding such varied cross-cultural lifeways on the sites.

In undertaking these studies in the hinterland and interior European colonized sites away from the known colonized coastal built environment, Dr. Apoh and his students have never lost sight of Professor Anquandah's tremendous work on the forts and castles of Ghana, also being remnants of varied European colonial experiences on the coast of the Gold Coast (Anquandah, 1999). In addition, Anquandah's pioneering work as a member of the exploratory salvage archaeology team that went to Nubia during the building of the Aswan Dam as part of the Debeira West project, under Professor Shinnie, laid the foundation for cross-country archaeological endeavors. This three-year expedition, sponsored by the government of Ghana and UNESCO, helped to salvage African heritage before it could be inundated by the Nile Floods (Anquandah et al., 2014a, p. 8; Shinnie & Shinnie, 1978). Apoh's cross-country research into exploring the German sites in the Republic of Togo (e.g., Kpalime, Misahohe, Sansane Mango, Bassar) accentuates this fundamental cross-country research possibility and provides enabling environments for this to be pursued in the West African subregion. The recent rekindling of the West African Archaeological Association (WAAA) into the international limelight could foster such cross-country research initiatives with West African archaeologists and create the paradigm of archaeology without borders in West Africa. A reflection on the last public lecture Professor Anquandah delivered as the keynote speaker at the 15th Colloquium of the WAAA held at the University of Ghana in July 2017, which he titled "A Colossus with Feet of Clay": Problems and Prospects in West African Heritage Studies," is an inspirational piece that will be published posthumously soon.

Conclusion

Professor Anquandah's immense contribution to the development of archaeology in Ghana cannot be overemphasized. He sustained the study and practice of archaeology by developing the Department of Archaeology

and Heritage Studies into a formidable element of the university's curriculum. He trained several generations of scholars who are continuing with the eclectic archaeology discourse. His legacy as the leading advocate for the use of the multidisciplinary approach to scholarship will forever influence more generations of scholars in the future. Today, the use of the multidisciplinary approach to research has been accepted by many as an alternative to the discipline-based research approach. Scholars from Ghana, either trained or influenced by Anquandah's perspective, are designing multidisciplinary approaches to conduct various research studies that will contribute to synthesizing story knowledge on the history and prehistory of Ghana. Indeed, Professor Anquandah shaped the discourse and practice of archaeology in Ghana and influenced many generations of African and Africanist archaeologists, as well as scholars from other disciplines, by incorporating problem solving into academic research and pursuits.

Mohammed Mustapha
University of Florida

Wazi Apoh
University of Ghana

References

- Abiodun, R., & Drewal, H. J. (1994). *The Yoruba artist: New theoretical perspectives on African arts*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Amedekey, B. (2018). *An archaeology of African and German interactions at Adaklu Waya, Volta Region* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Anquandah, J. (1982). *Rediscovering Ghana's past*. London, England: Longman.
- Anquandah, J. (1986). Ethnoarchaeological clues to Ghana's great past. *Universitas*, 8, 113–130.
- Anquandah, J. (1992). A preliminary report on archaeological investigations at Adwuku Hill, Shai, Ghana, 1990. *Archaeology in Ghana*, 3, 33–37.
- Anquandah, J. (1996). Accra Plain Dangmeland: A case study in the eclectic approach to archaeological and historical studies. *FASS Bulletin*, 1, 74–82.
- Anquandah, J. (1998). *Koma-Bulsa: Its art and archaeology*. Rome, Italy: Istituto Italiano per L'Africa e L'Oriente.
- Anquandah, J. (1999). *Castles and forts of Ghana*. Paris, France: Ghana Museums and Monuments Board.
- Anquandah, J. (2006). The Accra Plains, c. AD 1400–1800: Overview of trade, politics and culture from the perspective of historical archaeology. *Institute of African Studies Research Review* (Suppl. 7), 1–20.

- Anquandah, J. (2013). The people of Ghana: Their origins and cultures. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 15, 1–25.
- Anquandah, J. (2014a). The quest for meaning in African artistic representations: A case study of materials from archaeological contexts in Ghana. In J. Anquandah, B. Kankpeyeng, & W. Apoh (Eds.), *Current perspectives in the archaeology of Ghana* (pp. 204–221). Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Anquandah, J. (2014b). Trends in the development of archaeology and heritage studies in Ghana. In S. Agyei-Mensah, J. A. Ayee, & A. D. Oduro (Eds.), *Changing perspectives on the social sciences in Ghana* (pp. 11–31). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Anquandah, J. (in press). *Dangme Se-Ghana: Saga of a resilient African kingdom*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Anquandah, J., Kankpeyeng, B., & Apoh, W. (2014a). Archaeology of Ghana: An introduction. In J. Anquandah, B. Kankpeyeng, & W. Apoh (Eds.), *Current perspectives in the archaeology of Ghana* (pp. 1–17). Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Anquandah, J., Kankpeyeng, B., & Apoh, W. (Eds.). (2014b). *Current perspectives in the archaeology of Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Apoh, W. (2008). *The Akpinis and the echoes of German and British colonial overrules: An archaeology of Kpando, Ghana* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Anthropology, Binghamton University, New York, NY.
- Apoh, W. (2013a). Archaeology and heritage development: Repackaging German/British colonial relics and residues in Kpando, Ghana. In A. Wazi & B. Lundt (Eds.), *Germany and its West African colonies: "Excavations" of German colonialism in post-colonial times* (pp. 29–55). Münster, Germany: Lit Verlag.
- Apoh, W. (2013b). The archaeology of German and British colonial entanglements in Kpando-Ghana. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 17(2), 351–375.
- Apoh, W. (2016a). Ruins, relics and research: Lasting evidence and perceptible consequences of the Prussian and German colonial past in Ghana. In *Deutscher Kolonialismus: Fragmente seiner Geschichte und Gegenwart* (pp. 92–99). German Historical Museum Special Exhibition on German Colonialism. Berlin, Germany: THEISS.
- Apoh, W. (2016b). Ein Postkolonialer Blick: Die Deutsche Präsenz im Westlichen Togo zwischen 1884 und 1914. In A. von Poser & B. Baumann (Eds.), *Heikles Erbe: Koloniale Spuren bis in die Gegenwart* (pp. 174–183). Hannover State Museum Special Exhibition Catalog. Dresden, Germany: Sandstein Verlag.
- Apoh, W. (2017). A tribute to Professor James Robert Kwesi Anquandah, the indigenous trailblazer of Ghanaian archaeology. *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 5(1), 137–141.
- Apoh, W. (2019). *Revelations of domination and resilience: Unearthing the buried past of the Akpini, Akan, Germans and British at Kpando, Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Apoh, W., Anquandah, J., & Amenyo-Xa, S. (2018). Shit, blood, artifacts, and tears: Interrogating visitor perceptions and archaeological residues at Ghana's Cape

- Coast Castle slave dungeon. *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, 7(2), 105–130.
- Apoh, W., & Lundt, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Germany and its West African colonies: "Excavations" of German colonialism in post-colonial times*. Münster, Germany: Lit Verlag.
- Awedoba, A. K. (2009). *An ethnographic study of northern Ghanaian conflicts: Towards a sustainable peace*. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Ayihey, P. (2016). *A preliminary archaeological investigation of Mountain "Agbenu," Abutia, Ghana* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Binford, L. R. (1962). Archaeology as anthropology. *American Antiquity*, 28(2), 217–225.
- Binford, L. R. (1978). *Nunamiut: Ethnoarchaeology*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Bremen Mission. (1936). *Ewe reader: Ewegbalexexle Akpanelia*. Bremen, Germany: Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft.
- Casey, J. (1992). The Kintampo Complex in northern Ghana: Recent results from the Gambaga Escarpment. *Archaeology in Ghana*, 3, 18–23.
- Casey, J., Sawatzky, R., Godfrey-Smith, D. I., Quickert, N., D'Andrea, A. C., Wollstonecroft, M., & Hawkins, A. (1997). Report of investigations at the Birimi site in northern Ghana. *Nyame Akuma*, 48, 32–38.
- Crumley, C. L. (2017). Historical ecology and the study of landscape. *Landscape Research*, 42(Suppl. 1), S65–S73.
- Dakubu, M. E. K. (2015). *The languages of Ghana*. London, England: Routledge.
- David, N., & Kramer, C. (2001). *Ethnoarchaeology in action*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, O. (1960). The Neolithic revolution in tropical Africa. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 4(2), 14–20.
- Davies, O. (1967). *West Africa before the Europeans: Archaeology & prehistory*. London, England: Routledge.
- de Barros, P. (2012). The rise of the Bassar chiefdom in the context of Africa's internal frontier. In J. C. Monroe & A. Ogundiran (Eds.), *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological perspectives* (pp. 255–277). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Dillon, J. M., & Long, A. A. (Eds.). (1988). *The question of "eclecticism": Studies in later Greek philosophy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dogbey, V. S. (2015). Historical archaeology of German colonial heritage at Ziavi, in the Ho Municipality, Volta Region, Ghana (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Drewal, H. J., Houlberg, M., & Fowler Museum at UCLA. (2008). *Mami Wata: Arts for water spirits in Africa and its diasporas*. Los Angeles, CA: Fowler Museum at UCLA.
- Drucker-Brown, S. (1989). Mamprusi installation ritual and centralisation: A convection model. *Man*, 24(3), 485–501.
- Dueppen, S. (2018). The archaeology of political complexity in West Africa through 1450 CE. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. Retrieved from <https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-140>

- Eiche, S. (2014, August 27). A little learning is a dangerous thing: More is better. *Richmond News*.
- Engmann, R. A. A. (2018). An interview with James Kwesi Anquandah. *African Archaeological Review*, 35(3), 379–391.
- Fiador, E. (2017). *An archaeological investigation of African-German encounters at Kete-Krachi, Ghana* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Furley Report. (1915). ADM 11-1-603. Ghana National Archives.
- Gblerkpor, W. N. (2011). Material culture and ethnic identity: The case of the Krobo, Ghana. In H. Lauer, N. A. Appiah Amfo, & J. A. Anderson (Eds.), *Identity meets nationality: Voices from the humanities* (pp. 149–173). Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Godfrey-Smith, D. I., & Casey, J. L. (2003). Direct thermoluminescence chronology for Early Iron Age smelting technology on the Gambaga Escarpment, Ghana. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 30(8), 1037–1050.
- Kidney, W. C. (1974). *The architecture of choice: Eclecticism in America, 1880–1930*. New York, NY: George Braziller.
- Law, R. (2018). *The horse in West African history: The role of the horse in the societies of pre-colonial West Africa*. London, England: Routledge.
- MacGaffey, W. (2013). *Chiefs, priests, and praise-singers: History, politics, and land ownership in northern Ghana*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Mensah, M. (2017). *Bremen missionary interactions with the Peki: An archaeological perspective* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Monroe, J. C. (2013). The archaeology of the precolonial state in Africa. In P. Mitchell & P. Lane (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology* (pp. 689–702). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Mustapha, M. (2014). Report on an archaeological excavation of an ancient iron-working site at Nasia, northern Ghana. *Nyame Akuma*, 81, 26–33.
- Nussbaum, M. (1962). *Togo: Eine Musterkolonie?* Berlin, Germany: Rutten & Loening.
- Ocloo, E. (2017). *An archaeology of African-German encounters at Amedzofe, Ghana* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Ogundiran, A. (2012). The formation of an Oyo imperial colony during the Atlantic age. In J. C. Monroe & A. Ogundiran (Eds.), *Power and landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological perspectives* (pp. 222–254). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Okoro, J. A. (1989). *An investigation of iron smelting sites in Gambaga and the implications of the findings for Iron Age Studies in Ghana* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.
- Owusu-Ansah, D. (2018). *An archaeology of Nkonya Wurupong and its German encounters, Volta Region, Ghana* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana.

- Raab, L. M., & Goodyear, A. C. (1984). Middle-range theory in archaeology: A critical review of origins and applications. *American Antiquity*, 49(2), 255–268.
- Rattray, R. S. (1932). *The tribes of the Ashante hinterland*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Richard, F. G. (2018). *Reluctant landscapes: Historical anthropologies of political experience in Siin, Senegal*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, B. W., & Thornton, C. P. (Eds.). (2014). *Archaeometallurgy in global perspective: Methods and syntheses*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Sebald, P. (1988). *Togo 1884–1914: Eine Geschichte der Deutschen "Musterkolonie" auf der Grundlage amtlicher Quellen*. Berlin, Germany: Akademie-Verlag.
- Shinnie, P. L., & Shinnie, M. (1978). *Debeira West: A mediaeval Nubian town*. Warmminster, England: Aris and Phillips.
- Stahl, A. B. (2001). *Making history in Banda: Anthropological visions of Africa's past*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Tamakloe, E. F. (1931). *A brief history of the Dagbamba people*. Accra, Ghana: Government Printer.
- Taylor, W. W., Jr. (1948). *A study of archaeology*. American Anthropological Association (AAA) Memoir No. 69. Menasha, Wisconsin: AAA.
- Trigger, B. G. (2006). *A history of archaeological thought*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Zeller, E. (1883). *A history of eclecticism in Greek philosophy* (S. F. Alleyne, Trans.). London, England: Longmans, Green.