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ADINKRA

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Abstract

Watson (n.d) describes Symbols as a representation of something other than what they actually are. Generally, they are based on conventionally agreed upon meanings, but unlike signs, which usually stand for something concrete, symbols usually stand for something less visible or tangible than the symbol itself.

The civilization of Egypt was symbolically oriented to a degree rarely equaled by other cultures. It was through symbols (hieroglyphics) that the Egyptians represented and affirmed many of their ideas, beliefs and attitudes regarding the nature of life, death, the supernatural and reality. (Watson n.d)

Symbols often depict aspects of reality or ideas that are difficult to represent through other modes of expression.

The Adinkra symbols, a unique pattern of lines, shapes, circles and squares whose origins date from around the 19TH century, amongst a people called the Asantes of Ghana, the land of my birth, is amongst the richest and most proverbial of symbols in Africa relating widely to the history, beliefs and philosophy of the Asantes. (Tetteh n.d) I have, to a large extent been drawn to the evocative and hidden messages these unique symbols encapsulate. The giant question is, “can they still be relevant two centuries later? “ Is it possible to bring these same ancient symbols as an influence on Jewelry design within a contemporary African context, whilst still maintaining their proverbial meanings and wisdom?

These questions will be answered through the merging of processes, thoughts and ideas that will form the substance of this body of work.

My goal and focus will be on these symbols and the significance of their visual representation and symbolic influence in modern day society. By finding different ways and methods of making jewelry and metal art forms that respond to my current way of thinking, I will use silver, brass, copper, steel, different kinds of gemstones and fabric. The desire to draw attention to my country and continent is an important objective for me both as an individual and as a metal artist.

These symbols, whose qualities evoke meanings such as honor, respect, gallantry, good fortune, wealth, and war, amongst others will form the basis for the fabrication of my jewelry and metal art forms. I hope to explore the capacity of the meanings from the transitioning of these two dimensional symbols to a tangible 3-dimensional form that can be appreciated to a large extent.
History of Adinkra Symbols

The Ashanti Region of Ghana, West Africa, lies at the heart of the West African tropical rain forest. The only major city is the capital, Kumasi, which is about 150 miles inland from the Gulf of Guinea. The Asante kingdom was founded by the great King Osei Tutu in the 18th century. The Ashantis were and still are a powerful matrilineal ethnic group residing in the central part of present-day Ghana. They were one of the few African states who strongly resisted the European colonization in the 1800s.

The Ashanti fought very hard to keep their kingdom from British occupation between 1823 and 1896. Much of the modern nation of Ghana was dominated from the late 17th through the late 19th century by a state known as the Asante. Asante was the largest and most powerful of a series of states formed in the forest region of southern Ghana by people known as the Akans. Among the factors leading the Akan to form states, perhaps the most important was that they were very rich in gold.

The Adinkra symbols are believed to have originated from Gyaman, a former kingdom in today’s Côte D’Ivoire in the Western part of Africa. According to an Asante legend, Adinkra was the name of a king of the Gyaman (Nana Kofi Adinkra). Adinkra was defeated and captured in a battle with the Ashanti’s for having copied their “Golden Stool”; the golden stool was a stool made out of gold, which represented absolute power and tribal cohesion, a sacred relic of extreme importance that held the spirit of the Ashanti people.

Adinkra was finally killed and his territory annexed to the kingdom of the Ashanti’s. The tradition had it that Nana Adinkra wore patterned cloth, which was interpreted as a way of expressing his sorrow on being captured and taken to Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Region. The Ashanti people around the 19th century then took to painting of the traditional symbols of the Gyamans unto cloth, a tradition that has been well practiced to date. The name Adinkra means goodbye or farewell. It has therefore been the tradition of the Akan people, particularly; the Ashanti’s to wear cloths decorated with the Adinkra symbols on important occasions, especially at funerals of family relations and friends. This is to signify their sorrow and to bid farewell to the deceased.

Today, the Asante people are not exclusively the only people who wear the Adinkra cloth. It is worn by other ethnic groups in Ghana on a variety of social gatherings and festive occasions. The Adinkra symbols express various themes that relate to the history, beliefs and philosophy of the Ashanti culture. They mostly have rich proverbial meaning, since proverbs play a very important role in the Ashanti culture. The use of Proverbs is considered a mark of wisdom. Other Adinkra symbols depict historical events, human behavior and attitudes, animal behavior, plant life forms and shapes of many objects. These symbols continue to increase as new influences play a major impact on the Ghanaian culture.
My goal is to find different ways of elaborating these symbolic forms, such as making body ornamentation/jewelry and metal art forms that respond to my Ghanaian cultural background.

I was born and raised in Ghana, but there was very little I knew about my own culture. One of the reasons for being less informed was the big influence of western culture on our Ghanaian society. Most of our interests are driven by western influence, that we have put aside or even forgotten the very fabric of our culture as Ghanaians, which are our traditional ways of living and doing things, ways that uphold qualities of respect, honor, good morals and many others.

In as much as I agree with the fact that we as individual Ghanaians must grow with the present change in this century, I do not agree that we grow leaving our traditions behind. The Adinkra symbols are still in use to date by many in the country, but I have observed that, the attention to these symbols is mainly in their aesthetic values and not in their significance, meaning or the message they hold or tell.

I had heard and seen the Adinkra symbols being used several times, but I hardly paid attention to how vast these symbols were and how much value they held. There are countless numbers of these symbols that I did not know of, chiefly because I also have paid less attention to them. I can boast of knowing the ‘Gye Nyame’ in literal translation meaning ‘Only God’ and this is only because it is a very popular one that you would usually see being used everywhere you go.

My interest in my culture grew greatly when I moved from Ghana to the United States of America. As a teen, my parents would take me to gatherings, parties, funerals and naming ceremonies where you will find Ghanaians playing Ghanaian music, the room always filled with the aroma of all kinds of traditional Ghanaian delicacies. I remember the nostalgic feeling every time I was taken to these gatherings whilst still being eager to learn more about their knowledge of our traditions; a price I had to pay for not paying much attention to my own culture. I realized then that I had taken for granted what I was accustomed to back home in Ghana, the beauty and richness of our Ghanaian culture.

It took my relocation to the States to grasp the understanding of the real meaning of culture, ‘a way a group of people live.’ These people, my people, had formed the Ghanaian community in a foreign land despite the barrier of over six thousand miles of distance whilst still holding on strongly to their culture. I have learned a great depth of my culture now as a young Ghanaian woman, and one aspect of this is the knowledge of the wonderful Adinkra symbols.
The Asante people have developed their own unique art of adinkra printing. They make use of two traditional printing methods, which are the block-stamp technique that involves the use of wooden or metal stamps and the screen-printing. The Adinkra cloths were originally printed from hand carved stamps made from calabash or gourd, which is known in the traditional language as ‘apakyiwa’. The dye or ink used also known in the traditional language as ‘adinkra aduru’ used for printing, was derived from the bark of the Badie and the roots of the Kuntunkuni trees. (Tetteh n.d)

The bark and roots are soaked in water for days to soften after which they are pounded to increase the softening process. The Badie bark is then boiled with iron scraps. When the color (deep brown) emerges from the pulp, it is sieved and engraved onto a piece of calabash or pot. These two processes are still in use till date.

Block stamp technique

Screen printing

The Bark of the Badie and Roots of the Kuntunkuni trees
Soaking the bark and roots in water to soften
The stamps are still made with the calabash plant also known as a gourd when they are dried. The inside of the dry, thick-skinned calabash is covered with shea butter for a year to slightly soften it. A piece of the calabash is cut off with a knife and then a pattern is drawn onto the outer skin with a pencil; the negative space is carved away with a gouge. Pieces of raffia palm are then hammered into the back of the stamp with a stone, and then a cloth is tied over the ends to make a handle. To be able to preserve them, the calabash stamps are soaked for a few minutes in hot ‘adinkra duro’ to keep them bug-free between use.

Block Stamping Technique- The making of the carved stamps
To make adinkra duro medium (colorant), the outer bark of the Badie tree is cut away, then the inner bark is broken into pieces and soaked for 24 hours. It is then pounded for about 3 hours in a wooden mortar, boiled for several hours, strained through a plastic window screen, and then boiled for 4 more hours.
The various stamps, which are carved from the calabash are tinted with dye and pressed in sequence unto plain cotton cloth, pegged on the ground. Today, raised platforms with sack covering are used as the printing tables. In recent times, imported cloths are used as the background of the cloth. Sometimes, various symbols are used on one fabric, which portrays its own significance. The designing is done according to the message the wearer or owner of the cloth intends to convey to the participants of the event for which it will be worn. The quality of the cloth also shows the status of the one wearing it.

The original Adinkra cloth is not made to be washed, since it fades out easily as a result of the natural ink that has been used to print without the addition of any chemical additives.

Ntonso, is a town in the Ashanti Region which is noted for Adinkra cloth production. It is popularly acknowledged as the 'Home of Adinkra.'
The Ashanti culture is known for many reasons, one of which is their natural gold reserves, a very symbolic quality amongst the Asantes. Before March 1957, when Ghana gained its independence from the British colonial rule, Ghana was called the Gold Coast. The Portuguese who came to Ghana in the 15th Century found so much gold between two rivers, the river Ankobra and the Volta River that they named the place Mina - meaning Mine. The Gold Coast was later adapted by the English colonizers.
Critical Analysis

There are two main materials incorporated in my work. The first one is brass, a metal alloy made of copper and zinc. The surface luster of polished brass almost resembles gold. I have used the brass to portray the element of gold in terms of color. Gold is a significant part of my history as a Ghanaian and I translated this feature in my work using the brass. The second material is steel, an alloy of iron with carbon being the primary alloying element. This material has been used to represent the character of the people of Ghana who are sturdy in their way of living.

The name Adinkra means ‘goodbye’ or ‘farewell’ in Twi, the language of the Akan ethnic group of which Asante is a significant part. It has therefore been the tradition of the Akan especially the Asante to wear cloths decorated with Adinkra symbols on important occasions, especially at funerals of family relations and friends, to bid farewell to the deceased and also to signify their sorrow. These cloths are usually red, brick red or black in color. Originally, there are three main types of cloths that are considered three of the most important funeral Adinkra cloths. They are the dark brown color, known traditionally as ‘kuntunkuni’, the brick red or red color, known traditionally as ‘kobene’ and the black color, known traditionally as ‘brisi’.

In choosing the colors for my work, I opted for the vibrant and happy colors. This directly contrasts the traditional red, brick red and dark colors of the adinkra cloth. The idea is to translate the rather dark colors into that which radiates life. Instead of colors that depict qualities of mourning, those that I chose depict qualities of celebration of life, hope, joy and other good things. This rather obvious contrast is to enhance the true meanings of some of these symbols to fit the color schemes I give them. The colors I chose are yellow, orange, green and purple: Yellow is understood and known to be the color of sunshine. It is associated with joy, happiness, intellect, and energy. It also produces a warming effect, arouses cheerfulness and stimulates mental activity. Orange is a color that combines the energy of red and the happiness of yellow. It is associated with joy, sunshine, and the tropics, just as Ghana is known to be in the tropical area. It also represents enthusiasm, fascination, happiness, creativity, determination, attraction, success, encouragement, and stimulation. Green is known as the color of nature. It symbolizes growth, harmony, freshness, and fertility. It suggests stability and endurance and has strong emotional correspondence with safety, it is also said to have great healing power. The final color I selected was purple, which combines the stability of blue and the energy of red. It is associated with royalty. It also symbolizes power, nobility, luxury, and ambition. It conveys wealth and extravagance. Purple is associated with wisdom, dignity, independence and creativity. (Color wheel 02-14)

The meaning of these colors is what drew me to using them. They fit perfectly to how I want to portray the Adinkra symbols. My aim is not only to change the colors of the
symbols to fit my idea, but also to expand these magnificent symbols into highly aesthetic pieces.

There are eleven brass pieces that I used in my MFA Thesis Show all of which were formed using the hammering technique. The hammering technique gave a distortive finish to the already designed Adinkra symbols I made. The technique offered me the opportunity to churn a finish that could turn out better in form than what I had envisioned. It was more like the surprise I was looking forward to see, which was exactly the end product I obtained.

I also had three steel pieces in my show. These pieces were larger in scale than the brass pieces. They were about four inches by four inches in width with all of them having different lengths. These steel pieces were designed using a computer aided design (CAD) known as Rhinoceros. The steel was then laser cut, scored and bent and then welded together to attain the form that was needed. Symbols

Hill, 2006 describes symbols as very old forms of visual communication that convey meaning beyond what is obvious. Many artists have used this phenomenon to translate messages that hitherto were difficult to understand, based on society’s reactions and even their own personal views. Some used them to symbolize feelings through something similar. In addition, cultural heritage as well as culture and other influences are used as symbols to represent emotions and a sense of their belonging.

Dutch artist Vincent Van Gogh used symbols in his 1889 painting, ‘Starry Night, to communicate the relationship between nature and humans’(historyarchive.com)Guernica (1937, Prado, Madrid) was Picasso's response to, and condemnation of the bombing of a Spanish town, Guernica in 1937. He executed the painting in black and white—in keeping with the seriousness of the subject. All the other elements in this painting were symbolic to various themes of brutality, death, darkness, warfare, inhumanity and evil(pablopicasso.org)
‘Clytie’, the water nymph who fell in love with the sun god Apollo, according to Greek myths, would sit on the ground and watch him move across the sky. Eventually, she grew roots and became the sunflower. Throughout the day, a sunflower turns its head in the direction of the moving sun. As the Roman poet Ovid said of the water nymph, ‘her shape is changed, but still her passion burns.’” Hiram Powers, the American neoclassical sculptor (1805-1873) who produced perhaps the most popular American work of art at mid-century titled ‘Greek Slave’ in his bust of ‘Clytie’ gave the sculpture sunflower petals to symbolize her becoming a sunflower. (Myth encyclopedia)

Frida Kahlo, the Mexican painter, known for her self-portraits used symbols, animals and plants to show babies because she greatly missed not having them. (Schaefer 2009)
Wisdom "Wiz" Kudowor is one of the most well-known and respected contemporary artists in Ghana today. Born in Takoradi, Ghana in 1957 and educated in the arts at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Wiz’s career spans about 30 years. Living and working in Accra today, he has exhibited in over 50 group and twelve solo exhibitions in Ghana and throughout Africa, Europe, North America, and Asia. His paintings are held in private and public collections across the world, including Ghana’s National Museum, China’s Ministry of Culture, Japan’s Osaka Prefecture Collection, and a public mural at Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park.

Wiz's bold canvases of figures, faces, scenes, and shapes evoke traditional Ghanaian themes while exploring Cubist and Futurist styles. He evades the traditional plane, painting abstract layered pieces with a foam roller and palette knife. “The varied energies in my environment provide an unlimited database for my work,” he says. Employing a unique style that he developed when he started traveling the world, Wiz is widely considered to be a “transcultural visionary.”

While drawing upon the rich heritage of artistic tradition and cultural symbols in Ghana’s history, Wiz Kudowor developed his uniquely personal style of artistic expression with reminiscence of Cubist and Futurist shapes and designs. When asked to describe his place in the art world, he simply replies: “I am just Wiz, an artist who lives and works in Africa. I don't see myself as doing African painting. If you feel Africa through my work, it is because I live here. And I am African. But I regard what I do as art on the same level as art in Europe or America or Asia. I don't tag myself. Let others do the tagging as it is done.’
(Wzkudowor.com)
Wiz makes use of various adinkra symbols in his works to portray different themes depending on his subject.

Sanctity of the Union

Icons of Life, 1996

All these artists, Picasso, Van Gogh, Powers and Kahlo have primarily incorporated the use of symbols as a unique way of expressing themselves through their art. These artists, especially Wiz Kudowor have influenced my inspiration to channel messages through the adinkra symbols in my fabrications.
“One of the strangest things is the act of creation.

You are faced with a blank slate- a page, a canvas, a block of stone or wood, a silent musical instrument.

You then look inside yourself.

You pull and tug and squeeze and fish around for slippery raw shapeless things that swim like fish made of cloud vapor and fill you with clamor. You latch onto something. And you bring it forth out of your head like Zeus giving birth to Athena.

And it comes out; it takes shape and tangible form.

It drips on the canvas, and slides through your pen, it springs forth and resonates into the musical strings, and slips along the edge of the sculptor’s tool onto the surface of the wood or marble.

You have given it cohesion. You have brought forth something ordered and beautiful out of nothing.

You have glimpsed the divine.”

– Vera Nazarian

1.

Gye Nyame

Toga Virilis

‘Gye Nyame’ meaning except God is a symbol that reflects the supremacy and dominion of God over all creation. God is regarded therefore as the omnipotent and omnipresent being, the giver of life.

Out of this symbol, I have fabricated a pair of spatulas. These are no ordinary spatulas; I call them ‘Toga Virilis’; Toga Virilis describes a white garment worn in ancient Rome by boys as a sign of manhood. (Encarta dictionary) The form of these spatulas reveals their extraordinary function. Their shape, similar to the structure of sperm, subjects them to stand as fertility symbols. White represents purity, and can be attributed to God, and as the Toga is worn as a sign of manhood, God therefore is the giver of life. The pair
have assumed a unique shape that makes them no longer spatulas, but fertility symbols. Their head is a replication of the ‘Gye Nyame’.

2. 

Duafe

Nefertiti

Royal Identity

This piece is titled ‘Nefertiti’. It is a cut off from the piece ‘Royal Identity’, also obtained from the adinkra ‘Duafe’. Nefertiti, the great royal wife of the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten was known for her elegant beauty. She was the most beautiful pharaoh queen. The ancient Egyptians highly valued personal adornment and jewelry, and it was worn by both men and women of all social classes. The masses could only afford copper, whilst the upper class preferred gold, especially the royals. Gold bangles on their wrists were a common feature. (scribd.com)

The spontaneous twist of the bangle provides a degree of freedom in the design, a characteristic of the life of the royals; freedom and independence. This spontaneity frees the form from the intrusive overlay of conscious constraints that mold the designs of many bangles.
The adinkra symbol ‘Aya (fern)’ referring to a hardy plant which has the ability to withstand all weather conditions and soil types symbolizes endurance in all aspects of human endeavours.

In the 12th to 15th century, feathers were used as an important part of fashion for the elite and the aristocratic society lasting for hundreds of years. (the victorianist.blogspot.com) The shape of this piece has been fabricated to resemble a feather shaped spatula that stems from the ‘Aya’ symbol but keeping the feathery part more outstanding; the brass finish, symbolizing wealth and royalty. I call this piece ‘the Victorianist’. The Victorianist represents an aristocratic lifestyle in fashion. Though the piece is a spatula, it assumes a more confident look other than its function.

Adinkra symbols communicate very intangible emotions concerning human behavior and its belief systems. This translates in my pieces as they assume diverse human qualities.
The adinkra symbol, ‘Akoben’ symbolizes a wind instrument used in summoning warriors to the battle field. It encourages people to be ready at all times to serve and stresses on loyalty to one’s nation. It’s a symbol of devotion, loyalty and service.

The highly polished brass neck piece is a replication of the ‘Akoben’. A pendant is always a symbolization of the things that a person treasures. (ezinearticles.com)

As an object that will hang on the neck, it serves to remind the wearer to be devoted and serviceable to his society. The shape of the neck piece though similar to the adinkra has rounded grooves on the insides; circles or roundness is symbolic of femininity. The grooved areas overshadow the whole form and transform the entire piece into a feminine piece.
This design has been evolved from ‘Duae’, an adinkra symbol that symbolizes beauty in women, encouraging people to look their best all the time.

This artifact represents the object of concealment, titled ‘Royal Identity’. It portrays a paradoxical case of what we esteem as truth, but an open clue to portray the image behind the concealment as very important. It is an open book to tell the viewer that the image behind is a person of high repute because of the lustrous look of the object. The paradox is that, the image behind the concealment can also be one of low repute, but hides behind a lustrous mask to influence his or her identity.
Many jewelry items, especially pre-1930s ones, are covered in motifs and carved symbols like ivy leaves, insects, and animals. These aren't just pretty embellishments; they have a real meaning. For example, a Victorian brooch that is decorated with ivy represents everlasting love, deep friendship or marriage, though if this brooch is also dotted with pearls it means it's a mourning piece (pearls represent tears), so it would have been worn by someone who wanted to remember a departed loved one. (pearltrees.com)

The following brooches are replications of adinkra symbols that carry different messages depending on which one the wearer would wear. The emphasis is not only on the aesthetic purposes, but also on the message they carry as they hang on the wearer. Juxtaposed against a brass support to create contrast and uniqueness, these brooches have been subjugated deliberately in black.

“Black is a powerful, bold and dramatic presence. It’s heavy, dominating, and pervasive. Black symbolizes confidence, self-control and resilience. It denotes strength and authority. It is considered to be a very formal, elegant, and prestigious color (black tie, black Mercedes). The meaning of black is authoritative and powerful.” (beadingdesignjewelry.com)

Black contrasts well with bright colors. Combined with red or orange – other very powerful colors – black gives a very aggressive color scheme; a wonderful color for a brooch. Even though the color black is used for these brooches, the meaning they hold is very different from that which is assigned to the original adinkra symbols.

6.

‘Dweninimmen’ (Ram’s horn)

This represents humility and strength.

The ram is noted for its strength especially in a fight with an adversary; however it submits itself humbly for slaughter.

This symbol stresses the need to humble one’s self in every aspect of life in order to learn and acquire knowledge.
7. ‘Kintinkantan’ (Extravagant and puffed up)

This is a symbol of extravagance and arrogance. It serves as a warning against boastfulness and disregard for other people.

8. “Mmara Krado” (The Law Padlock)

This is a symbol of Justice and Authority

It signifies supreme authority, justice and equality of everybody before the law and stresses the importance of enforcing and abiding by rules and regulations in order to bring order in society.
9. “Bese Saka” (Bunch of cola nuts)

This is a symbol of power and affluence.

Cola nut is chewed by people for its medicinal value and also for its stimulating effects to keep people awake. The symbol encourages trade, industry and agriculture among nations and people because they bring about economic progress.

10. Ohene Aniwa (the eyes of the king)

It’s a symbol of vigilance, protection, security & excellence.

There’s an Ashanti proverb, "ohene aniwa twa ne ho hyia." Meaning the king's eyes are placed all around him.

The King has lots of eyes and nothing is hidden from him. This symbol implies that the eyes of the king see many things. Since he sees so much, if you are planning to say something bad about him you had better be careful. He has a number of people who give him information.
11. “Sankofa” (Go back and take)

It's a symbol of positive reversion and revival.

This symbol teaches the wisdom in learning from the past, which helps in building the future. It also teaches people to cherish and value their culture and avoid its adulteration.
Conclusion

This journey has been insightful, exciting and rewarding.

Before I began, I asked myself questions; questions that bordered around the relevance of adinkra symbols in contemporary times and whether they could influence jewelry design within a contemporary context. I sought to answer these questions through research, thoughts, processes and ideas while drawing attention to my country and continent in the process.

Throughout the body of work, I have found out that the symbols that we use, as distinct from signs, carry multiple meanings depending on the context and culture in which they appear. Symbols can be a gesture, an object or a ritual that informs, solidifies and influences our social interactions. They are important and integral elements in understanding culture. They reinforce our norms, values and provide an operative in which we can manifest our meanings. Symbols can also evoke emotional responses from us.

I understand that a symbolic representation has its genesis in the social, ideological and political concepts which define the culture in which the symbol is found. It was insightful to know that symbols do not always remain the same, but can transform through the ages and through various processes of cultural adaptation.

I have also noticed that what is clear about the power of symbolic representation in society is that although symbols serve the function of representing a concept or idea, they also have the propensity to evoke an emotional and psychological response. In fact, the importance or the emotional significance of the concept is what formulates the symbol in the first place. Symbols make up a significant part of any cultural fabric. They have the power to transform a concept into a reality, to speak without words and to effect emotional responses from us.

Realizing these truths through various processes and ideas has shaped my understanding of symbolism in contemporary jewelry design and metal art forms. Time does not affect the symbols in our culture rather than our own ability to recognize them with time.

Indeed symbols are important to culture because they bring a sense of belonging to the people.

As long as we live, our cultural heritage shall live with us.
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Steel
4 x 4 ft.
Lotus
Steel
4 x 4 ft.
Excalibur
Steel
4 x 4ft.
Royal Identity (2014)
Brass
18 x 4 inches
Loyalty (2014)
Brass
17 x 9 inches
Toga Virilis (2014)
Brass
10 x 4 inche
The Victorianist (2014)
Brass
14 x 5 inches
Nefertiti (2014)
Brass
7 x 3.5 inches
Mmara Krado “The Law Padlock” (2014)
Acrylic, Brass
4 x 4 inches
Dweninimmen “Ram’s horn” (2014)
Acrylic, Brass
4 x 4 Inches
Kintinkantan “Extravagant and puffed up” (2014)
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