The House of Oduduwa:
An Archaeological Study of Economy and Kingship in the Savè Hills of West Africa

by

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ABSTRACT

Since at least the late first millennium CE, West African societies have participated in long-distance trade networks that linked the region with the rest of Africa and beyond. Over the past half century, archaeological research has documented how African elites actively manipulated these networks to create powerful states. This work has led to an understanding of the intersections between trade, centralization and political economy. Comparatively little attention has been given to the local economies of centralized states: practices such as agriculture, craft production, and labor organization that formed the basis of economic life and underwrote participation in long-distance exchange. Even less is known about the economies and organization of polities not engaged in long-distance exchange.

This dissertation presents the first systematic archaeological research of the Shabe kingdom of the central Republic of Bénin. Shabe was and continues to be affiliated with the Ife dynastic field—a network of loosely integrated polities borrowing political symbols and concepts of kingship from Ile-Ife. Research combined reconnaissance survey, intensive transect survey, and test excavations to establish a settlement chronology spanning from Shabe's foundation around 1600 CE to the end of French colonial rule in 1960. Archaeological evidence is linked to oral histories to produce a model of political, economic, material culture, and landscape change across this period.

Shabe political legitimacy was achieved both through appeals to external power structures and control of local economic resources. In both realms, legitimacy was fragile. There is little evidence that Shabe was directly ruled by any non-local polity. There is more evidence for interactions between Shabe elites and distant polities, but even this is limited. Similarly, there is little evidence that Shabe's rulers exerted centralized control over the local economy. Instead, the Shabe economy in all periods is typical of a frontier economy, in which migrants replicate and adapt the practices of the nearby mature economies that they emigrated from. This finding supports the hypothesis that pre-colonial Shabe political institutions exercised power creatively rather than instrumentally.. Shabe elites were able to control labor and resources through consensus-building, rather than coercion, force, or exclusive access to wealth.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

A. Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe Joins Facebook

1. Digital Frontiers

"Je vous salue au nom de DAÏBI du trone de BABA GIDAÏ, tous les descendants de mère et de père Tchabè. Que la paix reigne sur mon pays et le Bénin notre chère patrie."

Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe, February 26, 2011

In February of 2011, the king of the Shabe Yoruba joined Facebook. In his first post, sent out to a handful of online subjects, Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe[1] echoed the kind of address usually reserved for formal face-to-face audiences. His post took the form of a greeting, but it was truly an invitation—an invitation to participate in the new digital court he had created. Just as with the royal Shabe palace in the small town of Savè, Republic of Bénin, the king charged his digital

[1] Yoruba orthography uses diacritic marks to indicate the vowels "ẹ" [ɛ] and "ọ" [ɔ], as well as the consonant "ṣ" [ʃ] or [tʃ]. It also uses acute and grave accent marks to indicate tone. Throughout the dissertation, I transcribe foreign words in Yoruba orthography when appropriate, noting spelling differences relevant to the Shabe dialect. However, for clarity I've retained the English orthography for place names (e.g., Shabe instead of Ṣàbẹ́, Oyo instead of Ọyọ) as well as for the title "Onishabe" (instead of Oníṣàbẹ́). In the case of settlements, rivers, and administrative designations in the Republic of Bénin, I use the official French spelling (e.g., Kaboua instead of Kabwa, Ouèssè instead of Wẹsẹ). Finally, in the case of the city Savè, I use Savè when referring to the present-day and colonial settlement, and Shabe-Idadu for the pre-colonial settlement, as it was known at that time.

presence with the symbols and metaphors of royal power. His first post invokes each of the key concepts tied to the monarchy, and so provides a tidy summation of what Shabe kingship had come to be by 2011.

Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe begins his post by speaking for the throne. Like many other West African monarchies, the king of Shabe distinguishes his office through the use of an elaborate ritual seat. In years past, the throne took the form of an elaborately carved stool. The most recent form of the throne, however, takes the form of a high-backed chair. The throne is one of the most potent symbols of the monarchy. It is highly visible during audiences with the king, making him appear to be an immovable fixture in the palace (Figure I.1). The throne is where the king dispenses judgment, makes proclamations, and receives tribute. In short, it is the central locus for the king's privileges and responsibilities. Through its highly visible association, the throne comes to metonymically stand for the monarchy. It is a durable symbol of the institution, outlasting any single king who sits on it.

Figure I.1 Ọba Adétùtú Akénmu, the Onishabe of the Shabe kingdom (2005-). He bears the primary insignia of his status and office: staff, fly-whisk, glass and coral beads, and the *adé* beaded crown representing descent from Odùduwà, the divine king of Ile-Ife. Behind the Onishabe are his mother (left) and wife (right). (Photo: Alfred Weidinger, 2013)

The pedigree of the throne reference by Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe is made explicit in his post: it is the throne of Baba Guidaï. In Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe's perspective, Baba Guidaï was the first true Shabe king. All subsequent kings were chosen by kingmakers from among his descendants, alternating between the Ìfàà and Akíkẹnjú lineages of the royal Otọ́lá dynasty. It is

not enough to occupy the Shabe throne, as the occupant is only legitimate if he possesses a direct connection to historical rulers. The power of the king in the present, then, is cast in terms of the past—that royal power is a form of tradition.

Yet, the Onishabe's genealogical connection to the past, though specific, is not unique. After all, each Shabe subject can trace their lineage to some apical ancestor. As the Onishabe says, they are all "descendants of Shabe mothers and fathers." In this way, a widespread sense of common lineage and descent is as important to maintaining the Shabe kingdom as the monarchy's ability to affect political cohesion. The power and relevancy of the Shabe king is part of a shared cultural memory, a part of an essential Shabe identity that extends deep into the past.

Though rooted in the past, the Shabe kingdom articulates with the present. A little over a century ago, the Shabe king was the most important political figure in the area, administering a relatively autonomous territory. Today, the influence of the king is more circumscribed. The Republic of Bénin has taken over the powers to create and enforce laws, to tax, and to wage war. Perhaps in response, the king's role is now more explicitly concerned with history, in the capacity that the king is charged with safeguarding Shabe heritage. Indeed, the Republic of Bénin classifies the Shabe kingdom as a "chefferie traditionelle"—tradition is explicitly linked to the kingship institution.

The Shabe kingdom is no longer an autonomous political entity. However, the Shabe king remains a political figure. As the philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) points out, heritage is itself a political resource, one that encapsulates the rights of identity and recognition. In effect, the political history of the Shabe kingdom has come to stand for the history of an ethnicity. Much like the metonymic association between throne and king, Shabe is alchemically

transmuted from a political structure to a group of people, so that the ancient laws that organized the Shabe kingdom are repurposed to essentialize ethnicity. Through the logic of ethnicity, it is self-evident that the king of Shabe should serve as the ethnic figurehead.

The drama of ethnic politics is well-known in Africa. Though peaceful Benin has been spared the violent ethnic clashes of neighboring Nigeria, ethnicity is similarly a dominant political organization. This is seen in the Shabe king's Facebook activity, where his posts occasionally endorse political candidates. The current president of Bénin, Boni Yayi, was born in Shabe territory, and so is claimed by the king as one of his kingdom's native sons. At a more practical level, the king champions social causes like local development initiatives. Though these activities may not fall immediately under the banner of heritage, they are reminiscent of the functions of kingship from before the rise of the nation-state and the colonial order before that. In this light, there is long-term continuity in Shabe kingship as a political institution.

If history and heritage are the coin of the present-day Shabe king, then his use of social media may come off as incongruent with the role of the institution. A common discursive trope is that modernity will displace heritage institutions such as the Shabe monarchy. The photographer Alfred Weidinger, whose multiyear project to document Africa's traditional kings took him throughout the continent, recently opined to CNN:

> "When you come to a region [of Africa] and you see that they are working with mobile phones, it's a kind of sign. If you see mobile phones you definitely know that it's a dying ethnic group. African culture is changing, there are changes in communication. People are going to the capitals and living where there is no need for a king anymore." (quoted in Todd 2014)

In Weidinger's view, modernity, in the form of communication technologies, poses a threat to African kingship by disintegrating ethnicity, its mode of organization. Attached to this is the notion that kingship is bound to a rural location, and so is equally opposed by the demographic

shift in Africa favoring urban settlement. As people and places are transformed by modern life, the prevailing wisdom predicts a plummeting trajectory of traditional kingship in Shabe and throughout Africa.

The Shabe king's presence on Facebook subverts this trajectory. Three years after joining Facebook, Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe has over 1,300 friends. His friends (or are they subjects?) post messages to his Facebook page beginning with the formal greeting to royalty of "Kabiyesi." In return, he posts photos of himself in full regalia presiding over royal ceremonies. He regularly uses this platform to deliver lectures on Shabe culture and history, which are met by accolades from Shabe people who have moved to the coastal hubs of Cotonou or Porto Novo, or internationally to Nigeria, France, or the United States. Rather than shrinking toward irrelevance, the king is more popular than ever.

I cannot read the future in Ifá's kola nuts, and so will not attempt to predict what is ahead for the Shabe king. It may very well be that technology and urbanism will eventually dislodge traditional African political institutions and deliver them to obscurity. For the moment, however, Shabe kingship seems to be a cohesive institution articulated through clearly defined expectations and responsibilities, and empowered by coherent sense of who its constituents are. At the root of this cohesion is a sense of continuity with the past. This is a past that connects people and landscape, things and institutions. It is a past geographically located in the Savè hills area of the central Republic of Bénin (Figure I.2). Through its geography, the Shabe kingdom is part of a larger history of political institutions in West Africa. West African polities have certainly changed, but there is a line to the past that underlies their relevance in the present. The focus of this dissertation is on that continuity. In the following work, I seek to excavate,

metaphorically and literally, this line to the past, tracing the evolution of political institutions in Shabe.

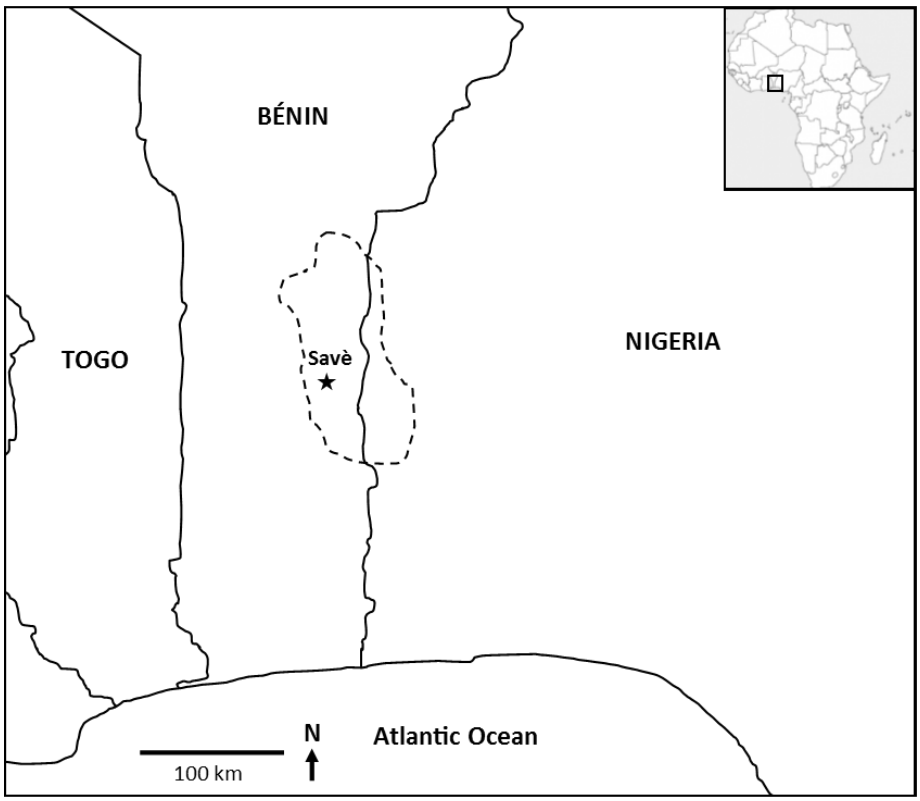


Figure I.2 The present-day commune capital Savè lends its name to the Savè hills area. Savè is itself a Fongbe-language adaptation of Shabe. The distribution of Shabe settlements in Bénin and Nigeria is shown by the broken line.

2. West African Kingdoms and Long-term Continuity

Though my research centers on the material remains of past political institutions, I have tried to keep an observant eye on the present. One reason for this has been practical: as the first systematic archaeological research in the Savè hills area, it was necessary to work closely with the Shabe king, royal advisors, lineage heads, village chiefs, hunters and other political institutions in order to collect data. It was impossible throughout this process to not notice the

ways in which these present-day institutions used archaeological remains to frame their legitimacy through continuity.

A second reason for my interest in the present has been theoretical. As an anthropological archaeologist interested in the development of political institutions, it has been exciting to work in a context where the institutions under investigations still exist in some form. Though there has obviously been change, discontinuity, and innovation as well, the close proximity of archaeological sites and descent communities empowered a direct-historical approach to research. Such an approach has been useful in delineating the developmental trajectory of kingship as well competing political institutions.

A third reason for my interest in the present has been ethical. Recent self-reflective criticism of archaeological practice in Africa has begun to question the utility of research programs that fail to engage relevant stakeholders (e.g., Schmidt 2009; Lane 2011; Giblin et al. 2014). By paying attention to the diversity of political institutions in the present, I have been able to solicit the participation of diverse groups in an attempt to create a more inclusive research paradigm. In particular, my interest in the development of political institutions dovetails with the call to recover "usable pasts" (Lane 2011; Stump 2013b). As the Shabe monarchy has become so closely linked to the identity of modern group, its origins and development have become salient points in debates over local resources, national policy, and sentiments toward the far-flung populations of the African diaspora.

Archaeology can make important contributions to the construction of "usable pasts" through its investigations of material remains—the raw matter of the past that is transformed into heritage resources. These contributions are substantial in Africa where the 20th century disrupted many of the continent's indigenous institutions. In contrast to the popular images of African

kingdoms as timeless and static, African states have often been seen as dangerously volatile and dynamic. The two are related, of course, and the post-colonial history of the Shabe kingdom bears this out. In 1975, a military coup brought Mathieu Kérékou to power. Kérékou espoused Marxist-Leninist principles and advocated a strongly centralized government. The centralization of political power caused a crisis among kings, chiefs, and other ethnicity or lineage-based political figures as their offices were systematically repressed by the Kérékou regime (Kahn 2011). The legacy of indigenous political institutions was denied in an effort to modernize. The outcome of this was increasing inequality, with concentrations of wealth and power in the hands of the political class. Though Benin successfully transitioned to a democracy in 1990, destruction of tangible and intangible heritage that accompanied this period of ethnic repression is still apparent. A "usable past" in Shabe should therefore bridge kingship of the present-day with that of before the interventions of nationalist agendas.

Of course, a "usable past" in Shabe must go back even further. Prior to the wave of independence in the 1960s, colonial powers throughout Africa had altered existing political institutions to suit their purposes (Crowder 1964; Mamdani 1996). Rulers who would not support the colonial regime were exiled and replaced, or had their institutions simply dissolved. This was the case in Shabe, where the Onishabe Ọba Akemún was exiled by the French in 1902 for refusing to enforce colonial law or contribute local labor to the colonial administration (Palau Martí 1992a: 254). A "usable past" should extend to and beyond the colonial period.

It is inevitable that a "usable past" of the Shabe kingdom must go back to before colonization, as the designation "traditional" is essentially synonymous with "pre-colonial." However, decades of culture contact studies have shown that there is no bright line separating the colonial from the pre-colonial, and pre-colonial societies were every bit as dynamic as their

better known descendants (Lightfoot 1995; Robertshaw 2000; Stahl 2009). One only need go back to the mid-19th century CE to find that Shabe was wracked with war and instability (Palau Martí 1992a; Adediran 1994). Certainly, Shabe kingship had been transformed through its contacts with other regional polities, participation in trade, adoption of new technologies, and the agency of its internal actors.

Yet, for something that is at the core of present-day Shabe identity, relatively little is known about the pre-colonial Shabe monarchy. A chronology of important personae and events is known, but details of daily life are missing. The economic and settlement practices that shaped the everyday of ancient Shabe peoples are unknown. It seems the disruptions of the 19th and 20th centuries CE have taken their toll on Shabe oral history, as much of the efforts of the recent Onishabes have been to reconstruct Shabe heritage. My dissertation contributes to a usable Shabe past by documenting its archaeology—giving a material form to Shabe heritage. My focus is on the political economy: the ways in which institutions produce, manage, and mobilize labor and resources. Through political economy, my investigations link the material remains of ancient economies—patterning of abandoned sites, discarded pots and tools, broken trade goods, food remains—to the institutions, such as kingship, that structured economic differentiation and inequality.

My research builds on a rich literature on the origins and development of African polities. This literature dovetails in many areas with a general archaeological interest in the origins of complex societies, states and empires, but the particularities of African case studies have resulted in its own array of theories and analytical tools. Below, I sketch the outline of this corpus with the intent of showing how my investigations of the Shabe kingdom fit within Africanist and

global perspectives on the processes of political centralization and the development of political-economies.

B. The Growth of States in West Africa

1. The State in Africa

The African continent has been extensively studied by scholars interested in the diversity and development of political forms. Early research, sanctioned by European colonial governments, was conducted on the form and origin of Africa's precolonial polities—from expansive kingdoms to autonomous villages (e.g., Fortes & Evans-Pritchard 1940; Southall 1974: 153). As countries gained independence, researchers documented the growth and trials of these new nations, noting the common trajectory of colony to democracies to military dictatorships (Southall 1974: 157). This research has led to the modest conclusion that the political structure of society is important in African social life (Lonsdale 1981). If not all-encompassing, the modern nation-state is a powerful force in shaping the structures and practices of local communities (Ferguson & Gupta 2002: 981).

Were states as central to life in the past as they are today? The modern political borders of Africa are inherited from the Berlin Conference of 1890 CE and despite more than a century of modification they continue to shape political discourse. While the political legacies of colonialism are certainly important influences in African societies today, it is untrue to characterize African states as a recent development originating at the very end of the 19th century CE. European colonizers were well aware of the centralized political institutions indigenous to Africa, and that their political histories stretched back centuries. Nation-state

borders today reflect the political hegemony ultimately won by European empires, but the deep history of African political practice extends much further back into the pre-colonial period (Bayart 1993; Thornton 1992).

The African kingdoms that European empires overtook were, in many respects, similar to their own. West African kingdoms had urban settlements, regionally linked economies, and centralized political institutions (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2005; Hopkins 1973; Herbst 2000; Monroe 2013). There were professional militaries, bureaucracies, and infrastructure (Smith 1989; Wilks 1989; Goody 1971). States had developed in Africa long before European entanglement. To understand the long-term development of African states, we must look to the pre-colonial period. In the following section, I describe the historical sources used to investigate pre-colonial West African states. The use of these sources is contrasted with anthropological perspectives on state formation that archaeologists have often employed. Though I use the word "state" to emphasize the continuity between present-day and pre-colonial political structures, it may be preferable to refer to these as "centralized polities," as I am most interested in the process of centralization, rather than the exact form of its end product.

2. Historical Perspectives on West African States

For some pre-colonial African states, historical information is derived from contemporary written accounts. From the 9th century CE on, Arab chroniclers wrote of large cities, territorial polities, and expansive trade networks throughout the Sahel of West Africa and extending down into the equatorial forests (Bovill 1958; Levtzion 1973). Perhaps most famously, the famed Moroccan explorer Ibn Battuta visited several kingdoms in the mid-14th century CE (Hamdun & King 2005). In addition to observing the politics and daily life of the places they visited, these

chroniclers also recorded information about neighboring states, suggesting a complex political system that included non-Muslim states (Law 1976). While some intriguing references to these states still exist, it is likely that the majority of relevant texts have been lost or have not yet been fully analyzed (Law 1977: 13). What does exist is certainly useful for understanding precolonial African states, however it is necessary to be aware that such texts present a view of African societies from an outsider's perspective. Specifically, Arabic sources present a view of African political systems filtered through their authors' interpretations of Islamic law, sometimes distorting the representation of the subjects they write on (Lovejoy 1978; Garrard 1982).

European writings also provide valuable insights into West African states. Beginning in the late 15th century CE, European merchants began sailing to the coast of West Africa to engage in trade. However, like Arabic sources, these accounts are often distorted in service of their author's goals and comprehension. Understanding the contexts and limitations of historical texts is a major concern for a highly politicized and contentious subject like the Atlantic slave trade (Law 1986). Nonetheless, Europeans did interact with West African states with increasing intensity over the past 500 years and their writings hold important information. The concerns of the authors were mostly economic, and this is reflected in the kinds of documents left for historians: inventories of trade goods, coastal maps, and journals detailing travel itineraries (Curtin 1972; Lovejoy 1989; Law 1991; Thornton 1992). These accounts do touch on the political structures of African societies, but are still mainly concerned with how those political structures affected trade.

Beginning in the 19th century CE, European accounts provided more detailed information about the operation of African political systems. During the preceding centuries of trade, Europeans had been confined to the coast, but now missionaries and explorers began to penetrate

the African interior. They wrote about the peoples they encountered and began to write on subjects such as law, religion, and history, in addition to the earlier focus on economy and trade (Peel 1995). Though these writings provide unique insights, their coverage remained thin. For the vast majority of African societies, there simply are no written sources.

The precolonial political elites of West Africa were keenly aware of their histories, as their authority was often couched in a historical context that explained elite access to sources of power. In most of these societies, histories were not written down but rather recorded in oral traditions—structured oratory using mnemonic devices to record a range of a chronological and political information (Finnegan 1970; Biobaku 1973; Law 1984; Vansina 1985). Vansina (1985) locates oral traditions in the spectrum of verbal messages. It is differentiated from news, in that the message of oral tradition does not reference an event in the present. It is also differentiated from the interpretation of experience, because though it similarly deals with something in the past, experience is a personal message while oral tradition is divorced from its immediate context. Once removed from the events that inspired it, oral traditions are preserved and transmitted through a range of verbal techniques and devices.

The reliability of oral traditions was called into question as part of the linguistic turn in anthropology (Ranger 1993; Vernon 1994). As political charters in the present, oral traditions were perceived as editable texts that could be modified to serve vested political interests. In this perspective, traditions reflect invented pasts, rather than lived past, that teleologically supported power relationships of the present. However, the critique of oral tradition may have gone too far in denigrating its accuracy. Not any narrative can pass for history, as it must not only satisfactorily explain the present but also be congruent with the material evidence of the past (Stahl 2001; Spear 2003). Still, there is always some amount of active silencing and passive loss

in the preservation of oral tradition (Vansina 1985). This has led to the supplemental use of archaeological data to support and contrast historical constructions derived from written and oral histories (Robertshaw 2000; Schmidt & Walz 2007).

3. Archaeological Perspectives on West African States

Lacking information on the earliest origins of African states, early historians invoked their conceptions of Mediterranean and Near Eastern origins for African civilizations (Wrigley 1960; Trigger 1969). Defined in terms of traits—divine kingship, agriculture, metallurgy, social hierarchy—African states were seen as the product of outside influences. Such arguments were in keeping with colonial rhetoric that non-Europeans were naturally, even rightfully, subject to imperialism. While diffusion of entire political systems has not been well supported by either historical or archaeological research in Africa, diffusion remains an important concept in tracing the spread of ideas, practices, and technologies (Rogers 2010). However, without a consideration of *how* non-local products were incorporated into specific local contexts, diffusion has the potential to be abused as a blanket explanation, particularly where detailed sources accounting for the spread and development of specific political practices are lacking.

The intense interests in diffusion, technology, trade, and political systems in the kingdoms of Atlantic Africa mirror the interests of early archaeologists who worked to reconstruct ancient societies. Early archaeological methods were oriented toward the taxonomic identification of technologies, facilitating explanations of societal change based on diffusion. To Childe (1950, 1951), ancient societies were connected by expansive communication networks through which innovations could spread. The accumulation of innovative technologies leads to transformations in society, though particular institutions and agencies within a society may try to

halt or slow the deployment of new technologies. Though Childe (1951) promoted the diffusion of technologies as a means for identifying change in the archaeological record at all social scales, he used technology as an explicit criterion for identifying ancient "civilizations" (1950). While potentially useful for broad comparisons of societies, later archaeologists eschewed the trait list definition of states as inadequate to explain the processes of state formation (e.g. Binford 1964: 425). Still, the features of states described by Childe are more applicable as a general model of the institutions in early states (Smith 2009: 22). That such features can be recognized in complex societies from varying geographies and distant times is what requires explanation.

However, archaeologists no longer turn to the diffusion alone as *the* causal mechanism for societal change. There is enough cultural variability and potential for innovation as to not presuppose that any distinctive features of a society, such as those described by Childe, must come from some original source (Rowe 1966: 366). Even when diffusion does seem to adequately describe the distribution of some feature, it is not itself an explanation, as it does not elucidate its internal articulation (Childe 1951: 46). Similarly, the presence of trade and technologies that allow dense populations and state institutions do not explain their deployment (Wright & Johnson 1975). Instead, explanation must come from the analysis of human agency and structures. The cultural systemic approaches that developed to explain social process focused on how structures within societies emerge and change (e.g. Flannery 1972). This emphasis on large processes and impersonal forces meshed well with earlier historical inquiry into African political and economic institutions (Robertshaw 1990).

Archaeology has extended the search for the development of West African states in time and in space. The region has had a long involvement in trade, stemming from trans-Saharan connections established well before the Atlantic economy (Posnansky 1973). Even earlier trade

networks connected West Africa with the rest of the continent, and beyond to the Mediterranean, the Near East, and South Asia (Mitchell 2005; Kelly 2013; Leone & Moussa 2013). While this research has shown the time depth of the technological flows between West Africa and the rest of the world, archaeology has made much more substantive contributions to the comparative study of states. West African societies show a great deal of variability in how they negotiated economic networks and political centralization (Posnansky 1982: 352; McIntosh 1999; Stahl 2004; Monroe 2013). The presence of such variability has led Africanists to explore the role that non-material structures, such as ideology, have had in African societies (e.g. Huffman 1986). The turn to ideology has pushed political structures to the fore in explaining large scale societal change. This is particularly true in research on the origins of centralized polities, where social complexity is often measured by the differentiation of political roles in a society (McIntosh 1999: 9).

The establishment of political roles in any given society is an ongoing and messy process. Despite the idiosyncrasies of historical circumstance, many anthropologists have shared Childe's observations of regularity among societies: that social processes occur in more-or-less patterned ways due to structural and contextual similarities in the organization of social institutions. Early social evolutionists theorized that parallel sequences of material traditions, styles, architecture, and even landscape use could be explained by cultural laws, derived from cultural-ecological adaptations (Steward 1955). Societies passed through parallel sequences because each stage of the sequence has its own wholly unique, but strikingly regular, integrative mechanisms centered on the differentiation of social roles. In proposing these sequential stages, however, early archaeologists too readily ignored the non-commensurate nature of their typologies. Elman Service's (1962) four societal types of bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states are organized as a

series that grades through different population sizes, presenting the illusion that all are defined according to similar metrics. This is not the case, as Service defined bands primarily by their demography, tribes by their economic mode, and chiefdoms and states by their political organization. Each type is defined by a different aspect of societal reproduction, making it difficult to use in a coherent comparative framework.

Later researchers rejected many of the trappings of this early social evolution, though the development of political institutions has remained an active focus of study for archaeologists. Eschewing the linearity of evolutionary schemes, Marxist approaches have proposed that one operational axis of political development is how labor is managed in society (Yoffee 2005: 33). While many societies have complex social organizations based on kinship, the crucial moment of political centralization occurs with the creation of an institution above the level of kinship that claims authority over labor relations among its differentiated elements. Yet, the specific institutions can vary tremendously (ibid: 17-19). Some of this institutional variability can be attributed to the multiple ways in which labor can be manipulated. Thus, it may be more productive to include the study of labor under a more general focus on power and material inequality (Peregrine 2012: 168).

The development of supra-kinship institutions corresponds to growing inequality between social groups, owing to the state's necessity to continual reinforce social order (Yoffee 2005: 39). Inequality, defined as the unequal distribution of resources in society, has also been a prominent part of archaeological research (Paynter 1989). Inequality can be identified materially in the archaeological record, and its presence is generally taken as an indicator of complex social and/or political structures. The growth of inequality is therefore tied to the development and manipulation of power in society (Marcus 2008). Drawing from a broad anthropological

literature, Flannery and Marcus (2012: 206) proposed that the development of complexity is linked to social institutions that increase inequality. However, the specific process of centralization occurs as a result of the unification of competing, parallel institutions (ibid: 362). Thus, states and other centralized polities are institutionally composed of a kind of compounded inequality.

Archaeology, with its attention to the diachronic development of inequalities in societies, is able to address key questions about state formation in West Africa: when did institutional inequality, in its supra-kinship form, appear as a fundamental political organization in West Africa and why did it continue to develop into the political-economic mosaic that Europeans encountered as they sailed the Atlantic coast? The twin questions of 'when' and 'why' are inextricably linked, but archaeologists have theorized several ways to productively decouple the general process of state formation from its specific iterations.

Some scholars have chosen to take a macrosystemic approach to studying early centralized polities. In this, specialized political institutions emerge as a centralized response to socio-environmental stresses (Flannery 1972; Haas 1982). Inequality is an outgrowth of the system due to environmental and demographic discrepancies, potentially with violent consequences (Carneiro 1970). While the holistic approach to social structures and environment is compelling, particularly when explaining state formation in contexts of clear environmental circumscription, it is has been difficult to apply to every case. There often is no clear evidence of major demographic or environmental changes for many instances of political centralization, particularly in Africa (McIntosh 1999; Stahl 2004; Monroe 2013; Ogundiran 2013).

Another way archaeologists have explained the origins of centralized polities has been to focus on the agency of individuals and the institutions they create. These archaeologists have

sought to answer the question of how elite strategies differentially influenced the process of state formation. A productive binary has been to divide power strategies into exclusionary strategies, those reliant on the control of social networks, and corporate strategies, those reliant on support from their constituent social groups (Feinman 1995; Blanton et al. 1996). Despite the conceptual division of power strategies, ancient elites likely enacted and experimented with many kinds of political practices that drew from multiple sources of power (Earle 1997; Stein 1998; Blanton & Fargher 2008). This attention to political agency implies that state formation was not the inevitable outcome of social evolution, but neither does it contradict the general trend recognized by evolutionary theorists, as political practices can certainly be considered within a larger systemic framework (Flannery 1999). Indeed, centralization itself, so closely linked to social complexity, is just one pathway to the establishment of supra-kinship institutions (McIntosh 1999).

While ancient elites were influential in their own manipulation of the political economy, it is also clear that the agency of elites alone cannot explain the broader social conditions leading to state formation (Robb 2010: 497). Some conditions would have been outside the control of any one social actor, let alone macrosystemic influences like climate, technology, and resource availability. The political changes leading to centralization is not a solely internal process. In addition to the institutions unified through centralization, political elites operate in a context of interaction with other regional political institutions often in competitive relationships (Renfrew & Cherry 1986; Wright 2006). While this competition may eventually lead to unification (see Flannery & Marcus 2012), the general impression of centralization in West Africa is that states and other complex polities have always been enmeshed in political economic mosaics with less complex polities (Stahl 2004). These regional networks are fundamental to how large territorial

polities operated in West Africa, variously providing peripheral zones for resource extraction, frontiers to buffer factional competition, or societal examples that could serve as foils to state ideology (Monroe & Ogundiran 2012; Davies 2013).

Archaeological research has approached the development of West African political institutions and centralization through three inter-related lens: the macrosystemic environment (including both cultural and natural factors), the agency and strategies of individuals and social groups, and the interaction between societies of various kinds on a regional scale. Each of these dimensions can be directed to support or resist inequality, and can work in tandem to create durable, complex sociopolitical formations. The structures of these sociopolitical formations—states and centralized polities—profoundly shaped the lives of their constituent communities. Archaeological research has provided useful information about this as well.

States emerge through the confluence of multiple processes, making them not so much a definitive categorization of society as constellations of mutually reinforcing political-economic practices—continually evolving "works in progress" (Monroe 2013: 4). Many archaeologists have worked to identify the general characteristics of these practices, as well as their specific manifestations. Economic systems are perhaps one of the most intensively studied dimensions of ancient states (Smith 2004). Appeals to economy are an outgrowth of the evolutionary perspective that holds social complexity as directly correlated to energy consumption (White 1959). Energy consumption is, however, realized through economic practice, which can vary substantially based on different state financing strategies (D'Altroy & Earle 1985). Regardless of how state economies were structured, they were complicit in hierarchical social arrangements that integrated economic centers with their hinterlands (Johnson 1982: 415; Paynter 1989; Peregrine 1991; McIntosh & McIntosh 1993).

However, complex social organization is not necessarily linked to hierarchical control over economic practice. Africanist archaeologists, in particular, have demonstrated that decentralized political institutions do not always develop toward centralization and can instead be integrated through non-hierarchical arrangements (Stahl 1999). In these societies, complexity is conceptualized as the degree of internal differentiation generally, rather than specifically hierarchical differentiation (McIntosh 1999: 11). Such "heterarchical" complex societies consist of groups that are not intrinsically ranked, or are able to be ranked in different ways along the same axis of differentiation (Crumley 1995). This more inclusive definition of complexity allows researchers to acknowledge that state political economic practices may dominate certain areas of societal reproduction, but parallel and even competing institutions are also important (Brumfiel 1994; Stein 1998). For cases of state formation in Africa, the question of origins has turned to evaluating how capable elites actually were at transcending decentralized sources of power (Monroe 2013: 4). Long-distance exchange in African states has been hypothesized as an economic practice particularly subject to hierarchical control (Goody 1971; Posnansky 1973). Other practices, such as ritual performance, have proven to be more ambivalent, serving as both sources of support and resistance to political elites (e.g., Insoll 2003; Stahl 2008; Norman 2009; Fleisher 2010; Dueppen 2012).

The diversity of political strategies and institutions in Africa—as in other early states and centralized polities—makes a neo-evolutionary approach difficult. The different scales of societies, as well as their variability in hierarchical/heterarchical organization, prevents easy application of centralization models developed elsewhere in the world. To circumvent this problem, archaeologists have increasingly turned to the analysis of how power was exercised in society, rather than how it was structured (Fleisher & Wynne-Jones 2010: 180; Monroe 2013).

The exercise of power in any centralized polity is situated between two poles along a gradient of practices, ranging from "instrumental" to "creative" (Schoenburn 1999; Robertshaw 2003; Fleisher & Wynne-Jones 2010). The difference between the two forms of power is similar to the exclusionary/corporate divide (see Blanton et al. 1996), where power can be realized through compelling others to actions (instrumental) or by fostering participation in symbolic practices (creative). Despite differences in practice, the uniting feature of both instrumental and creative strategies is that they were used successfully to integrate many societies over a vast region.

Political centralization occurred multiple times in West Africa. Elites in these polities employed a variety of strategies that exploited and developed different sources of power. It is tempting to see centralization as linked to the exploitation of long-distance exchange. After all, the earliest evidence for it is in the West African savanna, near the loci of trans-Saharan trade, and only later in the forest, once the trans-Atlantic trade had established a regular presence. However, states and centralized polities articulated in political economies that linked vast regions, incorporating the savanna and the forest. Further, appeals to exchange ignore the great ecological and resource variability within West Africa that was central to political-economic networks. Centralized polities certainly developed around poles for long-distance exchange, but these were connected to less centralized and decentralized societies too. Power and authority was not uniformly concentrated across these vast networks.

C. The Shabe Kingdom in the West African Political-Economic Mosaic

1. Investigating the Shabe Past

What is the best way to approach the development of Shabe's institutions and political economy? As noted above, archaeologists and historians have often emphasized the role of the trans-Atlantic trade in political centralization in West Africa during the late second millennium CE. Historical documents, oral histories, and archaeological materials have all been used to demonstrate that the careful control and manipulation of trade relations with Europeans by African elites produced powerful political economies, helping to finance royal courts, bureaucracies, market systems, standing armies, and campaigns of territorial expansion (e.g., Goody 1971; Manning 1982; Brooks 1993; Posnansky & DeCorse 1986; Kelly 1997; DeCorse 2001; Ogundiran 2002b; Monroe 2007b; Richard 2010). Europeans on the coast provided new markets for slaves, gold, and foodstuffs, and simultaneously introduced new prestige goods and revolutionary technologies, such as firearms. These exchange relationships reshaped political organization throughout West Africa as coastal polities interacted with inland communities themselves not in direct contact with Europeans. It is no surprise that scholars have privileged long-distance trade as a primary catalyst for state formation in West Africa over the past 500 years.

Although the trans-Atlantic trade's demand for slaves uniquely changed social relations (Lovejoy 1989; Nunn 2008), researchers also stress the continuity between the trans-Atlantic trade and earlier long-distance exchange networks in producing centralized polities (e.g., Fage 1969; Posnansky 1973; Garrard 1982; Curtin 1984; Anquandah 1993; Lange 1994; Insoll & Shaw 1997; Connah 2001; Gronenborn 2001). Global exchange networks have a great time depth in West Africa and were not products of more recent European interaction (Mitchell 2005). Emphasizing the connections between polities and earlier global exchange networks reveals that

processes of political centralization have a deep history in West Africa. Is it here, entangled in global exchange systems, that the Shabe past is located?

It is certainly possible. Archaeological research on trade in West Africa has made critically important contributions to our understanding of the variability and dynamism of African political forms (e.g., Posnansky 1973; McIntosh & McIntosh 1984; DeCorse 1992; Kelly 1997; Stahl 2004; McIntosh 2005; Ogundiran 2005). However, far less attention has been paid to local production. Local production was important even within polities heavily engaged in global exchange and was crucial to elites within trading polities in supplying the necessary surplus goods and labor for exchange (Wright & Johnson 1975; Johnson 1977; Brumfiel & Earle 1987; Hirth 1996). In West Africa, long-distance exchange, either across the continent or globally, supplied exotic trade goods that articulated with, but did not supplant, local modes of production (Thornton 1992). Archaeological research has demonstrated that even where great quantities of exotic trade goods were lacking, local production often thrived (Ogundiran 2009; de Barros 2012; MacEachern 2012). Could it be that attention to global currents has obscured the local origins of African political institutions? Can the Shabe kingdom be explained as a local phenomenon arising due to conditions unrelated to trade?

This is a perspective worth considering. Expanding the study of the economic underpinnings of political centralization to include local modes of production, such as settlement and labor management systems, transportation infrastructure systems, agricultural systems, and craft production systems will bring West African polities in closer dialogue with research on the processes of political centralization in other regions (e.g.,, Blanton & Fargher 2008; Flannery & Marcus 2012; Morrison 2006; Renfrew 2008; A.T. Smith 2003; M.E. Smith 2004; Trigger 2003; Wright 2005) and will allow us to explain processes of centralization in societies that lay outside

global exchange systems. A focus on local production highlights the variability found in the economic organization of West African polities, contributing to our understanding of the multiple pathways to political centralization. My dissertation investigates these issues through a study of local and non-local economic production and processes of political transformation in the Savè hills.

At the core of my dissertation are three related questions about the Shabe kingdom. These questions were formulated with the idea of a "usable past" in mind, though were constrained by the lack of previous research in the area. Thus, the first of my questions simply attempts to establish the relevant cultural history of the monarchy: how did the institutions of the Shabe kingdom form? This necessitates answering the question of "when," of course, but I am most interested in the "how"—the structural conditions that facilitated the emergence of centralized authority and the competing institutions that died out, continued alongside, or were subsumed by the monarchy. I am also interested in the pace: did centralization occur early on, or was it a gradual development characterized by plateaus and/or cycles of fission and fusion?

My second question expands the focus from the institutions themselves to the practices that maintained them: what economies supported Shabe institutions? It is now commonly recognized that ancient economies were not merely adaptive behaviors, but systems that could be harnessed for social differentiation—that economies are political (Hirth 1996; Stein 1998). How did Shabe elites harness the economy? Though much of the previous archaeological research in West Africa has highlighted long-distance exchange, other economic models are possible. In particular, I am interested in the role that local economic intensification had in supporting the Shabe kingdom. Under intensification, the political-economy is sustained through a reorganization of the local economy rather than through the products of neighboring polities.

Such reorganization may create centralized authority through the creative renegotiation of personal relationships, such as the amassing of wealth-in-people (*sensu* Guyer & Belinga 1995), or it may create entirely novel structures of control by providing new opportunities for interaction, as in processes of urban aggregation or synoecism (*sensu* Connah 2001). Though examples of intensification economies in African prehistory have been described, such as Ile-Ife (Eyo 1974; Blier 2012) and Bunyoro-Kitara (Robertshaw 2003), the role of local economic reorganization has been largely neglected in the study of African political centralization.

My third question seeks to clarify Shabe's place in the West African political-economic mosaic: how did contact with the broader region contribute to the development of Shabe political institutions? The origin narrative of the kingdom, preserved in oral histories, makes it clear that the conception and form of Shabe kingship was not the emergence of a brand new organizational structure, but the adaption of existing forms to new peoples and landscapes. There are many possible candidates for where these structures came from. As a Yoruba kingdom, the Shabe monarchy traces its dynastic origins to Oduduwa, the mythic king of Ile-Ife. Shabe migration narratives also point to Oyo in the east and Borgu in the north as sharing political affinities. More recent histories point to complex interactions with Dahomey to the southwest, as well as with small groups of refugees and traders from southern and central Bénin, Ghana, Niger, and southwestern Nigeria. Each group had potential impacts on the political institutions in Shabe, and my aim is to elucidate these influences.

2. Dissertation Outline

This dissertation works toward answering three questions about the evolution of Shabe kingship: How did the political institutions of the Shabe kingdom form? What economies

supported Shabe political institutions? How did contact with the broader region contribute the development of Shabe political institutions?

To address these questions, I turn to archaeological data generated through two seasons of fieldwork conducted in 2012-2013. These data includes spatial information on site location and size, the formal properties of architectural and landscape features, locally manufactured artifacts, and imported goods. Through this data, I reconstruct the development of Shabe political economies: settlement systems, agricultural practices, craft production organization, local and long-distance exchange networks, and the political institutions that articulated with these. Before introducing the archaeological data, I contextualize Shabe's place in the West African political mosaic of the past 1000 years.

In Chapter II, I review how West African political economies have been conceptualized in anthropological and historical perspectives. I examine several models of political organization—Atlantic entrepôts, internal frontiers, and wealth-in-people—to evaluate their potential applicability to the Shabe kingdom. I then briefly outline case studies of some the largest centralized polities that were created in West Africa and their role in regional political economies. From here, I go on to describe the Ife dynastic field: a network of related polities, including Shabe, which held in common political institutions and symbols originating at Ile-Ife. These polities have come to be known under the ethnonym "Yoruba," and I outline the salient points of over a century of Yoruba ethnographic and oral historical research as they relate to the political economy of the Shabe kingdom.

My research is aided by excellent political histories of Shabe, painstakingly constructed through ethnography, oral history, and archival research (e.g., Parrinder 1947; Mouléro 1964; Schiltz 1985; Palau Martí 1992a, 1992b, 1993; Adediran 1994; Ali Babio 1994; Adam et al.

1996; Flynn 1997b; Igué 2005). In Chapter III, I summarize these histories to develop an ethnographic composite of the Shabe kingdom. I present the oral traditions of the kingdoms and consider how the projection of language, lineage, and ritual practice into the past has created a Shabe ethnic identity in the present. I also note disputes between the monarchy and other institutions over the contours of Shabe history, and how these areas of dissonance might reveal information about the past.

In Chapter IV, I describe the research methods I employed to collect archaeological data. My research centered on the contemporary city of Savè, the site of the ancient Shabe capital of Shabe-Idadu, and included the historically important settlements of Kaboua and Djabata. This area constitutes the political core of the Shabe kingdom. Three complementary components of fieldwork collected archaeological data at multiple scales. A multiscalar approach was employed to address the complexity of interaction between political centralization and economic systems, as these interactions play out at different spatial, temporal, and social scales. A reconnaissance survey component and a transect survey component investigated sites in a context of regional interaction, while an excavation component targeted individual features of sites. As part of my commitment to constructing a "usable past," local participation featured prominently in all components of fieldwork, but especially in the reconnaissance survey.

In Chapter V, I present the results of my archaeological research and interpretations of the data. This is presented chronologically, beginning with the Pre-Shabe (before 1600 CE) and Early Shabe (1600-1700 CE) periods, moving through the Middle Shabe (1700-1830 CE) and Late Shabe (1830-1894 CE) periods, and concluding with the European Colonial (1894-1960 CE) period. For each period, I analyze settlement patterning and evidence of economic practices—subsistence, craft production, exchange—and their relationship to evidence for

different forms of political-economic organization and institutions. The archaeological data that inform my interpretations are presented in the Appendices.

I conclude my dissertation by drawing a narrative arc between all periods of the Shabe kingdom. Shabe kingship was a continually evolving institution, one that has been incredibly adaptive to changing internal and regional conditions. As I shall argue, Shabe kingship has always been contested and centralization resisted. Nonetheless, it has been effective in harnessing and manipulating economic systems. Through economic support, political institutions developed ideologies that reified the positions of Shabe elites. Even in the present, when the political and economic influence of traditional kings seems waning, the Shabe royalty, noble lineages, and titled officials draw influence through a line of continuity to the past. From the deep-time perspective afforded by archaeology, Ọba Adétùtú Onishabe's foray into the digital frontier of Facebook is seen as only the latest manifestation of the monarchy's ongoing project of centralization.

CHAPTER II

The Frontiers of Empire

In this chapter, I explore the historical context in which the Shabe kingdom developed. I begin by laying out a variety of models that scholars have used to characterize political centralization in West Africa. Each model has the potential to fit the archaeological data generated through my investigations in the Savè hills area (see Chapters IV and V). These models have been evaluated by other archaeological case studies of political centralization in West Africa, and here I limit my focus to some of the best known and most relevant. I conclude the chapter with a more intensive study of the Ife dynastic field and the Oyo Empire: political institutions of direct relevance to the Shabe kingdom both in providing models for Shabe institutions and in influencing the political economic climate that those institutions developed in.

A. Imperial Entanglements during the Atlantic Age

1. The Atlantic Economy

As introduced in Chapter I, decades of research have demonstrated the variability in pathways to social complexity. To make sense of this variability, particularly when considering a diachronic swathe of polities, archaeologists Richard Blanton, Gary Feinman, and colleagues have proposed conceptualizing the elite power strategies that propelled these political systems as

being distributed along a corporate-exclusionary axis (Blanton et al. 1996). The difference between these two poles is conceptualized as "corporate organization [being] broadly associated with shared power, less ostentatious manifestations of stratification, and an economy focused on basic/local production, whereas more exclusionary power arrangements are keyed to highly centralized/individualized rule, networks of personal power, more expressed degrees of inequality, and an economy heavily unpinned [sic] by long-distance networks and flows" (Feinman 2012: 31-32).

Political elites draw from a range of strategies at any given time. Perhaps the best studied strategy of Atlantic West Africa is elite monopolization of long-distance exchange, a quintessential exclusionary strategy. Participation in and control over long-distance exchange was certainly an important factor in the growth of many African states, particularly for the period of the Atlantic trade (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969; Goody 1971). Even when trade is not elevated to prime-mover status, it has been widely invoked in discussions of precolonial African life for nearly all societies of the period, in part because of the source-side economic biases of historical research (Hopkins 1973; Lonsdale 1981; Law 1993). Archaeologists, with their concerns in the material, have also focused on economy and long-distance exchange in their treatments of precolonial West African societies (Posnansky 1973).

The antiquity of long-distance exchange in West Africa is hard to pinpoint, as direct or down-the-line exchange connecting the region with the rest of the continent and beyond has likely been a feature of village societies since the advent of iron metallurgy after 1000 BCE (Mitchell 2005: 14-19). Clear evidence for trans-continental trade comes from Roman North Africa, where Roman products were traded from throughout the empire, entering West Africa through the Garamantes in the Sahara (Leone & Moussa 2013: 783). West African gold made its

way to Carthage and Alexandria by the end of the 3rd century CE, and continued on after the Arab conquest in 695 CE (MacDonald 2013: 834). The importance of the trans-Saharan trade is attested to in written sources beginning in the 9th century CE (ibid: 837). Though the Sahelian entrepôts are the best known participants in the trade, archaeological evidence from Igbo-Ukwu in Nigeria suggests that its reach stretched to the more southern parts of West Africa (see below).

Long-distance exchange between Europe and West Africa was mediated by North African societies until the 15th century CE. Beginning in the 15th century, European maritime technologies allowed direct interaction between the two regions. The Portuguese were the first to trade in West Africa, but other European powers quickly entered the field to trade in gold, ivory, melegueta pepper, and dyes (Thornton 1992: 31; Ogundiran & Falola 2007: 11). In exchange, Africans received cloth, guns, metals, glass, ceramics, and cowries, among many other commodities (Alpern 1995). Although Europeans set up permanent forts, trading posts, and settlements along the Atlantic coast, there is no evidence that they had direct contact with the majority of West Africans (DeCorse 2001: 7). Instead, European influence was experienced in many societies via the introduction of new material goods through African trade networks (Ogundiran 2002b; Stahl 2007: 74; Richard 2012: 100). Of particular importance were New World foods, which were adopted at varying rates throughout West Africa as tastes and economies changed (Blench 2006; Logan 2012).

The Atlantic economy had significant effects on the political economy of West Africa as European demand for slaves intensified after the 16th century. Control over the great profits of the slave trade led to many elites successfully gaining power through exclusionary strategies. The focus and volume of the slave trade shifted through time, linking different coasts of Africa with different ports in North and South America and the Caribbean (Curtin 1972; Lovejoy 1982).

In total, at least 12 million Africans were enslaved and sent to the New World (Manning 1990: 63). The combined effects of new trade networks and increased slave-raiding gradually transformed the political structures of African societies, even those remote from the active ports of trade (DeCorse 2001: 7).

2. Internal African Frontiers

The divide between corporate strategies based on shared power and exclusionary strategies based on personal networks is familiar to Africanist scholars. The internal African frontier model (Kopytoff 1987) of precolonial African societies proposes that the availability of "politically open areas"—regions without strong political institutions—made exclusionary strategies ineffective. In this model, new societies form on the frontiers of established metropoles as political competition drives factions from their homes out into open areas. In their outward emigration, these factions may settle in areas free of prior inhabitants and reproduce the culture of the metropoles. More likely, however, the emigrating groups encounter autochthonous populations with similar technology and institutions but claims to resources as "first-comers" to the land. If emigrants could not or would not drive the autochthons from the land, then new societies would be created as the two groups developed new integrative systems of kinship and reciprocity.

In frontier areas, elite power was curbed by the availability of land for others to emigrate to. If attempts by leaders to centralize existing institutions, exercise claims to labor and economic production, or impose new religious practices were unsupported, factions could fission off from established societies and create new ones in nearby open areas. Corporate strategies, in which power is shared among complementary groups, would be more effective in such environments.

Through these strategies, first-comer and late-comer groups might be integrated into a decentralized political system through ritual suzerainity—the linking of autochthonous power and royal power (Southall 1988; Sahlins 2008: 184). Though direct participation in the Atlantic trade clearly underpinned many exclusionary power strategies, the impact of slavery on the West African interior may have also led to increased adoption of corporate strategies, given the new availability of depopulated land.

This frontier model of centralization has been applied to numerous African polities and scholars have identified regular material associations (Gronenborn 2001; Stahl 2004; Swanepoel 2009; de Barros 2012; Usman 2012). Monroe and Ogundiran (2012) note that while frontiers have often been perceived as removed from global exchange systems, the landscapes and material culture they generate indicate they are still quite connected to global currents. Population density, agricultural intensification, and craft specialization increase over time as frontiers are settled, as does participation in global exchange systems. Archaeologically, this can be seen through increases in the size and number of settlements, and potentially the development of a site size hierarchy visible in inter-site variation (Johnson 1977, 1980; Drennan & Peterson 2004). Specialized craft production and long-distance exchange may develop, but markers of affiliation with larger states should be absent. In many ways, this is the model most supported by Shabe oral histories (Adediran 1994; see Chapter III).

3. Wealth in People

The influential "wealth-in-people" model (Guyer & Belinga 1995) considers another common corporate strategy, in which power stems from the suzerain's ability to attract followers with specialized knowledge, skills, and group affiliations. Successful leaders did not compel

their follows to act, but rather created incentives to work for the corporate body as a whole. The boundaries between categories of wealth—material goods, people, knowledge—are blurred in these societies. The difference between systems of staple and wealth finance conventionally used in models of political hierarchy and centralization is unwieldy, however, as authority was not necessarily located in control over the distribution of material resources in society. Thus, the introduction of new material wealth from the Atlantic trade is not itself an explanation of how centralized polities developed in West Africa (Connah 2001: 178). Authority was grounded in the ability to coordinate the productive capacities of various segments of society, even though leaders did not directly control or monopolize production.

Yet, where the political geography was not open—where people could or would not leave for a frontier—leaders could more effectively monopolize their followers' energies. By centralizing the "intricacy of relations in the system" (McIntosh 1999: 11), leaders could effectively turn a corporate strategy into an exclusionary strategy. This could mean integrating first-comers and late-comers into new hierarchical relationships, or it could mean the evolution of existing complex societies into more centralized forms.

4. Frontiers, Coasts, Interiors

The organizational strategies that integrated West African societies into a mosaic of political economies, linked by long-distance exchange to the broader world, played out on a pan-regional scale. This political economic mosaic was durable, dynamic, and incredibly influential (Stahl 2004). One need only try to imagine the 12 million individuals that were channeled into the Atlantic slave trade from all over Africa to be struck in awe at the sheer number of societies connected through networks of trade and political affiliation.

Despite its strong influence, the impact of the Atlantic trade on West African societies was not monolithic. Indeed, archaeologists have come to view the role of the trade in reorganizing African life as having often been overstated (Connah 2001: 179; Posnansky 2012: xiii). Political economic networks were not deterministic of life in West Africa, as regions and polities were affected and responded differentially. Three broad categories of regional trajectories can be identified for the Atlantic period resulting in the creation of fragmented landscapes, state-generated landscapes and frontier landscapes (Monroe & Ogundiran 2012: 21). Fragmented landscapes formed in areas entrenched in Atlantic trade where regional conditions negated potential exclusionary strategies and political centralization (ibid: 22). State-generated landscapes, on the other hand, were areas in which centralization occurred, often through involvement in trade. However, while Atlantic commerce was important, local state ideologies were more important in enforcing state authority (ibid: 25). Frontier landscapes formed in areas removed from the trade, and show perhaps the most variability in the kinds of polities that formed (ibid: 27). In these areas, regional connections to other West African polities were more important than the machinations of Europeans on the coast.

It is unsurprising that regional connections were important to the precolonial political economies. After all, the European presence in Africa was limited to just a few hundred posts spread along a coastalscape stretching over 10,000 km—to say nothing of the interior where virtually no European settlements were created. Linking these points of contact on the coast to the interior were expansive networks cross-cutting countless social, political, and economic institutions. To understand the effect of global trade on African societies, we must first elucidate the regional polities that it articulated with (Connah 2001; Kusimba et al. 2013: 23).

5. The Savanna and the Forest

Synchronic accounts of West African polities are available for the Sahelian region of West Africa, where questions of political strategy, economic organization, and scale can be investigated with historical records. However, the origins of these historical trading empires—Ghana, Gao, Mali—are more obscure (MacDonald 2013). Most early explanations emphasized diffusion over internal influences (Mauny 1954). More recent archaeological research has viewed state formation and political centralization in West Africa as largely independent of similar developments in North Africa and the Near East (Holl 1993: 129). Indeed, the many instances of political centralization within West Africa cannot be attributed to the same causes, let alone a single external source of civilization.

Macrosystemic explanations of state formation have focused on human-environment interaction. West Africa is comprised of multiple environmental zones, generally grading south from the arid Sahara Desert to dry steppe, to savanna-forest mosaic, to littoral and Central African rainforests (Figure II.1). With the Sahara on one side and the Atlantic Ocean on the other, West Africa's isolation inspired the application of Carneiro's circumscription theory to the origins of historically known medieval states (Munson 1980), though the Sahara Desert was never an impenetrable barrier (Bovill 1958). The development of the medieval states goes back much further to the origins of sedentary villages and settlement size hierarchies that developed in southern Mauritania by at least 2000 years ago (Holl 1985; MacDonald 1998). Early villages were supported by agropastoralism, practiced in many different forms by centralized and decentralized societies alike (Breunig 2013). By the beginning of the first millennium CE, economies had developed based on a wide range of domesticates: cereals such as millet, sorghum, fonio, and African rice; root crops such as African yam; legumes such cowpea and

groundnut; and semi-wild tree crops such as oil palm and shea (Sowunmi 1985; Neumann 2005; Logan & D'Andrea 2012; Fuller & Hildebrand 2013). A wide range of domesticated animals were also present, having been brought to West Africa at multiple times and from several different origins (Gifford-Gonzalez & Hanotte 2013).

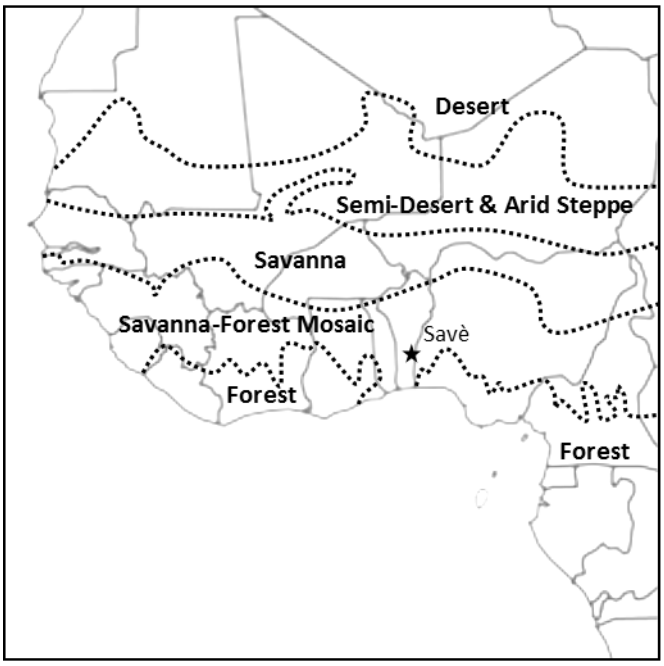


Figure II.1 The major vegetation zones of West Africa (adapted from CIA 1986).

Early evidence of urbanism is found at Jenné-jeno in present-day Mali where tightly packed compounds appear by the first century CE (McIntosh & McIntosh 1993; McIntosh 2005). However, despite massive walls and high population densities, there is little evidence for the development of hierarchical or centralized institutions. Imported objects from the earliest levels reveal that residents of the city did participate in long-distance exchange, but the location of the city and the distribution of smaller sites nearby are oriented more toward local production than trade (McIntosh & McIntosh 1993: 640). Though some societies in the savanna did develop

centralized political and economic systems, this trajectory was far from uniform or permanent (McIntosh 1999; Dueppen 2012: 8). The states that formed in the West African savanna operated on a landscape populated with many types of societies, suggesting a deep history for the mosaic quality of West African polities (Stahl 2004).

The earliest states in West Africa appeared in the savanna zone in the first millennium CE (Figure II.2). The proximity to Roman and, later, Arab North Africa has led to some historical documentation of these states through the accounts and writings of travelers. The Ghana Empire is first mentioned in the ninth century CE by the *Tarikh* of Al-Ya'qubi, where it is described as a prosperous kingdom based on trade (Levtzion 2000; MacDonald 2013: 837). Archaeological research at the presumed capital of Koumbi Saleh shows occupation back to the fourth century (McIntosh & McIntosh 1986: 438; Berthier 1997), contemporary with the growth of urbanism and complex societies throughout the region (LaViolette & Fleisher 2005). While some cities, such as Jenné-jeno, remained relatively decentralized, a series of successive polities followed Ghana by incorporating vast territories into central, hierarchical states (Levtzion 1973). The centers of these states—Ghana, Mali, Songhai—changed through time, but long-distance exchange between urban centers was common in each polity (Posnansky 1973; Sutton 1982; Insoll 1997, 2003).

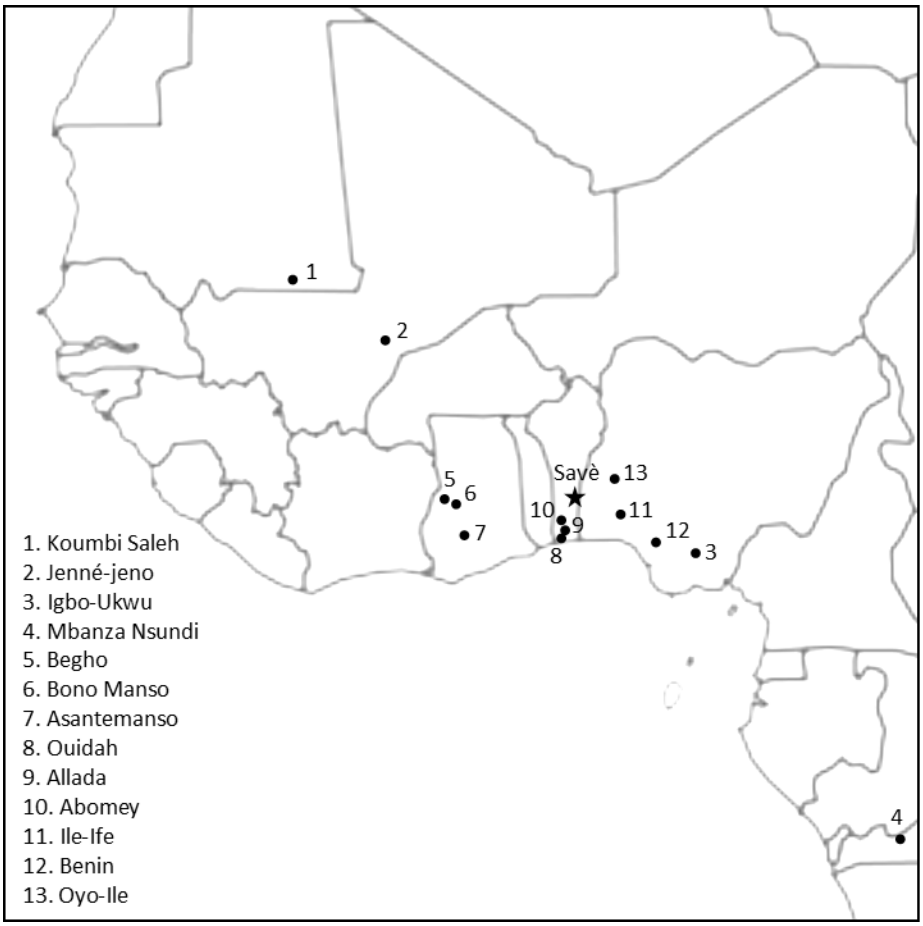


Figure II.2 Locations of archaeological sites in Africa mentioned in Chapter II.

It is tempting to see state formation as stemming from, or at least being reinforced by, trans-Saharan long-distance exchange; however, similar developments were taking place contemporaneously in the forests along the Atlantic coast where societies were not directly involved with the trade to North Africa. The most intriguing example is Igbo-Ukwu, where chance discovery of an elaborate burial has provided evidence for early social complexity (Shaw 1970, 1977). Several series of radiocarbon dates has firmly places the site in the ninth century CE (Shaw 1975; Ambers et al. 1985). At Igbo-Ukwu, an individual was buried with an elaborate assemblage of ivory tusks, copper and bronze objects, and thousands of glass and stone beads. Almost nothing is known about the larger context of the burial: the size of nearby settlements,

the kinds of local economic production, and the distribution of status objects in the society are all unknown. Yet, the quantity and diversity of grave goods suggests that, whatever the Igbo-Ukwu society was like, it featured hierarchical status differentiation and participated in a regional political-economy (Insoll & Shaw 1997).

Even farther from the terminals of the trans-Saharan trade, the Kongo kingdom provides a clearer example of a centralized polity developing independent of North African influences. Kongo is well known from historical sources, originating from both Europeans and Kongo, which give an unparalleled view into the thoughts and ruling strategies of Kongo elites. Kongo was a hierarchical polity that reproduced itself through taxation and the direct mobilization of labor and resources, backed up by a powerful military (Hilton 1985). Though sometimes argued to have been spurred on by trans-Atlantic trade, the Kongo kingdom was already well developed by the time Europeans arrived in the late 15th century (Thornton 2001). Unfortunately, the area has long been neglected by archaeological research, but recent work along the coast and at the provincial capital of Mbanza Nsundi has begun to identify hierarchies in settlement patterns and differentiation of burials during the initial period of state formation (Clist 2012; Clist et al. 2014; Denbow 2014).

The singular burial at Igbo-Ukwu and the well-known but poorly-described kingdom of Kongo are examples of complexity developing in Atlantic Africa due to regional, rather than global, interactions. This is not to discount the importance of global trade, as it dramatically changed the economics of the Kongo kingdom and was a contributing factor in its later civil wars (Thornton 1983). Though so little is known about the society that produced Igbo-Ukwu, the material culture present in the single grave alone is suggestive of a political system more centralized than that of the societies in the same region that traded with Europeans in later

centuries. It is important to note that long-distance exchange may be as much a destabilizing factor as it is an incentive for centralization. This is particularly apparent in the foundation of states after the growth of the trans-Atlantic trade, where strongly centralized polities formed as older, looser ones disintegrated in the face of new political economic conditions.

During the late first millennium CE, a number of towns formed along the southern fringe of the forest-savanna zone. The initial character of these towns is poorly understood, but their locations, ground plans, and material cultures suggest an economy based on the exchange of gold, ivory, and probably kola nut (Posnansky 1976; Effah-Gyamfi 1985; Gokee 2012). These towns continued to grow throughout the second millennium CE, with increasing evidence of territorial integration (Anquandah 1993; Chouin & DeCorse 2010). At their peak, these towns must have housed more than just traders. Begho is estimated to have had 10,000 residents (Anquandah 1993: 648), while Bono Manso may have had a similar population in an even more densely urbanized settlement (Effah-Gyamfi 1985: 215; Compton 2014).

Centralized states were established by the time of European contact in the late 15th century CE. However, other states continued to form after Europeans arrived on the coast. One of the the largest and most well-known, Asanteman, developed from the dissolution of previous polities which then were reincorporated under a centralized kingship institution that subsequently expanded the emergent state's territory (McLeod 1981; McCaskie 2003; Logan 2012: 252). Asanteman's territory extended to the Atlantic coast, where its elites participated in the trans-Atlantic trade by exporting gold, agricultural products, and slaves and importing guns, cloth, currencies, and many other goods (Kea 1982). Asante elites attempted to exercise exclusive control of this trade, but other polities emerged in this fragmented landscape that also sought to benefit through trade (e.g. Spiers 2012). Control of long-distance exchange provided many

materials for participation in political economic networks. However, these networks were outgrowths of political systems much older than the trans-Atlantic trade. Initial excavations at the Asantemanso site, outside the capital of Kumasi, has found evidence for population growth beginning by 1200 CE (Shinnie 1988; Vivian 1990).

As large urban centers were developing to the west, communities in the Dahomey Gap region of West Africa were mostly "middle-range" societies (*sensu* Upham 1990): farming, iron-producing villages linked in loose political economies (Randsborg & Merkyte 2009). The growth of trans-Atlantic trade created new opportunities and, beginning in the 16th century CE, urban settlements were established near the coast. Some of these settlements became the capitals of small centralized states such as Allada and Hueda (Adandé 1984; Kelly 2001; Law 2004; Norman 2009). Leaders in these societies adopted exclusionary strategies to create and maintain their authority, incorporating European goods into their performance of state power (Kelly 1997).

In the late 17th century, the kingdom of Dahomey began to grow, taking over Allada and Hueda. By integrating its competitors into the hierarchical structure of the state, Dahomean elites were able to monopolize long-distance exchange in the Slave Coast region and thereby control the distribution of imported wealth in society (Polanyi 1966; Law 1977; Manning 1982). However, exclusionary control over long-distance exchange was only one strategy that Dahomean elites employed. Archaeological research around the capital of Abomey has revealed a networked systems of palaces, earthworks, and forcibly resettled villages that facilitated elite control over local craft and agricultural production (Monroe 2007a, 2010, 2014). In addition, centralized political institutions were supported by novel bureaucratic and military offices that extended Dahomean power throughout the region (Bay 1998). These strategies are indicative of a

state-generated landscape (*sensu* Monroe & Ogundiran 2012) that draws power through control of resources within the polity, in addition to the flow of imports.

B. The Primacy of Ile-Ife and Divine Yoruba Kingship

1. Odùduwà

One of the best studied cases of early political centralization in West Africa is Ile-Ife, an early urban settlement and what is considered by many present-day Yoruba peoples as the foundational site of the Yoruba ethnicity. The city was first mentioned by Europeans in the mid-19th century, though oral histories from Ife and surrounding kingdoms claim a much deeper history (Smith 1988: 16; Blier 2012). Archaeological research at Ile-Ife has largely corroborated these claims, demonstrating a history of occupation dating back to at least the 10th century CE (Willett 1971). Monumental sculpture, such as the Opa Oranmiyan megalith, is associated with the foundation of royal dynasties (Smith 1988: 21). The celebrated copper-alloy and ceramic heads found in the palace complex in Ile-Ife have been interpreted as royal portraiture and evidence of early political centralization and economic specialization (Willett 1967; Garlake 1977; Blier 2012). Mosaic potsherd pavements and ancient shrines, dating the 12th century CE at the latest, have been found below the modern palace (Eyo 1974; Posnansky & McIntosh 1976: 169). Sculptures with similar stylistic features to those from Ile-Ife have been found 200 km away, suggesting that Ife elites had influence over an expansive territory (Blier 2012: 73). Ife territorialism has been linked to concern over regional trade (Shaw 1973: 237). The many spectacular objects found at royal sites, as well as archaeological evidence for large-scale glass

bead manufacture (Babalola 2011), suggest that Ife was a major producer of wealth objects that were subsequently exported to neighboring areas.

The origins of Ile-Ife are poorly understood. Early recorded oral histories of the founding period dovetail with mythic accounts of the world's foundation (Smith 1988: 14). In these accounts, the creator deity of the sky, Ọlọ́run, sent lesser deities to create the earth and establish humankind. The deity Odùduwà (also known as Oòduà in Shabe) eventually succeeded and is credited with becoming the first divine king. Odùduwà's suzerainty was materialized by several badges of office, most importantly the *adé,* a type of beaded crown with long veils. Subsequently, Odùduwà's children inherited his right of kingship, continuing a long line of divine kings at Ile-Ife as well as founding the dynasties of several other kingdoms as reported in many versions of the narrative since at least the early 19th century CE (Lander & Lander 1832; Johnson 1921; Wyndham 1921; Bascom 1969; Falola & Doortmont 1989). There are many other variations on this narrative, but each provides a similar framework for establishing kingship at Ile-Ife through divine agency and then regional kingship institutions through association with the divine. Early 20th century historians interpreted these narratives as numerous, but inaccurate, recordings of an actual migration to the Ile-Ife area from existing complex polities, such as Mecca, Egypt, or even Greece (Johnson 1921: 3; see also Law 1977: 27; Smith 1988: 23). However, there is no convincing evidence that early political traditions at Ile-Ife replicated those of elsewhere.

The diffusion of political traditions from Ile-Ife to neighboring areas is more contested. Migration narratives chronicling the dispersal of Odùduwà's children are numerous, with great variability in the number of children and timing of the dispersal (Law 1977: 27). In part due to the disagreement of sources over a possible political diffusion from Ife, scholars have been more

united in their interpretations of these accounts. They agree that migration from Ile-Ife is largely a political fiction that was developed and employed by regional elites to legitimize local authority in the context of a larger framework of divine kingship, often then corroborated by the elites of Ile-Ife (Lloyd 1960; Law 1973; Smith 1988: 81; Apter 1992: 22; Pemberton & Afolayan 1996: 28). Whether historically accurate or not, it is the case that descent from Odùduwà is the central legitimizing principle of divine kingship in much of southwest Nigeria and eastern Republic of Bénin, including Shabe. Divine kingship was connected to the ownership and display of the wealth objects imported from Ile-Ife, most notably the *adé* beaded crowns that served as material references to Odùduwà (Biobaku 1957: 2; Thompson 1970; Blier 1998: 79).

2. Power in the Ife Dynastic Field

Though the kingdom of Ife was an early centralized polity, its control over neighboring polities was limited to the ritual sphere (Law 1977: 32; Pemberton & Afolayan 1996: 27). Though these kingdoms have been variously referred to as operating in empires, networks of city-states, or affiliated tribes, it is more appropriate to characterize their relationships as the "Ife dynastic field"— (Bradbury 1973: 10). By field, Bradbury refers to a particular set of political and ritual practices. It is a shared vocabulary for enacting and legitimating power among many different polities, though loosely bound together by the elites of Ile-Ife. Foremost in this conception of political authority is that divine kingship in the region is defined explicitly in terms of dynastic origins from Ile-Ife. The dynastic field model is very close to the mosaic of African societies described by Stahl (2004), in that the relationships between polities do not necessarily unite them into a common polity, but do provide a common language for articulating power within and between societies, as in peer polity interaction (Renfrew 1986).

How was the power of leaders articulated in the Ife dynastic field? Art historians have connected certain formal and stylistic properties of objects from Ile-Ife and other sites to concepts in modern Yoruba philosophy. Central to these studies has been the concept of *àṣẹ*, or the "power to make things happen" (Thompson 1983: 5). *Àṣẹ* is a kind of energy innate to humans, animals, landscapes, and deities (Abiodun 1994: 310). *Àṣẹ* is also present in specific words and gestures (Apter 1992: 117; Abiodun 1994: 311-312). The amount of *àṣẹ* in any one thing is proportional to its importance, authority, and power. Though innate to animate and inanimate things, *àṣẹ* can fluctuate over time, most often increasing. Indeed, *àṣẹ* cannot be spontaneously generated or even usurped—it must be bestowed by a higher power (Abiodun 1994: 311). *Àṣẹ* provides a kind of framework for evaluating claims of power and authority in society. Exclusionary claims to power are evaluated by their association to other powerful actors in a universal hierarchy.

Àṣẹ is a basic expression of power, but its universality makes it difficult to use as an analytical concept for examining complex political organization. Several other concepts, however, express the differential distribution of *àṣẹ* among social groups. The most fundamental is *orí*, roughly translated as "destiny." *Orí* is an individual's allotment of *àṣẹ*, and conceptually links achievement and ascription in society as functions of the same process (Abiodun 1994: 315; Ogundiran 2014). *Orí* is located at and synonymous with "head" and, unsurprisingly, material representations of power and destiny center on the human head (Lawal 1985). An emphasis on heads is visible in the assemblage of copper-alloy and ceramic sculptures from Ile-Ife (Figure II.3). The *adé* beaded crown, the primary symbol of political authority, emphasizes the head of the king to display the monarchy's command of *àṣẹ*.

Figure II.3 A copper-alloy head recovered from Ile-Ife, dated to the 12th century CE. (Photo from Wikimedia Commons.)

Each individual has their own *orí*, but these are not equal. Some individuals are destined to have more success, more status, and more children—that is, more power. Some individuals are so powerful they are destined to become more than human, to be deified as one of the *oríṣà* (also known as *ooṣà* in Shabe). *Oríṣà* are deities, conceptualized as personified forces ranked below the creator sky-deity Ọlọ́run (Awolalu 1979: 20). Some *oríṣà* are widely venerated and associated with natural forces, such as Olokun and the ocean (Awolalu 1979: 47). Others are widely venerated due to their association with common human occupations, like Ogun with iron production, hunting, and warfare (Barnes & Ben-Amos 1997). Still others are deified ancestors venerated only regionally or locally, such as the king Oranmiyan in Oyo and Ile-Ife (Johnson 1921: 143; Smith 1988: 21, 30). Some *oríṣà* are both ancestors and forces of nature, as with

Ṣàngó who is venerated as an ancient king of Oyo and the controller of lightning, well beyond the limits of the Oyo kingdom (Tishken et al. 2009).

The *àṣẹ* of an individual can be posthumously reckoned through deification, but there are mechanisms in the Ife dynastic field to immediately assess and manipulate *àṣẹ*. The most widely used is Ifá. Ifá is a divinatory system and set of religious practices with material and textual components (Bascom 1969). As a divinatory system, it connects material objects and actors to invisible forces. In this case, the consultation of Ifá reckons where *àṣẹ* is located and how it can be interacted with (Drewal & Drewal 1983; Doris 2011: 26). Ifá sanctioning is important for recognizing political authority in the Ife dynastic field, such as the annual consultation of Ifá by the Oyo king (Law 1977: 65). Through the concept of *orí* and the practices of *oríṣà* veneration and Ifá divination, royalty and divinity are closely linked in the Ife dynastic field.

3. Ile-Ife and the Crowned Kingdoms

Ile-Ife was the center of a vast political network connecting over 20 separate kingdoms and many smaller, independent polities (Smith 1988). This network was united in how power and authority was expressed in society. Leaders made claims to power through their association with *àṣẹ*-potent spirits and deities, including deified kings and ancestors. Power in these various societies was performed through the ownership and display of wealth objects largely based on concepts, symbols, and iconography institutionalized at Ile-Ife—the chief symbol being the *adé* beaded crown. The number of kingdoms sanctioned by Ife to have *adé* varies between six and sixteen depending on the authority cited and the particular historical conditions (George 1895: 29; Johnson 1921: 7; Kenyo 1959: 26). This variability likely reflects changing participation in the Ife dynastic field in general (Law 1977: 28), and specifically the diachronic adoption of the

adé as a political symbol. Thus the foundational conceptualization of power is shared between polities, though the actual political institutions are more heterogeneous (Smith 1988).

The relationship between Ife and these other polities is poorly understood, particularly for the initial period of state formation. More is known about later periods, where it appears the polities were relatively autonomous and only ceremonially deferred to Ife, and then only in limited contexts (Law 1977: 120). Certainly in the 18th and 19th centuries CE these polities had their own independently administrated territories and militaries (Ogundele & Babalola 2007; Ogunfolakan e al. 2006; Odunbaku & Alabi 2010). However, material forms like those at Ile-Ife have been found in other kingdoms in the Ife dynastic field (Agbaje-Williams 1995; Ogundiran 2000; Ige et al. 2009). These include distinctive edge-laid pavements (Figure II.4) which contrast with the face-laid pavements (Figure II.5) that are found throughout the savanna and savanna-forest mosaic zones of West Africa (Haour 2013).

Figure II.4 Edge-laid potsherd pavement from Olokun Gove, Ile-Ife. The herringbone pattern is characteristic the Ife dynastic field. (Photo by Akin Ogundiran, in Haour 2013).

Figure II.5 Flat-laid potsherd pavement from Birnin Lafiya, northern Benin. (Photo by Alexandre Livingstone Smith, in Haour 2013).

4. Ile-Ife and Benin

In addition to their political traditions, many of the polities participating in the Ife dynastic field show other close affinities to Ile-Ife. The languages spoken in these polities are closely related to the language spoken at Ile-Ife, and are now considered dialects of Yoruba (Bamgbose 1966). An important outlier is the kingdom of Benin. The Edo language of Benin is distinct from the Yoruba dialects spoken in other polities. Further, the material culture of Benin's political and religious practices is distinct from the Ife-derived traditions (Ben-Amos 1999). Ife traditions influenced, but did not supplant, the authorization of power in Benin (Bradbury 1957; Akintoye 1969). While oral traditions from Benin connect local political authority to Ile-Ife, as with other polities, it is unlikely that its origins are completely derived from Ife (Ryder 1965).

Instead, Benin elites likely adopted the institutions and practices of Ife later in their kingdom's development as a way to participate in the regional political economy (Thornton 1988). Alternatively, elites might have incorporated Ife political practices into existing institutions as a way of settling internal factional competition.

Archaeological evidence also supports the independent development of the centralized Benin polity. An extensive system of earthworks and ditches spreads out from the capital Benin City for more than 16,000 kilometers, enclosing an area of over 6,500 square kilometers (Connah 2001: 162). The oldest part of the system surrounds the capital, dating to the end of the first millennium CE—before or contemporary with the florescence of political symbolism at Ife (Darling 1988: 122). This core was expanded and rebuilt several times, with an intensive construction episode between the 13th and 15th centuries (Sutton 1982: 312). This period corresponds to the establishment of a palace compound with mosaic potsherd pavements (Connah 1972: 27) and the initial use of copper alloys in royal arts (Connah 2001: 164).

With this background on political genesis in West Africa generally—and the Ife dynastic field specifically—demonstrating the multiple pathways to centralization, I turn to the Oyo kingdom. Oyo was an expansive and strongly centralized polity that participated in the Ife dynastic field. It grew beyond this, however, to become what some have termed the only true pre-colonial "empire" that operated in the forest zone of West Africa (Law 1977). Indeed, the ethnonym Yoruba initially referred to only the residents of Oyo, but through the Oyo Empire's dominance in the region came to stand in for many of the related polities in the Ife dynastic field. The Shabe kingdom is intimately connected to the expansion of Oyo, and so I now turn to a discussion of Oyo's development below in order to clarify the political-economic context that Shabe originated in.

C. Yoruba Ethnogenesis and Expansion

1. The Aláafin

Within the Ife dynastic field, power and leadership were legitimized through association with the *àṣẹ*-charged shrines and material symbols of Ile-Ife. However, elites in the Ife kingdom did not turn this cache of *àṣẹ* into a hierarchical political organization with itself at the top. Instead, the kingdom of Oyo in the extreme north of the Ife dynastic field grew to become a great power, integrating many kingdoms into one of West Africa's true empires. At the center of the Oyo Empire was the Aláafin, a divine king descended from a line of deified rulers including Ṣàngó, Oranmiyan, and ultimately Odùduwà (Law 1977: 31; Smith 1988: 29).

The Aláafin's hegemony in the region's political economy began in the early 17th century CE. Prior to this, Oyo was not particularly large or powerful (Law 1977: 26). Oral histories from the Oyo royal court admit that in the earliest period of the empire, Oyo was not a strongly centralized polity. Through warfare, however, it was able to conquer and consolidate the territory surrounding the capital of Oyo-Ile (Law 1977: 36). The early Oyo state participated in the Ife dynastic field but, like other states in the field, was relatively autonomous.

Warfare was an important part of Oyo's formation. Violence was directed inward, as a means to integrate its territory, but war with neighboring polities is also recorded. A major war was launched against the Nupe state under the king Edegi, ending in the complete destruction and abandonment of Oyo-Ile around 1535 CE (Law 1977: 56). Following the sack of the capital, the Oyo monarchy emigrated to the west, settling in Borgu territory near Nikki before coalescing around the new capital of Igboho (Law 1977: 40). Several important innovations were adopted

during this period of refuge that would become crucial to the Oyo Empire's future political success. The Oyo military adopted horse cavalry, a military technology employed against them by the conquering Nupe (Law 1977: 43). In addition, it is during this period that Ifá divination became a widespread practice (Law 1977: 44). These new innovations may be indicative of political reorganization as well, specifically of Borgu leaders inserting themselves into the Oyo political structure, perhaps even installing a new dynasty of Aláafins (Law 1977: 41; Stewart 1993: 153).

2. Oyo Imperialism

Many centralized states developed in the Ife dynastic field. However, as alluded to above, it was the newly reconstituted kingdom at Oyo-Ile that would come to exercise authority over these peer polities (Figure II.6). From 1600 CE to its collapse in the early 19th century, Oyo administered a territory stretching from the Atlantic coast north to the Moshi River, and from the Osin River west to the Ouémé River (Law 1977: 7). Though expansive, the actual administrative power of the Aláafin varied widely within Oyo's territory (Law 1977: 96). The Aláafin exercised direct authority over the core of the kingdom, centered on Oyo-Ile and extending south to the confluence of the Ogun and Oyan Rivers. Within this core, the Aláafin ruled through a series of subordinate kings and village heads, usually hereditary positions chosen from lineages with close associations to the capital (Law 1977: 98). Outside the central core, Oyo exercised less direct control and subordinate rulers could administer more freely. For example, the western edge of the Empire was controlled by the kingdom of Ketu (also spelled Kétou), which paid tribute to Oyo and allowed the Oyo military the right to pass through its lands to wage war against neighboring Dahomey or to access Atlantic ports (Law 1977; Parrinder 1956).

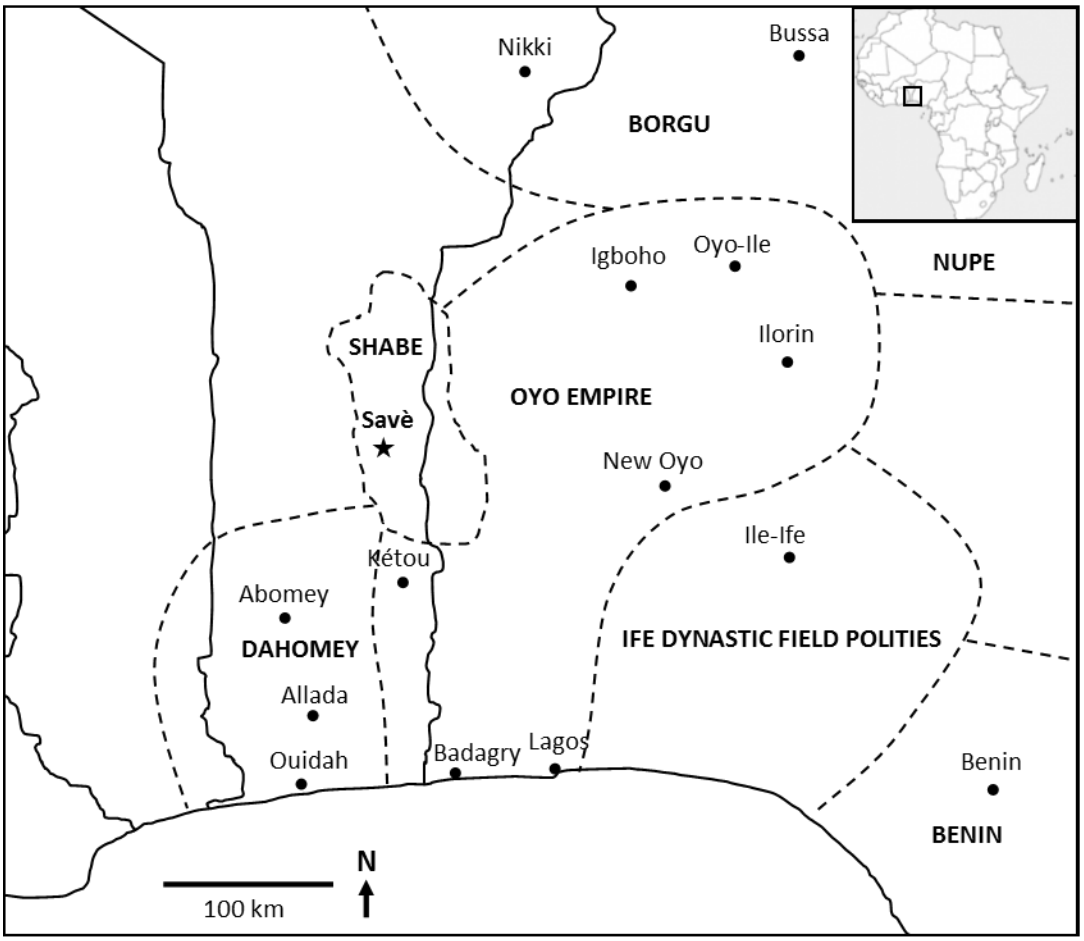


Figure II.6 Approximate boundaries of the Oyo Empire and neighboring polities.

All subordinate rulers, however, were compelled to pay tribute to the Aláafin. Tribute was organized primarily around the annual Bẹrẹ festival, when representatives from throughout the empire assembled in Oyo-Ile to present thatch (the eponymous *bẹrẹ* grass), cowry money, and other goods to the Aláafin. Similar tribute was required during the installation rites of new Aláafins (Law 1977: 100). In addition to tribute, the Aláafin asserted authority over taxation. The principal point of taxation was at Atlantic ports, such as Badagry and Lagos (Akinjogbin 1967:

155), though taxes were also collected at regional markets via town gates, such as at Igboho (Law 1977: 100).

In addition to economic claims, the Oyo court exerted judicial and religious control over its territory. Relatively minor civil and criminal cases were handled by local kings and village heads, or privately if the matter only affected members of the same lineage, but cases could be appealed directly to the Aláafin. The Aláafin's court could overrule the decisions of any lower judicial body or court (Law 1977: 103). Laws were enforced by the constituent rulers and other representatives of the Aláafin, most notably the *ajele*, a group of officials stationed throughout the empire who reported to the Aláafin and ensured the compliance of subordinates (Law 1977: 110). A similar group consisted of the *mogba*, the head priests of the deity Ṣàngó. Ṣàngó is a deity associated with thunder and lightning, as well as a deified Aláafin. Because of the direct connection to Oyo sovereignty, Ṣàngó priests often represented imperial interests in addition to providing services protecting communities from lightning catastrophes (Schiltz 1985: 70). It has even been suggested based on oral traditions that Ṣàngó priests promoted a kind of imperial cult, as well as being formally appointed as *ajele* (Biobaku 1957: 60). This intertwining of economic, judicial, and religious powers in the political office of Aláafin was typical of divine kingship in the Ife dynastic sphere (Apter 1992). The Aláafin further centralized this confluence of powers by placing himself above his subordinate rulers.

By the close of the 18th century, the Aláafin controlled a vast territory and demanded tribute from a network of towns and kingdoms. But how did this occur? Certainly the destruction of Oyo-Ile by Nupe invaders documents the early fragility of the kingdom. What changed that allowed Oyo to expand at the expense of its neighbor's sovereignty?

One factor may have been Oyo's access to horses. The use of horses in warfare has frequently been invoked to explain state formation in West Africa (Goody 1971: 36). Positioned at the northern edge of the forest zone, the Oyo military possessed an effective cavalry, while the southern states inhabited a climate not conducive to keeping horses. However, Oyo's climate still led to considerable horse mortality due to endemic trypanosomiasis (Law 1975). The general effectiveness of the cavalry in controlling the forested regions of the empire can also be questioned, as southern states successfully resisted incursions by the Oyo military in the 19th century (Akinjogbin 1967: 178; Awe 1973: 66; Law 1977: 266).

State domination through military action is only one factor in Oyo's imperial expansion. Certainly many communities were drawn into Oyo for economic reasons. Markets and kingship are closely intertwined in many parts of West Africa, including the Ife dynastic sphere and adjacent areas (Hodder & Ukwu 1969). Through taxation and the control of wealth distribution, the Aláafin shaped the local political economy, in which subordinate leaders participated in to maintain their own legitimacy. This influence was in part based on the Aláafin's ability to provide public goods, such as the maintenance of road systems (Blanton & Fargher 2008: 138). Roads facilitated the market system of long-distance exchange the Aláafin participated in, linking global and regional economies (ibid: 307). It is likely that Oyo's expansion was not only a matter of conquest, but also a result of the collective adoption of its political and economic norms by communities within the Ife dynastic field. This is in line with holistic explanations of state expansion that invoke a feedback effect of state economy, political ideology, and religious practice (Sinopoli 1994; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Stein 1998).

The primary problem with these historical accounts of Oyo's expansion is the lack of detailed historical evidence for this period. Our knowledge of the formative events of many

African states is unclear due to a lack of internal documentation, either because of the lack of writing or poor preservation (Law 1977: 12; Lonsdale 1981; MacCaskie 1983). Even when available the biases of their authors can limit their utility in reconstructing formative histories. Oral histories are often more abundant, particularly when concerning institutional practices, but these too must be carefully scrutinized (Law 1973; Vansina 1985). The lack of sources is further complicated by attempting to use them to study expansion itself. Expansion is a diachronic and dynamic process, and rulers are often not concerned with creating the documentation needed for subsequent historical research. The fragmentary written accounts and revisionary oral histories from later time periods are poorly suited to addressing questions of the early Oyo Empire.

Historical documents are more useful for charting the dissolution of Oyo. Its decline began in the late 18th century following a series of succession disputes and weak Aláafins (Law 1977). The constituent political divisions of the empire became increasingly independent. Ilorin broke away in the early 19th century, becoming an outpost for the Sokoto Caliphate (Usman 2009: 112). At the same time, the more distant polities, such as Dahomey, that Oyo had subjugated into tributary relationships refused to acknowledge the Aláafin. Oyo sent an army to Dahomey, possibly passing through Shabe territory, in order to extract tribute, but was defeated, signaling the end of Oyo's imperial rule (Palau Marti 1992a: 193; Alpern 1998: 166). The capital of Oyo-Ile was subjected to repeated raiding by the Fulani and was eventually abandoned in 1837 CE as its occupants fled far to the south to establish New Oyo (Usman 2009: 112).

Archaeological research has investigated many of the questions about Oyo that historians have not been able to answer. Material remains of Oyo's imperial expansion trace the spread and relative influence of Oyo's political and economic hegemony (Figure II.7). These material indicators come from multiple periods, allowing a diachronic perspective. This perspective is

particularly productive when combined with available historical data and cultural analogies derived from much later ethnography.

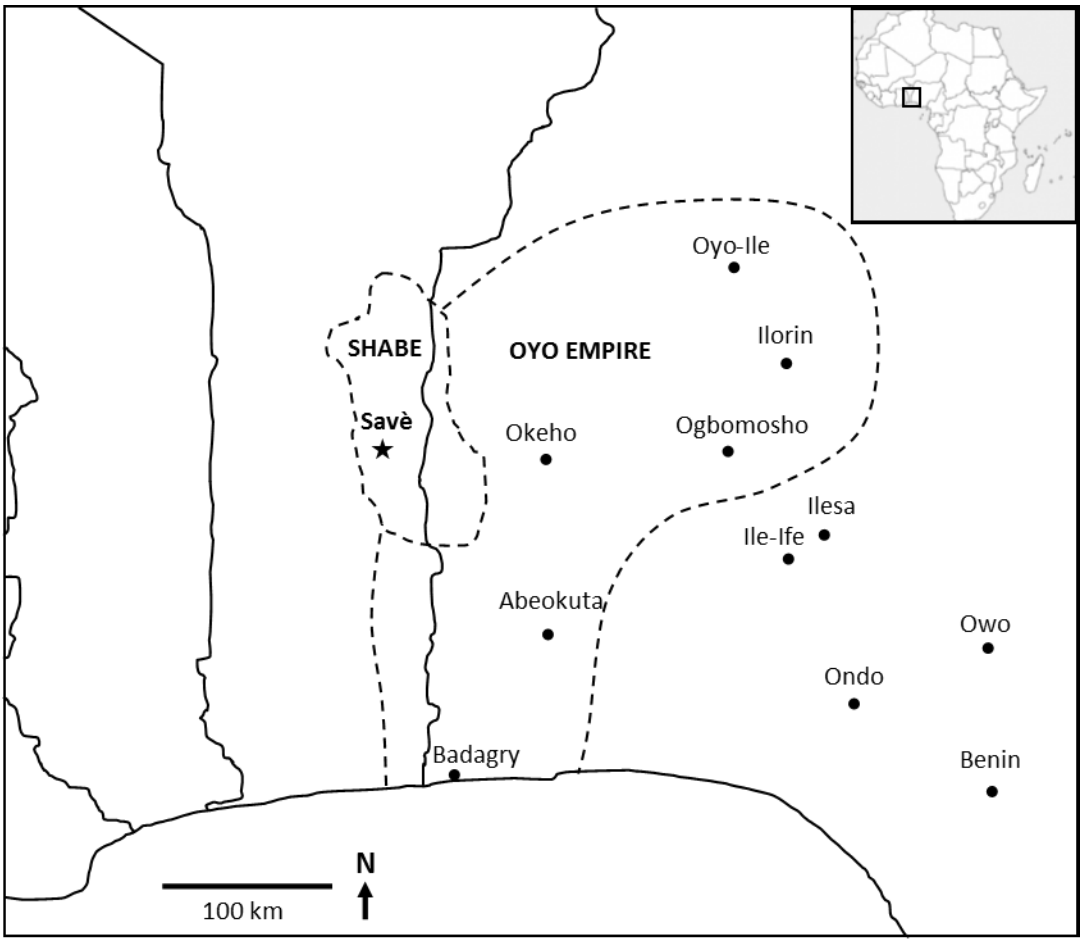


Figure II.7 Localities of archaeological sites in the Oyo Empire and Ife dynastic field described in the text.

Early archaeological work centered on the capital Oyo-Ile. Despite only being abandoned in 1837, much of the architecture at the site has degraded and research has focused on Oyo's portable material culture (Willett 1960; Agbaje-Williams 1990). Researchers found that ceramic decoration at the site changed dramatically at about 1300 CE, but then remained consistent until the site's abandonment (Allsworth-Jones 1996). The decoration and form of ceramics at Oyo-Ile

were also significantly different than contemporary ceramics from Ile-Ife, suggesting the relative independence of Oyo during its initial period of expansion (Agbaje-Williams 1983). At its height, the city's area was at least 5,000 ha, enclosed by six walls totaling over 75 linear kilometers (Soper & Darling 1980: 62). The palace was a large and central institution in Oyo-Ile as evidenced by its ground plan and location within the inner walls (Soper 1992). More recent phosphate testing of the area surrounding the palace shows that it was sited near a major market (Folorunso et al. 2006: 3).

It is little surprise that the capital of the Oyo Empire conforms to many of our archaeological expectations of what a state center should look like (Flannery 1998). Away from the center, archaeological research has examined how Oyo imperialism manifested itself in more peripheral areas. In the Igbomina area near Ilorin, the 16th to 18th centuries were a period of dramatic increases in settlement size and density (Usman 2012: 111). Sites also become more fortified, with constructions similar to those documented at Oyo-Ile (ibid: 113). Ceramic decorations also exhibit similarities to those from the capital, indicative of increasing economic and cultural links between the areas (ibid: 118). Compositional studies show that ceramics moved throughout the region via trade networks (Usman et al. 2005), but new decorative forms were also adopted by local potters (Aleru 2006: 183). The material record supports a scenario of Oyo expansion through warfare and the reorientation of Igbomina's economy toward Oyo.

In contrast to the imperial strategy of conquest and economic absorption that characterized Oyo's relationship with Igbomina, the Upper Osun area to the southeast was actively colonized by Oyo settlers. Prior to Oyo's intrusion, the Upper Osun area was a political frontier located between Ile-Ife and Ilesa. By the 17th century, the Oyo colony of Ede-Ile was founded in the area at a strategic position in the center of the Ife dynastic field (Ogundiran 2012:

230). Ceramics show a very strong affinity to Oyo: nearly one third of vessels from the site having been directly imported from the Oyo heartland to the north (ibid: 234). The remains of horses from Ede-Ile show that these animals were brought to the area, likely imported directly from Oyo (ibid: 237). A large number of mature baobab trees on the site may also reflect Oyo settlement practices (ibid: 235), though the association between baobabs and settlements is much more widespread in West Africa than only the Oyo Empire (Blench 2007b; Gurstelle 2013). The archaeology of Oyo's more peripheral territories shows that Oyo expansion was well underway by the 17th century, characterized by the adoption of Oyo building practices, material cultures, and economic networks.

Other archaeological research in the Oyo Empire has revealed a diverse mosaic of towns, villages, camps, and refuges. Near Ogbomosho, archaeological survey documented a range of sites interpreted as part of a modestly centralized polity related to the historically known chieftancy in the area (Ogunfolakan et al. 2006; Eluyemi et al. 2012). Defensive structures near Abeokuta have been interpreted as a response to the collapse of Oyo, though they are poorly dated and may instead relate to resistance to the area's initial incorporation into the empire (Odunbaku & Alabi 2010). Similarly, hilltop refuge sites near Okeho are linked to instability during the 19th century through oral histories, but they may have been occupied multiple times over the past millennium (Gleave 1963). Near Ondo, elephant remains were excavated in association with potsherds and a cowry, leading to the interpretation it was a ritual deposit consistent with offerings to Ogun, the deity of hunting in the Ife dynastic field (Ogunfolakan & Olayemi 2008). Near Owo, terracotta sculptures have been found that are stylistically similar to Ife, but unrelated to Oyo (Eyo 1976). These two sites may show the southeastern limits of the

Oyo imperialism, as although they have material culture consistent with the Ife dynastic field, they lack overt Oyo influences.

The Aláafin encouraged the expansion of the Oyo Empire through multiple strategies, resulting in different levels of regional integration into the state. Ceramic styles, access to imports, and landscape modification practices are all evidence of this variability. Such variability in the material record Oyo's expansion is typical of ancient empires (Sinopoli 1994: 162). Expansion was an uneven process in ancient states, varying due to limits on the power of rulers as well the ability of integrated communities to resist or modify imperial rule (Stein 1998: 155; Given 2004: 10). Though warfare and coercive force could certainly enable expansion, the involvement of traders and craft producers is also a well-documented feature of many episodes of ancient imperial expansion, including those from West Africa (Haour 2007, 2013: 155). Some aspects of Oyo, such as economic opportunities or perceived stability, were probably attractive to many communities. Indeed, ceramics from both the Igbomina and Upper Osun areas outside the Oyo core show increased adoption of Oyo material styles, even when goods were produced locally. However, ceramics from near Badagry show much more localized decorations and forms, suggesting that colonization differed in its intensity and effect on material culture (Allsworth-Jones & Wesler 1998). Expansion, however enabled, further centralized the position of the Aláafin in the political economy.

3. The Invention of Yoruba

How did the polities united by the Oyo Empire think of themselves? Did they recognize commonality amongst themselves, or "otherness" in Dahomey, Borgu, Nupe, or the Igbo-speaking societies to the southeast? Since the 19th century, the Ife dynastic field has increasingly

become conflated with the modern ethnonym "Yoruba" (Law 1996; Peel 2000: 283). The referent of Yoruba during the period of Oyo's imperial expansion was much more restricted: the subjects of the Oyo core only (Law 1977: 5; Adediran 1984: 57). Other communities likely identified themselves along a range of organizational principles. Certainly the many oral histories recorded in the 19th and 20th centuries attest to political affiliations based on kingdoms within the Ife dynastic sphere (Lloyd 1960), but affiliation also scaled to specific settlements, compounds, and lineages (Barber 1991: 158; Apter 2013: 358).

In addition to Oyo imperialism, the Yoruba identity is heavily influenced by its legacy with Christian missionizing (Peel 2003), identity formation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Matory 2005), and the modern politics of ethnic identity (Laitin 1986). These directions would suggest that a cohesive identity was a relatively late invention of the 19th century CE. However, it is wrong to conclude that the disparate kingdoms of the Ife dynastic field did not recognize commonalities among themselves. Indeed, the shared political practices among the kingdoms likely aided their integration within the expanding Oyo Empire. Oyo must be regarded as a kingdom drawing from political practices in both the Ife dynastic field, the non-Yoruba societies to their north, and the local institutions of its own territory.

The composite nature of Oyo political institutions is emblematic of polities throughout the Ife dynastic field. Each polity draws from the shared political tradition of Ile-Ife, but each is marked by differences arising from the influence of local and foreign institutions. This is the case in the Shabe kingdom, which I turn to in the next chapter. The Shabe people now describe themselves as Yoruba, but how deeply rooted is this appellation? When did they enter Oyo's sphere of influence, of the Ife dynastic field? What institutions arose from the local context, or were imported from non-Yoruba areas to the north and east? These questions have been

addressed, but not full answered, by ethnographers and histories of Shabe. In the next chapter, I survey the existing literature on Shabe in order describe the kingdom's most recent political institutions, with the aim of creating an analogue with which to compare my interpretations of the archaeological record.

CHAPTER III

Landscape and Change in Shabe

In this chapter, I address the question of Shabe identity raised in Chapter I by rolling back the 20th- and 21st-century definition of Shabe as an ethnicity to an earlier manifestation—an identity centered on political institutions. To do this, I consider Shabe in multiple ways: as an ethnicity; a landscape; and a set of shared kinship, ritual, and economic practices. Throughout this chapter, I tack between how Shabe is conceptualized today and how it was in years past through extensive use of Shabe oral history—both traditions performed and documented during my fieldwork in 2012-2013 and those recorded by earlier researchers. Particularly important are the areas of disagreement in the oral traditions, as these potentially reveal crucial transformations in the Shabe kingdom and its political economy.

A. The Savè Hills and Its People

1. The Shabe Landscape

The Shabe kingdom and people were and continue to be closely aligned linguistically, culturally, and politically with other Yoruba communities in Bénin and Nigeria. Indeed, the traditional boundaries of the Shabe kingdom extend from the Ouémé River east to the Oyan River in Nigeria's Oyo State. The present political border between Bénin and Nigeria bisects the

kingdom, though all the kingdom's principal towns are in Bénin. This bisection resulted from the somewhat arbitrary divisions of the 1884-5 Berlin Conference in which the Okpara River was chosen as the boundary between French and British colonies. Despite having been administered by different European powers, settlements on the Nigerian side of the border retain very close connections to Shabe communities in Bénin. This is in some ways a necessity as Nigerian Shabe communities are woefully underdeveloped, in part because their traditional political leaders can only exert influence on the Bénin side of the border (Flynn 1997a: 62).

As I explore in subsequent chapters, the borders of the Shabe kingdom have changed significantly over the past several centuries. At its maximum extent in the early 19th century, the Shabe kingdom controlled the area between the Ouémé River and the Oyan River in Nigeria, and from the Ketu kingdom in the south to the Borgu kingdoms in the north (Adam et al. 1996: 7). This maximum political extent is still seen today in the distribution of ethnic Shabe communities (Figure III.1). Today, Shabe is an ethnic identity as much as it is a political affiliation. Indeed, one of the key points of interest of my research is to track the transformation of Shabe from a marker of political affiliation to one of ethnicity during the late 19th and 20th centuries (see Chapter V). The Shabe kingdom lost political autonomy during this period, but, as I discussed in Chapter I, the monarchy survives as a heritage institution promoting the culture of the Shabe people.

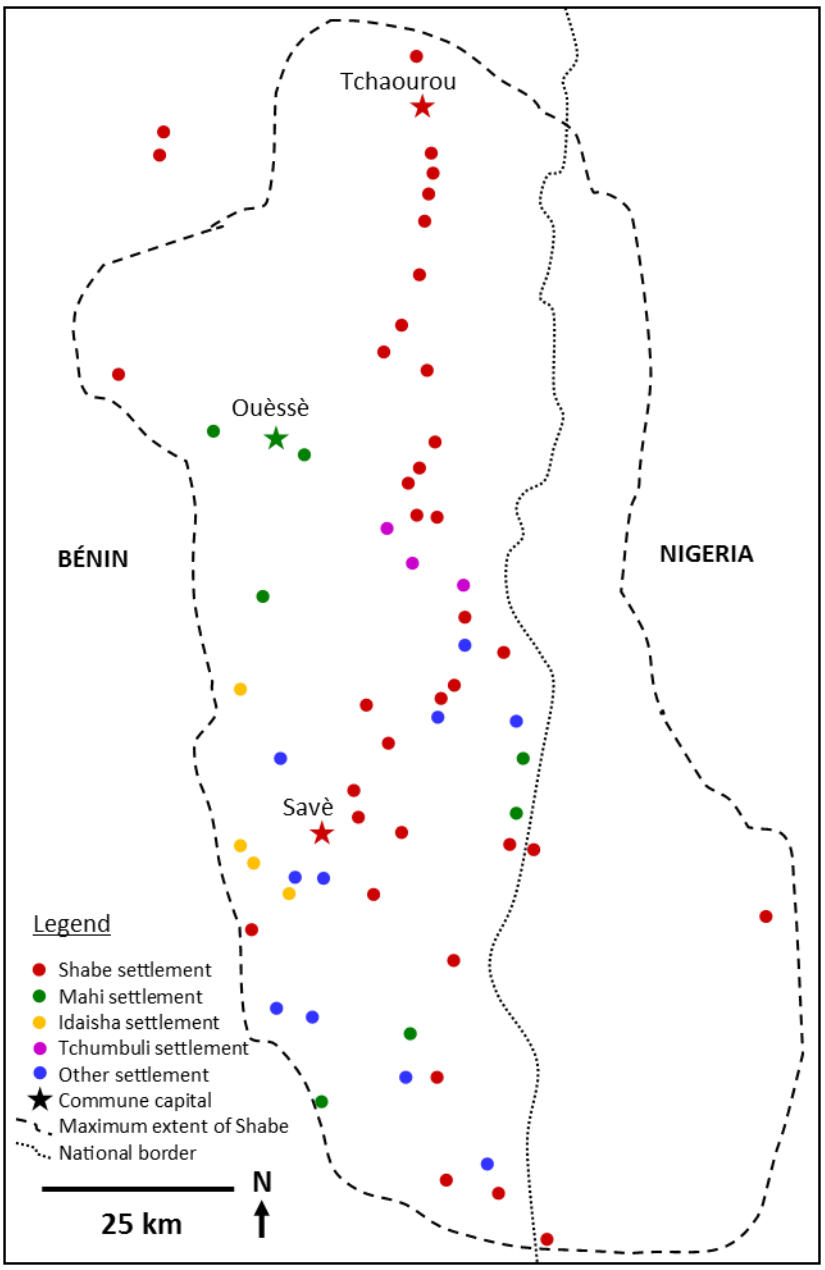


Figure III.1 The traditional borders of the Shabe kingdom, as defined by geographic features, encompasses most ethnic Shabe-majority settlements.[2]

[2] The two Shabe settlements outside the traditional borders in the northwest were founded as refuges during a succession dispute between the first and second Shabe dynasty (see below), and so intentionally created outside of Shabe's territory. Data on settlement ethnicity was collected through reconnaissance survey (see Chapter IV) and from Palau Martí 1992a, 1992b, 1993; Flynn 1997b; le Meur 2006. Settlement information for the Nigerian part of the Shabe kingdom is lacking, and relies on a traditional recounting of settlement founders provided by the Onishabe, as well as a written version of the same in Adam et al. 1996.

Today, the seat of Shabe culture and heritage is the town of Savè. The name Savè is a Fongbe-language adaptation of the precolonial kingdom and ethnic autonym Shabe. Savè is also the name of commune administrative district the town lies in and encompasses much of the Shabe kingdom. Properly, the town Savè is called Ile-Shabe or Shabe-Idadu, or more commonly Idadu for short. Shabe-Idadu is the capital of the Shabe kingdom, and also its largest city with about 33,000 residents—more than a third of the commune's total population (Direction des Etudes Démographiques 2002, 2013). It is the location of the royal palace, and political elites from other Shabe towns and villages maintain compounds here in order to participate in the political life of the kingdom. It is a major hub for local and regional commerce, particularly cross-border trade to Nigeria (Flynn 1997b). The French colonial (and later national) railway stops at Savè on its way from the coast to the northern terminus at Parakou. Pre-colonial trade relations were more limited, as the Savè area was peripheral to both the southern terminals of the trans-Saharan trade routes and the coastal ports of the trans-Atlantic trade.

The Savè hills landscape is characterized as gently rolling hills, typically between 130 m and 230 m above sea level (Figure III.2). Granite inselbergs rise abruptly from these low hills. The tallest, the Inashabe dome of the Oke Shabe hill, rises to 431 m above sea level (Figure III.3). The underlying geology is a basement complex of granites and gneisses (Schlüter 2006: 42). Derived soils are lateritic and characteristically red (Couchard 1911: 11). These soils formed through extensive weathering, leaching them of soluble minerals and leaving behind soils rich in iron (Aleva 1994). Also important is the aeolian deposition of Saharan dust during the seasonal Harmattan winds (Faure & Volkoff 1998: 287). The Savè hills area is drained by the Okpara and Ouémé rivers on the Bénin-side, and by the Okpara and Oyan rivers on the Nigeria-side. Many streams intersect these basins but only flow during the height of the rainy season between April

and October. Climatically, the area is part of the Sudano-Guinean zone with an average annual rainfall of 1,100 mm (Palau Martí 1992a: 21-22). Phytogeographically, the Savè hills area is part of the Sudanian center of endemism (White 1983). Thus, the landscape is characterized as a mosaic of Sudanian wooded grasslands and derived savanna, typical of West Africa landscapes that have been extensively cultivated over the past several centuries (Fairhead & Leach 1996). The region also lies at the northern tip of the Dahomey Gap: an expanse of savanna-forest mosaic that breaks the Atlantic littoral forests in present-day Béenin and Togo (Salzmann & Hoelzmann 2005).

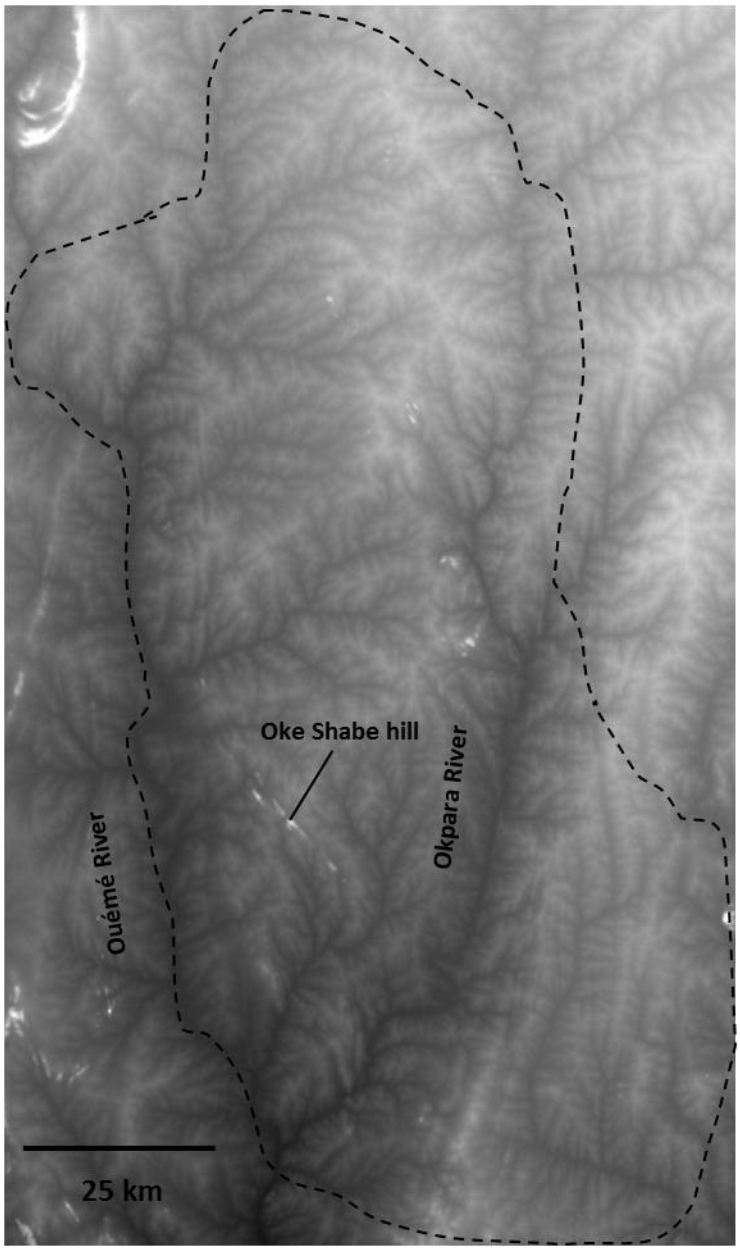


Figure III.2 Topographic map of the Savè hills area, with the traditional boundaries of the Shabe kingdom represented by the broken line. Darker areas represent lower elevations, down to about 75 meters above sea level at the confluence of the Ouémé and Okpara rivers. The highest point is 431 masl reached by the Oke Shabe hill. (Elevation data from NASA Shuttle Radar Topography Mission.)

Figure III.3 The Oke Shabe hill outside of Savè (Shabe-Idadu) and typical rainy season vegetation surrounding present-day settlements. The Inashabe dome (431 m above sea level) is the second peak from the left.

2. Shabe Lineage

Who are the Shabe people? Early definitions offered by colonial administrators and missionaries (e.g., Couchard 1911; Mouléro 1964) espoused an uncritical essentialist definition: Shabe people simply were. In the cultural evolutionary framework of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Shabe culture—as defined by particular behaviors, traits, and institutions—was seen as static, fixed, and uniformly shared by all members of a coherent group. This view has been repeated by later historians, particularly those working with oral traditions (e.g., Adediran 1994; Adam et al. 1996). In acknowledging the constructivist paradigm that identity is fluid and

contextual, I follow Palau Martí's (1992a: 7-11, 1992b, 1993) definition of Shabe as simultaneously a political history, a cluster of lineage associations, and a community of ritual practice. This focus certainly elides some of the symbolic and material resources that are assembled to construct identity, but has the distinct advantage of linking Shabe to characteristics that are identifiable in the past. Flynn (1997a) also uses shared kinship and ritual practices to define a Shabe people, but emphasizes that Savè hills residents also lean on economic pursuits to create alternate identities that at times overlap with Shabe (ibid: 65; 1997b). My research supports this view of economics as crucial to the multiplicity of identity in the Save hills; a view that diverges from those of other scholars working in the area who have typically described Shabe economics as primarily adaptive behavior determined by macrosystemic forces, such as the environment or international markets (e.g., Palau Martí 1992a; le Meur 2006; Ceperley et al. 2010).

The focus of this dissertation is the political institutions of the Shabe kingdom, and I am most interested in how Shabe identity pertains to a political history. However, the intersection of Shabe kinship, ritual, and economic practices with political institutions must also be addressed in order to understand how power was constructed, reinforced, and contested over the past 500 years. Focusing on these three elements—kinship, ritual, economy—I draw on a range of 20th century sources, as well as my own conversations and observations in 2011-2013, to sketch a composite of Shabe practices in the present and recent past. This sketch serves as an analogue in the direct-historical approach I employ in my study of the Shabe past (see Chapter IV).

Shabe identity is reproduced through kinship practices, organized primarily along lineages called *èyílé* (Palau Martí 1992b). The term *èyílé,* or *ìdílé* in Oyo Yoruba, is composed of the morphemes *ìdí* and *ilé,* glossed as root and house respectively (Palau Martí 1968: 64). Taken

together, these two words are apt metaphors for the multiple channels that kinship operates on, as Shabe lineage (and Yoruba, more generally) is both a genealogical relationship and a locational-residential relationship (Barber 1991).

Genealogically, membership in an *ìdílé* is patrilineal, so that all children are affiliated with their father's lineage (Palau Martí 1992b: 7). *Ìdílé* are also exogamous and patrilocal, though women retain their own lineage affiliation throughout their lives (Lloyd 1955: 240; Schwab 1955: 359). Each *ìdílé* is associated with an apical ancestor; how far back this ancestor lived varies from a few generations to a mythologized distant past (Lloyd 1955: 239; Palau Martí 1992b). This lineage genealogy is preserved, modified, and transmitted through formulaic oral histories and ritual practices (Barber 1991; Palau Martí 1992b: 25-29). Common descent unites the *ìdílé*, but it can also be internally segmented by multiple male lines stemming from large polygynous families (Lloyd 1955: 243). Thus, each *ìdílé* is able to be divided into more and more segments with each subsequent male descendant. Though infinitely divisible, the *ìdílé* as a whole is conceived of as a bounded and, barring some major catastrophe, permanent entity (Schwab 1955: 353). The *ìdílé* is headed by a *balé* who acts as its official representation. The *balé* is typically the eldest male; a parallel position, the *ìná ilé*, is typically assigned to the eldest female (Palau Martí 1992b: 31).

The *ìdílé* is structurally centered on the notion of apical ancestors but it is perhaps most concretely reinforced through everyday language practices. An integral part of a Shabe lineage—as opposed to a foreign lineage—is that members of the lineage speak the Shabe language. Though proficiency in multiple spoken languages is common, the Shabe language is what is taught to young *ìdílé* members by their relatives and so constitutes their primary community of practice for inculcating kinship norms, among other social prescriptions.

The Shabe language is part of the Ede language family, a subgroup of the Defoid language family in the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo phylum (Capo 1989: 281; Kluge 2011b). The Ede language family is a continuum of closely related languages stretching contiguously from southwestern Nigeria to Togo (Figure III.4). There are relatively small differences between adjoining Ede languages, but greater differences between languages at opposing ends of the continuum (Kluge 2011a: viii). Thus, the Shabe language is closely related to Idaisha to the west and Oyo Yoruba to the south and east. Based on intelligibility among Shabe speakers, the language is more closely related to Oyo Yoruba than the western Ede languages (Kluge 2011b: 28). The close relation between Shabe and Oyo Yoruba has been commented on by previous researchers of the Shabe kingdom, who use the link to demonstrate a historical connection between the Shabe kingdom and other polities in the Ife dynastic field (Parrinder 1947; Palau Martí 1992a: 11; Adediran 1994: 17).

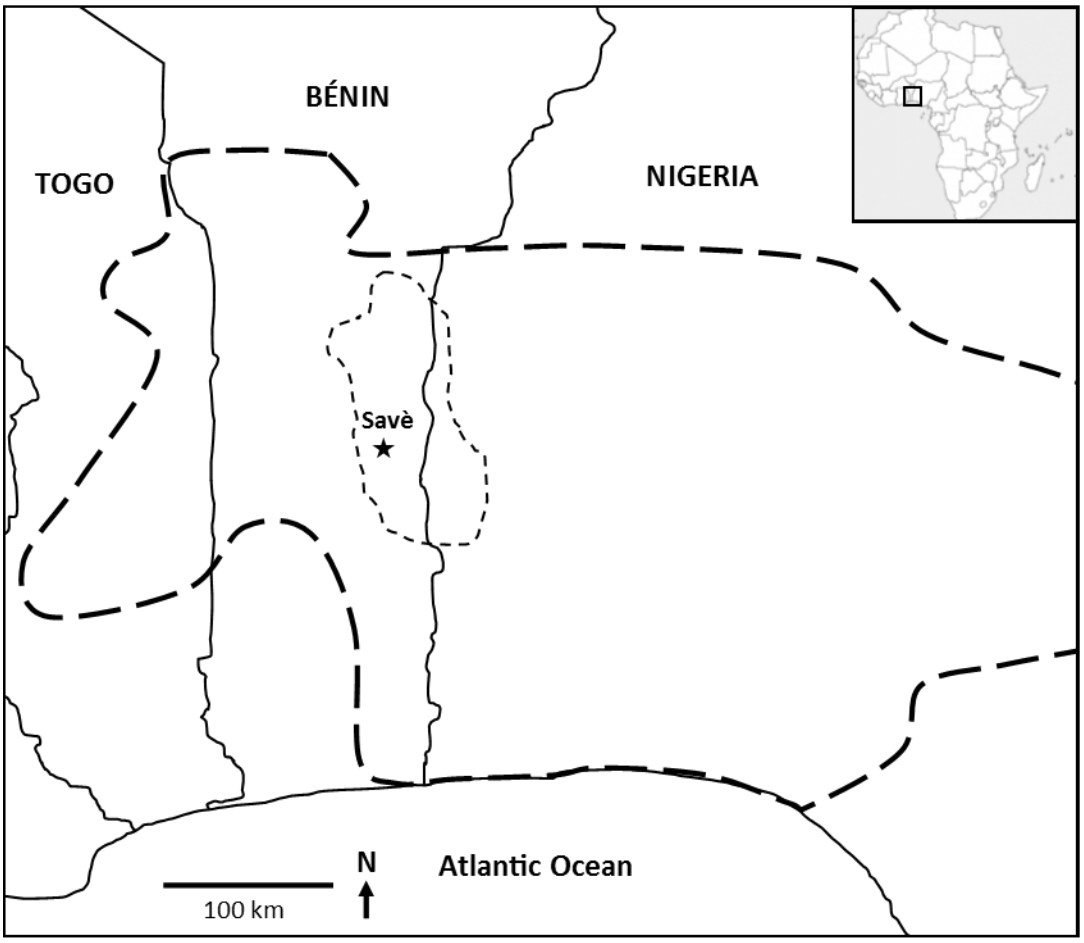


Figure III.4 The distribution of Ede language communities in West Africa (thick broken line) shown in relation to the Shabe kingdom (thin broken line). An isolated Ede language community, Mokole, exists in northern Bénin near Kandi (not pictured). (Adapted from Kluge 2011a: vii)

The Shabe language is subdivided by its speakers into southern and northern dialects, though the differences are primarily phonological and do not prevent comprehension among speakers (Kluge 2011b: 11). The southern dialect is generally regarded as more pure than the northern dialect, as the northern dialect's phonological and lexical differences are thought to stem from contact with non-Ede speaking populations to the north (ibid: 11). The geographical division between the southern and northern dialects is not clear, but generally placed by speakers somewhere between Kilibo and Tchaourou. The influence of northern languages on the Shabe language, particularly Baatombu, suggests a close integration of these linguistic populations. A

practice known as *gonẹ̀ṣí* attests to this integration. *Gonẹ̀ṣí* is a formal joking relationship between members of different lineages (Palau Martí 1992b: 79). Often, this relationship occurs between Shabe speaking and Baatombu speaking lineages (Adam et al. 1996: 24).

Idaisha is a closely related Ede language also spoken in the Savè hills (Kluge 2011c). It is primarily spoken in the Ouémé river valley villages of Atchakpa, Gobe, and Dani. These villages are relatively recent settlements, founded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, Idaisha is connected to the Savè hills as the language of its ancient autochthons in Shabe historical narratives. This ancient connection is used to justify the linguistic similarity between Shabe and Idaisha today.

Many other languages are spoken in the Savè hills that do not have the associations with the Shabe kingdom. Mahi, Fongbe Adja, Fulbe, Hausa, and Tchumbuli[3] speaking communities are found in the traditional territory of the kingdom (Palau Martí 1968: 59; Kluge 2011a). These languages are not seen by Shabe speakers as having had an effect on their language, either because their speakers exist in too small numbers or have not been there for long. A corollary to this latter point is that they have not married into Shabe *ìdílé* and thus have not yet had an effect on Shabe linguistic communities of practice. Instead, these language communities have retained distinct identities and kinship practices within the Shabe kingdom.

Membership in an *ìdílé* through genealogical descent is the ideal form of kinship organization. This does not always correspond to how the *ìdílé* recruits and retains members in practice. Further, it is clear that new *ìdílé* can form as the result of internal conflict and segmentation (Schwab 1955: 360). This is certainly the case in Shabe *èyílé*, where many lineages

[3] Many older sources classify Tchumbuli as an Akan language, and so reports of linguistic diversity in the Savè hills area often claim Akan is spoken here. However, Tchumbuli is more properly classified as a Guang language within the Tano phylum that also contains Akan (see Blench 2007a: 153).

acknowledge distant ancestors in common, but define themselves by more recent segmentation (Palau Martí 1992b). Though nominally patrilineal, the maternal line is important as a source of internal segmentation. Recognition of the matrilineage can extend between *ìdílé*, allowing cognatic membership to an individual who wishes to "opt" into their mother's agnatic line (Lloyd 1966; Apter 2013: 358). While the *ìdílé* is conceived of as a fixed entity, it is in practice a fluid organization responsive to changing social contexts (Barber 1991).

In addition to its ideology of descent, the *ìdílé* has material and spatial components (Lloyd 1955; Schwab 1955; Eades 1980; Apter 2013). These components are similar to those described for other Yoruba groups, and include common residence in compounds grouped into neighborhoods, access to land and its products, and ownership of titles and obligations (Palau Martí 1968: 65-67). Individual families or segments of the *ìdílé* live together in rectangular or L-shaped houses arranged around a central square courtyard. The size of each structure varies depending on the size of the family, and additional rooms are added to the structure as the family grows. More houses are constructed around the courtyard as new segments branch off, or locate nearby if the courtyard is already surrounded. Houses are typically used for sleeping and storage, while processing, cooking, eating, and socializing activities are conducted in the courtyard. Cooking is conducted with a metal or ceramic charcoal stove, or occasionally with a cooking stand of three stones supporting a vessel above a wood fire. Courtyards are typically sited to include shade trees, or they are planted if absent. Cement blocks are the preferred construction material today, though balls of earth are also used and were more common in the past (Couchard 1911: 35). In parallel, corrugated metal is preferred for roofs, though bamboo poles and raffia palm thatch are also used. House construction is performed by the immediate family, the *ìdílé,* and by friends, as is typically followed by a celebration. *Ọwẹ̀*, a system of communal labor for

field clearing and construction, operates similarly in that each *ìdílé* is expected to provide the necessary labor without direct compensation (Adam et al. 1996: 23).

The *ìdílé* is an important Shabe institution that articulates with the monarchy in several ways. Symbolically, the authority of the king is conceived of in terms of lineage metaphors (cf. de Maret 2012). The Onishabe is considered the *balé* of the royal Otọ́lá lineage. As such, he is the representative of the apical royal ancestor that was responsible for initially structuring the intra-lineage social relationships of the present (Palau Martí 1992a, 1992b; Adediran 1994). Conversely, the *ìdílé* is somewhat outside of the authority of the Onishabe, as it is a largely autonomous social organization that, through the same metaphors of lineage segmentation, can assert its independence. Thus, the Onishabe's ability to exercise instrumental power is severely curtailed by the very kinship organization from which he draws his creative power.

The *ìdílé* is most likely to be archaeologically visible through its architectural and spatial components. The remains of houses, their arrangement, and their distribution on the landscape can all be used to assess kinship practices in the past (Davies 2013). As lineages grow, larger courtyard groups should appear. Similarly, as the kingdom becomes increasingly centralized through the idioms of kinship, more courtyard groups should be constructed in proximity to reflect the lack of new political segmentation. This may be reflected in the formation of tightly packed, even urban, settlements as seen elsewhere in the Ife dynastic field (Bascom 1962; Wheatley 1970).

Another important aspect of the *ìdílé* is its associated ritual practices. *Ìdílé* often have their own specific deities and forms of veneration which must be understood with the context of a larger system of ritual metaphor and ontology. I turn to this now, and as with my discussion of lineage above, will consider the potential archaeological correlates of ritual practice.

3. Shabe Ritual

Today, many Shabe identify themselves as practicing Catholicism or Islam, with a sizeable minority practicing various denominations of Protestantism. However, among these practitioners are those who combine earlier ritual practices with more recent Abrahamic monotheism. Even those who eschew syncretism acknowledge the historical importance of such practices.

The most widespread religious practices are related to *egun*, the veneration of ancestors. *Egun* is routinized prayer and offerings centering on deceased members of the *ìdílé* (Palau Martí 1993: 124, 237). These ancestors can be specific individuals, but more often are invoked as a collective entity. Ancestors are fed with food offerings and paid homage to with gifts. They are considered active participants in society, but can only be approached through specific ritual secrets.

The management of secret ritual knowledge is fundamental to Shabe ritual practice, as I will further discuss below. Such secret knowledge can be transmitted through the lineage group, as is the case for *egun*. The most important events associated with *egun* are, unsurprisingly, connected to death. Three important events occur when an individual dies and the lineage wishes to commemorate him or her through *egun*. Immediately following the death, the body is washed, perfumed, and wrapped in cloth. The body is carried through the village to be greeted by residents, lineage members, musicians, dancers, and hunters before being placed in a tomb (Palau Martí 1993: 245). Formal cemeteries are sometimes used by Christians and Muslims, but it is also common for the deceased to be interred within their house (see Couchard 1911: 49-50). After four days, a funeral is held for lineage members. However, this event is not a public

gathering, as following a death there may be an extended period while its cause is investigated (Palau Martí 1993: 246). A large, public funeral is held a year or more after the death at the site of the recently deceased and soon to be ancestor's tomb (ibid: 250). Lineage groups also control secret ritual knowledge associated with autochthonous spirits. This is the case for those lineages claiming pre-Shabe ties to the land (ibid: 134, 147).

Other secret knowledge is created and maintained outside the lineage. Indeed, in the recent past Shabe political networks were dependent on ritual communities that crosscut lineage affiliations. Palau Martí (1993: 133) describes these ritual communities as centered on deities of possession, and organizes them into three major groups, based on their associations with historical migration episodes: the *ooṣà*, the *nẹ̀nẹ́n*, and the Bọkọ deities. Regardless of origin, each community operates similarly: they are independent institutions, but membership between each can overlap significantly. The deities at the center of each community are associated with various powers and protections that are invoked through prayers and ritual offerings. Like lineages, ritual communities are institutions capable of organizing large groups of people spread over the landscape. Access to these ritual communities is an important source of political power in Shabe.

The *ooṣà*, or *orìṣà* in the standard Oyo Yoruba dialect, deities are associated with various professions, social roles, and natural phenomena (Verger 1957; Idowu 1962; Morton-Williams 1964; Palau Martí 1993: 187). Their devotees are organized within village communities around semi-public and private temples, maintained by priests. The distribution of particular *ooṣà* devotees varies greatly in the Savè hills, but many of the same *ooṣà* can be found in Ketu, Idaisha, and southwestern Nigeria. *Ooṣà* spread to new areas through migration, but also from devotees actively establishing of new ritual centers. In general, they are understood as moving

westward, such as the spread of Oòduà (Odùduwà) to Djabata from the West African political and religious center Ile-Ife (Figure III.5), or the more recent spread of Ṣàngó from Oyo in the wake of its collapse in the 19th century (Schiltz 1985; Palau Martí 1993). One of the most widely worshipped *ooṣà* is Ogun, the deity associated with iron production, hunting, and warfare, who is also venerated outside of the Ife dynastic field (Barnes 1997).

Figure III.5 The Oòduà shrine at Djabata (left) and a mural depicting him on the *afin* palace wall in Shabe-Idadu (right).

The *nẹ̀nẹ́n* ritual communities are similarly organized as those for the *ooṣà*. However, their distribution overlaps more with Idaisha and Mahi populations to the west than the Ife dynastic field to the east (Palau Martí 1993: 165). Like *ooṣà*, *nẹ̀nẹ́n* communities spread through migration and implantation. The same general dynamic also works for the so-called Bọkọ deities—those originating with Baatombu peoples to the north (ibid: 173). The Bọkọ deities are most closely associated with the migration episodes from the north, and particularly the installation of the Otọ́lá lineage, the current Shabe ruling dynasty. Bọkọ ritual communities are

open to other lineages, just as *nẹ̀nẹ́n* and *ooṣà* communities occasionally draw new practitioners. A highly visible case is the Otọ́lá lineage's adoption of and reverence for the royal *ooṣà* Oòduà.

Other ritual communities are much more locally distributed. Deities and lesser nature spirits commonly exist in natural features of the Savè hills landscape. Rivers, hills, caves, and other conspicuous landscape features are cited as being inhabited by personified forces of nature. In some cases these spirits are former humans, while in others they are actual deities. Trees can also be inhabited by spirits, though they are more closely linked to ancestors or lesser spirits (Agbaje-Williams 2005; Gurstelle 2013).

One other important practice that defines the Shabe is the use of Ifá divination. Ifá divination is practiced by priests called *babaláwo*, who form a loose association throughout the Save hills, as well being found in many societies throughout central and southern Bénin and southwestern Nigeria more generally. Ifá practice is often used as a means of determining the style, scale, and timing of other ritual practices connected to *egun* or other deities (Palau Martí 1993: 229). Ifá is also used to determine ritual food prohibitions associated with lineage deities and ancestors.

Much like the kinship practices that constitute *ìdílé*, Shabe ritual practices have an ambivalent relationship with the monarchy. On one hand, the monarchy has been able to subsume ritual communities by strategically placing the Onishabe at the head of their organization, such as the genealogical linking of the Onishabe to the deity Oòduà (Johnson 1921; Palau Martí 1993; see below). In some cases, rituals must be authorized by the Onishabe before they can be performed, such as with funeral celebrations (Couchard 1911: 50). On the other hand, ritual communities provide alternative sources of power that cannot easily be usurped by centralized political authority. The secret knowledge inherent in *ooṣà*, *nẹ̀nẹ́n*, and Bọkọ deity

worship favors a decentralized power base that successful leaders must bring together through creative strategies that privilege wealth-in-people (Guyer & Belinga 1995; Robertshaw 2010). Other ritual practices empower altogether different categories of political actors. In the case of Ifá, diviners hold power over lineage head or political officials by claiming unique knowledge of divine intentions and future outcomes—allowing them to heavily influence public opinion.

The archaeological visibility of ritual practices will differ depending on their scale. Individualized forms of offering and veneration may be preserved through small fragments of portable material culture. Personal charms and talismans may be deposited in middens alongside other household waste. Cowries, used in the veneration of an individual's personal deity or *orí*, may wind up in the garbage as household spaces are periodically cleaned (Ogundiran 2014). The composition of faunal remains in household middens could also indicate food choices that may demonstrate ritual prohibitions. Lineages and larger ritual communities may have more permanent shrines or other forms of ritual architecture that could leave an archaeological trace (e.g., Insoll 2011; Norman 2011; Stahl 2013). Burial practices could also be visible, whether located below a house or in a separate tomb. The elaboration or creation of landscape features can also indicate ritual practice (Norman & Kelly 2004; Monroe & Ogundiran 2012). Sacred groves or their remnants are also visible traces of past ritual practice (Fairhead & Leach 1996; Sheridan & Nyamweru 2007).

The ritual modification of the landscape relates to the more general issue of economic practices in the Savè hills area. Indeed, both lineage and ritual influence how people extract resources from the environment. As discussed in Chapter I, these resources are then mobilized to support labor and wealth creation that supports political differentiation and, potentially, centralization. I discuss Shabe economic practices and their archaeological correlates below.

4. Shabe Economy

Agriculture is the predominant activity of Savè hills residents in the present and throughout the 20th century (Couchard 1911: 60; Palau Martí 1992a: 41). Cultivation is primarily on a fallow system with planting preceded by controlled burnings. Common crops include maize, African yams, cassava, peanuts, cowpeas, soya, sesame, onions, peppers, okra, melons, pineapples, cabbage, and leafy greens such as *patákunpàku* (*Solanum macrocarpum)*. Many other wild plants are also collected (Palau Martí 1992a: 43). Tree crops are widely grown, managed, and exploited, and include mango, cashew, coconut, rônier, ackee/false cashew, banana, cola, shea, and oil palm. Millet is not widely grown today, though it was grown in small quantities to make beer as recently as 1910 (Couchard 1911: 38). By the 1960s, the millet used in beer brewing had been replaced by maize (Palau Martí 1992a: 44). Indigo was also no longer being grown by the 1960s, but had been earlier (ibid: 43). Cultivation of cotton and tobacco for export was encouraged by the French colonial administration. These crops are no longer very profitable and so are no longer produced today. Similarly, salt is recalled as being locally produced by sifting plant ash until it became more cost-effective to purchase it from merchants at markets (ibid: 46). The agricultural season is dictated by a climatic cycle typical of West Africa, with a rainy season extending from late March to November—punctuated by a brief respite in August— and a dry season from December to early March. Most agriculture is done by hand on small-scale farms, though some industrial farming exists, most notably the state-sponsored SUCOBE sugarcane plantation adjacent to the Ouémé River.

In Johnson's (1921) epic recounting of political traditions in Oyo and the Ife dynastic field, the ancestors of Shabe were bequeathed Odùduwà's cattle. Unlike its peer polities (Oyo

excepted), Shabe lies within the Dahomey Gap and firmly within the savanna-forest mosaic zone, allowing for productive cattle rearing in the absence of tsetse flies. Herds of cattle are owned by families, though in the past they may have been held communally by *ìdílé* (Dangbengnon 2005: 4). These Shabe herds are compliment by pastoral Fulbe people that seasonally drive cattle through the Savè hills. More recently, Fulbe people have permanently settled in the Savè hills area, and have entered into a symbiotic arrangement with Shabe groups wherein Fulbe herders are paid cash to manage Shabe herds (ibid: 2). Beef is rarely eaten due to the expense, though secondary products of milk and cheese (*wagasi*) are much more frequently consumed. More commonly eaten are sheep and goat, which are allowed to range within towns and villages. Domesticated birds—chickens, guinea fowl, ducks, and turkeys—are also allowed to range freely. Rabbits and grasscutters (*Thryonomys swinderianus*) are raised in captivity, though both are hunted in the wild as well.

The population of the Savè hills has more than tripled over the past 60 years and, as a result, much of the larger wildlife has been forced out due to pressure from habitat destruction. Despite this, wild game consumption remains an important component of the local economy. In theory, hunters are licensed by the Béninese state. In practice, however, hunting in the Savè hills area is regulated through membership to formal hunting associations (Figure III.6). These hunting associations are organized by geography, typically with each major settlement housing one that also includes hunters from nearby villages. The association is headed by a *balọdẹ̀*, who is informally elected by the association's members based on a combination of age, experience, and hunting ability. In some communities where ritual or political institutions are lacking, such as Monka, the *balọdẹ̀* is the highest ranking non-lineage official.

Figure III.6 Archaeologists inspect the *balọdẹ* of Monka's rifle outside a hunting association lodge.

Many animals are protected by Béninese law, but hunters will often take any animal they encounter. A variety of hunting methods are employed, including firearms, slings, wire snares, leg-hold traps, and, for small game, clubbing. Dogs are frequently used to locate and flush prey. Bows and arrows were used in the past, but no longer in the present (Palau Martí 1992a: unnumbered plate). Though population growth and habitat destruction are the primary drivers of wild animal scarcity, hunting efficacy may also be a factor. Antelope and other small ungulates (*Tragelaphus sylvaticus*, *Sylvicapra grimmia* etc.) are still found in area, but larger mammals such as elephants (*Loxodonta africana*), lions (*Panthera leo senegalensis*), and buffalo (*Syncerus caffer brachyceros*) are completely gone (Couchard 1911: 52). Hippopotamuses (*Hippopotamus*

amphibious) remain in the Ouémé River but their numbers have been severely reduced (Sayer & Green 1984). Crocodiles (*Crocodylus niloticus*, *C. cataphractus*, and *Osteolaemus tetraspis*) are documented in the Ouémé River (Thorbjarnarson 1992: 14-15). In 2013, hunters from Alafia and Kaboua in the Savè hills area reported that crocodiles were also common in the Okpara River. Hunters from Savè, Monka, Alafia, and Kaboua all reported that many kinds of monkeys, rodents, ground-dwelling birds, lizards, and snakes were commonly encountered and hunted in the area (Figure III.7). Royal pythons (*Python regius*) were said to be present in the area, but not usually hunted. However, this account conflicts with earlier colonial surveys that state pythons were absent from the area (Couchard 1911: 53). Fishing is a major activity in settlements near the Okpara and Ouémé rivers, and practiced with lines, nets, and poisons (Ceperely et al. 2010).

Figure III.7 A mural on an exterior wall of the *balọdẹ̀* of Kemon's residence.

Agriculture and hunting are performed by all lineages, but craft production has tended to be more restricted. In the 1960s, Palau Martí (1992b) identified several lineages that were associated with iron and ceramic production. While members of these lineages were particularly esteemed in the craft, they were not fulltime specialists. Indeed, many of the iron and ceramic products used in the Savè hills area at the time were purchased through the regional market economy. Even more recently, handmade iron and ceramic products have been displaced by manufactured goods, though some continue to be produced and consumed for ritual purposes (Figure III.8). Woodworking is recalled as being practiced by adept individuals, rather than associated with entire lineages. In general, Shabe craft production has recently been a relatively informal practice, suggesting the dominance of the colonial and post-colonial market economy.

Figure III.8 Ceramic stoves and ritual vessels for sale in Savè in 2012.

Markets are an important part of the local and regional economy in the Savè hills area. Three overlapping market systems operate currently: traditional markets, a daily produce market, and a weekly "grand" market (Palau Martí 1992a: 51-54). Traditional markets are found in nearly all settlements. They typically are active once every four days and are staggered geographically so that traders and consumers can travel to a nearby market nearly any day. These markets sell agricultural products, domesticated animals, wild game meat, medicines, salt, clothes, cookware, tools, and other goods. Daily produce markets exist only in Savè, where the population is large enough to support permanent traders. The weekly "grand" market also occurs

in Savè each Monday. This market was instituted during the colonial period in correlation with the arrival of the railway. The railway created new economic opportunities to purchase goods from the south and to sell local products, particularly cattle. Though no longer pegged to the railway, the grand market remains a major regional market attended by travelers from throughout Bénin, Nigeria, and Togo.

As discussed in Chapter I, political centralization relies on some level of economic support. At its most basic level, agricultural "staple" surplus can be converted to wealth that promotes elite institutions and ideologies (D'Altroy & Earle 1985; Brumfiel & Earle 1987). Exclusionary control over the products of long-distance exchange is also invoked as a route to power in West Africa (e.g. Posnansky 1973). Yet, the economy can be diverted to contest political centralization. The hunting associations and office of *balọdẹ̀* represent a decentralized political institution that resists attempts to centralize due to its inherent local character. Like lineage and ritual sources of power, the economy can produce power sources that have the ability to either support or resist political centralization.

Economic practices are visible in the archaeological record. The range of cultivated crops can be discerned from the analysis of botanical remains (e.g. Logan 2012). Evidence for agricultural intensification that often supports political centralization and social complexity can be seen through the remains of field systems, agricultural technologies, and settlement patterning (Stump 2013a). Analogous to agriculture, the range of domesticated and hunted animals can be discerned from the analysis of faunal remains (Gifford-Gonzalez & Hanotte 2013). The production of many crafts leaves material indicators through the products themselves (iron tools, potsherds, etc.) as well as the residues of their production (furnaces, slag heaps, ceramic wasters, fuel, etc.). Evidence of exchange is also visible, particularly through the availability of material

proveniencing studies. In many cases, the raw materials used in producing ceramic, glass, and copper objects can be sourced to show their movement through local and regional exchange networks (e.g., Usman et al. 2005; Dussubieux et al. 2009; Thondhlana & Martinón-Torres 2009).

B. The Shabe Kingdom

1. The Onishabe

Thus far, I've attempted to delimit the Shabe people in respect to their location and certain aspects of their kinship, ritual, and economic practices. But, as noted earlier, Shabe is also a political affiliation. The Shabe monarchy acknowledges the elements described above as constituting a Shabe identity precisely because they bind communities to their centralized political authority. Unlike Palau Martí, I do not view lineage and ritual practice as inherently constitutive of Shabe, but instead, following Comaroff, consider such elements as activated in order to draw boundaries among populations (2010: 531). Shabe should not be considered an affective affiliation built from the bottom-up, but instead a form of top-down social organization that groups opt into to varying degrees.

The keystone of this social organization is the Onishabe. The Onishabe holds the title of *Ọba*, or king, and is in principal a divine being of near unlimited *àṣẹ*, or power (Abiodun 1994: 315; Palau Martí 1964: 11). In practice, the Onishabe, like other *Ọba*, is a kind of political negotiator who mediates the competing interests of various *ìdílé* (Apter 1992; Lloyd 1960; Palau Martí 1993: 36; Munoz 1981). The Onishabe directly governs only the immediate vicinity of Shabe-Idadu with other regions operating relatively autonomously (Palau Martí 1993: 35). The

Onishabe is chosen from the Ifàà and Akínkanjú lineages of the royal Otọ́lá group by kingmakers, called the *ujoyè ọba* (Adediran 1994: 23; Adam et al. 1996: 19). The *ujoyè ọba* is a council of permanent advisors, called *agànì*, appointed by various titled *ìdílé* (Palau Martí 1993: 39).

Below the Onishabe and his *agànì* are village heads, or *balẹ̀*. Each *balẹ̀* has wide-ranging responsibilities, duties, and civic powers based on the organization of that particular settlement (Palau Martí 1993: 17). Larger settlements in the Save hills, such as Kaboua, Kokoro, and Kilibo, have *balẹ̀* that in turn install the *balẹ̀* of smaller villages (ibid: 29). While this political hierarchy is clearly defined in terms of ceremonial responsibilities and investing legitimacy in the local political milieu, *balẹ̀* were more autonomous in their organizational and adjudicating functions (ibid: 25; Couchard 1911). Very small settlements do not have their own *balẹ̀* and are administered by a nearby *balẹ̀*, usually one with some lineage connection to the settlement's founders.

The Onishabe's legitimacy is derived through his lineage connection to the founder of the Shabe state, Baba Guidaï. Baba Guidaï led a migration from the Bọkọ area near Nikki to Kaboua sometime in the 16th or 17th century (Palau Martí 1992a: 137). From Kaboua, his son left to conquer Shabe-Idadu and subsequently became the first Onishabe of the Otọ́lá dynasty (ibid: 151). Shabe-Idadu grew to become the largest settlement in the region and assimilated the others into its hierarchy. This hierarchy among settlements is modeled after the Baba Guidaï lineage, where each settlement is assigned a place within the segmentary structure based on the village founder's relationship to Baba Guidaï (Palau Martí 1993: 28). Obligations to provide labor, resources, or access between communities are therefore modeled after the lineage associations operating within communities.

While the migration of Baba Guidaï is remembered as a relatively recent event, the Onishabe also draws on descent from Oòduà, the mythical divine king that first established the Ife dynastic field at Ile-Ife. An important ritual performance during the Onishabe's installation rites takes place at the Oòduà shrine in Djabata (Palau Martí 1993: 80). Similarly, the Onishabe pays homage to the king of Ile-Ife after being installed. Through both acts, the new Onishabe is incorporated into the line of divine kings that spread out from Ile-Ife. Descent from Oduduwa is crucial to vest the Onishabe with authority derived from regional legitimacy, beyond his local legitimacy vis-à-vis descent from Baba Guidaï.

The tight intertwining of political structure, lineage institutions, and ritual practices is the central thesis of Palau Martí's ethnography of the Shabe kingdom. Though political power—the ability of Shabe individuals to organize labor and resources in society—was not the focus of her work, she repeatedly points out that power could come from many sources. The Shabe political system, while nominally centralized, could be displaced by more important kinship and ritual associations. During her fieldwork in the 1950-70s, the Shabe kingdom was no longer autonomous and its political structure had lost much of its effective power. The Onishabe's role in the new political milieu was dramatically altered in the colonial and post-colonial context, as was the case for Ọba throughout the Ife dynastic field (Asiwaju 1976). Palau Martí's (1992a: 9) focus on formulaic poetry and historical narratives allowed her to reconstruct some of the ancient political dynamics, but she admits that much of the oral corpus was likely lost during the wars that wracked West Africa throughout the 19th century.

2. A Crowned Kingdom

With the limitations of historical memory in mind, I turn to the specific domains of the Onishabe's authority—the actual ways that the political hierarchy organized labor and resources in the Savè hills. I identify four major domains based on recent histories and ethnographic representations of the Shabe kingdom: settlement rights, warfare, infrastructure, and markets. In addition, the Onishabe's authority is made material through various symbols that connect it to a larger regional political landscape. In Chapter V, I will examine how the institution of the Onishabe developed in these five areas over the course of the past 500 years.

The Onishabe is vested with ultimate ownership of the Savè hills landscape giving him some ability to control the location of settlements. Settlements—variously called towns, villages, and hamlets—are the built spaces that Shabe residents occupy throughout the year. They range in size, but are typically multi-lineage residential sites. Residences are rectangular structures arranged around courtyards with attached production areas. Settlements are differentiated from smaller sites, like farmsteads, that are occupied by a few members of a single lineage or are occupied only periodically. The location of new settlements is negotiated through the Onishabe, as the authority to partition land and resolve territorial claims ultimately rests with the monarchy. Once new settlements are established, however, they are assimilated into the regional political hierarchy. Examples include the administration of Tchumbuli settlements by the *balẹ* of Kaboua and the administration of Idaisha settlements by the *basàlẹ* of the Jalumon lineage (Palau Martí 1993: 29).

The right to wage war is the exclusive privilege of the Onishabe (Palau Martí 1993: 31). While the Shabe kingdom did not historically have a regular army, the Onishabe could levy a force through his *balogun*, or war chiefs. Each *balẹ* appoints a *balogun* that then recruit warriors from their respective settlements (ibid: 33). In addition, the Onishabe also appoints a *balogun* to

command the entire levied force. In at least one case, a *balogun* served as regent following the death of an Onishabe (Palau Martí 1992a: 193).

The *balogun* cooperate with hunters in waging war and defending the Shabe territory. Hunting in the forests and grasslands, as opposed to "garden hunting" in farm fields, is a specialized occupation in Shabe society, as discussed above (see Palau Martí 1992a: 47). Hunters are renowned for their knowledge of the landscape, skill with arms, and proficiency in magic—all desirable attributes in warriors. Hunters are organized into loose associations headed by a *balọdẹ̀*. Unlike *balogun*, *balọdẹ̀* are not selected by the Onishabe or his *balẹ̀*. In addition there are more *balọdẹ̀* than *balẹ̀*, as settlements of any size typically have a hunters' association.

Like most forested areas of West Africa, war was waged by warriors on foot with bows and/or spears and shields (Palau Martí 1993: 33). However, the Savè hills climate is fairly dry with less risk of trypanosomiasis, allowing horses to be kept (Couchard 1911: 36). Horses were owned in Oyo by elites who used them as symbols of status, as well as for mounted combat with lance and shield (Law 1977). Guns are relatively recent introductions into the area and were not widely used prior to the 20th century, after French colonial rule had been established (ibid; Ajayi & Smith 1964).

In addition to mobilizing warriors, the Onishabe can organize labor within the Shabe kingdom to create large public works through a system called *ọwẹ̀* (Adam et al. 1996: 23). Laborers are selected by lineage heads to work as directed by the Onishabe without receiving recompense, though food is often provided. The Onishabe can call on *ọwẹ̀* labor for any reason, but the best documented are road construction, palace renovation, and fortification. Today, the major road in the Shabe kingdom is the Route National 2, which crosses the Ouémé River near Gobe and runs east to Savè, before turning north and passing near Kaboua, eventually running

through Kokoro and Kilibo on its way to Parakou. This road is now maintained through state workers, but the original road built by the French Colonial government in the early 20th century relied on labor organized through *ọwẹ̀*. This road was built on an earlier caravan route, which in turn is based on the location of Shabe settlements along the ridge between the Ouémé and Okpara drainages. Smaller roads and pathways are still maintained through *ọwẹ̀*.

Ọwẹ̀ is also used to renovate and build the royal palace. This is similar to the *bẹ̀rẹ̀* festival in the Oyo Empire, where subordinate groups were compelled to enact symbolic labor relationships with the Alafin by re-thatching the roof of the palace. The *balẹ̀* can also organize labor in their local communities for smaller scale projects, such as field clearance. In either case, *ọwẹ̀* is the manifestation of rights to labor enjoyed by the Onishabe and the political hierarchy more generally.

Ọwẹ̀ is no longer used to create defensive structures, as the Onishabe's role in defense has been displaced by Bénin's military. However, defensive structures are found throughout the kingdom and are historically linked to the *ọwẹ̀* system. Defensive structures are made of either uncoursed dry-stone masonry or rammed earth, with some composite walls made of both. Not all walls were used strictly for defense, as some of the earthen walls surrounding Shabe-Idadu were constructed to demarcate its boundaries (Agani 2015: 23).

The offices of the Onishabe, *balẹ̀*, and *balogun* were financed through the Onishabe's rights to tax revenues. As with military functions, these rights have been displaced by the contemporary nation-state. In the past, the Onishabe could impose taxes on traders moving through Shabe territory as well as fees on merchants for the right to sell in markets (Palau Martí 1993: 32). Markets and kingship are closely associated throughout West Africa, often with at least one market held adjacent to the royal residence (Polanyi 1966; Goody 1971). In Savè, two

markets are held near the palace—one a periodic night market and the other a daily market (Palau Martí 1992a: 52-53).

In addition to taxes, the Onishabe enjoyed rights to tribute. All lineages are expected to pay tribute in both money—in cowry shells prior to French colonial rule—and storable material goods, such as dried meats, yams, construction materials, and fabricated goods (Palau Martí 1993: 32). Tribute was organized at the end of the agricultural season and delivered to the palace after being collected by regional *balẹ̀*. This system of finance has been displaced, but the monarchy remains a wealthy institution through its extensive landholdings that it rents to farmers.

The Onishabe's authority is manifest materially through various symbolic regalia, such as an embroidered white robe and a special type of drum (Palau Martí 1993: 53, 56). The most important piece of regalia is the *adé*, a conical crown with a beaded veil. The *adé* is closely associated with the Onishabe's descent from Oòduà, as only certain rulers are sanctioned to wear *adé* by the Oni of Ile-Ife (Thompson 1970; Law 1973; Asiwaju 1973). The *adé*, then, is physical proof of the Onishabe's legitimacy as part of the Ife dynastic field. Other symbolism is also drawn from the Ife dynastic field. A copper-alloy bracelet was discovered buried below the foundations of the Onishabe's palace during renovations (Figure III.9). This bracelet is technologically and stylistically similar to copper-alloy sculptures from Ile-Ife. A European coin attached to the bracelet gives a *terminus post quem* date of 1906 CE, while the destruction of the palace the bracelet was found in association provides a *terminus ante quem* date of 1933 CE.

Figure III.9 A copper-alloy bracelet found buried below the foundation so current royal palace. The two ends of the bracelet are figured as a right hand and a chameleon head and are clasped by a bird-shaped pin. Twenty chains hang from the underside of the bracelet of which eleven attach to small figurative sculptures, from left to right: missing, missing, quatrefoil ring, cowry, missing, scepter/oṣé Ṣàngó?, cowry, turtle, missing, geometric design/stool?, sword, key, gong, missing, missing, missing, coin, coin, missing, missing.

Authority is manifest spatially by the *afin*, or royal palace (Figure III.10). The palace is the residence of the king and the locus of political activity in the kingdom. Historically, the king was confined to the palace by ritual taboo, though this is no longer practiced. This means that in the past political discourse had to be conducted at the palace and other forms of negotiation were suspect as treasonous plotting. Visitors to the Onishabe were received in the *àkàbà*, a semi-public courtyard within the palace containing various shrines (Palau Martí 1993: 52). The palace is sited at the foot of the Oke Shabe hill, signaling the Onishabe's ownership of the hill, the land, and its people.

Figure III.10 The entrance to the present-day *afin* of the Onishabe, constructed after 1933 CE when the former palace was razed by the French colonial government. The large baobab at right was part of the original *afin* compound.

This description of the Shabe monarchy shows that it articulated with many lineage, ritual, and economic practices in the Savè hills. Yet, there is little of the monarchy that would preserve archaeologically, as it is fundamentally a political institution that organizes other aspects of society. Though palace architecture and certain symbols may be recovered archaeologically, the presence of monarchy is more likely to be documented through the arrangement of the lineage, ritual, and economic indicators described above.

Fortunately, the Shabe monarchy is the focus of much of the preserved oral historical corpus. I offer a thorough critique of Shabe oral history and its use in archaeology in Chapter IV. In the following sections, however, I return to the state of the Shabe monarchy in the present before synthesizing the major political events recorded in Shabe oral history. This historical description of the Shabe kingdom offers a supplementary perspective on political centralization that can be useful in comparing to the archaeological record.

3. The Two Kings of Shabe

The current Onishabe is Ọba Adétùtú Akénmu of the Akíkẹnjú segment of the Baba Guidaï lineage. He attained the position in 2005 following the death of Ọba Adélékè Akinni. As discussed, many of the traditional rights and entitlements of the monarchy have been displaced by the nation-state and as a result Ọba Adétùtú has relatively little legal power. Today, the role of the Onishabe is largely as the head of traditional Shabe culture and history. The Onishabe can draw attention to the needs of his constituents by appealing to the government on their behalf, but this is also done by the elected representatives of the area.

The monarchy's primary role today is as a cultural heritage organization. The Onishabe promotes a Shabe ethnic identity, as outlined above, while simultaneously promoting an authoritative version of that ethnicity's history. To this end, Ọba Adétùtú has launched several projects that promote Shabe ethnicity and history. Taking advantage of new media, Ọba Adétùtú has an active Facebook presence. He regularly posts short essays on Shabe history, both original compositions based on oral histories and summaries of other published works. Ọba Adétùtú has also worked with the national Directorate of Cultural Heritage to create stops in Savè along the national "Route of Slaves" tourism project. These stops exhibit aspects of Shabe culture to

heritage tourists and teach them about the impact of slave raiding on the Savè hills during the 19th century. Finally, in 2009 Ọba Adétùtú revived the installation ceremony of the Onishabe as an annual ceremony called Odon Fiditi. This ceremony is a simplified version of the more intricate installation rites observed during the ascension of a new Onishabe. In addition to displays of music and dancing, the Onishabe and other officials lead a procession through Savè that spatially links the palace, the site of a sacred iroko tree, and the 19th century refuge of Fiditi on the Oke Shabe hill. The celebration is linked to the Catholic holiday of Pentecost, but is not observed as solely a Catholic celebration. Indeed, participation in the event is understood as an acknowledgment of the Onishabe's authority, but simply a celebration of Shabe cultural heritage.

In the absence of legally sanctioned political power, the Onishabe's position today is based on history. Though not empowered legally to adjudicate disputes or enforce laws, it can still effectively do so by appealling to a sense of Shabe tradition. The Onishabe, however, is not unique in his ability to cite history as a precedent for prestige in the present. Freed from the threat of retaliation, political competitors have more vigorously claimed alternative histories that negate the claims to title of Ọba Adétùtú.

The most serious of these opposing claims is given by Oyedekpo II Ọla-Amùṣù, the head of the Amùṣù lineage. The Amùṣù claim, and indeed are widely recognized, to have been the kings of the Savè hills before the arrival of the Baba Guidaï lineages (Palau Martí 1992b: 195). They were ousted by the first king of the Baba Guidaï dynasty, Ola Obẹ, around 1730 in a long and bloody war, traces of which can still be found on the landscape (Palau Martí 1992a: 130; see Chapter V). They were then stripped of office and integrated into the new political hierarchy, without claim to any of the important *agànì* titles.

Since independence from French colonial rule, members of the Amùṣù lineage has sought to regain its prominence in Shabe society. They have rejected the Onishabe's legitimacy, stating that his lineage are usurpers without claim to the heritage of Oduduwa. Oyedekpo II has materialized this counter-claim by placing placards around Savè directing visitors to the Ọla-Amùṣù's residence as the true palace of the king of Shabe. Oyedekpo II has also begun a massive renovation of his residence in order to compete with the scale of the Onishabe's palace.

The claims of both the Onishabe and the Ọla-Amùṣù are couched in history—that legitimacy in the present comes from a deep understanding of the past. Through knowing history, the Onishabe and Ọla-Amùṣù seek to establish themselves as the true descendants of Oduduwa, the first divine king. The two versions of history each cite do not actually differ all that much. Both acknowledge the first-comer status of the Amùṣù lineage and its military defeat at the hands of the Baba Guidaï lineage. Both acknowledge prior residency in the Bọkọ region of northern Bénin before settling in the Savè hills. It is details of historical minutiae and the deeper past that divides the two.

It is routine for academics to acknowledge that oral histories are prone to revision for political gain, often making them poor historical documents (Law 1973; Vansina 1985; Barber 1991). This sentiment is to some degree acknowledged by Shabe historians as well. Politically-motivated claims to history are seen as such, and so treated with a degree of skepticism, particularly when they counter one's own interests. Beyond knowing history, knowing the landscape is considered crucial by the Onishabe and Ọla-Amùṣù. Histories can be edited, but the physical presence of landscape features provides an enduring mnemonic. Abandoned villages, shrines, and battlefields are pointed to as proof of certain historical variants.

Over the course of my archaeological research, members of both lineages were forthcoming with me regarding their knowledge of history, but were much more excited to share their knowledge of the landscape. I will return to this in Chapter IV when I discuss my research methods. Now, however, I will outline the contentious history of the Shabe kingdom to provide the historical background that my archaeological research tracks.

C. The Complicated History of Shabe

1. The Early History of Shabe

The divergent political narratives of the Onishabe and the Ọla-Amùṣù emphasize different aspects of how the Shabe kingdom came into being. Predictably, the Onishabe's version of events emphasizes the emigration of Baba Guidaï as the foundational event. Essentially, there was no centralized kingdom prior to his arrival and the subsequent expulsion of the Amùṣù by Ola Obe. The Ọla-Amùṣù's version contests this, stating that the kingdom had already formed by the time of Baba Guidaï's arrival.

Despite these differences, both narratives acknowledge that the Savè hills were already inhabited by the time either lineage arrived. The autochthons are usually identified as ancestral to the Popo or Idaisha—the western fringes of the Ede language continuum (Palau Martí 1992a: 62, 103). Several of the extant lineages in Shabe claim descent from these autochthons. Examining their *oríkì*, or praise poems associated with the lineage, Palau Martí has determined that these lineages do indeed reference local landscapes rather than the distant places found in migrants' *oríkì* (ibid: 189, 236, 240; see also Barber 1991). Some lineages are named for such locales, such as Eyin-Oke, a lineage that translates to "behind the hill". The hill referenced is Oke Shabe, and

indeed an ancient village site is found on the side opposite of present-day Savè. In addition to the autochthons around Savè, Adediran (1994: 50) identifies two other early settlements near the present day communities of Kaboua and Djabata.

Relatively little is known about the political organization or economy of these early communities. *Oríkì* indicate they were probably iron-using agricultural communities with some reliance on hunting, and may have participated in exchange networks with seasonal pastoralists as today (Adediran 1994: 45-46). However, their connections to regional exchange networks are unknown, and their participation in long-distance exchange, such as the Sahelian kola trade, is unlikely (ibid: 47).

The little archaeological evidence for the early period of Shabe history comes from two test pits excavated in 2013 by Labiyi at Dikosha, an abandoned village site near Djabata, and Ekudi Oke Odo Akaba, an archaeological site near Ogu-Tedo in the northern Savè hills area (see Gurstelle et al. *in press*). At Dikosha, Labiyi excavated a 1 m x 2 m unit to examine the stratigraphy at the site and collect artifact samples for stylistic analysis. In addition to recovering potsherds and groundstone artifacts, Labiyi discovered a shell midden in the earliest levels. The shells were all remains from bivalves, likely collected in the adjacent Okpara River. An intact ceramic vessel had been placed upside down on top of the midden. While the form, fabric composition, and decoration of the ceramics from Dikosha has not yet been published, my initial analysis of the assemblage suggests continuity with local ceramics from later periods (see Appendix B). An AMS date was taken from charcoal from the shell midden, giving a two sigma date range of 1036-1160 calAD, while a second AMS date from charcoal in a stratum above the midden gave a range of 1170-1263 calAD (Gurstelle et al. *in press*). These dates correspond to

the classical or pavement period at Ile-Ife—the proposed period for Oduduwa's reign and subsequent cult dispersal (Ogundiran 2001, 2003; Blier 2012).

At Ekudi Oke Odo Akaba, Labiyi excavated a 2 m x 2 m unit to investigate an earthen mound associated with potsherds on the surface. Within the mound, Labiyi found collapsed earthen architecture and partial remains of a flat-laid potsherd pavement. This pavement is similar in form to contemporary pavements at the Birnin Lafiya site in northern Bénin (Haour 2013). Labiyi also recovered glass beads similar in form and color to *sẹ̀gi* type beads produced at Ile-Ife and circulated throughout the region (Ogundiran 2003). These material remains suggest some level of interaction with areas to the north and east of the Savè hills area. Two AMS radiocarbon dates from the mound give ranges of 1293-1399 calAD and 1311-1434 calAD (Gurstelle et al. *in press*).

The general impression from these admittedly scant sources is that prior to the formation of the Shabe kingdom, the Save hills were sparsely occupied by relatively small, autonomous villages—though in contact with other areas of West Africa. A potential outlier to this is the village of Djabata. The present-day lineages of Djabata claim descent from occupants of Dikosha and thus autochthonous status, and are widely acknowledged as such (Palau Martí 1992b: 236). However, a shrine at Djabata is dedicated to Oòduà, the mythical divine king of Ile-Ife (Palau Martí 1993: 187). Djabata narratives claim that this shrine was founded by a hunter that came from Ile-Ife by way of the Egba kingdom to the south (Palau Martí 1992a: 105). Adediran (1994: 73) posits the 16th century as the date for the Oòduà shrine's creation based on oral history. The actual introduction of Oòduà may be even earlier given the 11th-13th century occupation of Dikosha.

Despite this connection, there is no indication in the historical narratives that Djabata was a kingdom, or even a large town, that participated in the Ife dynastic field. The Oòduà shrine is not so much an indication of dynastic connection as it is evidence of participation in widespread religious practices. In addition to being the first divine king, Oòduà is implicated in the creation of the world, and so his veneration is likely tied to that aspect of his persona. While the early history of the Savè area is not clearly known, the linguistic and ritual evidence corroborates a general easterly association prior to the formation of the Shabe kingdom.

Around the time that the Oòduà shrine was installed at Djabata, the kingdom of Oyo to the east of the Save hills was sacked by the Nupe (Smith 1965). Oyo refugees fled to the site of Igboho, and from there several groups migrated north to the Borgu kingdoms (Adediran 1994: 91). These groups also thought themselves the children of Oòduà, as Oyo's political traditions claimed Oòduà as the ultimate progenitor of the royal line (Johnson 1921; Smith 1988). Coming from Oyo, they likely brought with them their centralized political institutions and connections to the Ife dynastic field.

2. The Later History of Shabe

Our knowledge of Shabe history is more detailed following the arrival of several lineages from the north. Sometime in the 16th or 17th century, the Oyo groups living in the Borgu kingdoms migrated to the Savè hills (Palau Martí 1992a: 124; Adediran 1994: 43). The reason for their emigration is unknown, but it may have to do with political instability or persecution in Borgu. The Oyo groups were joined by Bọkọ peoples indigenous to Borgu, perhaps suggesting that Nikki's political troubles at the time were not confined to the recent Oyo arrivals. The migrants first settled near Tchaourou, but left after an unspecified dispute with the king of Nikki

(Mouléro 1964: 53). They then settled at Kilibo, but soon disbanded again after political infighting (ibid: 54). Finally, the groups settled at the site of Atenro, near the modern village of Alafia (Palau Martí 1992a: 143; Adediran 1994: 92).

It is at Atenro where the historical narratives diverge. After living at Atenro for an indeterminate amount of time, more political tensions arose (Palau Martí 1992a: 87; Adediran 1994: 92-93). Two political factions formed, one headed by members of the Amùṣù lineage and the other by the Bọkọ leader Baba Guidaï. Some of the groups left Atenro under Baba Guidaï to resettle near Kaboua. Eventually, the village was completely abandoned when the remaining settlers regrouped under Amùṣù leadership and migrated south to near Oke Shabe. This dispersal would set the landscape for the next 300 years of political and economic consolidation.

In the Amùṣù tradition, as recorded by Adediran (1994) and recounted by the current Ọla-Amùṣù, Oyedekpo II, the groups that left Atenro for Oke Shabe were primarily Oyo descendants who allied with the Amùṣù lineage. They found the hills of Oke Shabe an attractive settlement for its defensive qualities. They also found that the hills were already occupied. Led by the Amùṣù, the incoming migrants forced the local communities to accept their presence. This process is identical to the frontier dynamics outlined by Kopytoff (1987), wherein areas with weakly centralized societies are incorporated into larger polities created by groups that fissioned off from more centralized polities nearby. While the autochthons' authority may be left symbolically intact through titles and ceremonial roles in installation rites, they have little actual ability to expel the newcomers or resist participating in their political economy. Not all the prior groups at Oke Shabe were absorbed by the incoming Amùṣù migrants. The Amùṣù tradition admits that those groups that would not acknowledge the authority of the Ọla-Amùṣù left the area and settled west of the Ouémé River (Palau Martí 1992a: 125; Adediran 1994: 98).

Crucially, the Amùṣù were able to link themselves to the existing Oduduwa shrine at Djabata through their claim of descent from the Oyo refugees at Igboho. Around this time (in the late 17th and early 18th centuries CE), Oyo was reconstituting itself and beginning to participate much more influentially in the Ife dynastic field. Amùṣù traditions also support increased participation, perhaps reflecting a regional turning to Ife as a central place in the political economy. There are two early Ọla-Amùṣù named for *ilẹ̀kẹ̀* and *sẹ̀gi*, types of glass beads created at Ile-Ife and widely exchanged throughout the Ife dynastic field (Euba 1982; Eluyemi 1987; Babalola 2011). During this period, Shabe-Idadu was built up and grew as the center of a network of affiliated settlements in the area. After the reign of several Ọla-Amùṣù, descendants of the faction that had left Atenro for Kaboua attacked the Amùṣù, driving them first to the site of Opotoku near Ouoghi, and then far to the north near the hills around Idadjo (Palau Martí 1992a: 130).

Unsurprisingly, the narrative of the Otọ́lá lineage derived from Baba Guidaï gives a slightly different recounting. In this tradition, the groups that settled at Kaboua united under Baba Guidaï, who claimed legitimacy not through Oòduà, but through connections to ruling dynasties in Borgu. Adediran (1994: 92) argues that the dispersal from Atenro was over whether the groups should continue to affiliate with groups back in the Borgu kingdoms or with the newly reconstituted Oyo kingdom.

Like the Amùṣù account of settling at Oke Shabe, the Otọ́lá narratives tells us that the migrants from Atenro incorporated autochthonous communities living near Kaboua into a larger, more centralized polity (Palau Martí 1992a: 144). Kaboua grew as the center of its own network of affiliated settlements stretching up toward the Borgu kingdoms its inhabitants had emigrated from. Eventually, Baba Guidaï's son Ọla Obẹ was called to Oke Shabe to arbitrate between the

Amùṣù and autochthonous lineages (Adediran 1994: 99). This was opposed by the Amùṣù, starting the war that would lead to their eventual expulsion from Oke Shabe around 1750 CE (ibid: 215).

From here the dynasty of Baba Guidaï continued on, taking on the heritage of Oòduà through marriage, initiation, and resurrection of ancient Oyo connections. Centered at Shabe-Idadu, Ọla Obe's descendants consolidated the disparate Shabe communities, eventually incorporating Kaboua, Kokoro, Kilibo, and even Tchaourou into its political hierarchy. It appears that despite the initial conflict over regional affiliation, the Baba Guidaï lineage did continue to participate in the Ife dynastic field after their ascension to the office of Onishabe. Later, the Onishabe would take the title Ọba instead of Ọla, signifying their claim to descent from Oòduà and the right to wear the iconic beaded *adé* crown.

Though the legitimacy of the Onishabe would not be externally challenged by any of them, many other groups continued to immigrate to Shabe. In addition to groups from the Oyo and Egba kingdoms to the east, groups from as far west as the Volta Basin settled in the Savè hills. As discussed above, these small groups were incorporated readily into the existing political hierarchy and assimilated into the lineage system that structured the Shabe political economy. This system continued through the collapse of Oyo in 19th century. It was eventually disrupted by a succession of wars that prevented a new Onishabe from being installed. Many settlements were destroyed and abandoned over the middle decades of the 19th century, while those near granite inselbergs actually grew as refugees from the smaller villages fled to fortified sites (Palau Martí 1992a: 223; Agani 2015). The last of these wars was with Dahomey, which seized on the vacuum left by Oyo's collapse to expand into the western edge of the Ife dynastic field (Akinjogbin 1967; Law 1997). After an interregnum, an Onishabe was again installed. However,

several new waves of migration from the west would significantly alter the political economy, and even autonomy, of the Shabe kingdom.

The first of these waves were Mahi migrants who settled along the Okpara River from its confluence with the Ouémé River north to the village of Sandéhou (Palau Martí 1992a: 108). The Mahi may have been fleeing the wars waged by King Ghezo of Dahomey, but their settlement along the Okpara may have been encouraged by Dahomey as a means for monitoring trade and exacting taxes and tributes from the Shabe population, as such resettlement practices were part of Dahomey's political strategies (Monroe 2011: 775; 2014). Flynn (1997b: 37) recorded a different tradition of settlement origin linked instead to French colonial resettlement.

The second wave of migration is more firmly linked to French colonial resettlement, when several Idaisha groups were given land along the Ouémé River, which in the early 20th century was uninhabited. Despite the loss of autonomy by the Onishabe during this period, the Idaisha were still incorporated into the Shabe political hierarchy. Indeed, the 20th century has seen increased regional political interaction among Ede speaking peoples in general, and Yoruba communities specifically (Peel 2000).

The historical narratives of various lineages, titles, and settlements outlined above describe an increasing scale of political and economic interaction beginning in the 17th century. These narratives are crucial for framing the methods of my research, which I turn to in the next chapter. In my work, I join the many Africanist archaeologists working with historical narratives in viewing such texts as supplementary data sets to the material record, rather than simply complimentary (e.g., Robertshaw 2000; Stahl 2001; Schmidt & Walz 2007). This is not least because as much as the historical narratives are tied to specific places, political centralization takes place at the scale of entire landscapes (Smith 2003; Monroe & Ogundiran 2012). In the

next chapter, I discuss the methods of my multi-component program of reconnaissance survey, systematic ground survey, excavation, and analysis. These methods outline how the data I collected will be used to trace the transformations of Savè hills landscape as the Shabe kingdom coalesced at the western edge of the Ife dynastic field.

CHAPTER IV

The Savè Hills Archaeological Research Project

In this chapter, I describe the methods and theoretical underpinnings of my archaeological research in the Savè hills area. I begin by outlining the history of previous research on the Shabe kingdom. It is the richness of this research, as well as its deficiencies, that led to my decision to employ the direct-historical method. I describe the benefits and potential problems of this approach, as well its specific relevancy to the Shabe kingdom. I then describe the research methods and rationalize their adoption for each fieldwork component: reconnaissance survey, transect survey, and excavations. I also describe some of the problems encountered while conducting research. The direct-historical approach and all three fieldwork components build from anthropological theorizing on the origins of centralized political institutions and the history of archaeological research in West Africa. The results of this research, described in Chapter V, address the development of Shabe institutions and the area's political economy.

A. The Direct-Historical Approach

1. Upstreaming

In the oral histories of the Shabe kingdom, the coalescence of the monarchy is inevitable and unproblematic. It arises, as in many narratives of state origins, through the actions of a few elite agents and is invariably naturalized as a condition of the ruler's personality, divine right, or both. Early anthropological models of cultural evolution similarly naturalized the processes of political centralization. Political centralization occurred as societies acquired successive technological and cultural traits through diffusion and, occasionally, innovation. This progression culminated with civilization, defined in terms of Near Eastern prototypes, and its attendant centralized bureaucratic governments.

As discussed in Chapter II, the monolithic narrative of unilineal evolution characterized above has been replaced in anthropological archaeology by foci on process and historical contingency. These new frames of references have proved very useful in highlighting variability in the pathways to complexity in African societies. The same shift, however, has not occurred in historical analyses of the Shabe kingdom. In the most complete treatment of Shabe oral histories, Palau Martí (1992a, 1992b, 1993) simply reports that Shabe kingship was already a feature of their society prior to their migration to the Savè hills. How the nature of kingship changed as a result of the migration, implantation in a new landscape, or absorption of autochthonous peoples is not discussed. Though working in a more processually oriented paradigm, Adediran (1994) similarly posits Shabe kingship as a direct transplant of pre-existing political traditions. In this narrative, the founders of Shabe simply transplanted a full formed political system from Oyo to the Savè hills. Like Palau Martí, Adediran does not consider how local particularities might have affected the formation of a centralized political institution. Though both researchers contrast conflicting oral histories to determine changes in dynasty and elaboration in political offices,

they uncritically treat these as superficial changes with no bearing on the underlying political structure. The conflicts and contestations of opposing factions, lineages, and ethnicities are understood as leading led to changes in who filled a particular office, rather than changes in the institution itself.

Palau Martí's and Adediran's projections of the contemporary Shabe kingdom into the deep past is likely a condition of the source material: oral histories. Though oral histories can preserve factual information about past events and processes, they are also political charters in the present (Vansina 1985). Where legitimacy is derived from the continual enactment of history, it is little surprise that oral histories claim a continuity with the past that borders on stasis. This continuity is in step with European colonial ethnography that sought to identify the qualities of bounded and discrete ethnic groups (e.g., Fortes & Evans-Pritchard 1940; Radcliffe-Brown & Forde 1950). Once identified, the actual histories of these groups became largely irrelevant to colonial scholars, as outside of their colonial encounters they were considered to have been more-or-less fixed in time (Stahl 2001: 19-21). Uncritical analyses of oral history and ethnography produce the same result: the substitution of an idealized present for the unknown past.

Archaeology provides an important source of knowledge about the past that complements that provided by oral history and ethnography. Archaeology can access both continuity and change between the past and present by investigating the actual residues of past human activity, rather than the enactment of the past in the present. I am fortunate to be able to assume some degree of continuity between the present-day Shabe kingdom and the archaeological landscape under investigation. After all, the existence of a Shabe kingdom necessitates an origin, even if only in the recent past. This makes a direct-historical approach to the archaeology of the Savè

hills appropriate. The direct-historical approach in archaeology was pioneered in the US Southwest and New York state by archaeologists investigating the origins of contemporary Native American tribal groups (Steward 1942). Without absolute dating techniques, the age of sites could be ranked relative to modern groups by the degree of similarity between their associated material cultures, architecture, and other features. The general underpinning of the approach is that when a genealogical link can be demonstrated between groups known from ethnographic and archaeological data, similar structures are likely homologous (Lyman & O'Brien 2001). In other words, "the direct historical approach involves the elementary logic of working from the known to the unknown" (Steward 1942: 337). The known present provides an analogy for interpreting the archaeological remains of the past (Wylie 1985, 1988; Stahl 1993).

Though the direct-historical approach focuses on continuity, it implies a certain amount change as well. The direct-historical approach in archaeology operates by tracing continuity in structures—settlement patterns, artifacts, architecture, symbols, etc.—back through time. Following this, structures unknown in the present but found in the past must be evidence of change. Indeed, every difference between past and the present must be the result of some kind of change. Thus, specific historical analogies (*sensu* Willey 1953) are well suited to highlighting discontinuity through time, despite change typically not being the focus of the direct-historical approach (Stahl 2001: 21-22).

The research for this dissertation was conducted in a direct-historical paradigm. As the central question of this dissertation is the origin and development of the Shabe monarchy, a focus on continuity is necessary. Further, the progression from the present to successively more temporally remote periods is also conducive to research in the Savè hills, where little archaeology has been conducted. Recent archaeological sites are more accessible: their physical

dimensions are better defined, their cultural associations better retained and transmitted in oral history, and, most practically, their features are usually visible on the surface. In addition, by starting in the recent past I have access to more data sets with which to complement the archaeological data. These are described in more detail below. Before turning to the specifics of my research, however, I briefly critique the direct-historical approach and its use of ethnography to demarcate the limit of analogical reasoning and its use in the interpretation of archaeological remains.

Taken to its logical conclusion, the direct-historical approach progressively loses its value as the analogous structures drop out as they are traced backward. Potentially, archaeological remains from remote periods will not share any features with the known baseline of the present. At this point, the interpretative power of the specific historical analogy is zero. This is why direct-historical approaches often focus on continuity, rather than change. Continuous structures allow for more the confident application of ethnographically and historically informed analogies, while a focus on change lacks this confidence.

However, it must be recognized that continuity cannot be assumed even on short time scales. Even when structures are superficially similar, there may be discontinuity in other practices. Binford (1967) argues that analogy is best employed as a framework to guide new research, rather than as an interpretive device itself. Though analogy can be used interpretively, it must be demonstrated that the analogy can explain the observed structure better than alternative explanations, and that the comprehensiveness of the analogy is not overstated. Indeed, early use of the direct-historical approach conflated and collapsed ethnographic descriptions and archaeological cultures, glossing over variability in order to populate the past with the

ethnographic present (Stahl 1993; Lightfoot 1995). This has the consequence of producing both an inaccurate portrayal of the past, as well as an ahistorical representation of the present.

To avoid this pitfall, I follow Stahl (1993, 2001) in adopting a direct-historical approach sensitive to change, rather than focused solely on continuity. From Shabe oral histories, I assume some kind of continuity in political economic organization between the present and the past, though do not assume that this organization has gone unaltered. While aspects of it may be durable, extending back centuries, other aspects might be recent responses to colonialism or the result of long-term trends that encourage change, rather than the whole-cloth transmission of static structures. I am also attentive political and economic practices that have faded through time, leaving only a faint impression in the ethnographic and oral historical records. Though the origination of kingship remains the focus of my work, I spotlight the competing institutions kingship grew out of and developed alongside. Indeed, archaeological research is privileged in its ability to uncover the physical remains of social structures that have died out. By balancing continuity and discontinuity, I am able to bring archaeology as a productive mode of investigating the past that can be used to complement other sources that have focused only on continuity. In essence, my strategy is to transform the backward looking classic direct-historical formulation of "how did present-day societies originate?" to the processually oriented "how did past societies develop into those of the present-day?"

In Chapter III, I summarized the ethnographic and historical research on the Shabe kingdom. From this research, I created a depiction of present-day Shabe institutions, including language communities, kinship relations, ritual practices, and political organizations. This portrayal has several problems. First, ethnographic and historical sources for Shabe were created at different moments throughout the 20th century CE, in effect creating a synchronic, albeit

ahistorical, depiction of Shabe society. Though the institutions portrayed were confirmed by Shabe residents during my archaeological research, their origins are not necessarily contemporaneous. Therefore, it is important to not treat the earlier portrait of Shabe as a cohesive "culture" to which a developmental trajectory can be appended. Instead, it should be regarded as an attempt to delimit specific institutions operating in the Savè hills area. Together these institutions are integral to the present-day Shabe identity, but my goal is to trace each separately to see how they originated and developed in response to each other.

To accomplish this goal, I employ an archaeological program of reconnaissance survey, transect survey, test excavations, and artifact analyses, described in detail below. In support of my archaeological research, I also make use of supplementary sources on the West African past as I work back to successively more ancient periods. The availability and detail of sources for West Africa is notably uneven as one moves back in time (Stahl 2001: 29-30). As stated, an advantage of the direct-historical approach is the richness and multiplicity of sources for the European colonial and modern nation-state periods that can be used to construct analogies for the more sparsely documented pre-colonial periods (Figure IV.1). Throughout my discussion of the archaeology of the Shabe kingdom, I will tack between these sources to show arenas of concordance—aspects of the Shabe political economy where multiple sources come together—as well as those of dissonance—where sources disagree or are ambiguous.

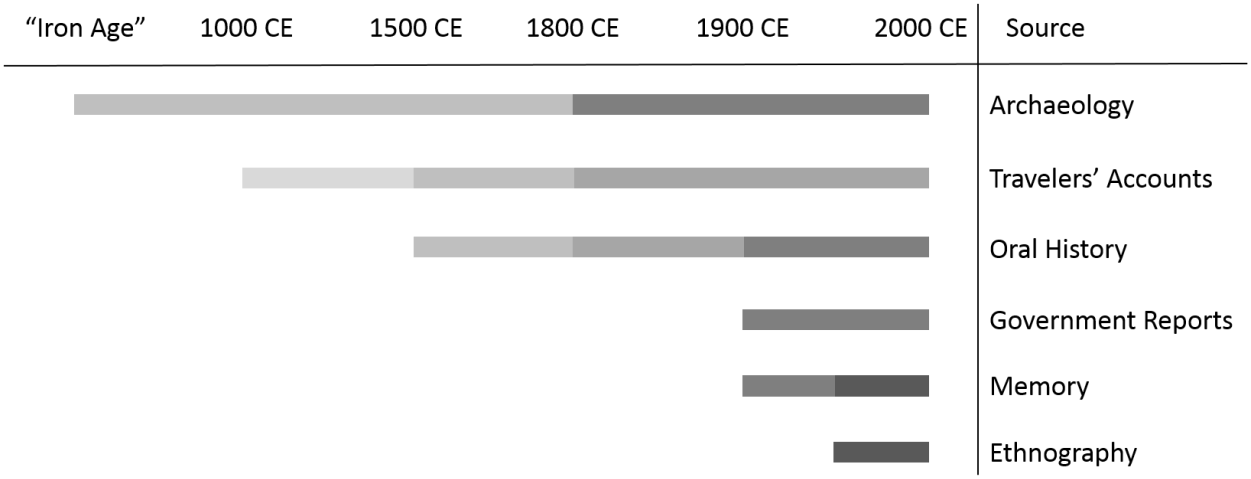


Figure IV.1 Schematic representation of sources used to investigate the West African showing that the greatest range is available for the most recent periods. The richness of the sources are graded relative to one another by shades of grey, with darker shades representing relatively higher levels of detail and coverage of events and processes. (Adapted from Stahl 2001: 30)

In West Africa, the past has been explored through the critical analysis of many sources of evidence. These sources cover different periods and have different levels of detail. Further, sources often cover different types of events or processes, leading to the privileging of certain narratives of the past, while silencing others (Stahl 2001: 36-40). Each source has its own configuration of privileges and silences, and so are most productive when set against each other to produce a dynamic tension.

Among archaeologists, ethnographies are often held up as "thick" descriptions of cultural structures, institutions, and practices (Wylie 1988; cf. Spriggs 2008). Though individual ethnographies vary in their scope and methods, taken in aggregate they provide one of the densest sources to define African societies. However, the practice of ethnography is relatively recent, and its application to Africa goes back only to the beginning of the 20th century CE. Further, it is not until the mid-20th century CE that African ethnography begins to provide the "thick" descriptions that have powered generations of archaeologists' imaginations. This limits

the applicability of ethnography's presentist perspective to after midway through the 20th century CE.

Ethnography has, however, routinely investigated the past and its role in constructing the present. To this end, ethnographies contain insights derived from their informants' memories. Individual memory is, in a sense, the most unfiltered source of the past, being as it is the direct observations of African people on their past. It is of course circumscribed by each person's individual experiences, and edited and transmogrified by their outlook and biases. Further, the accuracy of memory can be questions on neurological grounds, even when intentional bias is absent (Koriat et al. 2000). Further, memory only extends to an individual's life, and so becomes less and less available as time goes on—back to about the beginning of the 20th century CE.

Government reports are a third source, also produced from the beginning of the 20th century CE onward. After colonization, colonial administrators that filed reports, wrote correspondence, and otherwise characterized African societies. The result of these processes were literal archives of material that intensively documented the intersection of European colonial interests and African political economies (Stoler 2002; Tough 2009). After independence, the newly formed African nation-states continued on many of the colonial bureaucratic practices. Government reports are often directed toward practical concerns of imperial and national management, but they do provide an abundant, if myopic, information for African societies. However, most pre-colonial African societies did not keep written records, and so outside of rare cases in the Sahel, written reports are only available beginning in the 20th century CE.

Oral history is a particularly valuable source for understanding past African societies. Oral history is, in a sense, codified memory (Vansina 1985: 147-148). It is the memory of events

and processes that have been transformed into a linguistic device, which is then transmitted through generations. Like other genres of memory, oral history is not a neutral observation, but inherently conditioned and biased by individuals' experiences. Further, the codification and transmission of oral history creates other junctures for the events and processes purported to be described to be modified. This has led to extreme constructivist paradigm the claims all oral histories are malleable political charters that bend and shape according to present concerns (Hobsbawm 1983; Friedman 1992). However, such a view is at odds with "the autonomy of sociohistorical process" (Trouillot 1995: 6). Not all oral histories can be equally valid, as narrative abuts other ways of knowing the past, as described here. African peoples are themselves capable of evaluating the multiple sources of the past, and can discredit those narratives that are odds with other sources or their lived experiences. In addition, the transmission of oral history is democratic insofar that the technological requirements for its transmission require only speech and continuity of transmitting communities. Like memory, oral history tends to be more reliable for more recent events, where there are simply more perspectives and less time to accumulate transmission errors. For periods farther back in time, oral history becomes less and less reliable. Still, even heavily mythologized narratives may contain valuable information about the African past (Schmidt 2006).

Written histories and accounts of ancient life would seemingly solve the problem of transmission in oral history. Unfortunately, there is no indigenous tradition of writing in West Africa. Writing was first introduced around 1000 CE as Arabic script connected to the spread of Islam. Writing spread overland from North Africa where it was adopted by elites in the the urban centers of the Sahel. The earliest writings are tomb and stellae inscriptions, providing only a limited perspective on West Africa. By 1500 CE, many of the Sahelian states had literate elites

who produced histories, transcribed oral traditions, and other records (Wilks et al. 1986; Saul 2006). At the same time, Europeans began exploring the Atlantic coast and writing their observations of the peoples they encountered. Their writings tend to focus on their interests in trade, politics, and geography, and so rarely provide a multifaceted perspective on African societies. Further, European accounts are limited to coastal areas, as early Europeans rarely left their ships let alone penetrate inland. More intensive exploration began in the 19th century CE, along with a greater missionary presence. This led to an increase in both the quantity and comprehensiveness of European writing on African societies (Posnansky & DeCorse 1986; Thornton 1998).

In the Savè hills area, there is a notable lack of written sources. Neither Arabic nor European chroniclers wrote about the area, either from personal and second-hand experience of the landscape and its inhabitants. The first primary reference to the area comes from 1894 when the French military visited the area to ally with Shabe leaders against the Dahomeans. Soon after, Shabe-Idadu was made a regional administrative center in the newly formed French colony. In the early 20th century CE, the French built a railway through the Savè hills on the way to connecting Parakou with the Atlantic coast. These events led to an increased archival footprint of the Savè hills area beginning with French colonization. Early ethnographic research was conducted by Thomas Mouléro, a Catholic priest from the nearby Ketu kingdom. Mouléro (1964) recorded elements of the political history and religious practices. His focus was taken up by Montserrat Palau Martí, who conducted years of ethnographic research in Shabe-Idadu and nearby villages. Her three volume ethnography (1992a, 1992b, 1993) added an exhaustive examination of kinship practices and lineage histories to records of political histories and religious practices. Included in her ethnographic research are transcripts of oral histories from

several lineages in the area. Biodun Adediran (1994) also worked with oral histories to create his ethnohistory of the Shabe, Ketu, and Dassa kingdoms. Thus, within the Savè hills area, oral history provides the best recorded and most important source for the Shabe past. I outlined this history in Chapter III. I now return to it to discuss its relevance in framing archaeological research, as well potential limitations.

2. Oral Histories

Oral histories are the only textual source that directly comments on the structure of the nascent Shabe kingdom and what life was like for the early occupants of the Savè hills area. This make them an invaluable supplement to archaeological research, where the events and processes described therein can be compared with the material remains of ancient life. However, as has been vigorously highlighted by the constructivist movement since the 1970s, such oral histories may be fraught with revisions, omissions, and additions that might not necessarily reflect a *lived past* (Vansina 1985; Robertshaw 2000; Stahl 2001; Schmidt & Walz 2007). Fortunately, much of the previous scholarly research on Shabe and the Savè hills area has actively addressed these problems. Palau Martí and Adediran use oral histories from multiple lineages and office to show areas of agreement of dissent. Both also make occasional use of toponymy as a means of tying events to specific sites on the landscape. In addition, Palau Martí makes extensive use of praise poetry. Barber (1991) suggests that Yoruba praise poetry is constructed and transmitted formulaically, and therefore more durable through time. Such praise poetry can point to the positive presence of personas, events, and more quotidian concerns like economic activities in the past.

Throughout the course of my research, I was able to work with my colleague Simon Agani, a graduate student in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Abomey-Calavi, to record contemporary oral histories. These histories came from some of the same titled officials and lineage heads that earlier scholars interviewed; we also recorded oral histories of untitled hunters, agriculturalists, and religious practitioners that provided unique perspectives on the past—"micro-histories" that could details parts of the landscape unmentioned in more official accounts.

Whether verbal and active or transcribed and codified, oral histories are an important supplement to my archaeological research. However, I use them as a framing device to conduct archaeological research, rather than an interpretive overlay with which to explain site patterning, material culture, or other archaeological remains. The oral historical frame is most productive in the Savè hills area, with its lack or prior archaeological research, as a way to seriate archaeological sites of unknown absolute age—that is to say, all of them. Seriation can be performed by linking the occupation of sites to important events recorded in oral histories. The events chosen are those that have had a major impact on the continuity of Shabe political economic institutions.

Oral histories claim long-term continuity for many lineages in the Savè hills area, some even predating the foundation of the Shabe kingdom. This claim for genealogical connection between present-day Save hills communities and ancient ones underwrites the use of the direct-historical approach and appeals to specific analogy. The continuity of the monarchy is another recurring theme in Shabe oral histories. Until the European colonial period, the monarchy was the highest order of political authority with defined economic privileges and religious duties, regardless of the specific person bearing the title of Ọba.

Although not explicitly mentioned in oral histories, place names, or praise poems, many Savè hills residents assume a continuity between the structure and organization of lineages and political institutions and present-day economic pursuits. Lineage taboos that prohibit the hunting and consumption of specific animals often have origin stories that take place in an undefined past, and are assumed to have been prescribed and followed ever since. Similarly, economic specialization in potting, brewing, pastoralism, or agriculture in the present-day is thought of as extending into the past, so that, for example, ancient pottery is regarded as having been probably manufactured by the ancestors of current potters.

Oral histories stress the long-term continuity of social structures and economic practices, in a sense normalizing the current and recent political economic relationships of the area. Shabe oral histories do, however, admit many instances of discontinuity, or change. Outside of the autochthonous and core Shabe lineages, other lineages are regarded as recent arrivals unrelated to the internal dynamics of the Shabe kingdom. Similarly, political and religious institutions that complemented and, at times, competed with the monarchy were introduced at various times into the Savè hills. In addition, some economic activities that are common place today are acknowledged as recent adoptions, such as palm oil production.

3. Archaeological Research

In order to investigate the political-economic development in the Shabe past, I conducted archaeological research in the Savè hills in 2012 and 2013. This research included three complementary components of fieldwork to collect archaeological data at multiple scales. A multiscalar approach was employed to address the complexity of interaction between political centralization and economic systems, as these interactions play out at multiple spatial, temporal,

and social scales. Two survey components investigated sites in a context of regional interaction, while an excavation component targeted individual features of sites.

Since there has been little prior research in the Savè hills, I incorporated a direct-historical approach into a traditional landscape survey study. Landscape surveys are necessary in areas where archaeological materials are not yet well described. In addition, recent archaeological research in other parts of West Africa has emphasized the effect of political economic organization on landscape (Norman & Kelly 2004; Stahl 2004; McIntosh 2005; Monroe & Ogundiran 2012; Usman 2012; Monroe 2014). By investigating the continuity and change of site patterning through time, and sites' associated material culture, this study reveals the processes of political centralization in the Shabe kingdom.

Reconnaissance survey was the first survey component conducted for this research. The survey relied on knowledge of archaeological sites by present-day Savè hills residents to locate sites. By engaging local communities, I was able to simultaneously collect oral histories connected to specific sites. In addition, the expedience of reconnaissance survey allowed me to engage all present-day Shabe settlements in the study zone that are recognized by the monarchy, as well as several additional settlements not officially counted as part of the Shabe kingdom.

Reconnaissance survey relies on current knowledge about archaeological sites, and so may have potential biases in the kinds of sites represented—such as over-representing large and/or recent sites important to contemporary social groups. A second survey method, transect survey, was also employed with the advantage of documenting sites based purely on location and preservation, rather than community knowledge. Transect survey provides a useful "correction" to the reconnaissance survey by systematically documenting sites that may have otherwise been missed. Excavations were conducted at sites discovered through survey with the goal of

obtaining datable material and artifacts that could shed light on political economic organization. To this end, two excavation strategies were employed: stratigraphic profiles to anchor the relative dates of settlements described in oral histories to absolute calendar dates; and feature explorations to investigate the nature of Shabe settlements. Each fieldwork component is described more thoroughly below. I first return to Shabe oral history and its role in framing my initial investigation of the settlement history of the area and subsequent reconnaissance survey.

Oral histories proved crucial to my use of the direct-historical approach in Shabe, as they record crucial events linked to periods of political instability that punctuated the long-term continuity of the monarchy. These events are ideal for seriating archaeological sites, as the local histories of individual sites often reckon their occupation as occurring before, after, or during such periods. Since the relative order of such political events is known from oral history, this allows for sites of unknown age to be grouped together. Further, putting events and archaeological remains together can produce more dynamic interpretations of the past (Beck et al. 2007). Choosing appropriate events relies on several criteria. The first is that the event should be of enough impact so that social groups of all scales and types would be impacted by it, or at least aware of it. The event must be important enough that the local histories of individual sites are known in relation to the event. The second is that events should be chosen so as to have as narrow a time span as possible. This, however, is constrained by the first criterion, in that if the time span between events is too narrow it may not be possible to relate local histories to the events. The third criterion is that the events chosen should be structurally similar. Since the focus of the present research is on political economy, events should be chosen that had an impact on the organization of power and authority in the Savè hills. The fourth and final criterion is that each event should be linked to a landscape feature or archaeological site. This has the advantage

of linking periods directly to a site, potentially allowing for it to act as a type site to compare against others.

Based on these criteria, I have chosen four events from oral history that were consequential enough to have affected communities throughout the Savè hills, limited to a few generations in length, and are all relevant to the political economic organization of the kingdom. These events are the foundation of Atenro, the foundation of Shabe-Idadu, the collapse of Oyo and subsequent wars with Dahomey, and the colonial annexation by the French. Each event marks the beginning of a temporal period, which I designate as Early Shabe, Middle Shabe, Late Shabe, and European Colonial, based on the dominant political organization of the period. In addition, I recognize a pre-Shabe period for sites already abandoned at the time of Atenro's foundation.

As discussed in Chapter III, the origins of the Shabe kingdom (and many of the contemporary lineage groups) are linked to a migration from Nikki sometime after the sacking of Oyo by the Nupe around 1535 CE. These migrants traveled southward before settling at a village that would later be called Atenro. Palau Martí, Adediran, and the present-day Onishabe and Ọla-Amùṣù link the founding of Atenro to the foundation of the monarchy. Prior to this, there was no formal hierarchical political structure among the migrants, nor among the autochthonous communities the migrants encountered. The political structure of the monarchy during this period is unclear, though the Ọla-Amùṣù claims that his lineage comprised the first kings of Shabe. Palau Martí and Adediran support his claim, and even the Onishabe agrees that there were kings prior to his lineage assuming the title of Ọba. Adediran (1994: 93) gives a range of 1600-1700 CE for the occupation of Atenro, based on hypothesized regency lengths and their relation to other events in West Africa. Thus, the Early Shabe period includes sites used and

occupied concurrently with the site of Atenro. In addition, I include sites that were already occupied when Atenro was founded and continued to be. Sites that were already abandoned prior to Atenro's foundation comprise the pre-Shabe period.

The Middle Shabe period is linked to the founding of Shabe-Idadu. Oral histories state that Atenro was abandoned following leadership disputes between the ruling Onishabe, then of the Amushu lineage, and other lineage heads. The Onishabe and his followers left to settle at Shabe-Idadu near the Oke Shabe hills, while the other lineages left to found Kaboua near Oke Agbodo. Sometime after the founding of Shabe-Idadu, the lineages at Kaboua, united under the warrior-king Baba Guidaï, invaded Shabe-Idadu and drove the Amushu from power. They then installed themselves as Onishabe. It is from this lineage that the current Onishabe claims descent. Thus, the Middle Shabe period begins after about 1700 CE, and is associated with the transition between the first Amushu dynasty and the second Baba Guidaï dynasty.

The collapse of the Oyo Empire in the early 19th century CE precipitated a series of violent conflicts in the Savè hills area. Palau Martí (1992a: 150-153) cross-references this mention in Shabe oral histories with Dahomean accounts to deduce that Dahomey was the main antagonist in the conflict, occurring between 1821 and 1832. Adediran (1994: 177) notes that with Dahomey was only the first in a series of conflicts throughout the rest of the 19th century CE. Coinciding with these wars, oral histories record an interregnum period where a successor Onishabe could not be named, possibly due to a lack of confirmation from Oyo. Importantly, the fortified hilltop refuge of Fiditi is occupied during this period. Late Shabe period begins with the Dahomean incursions into the Savè hills around 1830 CE and is marked by widespread site abandonment and political instability in the area.

A period of relative peace preceded French colonization, though Dahomey successfully forced the Shabe monarchy to pay tribute. When the French invaded Dahomey, Shabe sided with the French and signed a treaty effectively inducting them into the new colony. French colonization, however, entailed the loss of autonomy of the Shabe monarchy and the incorporation of Shabe into a much larger political structure. The dates of European colonization are more securely known, spanning 1894 CE to 1960 CE.

B. Reconnaissance Survey

1. Study Zone

The Shabe kingdom is centered at Shabe-Idadu (Savè), but its territory extends far to the north and south, incorporating villages throughout the region (Figure IV.2). Though the Shabe monarchy claims some kind of authority over the encompassing territory, it is unclear how effective this claim is. In addition, many villages in Shabe "territory" are neither claimed by Shabe nor play a role in the political system. The autonomous Ouèssè polity is located entirely within Shabe territory, though its land was officially ceded to it by the Shabe monarchy. This suggests that the Shabe kingdom exerted influence through a network of affiliation, rather than by enforcing strict territorial boundaries. This is particularly true for the north and south, where Shabe villages grade into Borgu in the north and Ketu in the south. However, the present-day villages of Gini and Iwoye reflect the northernmost and southernmost Shabe villages, respectively. The eastern and western boundaries of Shabe are more fixed, as they are drawn as rivers that run longitudinally. The eastern boundary is fixed to the Oyan River in the south and to

the Okpara River north of Kokoro. The western boundary is fixed to the Ouémé River. In all, this maximum extent of the Shabe kingdom is about 7,500 km².

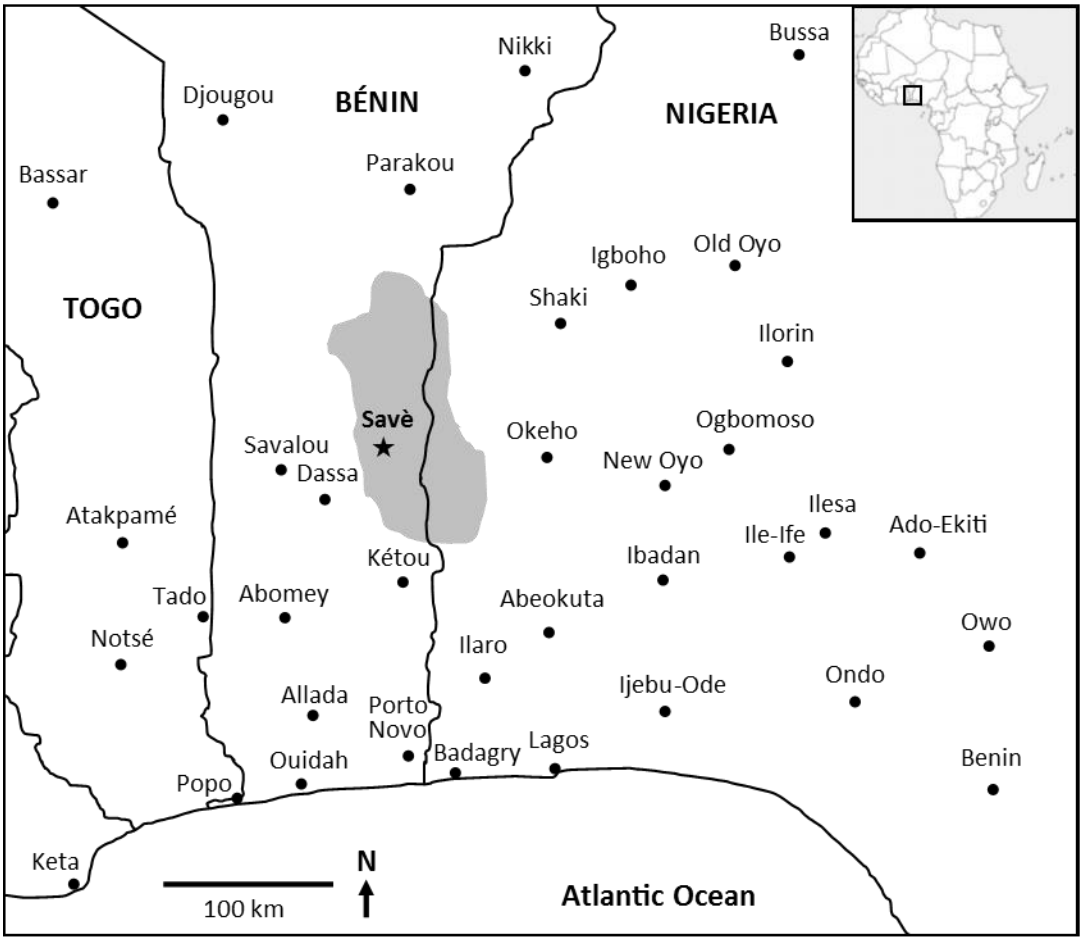


Figure IV.2 The approximate maximum extent of the Shabe kingdom is shaded grey and shown in relation to major population and political economic centers in West Africa ca. 1500-1900 CE.

It was necessary to limit the area under investigation by my archaeological research given the large size of the Shabe kingdom. It was simply not feasible with time and budgetary constraints to include the entire extent of the kingdom, nor was it logistically possible to include the parts of the Shabe kingdom in present-day Nigeria. To limit my investigation to a manageable area while still addressing the core question of how Shabe political economic

organization developed through time, I created a study zone of approximately 1,750 km² that extends from the Ouémé River in the west to the Okpara River in the east, and from the settlement of Kaboua in the north to the settlement of Djabata in the south (Figure IV.3). Two smaller transect survey tracts, described below, were defined in the study zone. The study zone encloses about 23.3% of the Shabe's kingdoms total territory. The rivers were chosen as boundaries for the study zone for their logistical requirements and historical importance to the Shabe kingdom. The towns of Kaboua and Djabata were chosen as boundaries due to their historical importance in Shabe oral histories. In addition, this zone includes the type sites associated with the Early, Middle, and Late Shabe periods: Atenro, Shabe-Idadu, and Fiditi.

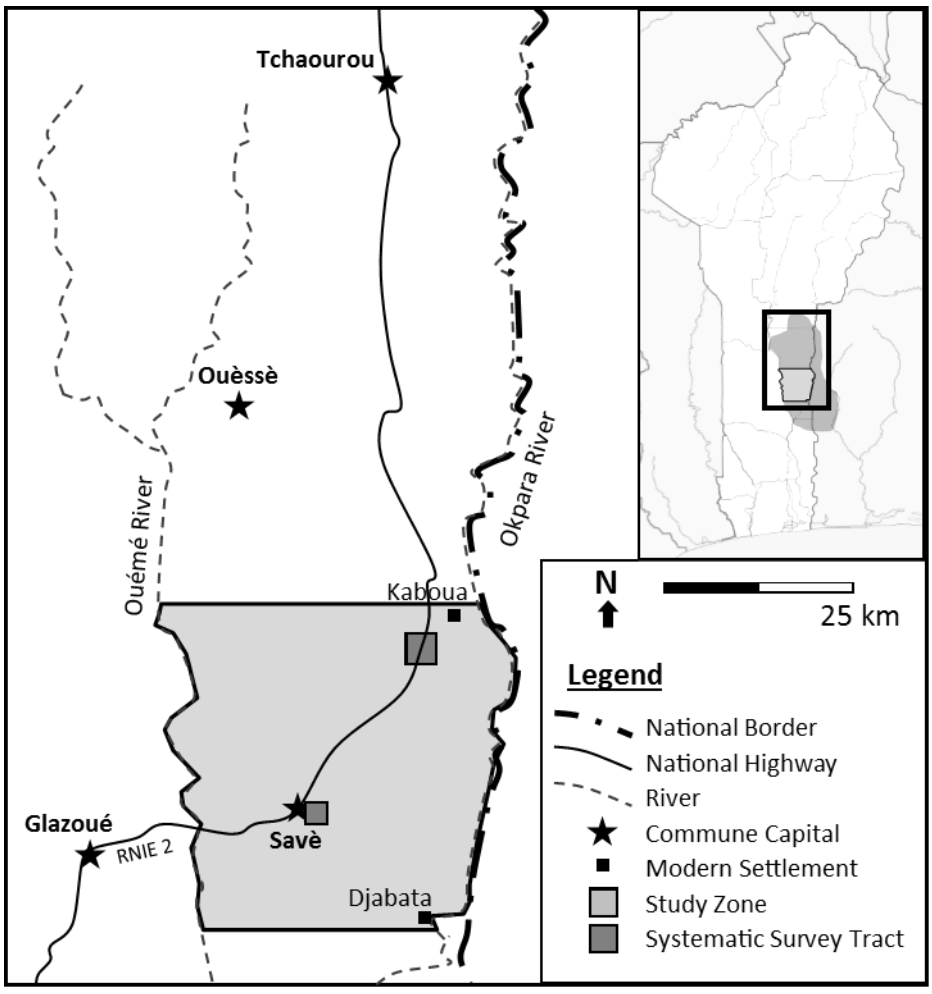


Figure IV.3 The study zone occupies the central part of the Shabe kingdom's maximum territorial extent.

This study zone includes a range of landscape features. The Ouémé and Okpara river basins are relatively low lying and the surrounding ground becomes marshy during the wet season. There are relatively few present-day settlements along the Ouémé River, though there are many adjacent to the Okpara River. Most settlements are sited on the high ridge between the two basins (Figure IV.4). Vegetation groundcover is variable, but much of the landscape is under cultivation (Figure IV.5). Cultivated land is itself variable, as the locally practiced agricultural system includes long fallow periods and period burnings. Sacred groves are present in the zone which may include older growth vegetation (Ceperley et al. 2010; Gurstelle 2013). The study zone also includes many granite boulder outcrops and inselbergs. This mix of features is desirable to document the effect of landscape on settlement patterns. Only two industrial development projects may have affected the preservation of archaeological sites: the Ouémé-Boukou classified forest and the SUCOBE sugar refinery. The Ouémé-Boukou classified forest covers the southwestern corner of the study zone. Though the forest preservation has likely improved preservation of archaeological remains, restrictions on activity precluded archaeological survey. An approximately 70 km² area adjacent to the Ouémé River is taken up by intensive sugarcane cultivation as part of the state-sponsored SUCOBE sugar refinery. The intensive irrigation controls have likely destroyed archaeological remains in this area.

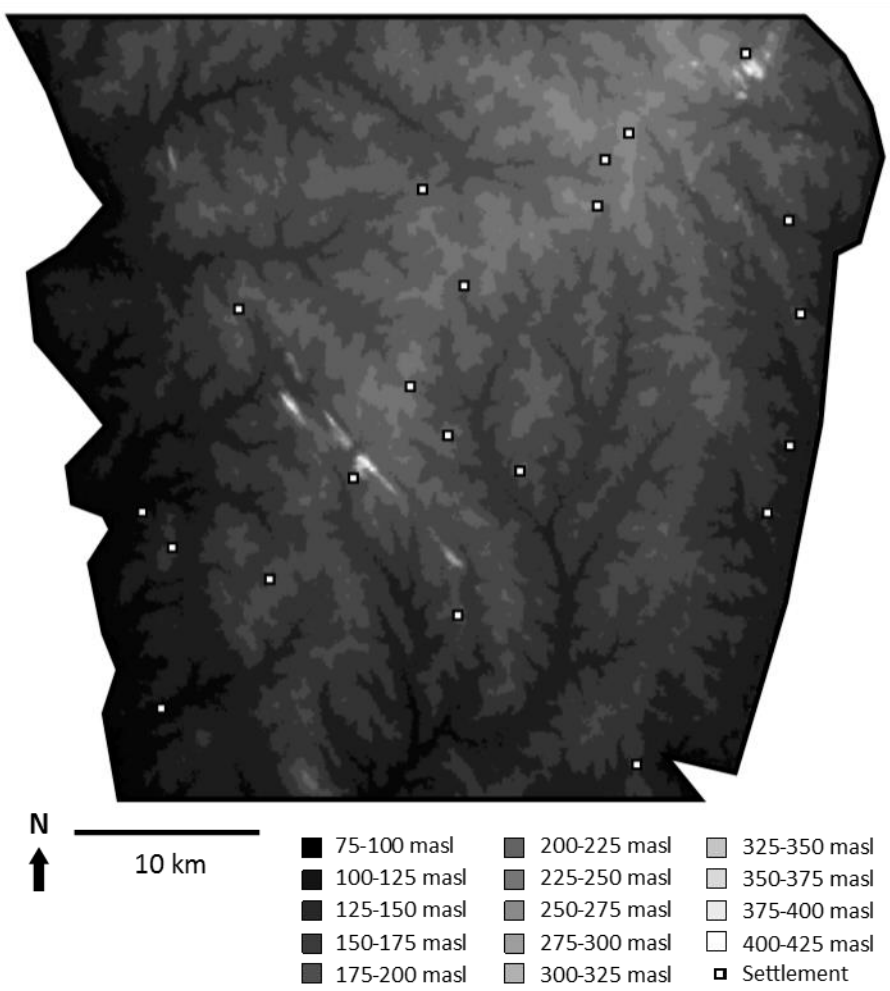


Figure IV.4 Topographic features of the study zone divided into 25 m interval classes. (Elevation data from NASA SRTM.)

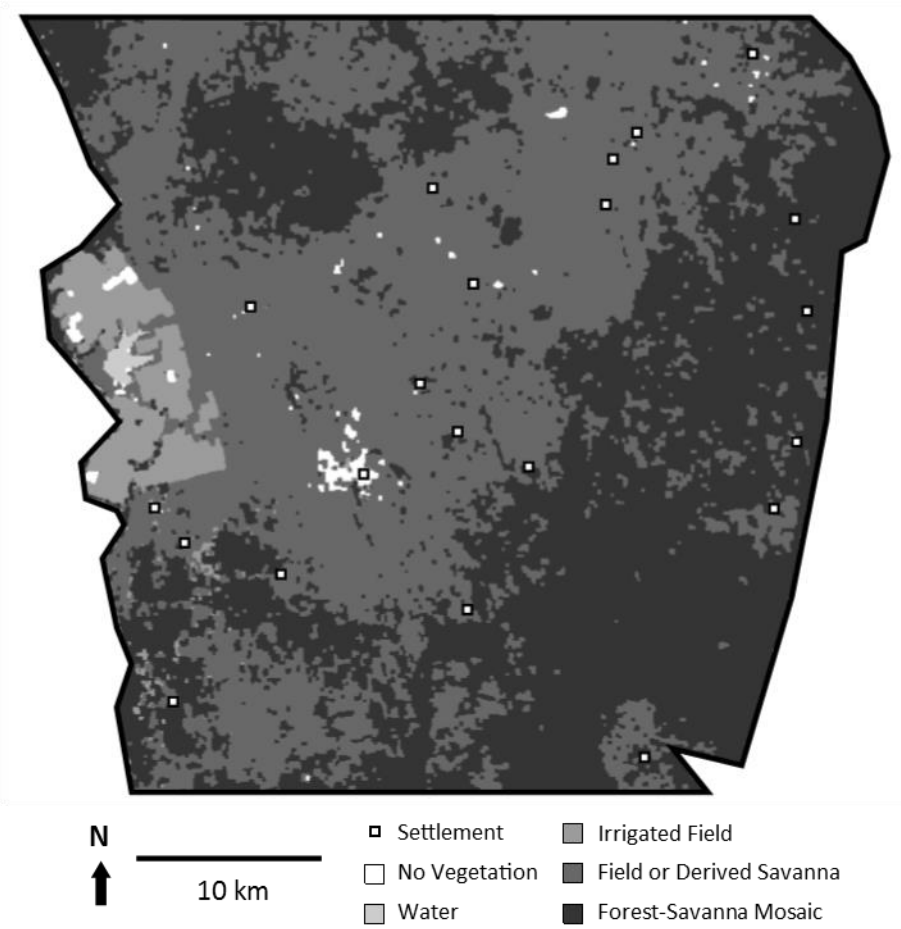


Figure IV.5 Vegetation groundcover map showing the effect of settlements, as well as the SUCOBE sugarcane plantation and man-made reservoir adjacent to the Ouémé River. (Vegetation classes derived from multispectral data from NASA & USGS Landsat 8.)

2. Study Methods

Reconnaissance survey began by identifying all present-day settlements in the study zone with the goal of visiting each to record archaeological sites. Settlements were identified from maps drawn by Palau Martí (1992a), the 2001 national census, and village lists provided by the Onishabe in 2011. Unfortunately, none of these lists are completely accurate or comprehensive in their depiction of present-day settlement patterns. Some of the settlements listed by Palau Martí have since been abandoned. The 2001 national census is the most comprehensive, but lists settlements according to administrative designations rather than actual villages. This has the

effect of often splitting what is in effect a single village into multiple smaller units that do not reflect historical Shabe settlement patterns. Though reflecting Shabe history, the settlement lists given by the Onishabe are too narrow in that they include only major villages and ignore smaller, more recently established settlements. A problem common to all three lists is the omission of semi-permanent pastoralist camps and recently established pioneering farmsteads not officially sanctioned by either the Onishabe or Béninese government (see Dangbengon 2005). In the end, a settlement list was made based off the 2001 national census, but with subdivided villages recombined according to their designation in the Onishabe's settlement lists. In total, 21 settlements were visited (Figure IV.6). These included several small villages (Tchintchin, Dèguè-dèguè, and Atta) that were not on either list, and visited opportunistically.

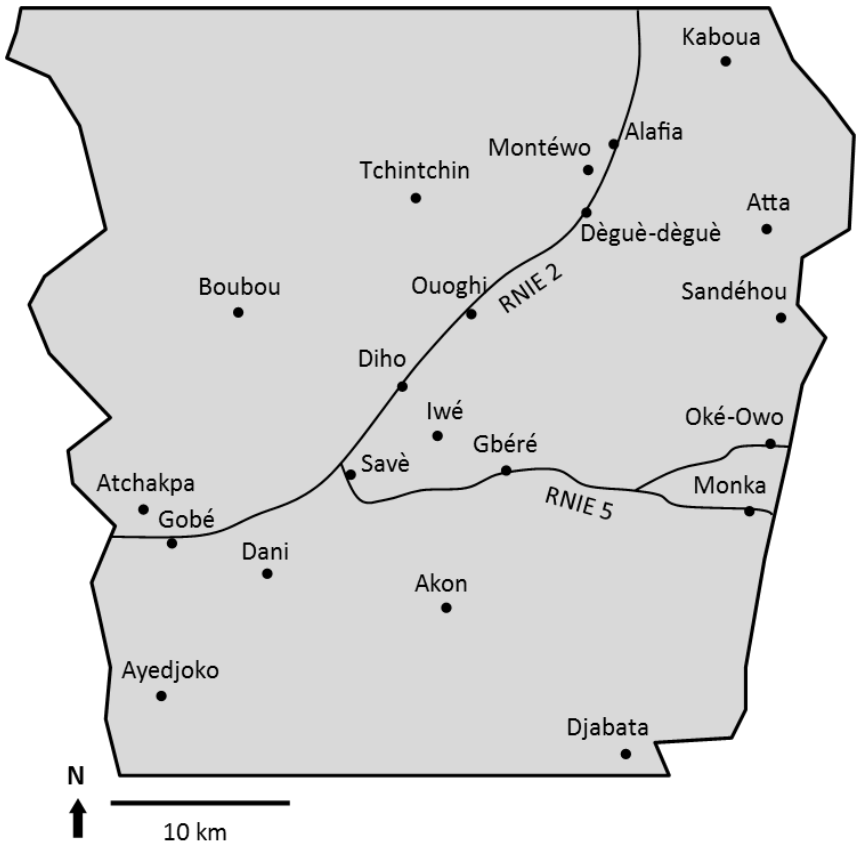


Figure IV.6 Present-day settlements in the study zone included in the reconnaissance survey.

Visiting as many villages as possible was crucial because of what I have termed the "Site Ancestry Principle". This is a methodological principle based on the recognition that lineage heads and elders residing in rural villages often have specific knowledge about archaeological sites and landscapes that is not known by higher traditional authorities. In effect, local knowledge is kept at the local level and not by the retained by centralized authorities. This means that the Onishabe, Ọla-Amùṣù, or other officials in the political centers of Shabe-Idadu, Kaboua, or Djabata will not necessarily be knowledgeable informants about archaeological sites away from their seats of power. The most basic example of this principle relates to how villages periodically shift location. Villages change location for many reasons, such as when Montéwo was moved to be closer to the RNIE 2 highway, or when Oké-Owo was moved because it prior location was blamed for a smallpox outbreak. In these cases, the locations of former villages are only remembered by local elders.

The distribution of present-day settlements over much of the study zone is an advantage in locating archaeological sites. Even when site ancestry is unknown or, in the case of recent immigration, irrelevant, residents often have knowledge of local archaeological sites. Each settlement is home to agriculturalists with adjacent fields. Many agriculturalists have in-depth knowledge about what is located in and near their fields. Simply asking if there are fields with lots of potsherds proved enough to locate previously unknown sites.

The reconnaissance survey was conducted between June and August 2012 and between July and August 2013. I conducted the survey with Simon Agani, an MPhil student in archaeology at the University of Abomey-Calavi, in 2012, and with Simon Agani and Nestor

Labiyi, a PhD student in archaeology at the University of Abomey-Calavi, in 2013. Savè was the first settlement visited. Initial contact was made with the Onishabe and Ọla-Amùṣù, and the survey goals and methods were explained to both. They both expressed enthusiastic support for the project and assigned their respective secretaries, Marcel Afouda and Lucien Yaï, to aid us in contacting settlement representatives. Because of tensions between the Onishabe and the Ọla-Amùṣù, their secretaries did not join the team at the same time. Instead, they joined in a kind of rotation, with Afouda joining when we visited Onishabe-affiliated settlements and lineages and Yaï joining when it was Ọla-Amùṣù affiliated. This occasionally led to some settlements being visited twice. When settlements were visited twice, the resulting archaeological sites were always the same. However, oral histories connected with the sites did have slight variations depending on the lineage and affiliation. Still, the level of congruency was remarkably high.

Before driving to a settlement, contact by telephone was first attempted to facilitate meeting with as many interested participants as possible. When this was not possible, the time-consuming task of driving to settlements in person to arrange future meetings was necessary. Ideally, the research team met with the *balę̀* (village head), *balọdę̀* (head of the hunters' association), and/or *balé* (lineage heads). However, small villages sometimes did not have *balę̀* or *balọdę̀*. In addition, Mahi villages often had alternative political titles, such as *axosu*. In practice then, an open call was made to any and all participants who wished to contribute to our reconnaissance survey. At each meeting, the goals and methods of the research were explained, usually in a mixture of French and Shabe, facilitated by Simon Agani and the secretaries. Prior to their agreement to participate, a gift of approximately $10 was given to the assembled participants. This sort of gift is a typical part of formal greetings to show goodwill, particularly when the intent is to establish a working relationship.

After the meeting, the research team would visit archaeological sites mentioned by the participants. Each site's location was recorded with a Garmin 62S handheld GPS receiver, its features mapped and photographed, surface artifacts sampled, and associated oral histories recorded. At sites with large surface artifact scatters (>1 ha), the research team collected artifacts in 2 m x 2 m sample units from different areas in order to estimate surface artifact densities across the site. The team also opportunistically collected diagnostic artifacts, such as coarse earthenware rim sherds, decorated body sherds, pipe fragments, beads, and European-manufactured objects. At smaller sites (<1 ha), surface collecting was limited to the opportunistic collection of diagnostic artifacts. The sites and associated artifacts are detailed in the Appendices.

In total, 40 sites were documented through the reconnaissance survey (Figure IV.7). For each site, community participants were asked if any of the three reference sites described above were contemporary with the site's occupation or use, or if the site had been occupied during the colonial period. Through this method, all but three sites could be assigned to one or more periods (Table IV.1). Two of these sites (S13-010, S13-012) are large sites with surface artifact scatters, large sacred tree species, and anthropogenic mounds. The third site (S12-007) is a rockshelter that is part of modern ritual practice. Additionally, one site (S12-035) was occupied discontinuously in both the Early and Late Shabe periods.

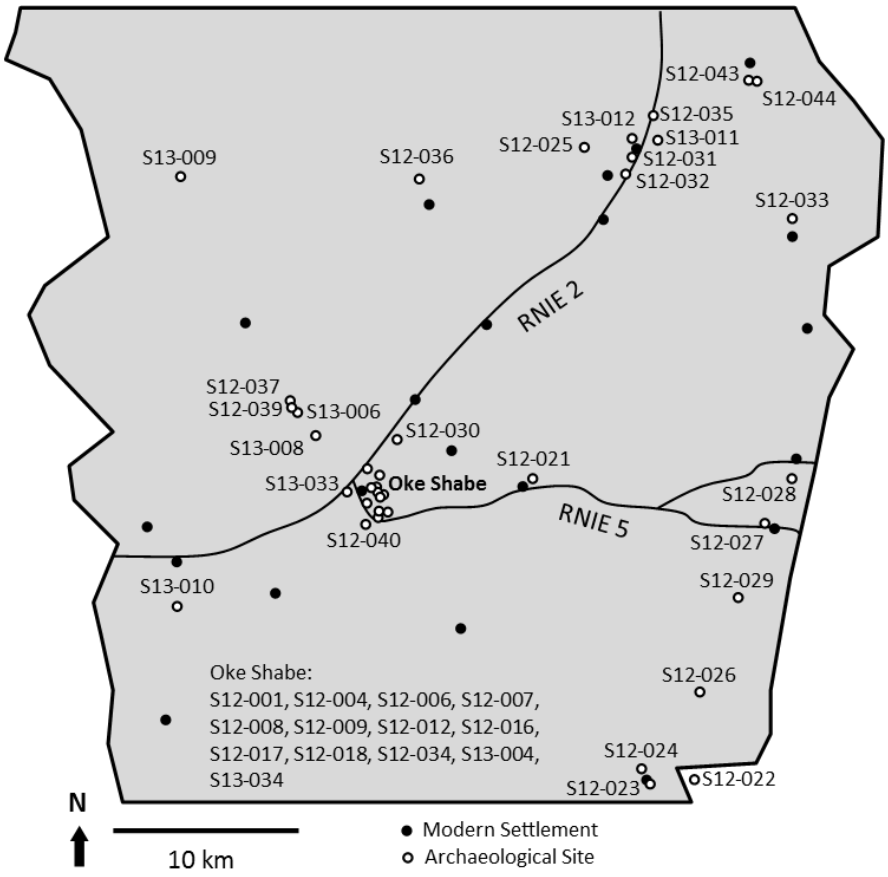


Figure IV.7 Location of sites recorded through the reconnaissance survey.

Oral Historical Period		**# of Sites**
Pre-Shabe	*before 1600 CE*	1
Early	*1600-1700 CE*	4
Early to Middle		2
Middle	*1700-1830 CE*	12
Middle to Late		4
Late	*1830-1894 CE*	11
Late to Colonial		2
Colonial	*1894-1960 CE*	2
Unassigned		3

Table IV.1 Sites documented through the reconnaissance survey were assigned to one or more periods derived from oral history.

The ease with which archaeological sites were assigned to oral historical periods represents the degree of knowledge held by local participants. Further, it suggests the continuity between present-day populations and the archaeological communities under investigation. However, it is also probably the case that archaeological sites without associated oral histories are simply not remembered by officials, elders, or other local participants. Indeed, the two unassigned archaeological sites we documented were shown to us by agriculturalists whose land the sites were on, and not by political leaders or lineage heads. This is the main flaw with the reconnaissance approach, as it privileges continuity at the expense of change. There are, in addition, several other more subtle problems that we encountered during the reconnaissance survey. These problems arise from tension in the present-day social dynamics of the Savè hills area.

3. Problems of Participation

We made great efforts while conducting the reconnaissance survey to explain our goals and methods to community residents. We were also sensitive to the desires of communities to keep sensitive information private. There are often tensions surrounding settlement history, land rights, and ritual practices that are connected to archaeological sites. We made it clear that if communities felt their participation would have an ill-effect, we respected their decision to not participate in the research. At least some participants from most of the settlements surveyed chose to participate. However, while this participation generally included guided tours of archaeological sites, sometimes oral histories were not given. The reason for this was often that the present-day settlements near archaeological sites did not have resident representatives of the lineages to which the sites were ancestral. In these cases, alternative oral histories from local

communities were silenced in favor of authoritative versions, typically given by the either the Onishabe or Ọla-Amùṣù. Of the 21 settlements surveyed, residents from two chose not to participate: Ouoghi and Sandéhou. The reasons for non-participation at Ouoghi and Sandéhou were specific to each settlement.

Our first visit to Ouoghi was in 2012 with the Onishabe's secretary, Marcel Afouda. The *balę̀* of Ouoghi was at first supportive of the research, but over the course of recording his account of Ouoghi's foundation, he decided to withdraw his support unless we paid him a substantial fee. The research team decided to not pay the fee, as it might set a precedent that would not be sustainable. We visited Ouoghi again in 2013, but again the *balę̀* and several lineage heads did not wish to participate. We did learn, however, the part of the reluctance stemmed from a political dispute and accusation of witchcraft within Ouoghi, and that our investigations of archaeological sites may have been perceived as having a negative impact on that.

We visited Sandéhou twice in 2012. During our first visit, the lineage heads decided they required more time to discuss their participation in the research among themselves. When we returned, we were told that there was one archaeological site nearby, but it was a sacred site and not open to outsiders. The research team was deemed outsiders not only because I, the principal investigator, am an American, but also probably because the research was viewed as being a Shabe project. As the residents of Sandéhou are primarily Mahi, and not Shabe, the presence of the Onishabe's secretary likely signaled—erroneously—that our research was intended to promote solely a Shabe identity. This is unfortunate, as Sandéhou's participation could have contributed a non-Shabe perspective to the Savè hills past and countered that very presupposition of Shabe ethnic dominance.

The non-participation of Sandéhou is a visible symptom of a more insidious problem not as easy to observe. Since our meetings were conducted in the presence of representatives of the two most powerful Shabe political figures, there may have been a level of tacit coercion. While this may have led to communities participating when they might have rather not, and thus positively affected our coverage of the study zone, it equally could have led to certain archaeological sites that did not fit official narratives of the past from being mentioned. There is the very real possibility that at the moment of our meeting, alternative pasts were being silenced by selectively "forgetting" about archaeological sites. There is, of course, no concrete evidence that this happened. However, a site that suggests this did happen at least once is one of the unassigned sites. This site, S13-012, was identified by an agriculturalist in the nearby village of Alafia in 2013. It was not described by the *balę̀* of Alafia when we visited with the Onishabe's secretary in 2012. However, when I returned to the *balę̀* in 2013 and asked about the site, he positively identified it by the toponym Oké Awè, or "Hill of the Shack," referring to an old farmstead that used to stand there. Though acknowledging it as an ancient site, he could not relate it to any specific oral historical period. It is possible that the Oké Awè was occupied by different lineages than those at Alafia currently, and therefore recognition of the site may have threatened present-day claims to territory by Alafia's lineages or Shabe more generally.

Though an expedient method for documenting archaeological sites in *terra incognita*, the issues described above pose a serious problem to adequately representing settlement patterning in the Savè hills. Reconnaissance survey relied on current knowledge about archaeological sites, and so may have potential biases in the kinds of sites represented–such as over-representing large and/or recent sites important to contemporary social groups. A second survey component comprised of transect survey, described below, has the advantage of documenting sites based

purely on location and preservation, rather than community knowledge. It provides a useful "correction" to the reconnaissance survey by documenting sites that may have been missed.

C. Transect Survey

1. Survey Methods

Many survey methods have been employed to investigate African archaeological landscapes (e.g., Bower 1986; Shaw 1989; Monroe & Ogundiran 2012; Fleisher 2012). The variety of methods reflect the diverse questions asked about ancient African societies, as well the depth of research carried out prior to and in conjunction with archaeological survey. Two published case studies were influential in my decision to devise a transect survey strategy. Robertshaw's (1996: 112-113) investigations of state formation in the Bunyoro-Kitara polity in present-day Uganda is relevant both for the questions asked and the similarity in lack of prior survey research in the area. Robertshaw and his team chose survey tracts based on guided criteria of proximity to known archaeological sites and ease of access. Within each tract, Robertshaw attempted to survey parallel transects spaced 1 km apart. However, thick vegetation forced him to change his methods to opportunistic fieldwalking. Despite this, Robertshaw was able to survey a representative sample of topographic locations and soil formations. The results showed a tentative site-size hierarchy and later population dispersal consistent with other records of the polity (ibid: 115-117). Smith's (2008) survey in the Banda area of Ghana is relevant in that the landscape under investigation is very similar to that of the Savè hills area. Smith randomly assigned 500 m x 500 m survey tracts from a topographically stratified sample of two large study zones. Within each tract, he and his team surveyed along parallel transects spaced 25 m apart.

Though Smith's methods provided excellent coverage within each tract, his choice of randomly choosing survey tracts resulted in considerable logistical difficulties.

While formulating the transect survey component, my options were between a guided or random sampling of the landscape, and between extensive or intensive coverage. Robertshaw's study employed a guided sample with extensive coverage, while Smith's study employed a random sample with intensive coverage. As my research questions on Shabe political economic centralization are much closer to Robertshaw's, as are the *terra incognita* conditions, I chose to emulate his guided sample centered on known archaeological sites. However, the wetter, more forested conditions he encountered are not the prevailing conditions in the Savè hills area, therefore within the survey tracts I emulated the more closely spaced transects employed by Smith.

Two tracts were selected for transect survey: a 3 km x 3 km tract surrounding Atenro, and a 2 km x 2 km tract surrounding Fiditi and adjacent to Shabe-Idadu (Savè). These tracts were chosen due to their proximity to the type sites for the oral historical periods used to create the relative settlement chronology. Prior to the start of the survey, multi-spectrum satellite imagery of the Atenro tract was obtained to identify potential features and differences in groundcover that might affect survey results. Though tall grass made survey cumbersome in some parts of the tract, archaeological features were identified in all types of groundcover. Within each tract the research team, comprised of me and three to four local research assistants, walked parallel north-south transects spaced 10 m apart and recorded sites, features, and surface artifacts as described for the reconnaissance survey above. Ten meters was selected as transect spacing to provide intensive coverage in an environment where tall grass could obstruct views of the ground. Transect walking was not possible in the parts of the Fiditi tract where steep hills made access

impossible. Where the hills were passable, survey was conducted along their contours. In addition, the location of all mature baobab and iroko trees in the transect survey tracts were recorded. As noted for other parts of the Yoruba-Edo region and southern Bénin, these trees are often associated with archaeological sites (Darling 2008; Norman 2009: 396; Ogundiran 2012: 235-236). This association was confirmed in the Savè area during the reconnaissance survey, which found that these tree species were integral to modern landscape management and ritual practices (Gurstelle 2013). All the trees recorded in the two transect survey tracts were associated with other archaeological features, such as surface artifact scatters.

2. Atenro Tract

The Atenro tract is a 3 km x 3 km square surrounding the historically important site of Atenro. The nearest UTM 1 km interval grid lines (Zone 31P) were chosen as boundaries for the tract: 907 and 910 for the south and north, and 459 and 462 for the west and east. This area is relatively flat, fluctuating between 245 and 260 m above sea level. Several seasonal streams flow through the area, but are generally small and did not pose a serious challenge to survey.

The Atenro tract was surveyed between July and August 2013. Nearly the entire survey tract was under some stage of cultivation at the time. Surface visibility was high in freshly hoed fields and poorer in areas that had been in fallow for several years. However, the tight 10 m spacing of transects greatly reduced the potential for missing surface artifacts and features. Many crops were being grown in the area: maize, African yams, manioc, cowpeas, peanuts, peppers, sesame, cashews, false cashews, oil palm, and hemp. With the exception of cashew plantations, the crops did not appear to have a strong effect on the visibility of archaeological remains apart from whether or not the fields are active or fallow.

Though Atenro is well remembered, few contemporary sites are recalled by Savè hills residents. Survey was conducted in the tract to understand Atenro's relationship to other sites on the landscape. In particular, I wished to understand if and how smaller sites clustered around Atenro, and if this was different from pre-Shabe patterning. The area around Atenro was particularly attractive for this as it not only included the type site Atenro, but also the site Igbo Ilaka—claimed in oral history to pre-date the foundation of Atenro.

Three sites in the survey tract—Atenro (S12-035), Igbo Ilaka (S13-011), and Oké Awè (S13-012)—were already recorded during the reconnaissance survey. Twenty additional sites were recorded during the transect survey (Figure IV.8). Of these, one (S13-016) was later identified as a recently abandoned Fulani pastoralist camp (around 2000 CE). All of the sites documented through transect survey were identified by the presence of surface artifacts. One site also had a single baobab tree. The Fulani camp featured a large borrow pit. Other than these, no other surface features were identified.

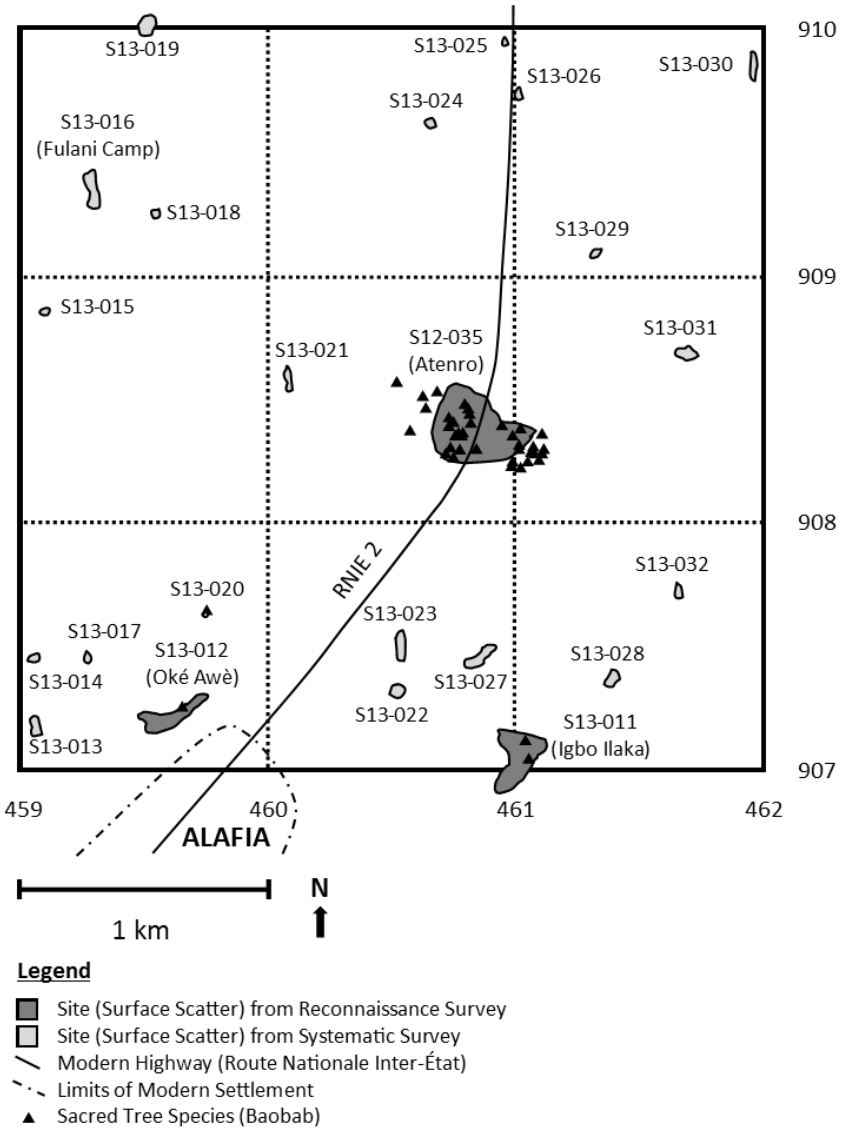


Figure IV.8 The results of the transect survey in the Atenro tract.

3. Fiditi Tract

The Fiditi tract is a 2 km x 2 km square surrounding the historically important site of Fiditi, and adjacent to the capital Shabe-Idadu (Savè). The nearest UTM 1 km interval grid lines (Zone 31P) were chosen as boundaries for the tract: 887 and 889 for the south and north, and 445 and 447 for the west and east. This area contains much of the Oke Shabe hills, the large granite

inselberg that rises abruptly from the surrounding plain. The area surrounding Oke Shabe is relatively flat, fluctuating between 185 and 200 m above sea level. The Oke Shabe hill itself has four distinct peaks—Afidifa, Ina-Shabe, Akaafo, and Olupopo. Ina-Shabe, the highest, rises to a height of 431 m above sea level (Adam et al. 1996: 9). The Ayin River passes to the west of the survey tract, and several seasonal streams that feed it flow through the tract, but are generally small and did not pose a serious challenge to survey.

The Fiditi tract was surveyed in July 2012 and August 2013. Except for the granite hilltop, nearly the entire survey tract was under some stage of cultivation at these times. As in the Atenro tract, surface visibility was high in freshly hoed fields and poorer in areas that had been in fallow for several years. Crops under cultivation included: maize, African yams, manioc, cowpeas, oil palm, and melons. The crops grown in the area did not appear to have a strong effect on the visibility of archaeological remains apart from whether or not the fields are active or fallow. Surface visibility was excellent on the granite hilltop as vegetation was minimal.

Survey was conducted in the tract to understand Shabe-Idadu and Fiditi's relationship to other sites on the landscape. In particular, I wished to understand if and how smaller sites clustered around the Oke Shabe hills. Fiditi is well-remembered as a refuge site, but it is possible that smaller or older refuge sites were similarly sited on the naturally defensible hill.

Nine sites—Fiditi 1 (S12-004, S12-010, S12-011), Fiditi 2 (S12-006), Fiditi 3 (S12-009), and Aukpon (S13-004), Ohi Amon (an unassigned rockshelter, S12-007), and three fortification structures (S12-001, S12-008, S13-034)—were recorded during the reconnaissance survey. Six additional sites were recorded over the course of the transect survey by the presence of surface artifacts (Figure IV.9). Evidence of floors or structure foundations were found at all three sites located on the Oke Shabe hill. In addition, one of these sites had two baobab trees.

The three sites on the plain did not have any features other than surface artifacts. Interestingly, no sites were documented in the northeast square kilometer of the tract. This may be due to long term continuity in site location so that present-day farmsteads are built on top of archaeological sites.

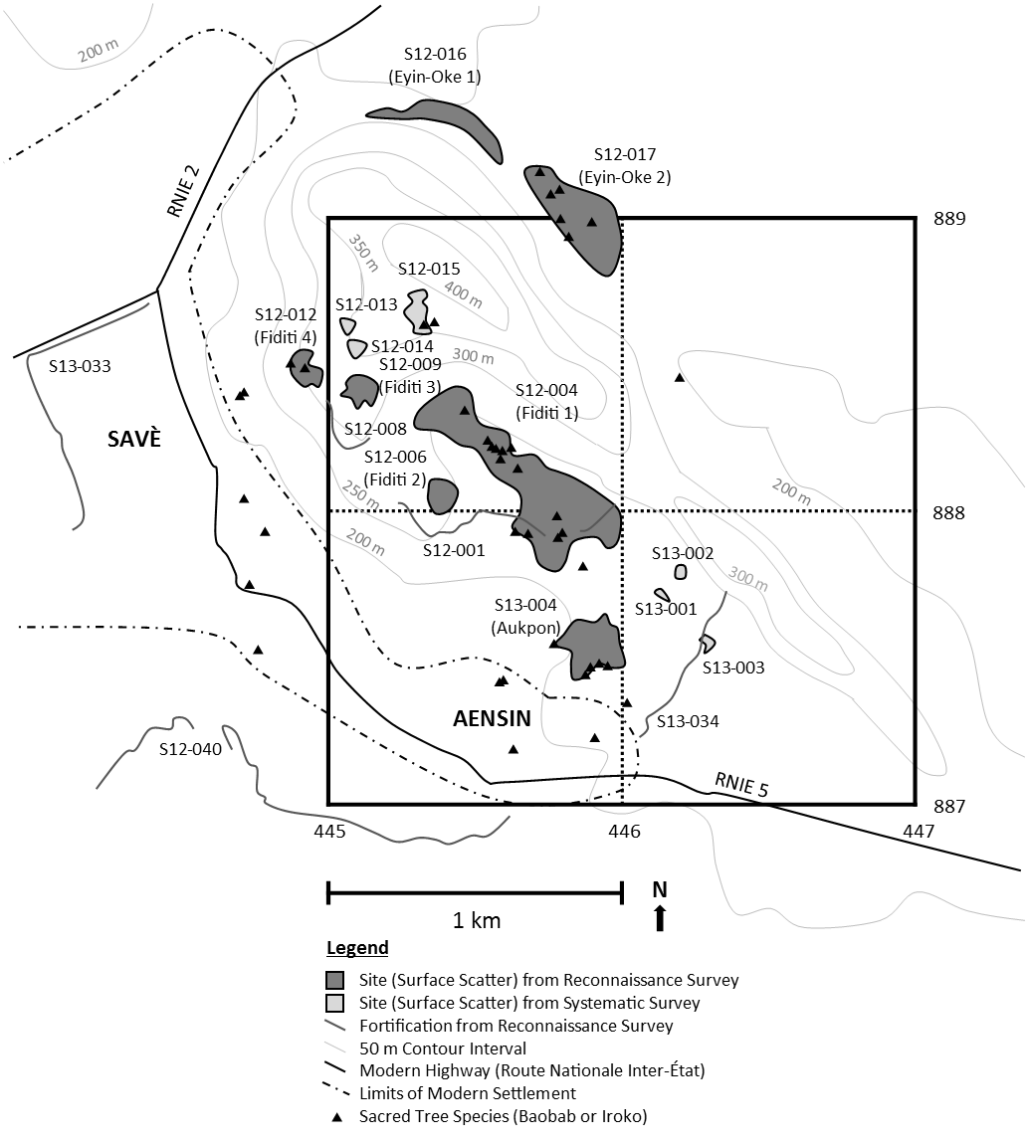


Figure IV.9 The results of the transect survey in the Fiditi tract, including results of the reconnaissance survey nearby.

D. Test Excavations

1. Excavation Methods

In total, 66 archaeological sites were recorded through the reconnaissance and transect surveys (see Appendix A for a list of all sites recorded through the surveys—including non-archaeological sites of historical interest). Oral histories provided approximate dates for many of these sites, but the inherent limitations of oral history prevent sites from being confidently grouped by contemporaneous occupations. I wanted a more accurate settlement chronology, and so included an excavation component with the two surveys in order to obtain artifacts in good stratigraphic contexts to aid in dating. It was hoped that such artifacts, particularly pottery, would show technological and stylistic variations over time that could then be used to show congruencies and/or discrepancies with the oral historical periodization scheme. In addition, it was hoped that charcoal and/or carbonized seeds would be obtained from good stratigraphic contexts that could be radiocarbon dated to append absolute dates to the relative chronology. Finally, excavations can recover artifact classes that are not frequently found in surface assemblages, such as faunal and botanical remains.

Excavations targeted sites that were likely to yield datable materials or useful economic information. A second consideration was sampling sites from the Early, Middle, and Late Shabe periods. A final consideration was sampling from a range of site sizes or specialized sites. Unfortunately, initial excavations revealed that the integrity of archaeological deposits was often negatively impacted by centuries of agricultural activity. I judged that the small sites recorded through transect survey were not likely to yield stratified remains. As the budget and time for excavations were limited, I chose to eschew small sites located in active and fallow fields that

lacked surface features, such as mounds or sacred tree species that could guide excavations toward productive areas. This strategy was ultimately successful in locating intact deposits. It also lent itself to inter-site comparison, as all the sampled sites have relatively large surface scatters (>1 ha) and sacred tree species—indicative of village sites. However, the excavation strategy did lead to a systematic underrepresentation of small sites and a subsequent lack of absolute dates for them.

A total of eighteen 2 m x 2 m or 1 m x 2 m units were excavated at nine different sites (S12-004, S12-017, S12-035, S12-036, S12-037, S13-004, S13-010, S13-011, and S13-012). Units were oriented to the cardinal directions. The northeast corner of each unit was recorded with a Garmin 62S handheld GPS receiver. At S12-004 (Fiditi), S12-035 (Atenro), and S13-004 (Aukpon), topographic survey was conducted with a transit and stadia rod to more accurately document the relationship between excavation units and site features. Units were located on mounds when present with the expectation that these represented collapsed earthen architecture and/or midden deposits. When such features were absent, units were located near large sacred tree species which were hypothesized to be in a similar configuration with architecture as they are in present-day village layouts (see Agbaje-Williams 2005; Gurstelle 2013).

Units were excavated according to their natural stratigraphy and architectural features, subdivided into arbitrary 10 cm levels when applicable. Excavation was conducted with hand-held hoes—the local agricultural implement of choice—and squared and pointed trowels (Figure IV.10). Excavations levels were recorded according to arbitrarily cited datum points, typically marked several centimeters above the highest surface elevation. The soil texture of each stratum was estimated based on visual inspection and manual plasticity examination. Soil textures were typically sandy, and ranged from loamy sand to sandy clay to clay loam. In addition, the color(s)

of each stratum were recorded through reference to Munsell soil color charts (2009 revised edition). Soil colors were typically recorded from the 7.5YR sheet, though clay rich strata and features were as red as 10R. Ash lens were relatively rare, as in most contexts ash, when present, was mixed in throughout a stratum. Excavations were terminated when impenetrable bedrock was reached or after 10 cm of completely artifact-sterile strata. After excavation was complete, at least two walls were scrapped clean, photographed, and drawn to record the stratigraphy in profile.

Figure IV.10 Simon Agani inspects the 1 m x 2 m excavation of U13-001 at S12-004 (Fiditi 1). The soil matrix is excavated by hoe, visible in the excavation unit. A baobab tree is seen in the background to the south.

All excavated matrix was screened through 0.25 inch (6.35 mm) mesh (Figure IV.11). Five liter soil samples from each non-topsoil stratigraphic context were not screened. These

samples were bagged in the field, and then later floated to recover archaeobotanical remains (Figure IV.12). The topsoil was not retained for flotation due to the likelihood of recent turbation and contamination. Flotation was performed by the addition of water to soil samples in buckets, followed by manual agitation and pouring through nested 1.0 and 0.5 mm sieves (see Pearsall 2001; Logan 2012). Light fractions were bagged separately, while heavy fractions were picked through for visible artifacts which were then added to the unit assemblages. Wood charcoal and charred seeds were recovered *in situ* whenever possible for use in radiocarbon dating. With the exception of coarse earthenware sherds, artifacts were recorded *in situ* when possible. Coarse earthenware sherds were the most ubiquitous artifact class, though ground stone, flaked stone, iron, glass, and refined earthenware artifacts were also recovered. Faunal remains were also recovered from most units. The presence of daub—hardened conglomerations of clay and sand, presumed to be used in architecture—was recorded by stratigraphic context, though the daub itself was not collected. Coarse earthenware body sherds and ground stone artifacts were coded, counted, weighed, and photographed in the field. These artifacts are in long term storage at the Abomey Historical Museum in Abomey, Republic of Bénin. Other artifact classes, including diagnostic sherds such as rims, necks, handles, etc., were bagged and recorded according to material, and brought back to archaeological laboratories at the University of Abomey-Calavi and the University of Michigan for additional analyses. After analysis, these artifacts were returned to the Abomey Historical Museum for permanent curation.

Figure IV.11 Screening excavated matrix through 0.25 inch mesh. Two-person shaker screens were used for all excavations.

Figure IV.12 Andrew Gurstelle conducts flotation with buckets and nested sieves. Light artifacts, such as charred plant remains, float to the surface following agitation, which can then be gently poured into sieves and collected.

2. Stratigraphic Profile Units

Stratigraphic profile units were excavated at each of the nine sampled sites. These excavations units were all 1 m x 2 m, and aimed at revealing the integrity and stratigraphy of sites located through survey. The unit size was chosen to balance the desire for areal contextual information with the need to expediently access stratigraphic profiles. Excavations were conducted at the type sites of oral historical periods discussed above in order to provide information of the technological and stylistic attributes of artifact assemblages and anchor the relative chronology to absolute dates. Two units (U12-002,U13-011) were excavated at S12-035 (Atenro), the type site for the Early Shabe period. U12-002 was excavated on a large mound in the center of the site's surface scatter. U13-011 was excavated toward the eastern side of the site near a large baobab tree. An excavation was not conducted at Shabe-Idadu, the type site for the Middle Shabe period, as the site has been continuously occupied and is the present-day location of Savè, a city of over 30,000 inhabitants. I excavated one unit (U13-005) at S12-036 (Opotoku), a site founded after Shabe-Idadu and abandoned before the occupation of Fiditi, to substitute as a typical Middle Shabe site. Unfortunately, no carbonized material was recovered for radiocarbon dating. One unit (U12-001) was excavated at S12-004 (Fiditi 1) adjacent to the site's largest baobab tree. Extremely muddy conditions forced us to terminate the unit prior to reaching a sterile stratum.

Excavations were conducted at four other sites recorded in oral histories to provide alternative assemblages and dates that might supplement the perspective gained from the type site excavations. One unit (U13-002) was excavated at S13-004 (Aukpon) with the goal of providing information how autochthonous settlements were incorporated into the Shabe kingdom during the Middle Shabe period. This unit was a stratigraphic profile unit located on the center of a large mound. During excavations, the mound was revealed to be a midden, prompting the

unit's expansion into a 2 m x 2 m feature exploration unit (see below). One unit (U13-012) was excavated at S13-011 (Igbo Ilaka) near the largest baobab at the site to further investigate the autochthonous populations in the Savè hills area during the Early Shabe period. A floor was discovered during the excavation, and so the unit was expanded into a 2 m x 2 m feature exploration unit (see below). Another unit (U13-013) was excavated at S12-017 (Eyin-Oke 2) near a large baobab tree to further investigate autochthonous populations. One unit (U13-014) was excavated on a presumed midden mound at S12-037 (Igboe) to gauge potential transformations of material culture assemblages between the Middle and Late Shabe periods.

Excavations were conducted at both sites that could not be assigned to an oral historical period despite having associated histories. The goal for both of these was to assign absolute dates and thereby better understand how sites come to be forgotten. One unit (U13-010) was excavated at S13-012 (Oke Awe) on a large mound. Another unit (U13-015) was also excavated at S13-010 near a large baobab. This unit was terminated prior to reaching a sterile stratum due to time constraints.

3. Feature Exploration Units

Feature exploration units were 2 m x 2 m units that targeted surface or buried site features. The goal of these units was to open up a larger area to gain a better understanding of architecture and depositional contexts. Four feature exploration units were excavated at S12-035 (Atenro). These units were positioned near daub remains on the site surface with the hope of finding intact architectural remains. As Atenro is remembered as an early village site in oral history, architecture from this period could be compared with recent ethnographic observations of building practices to discern continuity or change. Two of these units (U13-006, U13-007)

were excavated immediately north of the midden mound targeted by the earlier stratigraphic profile unit described above. The two other units (U13-008, U13-009) were excavated near the northern edge of the surface scatter. Unfortunately, intact architectural remains were absent from all units.

Two smaller 1 m x 2 m exploration units were excavated at S12-004 (Fiditi 1). One unit (U12-003) was excavated on an earthen berm to determine if the feature was part of the site's fortifications, a midden, or the collapsed remains of a separate structure. The material of the berm was very densely packed clay, and so only a 1 m x 2 m unit was excavated for expedience. The second exploration unit (U13-001) was excavated on a small mound abutting the end of the S12-001, a stone wall enclosing parts of S12-004 and S12-006 (Fiditi 2). Though excavated by me and the rest of the SHARP research team, this unit was planned by Simon Agani to collect data for his thesis (2014) on fortifications in the Savè hills area. Agani determined a 1 m x 2 m unit was sufficient to address his questions on how earthen architecture with used in conjunction with stone walls.

As noted above, the 1 m x 2 m stratigraphic profile unit (U13-002) at S13-004 (Aukpon) was expanded into a 2 m x 2 m feature exploration unit after it became clear that the mound it was located on was a midden with intact stratigraphy. Because of the size and richness of the midden deposits, a second 2 m x 2 m unit (U13-003) was excavated at the bottom slope of the mound. The goal of these excavations was to separate individual deposition strata and associated material to seriate cultural material over the course of Aukpon's occupation.

A human burial was encountered in U13-002 approximately 60 cm below the surface. The pelvis, lower spine, and femurs were found, with the orientation of the bones suggesting more of the skeleton extended through the southern unit wall and into the unexcavated portion of

the mound. Prior to the start of research, I prepared a protocol for documenting human remains and had it approved by the Directorate du Patrimoine Culturel, the Onishabe, and the Ọla-Amùṣù. The protocol called for human remains to be uncovered to determine their completeness, position, orientation, and relationship to artifacts and strata, but to be left in place and not collected. Since the upper portion of the burial was not included in U13-002, I determined that it would be appropriate to excavate an additional 1 m x 2 m unit (U13-004) immediately south of U13-002 with the specific aim of determining the nature of the burial. No artifacts were collected from this excavation, and it was only excavated to the level of the burial, not to granite bedrock as U13-002 and U13-003 were. As suspected, the entire upper part of the skeleton was revealed in this additional excavation unit. The burial was found to be a relatively intact, extended, supine burial. It is described further in Appendix A. The bones of the right hand were absent from the burial, as were the lower leg bones below both patellae. Though human remains were not purposefully collected, later analysis of artifacts from the site found human tibiae and fibulae elements mixed with faunal remains.

A stratigraphic profile unit (U13-012) was excavated at S13-011 (Igbo Ilaka). A hard packed earthen floor was found in the unit, and so I expanded the unit to 2 m x 2 m. Ultimately, the excavation revealed a series of three packed earthen floors. Each floor was separated by a thin layer of gravel and crushed potsherds, perhaps added to smooth the surface in preparation for the next floor.

4. Radiocarbon Dating

A key goal of the excavations was to obtain organic material in good stratigraphic contexts suitable for radiocarbon dating. Radiocarbon dating has the potential to link settlement

occupations to absolute dates. Taken in concert, dates from multiple sites can show contemporaneity in occupation. Unfortunately, variability in atmospheric carbon due to solar activity and the onset of the Little Ice Age over the past 500 years has limited the accuracy of radiocarbon dating for this period (Hua 2009). This is the same period that covers most of the Shabe kingdom's formation and subsequent centralization. Thus, radiocarbon dating is most useful to determine the timing of pre-Shabe and Early Shabe occupations. Samples for radiocarbon dating were therefore chosen from sites from these periods. Though I did not conduct excavations at pre-Shabe sites, Nestor Labiyi excavated at S12-022 (Dikosha) and the site Ekudi Oke Odo Akaba and obtained charcoal samples from good stratigraphic contexts. Labiyi graciously contributed samples from these pre-Shabe sites to include in radiocarbon dating. Samples for dating were chosen from stratigraphic contexts. When possible, samples embedded in architecture of from artifact rich strata were chosen. In total, 15 samples from nine sites were chosen for radiocarbon dating.

Samples for radiocarbon dating were prepared from wood charcoal collected *in situ*. The outside edge of the charcoal was carefully chipped away with dental picks to obtain between 40 and 50 mg of interior charcoal. These samples were submitted in glass vials to the National Ocean Sciences Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (NOSAMS) facility at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. NOSAMS pretreated the samples by subjecting them to a series of heated acid-base-acid leaches to remove inorganic carbon and mobile organic acid phases. After this pretreatment, the samples were combusted at high temperature to produce CO_2 which was then reduced to graphite. The graphite was then compressed into a small cavity in an aluminum blank. The surface of the graphite was sputtered with heated cesium and the ions produced extracted and accelerated in the AMS system. After acceleration and removal of electrons, the

emerging positive ions were magnetically separated by mass and the 12C and 13C ions measured. Simultaneously the 14C ions were recorded in a gas ionization counter, so that instantaneous ratios of 14C to 13C and 12C were recorded.

The results of the AMS radiocarbon dating are presented in Table IV.2. The results generally support the assertions from oral history that the Early Shabe period began after 1500 CE. The immense variability in atmospheric carbon at this time accounts for the wide calibration ranges given for most dates. The pre-Shabe and some Early Shabe sites are more tightly dated, with occupation dates ranging between approximately 1000 and 1400 CE. Thus, the radiocarbon dating was useful for determining the pre-Shabe to Early Shabe temporal boundary, as well as confirming the recent (relative to Ile Ife and Oyo) foundation and centralization of the Shabe kingdom.

Site	Oral Historical Period	Context	Lab #	CRA BP	Std Err	D13C (Measured)	Cal. Range (2σ)
S12-022	Pre-Shabe	Midden	OS-109257	820	25	-24.91	1170-1263 CE
S12-022	Pre-Shabe	Shell Midden	OS-109256	925	20	-25.41	1036-1160 CE
Odo Akaba	Pre-Shabe	Midden	OS-109258	620	25	-26.6	1293-1399 CE
Odo Akaba	Pre-Shabe	Floor	OS-109259	550	30	-23.6	1311-1434 CE
S13-011	Early Shabe	Floor	OS-109282	145	25	-24.74	1668-1946 CE
S13-011	Early Shabe	Subfloor	OS-109283	935	25	-25.86	1031-1157 CE
S12-017	Early Shabe	Architecture	OS-109284	595	30	-26.68	1298-1410 CE
S12-035	Early Shabe	Midden	OS-109260	145	25	-26.66	1668-1946 CE
S12-035	Early Shabe	Midden	OS-109261	240	25	-25.57	1529 CE-modern
S12-035	Early Shabe	Subfloor	OS-109262	1910	25	-25.69	23-138 CE
S13-004	Early-Middle Shabe	Midden	OS-109263	225	30	-24.98	1640 CE-modern
S13-004	Early-Middle Shabe	Midden	OS-109264	240	25	-24.7	1529 CE-modern
S12-037	Middle-Late Shabe	Midden	OS-109286	145	25	-25.46	1668-1946 CE
S13-010	Unassigned	Midden	OS-109285	100	35	-25.29	1681-1938 CE
S13-012	Unassigned	Midden	OS-109265	>Modern		-27.5	modern

Table IV.2 AMS radiocarbon dates from sites in the Savè hills area, performed at the NOSAMS Laboratory, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Dates are calibrated with the OxCal v4.2 program using the IntCal 13 calibration curve. Sites S12-022 and Odo Akaba were excavated independently by Nestor Labiyi (see Gurstelle et al. *in press*).

CHAPTER V

The Shabe Archaeological Landscape

In this chapter, I present the results of the research conducted as described in the previous chapter. The program of reconnaissance survey, transect survey, excavations, and analysis yielded a landscape-scaled perspective on site formation and political-economic development. This perspective is most clear when approached diachronically, and so the following chapter is organized sequentially by the oral historical periods described in Chapter IV: Early Shabe (1600-1700 CE), Middle Shabe (1700-1830 CE), Late Shabe (1830-1894 CE), and European Colonial (1894-1960 CE). In addition, I briefly describe what is known about the Pre-Shabe period in order to contrast the developments that took place during the Early Shabe period with the area's prior political-economic context. For each period, I model the political-economic organization of the Shabe kingdom through a focus on four dimensions of economic practice: settlement pattern, subsistence, craft production, and exchange.

A. The Early Shabe Period (1600-1700 CE)

1. Settlement Pattern

The Early Shabe period begins with the foundation of Atenro. Both Palau Martí (1992a) and Adediran (1994) identify this as the start of the Shabe kingdom—in as much as the Savè

hills area's communities were drawn into a complex polity headed by a hierarchical kingship institution. The Shabe migrants that founded Atenro did not move into an uninhabited land, however. Several established villages were already present in the area. One of these villages, Bako, has remained inhabited to the present. Each of the other villages that were inhabited at the time of Atenro's foundation have since been abandoned, as has Atenro itself. Following abandonment, these villages are remembered in oral history and experienced as archaeological remains left in agricultural fields. It is these archaeological remains, aided by oral history, which I use to construct the settlement pattern of the Early Shabe period (Figure V.1). This pattern is somewhat distorted by the compression of time in both oral history and artifact chronologies. For example, it is not necessarily true that all sites occupied contemporaneously with Atenro were contemporaneous with each other. Thus, for the purpose of analysis I have compressed diachronic settlement histories into broad synchronic periods. For each period, I include sites that were either occupied for most of the period or were founded during it. I will discuss each Early Shabe site identified from the reconnaissance survey before discussing possible Early Shabe sites identified from the transect survey.

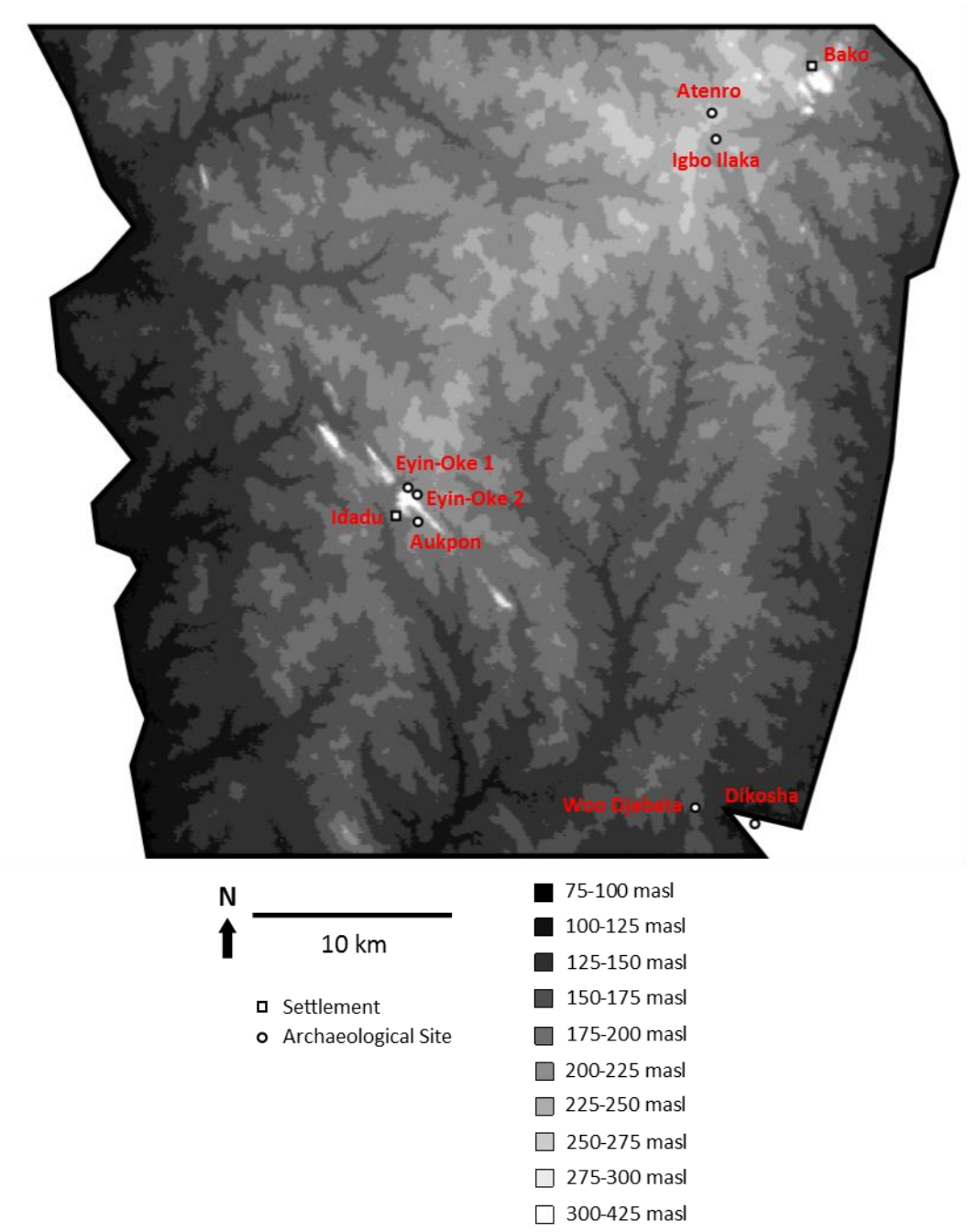


Figure V.1 Map of Early Shabe sites identified through reconnaissance survey and associated present-day settlements.

Atenro (S12-035) looms large in the oral narratives of the Shabe kingdom, and its archaeological site is fittingly impressive. The site consists of a large scatter of coarse earthenware potsherds and other artifacts among agricultural fields. There is also one large

mound on the site. A 1 m x 2 m excavation was placed on the mound; based on the mound stratigraphy and density of artifact deposition, the mound is likely a midden. Further, the excavation revealed two distinct depositional phases separated by a stratum with relatively little deposition. The second depositional phase likely corresponds to a later reoccupation. Though not recounted in the narratives of the Onishabe or Ola-Amùṣù, the *balẹ̀* of Alafia said that Atenro was briefly reoccupied in the late 19th century CE. At the time, Atenro was a dense forest, and it was chosen as a refuge by residents of Alafia to hide during periods of raiding and ware. This refuge was abandoned at the start of the European Colonial period when residents returned to Alafia. Two 2 m x 2 m excavation units were sited 60 m north of the midden, and another two 2 m x 2 m excavation units were located a further 50 m northwest of these. Each excavation unit was placed in an area where fragments of compact earth—probable remains of earthen architecture—were present on the surface. However, no intact architectural remains other than additional compact earth fragments were located. Many of these fragments of compact earth had plant fiber impressions, further suggesting their use as daub for construction purposes. A 1 m x 2 m unit on the far eastern side of the artifact scatter did not locate architectural remains either. Thus, the household form of the Shabe migrants, and its implications for their social and political structure, is unknown—though the paucity of evidences suggests that these were fairly ephemeral structures.

Ethnographic and architectural studies of Yoruba architecture over the past 100 years can help fill in this gap by providing an architectural model. Though the architectural forms of 20th century Ile-Ife, Ibadan, and Lagos cannot be taken as the "Yoruba" standard that other areas adhered to, they do feature the same kind of building materials that would have been available in the Savè hills area. Further, as the Shabe kingdom shares many political, social, and linguistic

traits with the more eastern Yoruba areas, it is possible that the architectural traditions are similar as well. One of the earliest written accounts of Yoruba architecture comes from Bowen, an American Baptist missionary that travelled throughout the southern and eastern Yoruba kingdoms. From the introduction to his dictionary of the Yoruba language, Bowen (1858: xix) writes:

> The houses, from the palace to the dwellings of the poorest people, are built of mud and covered with a thatch of grass. They are all of the same form, that of a large square inclosed [sic] by a series of single rooms, after the manner of a fort. The interior court which is open to the sky, is entered by a large gate with a heavy board shutter. Most of the rooms are scarcely six feet between the dirt floor and the fire-proof ceiling of sticks and mortar overhead, and the usual dimensions are six or seven feet in width by twelve or fifteen feet in length. As there is only one low door and no windows, these rooms are always dark. During the day, the people sit in the piazza which extends in front of the rooms; when they retire to rest at night, or enter a room by day, they use an earthen lamp supplied with oil.

Bowen's summary is mostly drawn from his observations of urban architecture. In rural areas, courtyards were not necessarily completely enclosed, instead being surrounded by a series of square or rectangular buildings. From Bowen and later observers and scholars, we can synthesize the general architectural features of rectangular structures with small interior rooms clustered around a central courtyard, often with detached sheds and hearths for food preparation activities (Osasona & Ewemade 2011: 101-102). Structure walls are made of either rammed earth or daub, while roofs are constructed of palm frond or grass thatching over a timber frame (ibid). Floors are made of prepared earth, either tamped by feet or beaten smooth with sticks. Thus, the presence of daub at Atenro is indicative of construction techniques used elsewhere in the Ife dynastic field, if not specific forms.

The approximate area of the scatter is 8.0 ha, making it one of the largest sites in the study area. Assuming that surface scatter was produced by refuse-generating activities in the general vicinity of where the artifacts were deposited, then the surface scatter is an approximate

of Atenro's original footprint. For means of comparison, the nearby present-day village of Alafia covers approximately 9.9 ha and had 1,640 residents as of 2002 (Direction des Etudes Démographiques 2004: 18). Atenro's original size may have been ever larger than the 8.0 ha suggested by the surface scatter. The site is dotted by 49 baobab trees, and while many are present within the surface scatter, mature trees are found both to the east and west. Baobab trees are often associated with households and compounds in the present and recent past (Darling 2008; Norman 2009: 396; Ogundiran 2012: 235-236, Gurstelle 2013). Further, all other baobabs located in both of the transect survey tracts were found within artifact scatters or present-day settlements. This suggests that the true extent of Atenro extended out to these extreme baobabs. Taking this into account, Atenro's area is closer to 11.0 ha.

The size of Atenro contrasts with those of other contemporary Early Shabe sites. About 1.1 km south of Atenro is Igbo Ilaka (S13-011). Based on Igbo Ilaka's surface scatter and distribution of baobab trees, its size is only 3.6 ha. The *balẹ* of Alafia claimed that Igbo Ilaka was occupied by an autochthonous population when Atenro was founded. Only two other features are remembered about Igbo Ilaka's population: it was led by a female chief (remarked on as very unusual), and it was destroyed after the chief's brother allied with a foreign power in a bid to usurp her office. Both of these features are similar to a stereotyped construction of autochthons in Yoruba oral traditions as female and extinct (e.g. Ogundiran 2009: 43).

A 2 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed near the largest baobab at Igbo Ilaka to explore the integrity of subsurface architectural features. This succeeded in locating a series of prepared clay floors. Each floor consisted of a thin lens of clay above a thicker layer of crushed pottery and gravel. A very hard, reddish clay feature was also discovered, which may be part of a hearth or burnt architecture. The use of gravel and pottery as a filler to level off the ground before

construction or during resurfacing is not included in descriptions of Yoruba architecture. This may be an architectural technique that has not survived to the ethnographic present.

The site closest to Igbo Ilaka and Atenro is Bako, once a small village at the foot of the hill Oke Agbodo, but now a neighborhood of the larger town of Kaboua that has grown adjacent to it. Bako residents claim autochthonous status, stating that the village was already inhabited when Atenro was founded. Unfortunately for archaeology, Bako has remained inhabited since the Early Shabe period and the current village sits on top of its former location. The extent of ancient Bako is unknown, but given the national trend of population increase in Bénin over the 20th century CE, it is probable that Early Shabe period Bako's extent was less than the present-day Bako's footprint of 8.9 ha.

Like Bako, an autochthonous settlement existed at the current town of Shabe-Idadu at the foot of the hill Oke Shabe. Unlike Bako, the present-day inhabitants of Shabe-Idadu do not claim descent from the inhabitants of the Early Shabe settlement, as I will describe in more detail when discussing the Middle Shabe period settlement pattern below. Due to the present-day occupation of Shabe-Idadu, there are no archaeological indicators of the Early Shabe period settlement. However, oral histories suggest that the Djangbé neighborhood of Shabe-Idadu, about 4 ha, is where the original settlement was (Palau Martí 1992a: 125).

On the other side of Oke Shabe are two archaeological sites associated with the Early Shabe period: Eyin-Oke 1 (S12-016) and Eyin-Oke 2 (S12-017). The name "Eyin-Oke" translates as "behind the hill", and is also the name of the lineage associated with these sites. "Behind" refers to the position relative to the Shabe settlers that moved to the hill during the Middle Shabe period, and thus the outsider, peripheral status of the autochthonous residents of Eyin-Oke. Eyin-Oke 1 is a relatively thin scatter of potsherds skirting the steep northeastern face

of the Oke Shabe hill. Eyin-Oke 2 slightly to the southeast, and has a denser potsherd scatter with multiple baobab trees. The oral narratives of the Eyin-Oke lineage state explicitly that Eyin-Oke 2 is one of their former villages before they were compelled to relocate to Shabe-Idadu in the Middle Shabe period. As these histories also claim the Eyin-Oke lineage had been living on the east side of the hill since time immemorial, Eyin-Oke 1 may be another former village location. Eyin-Oke 1 and 2 have similarly sized surface scatters at 2.9 and 4.5 ha, respectively.

A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed near a large baobab in the surface scatter of Eyin-Oke 2 to test the integrity of subsurface architectural features. No intact architecture was discovered, though a compact earthen feature associated with artifacts and charcoal was found. This feature is similar in composition to collapsed rammed earth architecture, though it is unclear from the stratigraphic context if that is what it is. Like the daub fragments from Atenro and the tamped clay floor from Igbo Ilaka, the rammed earth remains at Eyin-Oke 2 are consistent with general architectural techniques from West Africa (see Denyer 1978).

On the same side of the hill as Shabe-Idadu is the site of Aukpon (S13-004). Aukpon is claimed by the Omo Agbaa lineage that, like the Eyin-Oke lineage, has autochthonous status within the Shabe kingdom. Unlike Eyin-Oke, however, the Omo Agbaa lineage was more intensively drawn into the political hierarchy of the Shabe kingdom during the Middle Shabe period, even being ceded the high ranking office of Olu Osin. This is also suggested by the toponym of Aukpon, which refers to a hammock that kings and high ranking officials rode in. Aukpon remained inhabited even after Shabe migrants settled at Shabe-Idadu at the start of the Middle Shabe period. The Aukpon site consists of 2.8 ha artifact scatter, four baobab trees, at least four low mounds, and one large mound. Two 2 m x 2 m and one 1 m x 2 m units were

excavated on the large mound, but these deposits date to the Middle Shabe period and so will be discussed in that section below.

The final Early Shabe period site recorded during the reconnaissance survey is *woo* Djabata (S12-024), the former location of the present-day settlement of Djabata. The site is remembered in oral history and marked by the presence of several large baobab trees. However, the area surrounding the site has not been actively cultivated in at least the last several decades and as a result the site is forested and overgrown, making identification of surface features and artifacts difficult. Still, potsherds and other artifacts were recorded in road cuts and tree falls, suggesting that these baobab trees do mark an archaeological site.

One other site of interest is Dikosha (S12-022). Dikosha was occupied prior to the Early Shabe period and is remembered as having long been abandoned by the time Atenro was founded. It is the only pre-Shabe site known from oral histories in the study area. In 2014, Nestor Labiyi excavated a 1 m x 2 m unit placed on a low mound, partially cut by a pathway which had allowed potsherds to erode out of it. The unit was excavated to a depth of 90 cm, and cultural material was recovered from all strata and levels—primarily coarse earthenware sherds and faunal remains. The lowest stratum of the excavation contained a large amount of bivalve shell. The shells were deposited in a mound, which continued into the eastern profile of the excavation unit. Placed on the western edge of this shell deposit was a complete, over-turned ceramic vessel ringed by several unmodified stones (Figure V.2). The conspicuous placement of these objects could indicate an intentional marking of the shell midden, possibly its closure. Unfortunately, time constraints forced the excavation to stop before reaching a culturally sterile strata. Wood charcoal was recovered from the shell deposit as well as the overlying stratum above. These fragments were dated to a ranges of cal. 1036-1160 CE and cal. 1170-1263 CE, respectively.

Figure V.2 A complete, overturned ceramic vessel and unmodified stone (above sign) marks the beginning of bivalve shell midden (left).

In the absence of oral histories, it is very difficult to ascertain where sites of unknown age fall into the relative chronology of Early Shabe, Middle Shabe, Late Shabe, and European Colonial periods. As discussed in Chapter IV, radiocarbon dating provides one solution to this problem by fixing absolute dates to cultural stratum, and therefore the site. While this technique was applied to two sites of unknown age (S13-010 and S13-012), the costs associated with excavation and dating and the limited resources available for this project were too prohibitive to be applied to all sites recorded in the reconnaissance and transect surveys. Further, radiocarbon

dating generally does a poor job of discerning between these relative periods, as they all fall within the last 500 years when fluctuations in atmospheric carbon have made the estimation ranges of calibration curves greater than the length of the periods.

In addition to oral histories and radiocarbon dates, temporal changes in common artifacts, such as ceramics, can be used to seriate archaeological sites chronologically. Ceramics from the study area are discussed in more detail in Appendix B. Here it is necessary to note that three ceramic assemblage types can be distinguished which I have termed the Pupa Type, Shabe A Type, and Shabe B Type. These types were derived on the basis of decorative techniques employed from ceramic assemblages with at least 40 decorated potsherds.

The Pupa Type is an Early Shabe period ceramic assemblage distinguished by its use of twisted cord roulette as the only texturing technique on the body of ceramic vessels, as well as its high proportion of vessels with red paint/slip on the vessel exterior. It is derived from excavation and surface assemblages at both Igbo Ilaka (S13-011) and Eyin-Oke 2 (S12-017), as well as from the surface assemblage of Eyin-Oke 1 (S12-016).

The Shabe A Type is a second Early Shabe period assemblage. It also distinguished by twisted cord roulette as the dominant texturing technique, though grid wooden roulettes are also present. Further, this assemblage is the only to feature braided cord roulettes as a texturing technique. In addition, it is distinguished from the Pupa Type by the presence of snailshell apex impressions. The Shabe A Type is derived from excavation assemblages from sub-topsoil strata at Atenro (S12-035).

These two Early Shabe period types are replaced during the Middle Shabe and subsequent periods by the Shabe B Type. This assemblage type is distinguished by a higher proportion of grid wooden roulettes, as well as the use of maize cob and/or snailshell lip (or

fingernail) impressions. This type is derived from excavation and surface assemblages from Aukpon (S13-004), Opotoku (S12-036), Igboe (S12-037), Fiditi (S12-004, S12-006, S12-009, S12-012), Phase II contexts of Atenro (S12-035), and several unassigned sites (S12-013, S13-010, S13-012).

The utility of this typology is that sites of unknown age with ceramic assemblages can be assigned to one of the three types: Pupa, Shabe A, or Shabe B. From this, the oral history period (or periods) can be derived. However, these derivations should be regarded with caution, as sample sizes from surface collections tend to be very small and therefore prone to errors in representation. Despite this limitation, one site of unknown age from the Atenro tract (S13-023) likely dates to the Early Shabe period, and two sites from the Fiditi tract may tentatively be assigned to it as well (S12-007 and S12-015).

The ceramic assemblage from the surface of S12-023 includes one body sherd with markings from a braided cord roulette, indicating it belongs to the Shabe A type. S12-023 is located between Atenro and Igbo Ilaka. It is smaller than either site at only 0.3 ha. Fifteen other sites in the Atenro transect survey tract may belong to the Early Shabe period (Figure V.3). However, their decorative elements are inconclusive, though they are consistent with all three assemblage types. In the Fiditi transect survey tract, two sites are possibly Early Shabe period sites based on the lack of ceramic indicators of the Middle Shabe and Late Shabe periods as well as oral traditions (Figure V.4). S12-007 is a rockshelter site on the Oke Shabe hill that is part of present-day ritual practice. S12-015 consists of a rockshelter, surface scatter, and baobab trees on top of the Oke Shabe hill. Though not explicitly linked to any oral narrative, the site is very close to an active shrine that is associated with Early Shabe period autochthonous populations.

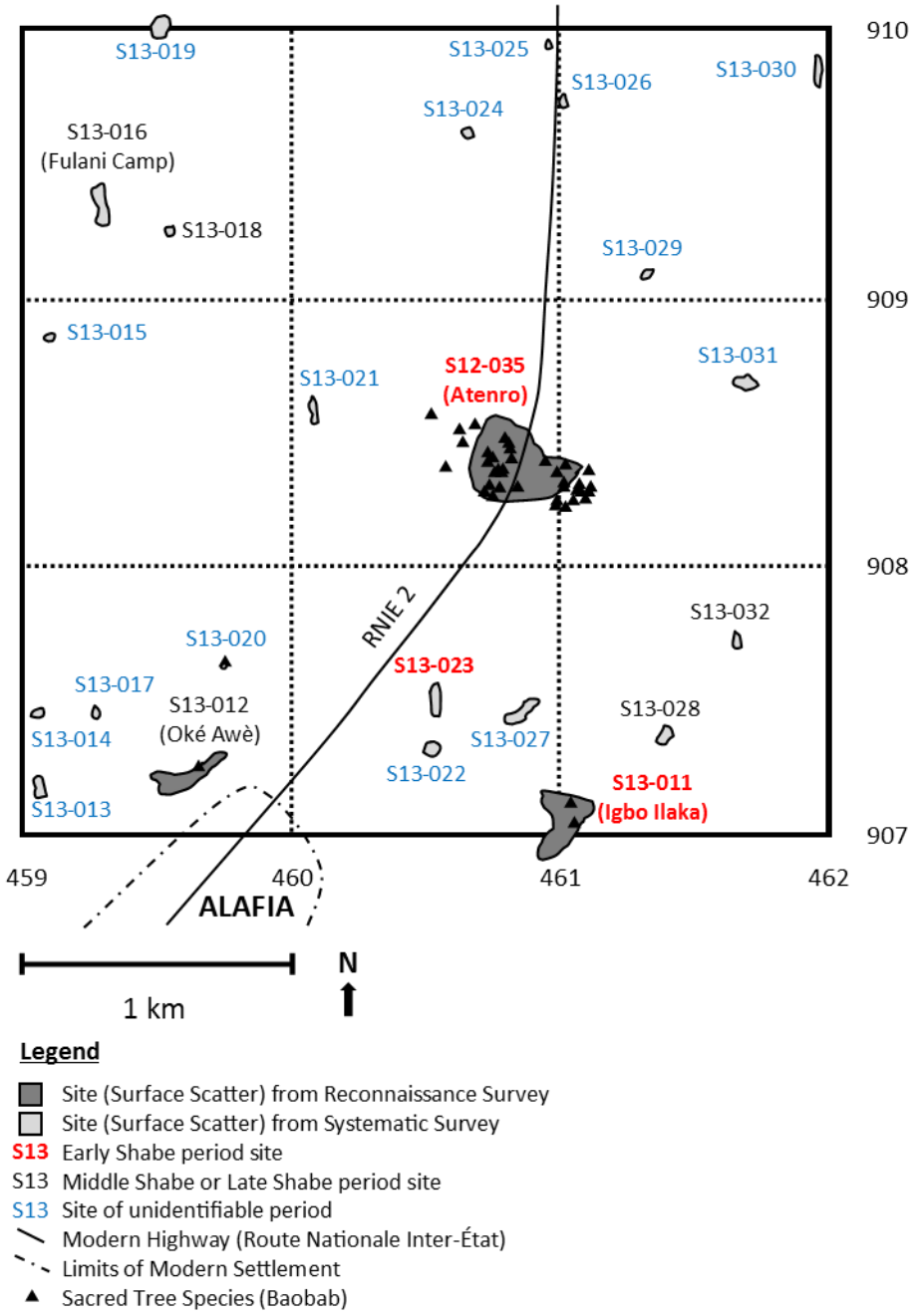


Figure V.3 Early Shabe period archaeological sites in the Atenro transect survey tract.

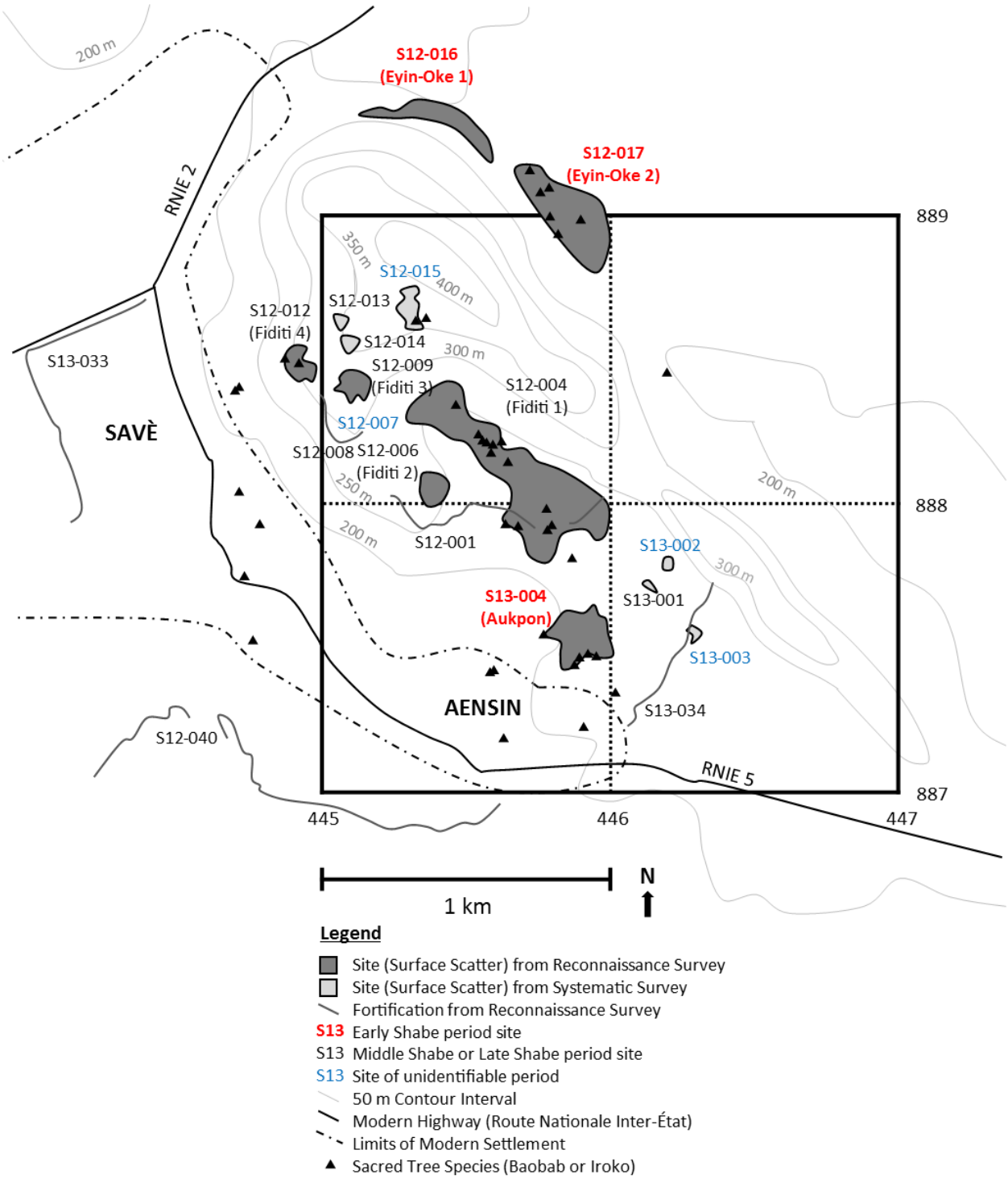


Figure V.4 Early Shabe period archaeological sites in the Fiditi transect survey tract.

The settlement pattern exhibited during the Early Shabe period appears to cluster in three distinct parts of the study area, each associated with a distinct topographic feature: the Oke Agbodo hill in the northeast, the Oke Shabe hill in the center, and an acute bend in the Okpara River in the southeast. However, it is also clear that Early Shabe period sites are underrepresented in the reconnaissance survey. As the reconnaissance survey is guided by oral narratives, there is already a problem in that the Early Shabe is the most temporally distant period and therefore most prone to having lost information on site locations and histories. Further, the Early Shabe period is when Shabe migrants move to the area and begin to co-opt or usurp rights to land and resources held by autochthonous groups. The histories and information about autochthonous sites are therefore more likely to have been forgotten as autochthons were forced out, or silenced deliberately even when they have remained. The intent of the transect survey was to correct for this underrepresentation, but the low sample sizes of decorated sherds, and the general similarity of ceramics between periods, limits our ability to assign these sites to oral history periods. Further excavation work to collect suitable sample sizes of decorated pottery is likely required to improve the temporal resolution of these sites.

Despite current limitations, the known Early Shabe period sites display some interesting size differences (Table V.1). Atenro is the largest site in the area, 78% larger than the next largest site. The next four sites are all associated with autochthonous groups. Their mean area is 3.5 ha, with a standard deviation of only 0.8. There are also the smaller sites located through transect survey, with areas of 0.6 ha and 0.3 ha. In addition, many of the small sites that could not be positively assigned to any period may be Early Shabe sites, increasing the number of these sites with areas less than 1.0 ha. This suggests that prior to the foundation of Atenro, there were

two levels of site size, probably representing villages and small farmsteads or hamlets. With Atenro, a larger village size was grafted on to the prior settlement system.

Site	Artifact Scatter (ha)
S12-035	8.0
S12-017	4.5
S13-011	3.6
S12-016	2.9
S13-004	2.8
S12-015?	0.6
S13-023	0.3
S12-007?	<0.1
S12-024	>0.1
Bako	<8.9
Djangbé	<4.0

Table V.1 Area of Early Shabe period sites based on surface artifact scatters.

2. Subsistence

Agriculture and pastoralism were well established in West Africa by the beginning of the Early Shabe period. The climatic regime and vegetation of the Dahomey Gap was set as early as 2500 BCE, when drier savanna conditions cut into the littoral forest and produced the conditions found in the Savè hills area today (Salzmann & Hoelzmann 2005). At the same time, agricultural practices centered on pearl millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*) were developed in the Sahel region of West Africa (Breunig & Neumann 2002; Manning et al. 2011; Dueppen & Gallagher 2013). Agriculture spread quickly to the south, adopted as both a solution to changing environmental conditions and as part of social interaction between early farmers and hunter-gatherers (D'Andrea & Casey 2002; Ozainne et al. 2014). In the more southern forests, cereals were less important than root crops, such as African yams (*Dioscorea* sp.). Oil palm trees (*Elaeis guineensis*) are pioneers in disturbed habitats such as field edges, leading to a common

association between them and yams that is still found today. Palynological studies suggest that oil palm became more widespread in the region around 500 BCE (Sowunmi 1985; Logan & D'Andrea 2012). This coincides with the widespread adoption of iron production technologies (Childs & Killick 1993). However, hunting and wild resource gathering remained an important part of many West African subsistence strategies long after agricultural economies were adopted (Falola & Adebayo 2000: 14; Logan 2012).

Agriculture is preceded in West Africa by pastoralism. Sheep/goat and cattle pastoralism were imported from northeast Africa across the Sahara. Pastoralism may have even spread to the southern forests earlier and farther than agriculture. In Ghana, the Kintampo site has early evidence for pastoral and agricultural practices. Kintampo subsistence was based on pearl millet (D'Andrea et al. 2001) and cowpea (D'Andrea et al. 2007), and also included a pastoralism component of cattle and sheep/goat (Carter & Flight 1972; Stahl 1985: 139; Gautier & Van Neer 2005). In addition, Kintampo groups used wild resources like oil palm (Stahl 1993; D'Andrea et al. 2006) and game (Stahl 1985). The Punpun occupations that preceded Kintampo already had domesticated sheep/goat, though did not have domesticated plants and contain less evidence for plant processing technologies like ceramic jars and grindstones (Stahl 1993, 1994: 77).

From these earlier precursors, we would expect that the subsistence practices of communities during the Early Shabe period, beginning two millennia after the introduction of agriculture to the area, included a mixture of agriculture, pastoralism, and wild resource exploitation. Indeed, the limited evidence from the excavation at the pre-Shabe site of Dikosha indicates this is the case. Sheep/goat bones were identified in the faunal assemblages. In addition fish, snake, and rodent bones were also recovered. The large amount of bivalve shell recovered is also likely the remains of subsistence activities. The baobab trees on the site may be the

descendants of the original trees contemporary with the Dikosha settlement, indicating the management of wild tree species, and likely agricultural practices as well. Though oil palm was an important economic tree species through much of forested West Africa, it is thought to have been introduced to the Savè hills area only during the European Colonial period (Palau Martí 1992a: 46). Before this, shea butter was the primary plant-based fat source.

Faunal remains from excavations at Eyin-Oke 2 and Igbo Ilaka are generally limited and poorly preserved. However, remains from Atenro are more numerous, given the midden context they came from. Identified taxa include sheep/goat and cow, though analysis of the remains was only a cursory field inspection and more work remains to be done on these materials. Snake and rodent remains were also identified. A single fish vertebra was recovered, pointing to dispersed fishing activities or trade with fishing communities, since Atenro is not located near the Ouémé or Okpara rivers.

As at Dikosha, the presence of baobab trees on the site points to the intentional management of tree species, and probably associated field crops. Other indirect evidence for agriculture comes from the settlement pattern. The presence of small sites less than 1 ha in size surrounding larger villages is similar to ethnographically known settlement systems of dispersed agricultural hamlets and farmsteads that connected more remote fields to the central settlement. This is a form of agricultural intensification that allows inhabitants to more efficiently bring new fields under cultivation (Morrison 1994). Millstones and ground stone basins are also found, suggesting a high degree of plant processing. Indirect evidence for the absence of maize (*Zea mays*) agriculture comes from the ceramic assemblages. While Middle Shabe and Late Shabe period assemblages contain potsherd with maize cob impressions, Early Shabe sites do not. While this simply may be due to aesthetic or technical choices in ceramic decoration, it may also

be due to the lack of cobs because maize had not yet been introduced to the area. This is not true for tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*). Smoking pipe bowl fragments were recovered from excavations at Atenro and Igbo Ilaka, providing indirect evidence for tobacco consumption. It is possible that Early Shabe period peoples were growing tobacco rather than directly importing it from traders on the coast, as the pipe bowls are coarse earthenware in local styles, rather than the refined white "ball clay" style pipes more common near the coast (Norman 2012: 158).

3. Craft Production

Evidence for craft production practices in the Early Shabe period is derived from settlement information and artifacts from surface and excavation collections. The general impression is that craft production was limited to small-scale non-specialized household production. Our research documented no special purpose sites—e.g., detached pottery workshops, forges, dying pits—in the study area. Indeed, only village sites, hamlets/farmsteads, and shrines were identified. Small scale production was what colonial administrators and ethnographers observed in the 20th century CE as well (Couchard 1911; Palau Martí 1992b). In addition, most Shabe residents at that time participated in market exchange and a cash economy.

The best evidence for Early Shabe period craft production comes from the recovered material culture (Table V.2). Coarse earthenware pottery is the most ubiquitous artifact class among sites, as well as the most numerous. In addition to the decorative differences noted above between Shabe A Type ceramics and Pupa Type ceramics, there is also a difference in the ceramic fabrics. Shabe A Type ceramics have paste colors evenly split between brown and dark gray. Pupa Type ceramics have more variable paste colors dominated by brown, and including many more red and reddish yellow pastes. This could indicate differences in clay selection and

fabric preparation practices between the two contemporary pottery types, as well as differences in firing practices. This difference is also likely to be one that stems from differences in techniques or preferences of distinct communities of practices, rather than simply differences in geography—Atenro and Igbo Ilaka are very close to each other and nearby clay sources would be similar.

Site	Context	Ceramics (Coarse Bead)	Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)	Ceramics (Coarse Pipe)	Fauna (Cowry)	Glass (Bead)	Glass (Vessel)	Iron (Slag)	Iron (Tool)	Lithics (Bead)	Lithics (Ground Tool)
S12-035	Surface		X						X		X
S12-035	Excavation	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
S12-017	Surface		X								X
S12-017	Excavation		X					X	X		X
S13-011	Surface		X								
S13-011	Excavation		X	X					X		X
S12-016	Surface		X								X
S13-004	Surface		X				X		X		
S12-015?	Surface		X								X
S13-023	Surface		X								
S12-007?	Surface		X						X		X
S12-024	Surface		X				X				

Table V.2 Artifact classes and subclasses present at Early Shabe period sites.

Ground stone tools are also common at Early Shabe period sites. These tools consist exclusively of hand-sized spheres (“hammers”), oblongs about 30 cm in length (“millstones”), and oval slabs with concave impressions ranging between 30 cm and 60 cm in length (“basins”).

The source materials for these tools are exclusively quartz (for hammers) and granite (for hammers, millstones, and basins). Both materials are widely available in the study area in the form of large granite boulders and inselbergs and abundant quartz cobbles.

Iron tools are also found at Early Shabe sites. The iron recovered in our excavations, however, is too corroded and fragmentary to identify the specific tool forms. Typically, the iron artifacts we recovered are either short lengths of cylindrical rods or irregular fragments of flat iron sheets. The flat sheets could be damaged portions of the tool blades, particularly hoes. An exception is the one identifiable tool form recovered from Atenro. This was a short iron knife blade (Figure V.5). The blade has a single, curved cutting edge and a tapering handle that could have been inserted into a wooden handle.

Figure V.5 The iron knife from Atenro.

Iron slag was found at only one site: Eyin-Oke 2. Only a small amount was recovered, and it was found in a stratum with typical domestic refuse: coarse earthenware potsherds, faunal remains, and ground stone tools. This provides some contextual evidence, if limited, for small-scale, part-time, and household iron working (see Costin 2001). It is likely that the slage derives

from iron smithing rather than iron smelting, as the latter would produce greater quantities of slag and would require more technological specialization and favor an economy of scale. Specialized iron production is known to have occurred in the larger region, and has been identified in northern Togo (de Barros 2001, 2012) and southern Bénin (Randsborg & Merkyte 2009: 201).

4. Exchange

Early Shabe period communities participated in exchange at varying scales. At an intermediate scale, perhaps a distance of 100 km, communities obtained smelted iron and, likely, finished objects. No slag heaps were discovered in the study area through the reconnaissance or transect surveys. Iron must have been obtained from outside the study area, but its weight and the relative abundance of raw ore would favor a close source. However, the technology for smelting may have been restricted and so iron may have been obtained from sources as distant as northern Bénin and Togo, perhaps even the Borgu kingdoms, or from southern Bénin where iron production sites are better documented. It is unclear what might have been exchanged for iron. Subsistence resources, like agricultural products, shea butter, or kola nuts, may have been one trade good. Ceramics may have been traded as well. Alternatively, iron may have been distributed through a political economic network in which iron and iron products were obliged to be gifted among lineages or other collectivities.

At a larger scale, perhaps 500 km, communities participated in exchanges involving currency. At Atenro, excavations recovered blue glass beads and cowry shells. Blue glass beads were produced at Ile-Ife as early as 1000 CE, and brought overland from North Africa through the Sahara even earlier (Ogundiran 2002b, 2003; Ige 2010; Babalola 2011). In ethnographic and

historical contexts, these blue beads were called *segi* beads and associated with the Ife dynastic field (Euba 1982; Eluyemi 1987). However, their use was more widespread than among the highest political elite, as Ifa diviners also wore *segi* beads (Abiodun 2014: 158). It is likely they were a more general form of currency that were amassed by wealthy individuals, such as political elite or ritual specialists. This was the case with cowry shells, which were imported first from North Africa and then from European traders on the Atlantic coast after 1500 CE. Like beads, cowries were strung into regular quantities and exchanges as forms of currency (Jones 1958; Johnson 1970).

Interestingly, blue glass beads and cowries were not found at any other Early Shabe period site. Participation in long-distance exchange was limited to the occupants of Atenro, likely due to their established connections to Borgu, Oyo, and the Ife dynastic field generally. Autochthonous communities were more circumscribed in their interactions, either because they lacked access to exchange routes, products to exchange, or were not interested in acquiring trade goods. However, blue glass beads were found at Ekudi Oke Odo Akaba, pre-Shabe site excavated north of the study area by Nestor Labiyi in 2014 (Gurstelle et al. *in press*). A single cylindrical, semi-transparent dichroic light blue bead was found at a depth of 140 cm, 20 cm below a fragment of wood charcoal dated to cal. AD 1311-1434. The date for this bead precludes the possibility of an Atlantic origin, instead pointing to regional exchange—either with the Sahel or the Ife dynastic field.

5. Political-Economic Organization

There is little evidence for complex political-economic organization during the Early Shabe period. The Savè hills landscape was sparsely populated and most settlements are small,

less than 5 ha in area. While there is nominal evidence for a three stage site size hierarchy, the first rank site Atenro is known from oral narratives to have been a community of migrants. Its large size is not a function of it attracting residents from throughout the Savè hills area, but rather a function of the size of the group that emigrated from Nikki. The lack of integration between Atenro and other Early Shabe sites is supported by their distinct ceramic decoration technique and paste types.

The archaeological evidence from this period largely supports the narrative derived from oral traditions. Shabe migrants settled in thinly populated frontier, bringing with them a more complex, hierarchical political system as well as connections to the wider Ife dynastic field. Indeed, the Amùṣù lineage retains a king list of at least eight named kings who ruled prior to their deposition around 1750 CE (Adediran 1994: 214). Two of these kings who would have reigned during the occupation of Atenro—Ola Segi and Ola Ileke—have names derived from types of glass beads associated with royalty in the Ife dynastic field. The presence of transactional currencies at Atenro demonstrates that at least some Savè hills communities were participating in social arrangements that allowed for surplus labor to be converted into status differentials (Guyer 2004).

Status differences at Atenro may have been materialized through exchanged materials, but they may have necessarily been directly related to exchange or the monopolization of long-distance networks. Clay and stone beads, which could have been produced locally, were also recovered from Atenro. These beads may have marked different kinds of status. For example, stone beads were produced in the recent past at Ilorin and exchanged throughout the Ife dynastic field (O'Hear 1986: 36). Clay beads are known from archaeological contexts in the region dating to the West African LSA (Oyelaran 1998: 73).

The archaeology of the Early Shabe period is incomplete. Excavations were necessarily preliminary, and so while providing vital information about Early Shabe material culture, they are not representative of entire sites. There was almost certainly more variability among Early Shabe inhabitants than the excavations revealed. Outside of the transect survey areas, sites were only recorded with the help of present-day oral histories. This invariably leads to a biased picture of archaeological remains that only includes extant traditions and lineages, and privileges politically powerful ones. There may be other large sites that date to the Early Shabe period that were not located as there locations have been forgotten. This may be particularly problematic for areas that are not actively under cultivation, such as in the southwest portion of the study area where a national forest preserve has restricted agricultural activities, allowing surface features to fade from view. These limitations become less problematic for later periods, as there are more extant lineages to provide oral histories and archaeological features are more visible on the surface. For the Middle Shabe period, which I turn to now, the conclusions I can draw about the economic practices and political-economic organization of Savè hills communities are more substantial.

B. The Middle Shabe Period (1700-1830 CE)

1. Settlement Pattern

The Early Shabe period ended and the Middle Shabe period began with the abandonment of Atenro and the splitting of the Shabe migrants into two settlements: one at Idadu headed by the Amùṣù lineage, and the other at Kaboua headed by Otọ́lá lineages (Palau Marti 1992a: 87; Adediran 1994: 93). It is over the course of the Middle Shabe period that the groundwork was

laid for the settlement pattern discernible today. The general locations and names of many villages were fixed, and the Early Shabe and pre-Shabe sites that were abandoned became part of the ritual landscape of the Savè hills (Figure V.6). The settlement pattern of the Middle Shabe period is therefore of critical interest in understanding the evolution of the Shabe political economy.

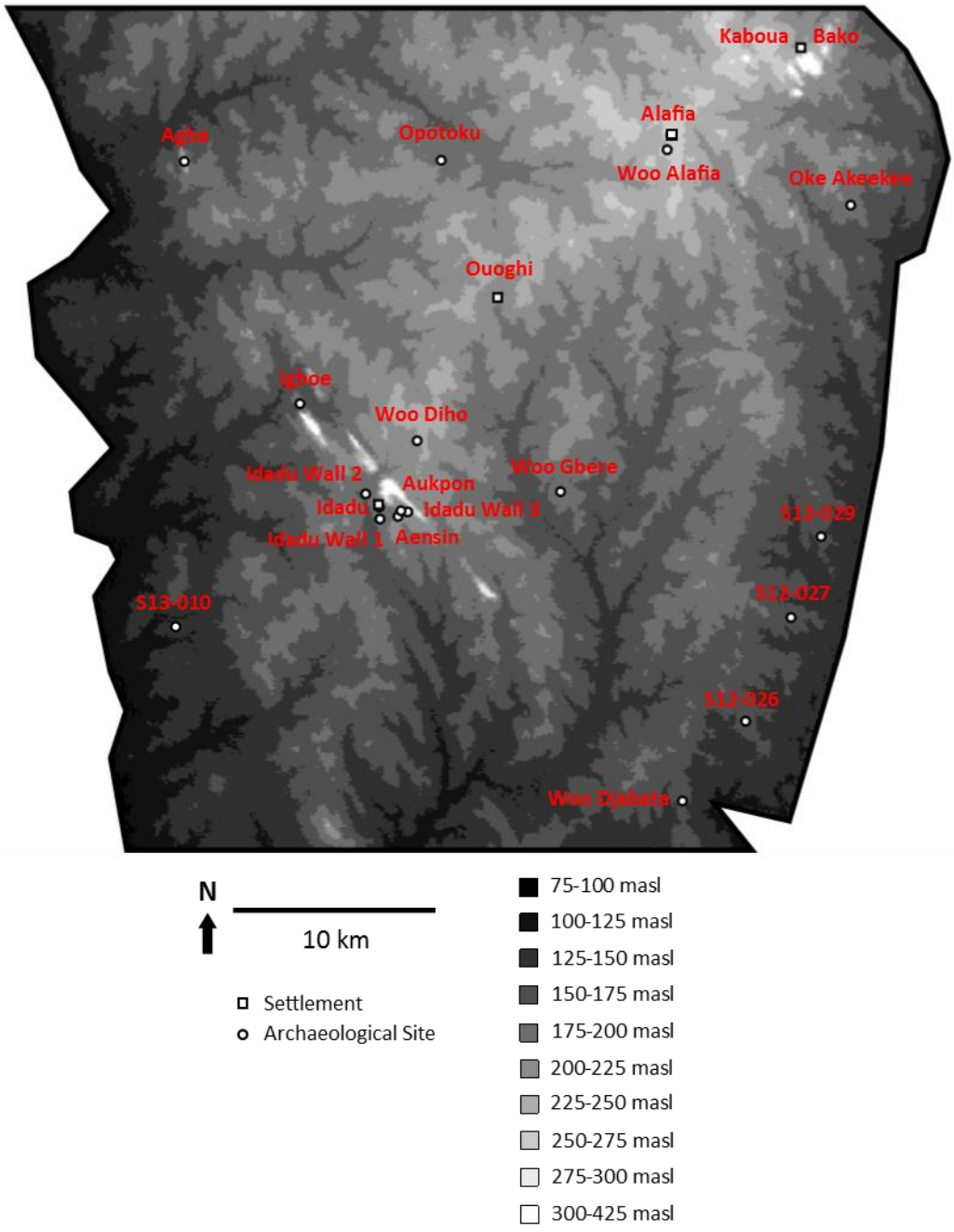


Figure V.6 Map of Middle Shabe sites identified through reconnaissance survey and associated present-day settlements.

The dispute that precipitated the Atenro's abandonment is not recalled in oral histories. If it is remembered, it is not spoken about openly. Adediran (1994: 92-93) speculates that this dispute centered on political leadership within the migrant group. He goes on to propose that

these political fissures erupted along pre-existing ethnic lines, with the Amùṣù group composed primarily of Oyo-derived elements within the migrants while the Otọ́lá group was made up of primarily Boko-derived elements. After leaving Atenro, the Otọ́lá group first settled north of the study area near Kilibo and established a political system independent of the southern Amùṣù. In various oral narratives, a prince from Kilibo named Baba Guidaï then left and settled near Bako at the foot of the Oke Agbodo hill. As at Bako, the present-day settlement likely obscures the extent of the Middle Shabe period settlement, but it is likely smaller than Kaboua's current footprint of 20.5 ha.

The autonomy of the Otọ́lá communities that left Atenro was eventually curtailed by Baba Guidaï at Kaboua. In the same process of fission that led to Kaboua's formation from Kilibo, new settlements were founded that fissioned off from Kaboua during the Middle Shabe period. Oke Akeekee (S12-033) was one such settlement. It was abandoned in the late Middle Shabe or Late Shabe period, and now is noted by the presence of several baobab trees and a thin artifact scatter. The size of the site is obscured by thick growth, as it is inside a forest preserve. The settlement is said to have been abandoned during war, when residents fled to the nearby eponymous Oke Akeekee for refuge. After the war, the village was abandoned and residents moved back to Kaboua.

A larger, more permanent settlement was founded at Ouoghi by Yayi Paṣi, a grandson of Baba Guidaï. Unfortunately the *balẹ* of Ouoghi did not permit us to investigate nearby archaeological sites. In 2012 and 2013, it appears the *balẹ* was in the midst of an internal political crisis, and so was not eager have the legitimacy of his office potentially questioned by appraisals of historical and archaeological sites. The *balẹ* was willing, however, to share with the research team his rendition of Ouoghi's foundation, as well as to show us a sacred kapok tree

that marks the center of the original village. This tree is located within the present-day town, near the main road RNIE 2. The Middle Shabe period settlement at Ouoghi was likely smaller than present-day Ouoghi's area of 20.1 ha.

Derived from Yayi Paṣi's descendants are two more settlements founded in the Middle Shabe period: Alafia and Diho. The first settlement was Alafia, founded just south of its present-day location. The community moved to its present location sometime prior to the start of the Late Shabe period. Ethnographic and historical descriptions of many different agricultural societies in tropical Africa suggest village locations changed regularly, on the order of a generation or two, in part to be closer to available land for swidden agriculture (Vogel 1986; Nyerges 1992; Vansina 1994; Nyerges & Green 2000). Such village movement appears to have happened repeatedly in the Savè hills area, though at times for defensive reasons rather than ecological. The original village of *woo* Alafia (S12-032) is marked by several large baobabs, though the associated artifact scatter is only near one cluster of trees. The area enclosed by the baobabs is 2.4 ha. Like other Middle Shabe period settlements that are still occupied, the Middle Shabe period component of present-day Alafia is marked by sacred trees (S12-031). It was likely smaller than the current footprint of 11.6 ha.

Present-day Diho is north of its original location, now the site *woo* Diho (S12-030). The site has an artifact scatter of 1.1 ha with low circular mounds. The site may have been partially destroyed by the creation of a sports stadium. Though proximal to Idadu, Diho's place in the political hierarchy is under Kaboua, as Diho, like Alafia was founded by a descendant of Yayi Paṣi who was a descendant of Baba Guidaï. Though these genealogical links may be fictive, they express the political relationships between the settlements and their titled officials. The sites derived from Kaboua are confined to the central and northeastern portions of the study area.

These major settlements of Kaboua, Ouoghi, Alafia, and Diho are all located above 200 masl. Even Oke Akeekee, near the Okpara River, is more elevated than other riverine settlements.

While the group headed by the Otọ́lá lineages left Atenro to the north, the group headed by the Amùṣù lineage left to the south. They eventually settled near Oke Shabe and founded what is now the town of Shabe-Idadu. These settlements were near the current palace, in the Afin and Idi-iroko neighborhoods, which total about 16.2 ha. The first palace at Shabe-Idadu was also constructed during the Middle Shabe period. This palace was called the Afin, the same word used for the palace of the Oyo monarchy. The form of the earliest palace architecture is largely unknown due to centuries of occupation at the site. However, a more recent palace was razed by the French colonial government in 1933 CE. Based on oral history, surviving foundations and architectural elements, and the stratigraphy visible in road and sewer cuts, the palace's footprint was at least 2 ha—similar in size to royal palaces in nearby Dahomey (Monroe 2007a). The palace was also differentiated in its style of architecture. The remains of a flat-laid potsherd pavement are visible at the palace's former site, now a busy marketplace (Figure V.7).

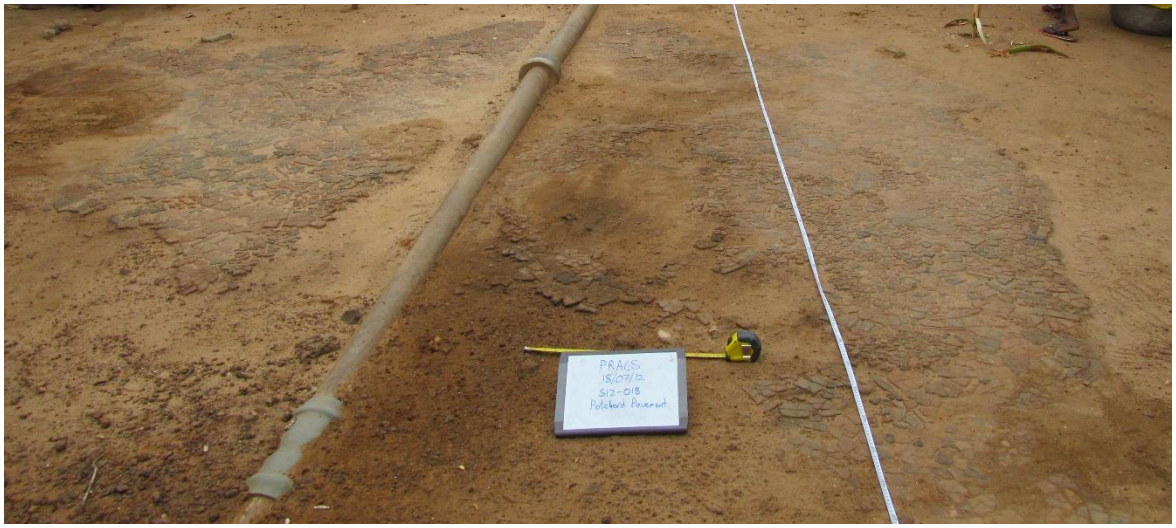


Figure V.7 A flat-laid potsherd pavement at the site of a former palace in Shabe-Idadu.

As noted above, however, the hill was already settled by multiple groups when the Amùṣù and other Shabe lineages arrived. Unlike at Oke Agbodo, where oral tradition records that the Otọ́lá group peacefully integrated with the pre-existing Bako settlement, the Shabe group killed, expelled, or assimilated the original inhabitants at Oke Shabe (Palau Martí 1992a: 87, 125-126). Though not expelled, the occupants of Eyin-Oke 2 were compelled to move closer to this new settlement, presumably so that they could be monitored by the dominant Shabe groups. A king was chosen from the most politically powerful Shabe lineage, the Amùṣù, who in turn delegated lesser offices and titles to other lineages. This marks the beginning of the Shabe polity as it is known today, and is the beginning of the Amùṣù dynasty and their hegemony in the Shabe political system. Shortly thereafter, Aukpon was re-centered at Aensin, slightly to the south. Aensin is still occupied, so its Middle Shabe component is likely less than the present-day 21.2 ha. Though settlements were forcibly relocated in both the Eyin-Oke 2 and Aukpon cases, at least one lineage from Aukpon—the Omo Agbaa—benefited from its relocation. They were ceded the high ranking office of Olu Osin, or "Lord of the Left," and control over several important shrines (S12-034). One of these shrines, Ogu Tani (Figure V.8), is a granite monolith similar in form, though smaller in scale, to the Opa Oraniyan monolith in Ile-Ife.

Figure V.8 The Ogu Tani megalith at Aensin.

Several units were excavated on the largest mound at Aukpon (see Appendix A). The material class and density of artifacts strongly suggests that the mound is not architectural, but a midden feature. Artifact classes are dominated by coarse earthenware ceramics, but faunal remains (bone) and charred plant remains are also present in large quantities. Other classes include cowry shells, beads, and fragmentary iron debris. The mixture of artifacts classes suggest a general domestic midden.

Excavations revealed that the midden deposits were created during the Middle Shabe period, based on radiocarbon dating and the ceramic typology. This means that Aukpon was either occupied in both the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods, or that the mound itself was created in the Middle Shabe period on top of an Early Shabe period occupation. Surface

collections from elsewhere on the site contain Middle Shabe style artifacts, so it is more likely that the site was occupied in both periods. The occupation of Aukpon may have even gradually drifted to the south, rather than being suddenly abandoned, as present-day Aensin is immediately adjacent to Aukpon.

In addition to the midden deposits, the excavations located a human skeleton (Figure V.9; see also Chapter IV and Appendix A). The skeleton had been placed in shallow pit dug about 45 cm deep into the mound. The pit was then filled with midden refuse. Another 20-30 cm of deposition then built up on top of the pit. The skeleton is articulated and nearly complete, missing only the right hand and the bones below the femur. Additional fragmentary human tibiae, fibulae, patellae, and a single talus were recovered from the excavated midden fill adjacent to and immediately above the skeleton, but were not located *in situ*. These remains likely were part of the articulated skeleton but disturbed through post-depositional turbation. Finally, a single human tooth excavated from another part of the mound may not be related to the skeleton but simply domestic refuse that was deposited in the midden. The skeleton is supine with its femurs slightly elevated. The body is oriented toward the south-southwest, and the cranium is facing west. The right arm is flexed so that the distal ends of the radius and ulna touch the right scapula. The left arm is crossed over the chest with fingers spread over the proximal end of the right humerus. The bones are stained red, likely due to leaching from the ferruginous soil matrix. Based on the carefully laid out position of the skeleton and its deposition in a pit, the skeleton is interpreted as an intentional burial in a pre-existing midden. Several Shabe research assistants present during the excavation commented that the position of the arms and head is a colloquial gesture used to indicate sleeping.

Figure V.9 The excavated skeleton at Aukpon. Additional fragmentary human bones were collected from the excavated matrix above and level with the burial.

More groups settled at Shabe-Idadu following the successful installation of the Shabe group led by the Amùṣù and the subsequent reorganization of settlements around the Oke Shabe hill. Two of these groups are claimed by the Iláko and Jàlúmọ́n lineages, who arrived after the Amùṣù but before the beginning of the second dynasty. These groups occupied part of present-day Shabe-Idadu, the Asunea and Jalumon neighborhoods, respectively. These neighborhoods total about 16.7 ha. The Iláko and Jàlúmọ́n lineages are credited with building an earthen wall around Shabe-Idadu, the remains of which constitute Idadu Wall 1, 2, and 3. Though no longer standing, the rammed earthen foundations are still visible. These walls may have served a defensive function, but the Basàlẹ̀, the *agànì* from the Jàlúmọ́n lineage, reports that their primary

function was to collect revenue by forcing travelers to enter Shabe-Idadu through gates where they could be taxed by the Onishabe.

Though the autochthonous Early Shabe period settlements surrounding the Oke Shabe hill were dramatically transformed by the Amùṣù dynasty, *woo* Djabata—or "old" Djabata—remained in its same location. Its residents did, however, participate in the political system of the growing Shabe kingdom. Though Djabata lineages do not have any *agànì* and so do not participate in the ministerial *ujoyè ọba* organization, the *balẹ* of Djabata plays an important role in sanctioning new Onishabes (Palau Martí 1993). This may be a concession to the demands of autochthons for representation in the king-making process that was established in the Middle Shabe period.

As at Kaboua, smaller settlements began to fission off from Shabe-Idadu. The Amùṣù dynasty established a royal village and cemetery at Igboe (S12-037) at the foot of Oke Etanetane, northwest of Shabe-Idadu. The village was abandoned in the late 19th century CE during the Late Shabe period. The site consists of multiple mounds, baobab trees, and a 3.3 ha surface scatter. One of the mounds was chosen for excavation to determine if it was architectural. The excavation revealed several sequential strata, and the classes of artifacts and their density suggest that the mound is a midden.

Settlers also established *woo* Gbere (S12-021) to the east of Shabe-Idadu. The residents of Gbere that claim *woo* Gbere as their ancestral home are not from titled lineages. Unlike at Igboe, this site was not founded as a royal enclave but as an agricultural community. Like Igboe, the site consists of multiple mounds, baobab trees, and a surface scatter, though the scatter at *woo* Gbere is only 0.6 ha. A small burned clay feature is visible on the surface at *woo* Gbere,

possibly representing a hearth. However, its unstratified context and proximity to the present-day village of Gbere makes its provenience questionable.

Many settlements were founded along the Okpara River during the Middle Shabe period. Three such sites were recorded through the reconnaissance survey—S12-026, S12-027, S12-029. Though the locations of these sites are remembered, and the fact that they were villages, no other details about their occupation are recalled. Each site consists of baobab trees and a relatively small artifact scatter—3.7, 1.1, and 2.3 ha, respectively. The baobab trees may be the reason they are remembered as being Middle Shabe period villages, as these sacred tree species serve as a visual index for the presence of past human activity (Gurstelle 2013). What is remembered about these sites is that they were destroyed during warfare in the Late Shabe period.

A similar site, S13-010, is found along the Ouémé River. Its location is known due to the presence of large baobabs and a dense surface scatter of 1.2 ha. However, the relative age of this site was completely unknown to contemporary residents. A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed near the largest baobab on the site. The ceramic type at S13-010 from both surface and excavation collections was Shabe B, indicating a Middle Shabe or Late Shabe period site. Like the other sites without clear oral histories, it is likely that this site was destroyed in the Late Shabe period. The reason there are no associated oral histories is likely that the inhabitants died or left the area and did not return. The excavation also exposed a small amount of collapsed rammed earthen architecture, consistent with other architecture in the Savè hills area.

During the Middle Shabe period, the Amùṣù dynasty was driven out in a civil war. The Otọ́lá lineages from Kaboua, the same that had vied for power with the Amùṣù at Atenro, made a bid for the title of Onishabe and were supported by many of the *agànì* and untitled lineages (Palau Martí 1992a: 130-131; Adediran 1994: 98-99). The Amùṣù were driven out of Shabe-

Idadu and Igboe and initially settled at Opotoku (S12-036). Opotoku was fortified with a large earthen wall, similar to what was built around Shabe-Idadu. Within the walled enclosure is a thin artifact scatter and several baobabs. The site is maintained as a sacred grove, and the lack of agricultural activities has likely obscured the extent of the surface scatter, which was likely larger than the visible 4.3 ha. An excavation unit was placed near a large baobab tree, revealing collapsed rammed earthen architecture. As at S13-010, the collapsed architecture produced no visible topographic change on the surface. This suggests structures were erected in a single episode, and were not rebuilt or repaired often enough to produce mounding that is characteristic of collapsed earthen architecture at other West African village sites (McIntosh 1974; Posnansky 2004).

The succeeding Otọ́lá lineages eventually pursued the Amùṣù driving them from Opotoku as well. Some briefly fled to the fortified hilltop refuge of Agba (S13-009). Eventually all were driven to the far north of the Shabe territory. Agba is the earliest fortified hilltop site in the study area. The ascent is partially blocked by an uncoursed stone wall. Behind the wall is a dense 2.7 ha artifact scatter, indicating that a relatively large population lived on top of the hill for some time. Hilltop refuges are known elsewhere in the Ife dynastic field for later periods, but not often for the 18th century CE (see Gleave 1963). The animosity between the lineages subsided and the Amùṣù returned to Igboe, though they no longer wore the crown of Onishabe or held any other major titled office.

As with the Early Shabe period, I am able to date sites of otherwise unknown age that to either the Middle Shabe or Late Shabe period based on their ceramic type: in this case, Shabe B Type ceramics. This assemblage type is distinguished by a higher proportion of grid wooden roulettes, as well as the use of maize cob and/or snailshell lip (or fingernail) impressions. Five

sites from the Atenro tract belong to either the Middle Shabe or Late Shabe periods, and 15 sites have inconclusive ceramic assemblages (Figure V.10). The largest of these sites was located during the reconnaissance survey, Oke Awè (S13-012), at 1.2 ha. The site has multiple mounds and a large baobab tree. However, there are no oral histories associated with this site. A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed near the baobab tree on the site. AMS radiocarbon dating was conducted on wood charcoal from the site, but the results came back as modern. The ceramic assemblage is Shabe B Type, which along with the dating results suggests a terminal Late Shabe period or even European Colonial period occupation. The second largest site at 0.7 ha, S13-016, is also the location of a Fulani camp that was abandoned around a decade before my fieldwork. Material culture from this recent occupation has mixed on the surface with artifacts from a potential earlier occupation. Further, a recent borrow pit has likely damaged the integrity of subsurface deposits and mixed them into the surface scatter. The next three sites, S13-018, S13-028, S13-032 are smaller, at <0.1 ha, 0.1 ha, and 0.1 ha, respectively.

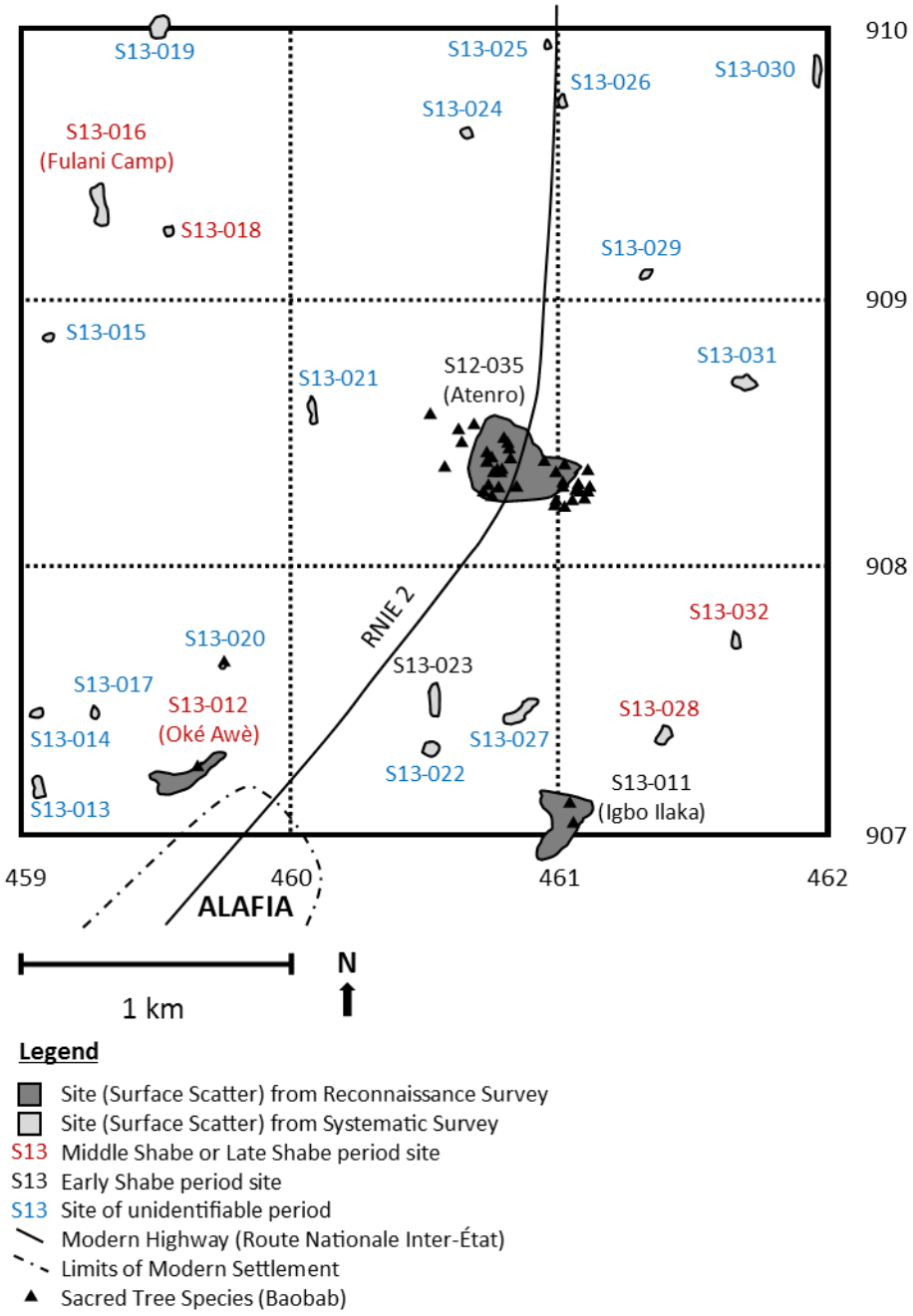


Figure V.10 Possible Middle Shabe period archaeological sites in the Atenro transect survey tract.

Three sites from the Fiditi tract belong to either the Middle Shabe or Late Shabe periods, and four sites have inconclusive ceramic assemblages (Figure V.11). Of the three sites with Shabe B Type ceramics, two are more likely to belong to the Late Shabe period as part of the

Fiditi site complex. The other site, S13-001, is a very small artifact scatter of only <0.1 ha. Though its ceramic assemblage is inconclusive, S13-003 is adjacent to the Idadu Wall 3 site (S13-034). This suggests the site postdates the wall construction, and may even be associated with the wall's construction during the Middle Shabe period.

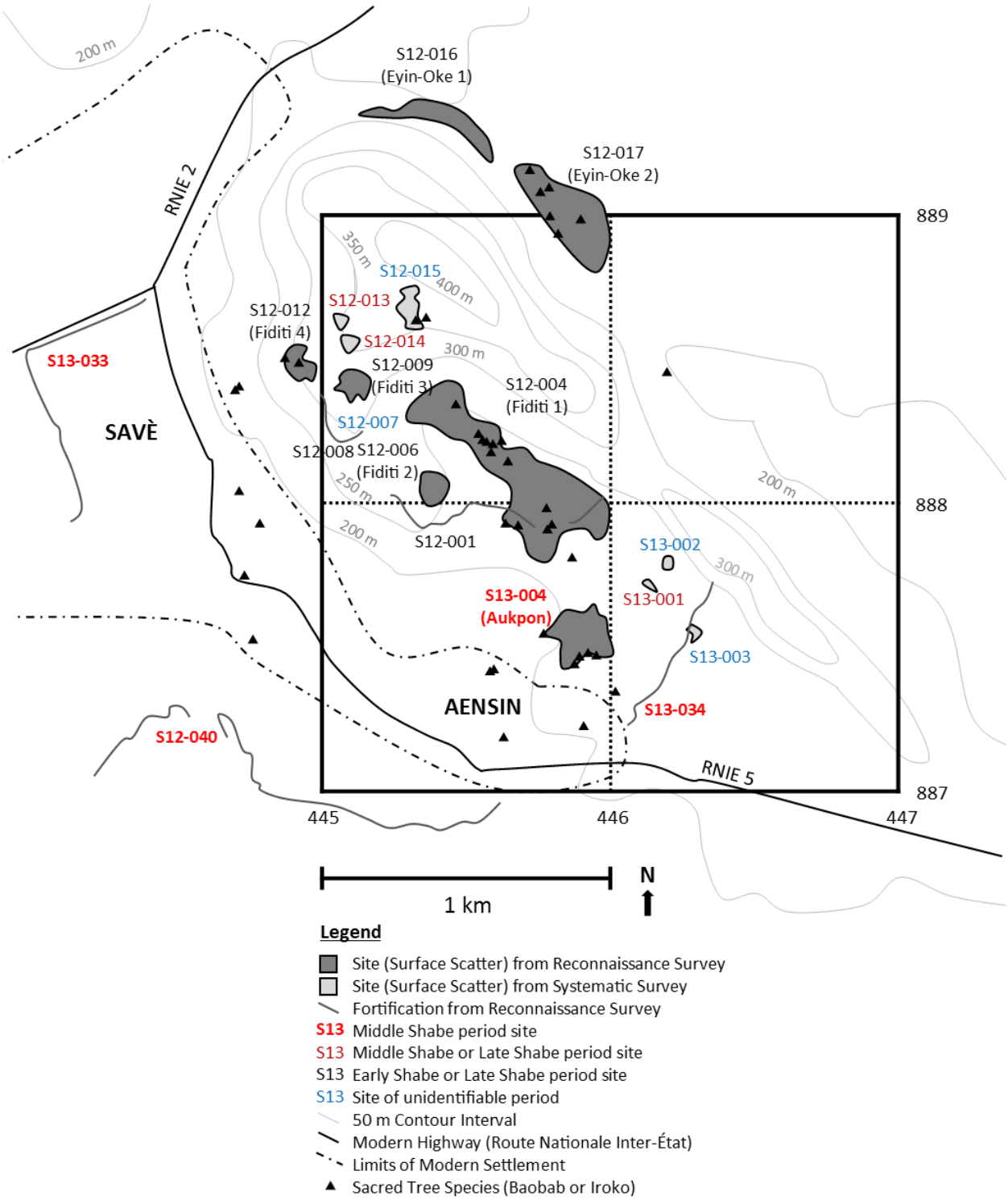


Figure V.11 Possible Middle Shabe period archaeological sites in the Fiditi transect survey tract.

The settlement pattern of the Middle Shabe period is distinct from the Early Shabe period. There are more settlements, and they are more broadly distributed on the landscape. The same three clusters that characterized the Early Shabe period—around Oke Agbodo, Oke Shabe, and the Okpara River, continue to be occupied, but their character changed. At Oke Agbodo, Bako was joined by Kaboua. At Oke Shabe, the settlements ringing the hill are replaced by a larger, more centralized settlement at Shabe-Idadu. The cluster near the Okpara River is unchanged, but more settlements appear along the length of the river. In addition, settlements are established near the Ouémé River, as well as in the highland area between the rivers. This pattern indicates a population increase between the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods. Increasing population may be due in part to natural accretion through birthrates, but is also likely a product of migration into the area, potentially to participate in the political economy of the growing Shabe kingdom. Oral tradition claims that the population of Shabe-Idadu reached as high as 80,000 people during this period (Asiwaju 1973). How this number was recorded or estimated is not clear, and it is likely too high given that the entire population of the present-day commune of Savè, including Shabe-Idadu is less than 70,000 people. Writing in the middle of the 19th century CE, the missionary Bowen (1857: 222) reported the population of the entire Shabe kingdom as 20,000, though this was after a period of intense warfare and depopulation of the region (see below).

Though many Middle Shabe sites are obscured by present-day settlements, differences in the area of these sites gives an impression of an elaborated three rank settlement size system (Table V.3). The largest sites are all occupied today, making the Middle Shabe areas of first rank sites difficult to estimate. The next rank is slightly smaller than it was during the Early Shabe period. Excluding S12-036, where the surface scatter is likely significantly larger than what is

apparent, and using 2.4 as an approximation for S12-032, the mean settlement size is 2.1 ha with a standard deviation of 1.1 ha. As with the Early Shabe period, the transect surveys located many sites with artifact scatter areas of 0.1 ha or less. This potentially means that from the Early Shabe period to the Middle Shabe period, first rank settlements became relatively larger, while second and third rank settlements became smaller. Further, there are multiple (probable) first rank settlements, while Atenro was the only such settlement during the Early Shabe period.

Site	**Artifact Scatter (ha)**
S12-036	>4.3?
S12-026	3.7
S12-037	3.3
S13-004	2.8
S13-009	2.7
S12-032	<2.4?
S12-029	2.3
S13-010	1.2
S12-027	1.1
S12-030	1.1
S12-021	0.6
S13-003?	0.1
S13-028?	0.1
S13-032?	0.1
S12-033	>0.1?
S13-001?	<0.1
S13-018?	<0.1
Shabe-Idadu	<32.9
Aensin (S12-034)	<21.2
Kaboua	<20.5
Ouoghi	<20.1
Alafia (S12-031)	<11.6
Bako	<8.9

Table V.3 Area of Middle Shabe period sites based on surface artifact scatters.

2. Subsistence

The evidence for subsistence is largely the same as during the Early Shabe period. The settlement pattern points to dispersed agricultural hamlets and farmsteads. Millstones and grinding basins at many sites indicate grain processing. Unlike the Early Shabe period, ceramics during this period are decorated with maize cob impressions (Figure V.12). This shows that maize was available, and likely grown locally, but does not indicate the relative ubiquity of this New World crop. The 18th century CE is a relatively late date for the adoption of maize, especially given its prominence in some historical discussions of West African foodways (e.g. McCann 2005).

Figure V.12 A coarse earthenware potsherd from an everted rim vessel with maize cob impressions. This potsherd was recovered from the excavation at S13-010.

Identified faunal remains from excavations in the midden at S13-004 were predominantly sheep/goat and chicken, though the analysis was only a precursory field examination and more work remains to be done. Evidence from oral history suggests that cattle played an important role in Shabe society during this period. In the well-known story of Oduduwa's inheritance, as given by Johnson (1921), the divine king of Ile-Ife bequeaths his cattle to the Onishabe. Though this

story is more a metaphorical explanation for social relations between polities in the Ife dynastic field than it is a recording of historical events, it clearly reveals the prominence of cattle keeping in the Shabe economy. Due to its location in the Dahomey Gap, Shabe is uniquely situated as the southern-most polity in the Ife dynastic field that could keep cattle without incurring significant losses due to tsetse fly endemism.

Rodent remains were also recovered from Middle Shabe period excavations. Rodents and other small mammals are regularly hunted today, though ecological researchers suggest this is due to the scarcity of larger game (e.g., Assogbadjo et al. 2005; Djagoun & Gaubert 2009). However, garden hunting would have been an efficient way to procure game in the past as well, even when larger animals were more plentiful. A length of coiled iron was recovered from the excavation at S13-010 (Figure V.13). This iron tool is formally identical to the heads of hunting clubs used in the area today. These clubs are cited as being used specifically to hunt hares (*Lepus microtis*), grasscutters (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), and other rodents. However, similar clubs can also be used in warfare (Smith 1967: 99). An iron projectile point was also found at S13-010. Like the club head, this projectile point may have been used in either hunting or conflict.

Figure V.13 A coiled length of iron from the excavation at S13-010.

Fish remains were not identified from Middle Shabe contexts, though a single fishhook was found in the excavated midden at Aukpon. There are two possibilities for its deposition at Aukpon: fishing took place in the small Ayin River near Aukpon, or fishers traveled between Aukpon and the Okpara or Ouémé Rivers.

3. Craft Production

Middle Shabe period craft production is inferred from the recovered material culture (Table V.4). Coarse earthenware pottery is the most ubiquitous artifact class among sites, as well as the most numerous. Importantly, all ceramic assemblages from Middle Shabe sites conform to the Shabe B type. This suggests a single ceramic tradition in the area, unlike the dual Shabe A and Pupa types during the Early Shabe period. It is possible that following the assimilation of autochthonous groups into the Shabe polity, the distinct ceramic production practices of the two groups were transformed into a single tradition.

Site	Context	Ceramics (Coarse Bead)	Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)	Ceramics (Coarse Pipe)	Fauna (Cowry)	Fauna (Ivory Bead)	Fauna (Shell Bead)	Glass (Vessel)	Iron (Slag)	Iron (Tool)	Lithics (Bead)	Lithics (Ground Tool)
S12-036	Surface		X	X								X
S12-036	Excavation		X									
S13-004	Surface		X					X		X		
S13-004	Excavation	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X
S13-010	Surface		X									
S13-010	Excavation		X		X		X			X	X	X

S12-026	Surface		X									
S12-037	Surface		X					X	X	X		X
S13-009	Surface		X									X
S12-032	Surface		X									
S12-029	Surface		X									
S12-027	Surface		X									X
S12-030	Surface		X									X
S12-021	Surface		X									X
S13-003?	Surface		X									
S13-028?	Surface		X									
S13-032?	Surface		X									
S12-033	Surface		X		X							X
S13-001?	Surface		X									
S13-018?	Surface		X									

Table V.4 Artifact classes and subclasses present at Middle Shabe period sites.

Ground stone tools were the second most ubiquitous artifact class. These tools are limited to hammers, millstones, and grinding basins made of quartz or granite. Worn basins in natural rock features were also observed at Agba (Figure V.14). Inhabitants invested time to create non-portable grinding features, suggesting their occupation of the hilltop refuge site was relatively long. Iron tools and slag were also recovered, but in very limited amounts. No special purpose tool production sites—quarries or forges—were located. As in the Early Shabe period, the small quantity of slag that was recovered came from a domestic context—the surface of a mound that was then tested and revealed to be a general domestic midden context. Despite the increase in settlements and size during the Middle Shabe period, there is no change in the organization of craft production, which appears to have remained a small-scale, unspecialized, household industry.

Figure V.14 Shallow basin features at Agba (S13-009) created in a natural boulder.

4. Exchange

Markets, and by extension local exchange, are implied by the construction of the earthen berms surrounding Shabe-Idadu. The motivation for their creation in oral history is explicitly for taxation purposes related to markets. With market exchange, there may have been some degree of craft specialization, though this is not well supported by the artifact assemblages or site pattern. Exchange may have been guided by *de facto* specialization, wherein production of certain resources, such as fish, is constrained by location but not necessarily by labor or technical demands. Such activities may not have been specialized, though their products would be restricted to only certain groups. The distribution of restricted resources would then be facilitated by markets.

At the regional level, Middle Shabe period communities produced pottery that was similar to styles and forms found across the larger region. The range of decoration techniques used in Shabe B type assemblages—grid wooden roulette, twisted cord roulette, shell lip impression, and maize cob roulette—mirrors the same range found in the Igbomina area (Usman 2003) and the Upper Osun area (Ogundiran 2001, 2002a) of the Ife dynastic field to the east of the Savè hills. A small number of sherds from thin-walled, slightly everted black bowls are also found at Middle Shabe period sites. This kind pottery may have been imported from the Oyo Empire, as it is a very common form at Oyo sites, and found in small amounts at Oyo vassals and tributaries (Ogundiran & Saunders 2011: 320).

Interestingly, the dominance of grid wooden roulettes in Shabe B type assemblages is unlike the Ife dynastic field and is much more similar to decoration techniques from contemporary Dahomey and Ketu to the south (Randsborg & Merkyte 2009: 185-189). These grid wooden roulettes are by far the most common decorative technique, perhaps indicating more frequent exchange of pottery or technical potting knowledge with the south than with the east. There are also ceramic similarities with the far north. Small numbers of potsherds decorated with folded strip roulettes are found at Middle Shabe period sites. They do not have any analogues with techniques from either the east or south, but are reported from earlier archaeological sites near the Niger River (Khalaf & Haour 2013: 108).

As with the Early Shabe period, glass artifacts and cowry shells are the best indicators of long-distance exchange. No glass beads were recovered from Middle Shabe period contexts, though some bottle glass was found at several sites. At Igboe (S12-037), bottle glass was found on the surface and in stratified contexts. However, this site was occupied throughout the Late Shabe period, and will be considered below. At Aukpon (S13-004), bottle glass was found only

on the surface and in topsoil contexts and, given the close proximity to a present-day settlement, may have been introduced recently. There is no other evidence for bottle glass during this period, suggesting that participation in the Atlantic trade was limited. Cowry shells are better accounted for, including at the relatively small site of Oke Akeekee (S12-033). Cowries were likely imported through down-the-line trading, as they were being used as a medium of exchange throughout the region.

Shabe communities may have exchanged subsistence and agricultural products for transactional currencies like cowries. They may have also exchanged cattle, as hinted at by the story of Odùduwà's inheritance. Another possibility is that Shabe communities exchanged ivory. A single ivory bead was recovered from Aukpon, though it is not clear if it was created locally. Elephants are known to have inhabited the area as recently as the early 20th century CE (Palau Martí 1992a: 23). Ivory was an important trade good in the region since the early first millennium CE, both for local use and for export to North Africa and beyond (Insoll & Shaw 1997).

5. Political-Economic Organization

In the oral traditions of the Shabe kingdom, the Middle Shabe period—the time after the founding of Shabe-Idadu—marks the centralization of the polity. Adediran (1994: 100) cites this as the development from multiple "city-states" to a single territorial state. However, the term state may be misleading in this case, as there is no evidence that suggests that a central state institution was able to establish a monopoly on the legal exercise of force. Indeed, even into historic times, the Shabe kingdom was largely organized along kinship, with multiple parallel

political institutions. While I prefer the term polity for its absence of evolutionary implications, it also does not convey anything specific about the structure of the Shabe kingdom.

How was the Shabe kingdom during the Middle Shabe period organized? How was power creatively and instrumentally exercised, and by what institutions? Fortunately the archaeological evidence to address these questions is more robust for the Middle Shabe period than earlier periods. There is much stronger evidence for a settlement hierarchy characterized by three ranks during the Middle Shabe period. In addition, the primacy of Shabe-Idadu over other first rank settlements may be interpreted as a third tier of administrative hierarchy (Wright & Johnson 1975). The remains of the palace potsherd pavement are also unique to the area. The pavement was constructed with the same technique as that at the pre-Shabe period site of Ekudi Oke Odo Akaba—suggesting long term continuity in architectural practices rather than a shift toward the edge-laid pavement style found at Ile-Ife. This is an interesting continuity, as the present-day Shabe monarchy employs many other symbols of authority derived from political practices centered at Ile-Ife. At the very least then, Shabe political symbols were derived from both autochthonous and regional influences. It may even be that the appeal to Ile-Ife is a recent orientation, as Shabe does not appear as an official descendant lineage in the earliest recorded king lists of Ile-Ife. Like other distant polities, it is not attested to in Ile-Ife's transcribed oral histories until the late 19th century CE (Palau Martí 1992a: 61).

There is a strong landscape focus around Shabe-Idadu during the Middle Shabe period. Not only is it a major settlement occupied by politically dominant lineages, but its gravity drew in other lineages—through both willing migration and forced relocation. The centrality of Shabe-Idadu was emphasized through the construction of earthen berms. This strategy is known from elsewhere in the region, including in Oyo (Soper & Darling 1980; Usman 2004), Ife (Willett

1960; Obayemi 1979), Benin (Connah 1967, 1972), Dahomey (Monroe 2012), and Ouidah (Norman & Kelly 2004). Though they may have had a defensive or ideological purpose, as the cited examples did, the berms at Shabe-Idadu are linked to control of market access. Markets are linked to the power of the Onishabe, in that they are directly taxed to support the monarchy's retinue, bureaucracy, and its acquisition of status goods. This is one way the Onishabe exercised instrumental economic power (*sensu* Robertshaw 2010).

Individuals other than the Onishabe exercised power as well. The best evidence for this is the burial discovered at Aukpon. The excavation site on the mound was chosen with no advance knowledge of the burial. Though residents of Aensin were consulted in choosing the excavation location at Aukpon, none suggested that a human burial would be found within. However, after discovering the burial, the Olú Òsìn, the high ranking *agànì* from Aensin's prominent Ọmọ Agbaa lineage, consulted with other elders at Aensin and determined the burial belonged to a high ranking political official, likely another Olú Òsìn. Indeed, the treatment of the body—lacking associated burial goods, right hand removed, parts of the legs and feet possibly removed—is consistent with burial practices from recent times in Aensin, as told to the research team by the Olú Òsìn *before* the burial was discovered. Such burial practices include removing the hands, as the deceased will have no need to manipulate their surroundings in the spirit world. The left hand may have been left intact because an Olú Òsìn (Lord of the Left) may actually need their left hand in the spirit world. Similarly, the feet are removed as the deceased will be carried and have no need for walking. Interestingly, the head was also reported as being removed, but this was said to disempower the corpse and prevent the deceased's malevolent ghost from returning and harming the community. Such views are consistent with the Yoruba notion of spiritual power, or *àṣẹ*, wherein politically powerful individuals are also spiritually powerful

(Lawal 1985; Abiodun 1994). Spiritual potency can be both beneficial and destructive, particularly when unconstrained by human concerns as is the case with passed on spirits. The lack of burial goods may be due to preservation biases: bodies are wrapped in large quantities of cloth, representing a substantial expense of the funeral. The location in a midden is very unusual for the Ife dynastic field. Aleru (2006) reports excavating a single individual in a midden, but little detail is given. Palau Martí (1993) reports that subfloor burial in the house compound is considered an ideal burial in recent Shabe, and is a common practice for other Yoruba communities (e.g., Ellis 1894: 158; Lawal 1977). Relatedly, particularly inauspicious deaths may not receive a burial at all and bodies may be left in the bush. That the Aukpon individual was buried in a midden—a public space—may be a function of his/her role as a leader in the public arena.

The presence of shrines during the Middle Shabe period suggests one of the possible routes to power within the Shabe political economy. Ritual roles are also indicated by the kinds of beads recovered, which include beads made of clay, ivory, and stone. A coarse earthenware bead from Aukpon has alternating white and red stripes (Figure V.15), similar to beads used by devotees of the *ooṣà* Oko in historic times (Peel 2000: 106).

Figure V.15 White and red striped bead from Aukpon.

Despite the lack of evidence for economic specialization and participation in the Atlantic economy during the Middle Shabe period, there is evidence for increasing centralization and complexity in the Shabe polity. Shabe-Idadu became the center of a three tier administrative hierarchy, with architectural and landscape features unique to the area. Evidence for elite differentiation comes from the palace architecture at Shabe-Idadu, the burial at Aukpon, and from the beads recovered from different contexts. These features are continuations of developments in the Early Shabe period. The Late Shabe period, however, brings a marked break with the trends established in the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods.

C. The Late Shabe Period (1830-1894 CE)

1. Settlement Pattern

There is no abrupt break between the Middle and Late Shabe periods. Where the earlier periods are defined by the foundation of settlements by certain lineages—discrete temporal

events—the Late Shabe period is marked by increased warfare, with its peak between 1840 and 1860 CE, and the gradual abandonment of most settlements in the area as occupants fled to hilltop refuge sites (Figure V.16). Shabe histories record prior conflicts, such as the violence between the Amùṣù dynasty and local communities during the Middle Shabe noted above, but these were between lineages or small coalitions. Late Shabe period conflicts were on a larger scale, pitting entire Shabe communities against the armies of Dahomey, Egba (a former province of Oyo), Borgu, and Fulani raiders. Thus, while the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods are defined by settlement growth and centralization, the Late Shabe period is characterized by dissolution.

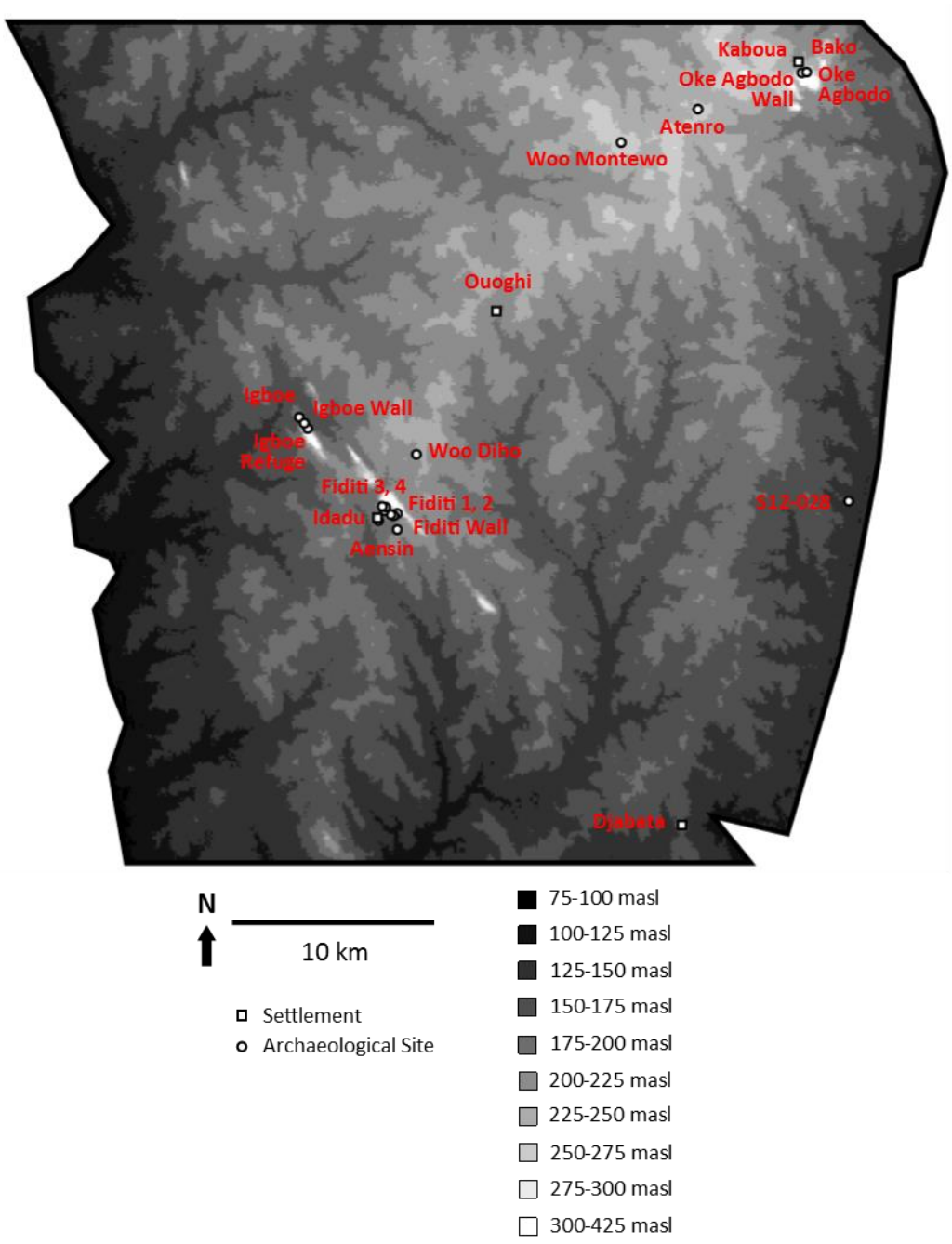


Figure V.16 Map of Late Shabe sites identified through reconnaissance survey and associated present-day settlements.

Instability in the Save hills was precipitated by the collapse of Oyo. Though the actual political relationship between Shabe and Oyo is unclear, the two share common elements in their foundation narratives and were likely linked through their mutual participation in the Ife dynastic

field (see Chapters II and III). Indeed, following Oyo's collapse there was an interregnum period when a suitable successor to the Onishabe office could not be named, perhaps due to a lack of confirmation from Oyo (Palau Martí 1992a: 193). Shabe's economy may have been disrupted too. By the end of the 19th century CE, Shabe merchants used Oyo-controlled trade routes to the coast to participate in the trans-Atlantic trade (Adediran 1994: 194). In addition, Shabe communities relied on Oyo to keep the armies of neighboring polities in check. With the buffer of the Oyo military gone, the Savè area was periodically raided by other polities in the Yoruba-Edo region as well as by Fulani groups from the north (Palau Martí 1992a: 208-210). Another concern for Shabe was the growing power of Dahomey as it sought to expand east into the vacuum left by Oyo's collapse (Monroe 2014: 71).

Oral histories from both Shabe and Dahomey record a series of battles fought between the two polities starting around 1820 CE (Duncan 1847: 41-42; Palau Martí 1992a: 196-199). Though Shabe, backed by Oyo, started as the aggressor, its armies were routed around 1828 CE. The Dahomean forces eventually marched on Shabe-Idadu around 1834 CE, destroying it. Shabe-Idadu was a prime target for many of the incursions of the Late Shabe period. Oyo's defeat in the Battle of Ilorin in 1837 CE marked the end of its reign and was quickly followed by the abandonment of its capital at Oyo-Ile. The Sokoto Caliphate that formed along Oyo's northern territory started to raid into Shabe territory, though this primarily affected the communities north of the study area.

The destruction of settlements at the start of the Late Shabe period spurred the foundation of fortified hilltop refuges. The settlements near Shabe-Idadu fled to the multi-site complex of Fiditi on the Oke Shabe hill. Four sites are known from oral histories as belonging to Fiditi. The largest of these sites, Fiditi 1 (S12-004), has a surface scatter of 12.1 ha and is the largest site in

the study area. It is located on a level granite plateau between the U-shaped domes of the hill. The opening of the U-shaped domes is fortified by a paired earthen berm and ditch. These features abut the sheer face of the granite and run toward the southwest (see Appendix A). A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed on the berm to investigate its composition and confirmed an anthropogenic origin. About 70 meters west of the berm is a large earthen mound which conjoins with an uncoursed dry stone wall (S12-001). A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit was placed on the mound. The excavation revealed rammed earth debris consistent with collapsed architecture. In his MPhil thesis, Simon Agani (2015) interprets this structure as a guard house given its proximity to fortifications and position at the egress point of the Fiditi 1 settlement. Fourteen baobab trees are associated with the artifact scatter, indicating that the refuge was inhabited long enough for occupants to manage the early growth of these trees. A 1 m x 2 m excavation was conducted near the largest baobab on the site, but the integrity of subsurface deposits was badly disturbed by present-day agricultural activities. In addition, a rockshelter at the northwestern edge of the site is associated in oral histories with the grave of Ọba Otewa, the Onishabe credited with founding Fiditi.

The three more surface scatter sites make up Fiditi. All three are located on the domes of the Oke Shabe hill. Fiditi 2 (S12-006) is comprised of a surface scatter with one large mound. It is also enclosed by the same stone wall that protects Fiditi 1 (Figure V.17). Fiditi 3 (S12-009) and Fiditi 4 (S12-012) are higher up on the hill and are enclosed by their own uncoursed dry stone wall (S12-008). Despite their inaccessibility, architectural features were found at both of these sites, indicating resident investment in the refuge and perhaps a long duration occupation. Palau Martí (1992a: 225) recorded a narrative stating that the Fiditi sites were destroyed around 1860 CE during a conflict between the Otọ́lá and Amùṣù lineages. This version conflicts with

narratives offered by both the Onishabe and Ola-Amùṣù in 2012 and 2013, which state that Fiditi was destroyed in a later war against Dahomey. It is possible that both are true, and that Fiditi was occupied—and destroyed—multiple times.

Figure V.17 The highest point of S12-001. The stone wall continues 0.6 km down the hill, enclosing S12-004 and S12-006.

Fortified refuges were built at the other two Middle Shabe period settlements adjacent to granite hills: Igboe and Kaboua. At Igboe, an uncoursed dry stone wall (S12-039) on the dome of Oke Etanetane protects a small refuge site (S13-006). Unlike at Fiditi, there is no evidence for a

sustained occupation, such as architecture or baobabs. The same features are present near Kaboua at Oke Agbodo, though both the uncoursed dry stone wall (S12-043) and artifact scatter (S12-044) are much larger.

The settlements at *woo* Diho, Ouoghi, and Djabata were also destroyed in the Late Shabe period, though they were reoccupied. In some instances, oral histories recall that the response to an imminent attack was simply to flee the settlement into the bush. Though the structures may have been raided and possibly razed, residents could return once the danger had passed and rebuilt. This, of course, relied on advanced knowledge of an attack. This is a possible explanation as to why settlements in the highland area had more durable occupations throughout the period. The more open uplands had an advantage of sightlines compared to the more thickly vegetated riverine areas.

This might also be an explanation as to why two refuge settlements were established in the uplands, even though they were not near fortified hilltops—*woo* Montewo (S12-025) and the reoccupation of Atenro (S12-035). *Woo* Montewo is claimed by the present-day village of Montewo, which moved closer to RNIE 2 after independence as part of the new government's scheme to increase the efficiency of essential services. Its original location at *woo* Montewo, however, was chosen for its location on a slight rise, giving it good sightlines over the surrounding countryside.

Atenro was reoccupied primarily by refugees from Alafia and other nearby communities. During the Late Shabe period, Atenro was a thickly forested sacred grove that provided excellent concealment for the refugees. This implies that the rest of the area was not forested, perhaps an indication of the great extent of agricultural activities at the end of the Middle Shabe period. The *balẹ* of Alafia shared that his parents and their generation occupied Atenro until the beginning of

the European Colonial period when they returned to Alafia. Their reoccupation was limited to the central portion of the site—specifically near the large baobab and mound that were investigated in our excavations. Surface collections at Atenro therefore yield a mixture of the Early Shabe occupation (Phase I) and the Late Shabe occupation (Phase II). The excavated materials are easier to distinguish as they are generally segregated stratigraphically. Pristine Phase I occupation deposits are below the topsoil (zone 1), while mixed Phase I and Phase II occupation deposits are found in the topsoil.

The mound at Atenro was created as a midden during the Phase I occupation and appears to have been used similarly during Phase II. At the interface between the mound's Phase I and Phase II deposits, we discovered a small figurative iron object (Figure V.18). The object is comprised of three iron rods, twisted together in the form of a miniatures bilboes, or leg shackles. Miniaturized objects—particularly those made of iron—are often used as *ògù*, or amulets and charms. The stratigraphic position of the object suggests it was placed on the former midden early in the reoccupation of Atenro, perhaps intentionally placed there to activate it. This is similar to the well-known midden *ògù* of Ketu (Parrinder 1956), and with the general association of the detritus left by ancestors and *àṣẹ* (Doris 2011).

Figure V.18 This miniature bilboes is composed if thee separate iron rods twisted together: one rod forming the shaft and end loop, and two more rods forming each C-shaped restraint.

The Dahomean king Glele ascended the throne in 1858 CE and continued his predecessor's bellicose relations with neighboring polities. At the time, Shabe was deep into its interregnum with no Onishabe or centralized leadership (Palau Martí 1992a: 229-230). Indeed, much of the area around Shabe-Idadu was abandoned with only small populations remaining along the Okpara River. Sometime between 1860 and 1865 CE, Dahomey invaded the area and sacked these remaining settlements (ibid: 231, 240). Ọba Otewa's successor, Boni Akekee was captured and brought to Abomey as a political prisoner. This event marks the beginning of Dahomey's virtual control over Shabe politics. After Boni Akekee's release, the office of Onishabe was reconstituted and Shabe-Idadu was reoccupied. However, tribute was paid to Dahomey, possibly as part of the *xwetanu* annual customs (see Skertchly 1874; Monroe 2011, 2014: 81-83). By 1885 CE, Dahomey had installed an official minder at Shabe-Idadu to monitor the Onishabe and ensure compliance with political and economic demands (Palau Martí 1992a: 240; Adediran 1994: 204).

The site S12-028 is an outlier in the general settlement pattern. While other settlements in the Okpara River basin were destroyed and abandoned, this site was settled during the period of Dahomean rule and was spared destruction. The site consists of a relatively large artifact scatter, several mounds, and large sacred tree species—identical to typical Shabe and autochthonous settlement sites. However, the site is claimed as the ancestral village of Oke-Owo, a present-day settlement nearby. Most lineages at Oke-Owo are not Shabe or autochthon descendants, but are Mahi from the south. They were ceded land by the Dahomean-controlled Onishabe and established a thriving settlement at S12-028. Like Djabata, Oke-Owo was significant as a stop in cross-Okpara River transit routes. Oke-Owo's success as a settlement may be directly due to Dahomey's encouragement of it as a way of controlling, or at least monitoring, regional trade. Dahomey used resettlement strategies as a means of controlled conquered peoples, particularly among the Mahi (Anignikin 2001; Monroe 2014: 165-166)

The settlement pattern derived from the Atenro tract transect survey in the Late Shabe period is identical to that of the Middle Shabe period, as the chronologically sensitive features of the ceramic assemblages do not discern between the two periods. From the general pattern of abandonment described above, it might be assumed that many of the small hamlets and farmsteads were similarly abandoned. However, it may be that rather than completely depopulating the area, residents remained in the area but dispersed to exactly these kinds of small-scale settlements. Though possible, such a scenario is not attended to in the oral history, nor is it commonly observed in cross-cultural studies of settlement responses to warfare (e.g., Rowlands 1972; Haas 2001).

In the Fiditi tract, two sites with Shabe B type assemblages likely belong to the Late Shabe period: S12-013 and S12-014. In both cases, small amounts of rammed earth architectural

debris are on the surface. These sites are on the Oke Shabe hill, but less accessible than the Fiditi 3 and Fiditi 4 sites. S12-013, in particular, is very difficult to access. Inaccessibility is likely a defensive feature of the sites. Though not remembered as part of the Fiditi site complex, these two sites may have been part of it but forgotten due to their inaccessibility. Alternatively, they may have been occupied after the destruction of Fiditi and during the invasions by Dahomey.

The three size rank settlement pattern of the Middle Shabe period was transformed into a cyclical pattern of large and medium sized village sites being abandoned and replaced with refuge sites, then reoccupied. The smaller settlement sites completely drop out of the pattern (Table V.5). Refuge sites can be small, like the reoccupation of S12-035, but they are more likely to be large. Fiditi 1 is the largest known archaeological site in the area without even including the Fiditi 2 through 4 sites. The unfortified refuge at *woo* Montewo was also relatively large at 5.4 ha, though its size may reflect growth during the colonial period. This is a general problem for Late Shabe period sites, as many villages that were abandoned were then reoccupied and built upon.

Site	**Artifact Scatter (ha)**
S12-004	12.1
S12-025	5.4
S12-037	3.3
S12-028	2.1
S12-044	1.5
S12-001	0.9
S12-006	0.8
S12-012	0.7
S12-009	0.6
S12-035	0.3?
S12-014?	0.2
S12-013?	0.1
S12-043	<0.1
S13-006	<0.1
Shabe-Idadu	<32.9

Aensin	<21.2
Kaboua	<20.5
Ouoghi	<20.1
Bako	<8.9
Djabata	<6.0

Table V.5 Area of Late Shabe period sites based on surface artifact scatters.

2. Subsistence

There is very little archaeological data on subsistence from the Late Shabe period. The settlement pattern does not support a dispersed agricultural system as during the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods, but it is very likely agricultural activities continued. The forms of ceramic vessels are unchanged from the Middle Shabe and millstones continue to be used, suggesting that food preparation methods remained similar. It is likely that agriculture continued but at a less intensive scale due to the vulnerability of dispersed agricultural settlements, and perhaps because there was less need for intensification due to lower population densities. There was some faunal material present in the excavations at Fiditi 1, but it was too fragmentary to identify specific taxa.

It may be that decreases in agro-pastoral production were offset by increased exploitation of wild resources. During a similar period of prolonged instability in the Banda area of Ghana, archaeobotanical deposits and oral history show that agricultural communities turned to foraging (Logan 2012: 283-290). Shabe communities retained extensive knowledge of edible wild plants in the 1960s, perhaps indicating a similar level of wild resource exploitation in the 19th century (Palau Martí 1992b: 335-338). Larger scale excavations in the future should help resolves these questions.

3. Craft Production

Craft production was a decentralized, small-scale endeavor prior to the Late Shabe period. This did not change, as the same types of artifacts are found and there is an absence of specialized sites (Table V.6). However, the instability of the period may have had some effect on craft production. At Fiditi 1, some pottery was excavated that had very large inclusions of feldspar (Figure V.19). These sherds also tended to be more eroded than others in the same contexts. These two features indicate that some Late Shabe period pottery was produced using different fabric recipes and raw materials than what was used in the Middle Shabe period. Further, all such sherds were restricted to Fiditi 1, a settlement exclusively occupied as a refuge. Pottery production continued even during periods of instability, but potters may have had to make due with new clay sources or with more expedient techniques that included adding—or allowing—larger tempering materials.

Site	Context	Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)	Ceramics (Coarse Pipe)	Ceramics (Refined Pottery)	Fauna (Cowry)	Glass (Bead)	Glass (Vessel)	Iron (Figurative)	Iron (Slag)	Iron (Tool)	Lithics (Bead)	Lithics (Flaked Tool)	Lithics (Ground Tool)
S12-004	Surface	X	X		X		X		X	X			X
S12-004	Excavation	X											
S12-035	Surface	X								X			X
S12-035	Excavation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
S12-037	Surface	X					X		X	X			X
S12-037	Excavation	X	X		X		X		X	X	X		X
S12-025	Surface	X					X		X				X
S12-028	Surface	X		X	X	X	X						X
S12-044	Surface	X											
S12-001	Surface	X											
S12-006	Surface	X								X		X	X

S12-012	Surface	X		X	X								
S12-009	Surface	X		X	X		X			X			X
S12-014?	Surface	X			X		X			X			X
S12-013?	Surface	X		X	X								X
S13-006	Surface	X											

Table V.6 Artifact classes and subclasses present at Late Shabe period sites.

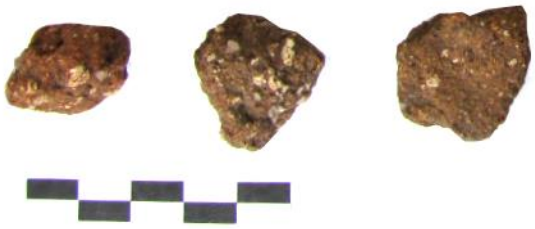


Figure V.19 The feldspar granule tempered pottery from Fiditi 1.

Iron and stone tool production is evidenced by finished tools and, in the case of iron, small quantities of slag. As with earlier periods, slag was recovered from middens where it was deposited alongside typical domestic refuse: potsherds, faunal remains, and charred plant material. The only flaked stone tool recovered from the entire study area was found at Fiditi 2. The tool is bifacially flaked quartz—possibly a small projectile or blade (Figure V.20). Flaked stone tools are unusual in West African iron-using societies, but not without precedent. Archaeological excavations in the Hueda kingdom of southern Bénin suggest that enough iron was produced locally to meet most needs, but quartz knives were still used in domestic contexts (Kelly 2001: 93).

Figure V.20 A bifacially flaked quartz tool. The trapezoidal form is created by a break on the top portion, obscuring an original form that was possibly triangular.

4. Exchange

It is not clear what effect the regional instability of the period had on exchange in the Savè hills area. On the one hand, the network of area markets that had likely built up over the Middle Shabe period would have been seriously affected by the radical abandonment of settlements and general depopulation. On the other hand, the artifact assemblages at Late Shabe period sites have the highest quantities and diversities of artifacts obtained through participation in the Atlantic trade. This indicates that exchange was more characteristic of a colonial style economy, in that it was oriented toward foreign markets rather than the local economy.

Cowries continue to be found at Late Shabe period sites, including refuges. Stone beads were recovered from two sites. One bead, from Igboe, is a tubular jasper bead, similar to those produced at the time in Ilorin (O'Hear 1986). Glass beads were also recovered from two sites. Overall, the variety of bead styles is more diverse than in the Middle Shabe period. Long, cylindrical blue beads were found, and so were hexagonal blue beads and short cylindrical white

beads. These bead styles were brought to West Africa from Europe, often where they were produced as well (DeCorse et al. 2003).

The two other classes of European-derived material culture are glazed, wheel-made, refined earthenware ceramics and glass bottles. These are found in very limited quantities at most Late Shabe period sites. A clear outlier is S12-028, where we recovered 52 sherds of refined earthenware ceramics from the surface of the site. By comparison, only five such sherds were recovered from the surface of all sites in the Fiditi complex, despite its being many times larger. A similar pattern occurs with bottle glass, where 23 shards were recovered from S12-028 and only four at all Fiditi sites. *Woo* Montewo has the second most glass on the surface of all sites, with eight shards.

5. Political-Economic Organization

By the admission of its own oral history corpus, the political-economic organization of the Shabe kingdom dissolved during the Late Shabe period. The number of settlements in the area was reduced, and the pattern of small dispersed agricultural sites surrounding larger villages was replaced with one of moderate to large refuges isolated on the landscape. Stone fortifications are the most conspicuous markers of this period of war and conflict. Despite the threats posed by instability—or, perhaps, because of them—the Shabe kingdom remained a centralized polity, if reduced in scale. According to the Onishabe's oral traditions, labor was organized by the Onishabe to construct monumental stone walls. The stone walls of Fiditi total one kilometer in length and remain one meter high in some places, though the original height of the wall is reported to have been over two meters. Some of the wall material was repurposed during the European Colonial period to construct the railway and some buildings in Shabe-Idadu (Palau

Martí 1992a: 224). The alignment of the wall is perfectly positioned to accentuate the natural cliff faces of the Oke Shabe hill and encircle the Fiditi complex. The amount of labor required to build the wall, as well as the planning to lay it out, is indicative of a centralized authority with a significant labor force.

Though a time of refuge, status differences were not erased during the occupation of Fiditi. Cowry shells, refined earthenware, and bottle glass are much more prevalent at the hilltop sites (Fiditi 3 and 4) than they are at those lower down (Fiditi 1 and 2). For example, 20 cowries were recovered from the surface of the hilltop sites, whereas only one cowry was recovered from the lower sites, despite their much larger surface area. Cowries were also found at the hilltop sites S12-013 and S12-014. These hilltop sites were also protected by their own stone wall. Though the walls undoubtedly served a defensive function, they also restricted access to the hilltop sites, which served to spatially and, perhaps, symbolically differentiate the Shabe refugees. Indeed, the hilltop is associated in oral history with the refuge of the Onishabe and other elite individuals (Palau Martí 1992a: 224-225).

After the Dahomean invasion and subjugation of Shabe, it is unclear how much direct influence Dahomey had. The relationship may have simply been tributary, as was potentially the relationship between Shabe and the Oyo Empire. In this case, the Onishabe may have still been a largely autonomous and relatively centralized authority, as this would be favorable to Dahomey for maintaining order and the flow of tribute. The installation of a Dahomean minder toward the end of the Late Shabe period may point to tensions in this relation, as Shabe clearly lost some of its autonomy.

Concurrent with the Dahomean invasion is the introduction of new forms of material culture. It is not clear how refined earthenware ceramics and glass from Europe were consumed

by Shabe peoples, or if they displaced any previous forms of material culture. Imported ceramics and glass certainly did not replace local industries, but they may have competed with other prestige goods, such as stone and clay beads. The prevalence of such goods at S12-028 indicates that they were available in significant quantities. That they are not found at contemporary sites may reflect the continued preference of Shabe communities for material culture and symbols derived from the Ife dynastic field, rather than the new access to European goods that came with subjugation to Dahomey. Indeed, the presence of an Ilorin-style bead supports the continued flow of material culture westward to the Savè hills area. European material culture would become much more available and prevalent in the following period, when Dahomean rule was abruptly replaced with French rule.

D. The European Colonial Period (1894-1960 CE)

1. Settlement Pattern

The European Colonial period began in 1894 when Ọba Akemun signed a treaty with the French government establishing the Shabe kingdom as a protectorate of France. France had recently conquered Dahomey, and the general attitude in Shabe was reported to have been grateful to the French (Palau Martí 1992a: 252). As a protectorate, the Onishabe believed he would have the support of the French military in rebuilding the kingdom after the devastation of the 19th century CE. Indeed, the area attracted back many of the refugees that had fled, and many new settlers came to the area attracted by the availability of arable land and the colonial peace. Over the European Colonial period, the number of settlements and their distribution would greatly increase over the preceding Late Shabe period (Figure V.21). The settlement pattern

established during this period has remained virtually identical to the present, save for slight movement of several villages and the continued immigration of new settlers from other parts of Bénin over the last 50 years.

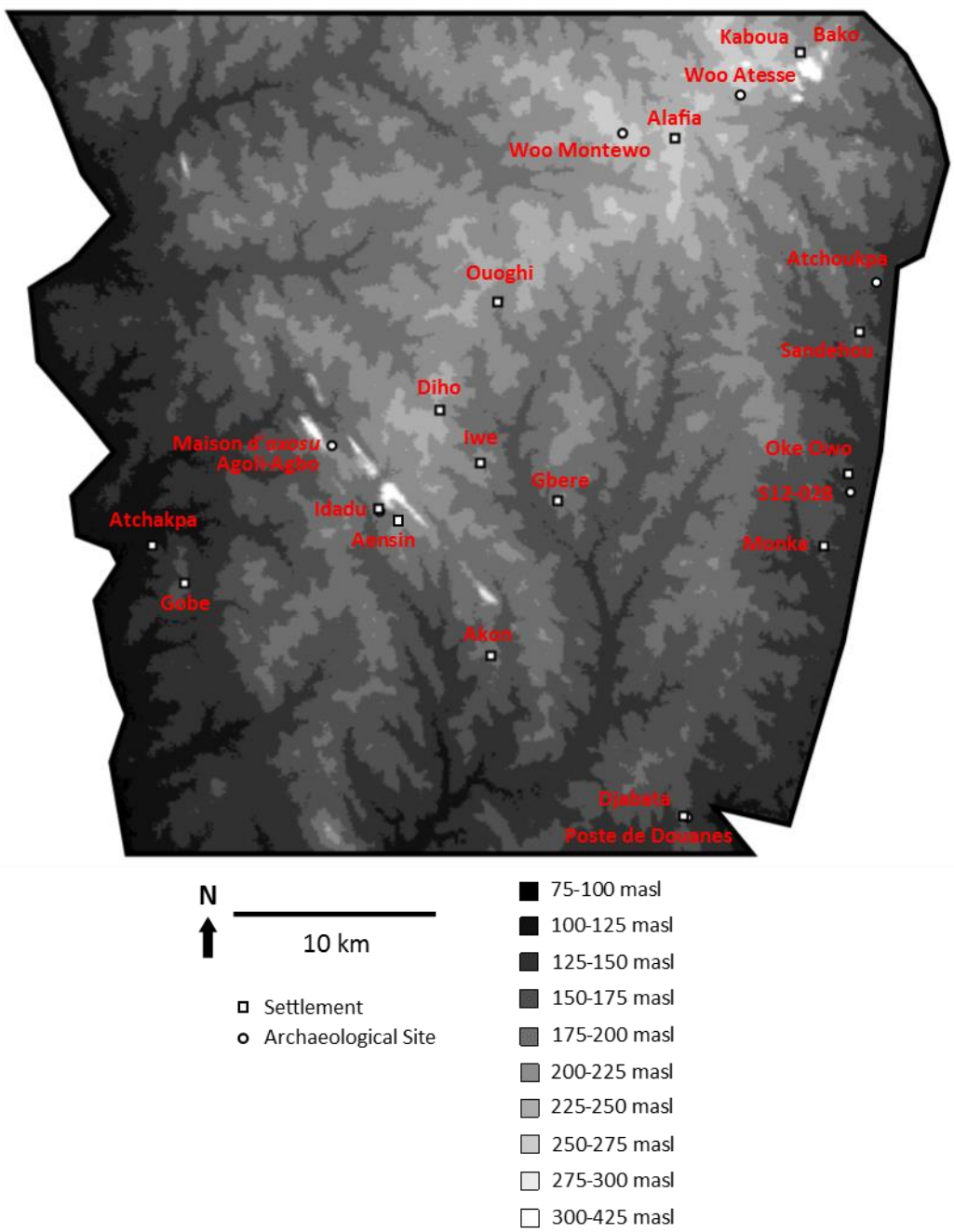


Figure V.21 Map of European colonial sites identified through reconnaissance survey and associated present-day settlements.

Many settlements that had been abandoned during the Late Shabe period were reoccupied in the European Colonial period. Alafia, Diho, Gbere, and Monka were all reconstituted near their former locations. New Shabe settlements, such as Iwe, Akon, Atchoukpa, and *woo* Atesse were established radiating out from the major centers of Shabe-Idadu and Kaboua. At Shabe-Idadu, the Onishabe built a new *afin* palace as well as the area's first mosque. In 1910 CE, only the areas surrounding the palace and the Thoui neighborhood were occupied (Couchard 1911). By 1960, the old section of Shabe-Idadu had been completely rebuilt and new quarters across the Ayin River were already growing. The French colonial government also built a *résidence*, or administrative post, adjacent to the *afin*. This post was connected to the government's central operations in Porto Novo by an extension of the railway in 1910 CE. The expansion of the colonial government into the area also marks the lexical shift from the capital of the Shabe kingdom being known as Savè instead of Shabe-Idadu.

Of the new and reconstituted settlements, only two have been abandoned since the end of the European Colonial period: Atchoukpa and *woo* Atesse. In both cases, as at *woo* Montewo, the settlements were abandoned as the residents found them too far from essential services—i.e., major roads. Though their locations are known from maps produced during the period (see Couchard 1911; Palau Martí 1992a: unnumbered plate), no archaeological remains could be identified.

The Mahi community at S12-028 moved their settlement to Oke-Owo in 1934 CE following repeated smallpox outbreaks (Flynn 1997b: 37). In addition, a second Mahi settlement was established at Sandehou. Along the Ouémé River, more non-Shabe settlements were

established. Gobe and Atchakpa were founded by Idaisha refugees from the southwest that had lost their villages and lands to Dahomean aggression. Under the colonial peace, they were encourage to settle in the vacant land along the river. Like the Mahi, these Idaisha were incorporated into the Shabe kingdom by being assigned *balę* that reported to the Onishabe and his council.

Colonial rule indirectly affected settlement in the Save hills by reducing instability and encouraging the foundation of new agricultural communities. Some colonial practices did have a direct impact. Following Dahomey's defeat, the French appointed the *axosu* Agoli-Agbo to its throne. Agoli-Agbo acted as a puppet for the French until they transitioned from indirect rule to direct rule in 1900 CE. At this time, he was exiled to Gabon, until being allowed to return in 1910 CE. However, he was viewed as too potent a symbol of opposition to French rule, and so was detained at a compound just north of Shabe-Idadu (S13-008). This site consists of several large mounds which may be the remains of collapsed earthen architecture, as well as an artifact scatter and several baobabs which are kept as shrines by Fon people living in the area. The French government also set up a customs post at Djabata (S12-023). The cement foundations of this post are still visible today. Just as the Onishabe was introducing Islam to the area, the French introduced Catholicism. The first church was built in Shabe-Idadu, using stones pulled from the ruins of Fiditi, while smaller missions were built in some of the surrounding settlements. One such mission is said to have been established at *woo* Montewo, where the foundations of a square-shaped earthen structure are visible.

2. Subsistence

There is very little archaeological data for daily life during the European Colonial period. Settlement patterning remained stable throughout the period, resulting in very little abandonment and correspondingly little generation of undisturbed archaeological contexts. Though it is possible to excavate contemporary middens to find European Colonial deposits, this avenue was not explored in my project as the emphasis of my targeted excavations was on Early Shabe through Late Shabe sites.

Fortunately, the lack of archaeological data is countered by written observations and ethnographies of daily life. The quality of these sources varies and may not always describe the typical practices of the period, despite their tendency to frame described activities as normative. Even so, the sources are, at least, factual first-hand accounts of Shabe communities during the period. In some cases, the written accounts of this period have become the codified version of Shabe life, as literate Shabe over the past century have used these texts to privilege certain political narratives as well as define what constitutes "traditional" Shabe culture. This flattened ethnographic present was described more thoroughly in Chapters II and III.

Cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) and African yams were the predominant cultivars in the Savè area at the beginning of the 20th century CE (Couchard 1911: 38). Both foods were cooked in large earthenware jars (ibid: 36). Couchard (ibid: 38) uses the term *akassa* in reference to the cassava, suggesting that the base carbohydrate for this staple fermented dough had not yet been replaced by maize, as is the case in present-day cuisine. Couchard (ibid) also refers to a dish made of ground maize or millet called "caké" (original quotation marks), which is likely a reference to *kenkey*, a similar fermented dough more common in Ewe-speaking areas of Bénin. More commonly, however, maize and millet were brewed into *shakparo*, a kind of beer. Beyond these staples, Savè area communities also cultivated beans, onions, peppers, peanuts, tobacco

and collected palm nuts to produce oil (ibid: 60). Cotton was also grown, though as a cash-crop encouraged by the French colonial government (ibid).

The same range of crops is reported 50 years later by Palau Martí (1992a: 42-43). Yams and *shakparo* were still very common, and were supported by a range of garden cultivars. However, a notable exception is cassava, which is not reported by Palau Martí as being grown at all in the area. This is unusual, as cassava is an important crop today. It is also unlikely that Palau Martí would not have recognized cassava as it has a very distinct presentation, and Palau Martí extensively studied even the more esoteric elements of Shabe plant use (see 1992b: 335-338). It may be that cassava fell out of favor in the mid-20th century CE and was replaced by maize, which Palau Martí (1992a: 42) describes as a much more important resource than Couchard does. Despite the apparent lack of cassava, *akassa* was a common dish though it may have now been conflated with *kenkey* and made of maize (Palau Martí 1992a: 48). In addition, Palau Martí notes that bananas, tomatoes, okra, and leafy greens were grown near settlements for local consumption, and that tobacco, peanuts, and pineapple were grown in large plantations as cash crops (ibid). Today, maize and cassava are the most common crops, perhaps coming at the expense of yams which are perhaps less common than described in the European Colonial period sources. Otherwise, the same range of plants are grown, though the tobacco and pineapple plantations have been replaced by intensive cashew arboriculture.

Couchard (1911: 60) reported goats, sheep, and cattle as the primary domesticated animals kept by Savè area communities in the early European Colonial period. He only notes that these animals were often sold to Hausa traders en route to Lagos (ibid: 57). The situation was essentially the same at the end of period, though Hausa involvement in the trade of domesticated animals is not reported. Instead, cattle were kept locally by Fulani herdsmen in conjunction with

Shabe landholders (Palau Martí 1992a: 47). Palau Martí (ibid) observed that domesticated animals were kept primarily for ritual sacrificial purposes, rather than for daily subsistence. However, as ritual sacrifices often included consumption as part of the practice, the separation of the two domains is somewhat artificial. Regardless, Palau Martí (ibid: 47-48) notes that the products of hunting constitute the majority of meat consumption.

Fish were consumed more frequently than either wild or domesticated animals. In the early European Colonial period, fish were caught and smoked along both rivers, though Couchard noted distinct differences in the methods of preservation and preparation between communities on the Okpara River, specifically Djabata, and those on the Ouémé River (1911: 38-39). As noted above, Gobe and Atchakpa near the Ouémé River were both founded by Idaisha refugees, who apparently brought with them distinct culinary practices. Fish was commonly consumed in riverine communities; smoked fish was also traded to upland communities (ibid: 58). Palau Martí (1992a: 48) observed fishing with natural toxins at Djabata, as it is still practiced today, but noted that most fish was now imported from either Malanville in the extreme north and Porto Novo in the extreme south.

3. Craft Production

Craft production was a low intensity industry during the European Colonial period. Most Savè area inhabitants engaged in agriculture, hunting, fishing, or trade (Palau Martí 1992a: 51). Spinning, weaving, carpentry, potting, and iron production were all known to have been practiced during the period but were not major economic pursuits (ibid: 53). These occupations seem to have been practiced within households, lineages, and/or settlements through unspecialized, small-scale, part-time production. A possible exception to this is iron production,

where several lineages are noted as being particularly skilled in mining or the production of iron tools and charms (Palau Martí 1992b: 167-168, 205-209, 234-236). Iron production may have been more specialized than other craft activities, though it remained a part-time occupation.

It is likely that the local production of craft goods was supplanted by imports during the European Colonial period. Though markets in the area were very small and poorly attended at the beginning of the period (Couchard 1911: 58), the extension of the train to Savè greatly increased the intensity of commerce, so much so that there were several large periodic markets and smaller daily markets by the end (Palau Martí 1992a: 52-53).

4. Exchange

The Savè hills area is fully drawn into the colonial world system during the European Colonial period. The French colonial government was actively involved in shaping exchange relationships between Savè area communities and national markets, such as with the establishment of formal trade and production associations (Couchard 1911: 57-58). In addition, the construction of the railway to Shabe, its terminus until the 1920s, established Savè as a major market for cattle. Cattle were driven to Savè from the north where they were loaded onto railcars and shipped to the coast for consumption by residents of the growing colonial cities (Manning 1982: 148).

Growing colonial markets solidified Savè as a regional exchange center. As noted above, Savè went from having virtually no market presence at the end of the Late Shabe period to multiple thriving markets at the dawn of independence. Exchange was not limited to the colonial boundaries, as Savè's position near Nigeria and intimate connections to many communities along the border contributed to a flourishing cross-border trade (Flynn 1997a, 1997b).

5. Political-Economic Organization

When Ọba Akemun signed a protectorate agreement with the French, he ushered in sweeping changes to the power of the Onishabe and other political institutions of the Shabe kingdom. At the time, however, we might speculate that Ọba Akemun believed that a deal with the French would restore the sovereignty of the kingdom, as at the close of the Late Shabe period the Shabe kingdom was subservient to Dahomey. Indeed, allying with the French did restore the prominence of the Onishabe. As the French operated until 1900 CE through indirect rule, the Onishabe wielded full authority throughout the kingdom with the backing of the French military. Even the Amùṣù lineage, who had resisted the authority of the Onishabe and had led an attack on Shabe-Idadu during the instability of the preceding period, resettled at Savè and reconciled with the Otọ́lá lineages (Palau Martí 1992a: 253).

The French colonial government began levying increasingly burdensome taxes in cash and forced labor following the colony's transition to direct rule (Palau Martí 1992a: 254). In 1903 CE, the Onishabe was arrested by the colonial government for undermining its authority through encouraging local resistance to this "*code de l'indigénat*." Ọba Akemun was exiled to Porto Novo until 1910 CE. Before his return, the government established a *résidence* adjacent to the palace in order to monitor his actions after release. Such a system of internal exile and monitoring was a common strategy of the French in subduing African polities, as evidenced by the treatment of the Dahomean *axosu* Agoli-Agbo as described above.

After the death of Ọba Akemun's successor in 1933 CE, there was infighting among the Otọ́lá lineages over which candidate would become the new Onishabe. The conflict was aggressive enough that the French colonial government stepped in and abolished the position

altogether (Palau Martí 1992a: 264). The Otọ́lá lineages were shaken by this, and came together to nominate a new Onishabe. However, the French had already decided it would be simpler to be done with the vestiges of indirect rule and outlawed the new king. To make their point, they demolished the *afin*, sending the Onishabe into hiding near Okpara River (ibid: 268).

The Onishabe was tolerated for the rest of the European Colonial period, though held no official authority. Despite this, the Onishabe remained an important political figure, as colonial law did little to supplant the lineage politics that characterized the Shabe political economy. Indeed, the French likely feared the Onishabe's growing influence in the region. The copper-alloy bracelet found by the current Onishabe, Ọba Adetutu (see Chapter III) is the most striking piece of Ife-style political art associated with kingdom and dates precisely to this period where the Onishabe is losing its political autonomy.

The French colonial government's attempt to supplant the Shabe political economy through its emphasis on restricting the Onishabe ultimately failed: the Shabe retained most aspects of their lineage system and continued to resist colonial rule by withholding taxes and engaging in illicit trade (see Asiwaju 1976; Flynn 1997a; Igué 2003). Part of the reason may have been the colonial government's single-minded focus on the institution of the Onishabe. Even with the nominal head of the kingdom in exile, the *agànì*, *balé*, *balè*, and *balọ́dè* institutions were left intact. Though the French introduced Catholicism, and later Protestantism, *oríṣà* worship flourished. New forms of ritual practice were also introduced from the Ife dynastic field, such as the *Gèlèdè* masquerade (Drewal & Drewal 1983: 277).

The European Colonial period thrust the relatively isolated Shabe kingdom into the global system. The overall magnitude of the colonial project in Africa was tremendous but it had a relatively small effect on the Shabe political economy. Yes, the colonial system opened up the

Savè area economy to much greater participation in the cash economy and access to imported goods, but this was more a return to the economic practices of the Middle Shabe period than it was a radical transformation. Despite the attempts of the colonial government to dismantle the office of the Onishabe, it survived into national independence. It was not until then that the office truly transformed into the "traditional" custodian of Shabe culture that it has become today.

CHAPTER VI

The Evolution of Shabe Kingship

A. Kingship and Settlement in the Savè Hills

1. Centralizing Power

When the Onishabe Oba Adetutu joined Facebook in 2011, Shabe kingship no longer functioned as an autonomous political-economic institution. Kingship still existed, and continues to, but the Onishabe has no ability to command labor, collect taxes, or control the distribution of wealth in society. Instead, the Onishabe is a representative in the ethnic politics of the modern Béninese nation-state. As potent a political actor as he is, his position is still categorically different from the political entity of less than 100 years ago.

Though different in scope, the Onishabe of today retains some similarity to his colonial and pre-colonial predecessors. Shabe kingship remains a centralized institution, in that the power to represent Shabe ethnic and cultural interests is concentrated in his office and then delegated to other cultural and heritage institutions. Any activity deemed to have significant Shabe cultural content is in some way approved by, at least reported to, the Onishabe. The Onishabe has remained at the top of a central hierarchy during the transformation from a political-economic to heritage institution.

Key questions this dissertation addresses are when and how did centralized political institutions form in the Savè hills area. From the archaeological data presented in Chapter V, the answer to "when" is the Middle Shabe period of 1700 to 1830 CE. Historical sources make it clear that Shabe kingship was well developed during the European Colonial period, and therefore centralization must have occurred earlier. Archaeological data for the Middle Shabe period is lacking, but the remains of the Shabe palace from this period suggest the Onishabe was able to mobilize labor and resources to support itself. The archaeological evidence is stronger for the Late Shabe period, where at Fiditi alone there is ample evidence for monumental construction and spatially restricted differences in wealth related to the Onishabe. It is during the Middle Shabe period that the first evidence is found for monumental architecture, pronounced wealth differences between sites, and specialized ritual centers. The developments of the Middle Shabe period built on the foundations of the Early Shabe period. During this period, there are some wealth differences between sites, but this appears to be largely a function of differences between Shabe immigrants and the autochthonous communities.

The data on site size collected during the reconnaissance and transect surveys can be used to bolster the conclusions on centralization drawn from material culture and architectural features. Specifically, site size hierarchies can be identified in the settlement patterns of different periods in the Savè hills. As discussed in Chapters IV and V, the presence of a site size hierarchy is often taken in archaeology as an indication of a regional political hierarchy (Johnson 1977; Earle 1987; Peregrine 2004: 285; Duffy 2015).

Using difference in site size as an indicator of political hierarchy turns on the assumption that decision-making and the coordination of activities tends to occur at larger sites in a regional settlement system (Wright & Johnson 1975). Thus, site size hierarchies often overlap with and

result from political hierarchies, though it is important to note that differences in archaeological site size can be produced from processes other than administration (Duffy 2015). The absolute size of sites and their functional variability must be considered in interpreting the significance of any settlement hierarchy. Where other indicators of complexity exist—oral history, specialized ritual sites, wealth differences, and monumental architecture in the case of Shabe—site size hierarchies reference the spatial relationships of different administrative tiers between settlements.

The rank-size graph is a useful way to visualize the relationship between sites of different sizes in a settlement system, making it particularly useful for understanding site size hierarchies (Drennan & Peterson 2004; Peterson & Drennan 2012). In a rank-size graph, the relationship between settlement rank (with the largest settlement ranked first, the second largest ranked second, etc.) and settlement size is graphed as a line plot of the logarithms of both variables. A log-normal line—a representation of an ideal settlement pattern wherein the rank 2 settlement is half the size of the rank 1 settlement, the rank 3 settlement is one third the size of the rank 1 settlement, etc.—can be plotted on the graph to provide a metric that facilitates comparison between different graphs. The shape of the lines made by settlement patterns can be compared to discern site size hierarchies (Drennan & Peterson 2004: 534). For example, a pronounced site size hierarchy will have a concave or primate shape, with the line of the settlement pattern dipping below the log-normal line (Haggett 1966). A settlement system without a strong hierarchy will exhibit a convex or even flat line above the log-normal line. However, such a pattern might also result from two compounding settlement systems or from sampling only a portion of a larger system (Johnson 1977; Paynter 1982). Further, complex rank-size lines may

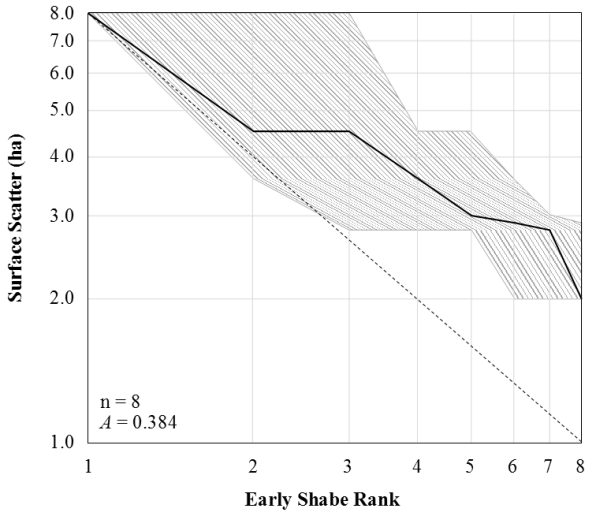
result from the effect of new processes, such as colonialization, on pre-existing settlement systems (Falconer & Savage 1995).

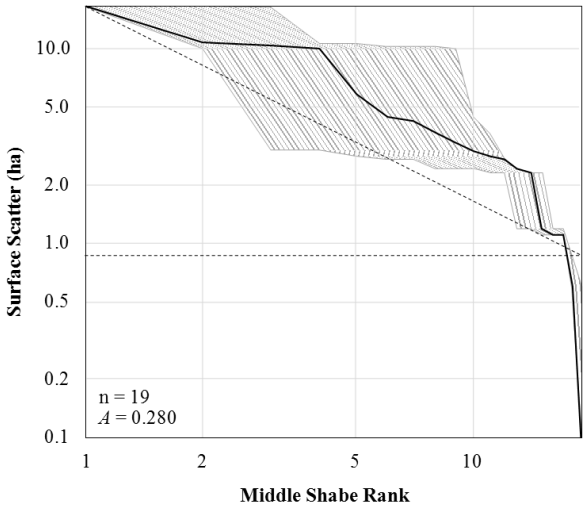
Beyond shape, it is possible to calculate a measurement of deviation from log-normality (Drennan & Peterson 2004). This coefficient, termed *A*, represents the area between the settlement line and the log-normal line. Settlement lines with values primarily above the line will have positive *A* coefficients, while those with values primarily below the line will have negative *A* coefficients. These values allow the degree of deviation from the log-normal line of different settlements lines to easily be compared. It is important to note that such comparisons are heuristic in nature, and not conclusive proof of settlement hierarchies or other spatial relationships among settlements.

The settlement data from the Save hills can be plotted to discern trends in rank-size relationship through time, and thus allows insights into trends in regional political complexity. Settlement size, taken as artifact scatter size, in hectares was plotted against rank for sites documented through reconnaissance survey for the Early Shabe, Middle Shabe, and Late Shabe periods. In addition, the *A* coefficients and their 95% confidence were calculated through the program RSBoot (Drennan 2012; see Drennan & Peterson 2004). RSBoot calculates the confidence interval by drawing 1000 samples of the settlement data for each period through resampling with replacement and then using the distribution of the 2.5^{th} and 97.5^{th} percentiles.

As most sites from the European Colonial periods are obscured by present-day occupations, this period was omitted from the rank-size analysis. However, it was necessary to include some sites presently occupied for the other periods. In these cases, their areas were estimated by halving the present-day limits of the sites. For sites with surface scatter areas of less than 0.1 ha, 0.05 ha was used as a default estimate. Two other estimates were made. For S12-

024, the same area used to estimate the size of Djabata (3.0 ha) was used, as the sites are directly related and in oral history are depicted as having a stable occupation. For the site S12-032, an area of 2.4 ha was used based on the area between baobab trees on the site. While these assumptions may affect the results of the analysis, they allow at least preliminary interpretation of inter-settlement variability and relations. Rank-size graphs by period are presented below (Figure VI.1).





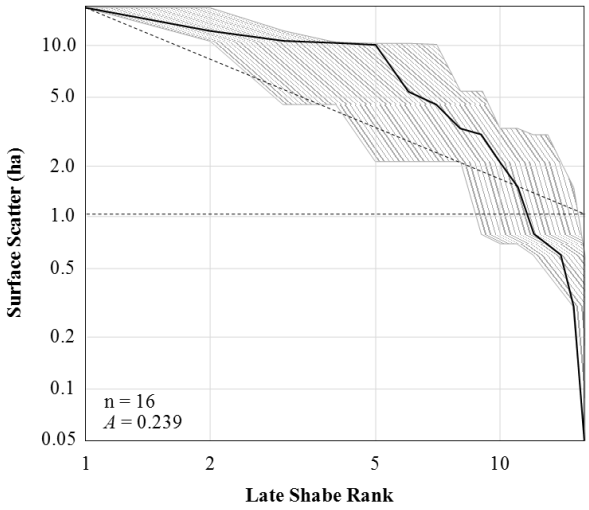


Figure VI.1 Rank-size plots for the Early Shabe through Late Shabe periods. The settlement line (solid black line) is generally convex for each period. *A* decreases through time, when in the Late Shabe period the 95% confidence interval (gray shading) includes the log-normal line (broken line).

The rank-size analysis illustrates the increasing centralization through time described in Chapter V. In each period, the shape of the settlement line is convex, suggesting a less-centralized settlement system than expected. However, the value of *A* is relatively small for all periods, and decreases through time. This indicates that despite the convex shapes, the settlement line is relatively close the log-normal line and even approaches log-normality during the Late Shabe period.

As discussed above, convex settlement lines may be the result of two compounded settlement systems instead of one poorly integrated system (Johnson 1977). Oral histories point to this being the case for the Early Shabe period, when autochthonous villages were joined by the large Shabe migrant settlement of Atenro. Archaeological evidence from Atenro—including the size of the site, the range of artifacts present, and the type of pottery—supports this position by showing clear differences between Atenro and contemporary sites. Therefore, the relative integration of settlements during the Early Shabe period is better understood by omitting Atenro

from the rank-size analysis (Figure VI.2). When this is done, *A* jumps from 0.384 to 0.782, demonstrating the effect of Atenro on the underlying decentralized settlement system. This makes the decreased *A* in the Middle Shabe period much more pronounced and strongly supports a change in settlement system occurring—i.e., centralization.

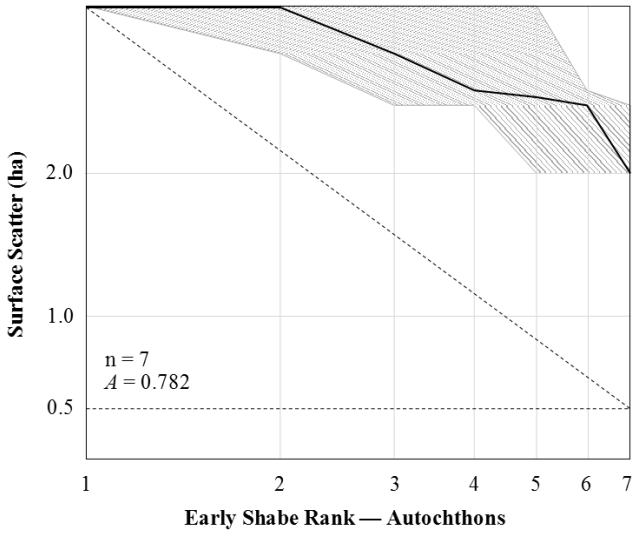


Figure VI.2 Rank-size plot for autochthonous settlements during the Early Shabe period. The settlement line (solid black line) is plotted with its 95% confidence interval (gray shading) and the log-normal line (broken line).

There is also reason to believe that the settlement system during the Late Shabe period is more complex than then rank-size plot above shows. Oral history of the period indicates that villages and refuges were not occupied simultaneously, but instead were alternatingly occupied during cyclical periods of stability and warfare. This is supported by the settlement data that shows refuges are positioned in inaccessible locations, such as hilltops and sacred groves. Such a settlement system is similar to one derived from changes in seasonal occupation, which may look superficially similar to a settlement size hierarchy (Duffy 2015: 88). Splitting the Late Shabe period sites into villages and refuges helps to clarify how the two alternating settlement systems

meshed (Figure VI.3). In this case, the areas of the four Fiditi sites have been combined into one settlement.

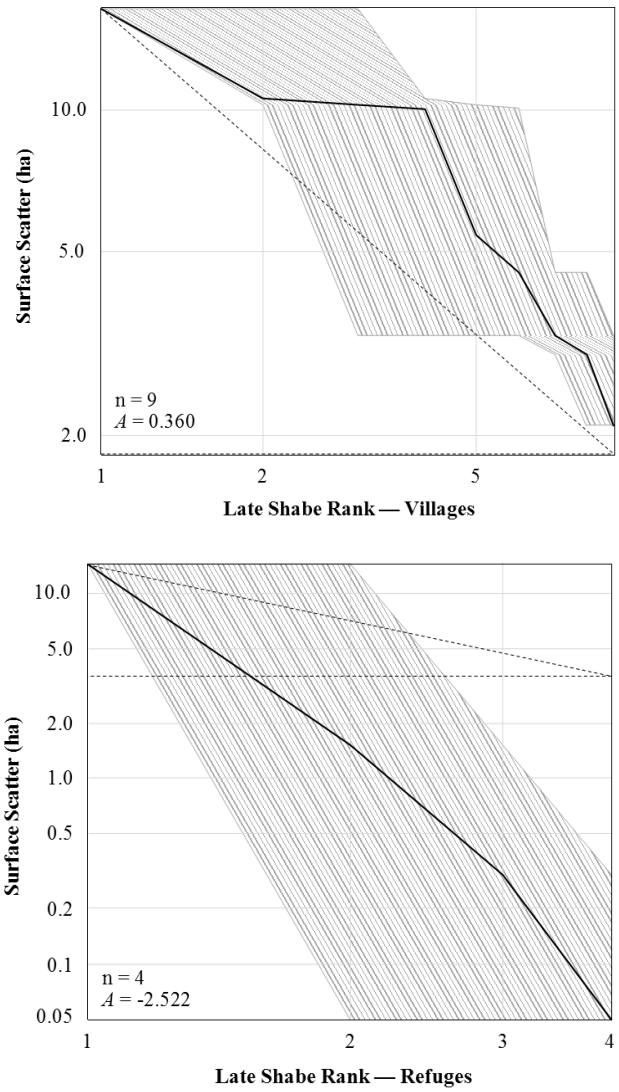


Figure VI.3 Rank-size plots for villages and refuges during the Late Shabe period. The settlement line (solid black line) is plotted with its 95% confidence interval (gray shading) and the log-normal line (broken line).

The rank-size plot for village settlements during the Late Shabe period is still convex with a similar *A* coefficient. The settlement system is virtually identical to the preceding Middle Shabe period system when villages were occupied. However, oral history records sub-periods

when villages were abandoned or destroyed and refugees fled to the area or to inaccessible settlements. During these sub-periods, the settlement pattern is primate, dominated by the large refuge of Fiditi. The *A* coefficient is much lower at -2.522. This pattern indicates that during warfare, Fiditi absorbed the majority of the Savè hills residents, with few residents occupying a handful of small settlements scattered through the area.

The analyses above include only settlements recorded through reconnaissance survey. This is a skewed representation of the overall settlement pattern, as it typically excludes small sites and sites not associated with oral history (see Chapter IV). The transect survey component of this study provides a correction to these biases, but it is too small to capture the entire complexity of the settlement system. Still, it provides some insight into how the smallest sites are regionally integrated. The settlement data from the Atenro survey tract was plotted for rank-size analysis as described above (Figure VI.4). As many of the small settlements lack clear indicators of their chronological period, I chose to randomly assign sites of unknown period to either the Early Shabe or Middle/Late Shabe period. Of the 15 unknown sites, four were assigned to the Early Shabe period and 11 were assigned to the Middle/Late Shabe period, mirroring the proportion between sites of known period. Such a strategy is inherently risky in that it may assign sites incorrectly, in terms of both individual sites and in proportion. Thus, the following analysis is included only as one possible perspective of how the very smallest sites documented in the study area relate to the larger settlement system.

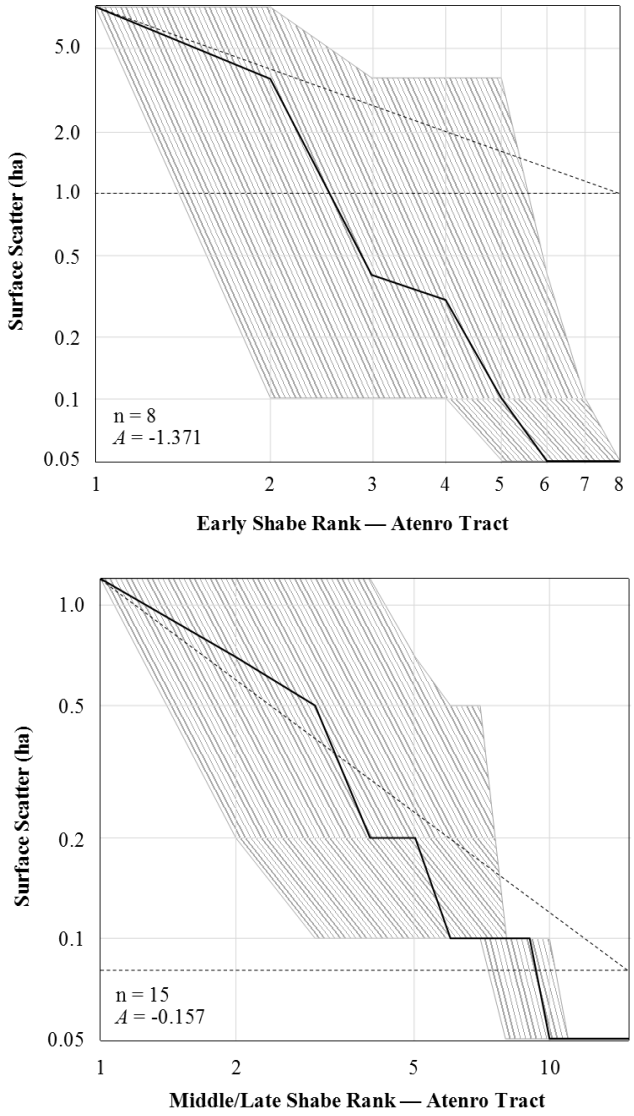


Figure VI.4 Rank-size plots for Atenro tract sites during the Early Shabe and Middle/Late Shabe periods. The settlement line (solid black line) is plotted with its 95% confidence interval (gray shading) and the log-normal line (broken line).

The settlement pattern exhibits a primate distribution during the Early Shabe period. Unsurprisingly, Atenro dominates the other settlements in the surrounding area. The pattern is still primate even if Atenro is removed from the analysis, though *A* is closer to log-normality. It is likely that not all of the smallest sites were occupied contemporaneously, but removing these would not affect the general shape of the plot. The settlement pattern from the Middle/Late

Shabe period is slightly concave, but generally adheres to log-normality. The Atenro tract only includes small villages and farmstead/hamlets, but relative to each other they appear to be fairly well integrated.

The rank-size analyses illustrate the other archaeological data presented in Chapter V that show increasing political-economic complexity from the Early Shabe through Late Shabe periods. The reconnaissance survey and transect survey around Atenro show a general trend toward centralization over time. As noted above, such a settlement pattern is associated with hierarchical administrative systems, fundamental features of complex polities. The Onishabe and the *balẹ* are the institutions most involved in hierarchical decision making, as the Onishabe (at Shabe-Idadu and Fiditi) delegated judicial authority down to the *balẹ* at second tier settlements, which then presided over the third tier settlements and small farmsteads/hamlets. These offices map directly on to the patterning of settlement size.

Specialized structures at Shabe-Idadu and other larger sites were a second mechanism for areal integration. Markets are evidenced indirectly by the earthen berms around Shabe-Idadu, as well as the presence of sacred tree species. Indeed, at many sites trees are used as mnemonics to recall the position of ancient marketplaces (Agbaje-Williams 2005; Gurstelle 2013). Interestingly, at Atenro and Shabe-Idadu, the locations of trees are also recalled as the location of elite residences. The spatial relationship between market and elite residence is a prominent feature of many historically documented African kingdoms (Hodder 1965: 102-103; Good 1973). Certainly in the recent past of the Shabe kingdom, the Onishabe was vested with the authority to tax and control market exchange directly in Shabe-Idadu, and indirectly through the *balẹ* in other settlements.

Evidence for ritual specialization also indicates the central location of the Onishabe. In the Early Shabe period, autochthonous settlements have between zero and five baobab trees which, as discusses in previous chapters, were likely loci of ritual activity. At Atenro, 49 such trees are present indicating a higher degree, or intensification, of ritual practice. Controlling for site size, Atenro still has 6.125 baobabs per hectare, compared to the range of 0 and 1.429 baobabs per hectare at other Early Shabe period sites. During the Middle Shabe and Late Shabe periods, the ritual centrality of the Oke Shabe area, and by extension the Onishabe, is emphasized by the Ogu Tani megalith and the many other shrines in the area. The burial at Aukpon is certainly a departure from normative mortuary practices from at least the early 20th century (Couchard 1911: 30-31). Though the treatment of the body is consistent with that of an elite individual vested with ritual power, the placement in a midden is unusual. Cross-cultural examples of public burials are often attempts to create ritual spaces that cater to large and diverse groups—the kinds of integrative ritual that are key features of complex polities (e.g., Morris 1992; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Kuijt 2001; Fleisher & Wynne-Jones 2012).

In the Late Shabe period, centralization may have been related to defense, as shown by the extreme primacy of Fiditi during refuge sub-periods. Further, refuge sites are fortified with impressive lengths of stone walls, which would require the coordination of a substantial workforce—particularly if built rapidly under duress. It is important to note that during the occupation of Fiditi, status differences between elites and non-elites were not quashed, but if anything manifest more spatially by the occupation of lower-lying, and thus less defensible, settlements on the Oke Shabe hill and the more inaccessible sites higher up. It is only at the higher sites that cowries and bottle glass are found, marking the inhabitants as having greater access to wealth and participation in exchange.

The settlement pattern of the European Colonial period was likely different from the preceding periods, and if estimated and plotted it would likely show a convex shape associated with the meshing of two separate settlement systems or even the double-convex shape of a colonially-oriented system. However, the rich written and oral historical sources reveal that Shabe kingship remained vibrant. The Onishabe was so powerful that it threatened French political-economic domination, prompting the destruction of the palace by French soldiers in 1933. The diminished role of the Onishabe following this event was likely exacerbated following independence, as the nation-state's institutions expanded into more and more areas of political-economic life (Strandsbjerg 2000, 2005; Amuwo 2003; Bierschenk & de Sardan 2003; le Meur 2006). Yet, the Onishabe and other institutions have remained vital by re-inventing themselves as the legitimate custodians of tangible and intangible Shabe heritage.

2. Sources of Legitimacy

The legitimacy of the Onishabe in the present day is tied to the sense of a Shabe ethnicity. In turn, Shabe ethnicity is tied to the idea of a Yoruba tribe. Essentially, to be Shabe is to be Yoruba or, put in historical terms, part of the Ife dynastic field. This is not unexpected, as the colonial world system transmogrified pre-colonial political systems into ethnicities throughout the world (Comaroff 1995; Spear 2003; Posner 2005).Though Shabe communities share many similarities with other Yoruba groups, how far into the past does this connection extend?

The copper-alloy bracelet discovered in the ruins of the European Colonial period palace is material proof of participation in the Ife dynastic field by at least the early 20th century CE, and Johnson's (1921) account of Oyo and Ife history push back Shabe's participation to the mid-

19th century CE. Archaeological traces provide some evidence for even earlier participation. Small numbers of *segi* type glass beads were found at several sites, including the Early Shabe period levels of Atenro. These beads were produced at Ife and passed along regional trade routes. Did the legitimacy of Shabe political institutions hinge on their ability to procure and control wealth through exchange relationships? This exclusionary strategy appears to be at least part of how Shabe elites sustained the political economy. The higher quantities of refined earthenware ceramics and bottle glass obtained through the Atlantic trade found at S12-028, an ethnic Mahi site, further suggest that everyday participation in long-distance exchange was limited, and not a routine part of Shabe life.

Exchange with other communities in the Ife dynastic field was situated in a broader context of regional exchange. Cowry shells are more ubiquitous at sites—appearing first at Atenro in the Early Shabe period, and then at more and more sites through the Late Shabe period. Cowries were a common currency in the region, including the primary currency of Oyo, Dahomey, and the trading entrepôts along the Bight of Benin. Cowry shells are found in higher quantities and at more sites than glass beads, including at relatively small sites. This suggests that unlike glass beads, cowries were not obtained solely through elite exchange activities. On the other hand, the distribution of cowry shells at the Fiditi site complex shows that they are spatially restricted to the smaller, more inaccessible parts of the site. Cowries were likely used in market exchange in Shabe as they were elsewhere in the region, and their concentration at large sites and elite areas is indicative that elite power could be derived through marginal gains on transactions (Guyer 2004).

The Onishabe and other Shabe political elites derived some economic power through their ability to legitimately monopolize exchange relationships and tax market transactions.

However, legitimacy was also derived through local economic transformation. In the Early Shabe period, the Pupa and Shabe A pottery types coexisted with distinct fabric compositions and decorative inventories. The diversity in pottery types of the Early Shabe period contrasts with the following Middle Shabe period, when the Pupa type disappears and the Shabe A type continues with the addition of several new decorative techniques, constituting the Shabe B type. Between the Early Shabe and Middle Shabe periods, local practices were abandoned in favor of Shabe practices. Though this narrowing of pottery production practices could have occurred for a number of reasons, the result is indicative of a more integrated network of local consumption.. Such a network may have already existed within the Shabe migrants prior to the foundation of the kingdom, or it may have been an outgrowth of the Onishabe's conquest of the area surrounding the Oke Shabe hill.

The displacement of the autochthons is a common theme in West African frontier dynamics, wherein the legitimate ownership of land is wrested from "first-comers" through ritual appropriation (Kopytoff 1987). The reorganization of settlements surrounding the Oke Shabe hill in the Middle Shabe period is a classic indicator of this frontier process. Agricultural intensification is an outgrowth of the hierarchical structuring of land ownership among institutions and social groups, such as the Onishabe and *èyílé* lineage groups in this case (Stone 1994; Earle 2000). A specialized ritual complex was established at Aensin (literally "come to worship") during the Middle Shabe period, as well. The transect survey surrounding Atenro revealed a network of small agricultural sites surrounding larger villages. This pattern first appeared in the Early Shabe period surrounding Atenro. Even after Atenro was abandoned and there was no large village in the transect area, the number and spread of agricultural sites

expanded. The system of dispersed agriculture continued, if not intensified, between the Early Shabe and Middle/Late Shabe periods.

Shabe political legitimacy was achieved through appeals to external power structures as well as control of local economic resources. In both cases, however, legitimacy was fragile. There is no strong evidence that Shabe was a province of Oyo, Ife, or any other polity. There is more evidence for the interaction between Shabe elites and these distant polities, but even this is limited. Similarly, there is no strong evidence for centralized control over the local economy. There is no evidence of specialized craft production or agriculture for any period, though the scale of agriculture did increase through time. The Shabe economy, in all periods, is typical of what might be termed a *frontier economy* (*sensu* Kopytoff 1987). In a frontier economy, migrants replicate the practices of the mature economy that they emigrated from. Subsistence and craft production practices are intensified, and exchange is maintained between the new frontier and the homeland. Such economies have been frequently identified in the West African archaeological record (e.g., Gronenborn 2001; Stahl 2004; Swanepoel 2009; de Barros 2012; Monroe & Ogundiran 2012). However, the scale of these economic activities appears to have been limited in the Savè hills.

Economic sources of legitimacy were limited in Shabe. This finding supports the hypothesis that pre-colonial Shabe political institutions exercised power *creatively*, rather than *instrumentally* (*sensu* Robertshaw 2010). Shabe elites were able to control labor and resources through consensus-building and appeals to mutual benefit, rather than coercion, force, or exclusive access to wealth. Certainly, coercion, force, and access were elements of Shabe political culture, but these were not the fundamental sources of legitimacy.

3. Competing Political Institutions

The Onishabe's authority was, and is, premised on a legitimate claim to the office through descent from Baba Guidaï and the consensus of the *ujoyè ọba*, lending support of several other *èyílé* lineage groups to the Onishabe. The Onishabe's power was delegated to the village *balẹ* who facilitated the political-economy that ultimately fed back into the power of the Onishabe. The origins of this administrative hierarchy is what is inferred from the rank-size analysis of the Savè hills area settlement pattern above. Yet, this hierarchy was based on the creative exercise of power and was reliant on the participation of other institutions. Indeed, other institutions composed of Shabe elites are well attested to in the ethnographic and historical literature.

The most apparent is the dual claims to the office of Onishabe itself. As discussed in Chapter III, the present-day Onishabe derives from the Otọ́lá lineages but during the Early Shabe and early Middle Shabe periods, the Amùṣù lineage held the office. The transition from the Amùṣù to Otọ́lá dynasties was precipitated by the *ujoyè ọba*, and presumably some *balẹ*, pulling their support of the Amùṣù. This schism is seen in the archaeological record of the Middle Shabe period by the establishment of the Igboe, Opotoku, and Agba sites. These sites are all located in the northwest quadrant of the study area. This spatial segregation is indicative of the new Otọ́lá dynasty's inability to administrate the territory without consensus.

The problem of political centralization in the Shabe kingdom goes beyond this single event of dynastic succession. Tension is inherent in the political system, as the administrative hierarchy intersects at all levels with the political dimensions of the *èyílé* lineage groups. Political power is crafted through reciprocity, bargaining, and coercion between the *balé* heads

of these groups, who often fill the ranks of the *ujoyè ọba*, and *balẹ̀*. The ability of the Onishabe to exercise power is thus dependent, on some level, on the very institutions with the greatest potential to contest it. The ambivalent construction of power then is perhaps why the dominant settlement pattern in the rank-size analysis is slightly convex. There is an administrative and site-size hierarchy, but administration through the lineage groups remained important. For the autochthonous Early Shabe period settlements, the strongly convex pattern underscores the importance of settlement-level autonomy.

Several other institutions cross-cut these lineage-based political institutions. The hunting and war associations are meritocratic organizations based on skill in those domains, led by *balọdẹ̀* and *balogun*, respectively. As leadership is not inherently based on position in an *èyílé,* these institutions provide routes to power for non-elites. Additionally, the services they render are crucial to the Onishabe. Warfare and the monopoly on force is the most obvious, but in an economy where wild meat consumption is important, as is inferred from the faunal remain assemblages of all periods, hunting provides a critical protein subsistence base. Historically, these two institutions are closely linked to the cult of the *ooṣà* Ogun. Ogun is the patron of smiths and all who use iron products: hunters, warriors, and sometimes agriculturalists. The presence of iron tools is a possible indication of such organization, but iron production was not limited in the region to only Ogun worshippers, which may be a more recent manifestation of the smithing organization in the area. The figurative iron bilboes charm is a better indicator, as Ogun is specifically linked to the creation of iron charms.

Many more *ooṣà* cults and other ritual organizations include non-elite members are known from historical and ethnographic sources. Some of these have relatively little effect on centralization, or may even reinforce it, such as the agricultural patron *ooṣà* Oko, whose worship

in the Middle Shabe period can be inferred from the characteristic red and white clay bead from Aukpon.

Other institutions, however, could directly oppose the power of the Onishabe. Ifá practitioners can directly challenge the administrative hierarchy by foretelling the will of the *ooṣà* and encouraging resistance to the Onishabe in accordance with his auspicious divinations. More often, however, Ifá practitioners arbitrate claims between existing political competitors. The evidence for Ifá in the Savè hills archaeological record is at once abundant and obscure. Baobab trees are connected to Ifá practice, but they may also be managed for other reasons. Cowry shells are also used in Ifá practice, but they were likely used in Ifa only after they became ubiquitous in the region. The distribution of Ifá practitioners well into southern Bénin and Togo, however, points to an early date for its spread into the Savè hills.

The *ooṣà* Ṣàngó cult may have also checked the power of the Onishabe. The worship of Ṣàngó, a deified Oyo king associated with thunder, spread from Oyo to many other parts of the Ife dynastic field, and some have hypothesized that these cults acted as semi-formal taxation and administrative institutions on Oyo's behalf (Morton-Williams 1964: 255; Law 1977: 31, 140; Matory 1993). The date of the Ṣàngó cult's arrival in the Savè hills is unknown, and may have been in the Late Shabe period after Oyo's collapse. This may explain why Ṣàngó is reconceptualized in the Savè hills as a female *ooṣà* —the wife of Ara, another thunder deity (Schiltz 1985).

External challenges to the Onishabe were more prevalent during the Late Shabe period. The settlement pattern of periodically occupying refuge sites and the construction of elaborate fortifications demonstrates the severity of these challenges. Historical sources indicate that Dahomey gained control of the Savè hills in the second half of the 19th century CE. The

establishment of new settlements with strikingly different material culture supports these histories by showing the influx of colonists, likely as part of Dahomey's administrative strategy. Finally, Dahomean control was replaced by French control during the European Colonial period. The legacy of this is evident in several archaeological sites, as well as the dense history of the early 20th century CE. Surprisingly, the underlying hierarchical structure of the Shabe kingdom proved more durable to these external conquerors than it was to the internal challenges posed by institutions described above.

B. The Ongoing Transformation of the Shabe Kingdom

1. Archaeology in Northern Shabe

This study of the archaeology and history of the Shabe kingdom focused on the ascension of centralized political hierarchies and concomitant economic practices. Unfortunately, the study area could not cover the entire Shabe kingdom. The area of the kingdom is simply too large for the scope of this dissertation. The study area was therefore selected to include sites that were most likely related to the process of centralization: the Early Shabe period site of Atenro, the Middle Shabe through present-day capital of Shabe-Idadu, and the Late Shabe refuge of Fiditi. These three sites are all closely linked in oral history to elite political institutions, and the archaeology bore this out as well. Other sites were also politically important. The study area included the Early Shabe (and possibly earlier) period site of Djabata and the Middle Shabe period site of Kaboua—the rulers of which have challenged the centralized authority of the Onishabe.

While establishing important foundational knowledge of the kingdom and its archaeology, the conclusions of this study are limited by its omission of the northern and southeastern parts of the Shabe kingdom. This area contains many Shabe settlements, as well as several politically important centers (Figure VI.5). Indeed, Kilibo was founded by Shabe migrants prior to either Shabe-Idadu or Kaboua (Palau Martí 1992a: 78). The southeastern part of the kingdom has very few Shabe dominant settlements today. This may be because this area was most affected by the war and instability of the Late Shabe period. No oral histories support this hypothesis, and it was not possible to conduct fieldwork in Nigeria to test it archaeologically. Several abandoned settlements known from oral and written histories are adjacent to my study area along the Okpara River. None are currently known from outside this narrow corridor. Future research is required to better understand the long-term development of the entire Shabe kingdom.

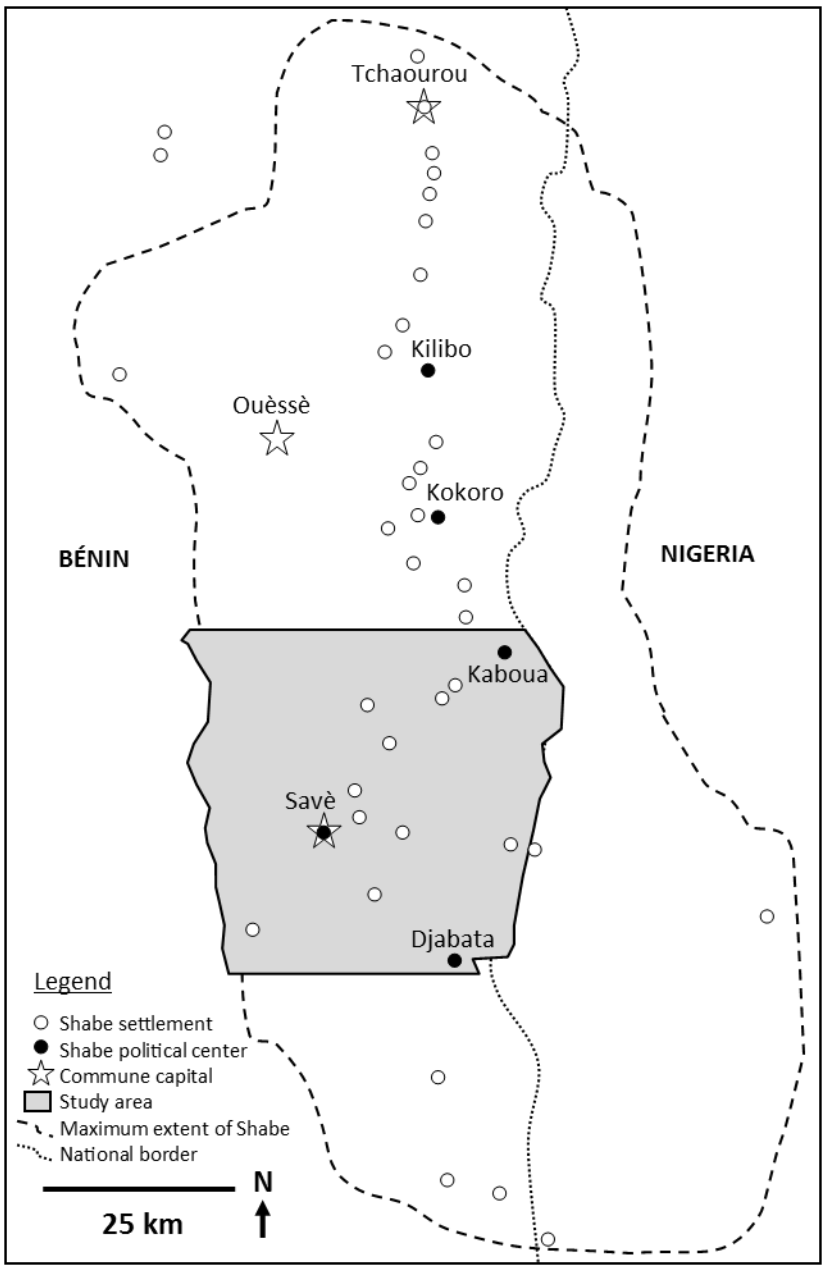


Figure VI.5 Shabe settlements in the north are characterized by a linear distribution parallel to the Okpara River. The southeastern part of the kingdom is largely an open frontier, though may have been more densely occupied prior to the Late Shabe period.

While the southeastern part of the kingdom remains a lacuna, it is clear that including the northern part of the kingdom in future research will be important to expanding our understanding of the Shabe political economy. It is possible that centralization occurred earlier on in the north

before the center of power shifted southward. It is also possible that the north was never very well integrated into the Shabe kingdom and remained relatively autonomous. The presence of distinct material cultures or settlement patterns may even point to a third possibility that the area was organized into smaller centralized polities centered at Kilibo and Kokoro.

The environment and landscape of the northern Shabe kingdom is much the same as it is around Shabe-Idadu. It does grade progressively more into savanna, and this may have impacted the local economy—perhaps allowing or encouraging more cattle pastoralism. A greater impact on the northern economy would simply be the distance to market centers and exchange routes. The linear spatial distribution of northern settlements appears to follow the Hausa caravan route. This is quite different from the settlement clustering in the south, where the central pull of Shabe-Idadu and Kaboua is more evident. The linear arrangement in the north may indicate an economic orientation toward entrepôt Parakou or even the Borgu center of Nikki.

Shabe oral history acknowledges Borgu as the departure point prior to founding Atenro. Borgu history, however, makes the bolder claim that Shabe is essentially its political descendant, having been formed by Borgu political elites (Adekunle 1994; Ali Babio 1994; Akinwumi 1999). This contrasts with the emic Shabe view that their political origins lay in Oyo. It is likely that both views are political extremes, and that the truth lies somewhere in between. The Borgu version may relate to its sphere of influence being stronger in the north, while Oyo's sphere of influence was stronger in the south. This grading of influence may explain why both Shabe and Baatombu (or Bariba, the main ethnolinguistic group of Borgu) were described as varieties of the same race or nationality by 17th century Europeans (Sandoval 1627, in Law 2001: 7-8).

Limited archaeological research has been conducted in northern Shabe. Nestor Labiyi's master's research (2007) surveyed archaeological sites throughout the Shabe kingdom, including

many sites near the settlements of Ogu-Tedo and Odo Akaba. His subsequent dissertation research conducted excavations at one of these sites, Oke Ekudi Odo Akaba, where he found evidence for pre-Shabe participation in long-distance exchange and potsherd pavements in the northern flat-laid style (Gurstelle et al. *in press*). As part of the SHARP project, Simon Agani (2015) conducted master's research surveying the fortified refuge of Abeokuta near Kokoro, as well as conducting interviews at Kemon on the intentional planting of spiny vegetation to fortify village sites during the Late Shabe period. Unfortunately, with the exception of the excavation at Oke Ekudi Odo Akaba, systematic collections were not made as part of these investigations. A single clay bead was recovered from the Abeokuta site, which shows technical similarities to other clay beads from my excavations, though a unique form (Figure VI.6).

Figure VI.6 A coarse earthenware bead from the Abeokuta refuge site near Kokoro. The bead is asymmetrical along the axis of the borehole, which may have visually accentuated a pendant on the same string.

The research methods employed by this study for the southern part of the Shabe kingdom could be replicated in the northern part. Reconnaissance survey that targets all the present-day settlements would record the major village sites of the Early Shabe through European Colonial

period. Transect survey would provide a useful correction by documenting smaller sites and those without oral histories. Particularly important would be transect tracts that target areas directly adjoining the Ouémé and Okpara rivers. Transects that target areas without well-known sites would also make an important contribution by showing settlement patterns away from major centers. An expansive survey strategy of widely spaced but very long transects, such as those employed by the Abomey Plateau Archaeological Project (see Monroe 2014), may be useful for this purpose. Excavations at key sites in northern Shabe may also refine the chronology proposed in this dissertation. Centralization may have occurred earlier in the north, and could be documented through systemic archaeological research and analysis.

2. New Frontiers

The pull of northern influence is still felt in the Shabe kingdom. Parakou, one of Bénin's largest cities, draws many Shabe people to it, particularly the young looking for education and economic opportunities. Even stronger is the pull to Cotonou, Bénin's coastal metropolis. As in much of Africa, cities are drawing in great numbers of rural migrants. Indeed, for many Béninese, the Savè hills are regarded as a rural backwater. The region is one of Bénin's less densely populated areas. It is also somewhat underdeveloped by the political elite, having little infrastructure such as banks, hotels, or telecommunications. The present situation mirrors that of the Early Shabe period, when migrants found themselves in a political-economic frontier.

Like the Savè hills of 400 years ago, there is competition over the present-day frontier's resources. Agricultural products and timber are produced throughout the area to feed the markets of Parakou and Cotonou, as well to export abroad. The value of land has steadily increased

alongside population, which has sparked claims over resources and a renewed interest in the history of the landscape. Invariably, when these claims cannot be settled through documentation, they are arbitrated by the Onishabe, *agànì*, and *balẹ*. It is perhaps ironic that the rise of modern capitalism has reaffirmed the political-economic position of the elite. Yet, this position is not identical to that of centuries past. Political authority is now cast in the mold of tradition—compounding the colonial concepts of ethnicity and tribe with Shabe histories and institutions. Though the nation-state has usurped the Onishabe's powers to tax, solicit labor, or execute the condemned, it has carved out room for the Onishabe to become an authority in matters of history. Where once these issues were more fluid and contested, the twinning of Shabe identity and Shabe politics has flattened historical discourse.

As mentioned above, history feeds back into the economy. Claims to land are couched in history, either through autochthony or stewardship. History is given substance through archaeology. The truth of historical claims is evidenced by reference to settlement sites, artifact styles, and monumental architecture. As the cultural custodian of the Shabe people, the Onishabe is deferred to as the authority on these sites. It is possible that the results of my dissertation will be used in future claims and arbitrations. Indeed, archaeology is wielded as a political weapon wherever it is practiced, and this has been true in the historical archaeology in Africa before (e.g., Stahl 2001; Schmidt 2006; see also Schmidt 2010; Stump 2013b). My engagement with the Onishabe and other stakeholders in the Savè hills is in preparation for this: I believe that more knowledge of the past will ultimately facilitate the fair arbitration of conflicts over resources.

This dissertation contributes to the growing corpus of West African historical archaeology. It performs the fundamental task of filling holes in the map—providing new information on the archaeology of the Savè hills, an area with no prior systematic study of its

archaeological remains. It ties the archaeology of the area to the broader political history of the Bight of Benin in general and the Ife dynastic field in particular. Beyond this, it charts the trajectory of one of these complex polities, providing an archaeology case study of centralization in an African frontier—away from the long-distance exchange favored as a prime-mover by historians and early archaeologists. The evolution of the Shabe kingdom was complex, the product of both local and regional processes and supported by economic transformations. The evolution of the kingdom is ongoing. It is becoming less defined by its political-economic institutions and more by its cultural heritage, of which archaeology is a crucial part. In this way, my research is one small part of its evolution.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Site Inventory

The site inventory presents all archaeological sites recorded by the Save Hills Archaeological Research Project located within the study area. One additional site, S12-022, that was not located within the study area is also included. Though it falls on the east side of the Okpara River, this site is still within the territory of the Republic of Bénin, was claimed by the present-day community of Djabata within the study area, and was the target of excavations by Labiyi in 2014 with my assistance (see Gurstelle et al. 2015). Other archaeological sites outside the study area but recorded during the 2012 and 2013 field work are not included in this inventory, but are described in technical reports on file with the Republic of Bénin's Directorate du Patrimoine Culturel. Non-archaeological sites that were recorded, such as shrines, are also not included here but available in the above technical reports.

Sites are grouped below by how the site was recorded: reconnaissance survey or transect survey. The sites are then listed by the *site number* assigned during fieldwork. "S12" sites were recorded during 2012, and "S13" sites were recorded during 2013. For sites recorded through reconnaissance survey, the *oral history source* that led to the site's documentation is also given. The office, title, or lineage of the source is given rather than an individual's name, as typically the site's history was described though a collective conversation between multiple people associated with the source. This colors the narrative as more of an institutional history, rather

than a personal one. The *oral history period* associated with the site is derived from this narrative (see Chapter IV). The *site name* is then given, as described in the oral history. In some cases, a number has been appended to the site name in order to distinguish spatially distinct clusters of archaeological remains that are part of the same oral historical narrative. The *surface features* are given for all sites, regardless of how the site was recorded. Features are reported by the following general classes: Architecture, Artifact Scatter, Depression, Fortification, Mound, Natural Feature, Sacred Tree Species, and Shrine. These classes are subdivided as necessary. The presence of these features at each site is given in Table A.1. The *site description* gives additional relevant information about the site, including parts of the associated oral narrative, details of the surface features, and explanations of excavation and surface collection strategies. The *coordinates* give GPS information (using the WGS 1984 grid) for major site features. Finally, *artifact classes* give the kinds of archaeological materials recorded and/or recovered from the site, divided between those artifacts from the surface and those recovered through excavation. Artifacts are reported by the following general classes: Ceramics, Fauna, Glass, Iron, and Lithics. These classes are subdivided as necessary. The presence of these artifacts at each site given in Table A.2. More information on these artifacts is given in the subsequent appendices.

Site	Architecture (Cement Foundation)	Architecture (Clay Pavement)	Architecture (Earthen Debris)	Architecture (Earthen Foundation)	Architecture (Hearth)	Architecture (Potsherd Pavement)	Artifact Scatter (Ceramics) [ha]	Depression (Borrow Pit)	Depression (Ditch)	Fortification (Earthen Berm) [km]	Fortification (Stone Wall) [km]	Mound (Large)	Mound (Small)	Natural Feature (Rockshelter)	Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)	Sacred Tree Species (Iroko)	Shrine (Megalith)	Shrine (Tree)	Shrine (Vessel)
S12-001							0.9				0.6								
S12-004							12.1		X	0.1		X		X	X				
S12-006							0.8					X							
S12-007							<.1							X					
S12-008											0.3								
S12-009		X					0.6												
S12-012					X		0.7												
S12-013				X			0.1												
S12-014			X				0.2												
S12-015		X					0.6							X	X				
S12-016							2.9							X					
S12-017							4.5								X	X			
S12-018						X									X	X		X	
S12-021					X		0.6					X	X		X				
S12-022							1.3						X		X	X			X
S12-023	X						<.1												
S12-024							<.1								X				
S12-025			X	X			5.4						X		X				
S12-026							3.7								X				
S12-027							1.1						X		X				X
S12-028							2.1					X	X		X				
S12-029							2.3					X			X				
S12-030							1.1						X						
S12-031															X				
S12-032							0.1								X				
S12-033							<.1								X				
S12-034							<.1								X	X	X	X	
S12-035							8.0		X			X			X				
S12-036							4.3		X	2.9					X			X	
S12-037							3.3					X			X				
S12-039											0.2								
S12-040										1.6									
S12-043							<.1				0.7								
S12-044							1.5												
S13-001							<.1												
S13-002							<.1												

S13-003							0.1												
S13-004							2.8					X	X		X				
S13-006							<.1												
S13-008							0.3					X			X			X	X
S13-009							2.7				0.4			X	X				
S13-010							1.2						X		X				
S13-011							3.6								X				
S13-012							1.2						X		X				
S13-013							0.1												
S13-014							0.1												
S13-015							<.1												
S13-016							0.7	X					X						
S13-017							<.1	X											
S13-018							<.1												
S13-019							0.4												
S13-020							<.1								X				
S13-021							0.1						X						
S13-022							<.1												
S13-023							0.3												
S13-024							<.1												
S13-025							<.1												
S13-026							<.1												
S13-027							0.5												
S13-028							0.1												
S13-029							<.1												
S13-030							0.2												
S13-031							0.2												
S13-032							0.1												
S13-033										1.0									
S13-034										0.6									

Table A.1 Surface feature classes and subclasses present at all sites. Artifact scatter areas are given in ha and fortification lengths are given in km.

		Ceramics				Fauna					Glass		Iron			Lithics		
Site	Context	Coarse Bead	Coarse Pottery	Coarse Pipe	Refined Pottery	Bone	Cowry	Ivory Bead	Shell	Shell Bead	Bead	Vessel	Figurative	Slag	Tool	Bead	Flaked Tool	Ground Tool
S12-004	Excavation		X			X												
S12-017	Excavation		X			X								X	X			X
S12-035	Excavation (Phase I)	X	X	X		X	X				X				X	X		X
S12-035	Excavation (Phase II)		X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X		

S12-036	Excavation		X			X												X
S12-037	Excavation		X	X		X	X		X			X		X	X	X		X
S13-004	Excavation	X	X	X		X	X	X	X			X			X			X
S13-010	Excavation		X			X	X		X	X					X	X		X
S13-011	Excavation		X	X		X								X	X			X
S13-012	Excavation		X															
S12-001	Surface		X															
S12-004	Surface		X	X			X					X		X	X			X
S12-006	Surface		X												X		X	X
S12-007	Surface		X												X			X
S12-008	Surface																	
S12-009	Surface		X		X	X	X					X			X			X
S12-012	Surface		X		X	X	X											
S12-013	Surface		X		X	X	X											X
S12-014	Surface		X			X	X					X			X			X
S12-015	Surface		X															X
S12-016	Surface		X															X
S12-017	Surface		X															X
S12-018	Surface		X															
S12-021	Surface		X															X
S12-022	Surface		X				X											
S12-023	Surface		X															
S12-024	Surface		X			X						X						
S12-025	Surface		X									X		X				X
S12-026	Surface		X															
S12-027	Surface		X															X
S12-028	Surface		X		X	X	X				X	X						X
S12-029	Surface		X			X												
S12-030	Surface		X															X
S12-031	Surface																	
S12-032	Surface		X															
S12-033	Surface		X				X											X
S12-034	Surface		X															
S12-035	Surface		X												X			X
S12-036	Surface		X	X														X
S12-037	Surface		X									X		X	X			X
S12-039	Surface																	
S12-040	Surface																	
S12-043	Surface		X															
S12-044	Surface		X															
S13-001	Surface		X															
S13-002	Surface		X															
S13-003	Surface		X															
S13-004	Surface		X									X			X			
S13-006	Surface		X															
S13-008	Surface		X															
S13-009	Surface		X															
S13-010	Surface		X															X
S13-011	Surface		X															

S13-012	Surface		X															
S13-013	Surface		X															
S13-014	Surface		X															
S13-015	Surface		X															
S13-016	Surface		X															
S13-017	Surface		X	X														
S13-018	Surface		X															
S13-019	Surface		X															
S13-020	Surface		X															
S13-021	Surface		X															
S13-022	Surface		X															
S13-023	Surface		X															
S13-024	Surface		X															
S13-025	Surface		X															
S13-026	Surface		X															
S13-027	Surface		X								X							
S13-028	Surface		X															
S13-029	Surface		X															
S13-030	Surface		X															
S13-031	Surface		X															
S13-032	Surface		X															
S13-033	Surface																	
S13-034	Surface																	

Table A.2 Artifact classes and subclasses present at all sites. Surface and excavation contexts are separated for sites where excavations took place. At S12-035, Phase II contexts are all zone 1 contexts from U12-002, U13-006, and U13-007. Phase I contexts are all other zones from all excavations.

1. Reconnaissance Survey

Site Number: S12-001

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi Wall 1

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Fortification (Lithics Wall)

Site Description: A long, linear stone wall follows the contours of the southwestern face of the western half of the Oke Shabe hill adjacent to the city of Savè. The wall is made of granite

boulders piled together and is uncoursed (Figure A.2). Artifacts are found adjacent to the wall on the interior (upslope) side. The wall varies in width and height, but is typically around 110 cm wide and 130 cm tall. The individual stones that make up the wall also vary greatly, but tend to be spherical to oblong boulders, about 40 cm in diameter. Oral history associates the wall with Late Shabe period refuge of Fiditi (S12-004, S12-006). Artifacts were collected opportunistically within a 5 m width following the contour of the wall.

Coordinates: N08º02’03.4” E002º30’08.0” (endpoint of stone wall); N08º02’02.1” E002º30’19.6” (gap in stone wall); N08º02’00.4” E002º30’24.3” (endpoint of stone wall)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

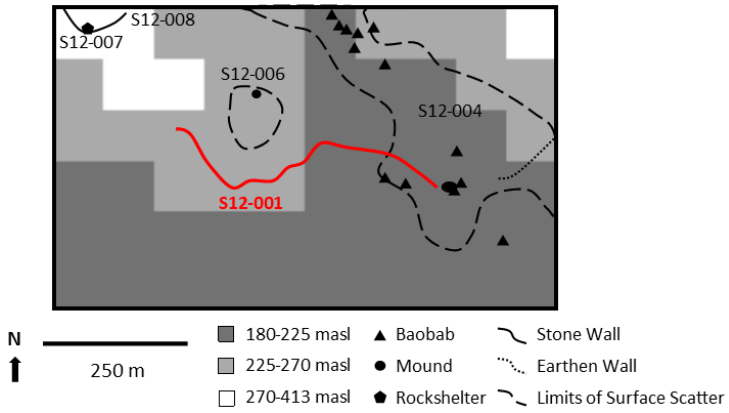


Figure A.1 Site map of S12-001.

Figure A.2 An endpoint of the stone wall terminating on top of the southwestern summit of the Oke Shabe hill.

Site Number: S12-004

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi 1

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Rockshelter), Depression (Ditch), Fortification (Earthen Berm), Mount (Large), Natural Feature (Rockshelter), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: A large artifact scatter surrounded on the west, north and east by the Oke Shabe hill. The entire site is remembered as a refuge occupied during wars in the 19th century CE. This site is part of the Fiditi complex (S12-001, S12-004, S12-006, S12-007, S12-008, S12-009, S12-012). There are 14 baobab trees growing on the site. A 1 m x 2 m excavation (U12-001) unit was placed near the largest baobab tree to test the integrity of subsurface features. No features we discovered, and the strata appeared to be heavily mixed, likely from agricultural activities. The excavation was terminated prior to reaching a culturally sterile strata, as wet conditions made excavation of clay-rich strata very difficult. On the eastern edge of the site, an earthen berm runs perpendicular to the hill. There are some granite boulders associated with this berm, but the

majority of the feature appears to be of earth. On the southeastern side of the berm is a shallow ditch. A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit (U12-003) placed on the northwestern side of the berm revealed its stratigraphy, suggesting it was constructed as a barrier or wall. Zones 8 and 9 are interpreted as the foundation and original portion of an earthen wall, constructed with a clay-rich matrix. Zone 5 is interpreted as the post-abandonment surface that built up after Fiditi's abandonment, which was subsequently capped by Zone 4 wall collapse. The grave of Oba Otewa, the Onishabe associated with the Late Shabe occupation of Fiditi, is near the start of the earthen wall in a sacred grove. Though architectural remains were not visible on the surface, the residence of Oba Otewa is associated with a rockshelter in the western part of the site. A low mound is near the end point of a dry stone wall (S12-001). A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit (U13-001) was placed on this mound. Zone 2 is interpreted as a collapsed architectural feature, likely part of a wall. This suggests that the stone wall surrounding Fiditi was part of a more elaborate defensive system that included enclosed structures—possibly gates or guard houses. Artifacts were collected in 2 m x 2 m sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely in the excavation units.

Coordinates: N08º02'03.1" E002º30'30.5" (endpoint of earthen wall); N08º02'00.5" E002º30'27.0" (endpoint of earthen wall); N08º02'00.3" E002º30'24.6" (low mound); N08º02'09.8" E002º30'17.3" (large baobab); N08º02'13.0" E002º30'14.8" (rockshelter); N08º02'09.9" E002º30'18.3" (northeast corner of U12-001); N08º02'042.1" E002º30'29.6" (northeast corner of U12-003); N08º02'0.4" E002º30'24.4" (northeast corner of U13-001)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Fauna (Cowry), Iron (Slag, Tool), Glass (Vessel), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone)

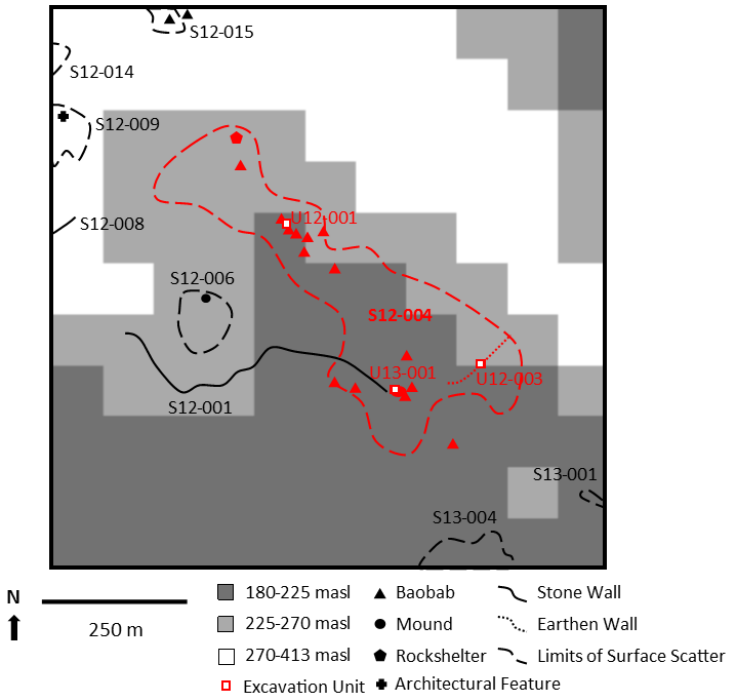
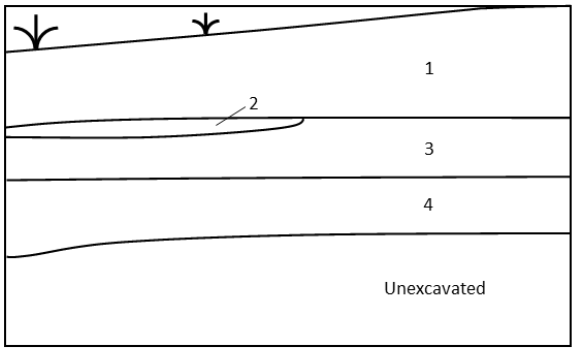


Figure A.3 Site map of S12-004.

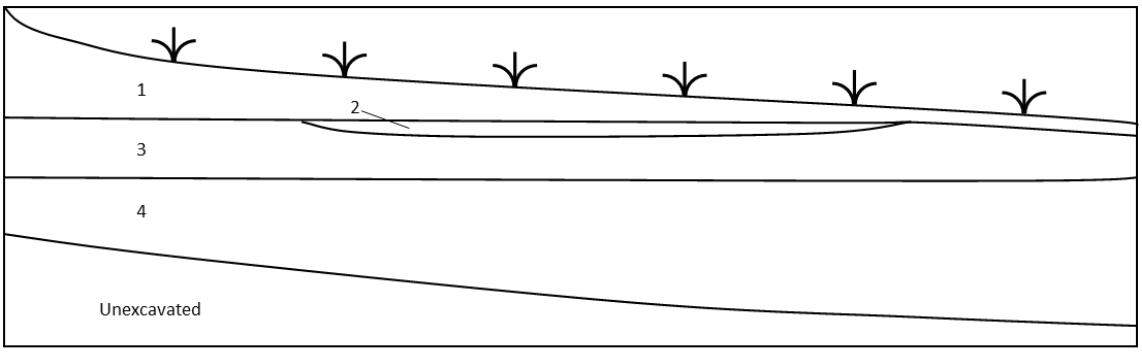


10 cm

U12-001 North Profile

Zone 1—Topsoil, under active cultivation. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist. Some charcoal and daub inclusions.
Zone 2—Soil lens, possibly a relict agricultural furrow. Gravelly (laterite) loamy sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Loamy sand. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Loamy sand. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Wet.

Figure A.4 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-001, north profile.

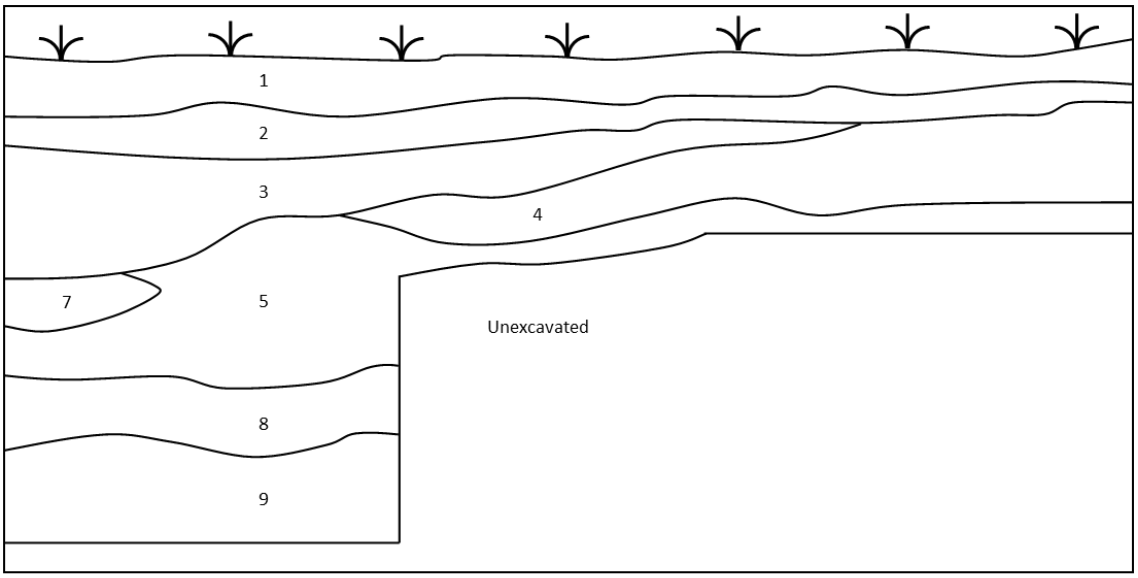


10 cm

U12-001 East Profile

Zone 1—Topsoil, under active cultivation. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist. Some charcoal and daub inclusions.
Zone 2—Soil lens, possibly a relict agricultural furrow. Gravelly (laterite) loamy sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Loamy sand. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Loamy sand. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Wet.

Figure A.5 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-001, east profile.

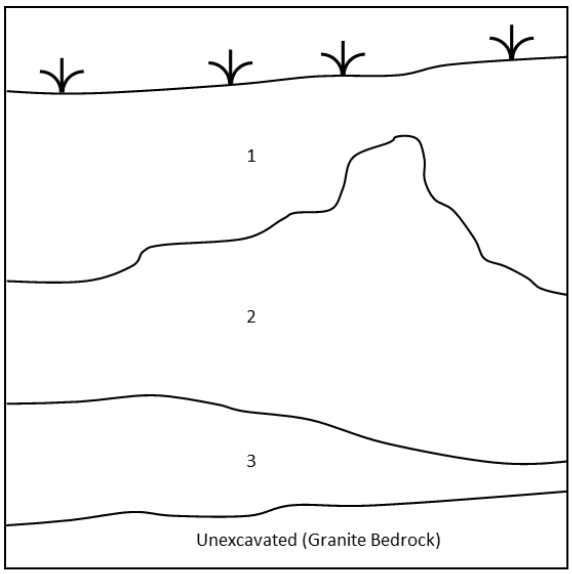


10 cm

U12-003 East Profile

Zone 1—Topsoil, under active cultivation. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some daub inclusions.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some daub inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 5—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal inclusions.
Zone 6 (Not in profile)—Soil lens. Sandy clay loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal inclusions.
Zone 7—Soil lens. Gravelly sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, compact.
Zone 8—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, compact.
Zone 9—Soil stratum. Clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Very compact.

Figure A.6 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-003, east profile.

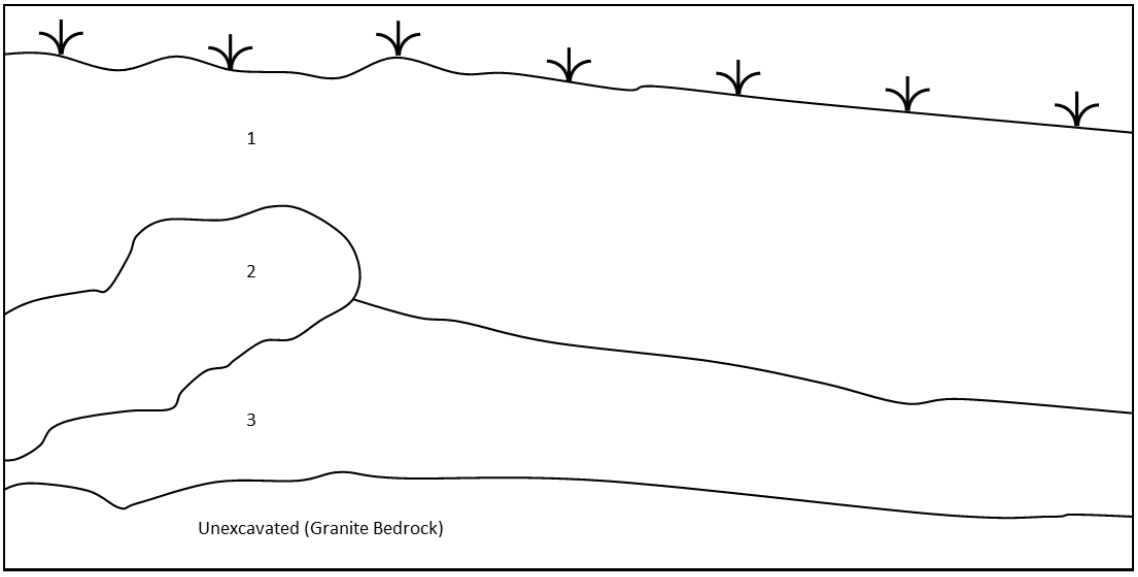


U13-001 South Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, compact.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.

Figure A.7 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-001, south profile.



U13-001 West Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, compact.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.

Figure A.8 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-001, west profile.

Site Number: S12-006

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi 2

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large)

Site Description: A large artifact scatter on a relatively level portion of the western side of the Oke Shabe hill. One large mound is located in the northeastern corner of the scatter. The dimensions of the mound are 12.8 m long x 13.3 m wide x 1.2 m tall. Surface artifacts are dense, though unevenly distributed. They tend to be concentrated on exposed granite surfaces where they have been aggregated by fluvial processes. The entire site is remembered as a refuge occupied during wars in the 19th century CE. This site is part of the Fiditi complex (S12-001, S12-004, S12-006, S12-007, S12-008, S12-009, S12-012). Artifacts were collected in 2 m x 2 m sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02'05.2" E002º30'12.5" (large mound)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Flaked Tool, Ground Tool)

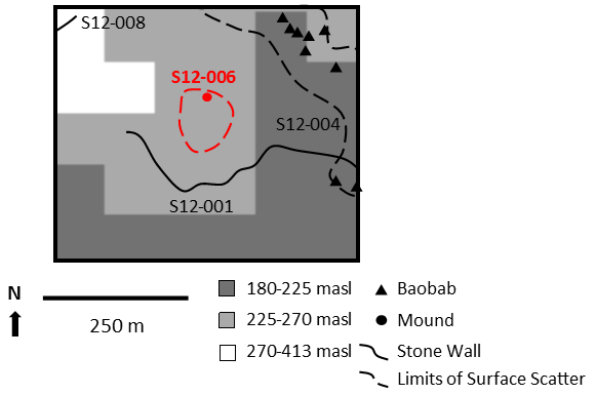


Figure A.9 Site map of S12-006.

Site Number: S12-007

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Unassigned (possibly Early Shabe)

Site Name: Ohi Amon

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Natural Feature (Rockshelter)

Site Description: The site consists of two rockshelters (Rockshelter 1 being the eastern, and Rockshelter 2 the western) close to one another. The rockshelters are formed by granite boulders leaning against each other (Figure A.11). The boulder forming the ceiling of Rockshelter 1 is cracked, creating a gap near its middle (Figure A.12). Both rockshelters show signs of recent use, though only Rockshelter 2 had clear signs of occupation: hearth, mattress, and storage sacks. Both rockshelters occupy a relatively level part of the Oke Shabe hill. Artifacts are present on the surface inside the rockshelters and between them. A stone wall (S12-008) extends to Rockshelter 1 and then continues north behind Rockshelter 2. The dimensions of Rockshelter 1 are 16.2 cm long x 4.3 m wide x 2.3 m tall, but the height tapers down on either end. Rockshelter 2 was not measured because it had signs of current occupation, but is approximately 7.0 m long x 2.5 m wide x 2.0 m tall. The associated artifact scatter is relatively thin. All artifacts within the limits of Rockshelter 1 were collected. Artifacts were not collected in Rockshelter 2—the occupant likely would have considered it theft.

Coordinates: N08º02’09.6” E002º30’03.7” (entrance to Rockshelter 1); N08º02’10.0” E002º30’3.5” (entrance to Rockshelter 2)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

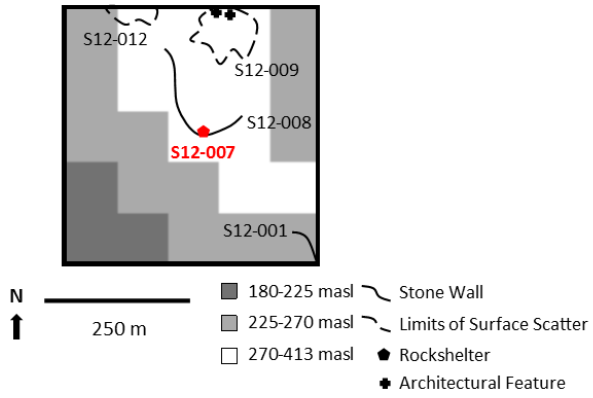


Figure A.10 Site map of S12-007.

Figure A.11 The entrances of the two rockshelters that make up Ohi Amon, with the town of Savè visible to west.

Figure A.12 The interior of rockshelter 1 of Ohi Amon.

Site Number: S12-008

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi Wall 2

Surface Features: Fortification (Lithics Wall)

Site Description: A long, linear stone wall that follows the contour of a small, but steep, drop along a southern face of the western side of the Oke Shabe hill. This drop is relatively high up on the hill, higher than the other stone wall (S12-001). The wall joins with a rockshelter (S12-007), and continues on north following the contour of the hill. It ends abutting the hill after dipping down in a saddle. The wall is of a similar dimensions and construction to S12-001. There are no surface artifacts associated with this wall outside of those near the rockshelters (S12-007).

Coordinates: N08º02’10.2” E002º30’05.1” (endpoint of stone wall); N08º02’09.5” E002º30’04.0” (wall joins rockshelter S12-007); N08º02’14.1” E002º30’00.5” (endpoint of stone wall)

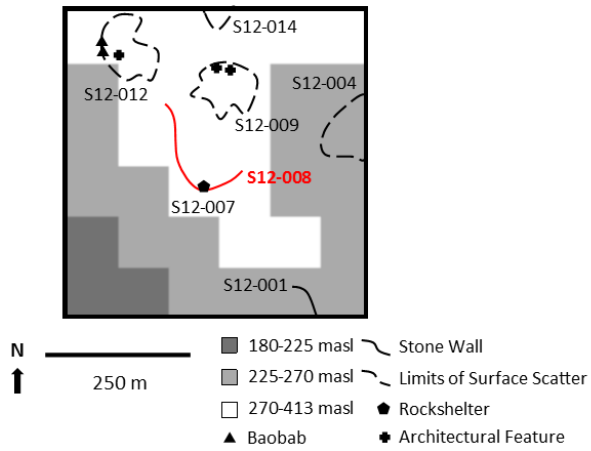


Figure A.13 Site map of S12-008.

Site Number: S12-009

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi 3

Surface Features: Architecture (Clay Pavement), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: A thick scatter of artifacts on a high point, and then a thinner scatter of artifacts continues north and down slope into a saddle area. As the hill continues north up out of the saddle, a hard clay pavement, possibly fired, appears in at least two places extending out of the hillside (Figure A.15). The pavement was exposed by surface scraping with trowels to ascertain its extent and integrity, then recovered with soil. The site boundaries are defined by the contour of the hill to the southeast and northwest, and by the extent of the artifact scatter to the southwest and northeast. Artifacts were collected in 2 m x 2 m sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02’16.3” E002º30’03.3” (clay pavement); N08º02’16.1” E002º30’04.1” (clay pavement)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Refined Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

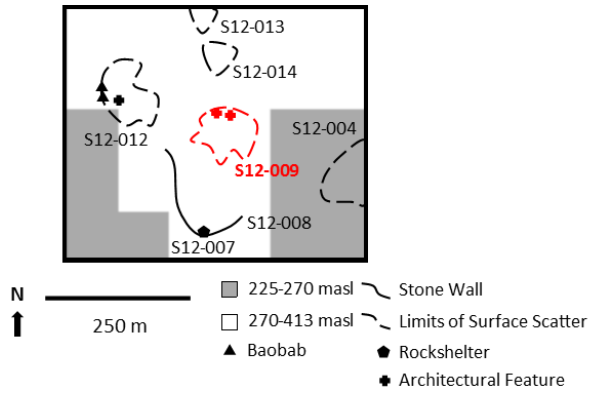


Figure A.14 Site map of S12-009.

Figure A.15 One of two hard-packed clay surfaces eroding out of the Oke Shabe hill. The two surfaces are on the same plane, and are likely part of the same architectural complex.

Site Number: S12-012

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Fiditi 4

Surface Features: Architecture (Hearth), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site occupies varied topography around some flat areas and high points near the northern conjoining portion of the Mamelles hill. There are several baobabs on the site. There is also a ceramic tripartite cooking emplacement on the site (Figure A.17). The three ceramic hemispheres are each approximately 20 cm in diameter. Surface artifacts are concentrated along contours where they may have been transported by runoff. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m x 2 m sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02'16.8" E002º29'58.8" (cooking emplacement)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Refined Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry)

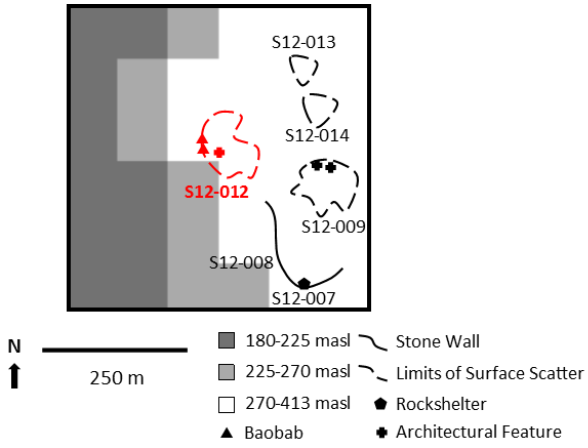


Figure A.16 Site map of S12-012.

Figure A.17 The remains of a tripartite cooking feature outlined in red, with the meter tape scaled to 50 cm. The ceramic hemispheres support a cooking vessel above a fire built underneath. Such cooking features are still used in the present-day, as are tripartite features using stones instead of ceramic hemispheres.

Site Number: S12-016

Oral History Source: Àkùtù Àmbẹ̀ lineage, Onishabe

Oral History Period: Early Shabe

Site Name: Eyin-Oke 1 (Eytmology: "Behind the hill," the name of a lineage and a reference to the site's location relative to Shabe-Idadu)

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Natural Feature (Rockshelter)

Site Description: This site is a large, diffuse surface scatter found in agricultural fields along the northern edge of the Oke Shabe hill. Surface artifacts are dense where agricultural activities are recent and sparse or absent in fallow areas. Large groundstone artifacts, such as basins, appear at field edges where farmers have removed them from agricultural fields. Several rockshelters are clustered together adjacent to the Oke Shabe hill. The artifact scatter begins near pools of water at the base of the hill that are used for modern washing activities. An eroded gully near a present-day farmer's camp shows that the stratigraphy in this area has at least three strata. Artifacts, including animal bone, appear in the gully wall in all three strata. The northeast limit of the site

is not clearly defined, though it appears the scatter thins near the modern road. However, this may be the result of modern agricultural and building activities. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. The southeast limit of the scatter is very close to S12-017 (Eyin-Oke 2), a site that is reported in oral history as being occupied by the same group. Artifacts were collected in 2 m x 2 m sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02’39.6” E002º30’18.9” (eroded gully); N08º02’45.8” E002º30’10.8” (entrance to rockshelters)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

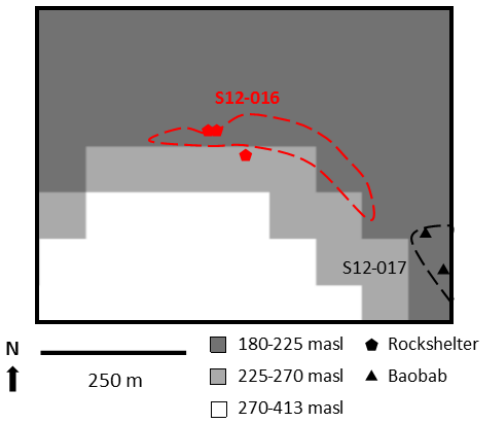


Figure A.18 Site map of S12-016.

Site Number: S12-017

Oral History Source: Àkùtù Àmbẹ̀ lineage, Onishabe

Oral History Period: Early Shabe

Site Name: Eyin-Oke 2

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab, Iroko)

Site Description: This site is a large, diffuse surface scatter found in agricultural fields along the northern edge of the Oke Shabe hill. Surface artifacts are dense where agricultural activities are recent and sparse or absent in fallow areas. Large groundstone artifacts, such as basins, appear at field edges where farmers have removed them from agricultural fields. Five baobabs are located within the limits of the artifact scatter. A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit (U13-013) was excavated near a large baobab central to the site to test the integrity of subsurface features. This excavation found some collapsed earthen architectural remains (Zone 2), suggesting that structure foundations could be located. One iroko is also present, wrapped in cloth as part of contemporary religious practice. However, this tree is far removed from the artifact scatter, though according to Àkùtù Àmbẹ tradition is near the remains of a village site that pre-dates the foundation of Shabe-Idadu. The northwest limit of the scatter is very close to S12-016 (Eyin-Oke 1), a site that is reported in oral history as being occupied by the same group. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely in the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N08º02’35.9” E002º30’24.9” (large baobab); N08º02’25.9” E002º30’31.8” (iroko)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone), Iron (Slag, Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

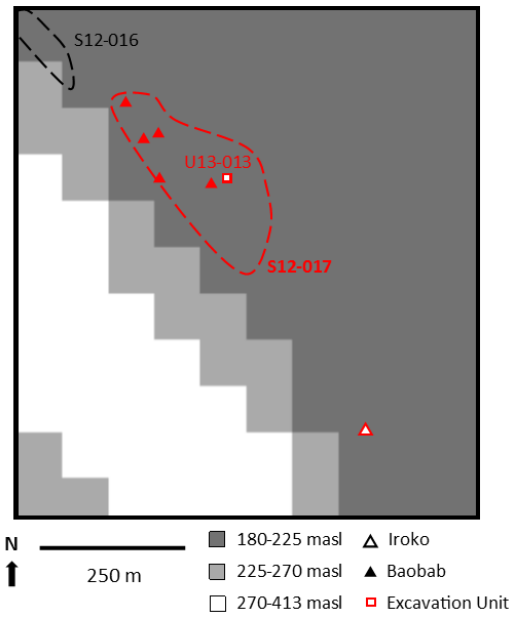
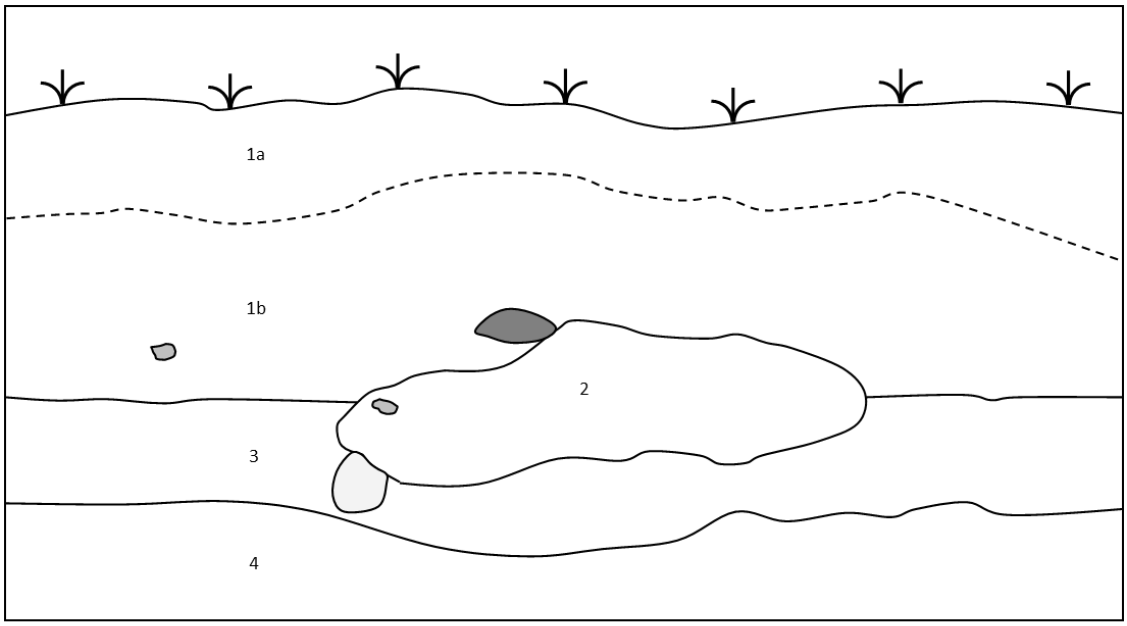


Figure A.19 Site map of S12-017.



U13-013 East Profile

10 cm

Stone

Ceramic

Burrow

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2 —Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Very compact.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, compact.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.

Figure A.20 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-013, east profile.

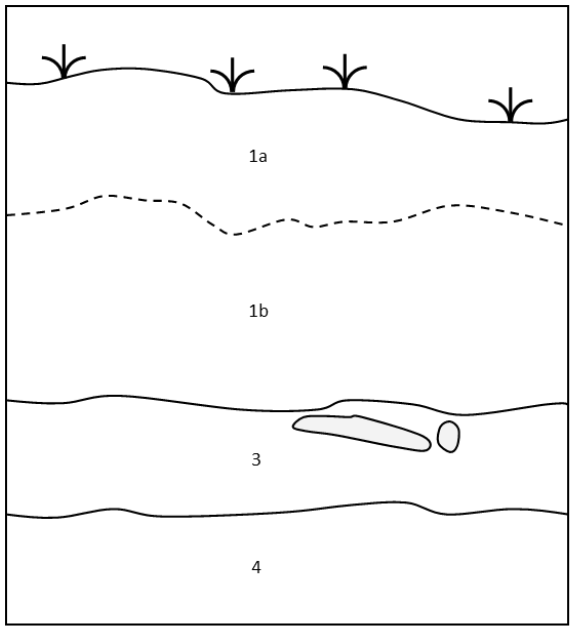


Figure A.21 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-013, north profile.

Site Number: S12-018

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe to European Colonial

Site Name: Idi-iroko

Surface Features: Architecture (Potsherd Pavement), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab, Iroko), Shrine (Tree)

Site Description: This site is a potsherd pavement within and beneath the contemporary Idi-Iroko market in the town of Savè (Figure A.23). It consists of an area of potsherds laid out in a mosaic

style to create a flat-laid pavement (Figure A.24). According to the Onishabe and his royal court, the Idi-Iroko market stands on the site of the former palace which was destroyed in the early 20th century, and the pavement is part of the architectural style of the palace. However, this narrative is contested by several market vendors who assumed the potsherd pavement is the remains of a colonial road built by the French. Flat-laid potsherd pavements are found primarily in areas to the north of Shabe (Ogunfolakan 2009; Haour 2013). These contrast with the edge-laid pavements characteristic of Ile-Ife (Ogundiran 2000). Several soil probes were excavated near the potsherd pavement, however no artifacts were collected. An inventory of the decorative styles on the potsherds was taken. Associated with this pavement is a cloth-wrapped iroko. This tree replaced another iroko that was destroyed by government officials in the 1970s. Also included in this site designation are several baobabs, including one within the modern palace compound (Figure A.25). The entire area is reported to be associated with the former Afin palace. This palace was razed by the French in 1933. No artifacts were collected from this site.

Coordinates: N08º01’54.8” E002º29’51.6” (northwest soil probe); N08º01’54.7” E002º29’51.7” (northeast soil probe); N08º01’54.5” E002º29’51.8” (southeast soil probe)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

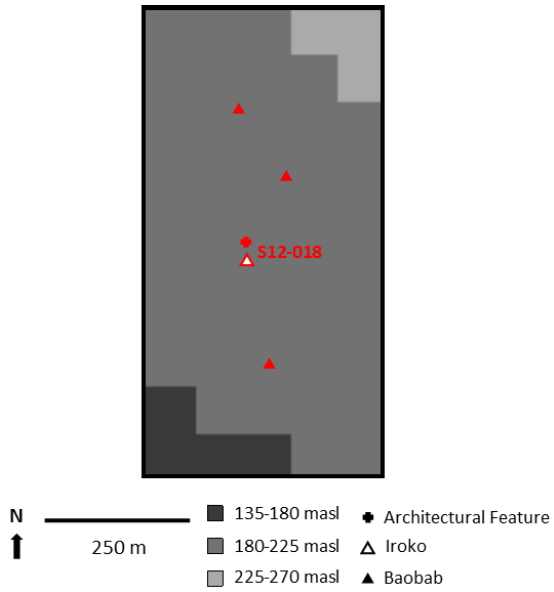


Figure A.22 Site map of S12-018.

Figure A.23 The western portion of the flat-laid potsherd pavement at S12-018.

Figure A.24 Detail of the flat-laid potsherd pavement at S12-018, including quartz pebbles incorporated into pavement.

Figure A.25 The baobab in the courtyard of the present-day Afin of the Onishabe. At over 16 m in circumference, it is the largest baobab recorded during the research.

Site Number: S12-021

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Gbéré

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: *Woo* Gbéré

Surface Features: Architecture (Hearth), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large, Small),

Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the former village of Gbéré. There are two large mounds, and three smaller mounds at the site. Surface artifacts are visible only on and near the mounds. A small burned clay feature is present near mound 2, possibly architectural. Several baobabs are on the site and more continue into the modern village of Gbéré. A small artifact scatter is present, but is thin and the limits are poorly defined. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02'19.1" E002º34'47.9" (start of mound 1); N08º02'18.0" E002º34'48.5" (end of mound 1); N08º02'20.3" E002º34'49.8" (center point of mound 2); N08º02'19.7" E002º34'49.2" (architecture); N08º02'18.9" E002º34'46.9" (small mound); N08º02'19.1" E002º34'46.1" (small mound); N08º02'19.1" E002º34'46.4" (small mound); N08º02'16.7" E002º34'45.9" (large baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

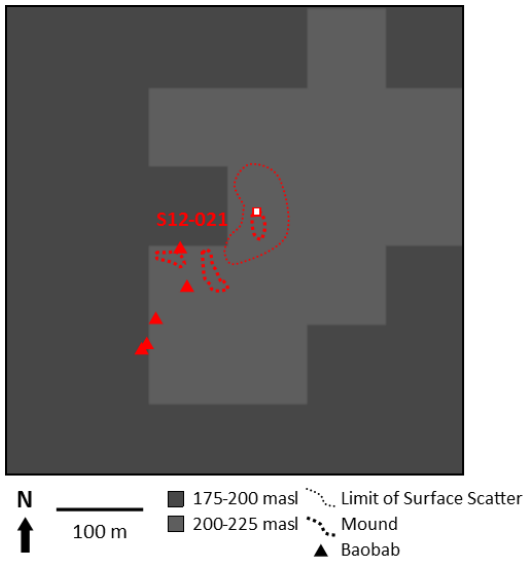


Figure A.26 Site map of S12-021.

Site Number: S12-022

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Djabata

Oral History Period: Pre-Shabe

Site Name: Dikosha

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab, Iroko), Shrine (Vessel)

Site Description: This site is the location of a village occupied prior to Djabata. According to oral traditions, it is one of the earliest settlements in the area. It is on the other side of the Okpara River from the modern village of Djabata. There are several sacred tree species associated with the site. The limits of the site are poorly defined by the extent of the surface artifact scatters, as the site is located in a sacred grove: the lack of agricultural activities may obscure the full extent of the scatter. Low mounds are visible on the site, but the vegetation cover obscures their definition. Artifacts were not collected out of respect for modern religious observances, except for cowries which were collected in a 2 m^2 sample unit distributed by judgment. Labiyi excavated a 1 m x 2 m unit in 2013, and AMS radiocarbon dates on charcoal from the unit returned dates from the 11^{th} to 13^{th} centuries CE (Gurstelle et al. 2015).

Coordinates: N07º53’26.5” E002º39’50.0” (baobab); N07º53’26.3” E002º39’51.1” (iroko)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Cowry)

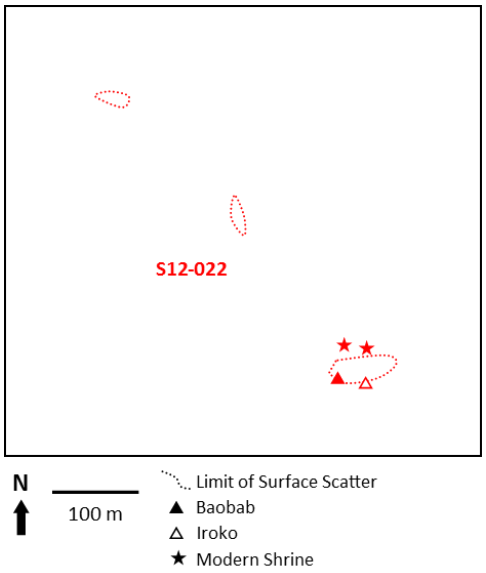


Figure A.27 Site map of S12-022.

Site Number: S12-023

Oral History Source: *Balę* of Djabata

Oral History Period: European Colonial

Site Name: Poste de douanes de Djabata (Djabata customs post)

Surface Features: Architecture (Cement Foundation), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site is the location of a French colonial customs post. When the French signed a treaty with the Shabe monarchy, they established a customs posts at Djabata to control trade along the newly established Nigerian border (Coucher 1911). The customs post was abandoned during after independence (Flynn 1997a). The cement foundations of the building are still visible. There are some surface artifacts, though the site is in high brush and visibility is poor. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central point of the site is defined by the architecture. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N07º53’35.7” E002º38’17.7” (cement foundation)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

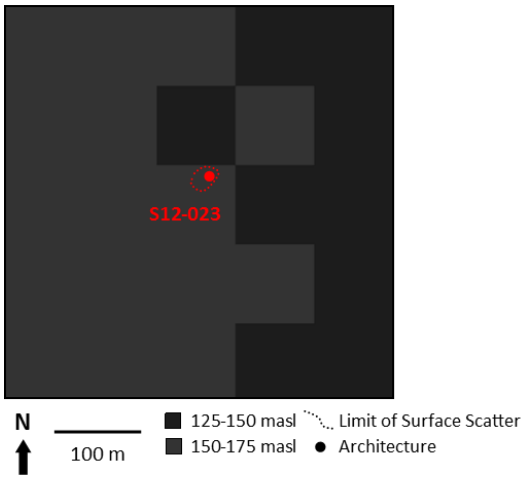


Figure A.28 Site map of S12-023.

Site Number: S12-024

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Djabata

Oral History Period: Early Shabe to Middle Shabe

Site Name: *Woo* Djabata

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of Djabata just prior to its current location. It was abandoned during the war and instability of the 19th century. The site is in high brush. There are no visible surface artifacts, however, there are artifacts in a depression caused by a fallen tree. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central points of the site are defined by two baobabs. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N07º53’56.4” E002º38’09.8” (baobab); N07º53’56.6” E002º38’09.0” (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone), Glass (Vessel)

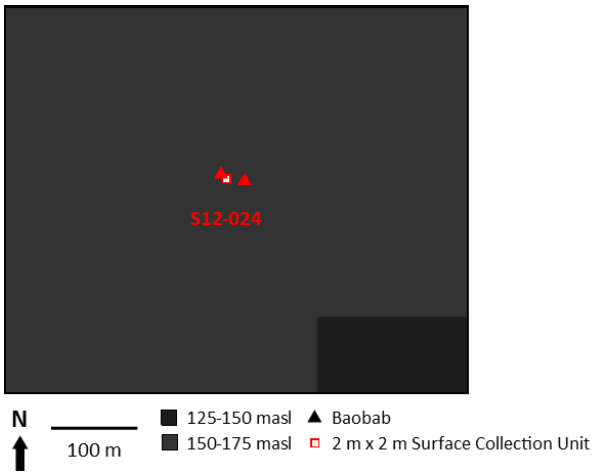


Figure A.29 Site map of S12-024.

Site Number: S12-025

Oral History Source: Representative of Montéwo to the *Balę̀* of Alafia

Oral History Period: Late Shabe to European Colonial

Site Name: *Woo* Montéwo

Surface Features: Architecture (Earthen Debris, Earthen Foundation), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the former village of Montewo. It was first occupied during the 19th century as a refuge. It was abandoned shortly after independence when the national government encouraged rural communities to move closer to established roads (in this case RNIE 2). The site consists of a large artifact scatter and multiple mounds. There are also large numbers of baobabs. The density of surface artifacts is related to agricultural activities; artifacts are denser in recently cultivated areas. A rectangular mound at the south limit of the site was identified according to oral history as a Catholic church. The other mounds on the site are circular or oblong, and many have mud slab foundations or wall segments on them. The limits of

the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º12’14.4” E002º36’32.5” (baobab); N08º12’05.9” E002º36’32.6” (Catholic church); N08º12’10.6” E002º36’31.2” (mound with architecture)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Slag), Lithics (Ground Tool)

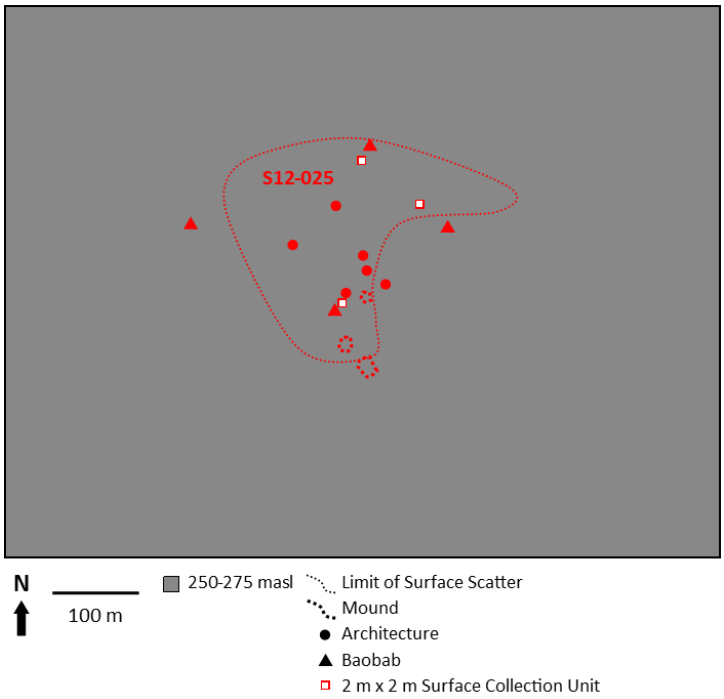


Figure A.30 Site map of S12-025.

Site Number: S12-026

Oral History Source: *Balọdẹ̀* of Monka

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Not given

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Architecture), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of a village that existed before Monka. This site is unrelated to the current village of Monka, as it was destroyed by Dahomey in the 19th century CE. The site consists of a large artifact scatter with some baobabs within it. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N07º56'08.0" E002º39'55.6" (baobab); N07º56'01.7" E002º39'57.8" (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

Figure A.31 Site map of S12-026.

Site Number: S12-027

Oral History Source: *Balọdẹ̀* of Monka

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Not given

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab), Shrine (Vessel)

Site Description: This site is the location of the village that existed prior to Monka. There appear to be low mounds on the site, but much of the site is in high brush and the landscape could be naturally undulating. A large hill of granite boulders on the western site of the site is the location of modern shrine. Throughout the site, there are baobabs, including a very large baobab that was cut down sometime in the past generation as part of the Oro festival. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts. Artifacts were not collected near the modern shrine out of respect for modern religious observances.

Coordinates: N08º01’06.7” E002º41’53.0” (north limit of modern shrine) N08º01’09.7” E002º41’56.2” (large baobab) N08º01’07.7” E002º41’58.0” (fallen baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

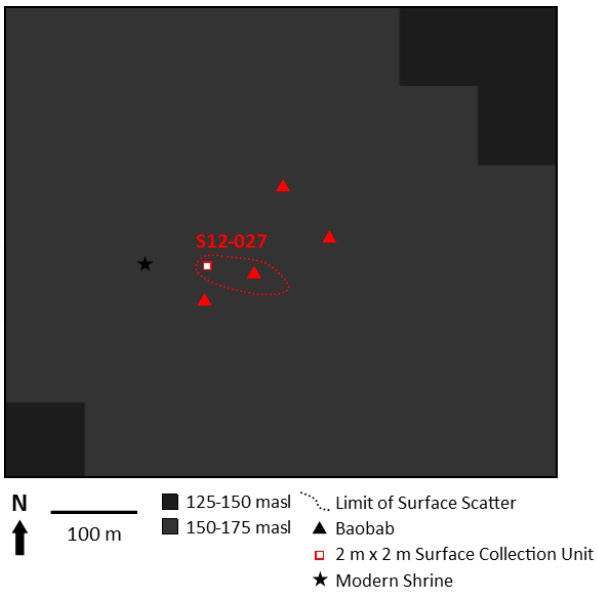


Figure A.32 Site map of S12-027.

Site Number: S12-028

Oral History Source: *Balę* of Oke-Owo

Oral History Period: Late Shabe to European Colonial

Site Name: Igbolo?

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large, Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the former village of Oke-Owo. The name was not given by the *balę*, but Flynn (1997a: 37) calls the site Igbolo. However, this may be an invented name, as Flynn gave to other villages she studied. Couchard (1911) notes on several of his hand-drawn maps that there is a village called either Oïchada or Banigbé in roughly the same location as S12-028. The site is associated with Fongbe-speaking Mahi peoples related to the Dahomey kingdom. It was first occupied in the 19th century, and abandoned after a smallpox outbreak in 1934 (ibid: 37). The site is a very large artifact scatter interspersed with mounds and large trees.

The mounds are low and either small and circular or long and rectangular, but are all topped with a lens of lateritic gravel. The surface density of artifacts varies according to land use, with recently farmed fields showing higher densities. Where artifacts are present, there is a much higher density of European ceramics and glass than at other sites. There also is a higher density of cowries. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02’23.9” E002º42’43.2” (start of rectangular mound); N08º02’24.0” E002º42’42.8” (end of rectangular mound); N08º02’24.6” E002º42’43.3” (circular mound); N08º02’23.1” E002º42’46.0” (circular mound); N08º02’24.9” E002º42’47.2” (circular mound); N08º02’30.2” E002º42’45.8” (twin baobabs)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Refined Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry), Glass (Bead, Vessel), Lithics (Ground Tool)

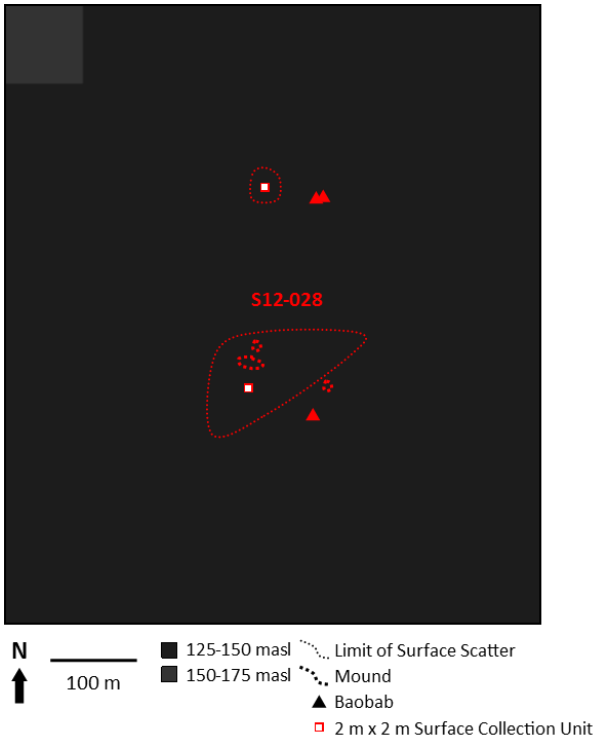


Figure A.33 Site map of S12-028.

Site Number: S12-029

Oral History Source: *Balọdẹ* of Monka

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Not given

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of a village that existed before Monka. The site consists of a large artifact scatter with some baobabs within it. There is also a circular mound. The dimensions of the mound are 375 cm long x 392 cm wide x 91 cm tall. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N07º58’53.5” E002º41’08.8” (mound); N07º58’53.8” E002º41’03.4” (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone)

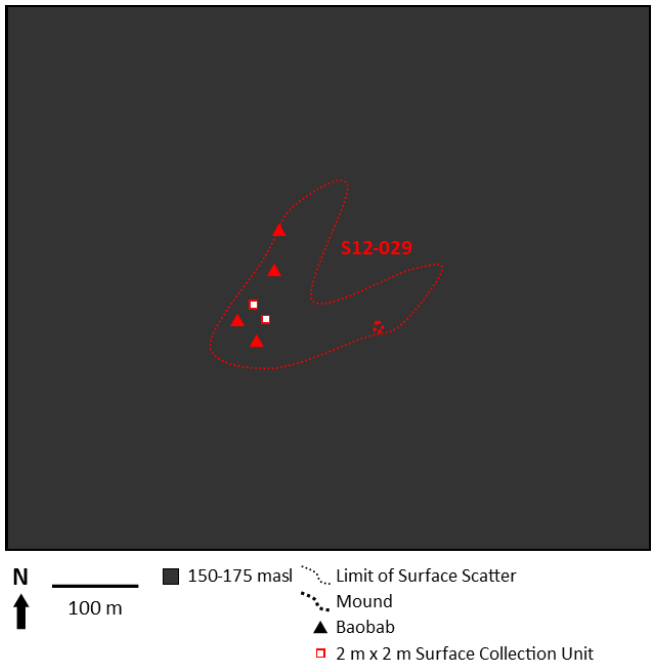


Figure A.34 Site map of S12-029.

Site Number: S12-030

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Diho

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe to Late Shabe

Site Name: *Woo* Diho

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small)

Site Description: This site is the location of the former village of Diho. The site consists of a large artifact scatter with two low, circular mounds. Both mounds are approximately 1500cm long x 1500cm wide x 60cm tall. The artifact scatter is light, though there are some concentrations in recently farmed fields, though not in all the farmed fields on the site. There is also a groundstone basin on the site surface. The northern part of the site may have been

disturbed by the construction of the modern sports stadium. The limits of the site are defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º03’41.4” E002º30’53.5” (center point of mound); N08º03’41.5” E002º30’54.8” (center point of mound); N08º03’44.6” E002º30’53.6” (stadium); N08º03’42.8” E002º30’56.3” (stadium)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

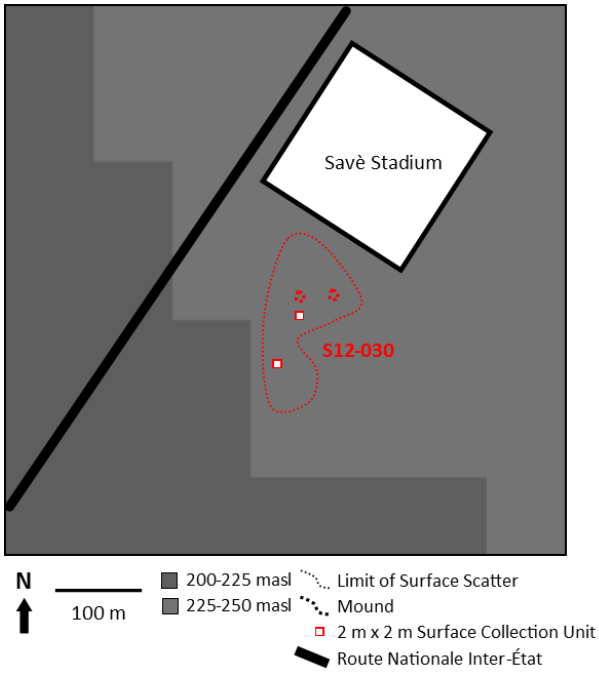


Figure A.35 Site map of S12-030.

Site Number: S12-031

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Alafia

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Alafia

Surface Features: Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the original location of the village of Alafia. AIafia was abandoned in the early to middle 19th century CE due to war and instability, but was reoccupied in the late 19th century. These trees are said to mark the original village. It is in the middle of the current site of Alafia, near the mosque. There are two baobabs which are tended to by occupants to mark the site of the ancient village. There is no distinct scatter of artifacts associated with the site, but this is likely due to mixing of ancient and modern materials in the current occupation. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central points of the site are defined by two baobabs. Because of the site's location within the present-day village, artifacts were present but not collected.

Coordinates: N08º12'00.0" E002º37'50.3" (baobab); N08º12'01.8" E002º37'48.6" (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

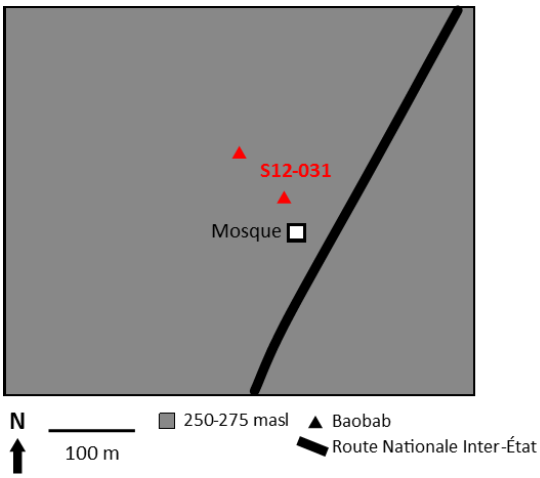


Figure A.36 Site map of S12-031.

Site Number: S12-032

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Alafia

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: *Woo* Alafia

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the village occupied prior to Alafia. It was occupied by the ancestors of occupants of site S13-031. The site consists of many baobabs in an artifact scatter. The site was likely disturbed by road construction as there are many artifacts in the earthen berm adjacent to the modern road. The area is covered in dense brush making identifying surface artifacts difficult. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central points of the site are defined by the baobabs. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º11’44.1” E002º37’43.6” (north baobab); N08º11’32.2” E002º37’44.6” (south baobab); N08º11’33.4” E002º37’41.2” (west baobab); N08º11’32.7” E002º37’45.1” (east baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

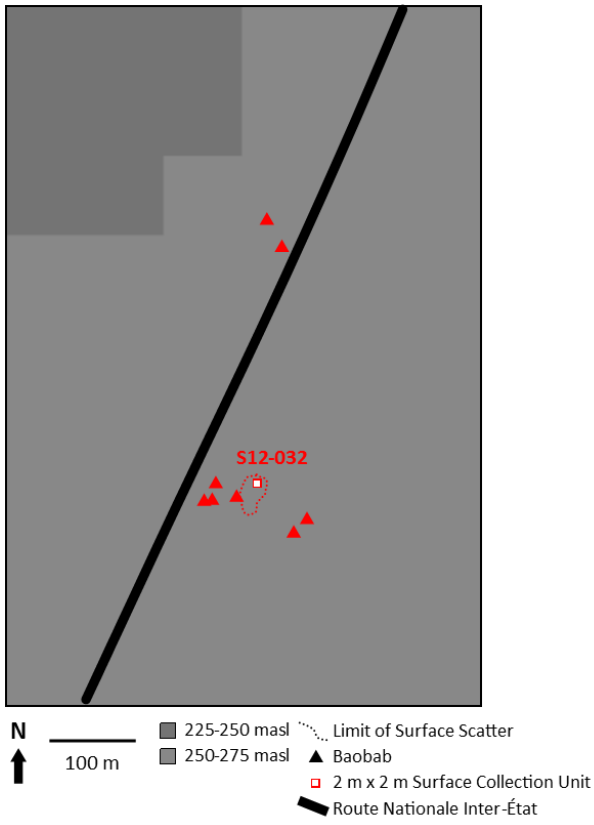


Figure A.37 Site map of S12-032.

Site Number: S12-033

Oral History Source: *Balę* of Kaboua

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Oke Akeekee

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the village occupied contemporaneously with Kaboua and prior to the 19th century CE. Its occupants eventually abandoned the site and took refuge at a nearby granite hill, Oke Akeekee (Hill of the Scorpion). The site consists of a light scatter of artifacts and baobabs. Dense brush surrounds the site, and it is located in a national forest. Surface artifacts are visible only in areas where the vegetation has been disturbed, such as

fallen trees, and in a short section of the path through the forest. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central points of the site are defined by the baobabs. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08º10’06.8” E002º42’44.1” (northwest baobab); N08º10’04.1” E002º42’46.4” (southeast baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Cowry), Lithics (Ground Tool)

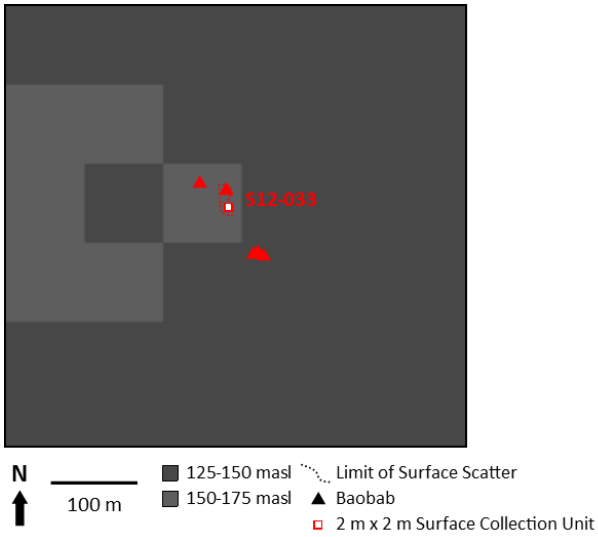


Figure A.38 Site map of S12-033.

Site Number: S12-034

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Ọmọ Agbaa lineage (Olú Òsìn)

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe to Late Shabe

Site Name: Aensin

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab, Iroko), Shrine (Megalith, Tree)

Site Description: The site is a large artifact scatter that blends into the modern town of Aensin, once a separate settlement but now the eastern edge of Savè. Aensin is associated with a pre-Shabe autochthonous population that assimilated into Shabe society, the Ọmọ Agbaa lineage. According to the Onishabe's oral tradition, the settlement was founded at the same time as Idadu. It was abandoned briefly in the 19th century CE due to war and instability, as its occupants fled to the Fiditi refuge. A modern shrine is associated with a large iroko and a granite megalith (Figure A.40). According to the Olú Òsìn, the *agàní* of the Ọmọ Agbaa lineage, the iroko stands on the spot where a previous iroko fell and the granite megalith (called Ogu Tani) was constructed by a young boy who wanted to the past kings of Shabe. The megalith is used as a locus of modern religious practice associated with hunting. The megalith is roughly rectangular, tapering toward the base. The base circumference is 63 cm, the widest circumference near the top is 79 cm, and the megalith is 180 cm tall. There is an associated circular stone 28 cm from the megalith that has a base circumference of 25 cm and is 22 cm tall. The limits of the site are not clearly defined because of the modern occupation; instead the central points of the site are defined by the major features. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º01'39.3" E002º30'28.6" (megalith); N08º01'39.0" E002º30'28.7" (iroko); N08º01'44.8" E002º30'18.5" (baobab); N08º01'37.7" E002º30'20.1" (baobab); N08º01'42.5" E002º30'31.9" (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

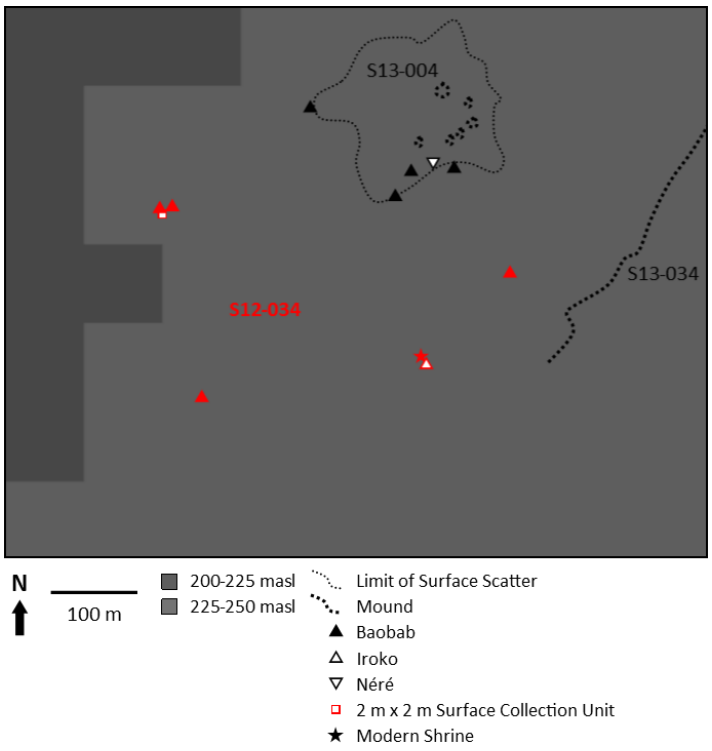


Figure A.39 Site map of S12-034.

Figure A.40 Granite megalith (Ogu Tani) and associated clothed iroko in Aensin.

Site Number: S12-035

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Ola-Amushu, *Balẹ* of Alafia, *Balẹ* of Kaboua

Oral History Period: Early Shabe, Late Shabe

Site Name: Atenro (also Atunro, Atonho, or Woro)

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Depression (Ditch), Mound (Large), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is the location of the of the first major Shabe village in the area. The site is strongly associated with the migration from Nikki narrative. The site was abandoned following a political dispute, leading to the founding of Kaboua and Idadu. According to the *balẹ* of Alafia, the site was briefly reoccupied in the late 19th and early 20th centuries CE. This reoccupation (Phase II) was much smaller than the original occupation (Phase I), and is said to have been confined to the central portion of the site. During the reoccupation, the site was a sacred grove and the thick vegetation offered protection to refugees. Since then, the site has ceased to be a sacred grove. This is a large site with at least 40 mature baobabs. There is a large artifact scatter associated with the baobabs, but the baobabs are found beyond the scatter as well. The density of this scatter varies according to modern agriculture, with more dense scatters in recently farmed fields. Areas with dense brush have no visible surface artifacts. The site is likely very disturbed by road construction, as the site is bisected by the modern road and there are numerous artifacts in the earthen road berms. Near the northern edge of the surface artifact scatter is a large, wide ditch, though this may be related to recent hydrological engineering to feed a nearby reservoir. There is a long, rectangular mound near a large baobab which according to oral history is the ancient village center and market. A 1 m x 2 m excavation unit (U12-002) was excavated in 2012 on the eastern part of the mound near the largest baobab on the site (Figure A.42). In 2013, we excavated four additional 2 m x 2 m units (U13-006, U13-007, U13-008, U13-009) that tested the integrity of subsurface features in the central and northern parts of

the site. Units were cited near occurrences of daub on the surface. While additional daub was found in the excavated matrices, these excavations did not locate any intact architectural or structural features. It is possible that agricultural activities have damaged subsurface features, but the size of the site and limited area excavated could mean that intact features were simply missed. One additional 1 m x 2 m excavation unit (U13-011) was excavated in the eastern part of the site, on the other side of RNIE 2. This excavation found stratified cultural material, suggesting that the surface artifact scatter does reflect the areal extent of the site, and not a product of artifact surface transport. Phases I and II were identified stratigraphically in units U12-002, U13-006, and U13-007, where the topsoil stratum (Zone 1) in each unit is associated with the later Phase II reoccupation, and all preceding strata are associated with the earlier Phase I occupation—though mixture between the two is possible and indeed likely given the agricultural use of the site. The limits of the site are not clearly defined; instead the central points of the site are defined by the major features. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely in the excavation units.

Coordinates: N08º13’05.6” E002º38’38.2” (large baobab); N08º13’05.6” E002º38’37.3” (center of mound); N08º13’10.8” E002º38’28.7” (northwest baobab); N08º13’01.3” E002º38’36.2” (south baobab); N08º13’04.0” E002º38’47.8” (east baobab); N08º13’05.3” E002º38’37.9” (northeast corner of U12-002); N08º13.119’ E002º38.628’ (northeast corner of U13-006); N08º13.122’ E002º38.628’ (northeast corner of U13-007); N08º13.145’ E002º38.618’ (northeast corner of U13-008); N08º13.145’ E002º38.613’ (northeast corner of U13-009); N08º13.085’ E002º38.713’ (northeast corner of U13-011)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation (Phase I): Ceramics (Bead, Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Fauna (Bone, Cowry), Glass (Bead), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Bead, Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation (Phase II): Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe, Refined Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry, Shell), Glass (Bead, Vessel), Iron (Figurative, Slag, Tool), Lithics (Bead)

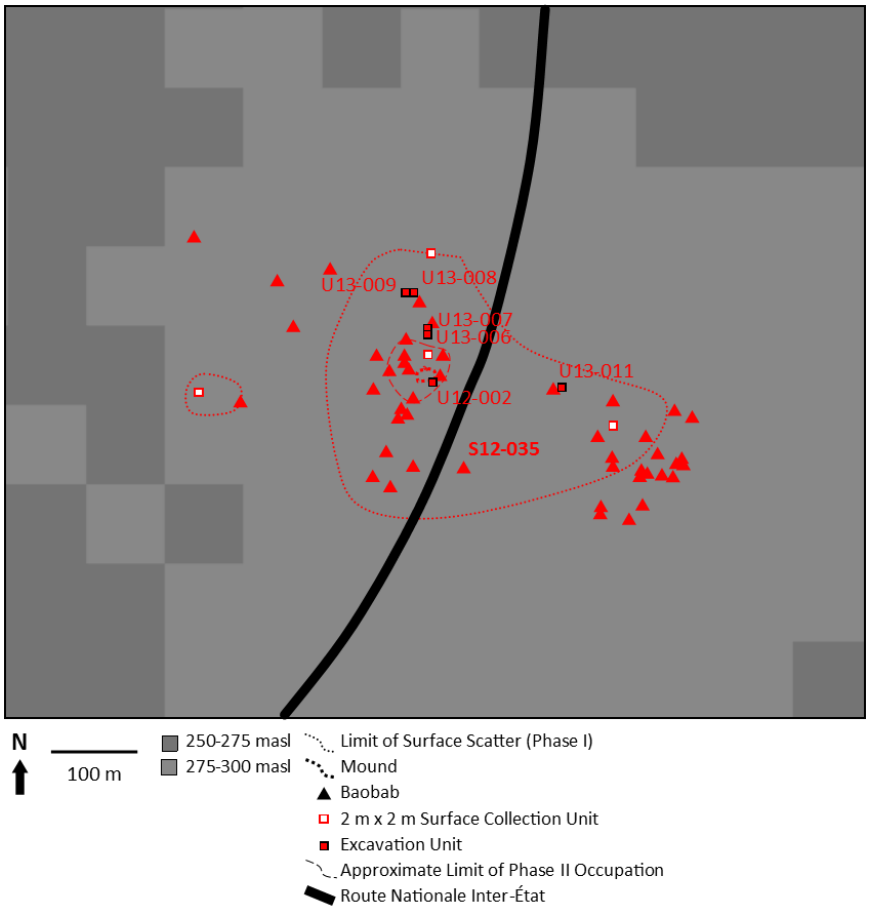
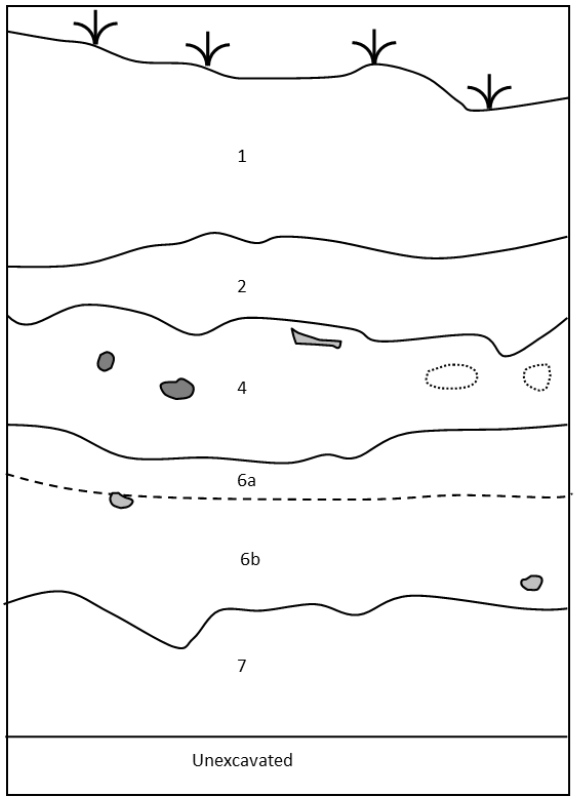


Figure A.41 Site map of S12-035.

Figure A.42 Excavation of U12-002 near the largest baobab at the site.



U12-002 North Profile

10 cm

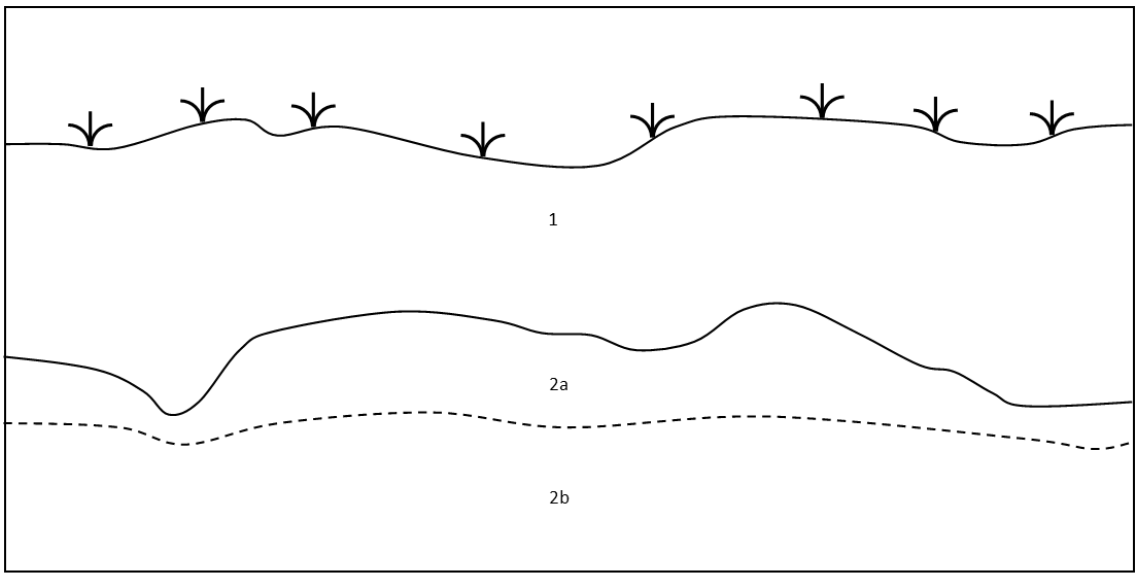
Ash Lens

Ceramic

Root

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy clay loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 3 (Not in profile)—Ash lens. Very light grey (7.5YR 6/2). Very friable.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark grey (7.5YR 4/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 5 (Not in profile)—Burrow. Sand. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, very friable.
Zone 6a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 6b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable.
Zone 7—Soil stratum. Sand. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, compact.
Zone 8 (Not in profile)—Burrow. Sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.

Figure A.43 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-002, north profile.

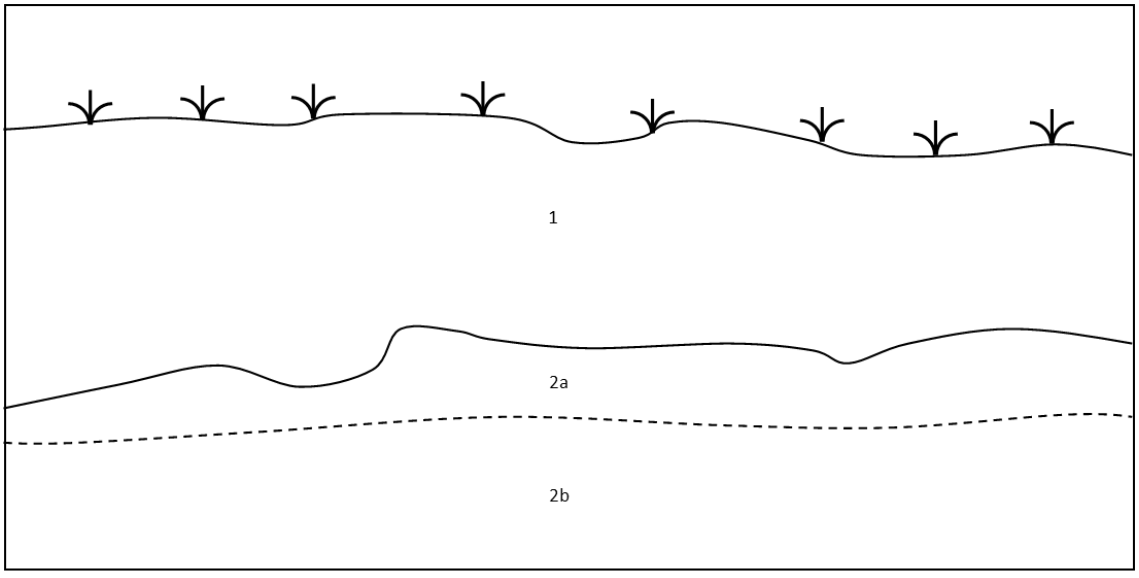


U13-006 East Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.44 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-006, east profile.

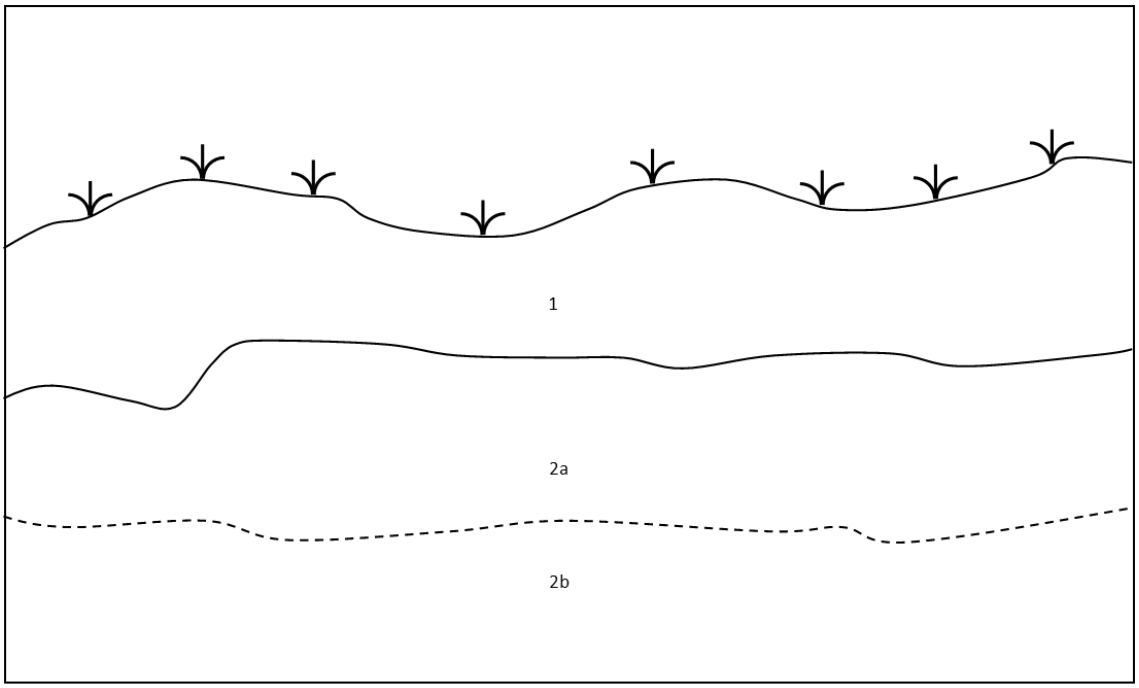


U13-006 South Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.45 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-006, south profile.

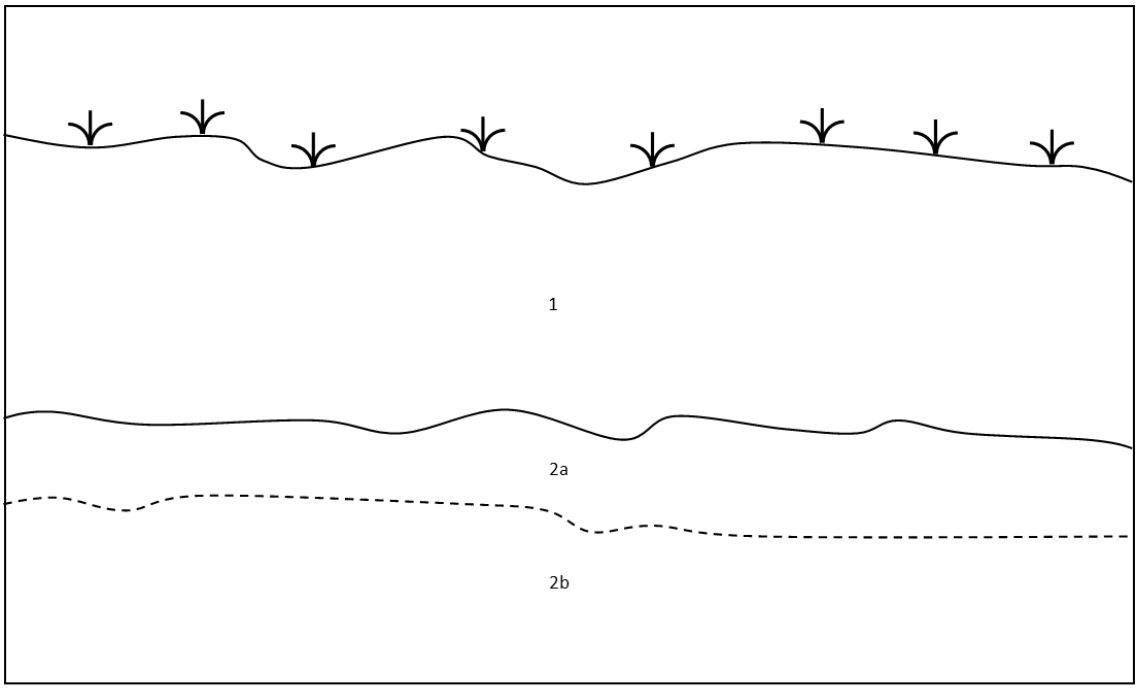


U13-007 East Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.46 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-007, east profile.

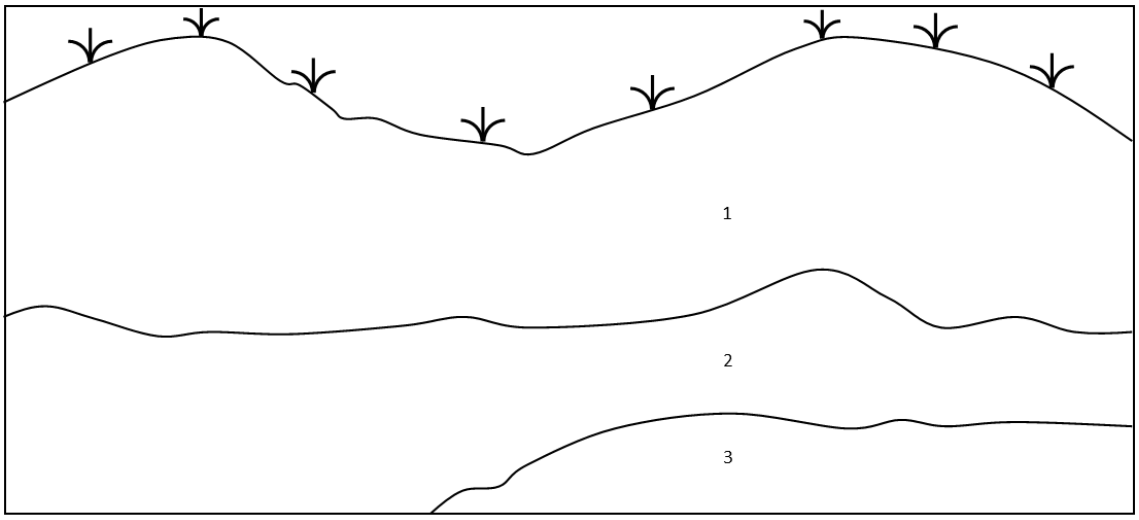


U13-007 South Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 4/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.47 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-007, south profile.

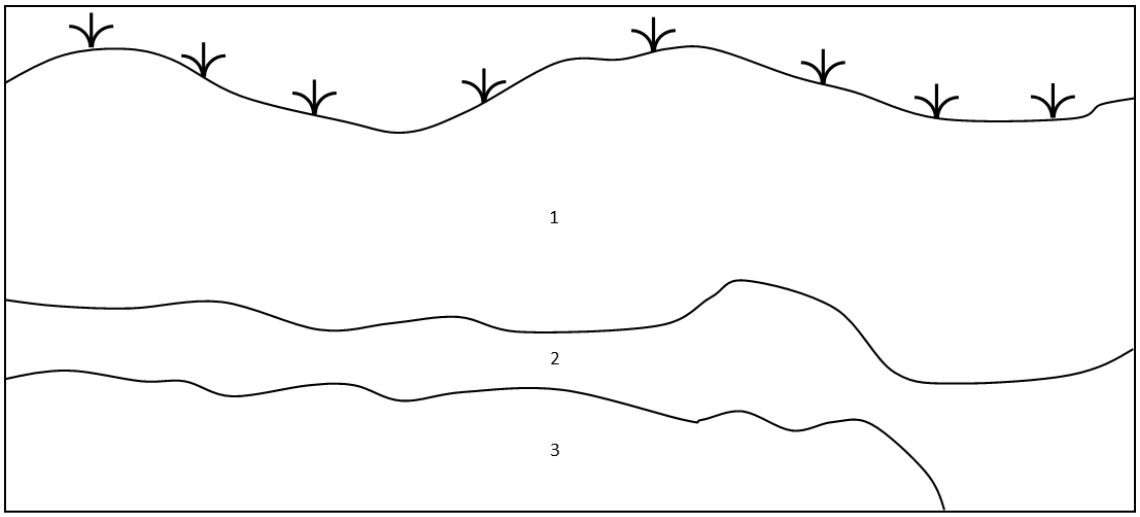


U13-008 North Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.48 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-008, north profile.

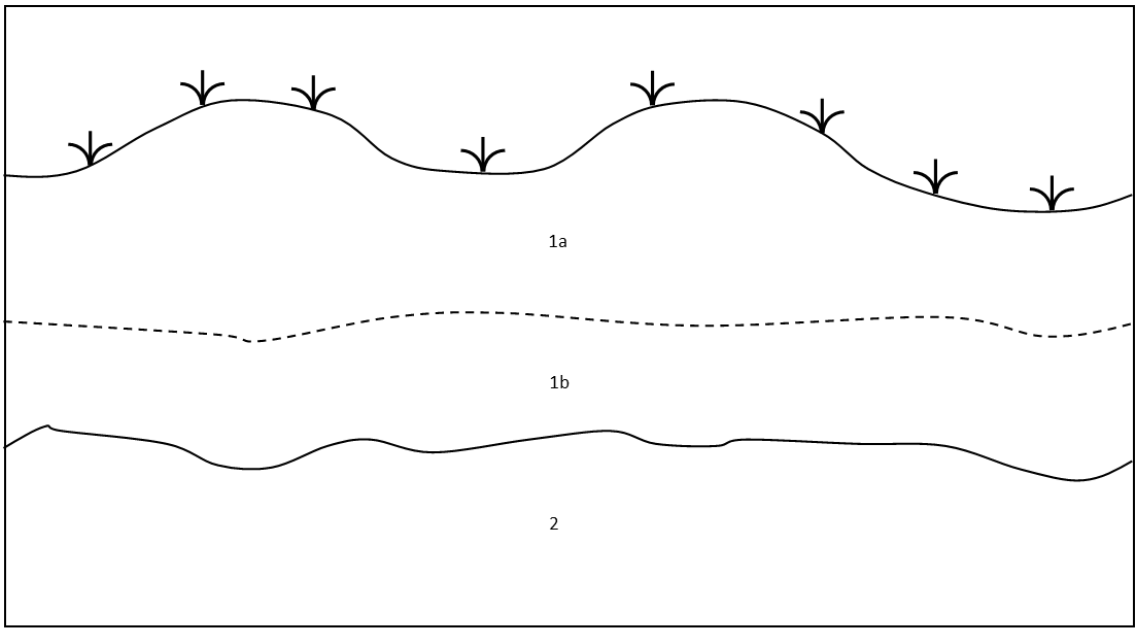


10 cm

U13-008 West Profile

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.49 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-008, west profile.

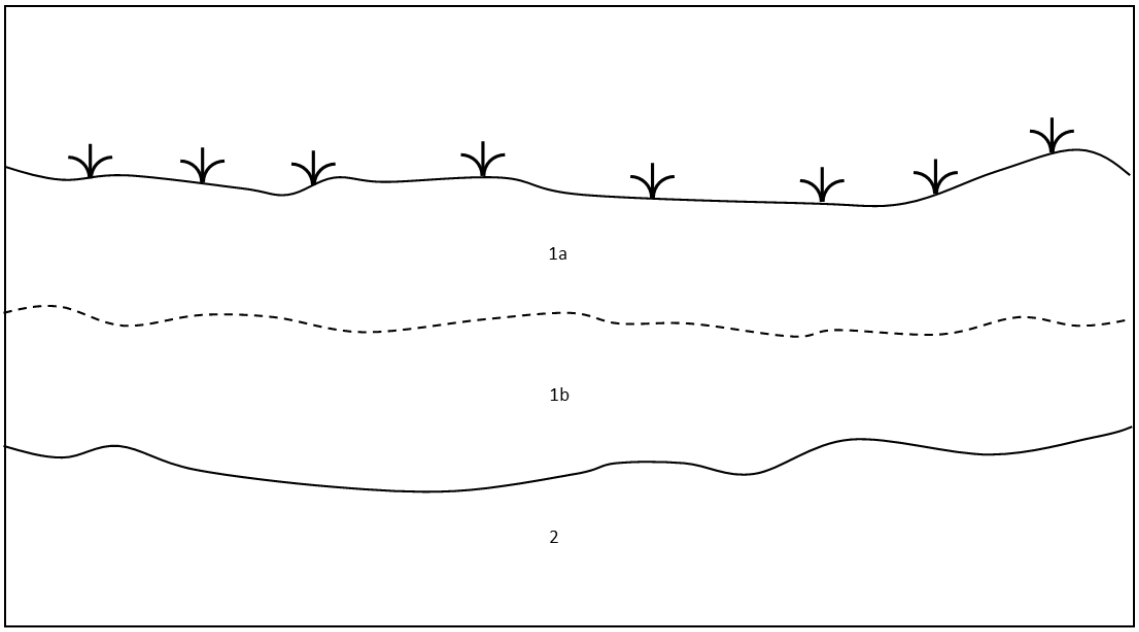


10 cm

U13-009 North Profile

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.50 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-009, north profile.

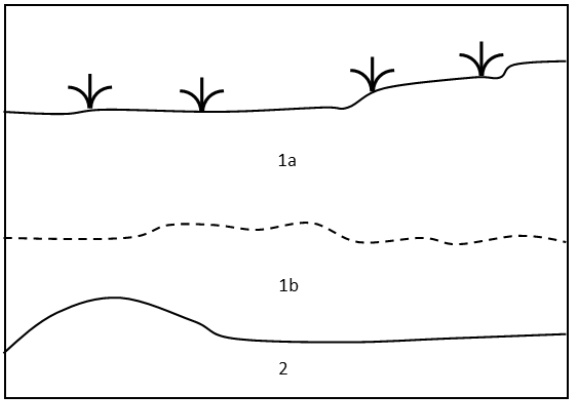


10 cm

U13-009 West Profile

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 4/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.51 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-009, west profile.



10 cm

U13-011 South Profile

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, compact. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.

Figure A.52 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-011, south profile.

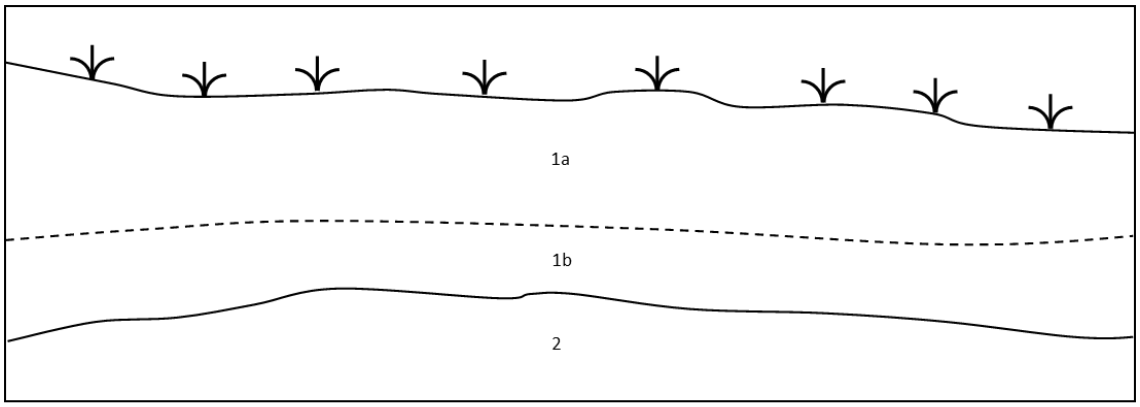


Figure A.53 Stratigraphic cross-section of U12-011, west profile.

Site Number: S12-036

Oral History Source: Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Opotoku

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Depression (Ditch), Fortification (Earthen Berm), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab), Shrine (Tree)

Site Description: This site is the location of a village occupied by members of the Amushu lineage during their war with the conquering Otọ́lá dynasty. The site consists of a light artifact scatter, baobabs, and the remains of an earthen wall. The earthen wall is much degraded in some places, but is up to 110 cm wide and 80 cm tall. Portions of the wall also have a slight ditch on the exterior side. A large baobab, 1220 cm circumference, is used in modern religious practices, and is the center point of a modern sacred grove (Figure A.55). Surface artifacts are generally not visible except in areas where the groundcover has been disturbed. The limits of the site are defined by the earthen wall. Near the southern edge of the earthen wall is a Fulani village (Figure

A.56). The inhabitants suggested that their village site was chosen as an earlier, unrelated village was once there. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely in the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N08º11’16.6” E002º31’31.6” (large baobab); N08º11.266’ E002º31.533’ (northeast corner of U13-005)

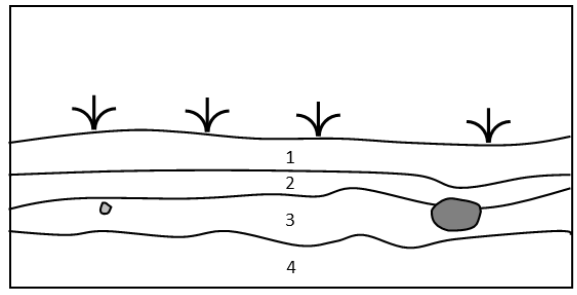
Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Figure A.54 Site map of S12-036.

Figure A.55 The sacred grove of Opotoku is maintained through prayers, libations, and offerings made to this baobab.

Figure A.56 The present-day village site near S12-036 was ceded to the Fulani specifically because of the proximity to the sacred grove, as agriculture and hunting are forbidden but herding is allowed.



U13-005 North Profile

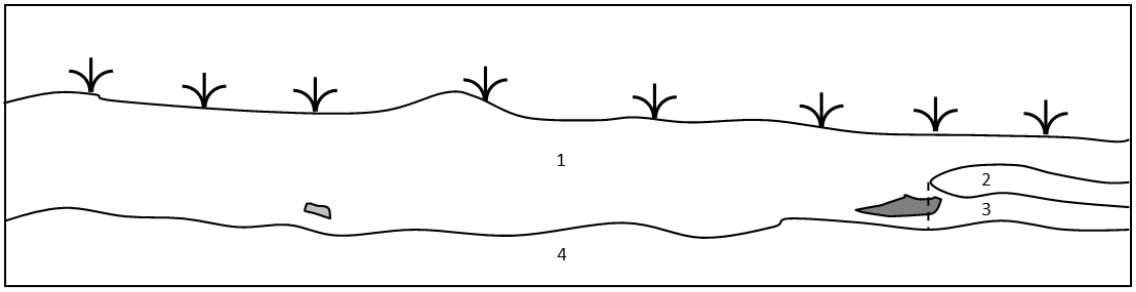
10 cm

Ceramic

Root

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 5/2). Very compact.
Zone 3—Stratigraphic division of Zone 1. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Dusky red (2.5YR 3/2). Moist, compact.

Figure A.57 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-005, north profile.



U13-005 West Profile

10 cm

Ceramic

Root

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 5/2). Very compact.
Zone 3—Stratigraphic division of Zone 1. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Dusky red (2.5YR 3/2). Moist, compact.

Figure A.58 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-005, west profile.

Site Number: S12-037

Oral History Source: Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe to Late Shabe

Site Name: Igboe

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is a village occupied by ancestors of the Amushu lineage. It was also occupied by refugees during the 19th century CE. It is associated with a stone wall site just to its south (S12-039) and a hilltop refuge site (S13-006). The site consists of a light artifact scatter and numerous baobabs. Artifacts were generally not visible on the surface except for disturbed areas. There are two clearly defined mounds on the site, one of which is associated with large ground stone basins on the surface. A 1 m x 2 m unit was excavated on one of these mounds, near where a fragment of iron slag was recovered on the surface. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely within the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N08º04'41.8" E002º27'38.0" (center of west mound with ground stone); N08º04'40.8" E002º27'43.5" (center of mound); N08º06'45.0" E002º27'45.1" (north baobab); N08º06'37.8" E002º27'46.3" (south baobab); N08º06'39.1" E002º27'50.0" (east baobab); N08º04.671' E002º27.717' (northeast corner of U13-014)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Slag, Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Fauna (Bone, Cowry, Shell), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Slag, Tool), Lithics (Bead, Ground Tool)

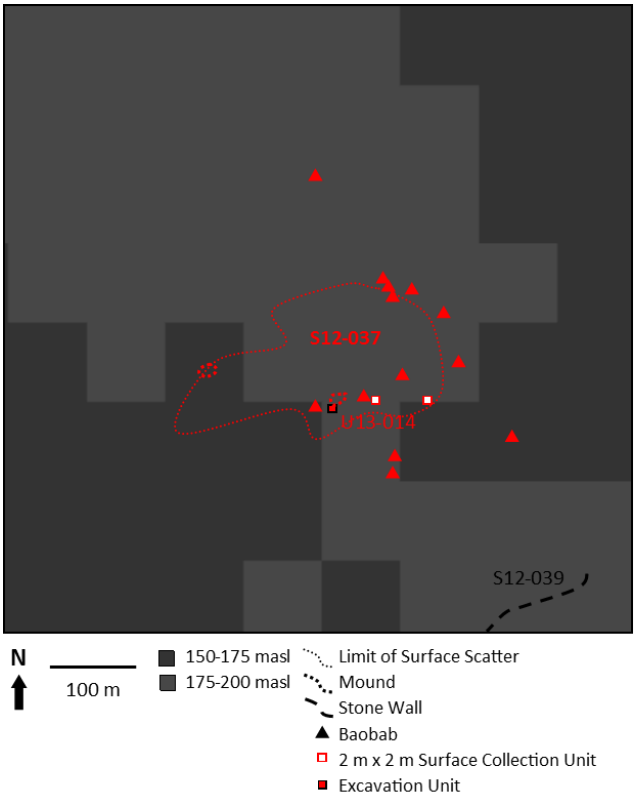
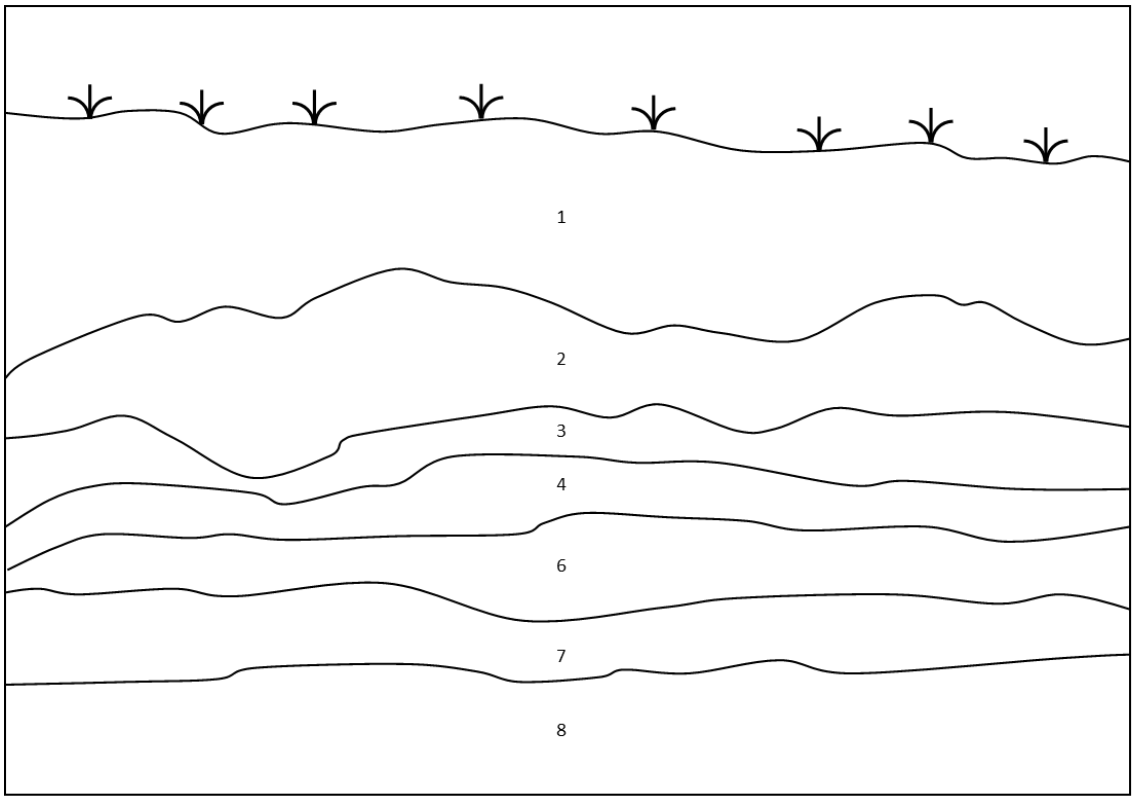


Figure A.59 Site map of S12-037.

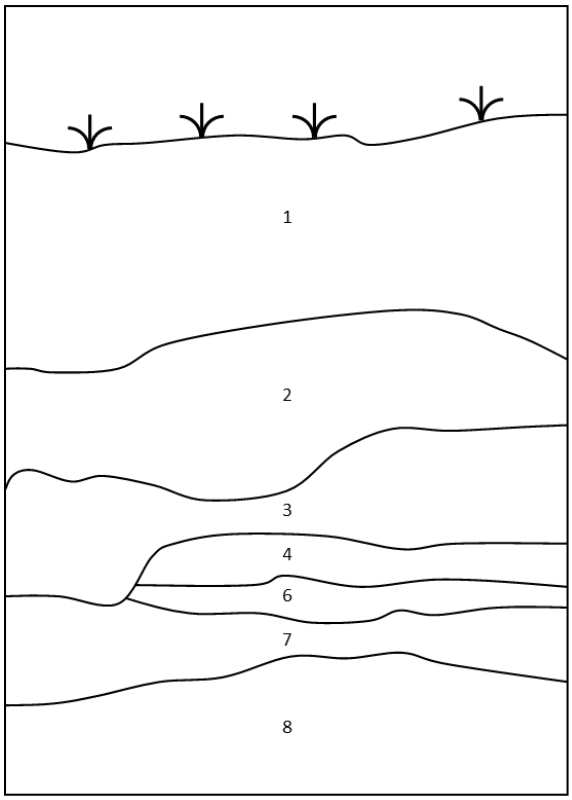


U13-014 North Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Very dark brown (10YR 2/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 4—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Moist, compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 5 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Moist, compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 6—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Very compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 7—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 5/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 8—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Brown (10YR 5/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.60 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-014, north profile.



10 cm

U13-014 West Profile

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Very dark brown (10YR 2/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 4—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Moist, compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 5 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Moist, compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 6—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Dark gray (7.5YR 4/1). Very compact. Probably collapsed coursed earthen architecture.
Zone 7—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Brown (7.5YR 5/2). Moist, friable.
Zone 8—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Brown (10YR 5/3). Moist, compact.

Figure A.61 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-014, west profile.

Site Number: S12-039

Oral History Source: Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Igboe Wall

Surface Features: Fortification (Lithics Wall)

Site Description: This site consists of a defensive structure used for defense during the 19th century CE. This is a linear stone wall just southeast of and associated with S12-037. The wall is

constructed of granite cobbles and small boulders without mortar. There are several large boulders that the wall is built around, including several that form a small rockshelter. No surface artifacts are associated with the wall itself.

Coordinates: N08º04’34.0” E002º27’52.8” (start of wall); N08º04’32.5” E002º27’49.8” (midpoint of wall); N08º04’30.9” E002º27’47.9” (end of wall)

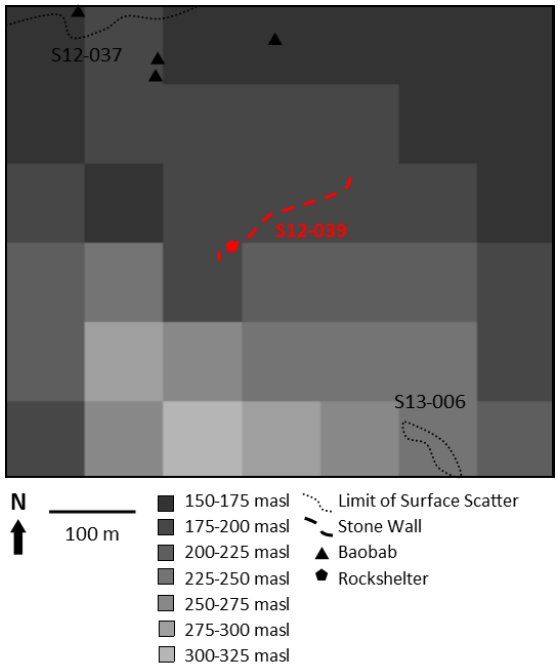


Figure A.62 Site map of S12-039.

Site Number: S12-040

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Iláko lineage (Bampọ̀nẹ̀n)

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Idadu Wall 1

Surface Features: Fortification (Earthen Berm)

Site Description: This site consists of a long, low mound on the southern edge of Savè. It is reported to be a defensive structure, but was also used to control access to Idadu's markets. The Bampọ̀nẹ̀n (the *agàní* from the Iláko lineage) reports that his office originally organized the labor to build the structure. It was part of the same defense system as S13-033 and S13-034. A gap in the wall accommodates the flow of a large stream that feeds into the Ayin River. No surface artifacts are associated with the wall.

Coordinates: N08º01'39.6" E002º29'50.7" (start of wall); N08º01'36.7" E002º29'51.9" (midpoint of wall); N08º01'33.7" E002º29'53.2" (end of wall)

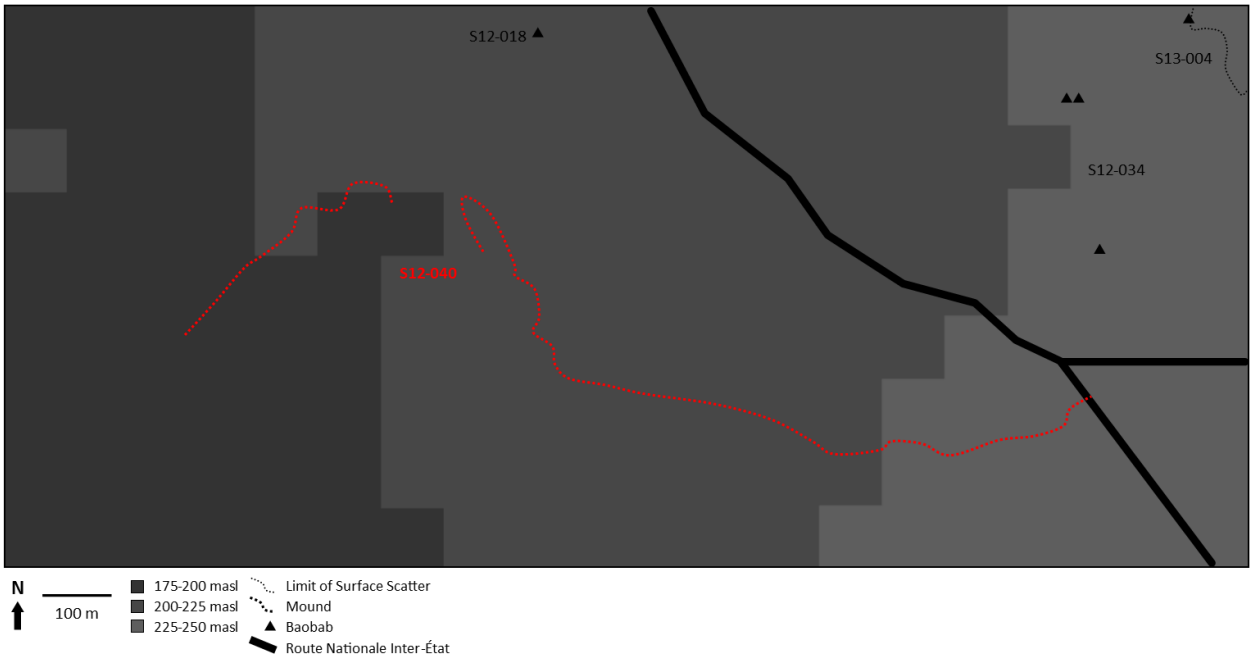


Figure A.63 Site map of S12-040.

Site Number: S12-043

Oral History Source: *Balẹ̀* of Kaboua

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Oke Agbodo Wall

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Fortification (Lithics Wall)

Site Description: This site consists of a stone wall built for defense during the 19th century CE. It is associated with site S12-044. The site consists of a linear wall enclosing an area adjacent to a hill. There is a single entry point through the wall. There is a thin scatter of potsherds in some areas adjacent to the wall, varying with modern land use. However, artifacts were not collected out of respect for modern religious observances.

Coordinates: N08º14’11.2” E002º41’31.6” (start of wall); N08º14’12.6” E002º41’28.3” (corner of wall); N08º14’08.3” E002º41’25.5” (entrance in wall); N08º14’07.2” E002º41’25.0” (corner of wall); N08º14’00.1” E002º41’32.1” (corner of wall); N08º14’04.2” E002º41’39.0” (end of wall)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

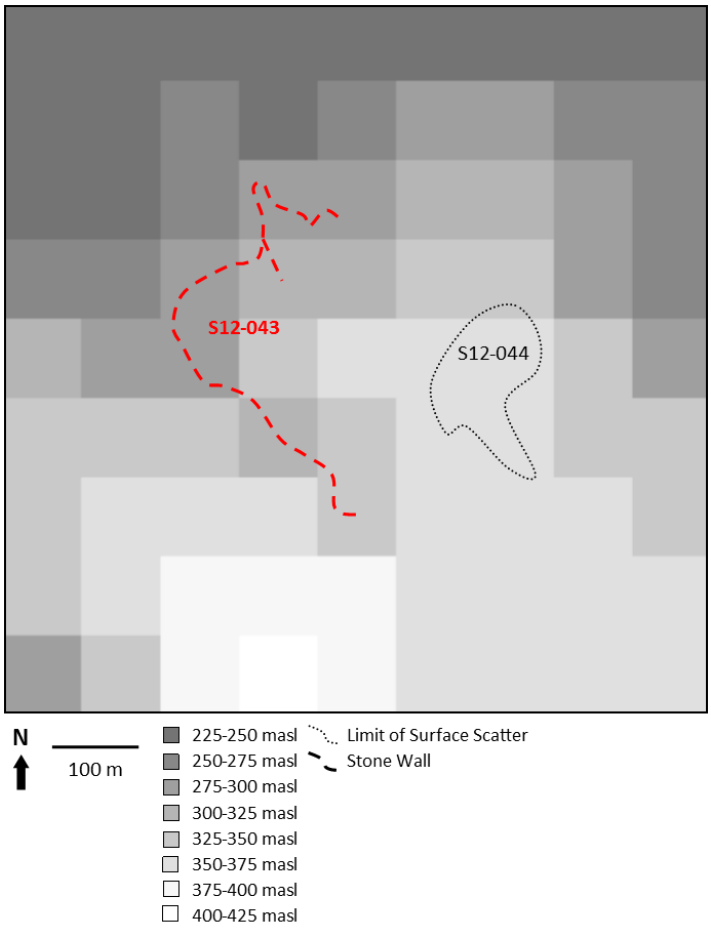


Figure A.64 Site map of S12-043.

Site Number: S12-044

Oral History Source: *Balę* of Kaboua

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Oke Agbodo Refuge

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site is a refuge occupied for defense during the 19th century CE. It is associated with the ancestors of the modern settlement of Kaboua. The site boundaries are

defined by the extent of the artifact scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º14'05.7" E002º41'39.2" (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

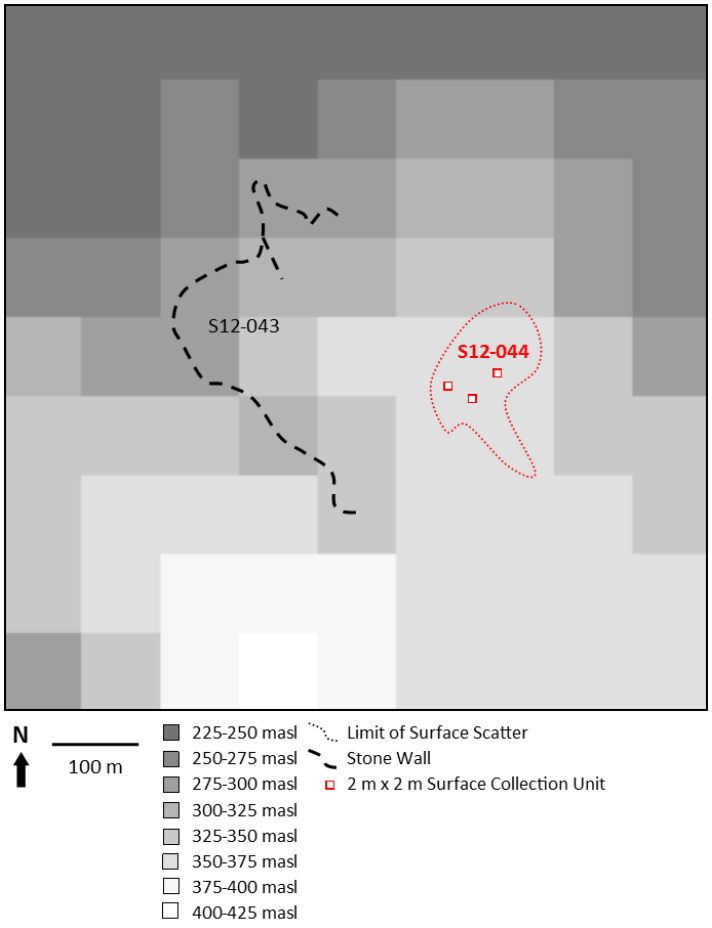


Figure A.65 Site map of S12-044.

Site Number: S13-004

Oral History Source: Ọmọ Agbaa lineage (Olú Òsìn)

Oral History Period: Early Shabe

Site Name: Aukpon

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large, Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is a village occupied by ancestors of the village of Aensin (the modern settlement and the archaeological site S12-034). Many families from Aensin claim autochthonous status that predates the arrival of Shabe groups. However, Aensin is also claimed to have been founded contemporaneously with Idadu. There are several baobabs and multiple clearly defined mounds on the site. Two 2 m x 2 m units were excavated on the largest of these mounds (U13-002 and U13-003). These excavations showed that the mound was likely a midden. However, human remains were found in U13-002. The remains appeared to be part of an articulated skeleton, and so an additional unit (U13-004) was excavated adjacent to U13-002 to reveal the extent, completeness, and positioning of the skeleton (Figure A.67). Artifacts were not collected from this unit, and it was excavated only to the level of the skeleton. The excavations revealed an articulated, supine skeleton—likely a primary burial. The skeleton was relatively complete, though conspicuously missing its right hand and the bones of the legs and feet below the femur. The human remains were not collected, though some human leg bones were identified mixed in with the faunal remains collected. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely within the excavation units, except for U13-004.

Coordinates: N08º01.772’ E002º30.469’ (baobab); N08º01.757’ E002º30.460’ (baobab); N08º01.811’ E002º30.405’ (baobab); N08º01.823’ E002º30.489’ (northeast corner of U13-002); N08º01.822’ E002º30.489’ (northeast corner of U13-003); N08º01.823’ E002º30.489’ (northeast corner of U13-004)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Bead, Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Fauna (Bone, Cowry, Ivory Bead, Shell), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

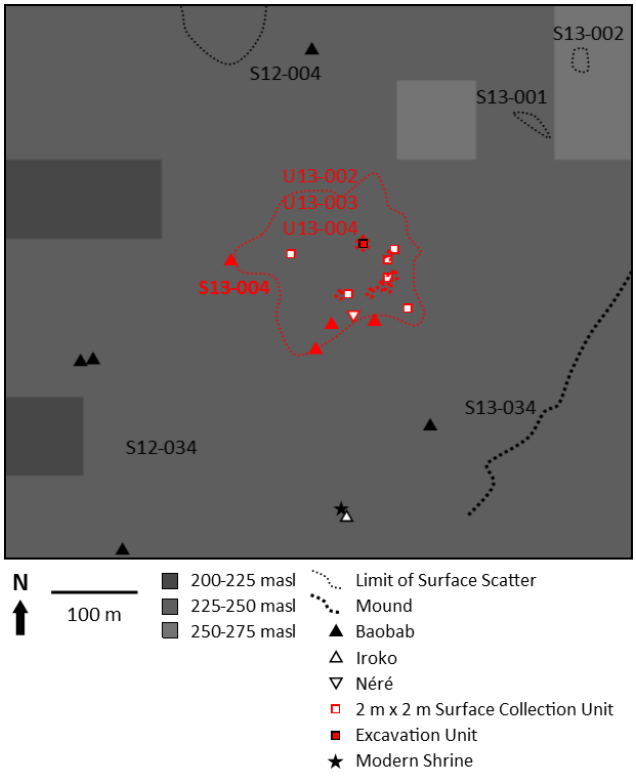
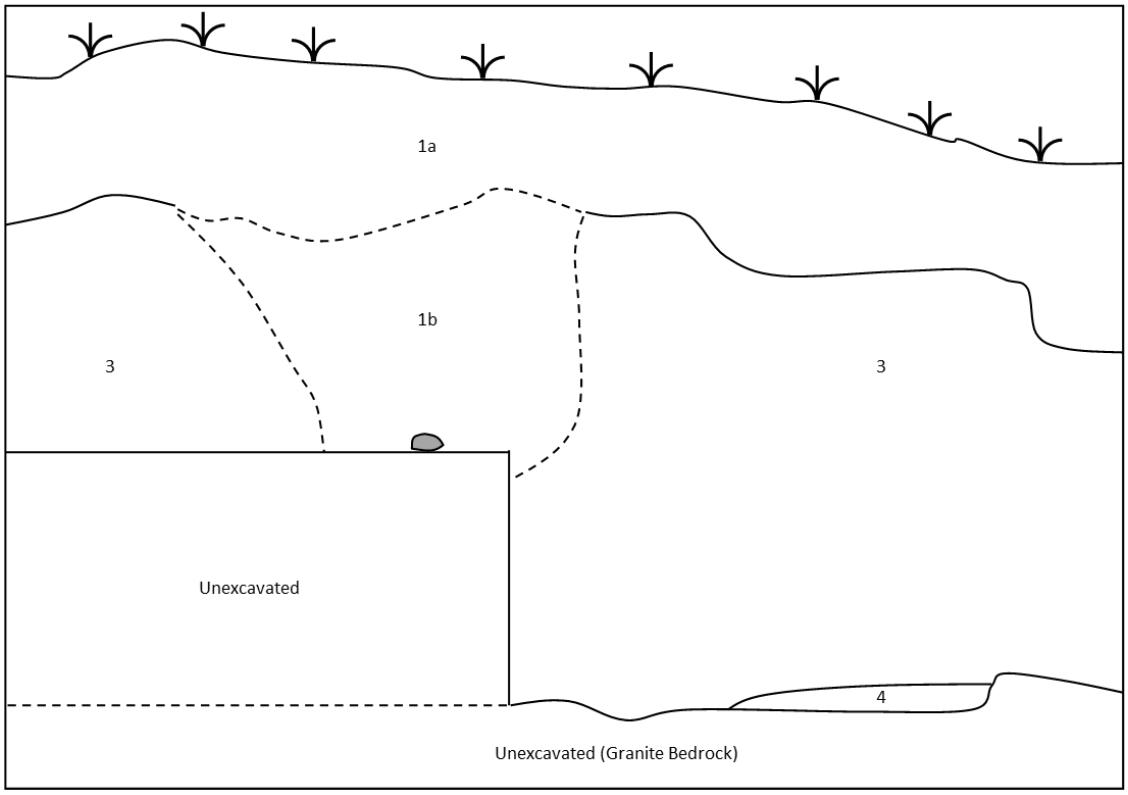


Figure A.66 Site map of S13-004.

Figure A.67 The skeleton discovered in U13-002 and U13-004.



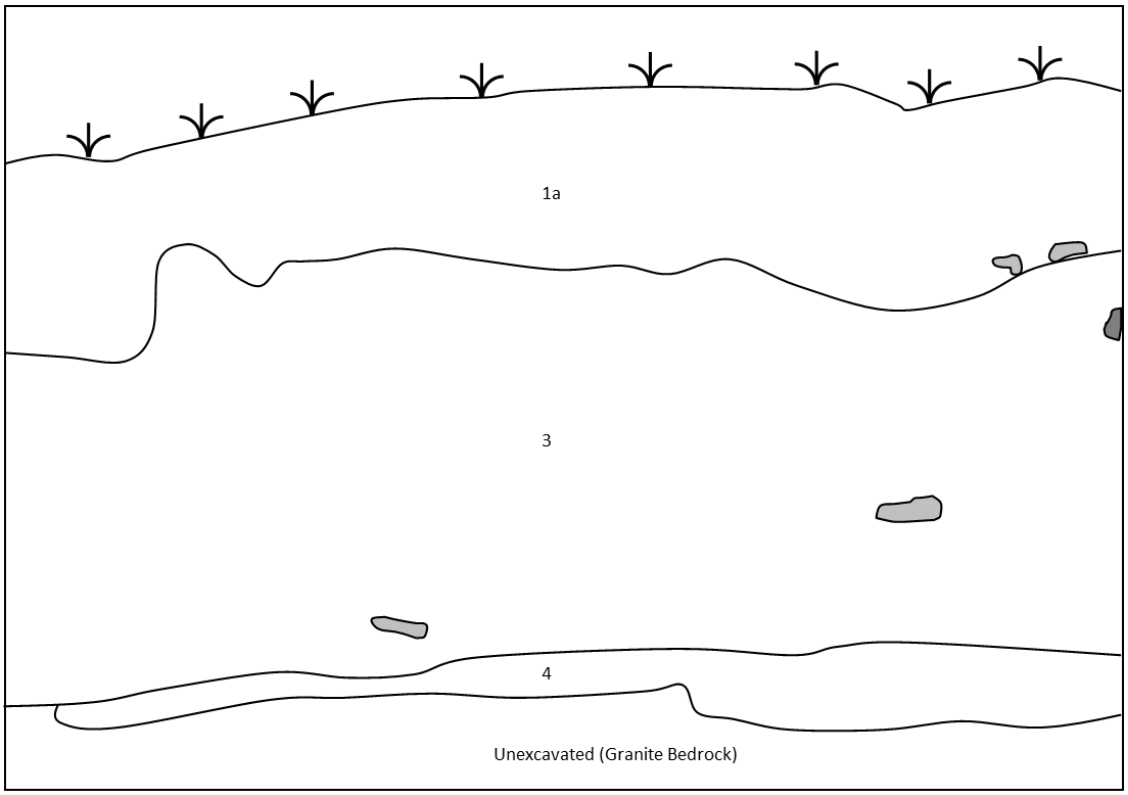
U13-002 South Profile

10 cm

Bone (Human L2 vertebrae)

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 1b—Pit/grave. Sandy loam. Very dark brown (7.5YR 2.5/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 2 (Not in profile)—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Very dark brown (7.5YR 2.5/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, very friable.

Figure A.68 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-002, south profile.



U13-002 West Profile

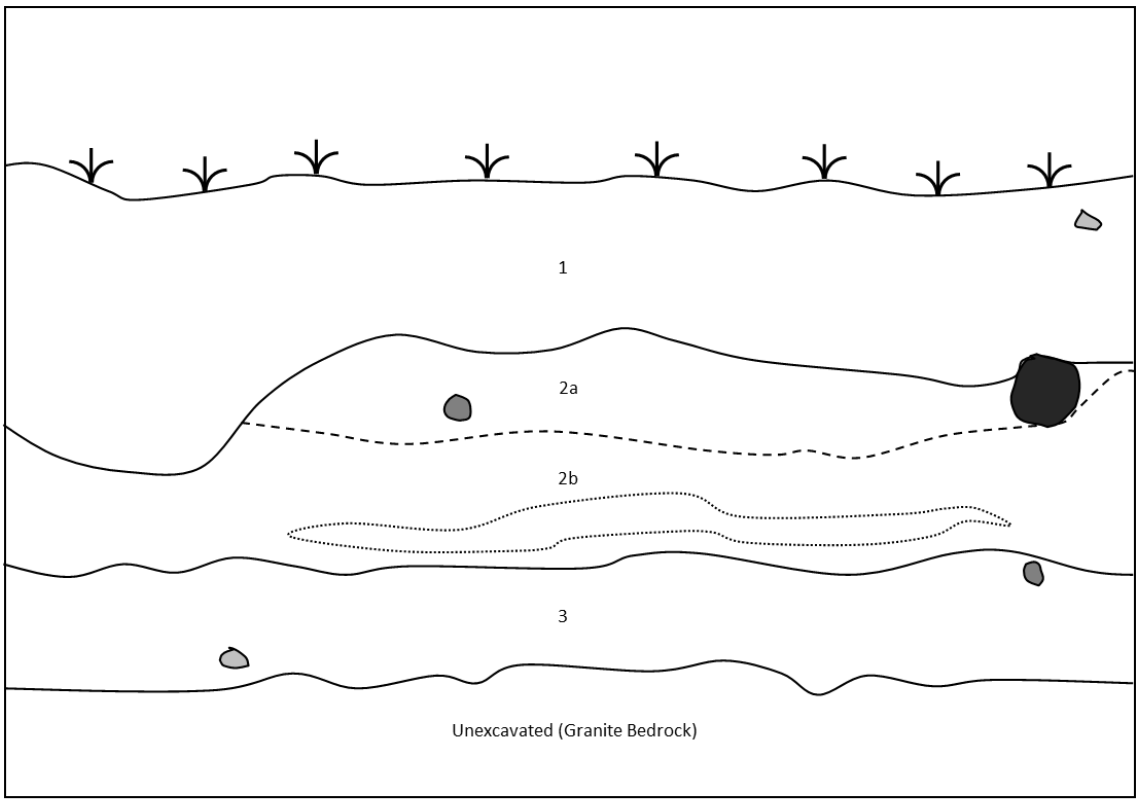
10 cm

Ceramic

Root

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 1b (Not in profile)—Pit/grave. Sandy loam. Very dark brown (7.5YR 2.5/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 2 (Not in profile)—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Very dark brown (7.5YR 2.5/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 4—Soil stratum. Sand. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, very friable.

Figure A.69 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-002, west profile.



U13-003 North Profile

10 cm

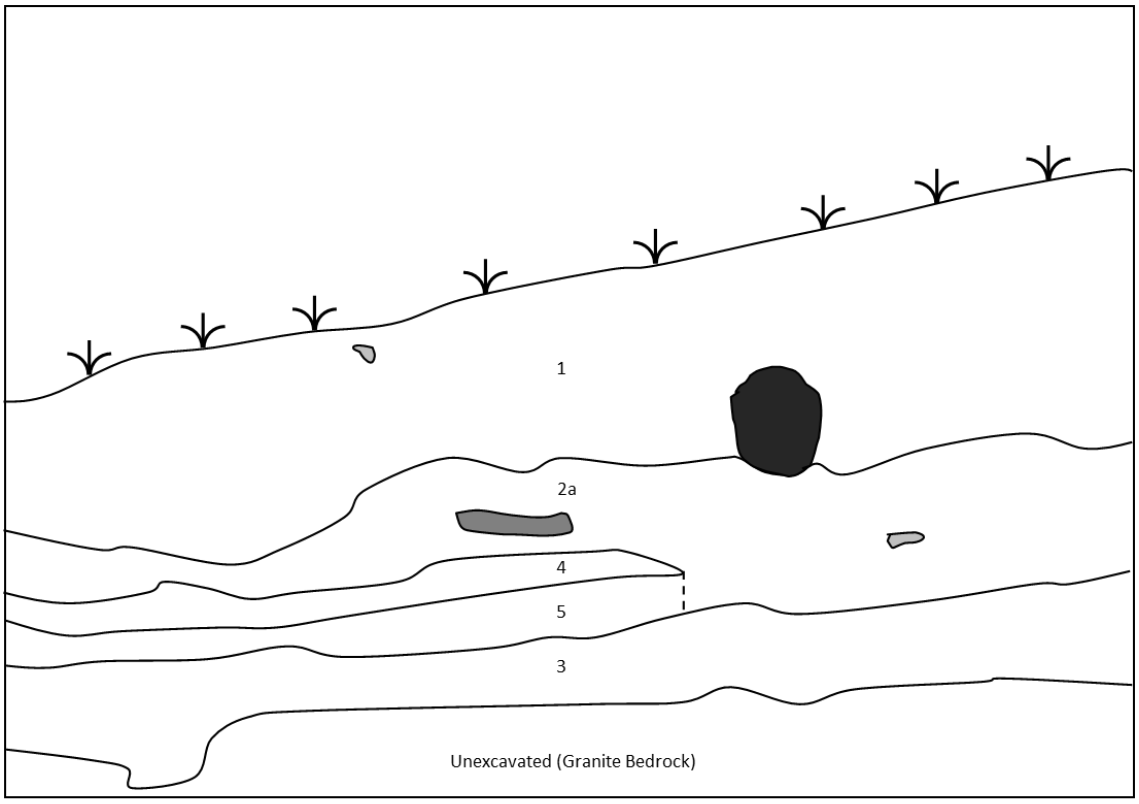
Ceramic

Root

Burrow

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Dense charcoal and some ash inclusions.
Zone 2b—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 4 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6). Very compact.
Zone 5 (Not in profile)—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.

Figure A.70 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-003, north profile.



U13-003 West Profile

10 cm

Ceramic

Root

Burrow

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 2a—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Dense charcoal and some ash inclusions.
Zone 2b (Not in profile)—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.
Zone 4—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/6). Very compact.
Zone 5—Stratigraphic division of Zone 2a. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). Moist, friable. Some charcoal and ash inclusions.

Figure A.71 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-003, west profile.

Site Number: S13-006

Oral History Source: Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Late Shabe

Site Name: Igboe Refuge

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site is a refuge occupied during the 19th century CE. It is associated with the nearby stone wall (S12-039). Its occupants are claimed to have been Amushu ancestors from the nearby village site, Igboe (S12-037). The site consists of a thin artifact scatter on the granite hilltop. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º04.401' E002º27.926' (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

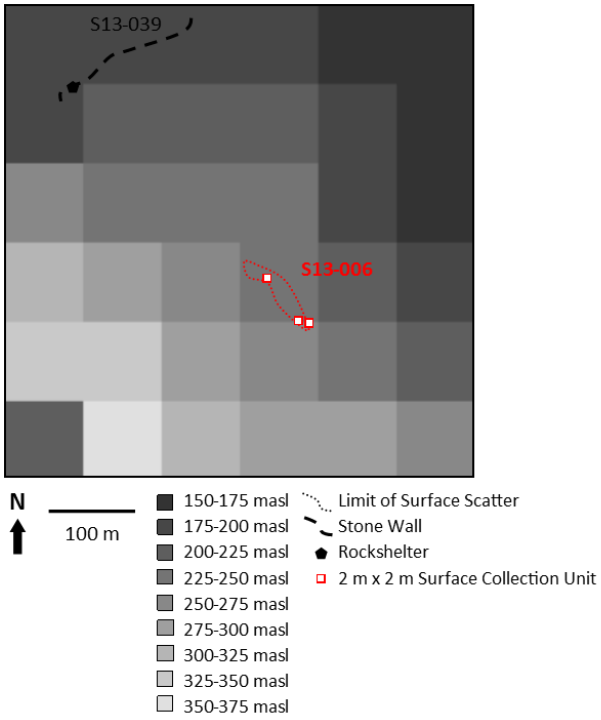


Figure A.72 Site map of S13-006.

Site Number: S13-008

Oral History Source: Onishabe

Oral History Period: European Colonial

Site Name: Maison d'*axosu* Agoli-Agbo

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Large), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab), Shrine (Tree, Vessel)

Site Description: This site is the compound of the former Dahomean king (*ahosu*) Agoli-Agbo after being deposed by the French. Agoli-Agbo was detained at this site by the French from 1910 to 1925 CE. The site may have been occupied prior to this by Dahomean officials that moved to the area in the late 19th century CE. Fon residents still live in the area and maintain several shrines at the site. There are many large baobabs on the site. Surface artifacts are not generally visible except in agricultural fields. A large mound adjacent to the visible artifact scatter may be collapsed architecture. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08º03.745' E002º28.555' (baobab and modern shrine); N08º03.677' E002º28.602' (mound 1); N08º03.698' E002º28.568' (mound 2)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

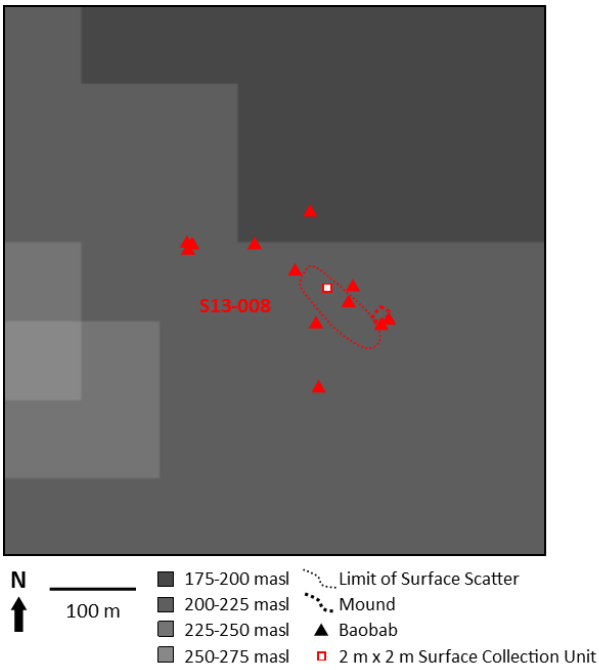


Figure A.73 Site map of S13-008.

Site Number: S13-009

Oral History Source: Ola-Amushu

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Agba

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Fortification (Lithics Wall), Natural Feature (Rockshelter), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site is a refuge occupied during the 18th century CE. Unlike many other refuge sites, this refuge is not associated with the regional instability of the 19th century CE following the collapse of the Oyo Empire, but instead with internal conflict between the Amushu lineage and succeeding Otọ́lá lineage. The site is a long, linear artifact scatter over much of the granite hilltop. One baobab grows on the hilltop. A rockshelter is also associated with the site, and is currently used as a camp by local hunters (Figure A.75). A stone wall fortifies the southern entrance to the hilltop and its eastern face. The wall eventually joins with a natural linear boulder feature. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º11.225’ E002º24.537’ (rockshelter); N08º11.358’ E002º24.504’ (baobab); N08º11.636’ E002º24.466’ (north end point of stone wall); N08º11.206’ E002º24.556’ (south end point of stone wall)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

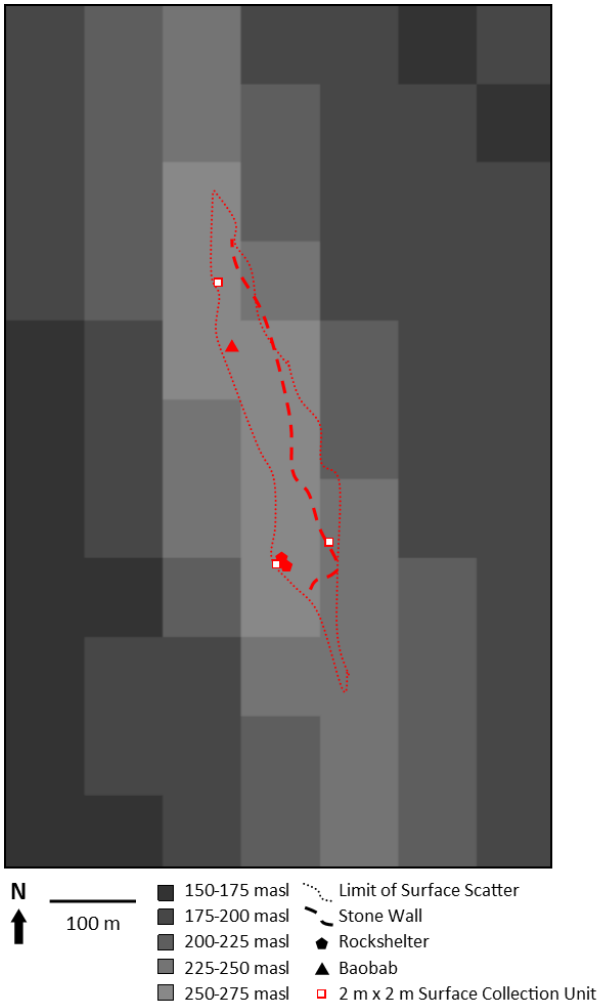


Figure A.74 Site map of S13-009.

Figure A.75 Rockshelter and modern hunter furnishings at S13-009.

Site Number: S13-010

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Gobe

Oral History Period: Unassigned

Site Name: Not given

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site consists of a large artifact scatter and several large baobabs. The site was shown to us by the land's owner and the *balẹ* of Gobe, though there are no extant oral histories associated with the site, either at Gobe or among the *agani* or *balé* at Idadu. The size of the artifact scatter and the large baobabs suggest that this is a village site. However, the lack of associated oral histories suggests that the village was either occupied in the pre-Shabe period or its occupants migrated out of the area. The site's proximity to the Ouémé River supports that this site may be one of the many villages destroyed by the Dahomeans in the 19th century CE. A 1 m x 2 m unit (U13-015) was excavated on a slightly elevated part of the artifact scatter in order to test the integrity of subsurface features. Possible architectural remains were identified, but the unit was terminated before reaching a sterile stratum due to time limitations. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely within the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N07º58.670' E002º24.346' (baobab); N07º58.637' E002º24.366' (baobab); N07º58.600' E002º24.351' (baobab); N07º58.689' E002º24.375' (baobab); N08º04.671' E002º27.717' (northeast corner of U13-015)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry, Shell, Shell Bead), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Bead, Ground Tool)

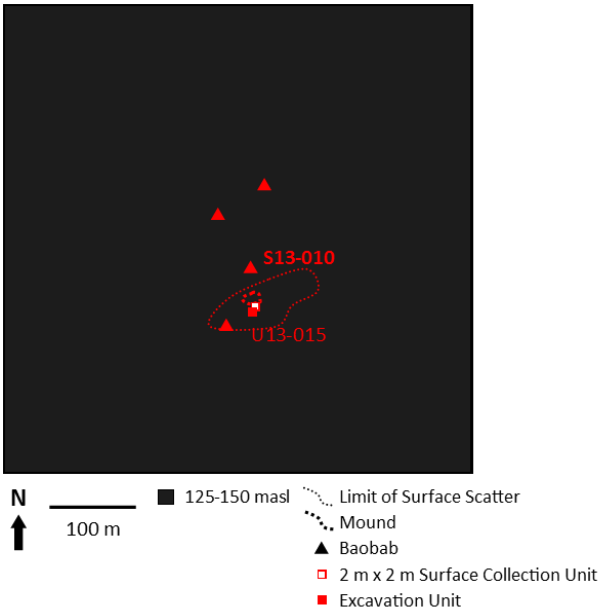
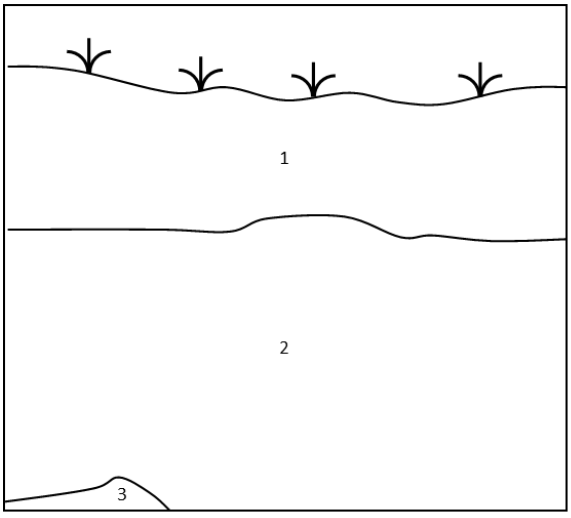


Figure A.76 Site map of S13-010.



Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 5/6). Moist, compact.
Zone 4 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 5/6). Moist, compact.

Figure A.77 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-015, north profile.

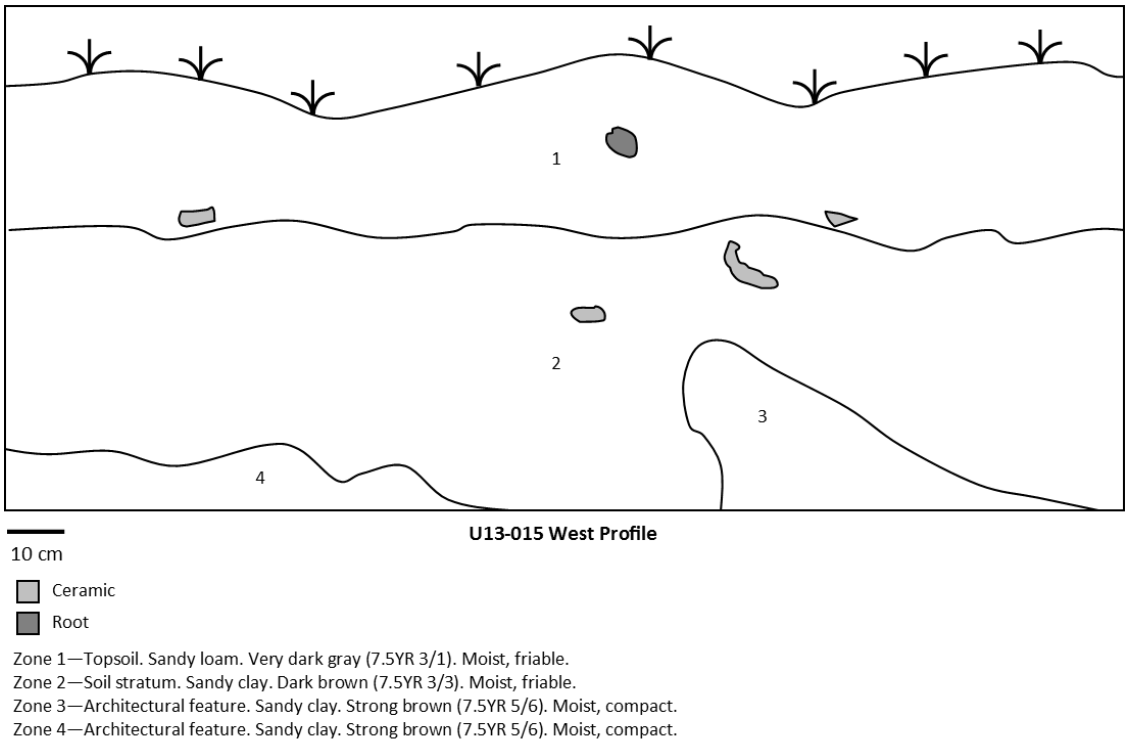


Figure A.78 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-015, west profile.

Site Number: S13-011

Oral History Source: *Balę* of Alafia

Oral History Period: Early Shabe

Site Name: Igbo Ilaka

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site consists of a large artifact scatter and several large baobabs. The history of the site was recounted by the *balę* of Alafia, though there are no extant oral histories associated with the site. The village was occupied by pre-Shabe lineages and the head of the village was a woman. Her brother conspired with Dahomeans to overthrow her, but it resulted with the entire village being destroyed. Though invoking Dahomey, this narrative follows a

typical structure of explaining autochthonous settlements, particularly the role of a woman as the leader of the village. Though Dahomey is referenced as the source of the village's destruction, it is also referenced as being occupied at the same time that Atenro was, which makes Dahomey an unlikely antagonist. After abandonment, the site was maintained as a scared grove until the European Colonial period when a Catholic priest was given the land. A 1 m x 2 m unit (U13-012) was excavated near the largest baobab on the site in order to test the integrity of subsurface features. Two floors were identified in the excavation (Figure A.80). The unit was then expanded to a 2 m x 2 m to document the extent of these features. Each floor consists of a thin layer of packed clay above a thicker layer of crushed pottery and gravel. A possible third floor was discovered below the other two, but was much patchier. Several burnt clay features were also discovered. Below the architectural features, excavation was continued only in the southeastern 1 m x 1 m corner of the unit due to time constraints. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely within the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N08.20675º E002.64601º (baobab); N08.20610º E002.64608º (baobab); N08º12.397' E002º38.749' (northeast corner of U13-012)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe), Fauna (Bone), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

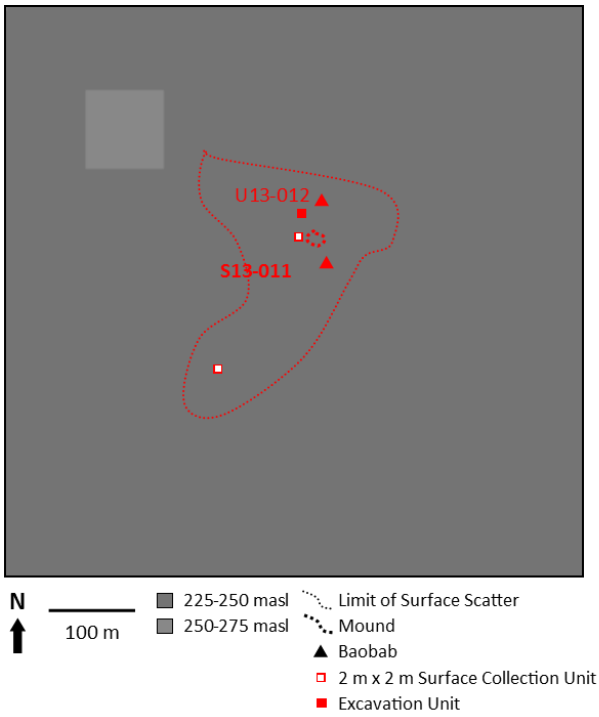
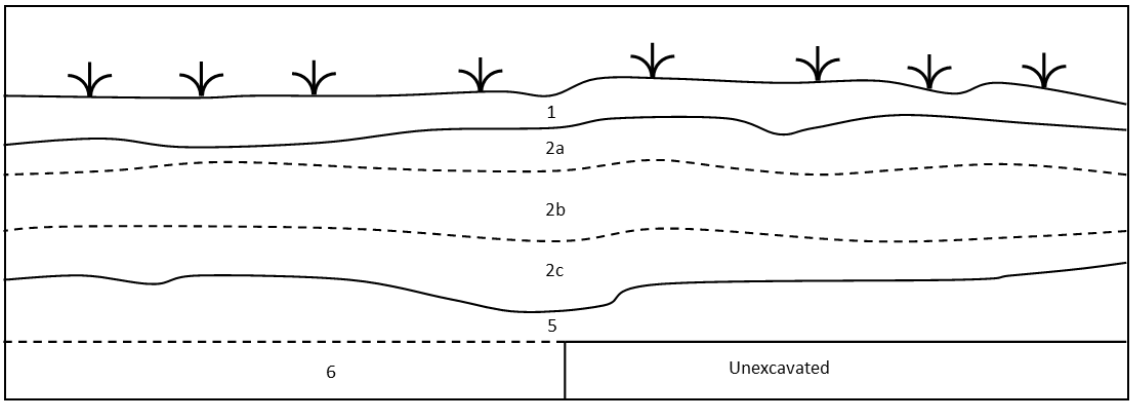


Figure A.79 Site map of S13-011.

Figure A.80 Zones 2a and 2b are visible in the southern half of U13-012, while zone 2c is exposed in the northern half.

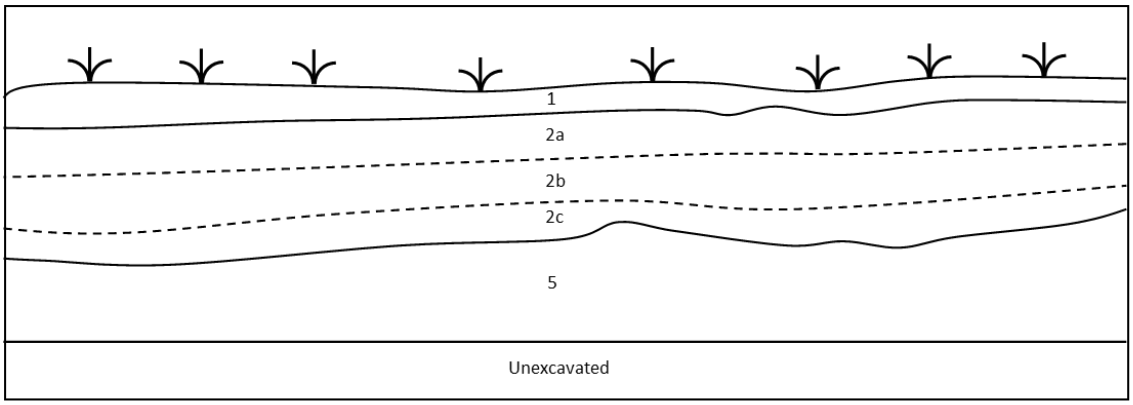


U13-012 South Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Compact clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2b—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Compact clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2c—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Patchy clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 3 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/4). Very compact. Likely burned earthen feature.
Zone 4 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/4). Very compact. Likely burned earthen feature.
Zone 5—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2). Moist, compact. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 6 (Not in profile)—Stratigraphic division of Zone 5. Sandy clay. Dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2). Moist, compact. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.

Figure A.81 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-012, south profile.



U13-012 West Profile

10 cm

Zone 1—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 2a—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Compact clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2b—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Compact clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 2c—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Patchy clay lens above friable matrix with gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 3 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/4). Very compact. Likely burned earthen feature.
Zone 4 (Not in profile)—Architectural feature. Sandy clay. Strong brown (7.5YR 4/4). Very compact. Likely burned earthen feature.
Zone 5—Soil stratum. Sandy clay. Dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2). Moist, compact. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.
Zone 6 (Not in profile)—Stratigraphic division of Zone 5. Sandy clay. Dark reddish gray (5YR 4/2). Moist, compact. Some gravel (laterite) inclusions.

Figure A.82 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-012, west profile.

Site Number: S13-012

Oral History Source: *Balẹ* of Alafia

Oral History Period: Unassigned

Site Name: Oke Awe

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site consists of a large artifact scatter over the slope of a low hill just northwest of Alafia. There are also several small mounds and a large baobab. While the residents of Alafia are aware of the site, they do not claim the site or know who its original inhabitants were. The name of the site translates as "Hill of the Farm Camp," referring to a structure that had existed there in the 20th century CE. A 1 m x 2 m unit (U13-010) was excavated on an upper part of the hill slope in order to test the integrity of subsurface features. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts, and completely within the excavation unit.

Coordinates: N08.20827º E002.63414º (mound); N08.20784º E002.63361º (mound); N08.20756º E002.63330º (mound); N08.20764º E002.63292º (mound); N08.20787º E002.63351º (baobab); N08º12.441' E002º37.991' (northeast corner of U13-010)

Artifact Classes from Surface: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

Artifact Classes from Excavation: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

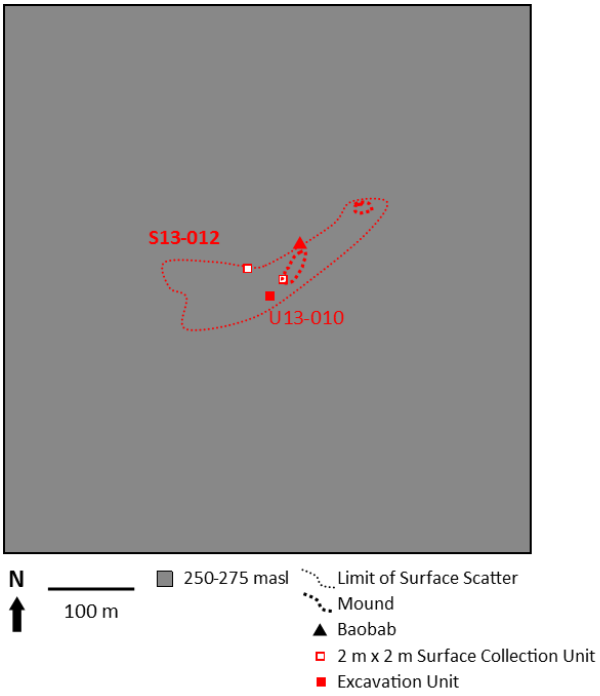
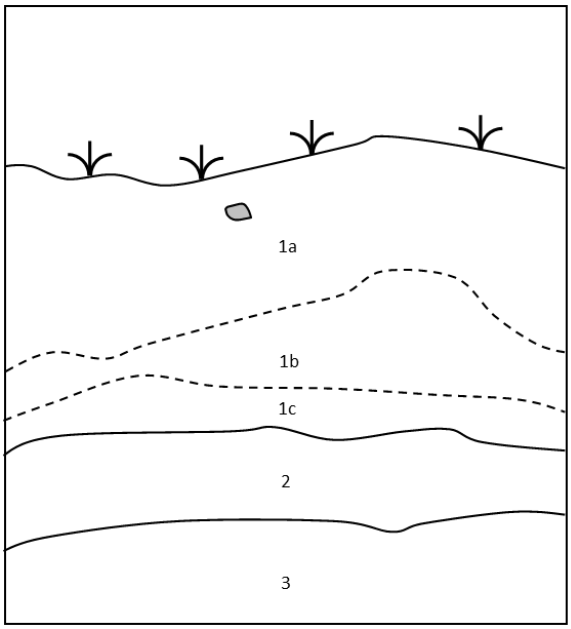


Figure A.83 Site map of S13-012.



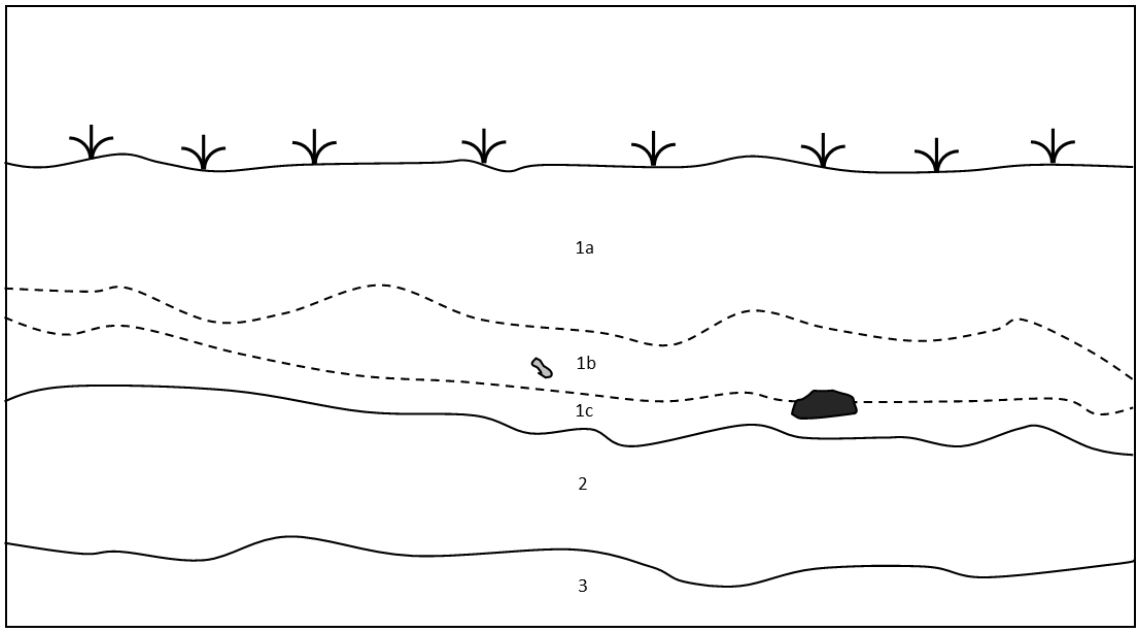
10 cm

U13-010 North Profile

Ceramic

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal inclusions.
Zone 1c—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, compact.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.84 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-010, north profile.



U13-010 West Profile

10 cm

Ceramic

Burrow

Zone 1a—Topsoil. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, friable.
Zone 1b—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1). Moist, friable. Some charcoal inclusions.
Zone 1c—Soil stratum. Sandy loam. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1). Moist, compact.
Zone 2—Soil stratum. Sandy clay loam. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, friable.
Zone 3—Soil stratum. Gravelly (laterite) sandy clay. Dark brown (7.5YR 3/4). Moist, compact.

Figure A.85 Stratigraphic cross-section of U13-010, west profile.

Site Number: S13-033

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Jàlúmọ́n lineage (Basàlẹ̀)

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Idadu Wall 2

Surface Features: Fortification (Earthen Berm)

Site Description: This site consists of a long, low mound on the southern edge of Savè. It is reported to be a defensive structure, but was also used to control access to Idadu's markets. The Basàlẹ̀ (the *agàní* from the Jàlúmọ́n lineage) reports that his office originally organized the labor

to build the structure. It was part of the same defense system as S12-040 and S13-034. No surface artifacts are associated with the wall.

Coordinates: N08.03790º E002.49150º (start of wall); N08.04032º E002.49485º (end of wall)

Figure A.86 Site map of S13-033.

Site Number: S13-034

Oral History Source: Onishabe, Iláko lineage (Bampọ̀nẹ̀n)

Oral History Period: Middle Shabe

Site Name: Idadu Wall 3

Surface Features: Earthen berm

Site Description: This site consists of a long, low mound on the southern edge of Savè. It is reported to be a defensive structure, but was also used to control access to Idadu's markets. The Bampọ̀nẹ̀n (the *agàní* from the Iláko lineage) reports that his office originally organized the labor to build the structure. It was part of the same defense system as S12-040 and S13-033. No surface artifacts are associated with the wall.

Coordinates: N08.03167º E002.51177º (start of wall); N08.02605º E002.49342º (end of wall)

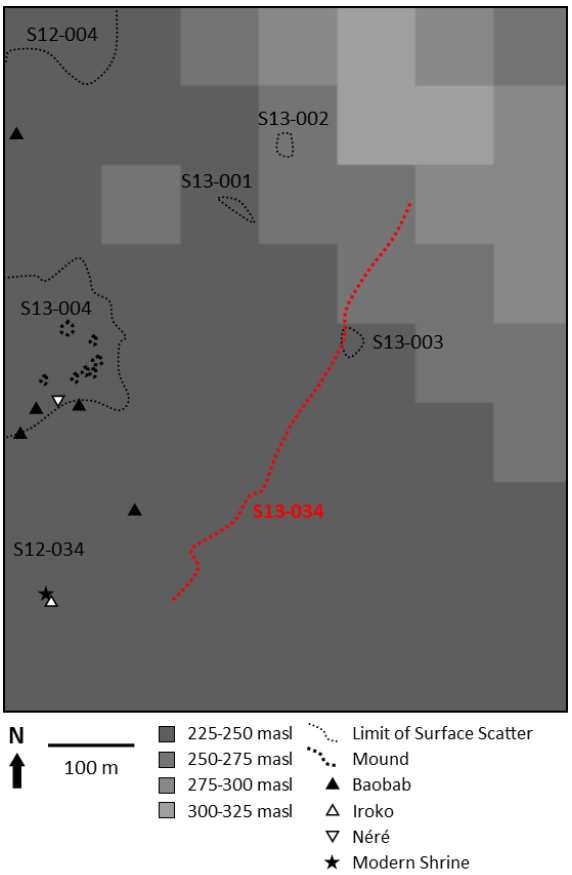


Figure A.87 Site map of S13-034.

2. Transect Survey – Fiditi Tract

Site Number: S12-013

Surface Features: Architecture (Earthen Foundation), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter on a relatively flat part of the Oke Shabe hill. It is situated between steep cliff faces that make the only approach from the southwest. The artifacts are most concentrated near architectural remains on the highest part of the site and in lower lying channels in the granite rock where rainwater likely transported the artifacts. The architectural foundations appear as rectangular earthen blocks, measuring 84 cm in length by 8 cm wide (Figure A.89). The tallest point of the remains is 22 cm. Artifacts were collected in 2 m^2 sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02’21.4” E002º30’02.9” (architectural foundations)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Refined Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry), Lithics (Ground Tool)

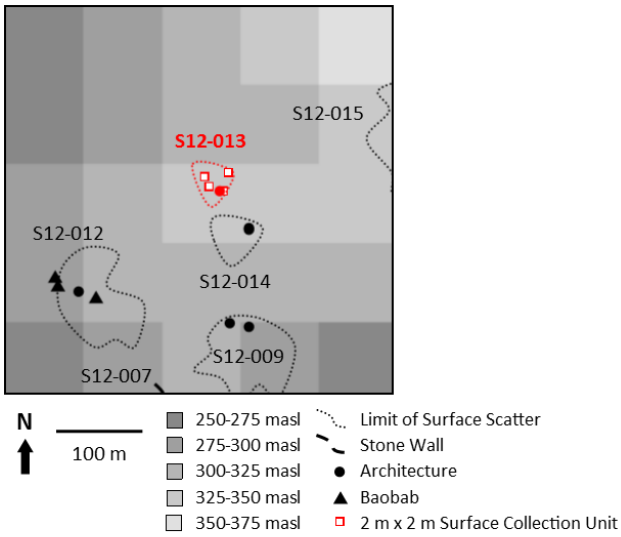


Figure A.88 Site map of S12-013.

Figure A.89 The architectural remains are being partially subsumed by a termite mound visible in the upper left corner.

Site Number: S12-014

Surface Features: Architecture (Earthen Debris), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter on a relatively flat part of the Oke Shabe hill. The artifacts are most concentrated in crevices in the granite rock where they were likely

deposited by pluvial and runoff activity. Large blocks of compact earth are concentrated in one area of the site. They are not *in situ*, but may be the remains of architecture from the site. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02'20.0" E002º30'04.2" (architectural debris)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Fauna (Bone, Cowry), Glass (Vessel), Iron (Tool), Lithics (Ground Tool)

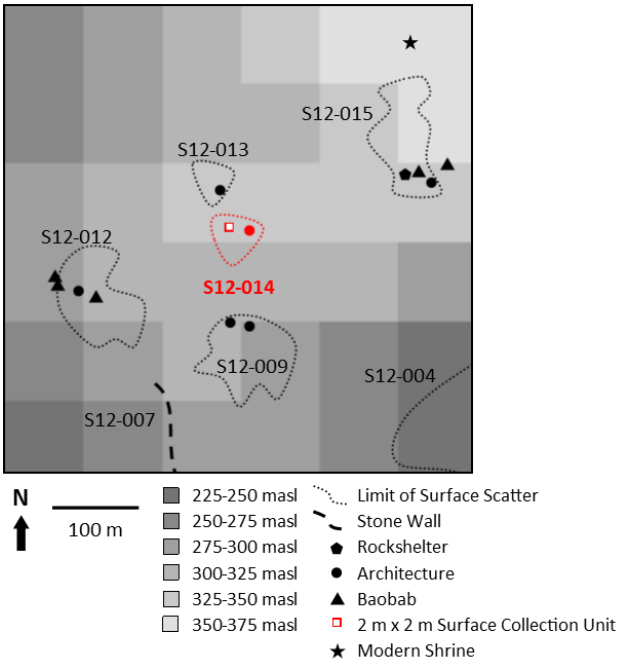


Figure A.90 Site map of S12-014.

Site Number: S12-015

Surface Features: Architecture (Clay Pavement), Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Natural Feature (Rockshelter), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter on a relatively flat part of the Oke Shabe hill just southwest of the northwestern-most dome summit. A modern shrine is located to the north of the site. Though possibly unrelated to S12-015 itself, the shrine is associated with the Fiditi refuge and is devoted to the *ooṣà* of the Oke Shabe hill. There is one baobab within the artifact scatter and another nearby. A small amount of clay pavement was found eroding out of the hillslope near the baobab within the artifact scatter. A small rockshelter formed by boulders is also within the scatter. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08º02’22.0” E002º30’10.5” (clay pavement); N08º02’22.3” E002º30’11.5” (baobab)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Lithics (Ground Tool)

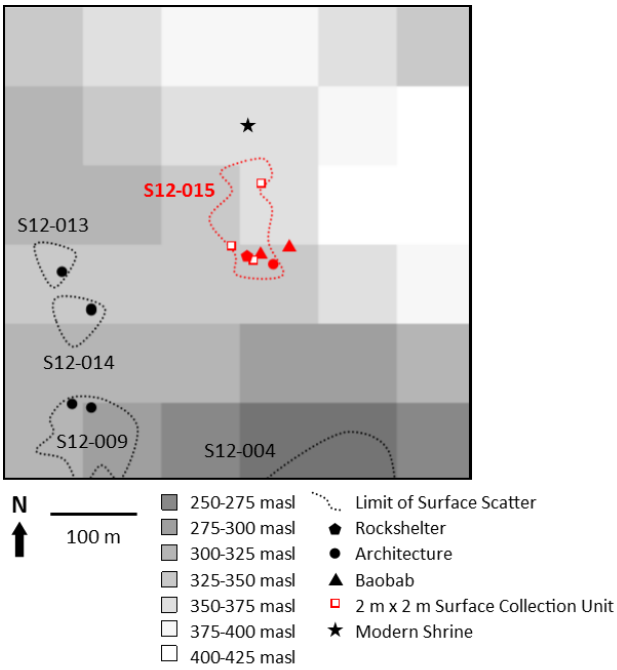


Figure A.91 Site map of S12-015.

Site Number: S13-001

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter on a flat granite plateau on the western face of the Oke Shabe. Artifacts are most concentrated in crevices where they were likely transported by pluvial and runoff activity. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08º01.905' E002º30.593 (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

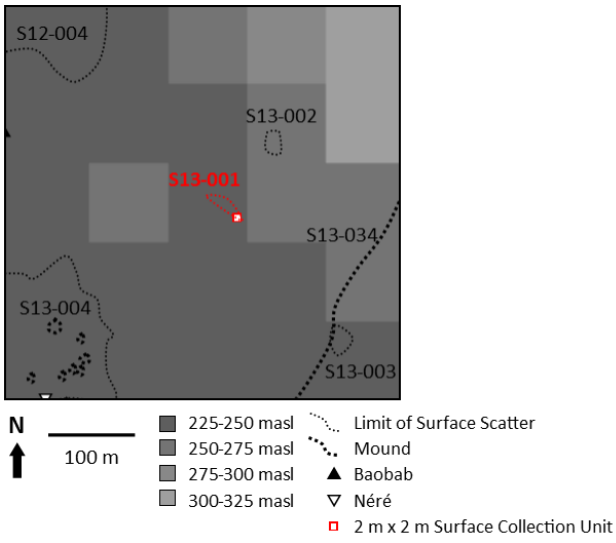


Figure A.92 Site map of S13-001.

Site Number: S13-002

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter on a flat granite plateau on the western face of the Oke Shabe. There are multiple cashew trees growing on the site. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08º01.942’ E002º30.630’ (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

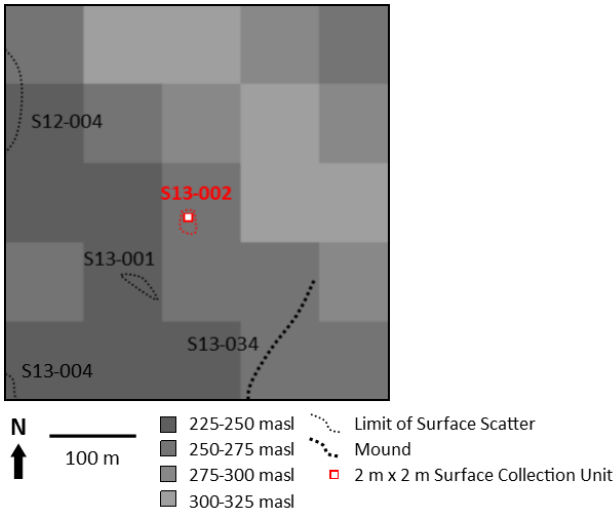


Figure A.93 Site map of S13-002.

Site Number: S13-003

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), mound

Site Description: This site consists of an artifact scatter adjacent to the Idadu Wall 3 (S13-034). There is a very low mound on the site, but it may be a degraded part of S13-034. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08º01.815’ E002º30.666’ (mound)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

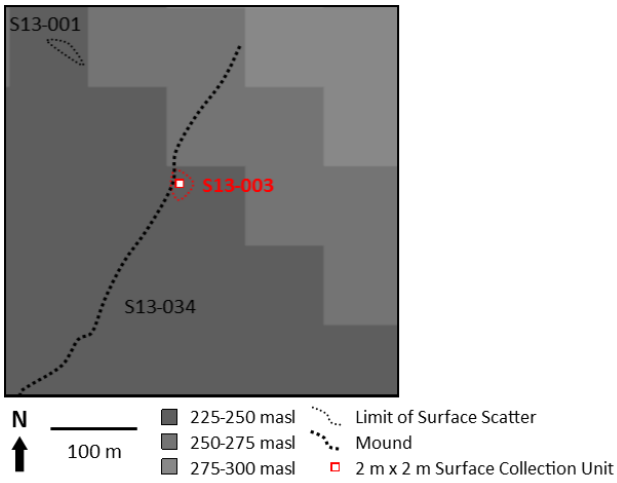


Figure A.94 Site map of S13-003.

3. Transect Survey – Atenro Tract

Site Number: S13-013

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.20706º E002.62807º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

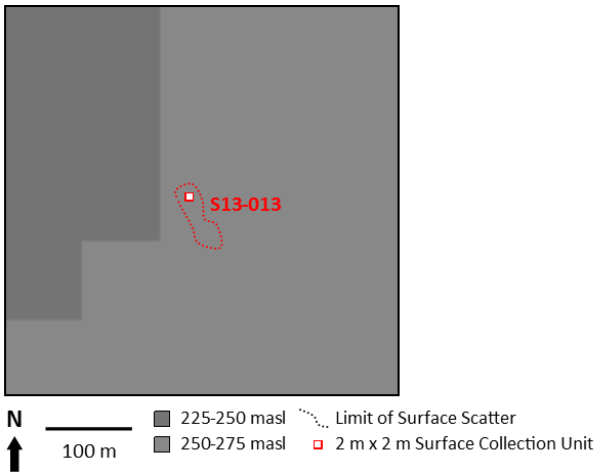


Figure A.95 Site map of S13-013.

Site Number: S13-014

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.20969º E002.62826º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

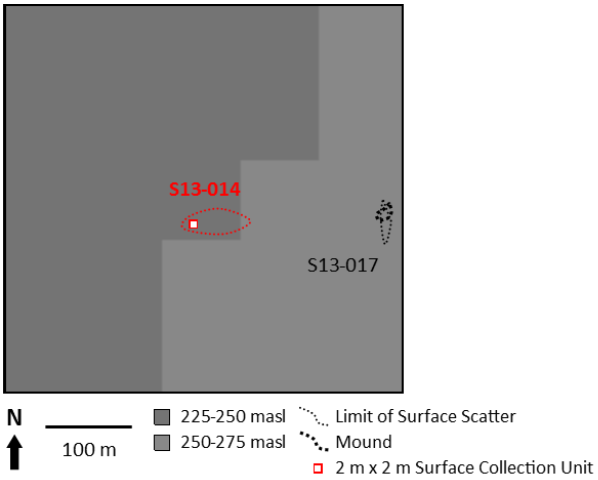


Figure A.96 Site map of S13-014.

Site Number: S13-015

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.21220º E002.62838º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

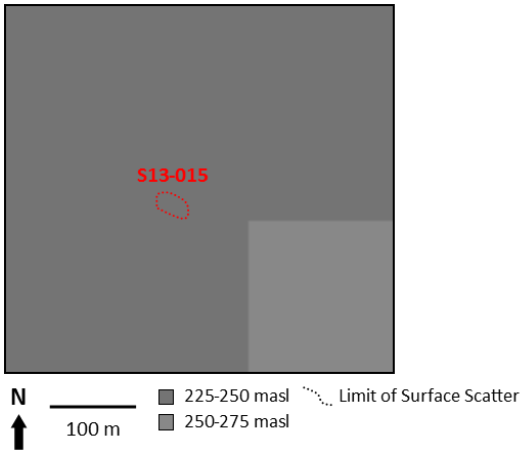


Figure A.97 Site map of S13-015.

Site Number: S13-016

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Depression (Borrow Pit), Mound (Small)

Site Description: This site consists of a dense artifact scatter in an agricultural field. There are several mounds on the site, as well as a large borrow pit. There is modern debris, like plastic sandals, mixed in with the artifacts in the mounds. A field worker nearby claimed the site was a former Fulani camp that was abandoned around 2000 CE. However, observations of modern Fulani camps suggests they are often sited on or near ancient village sites. Artifacts were

collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08.22723º E002.62981º (mound); N08.22723º E002.62972º (mound); N08.22695º E002.62982º (mound); N08.22650º E002.63037º (depression)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

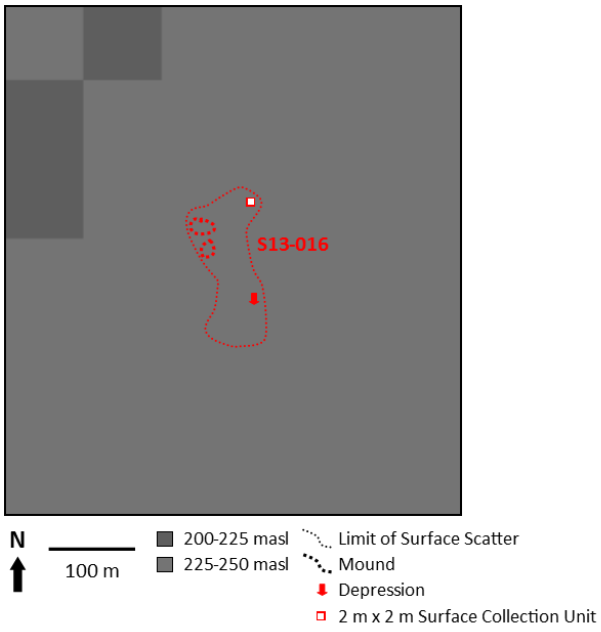


Figure A.98 Site map of S13-016.

Site Number: S13-017

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. There are several, low mounds clustered together on the site, but it may be a natural topographic feature. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.20997º E002.62997º (mound); N08.20991º E002.63006º (mound)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery, Coarse Pipe)

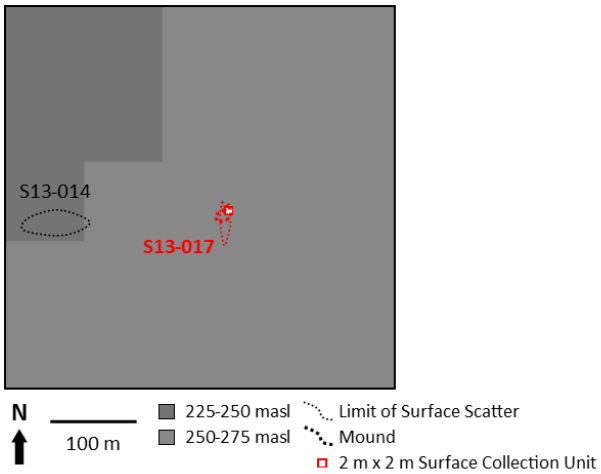


Figure A.99 Site map of S13-017.

Site Number: S13-018

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.22567º E002.63255º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

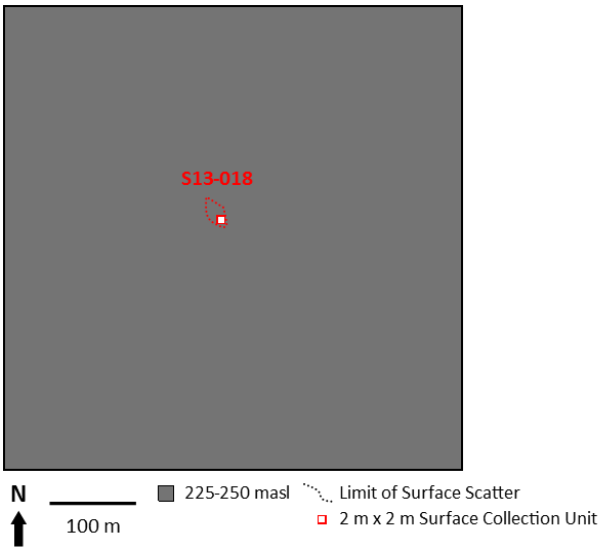


Figure A.100 Site map of S13-018.

Site Number: S13-019

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.23214º E002.63241º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

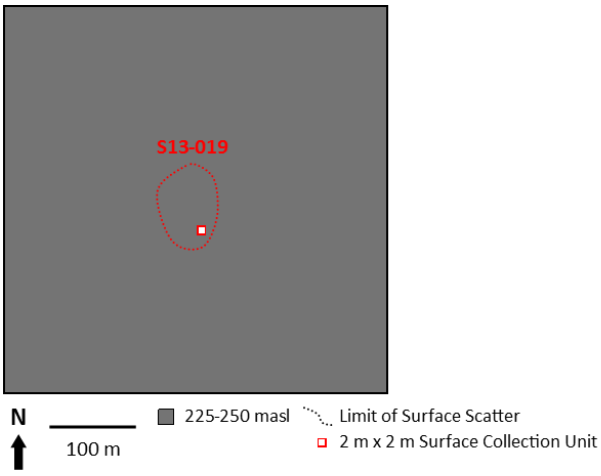


Figure A.101 Site map of S13-019.

Site Number: S13-020

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Sacred Tree Species (Baobab)

Site Description: This site consists of a handful of potsherds adjacent to a large baobab in an agricultural field. Artifacts were not collected.

Coordinates: N08.21136º E002.63437º (baobab)

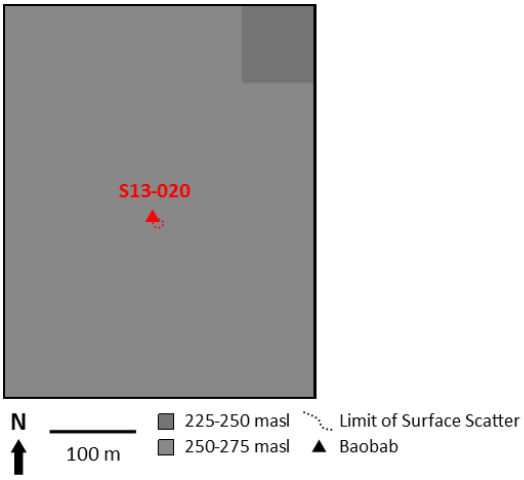


Figure A.102 Site map of S13-020.

Site Number: S13-021

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics), Mound (Small)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. There are several, low mounds clustered together on the site, but it may be a natural topographic feature. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08.21968º E002.63729º (mound); N08.21973º E002.63727º (mound)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

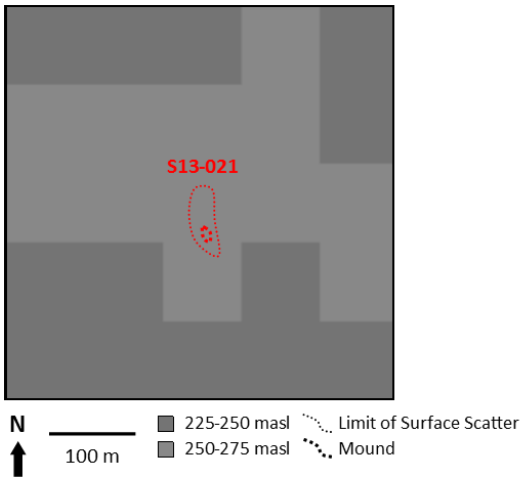


Figure A.103 Site map of S13-021.

Site Number: S13-022

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.20846º E002.64100º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

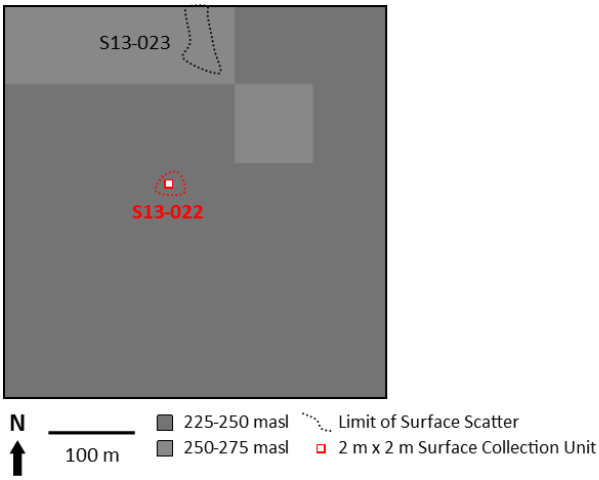


Figure A.104 Site map of S13-022.

Site Number: S13-023

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in 2 m² sample units distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.21019º E002.64137º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

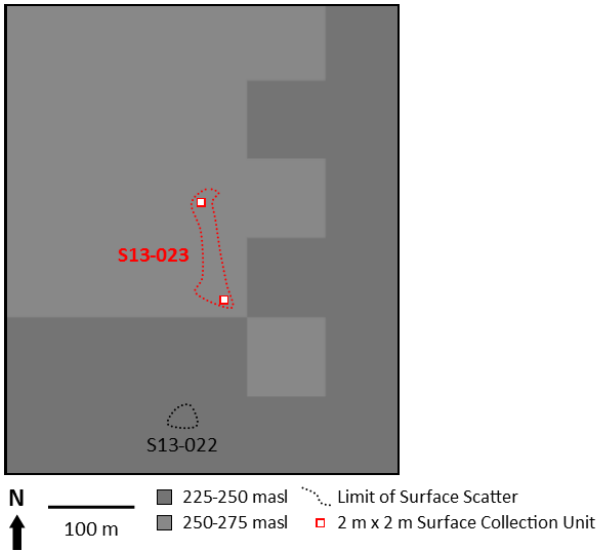


Figure A.105 Site map of S13-023.

Site Number: S13-024

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.22916º E002.64246º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

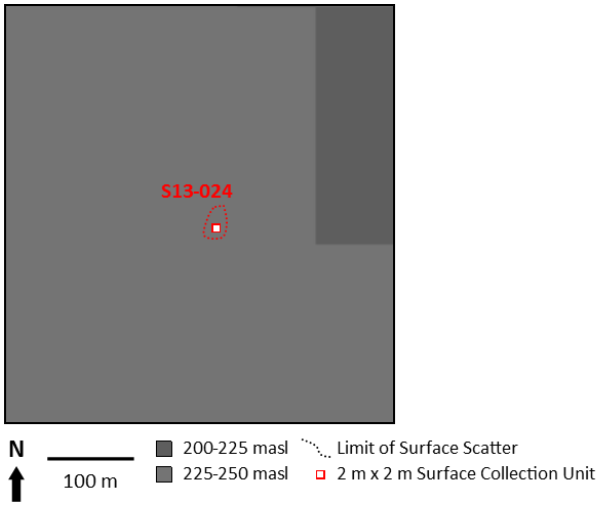


Figure A.106 Site map of S13-024.

Site Number: S13-025

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. The RNIE 2 may have disturbed part of the site, as artifacts are visible in the road berm. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.23173º E002.64542º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

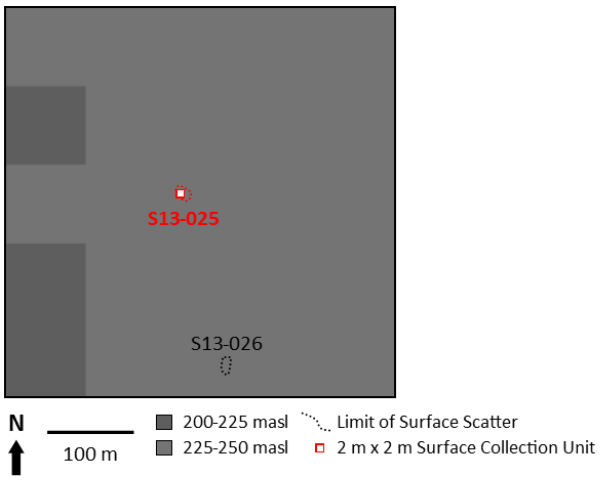


Figure A.107 Site map of S13-025.

Site Number: S13-026

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. The RNIE 2 may have disturbed part of the site, as artifacts are visible in the road berm. Artifacts were not collected.

Coordinates: N08.23008º E002.64584º (east limit of artifact scatter)

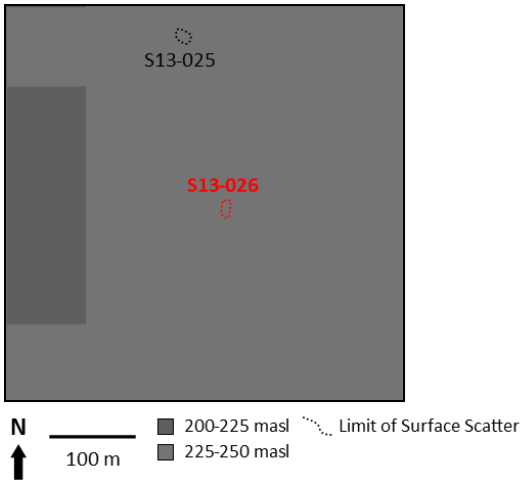


Figure A.108 Site map of S13-026.

Site Number: S13-027

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08.20983º E002.64455º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery), Glass (Bead)

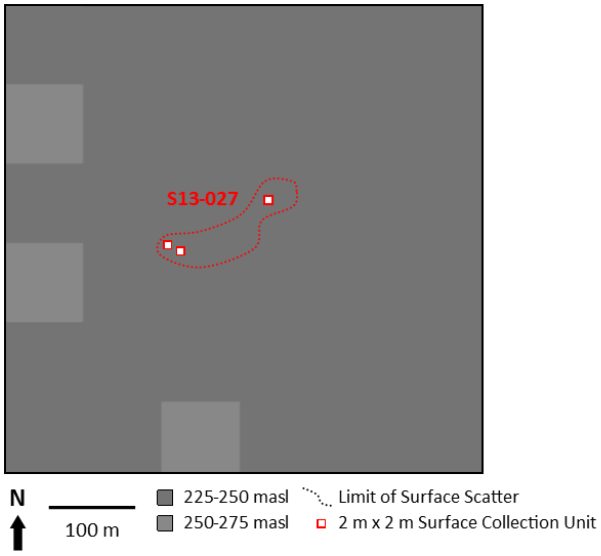


Figure A.109 Site map of S13-027.

Site Number: S13-028

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment and by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08.20916º E002.64917º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

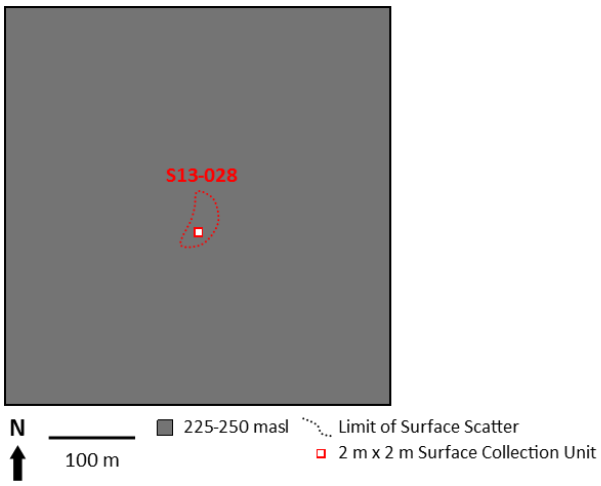


Figure A.110 Site map of S13-028.

Site Number: S13-029

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.22438º E002.64857º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

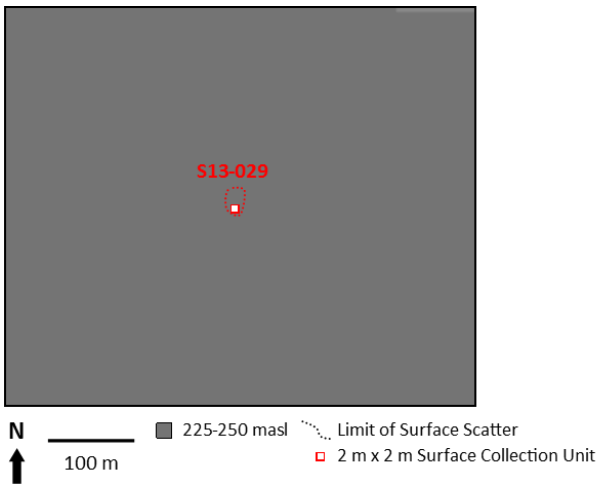


Figure A.111 Site map of S13-029.

Site Number: S13-030

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.23100º E002.65437º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

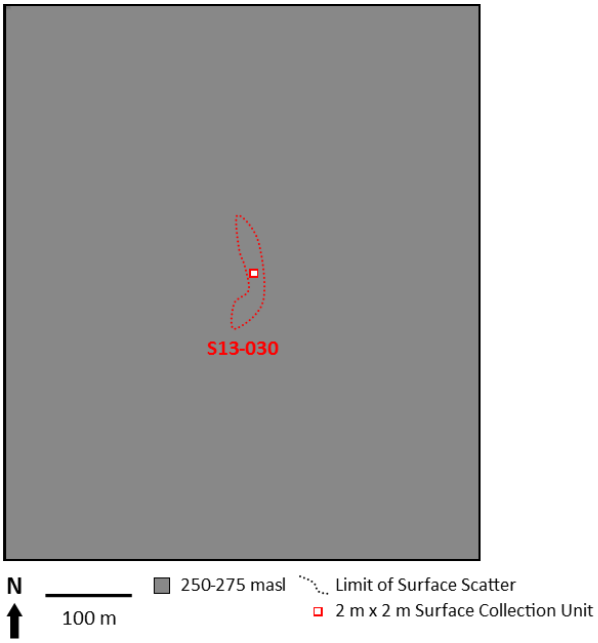


Figure A.112 Site map of S13-030.

Site Number: S13-031

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected in a 2 m² sample unit distributed by judgment.

Coordinates: N08.22048º E002.65162º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

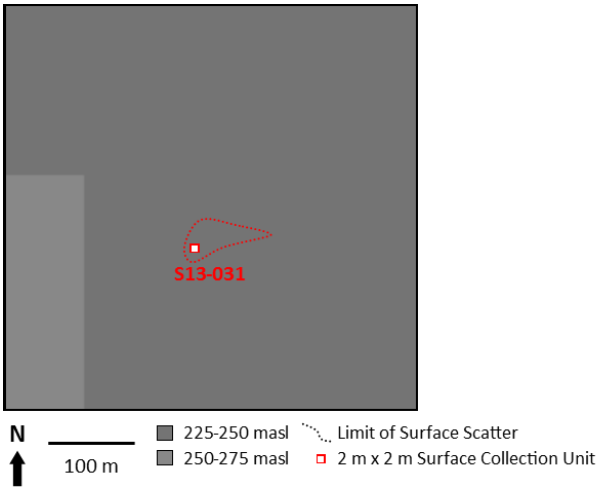


Figure A.113 Site map of S13-031.

Site Number: S13-032

Surface Features: Artifact Scatter (Ceramics)

Site Description: This site consists of a thin artifact scatter in an agricultural field. Artifacts were collected by opportunistic pickup of diagnostic artifacts.

Coordinates: N08.21199º E002.65158º (east limit of artifact scatter)

Artifact Classes from Surface Collections: Ceramics (Coarse Pottery)

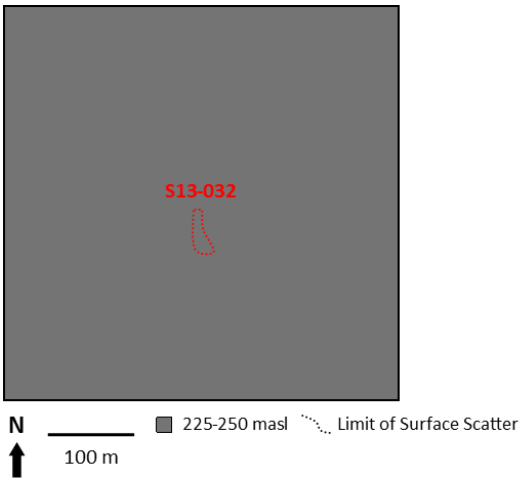


Figure A.114 Site map of S13-032.

APPENDIX B

Ceramic Artifacts

Ceramic artifacts are ubiquitous at archaeological sites in the Savè hills area. Their ubiquity likely reflects the common-place nature of creating clay-based artifacts and their frequent turnover through breakage. Ceramic artifacts were classified by the general nature of their paste: coarse or refined. Coarse earthenware artifacts are characterized as pastes with visible temper, typically combinations of quartz, quartzite, feldspar, mica, and/or laterite, among other minerals commonly found in granitic formations. Paste colors are typically black, gray, and a range of shades between brown and red. Refined earthenware artifacts are characterized by no visible temper. Paste colors for all refined earthenware artifacts were uniformly white. In addition, all refined earthenware artifacts were coated in a clear or tinted glaze and all are potsherds. Coarse earthenware artifacts are found at more sites and in vastly greater quantities, likely representing different origins and consumption patterns that are discussed further below. Coarse earthenware artifacts were further subcategorized as either pottery (ie, potsherds), beads, or pipe fragments.

1. Coarse Earthenware Pottery

Coarse earthenware pottery was by the far the most commonly encountered artifact class. Indeed, sherds were recovered from almost every archaeological site documented. Coarse

earthenware ceramics would have been used for a number of activities: food preparation, cooking, serving, and storage; water collection and storage; potash production; and in ritual practice. Further, broken pots could be re-used as cooking emplacements, pot lids, or as construction material. Coarse earthenware ceramics were likely produced locally, as the granite-dominant geology of the area favors the exploitation of accessible clay beds. In the present day, pottery production is no longer practiced, though it is remembered as occurring on a local scale during the European Colonial period and before.

Coarse earthenware pottery collected from archaeological contexts was recorded in the field with contextual information, bagged, washed, photographed, and catalogued. Sherds were first categorized according to their diagnostic utility: body sherds or diagnostic parts. Diagnostic parts were further categorized according to their specific type, based on typical pottery forms described in archaeological ceramics literature (e.g. Sinopoli 1991): lip, shoulder, neck, base, foot, handle, or lug. In addition, ceramics discs were also identified, which have variously been described in African ethnographies and archaeological studies as wall tiles (Ogundiran 2002), game pieces (Burrett 2007), decoration tools (Marshall et al. 1984), container stoppers (Insoll et al. 2012: 36), and currency weights or tokens (McIntosh 1995: 217; Compton 2014: 257). Finally, several examples of small complete vessels were found, interpreted as lamps, which were given their own designation. No other complete vessels were recovered.

Body sherds were counted by decorative type (Table B.1), described in more detail below. After counting, body sherds were then weighed in bulk by context. Diagnostic parts were also counted by decorative type (Table B.2). The temper of the diagnostic part was categorized based on the presence of quartz/feldspar (and possibly quartzite), laterite/granite, mica and/or grog (crushed potsherds). Quartz/feldspar and laterite/granite were further categorized by the

largest visible grain size, ranging from sand (<2 mm), granules (2-4 mm), and pebbles (>4 mm). When possible rim sherds were also classified as either everted, open/unrestricted, or restricted. The lips of these sherds were classified as either rounded, squared, grooved, or shaped in some other form.

Site (Excavation)	S12-004			S12-017	S12-035						S12-036	S12-037	S13-004		S13-010	S13-011	S13-012
Excavation Unit	U12-001	U12-003	U13-001	U13-013	U12-002	U13-006	U13-007	U13-008	U13-009	U13-011	U13-005	U13-014	U13-002	U13-003	U13-015	U13-012	U13-010
Total Body Sherds	**372**	**796**	**643**	**1768**	**1834**	**551**	**246**	**331**	**440**	**21**	**175**	**2157**	**6400**	**5673**	**2010**	**2136**	**688**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	42	30	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	306	721	616	1359	1367	470	163	257	349	20	158	1586	4946	4375	1588	1864	633
Grooving	8	13	5	55	100	5	6	1	5	0	0	18	75	48	30	43	2
Incised Line	1	8	8	7	12	20	16	6	2	1	12	43	139	130	80	47	13
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	5	7	2	0
Circular Punctate Impres.	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	3	1	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impress.	0	0	2	0	12	8	3	0	6	0	1	10	27	26	10	0	2
Snailshell Apex Impress.	0	0	0	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	4	4	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	9	22	7	250	256	35	19	51	68	0	4	76	95	122	17	179	17
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	1	1	3	1	0	1	0	2	1	25	19	4	15	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	10	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	4	1	1	0	53	8	7	15	8	0	0	260	886	802	238	0	19
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	1	0	7	0	12	1	0	2	2	0	2	61	36	29	24	3	2
Rectangular W. Roulette	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	6	1	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	2	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	32	28	37	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	1	1	0	82	16	3	0	3	0	0	0	85	184	145	9	9	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	1	0	0	64	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	2	2	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	2	0	3	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	4	4	2	9	11	1

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S12-001	S12-004	S12-006	S12-007	S12-009	S12-012	S12-013	S12-014	S12-015	S12-016	S12-017	S12-021	S12-024	S12-025	S12-027	S12-028	S12-029
Total Body Sherds	**300**	**775**	**369**	**51**	**320**	**282**	**263**	**135**	**274**	**190**	**27**	**3**	**31**	**41**	**7**	**12**	**24**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	273	76	356	42	169	0	0	0	256	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	2	578	0	0	2	113	157	117	6	149	17	2	15	26	4	6	6
Grooving	1	24	1	0	6	9	5	3	5	11	1	0	2	1	0	0	3
Incised Line	15	8	5	3	7	5	4	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wavy Combing	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Impression	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	6	42	4	5	6	8	5	1	3	28	7	0	3	3	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	8	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	1	54	0	1	122	143	78	9	0	0	2	1	5	3	2	3	18
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	1	2	0	0	0	9	11	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S12-030	S12-032	S12-033	S12-034	S12-035	S12-036	S12-037	S12-039	S12-044	S13-001	S13-002	S13-003	S13-004	S13-006	S13-008	S13-009	S13-010
Total Body Sherds	**31**	**25**	**22**	**5**	**53**	**6**	**66**	**35**	**20**	**8**	**10**	**26**	**110**	**186**	**15**	**87**	**63**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	0	0	0	39	0	0	0	0	6	10	22	87	175	12	61	50
Plain / Burnished	29	23	10	4	0	6	40	14	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grooving	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	4	3	1	0	2	2	10	1	0	0
Incised Line	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	0	2
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Circular Punctate Impression	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	1	1	4	1	8	0	3	19	5	0	0	1	6	0	0	24	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	7	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	3	0	0	0	12	0	0	1	0	0	11	0	1	0	6
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	3	0	1	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S13-011	S13-012	S13-013	S13-014	S13-015	S13-016	S13-017	S13-018	S13-019	S13-022	S13-023	S13-024	S13-025	S13-027	S13-028	S13-029	S13-030	S13-031
Total Body Sherds	**8**	**47**	**17**	**7**	**1**	**7**	**9**	**5**	**6**	**3**	**8**	**8**	**6**	**13**	**4**	**7**	**6**	**2**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	8	40	13	6	1	5	6	3	4	3	1	6	4	11	3	1	2	1
Plain / Burnished	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grooving	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Incised Line	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Impression	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Opportunistic Collection)	S12-004	S12-006	S12-009	S12-012	S12-014	S12-016	S12-021	S12-023	S12-025	S12-027	S12-028	S12-030	S12-032	S12-034	S12-035	S12-037	S12-039	S13-004
Total Body Sherds	**16**	**6**	**11**	**6**	**7**	**4**	**9**	**6**	**12**	**11**	**15**	**9**	**2**	**18**	**11**	**1**	**7**	**6**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grooving	1	0	0	2	5	0	2	0	1	3	1	1	1	4	5	0	3	1
Incised Line	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	4	0	1	0	2
Wavy Combing	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	2	1	0	1	2	2	2	4	6	6	0	3	0	4	5	0	4	3
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	5	0	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	4	1	0	6	3	0	1	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Maize Roulette	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Perforation	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Opportunistic Collection)	S13-006	S13-009	S13-010	S13-011	S13-016	S13-021	S13-028	S13-032
Total Body Sherds	**3**	**8**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**4**	**6**	**5**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grooving	0	2	1	0	1	0	2	0
Incised Line	0	4	0	0	2	2	0	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Impression	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	0	2	0	2	2	4	2	2
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	1
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.1 Counts of body sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Excavation)		S12-004			S12-017	S12-035						S12-036	S12-037	S13-004		S13-010	S13-011	S13-012
Excavation Unit		U12-001	U12-003	U13-001	U13-013	U12-002	U13-006	U13-007	U13-008	U13-009	U13-011	U13-005	U13-014	U13-002	U13-003	U13-015	U13-012	U13-010
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**13**	**27**	**41**	**171**	**231**	**62**	**62**	**40**	**68**	**15**	**400**	**1109**	**852**	**295**	**106**	**28**	**13**
Vessel Part	Lip	12	24	37	140	208	53	52	34	64	13	385	1046	822	268	92	27	12
	Neck	3	13	16	56	46	17	13	9	10	0	31	135	78	50	32	6	3
	Shoulder	2	1	0	16	13	4	8	0	0	1	12	27	8	13	0	1	2
	Base	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	2	0	0	0
	Foot	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	5	2	0	0	0
	Lug	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0
	Disc	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Lamp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temper	Quartz Sand	12	23	4	149	193	51	44	37	63	12	386	833	616	281	94	27	21
	Quartz Granule	1	3	0	18	27	10	17	3	5	3	14	210	191	14	12	1	5
	Quartz Pebble	0	0	0	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	18	16	0	0	0	1
	Laterite Sand	7	5	0	45	56	3	5	1	1	0	8	312	226	9	10	0	6
	Laterite Granule	1	7	0	11	19	1	2	1	0	0	2	32	17	1	3	0	3
	Laterite Pebble	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	1	0
	Mica	0	7	0	0	6	3	22	12	8	1	0	17	11	1	6	1	2
	Grog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	5	16	24	57	117	20	18	11	9	0	32	194	171	51	33	6	21
	Open	2	2	11	71	33	33	27	28	56	11	330	809	620	197	32	19	0
	Restricted	2	4	5	35	48	8	13	1	3	2	36	85	48	38	39	3	3
Lip	Rounded	10	19	2	115	147	38	30	20	42	10	306	573	423	220	83	22	16
	Squared	1	3	1	17	43	9	15	9	22	3	74	419	368	36	7	3	1
	Grooved	1	0	0	6	6	5	4	5	0	0	1	36	23	11	1	2	2
	Shaped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Excavation)	S12-004			S12-017	S12-035						S12-036	S12-037	S13-004		S13-010	S13-011	S13-012
Excavation Unit	U12-001	U12-003	U13-001	U13-013	U12-002	U13-006	U13-007	U13-008	U13-009	U13-011	U13-005	U13-014	U13-002	U13-003	U13-015	U13-012	U13-010
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**13**	**27**	**41**	**171**	**231**	**62**	**62**	**40**	**68**	**15**	**400**	**1109**	**852**	**295**	**106**	**28**	**13**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	13	32	24	67	3	4	2	2	0	24	38	23	32	7	3	0
Plain / Burnished	8	8	2	58	110	41	40	31	54	13	237	633	486	169	45	17	8
Grooving	1	0	4	8	7	5	2	0	0	0	5	7	4	19	2	3	1
Incised Line	2	2	1	7	13	8	9	4	5	1	45	77	82	28	9	3	2
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	11	2	2	1	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	0	1	0	12	0	0	2	3	0	0	3	7	8	3	9	0	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	17	16	11	14	4	0	0
Rectangular W. Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	20	0	0	0	0
Zigzag Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	1	2	4	43	14	1	4	1	7	0	58	307	225	22	19	3	1
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	2	2	1	46	23	1	2	2	8	0	33	187	128	6	21	1	2
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	1	0	0	5	5	3	2	0	0	1	38	11	7	12	0	0	1
Appliqued Figure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)		S12-001	S12-004	S12-006	S12-007	S12-009	S12-012	S12-013	S12-014	S12-015	S12-016	S12-017	S12-021	S12-024	S12-025	S12-028	S12-029	S12-030
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**27**	**73**	**17**	**2**	**36**	**38**	**34**	**17**	**23**	**18**	**2**	**2**	**9**	**8**	**4**	**4**	**1**
Vessel Part	Lip	19	55	10	1	31	27	27	16	20	13	2	2	9	8	1	4	1
	Neck	7	22	6	1	3	12	7	3	7	4	0	0	1	2	3	0	1
	Shoulder	6	7	2	0	3	3	5	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Base	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Foot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lug	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Disc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lamp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temper	Quartz Sand	21	57	14	2	29	30	26	16	11	14	2	2	9	8	4	4	0
	Quartz Granule	5	15	3	0	5	5	7	1	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Quartz Pebble	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laterite Sand	6	24	0	2	12	14	4	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Laterite Granule	3	7	2	0	6	3	5	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laterite Pebble	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mica	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Grog	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	21	39	6	1	17	22	10	10	16	10	1	0	2	2	3	0	1
	Open	0	9	1	1	9	7	2	3	0	0	0	1	7	6	1	4	0
	Restricted	3	13	3	0	3	2	13	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lip	Rounded	16	45	10	0	25	24	22	11	16	9	1	2	4	8	0	0	1
	Squared	1	5	0	1	6	2	4	2	2	4	1	0	2	0	1	3	0
	Grooved	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Shaped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S12-001	S12-004	S12-006	S12-007	S12-009	S12-012	S12-013	S12-014	S12-015	S12-016	S12-017	S12-021	S12-024	S12-025	S12-028	S12-029	S12-030
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**27**	**73**	**17**	**2**	**36**	**38**	**34**	**17**	**23**	**18**	**2**	**2**	**9**	**8**	**4**	**4**	**1**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	21	18	8	0	8	4	4	5	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	0	30	3	2	15	12	21	6	8	6	0	2	4	4	3	2	1
Grooving	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0
Incised Line	2	7	1	0	3	4	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rectangular W. Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zigzag Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	9	0	0	6	14	6	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	2	12	1	0	6	3	4	2	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	1	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Appliqued Figure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)		S12-032	S12-033	S12-035	S12-036	S12-037	S12-044	S13-001	S13-002	S13-003	S13-004	S13-006	S13-009	S13-010	S13-011	S13-012	S13-013	S13-015
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**6**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**34**	**9**	**5**	**10**	**0**	**23**	**2**	**4**
Vessel Part	Lip	6	4	2	3	7	3	0	0	2	28	8	3	9	0	19	1	3
	Neck	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	10	3	2	3	0	6	0	3
	Shoulder	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	3	1	0	2	1	1
	Base	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Foot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lug	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Disc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Lamp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temper	Quartz Sand	5	2	0	1	6	3	0	0	0	0	7	4	9	0	21	2	3
	Quartz Granule	1	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	1
	Quartz Pebble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laterite Sand	2	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Laterite Granule	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laterite Pebble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mica	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0
	Grog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	1	2	1	1	3	1	0	0	2	10	4	2	4	0	5	0	4
	Open	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	20	2	0	4	0	11	0	0
	Restricted	3	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	4	3	1	2	0	6	1	0
Lip	Rounded	5	4	2	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	6	3	5	0	13	1	3
	Squared	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	6	0	0
	Grooved	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Shaped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S12-032	S12-033	S12-035	S12-036	S12-037	S12-044	S13-001	S13-002	S13-003	S13-004	S13-006	S13-009	S13-010	S13-011	S13-012	S13-013	S13-015
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**6**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**34**	**9**	**5**	**10**	**0**	**23**	**2**	**4**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	14	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	1	1	1	0	5	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	3	0	11	0	3
Grooving	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
Incised Line	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	2	1	2	0	4	2	1
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
Rectangular W. Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zigzag Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	2	0	1	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	6	1	0
Appliqued Figure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)		S13-023	S13-027	S13-029
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**2**	**4**	**1**
Vessel Part	Lip	2	3	1
	Neck	0	4	1
	Shoulder	0	0	0
	Base	0	0	0
	Foot	1	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0
	Lug	0	0	0
	Disc	0	0	0
	Lamp	1	0	0
Temper	Quartz/Feldspar Sand	0	4	1
	Quartz/Feldspar Granule	1	0	0
	Quartz/Feldspar Pebble	1	0	0
	Laterite/Granite Sand	0	2	0
	Laterite/Granite Granule	0	0	0
	Laterite/Granite Pebble	0	0	0
	Mica	2	1	1
	Grog	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	0	4	1
	Open	2	0	0
	Restricted	0	0	0
Lip	Rounded	2	3	1
	Squared	0	0	0
	Grooved	0	0	0
	Shaped	0	0	0

Site (Systematic Surface Collection)	S13-023	S13-027	S13-029
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**2**	**4**	**1**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	1	2	0
Plain / Burnished	1	0	0
Grooving	0	1	0
Incised Line	0	0	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	0	1	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	0	1	1
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	0	0	1
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	0	0	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Opportunistic Collection)		S12-004	S12-006	S12-009	S12-012	S12-014	S12-016	S12-021	S12-023	S12-025	S12-027	S12-028	S12-032	S12-034	S12-035	S12-037	S13-004	S13-006
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**10**	**6**	**10**	**5**	**6**	**6**	**2**	**5**	**5**	**8**	**12**	**2**	**6**	**16**	**2**	**5**	**5**
Vessel Part	Lip	6	4	6	4	4	3	2	4	5	8	8	1	6	12	1	4	3
	Neck	6	2	3	3	2	1	1	0	2	3	5	1	2	4	1	2	2
	Shoulder	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	1	0	1
	Base	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Foot	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Lug	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Disc	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lamp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Temper	Quartz Sand	6	5	8	5	5	5	2	5	4	8	6	2	2	14	0	0	5
	Quartz Granule	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	4	2	2	0	0
	Quartz Pebble	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Laterite Sand	4	5	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	0	10	1	0	2	1	0	1
	Laterite Granule	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	0	1
	Laterite Pebble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mica	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
	Grog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	6	2	3	2	3	2	1	0	3	3	9	2	2	9	1	2	3
	Open	0	2	4	2	0	0	1	2	0	5	0	0	2	3	0	2	0
	Restricted	2	1	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	2
Lip	Rounded	5	4	6	3	4	1	0	3	4	3	5	0	1	10	1	0	1
	Squared	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	2
	Grooved	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
	Shaped	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Opportunistic Collection)	S12-004	S12-006	S12-009	S12-012	S12-014	S12-016	S12-021	S12-023	S12-025	S12-027	S12-028	S12-032	S12-034	S12-035	S12-037	S13-004	S13-006
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**10**	**6**	**10**	**5**	**6**	**6**	**2**	**5**	**5**	**8**	**12**	**2**	**6**	**16**	**2**	**5**	**5**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Plain / Burnished	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	3	3	1	4	1	1	8	1	0	1
Grooving	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Incised Line	3	1	5	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	3	0	3	5	1	3	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Triangular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Circular Punctate Imp.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Snailshell Apex Imp.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Rectangular W. Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zigzag Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	2	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0
Appliqued Figure	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

Site (Opportunistic Collection)		S13-009	S13-010	S13-011	S13-016	S13-021
Total Diagnostic Sherds		**18**	**7**	**3**	**5**	**1**
Vessel Part	Lip	13	6	3	3	1
	Neck	4	3	2	1	1
	Shoulder	8	0	0	2	0
	Base	0	0	0	0	0
	Foot	0	0	0	0	0
	Handle	0	0	0	0	0
	Lug	0	0	0	0	0
	Disc	1	0	0	0	0
	Lamp	0	0	0	0	0
Temper	Quartz/Feldspar Sand	14	4	1	4	1
	Quartz/Feldspar Granule	3	3	2	1	0
	Quartz/Feldspar Pebble	1	0	0	0	0
	Laterite/Granite Sand	2	1	0	2	0
	Laterite/Granite Granule	3	0	0	0	0
	Laterite/Granite Pebble	1	0	0	0	0
	Mica	0	1	2	0	1
	Grog	0	0	0	0	0
Mouth	Everted	4	3	2	1	1
	Open	6	3	0	0	0
	Restricted	4	1	1	3	0
Lip	Rounded	10	5	3	2	1
	Squared	3	0	0	0	0
	Grooved	0	1	0	1	0
	Shaped	0	0	0	0	0

Site (Opportunistic Collection)	S13-009	S13-010	S13-011	S13-016	S13-021
Total Diagnostic Sherds	**18**	**7**	**3**	**5**	**1**
Unidentifiable / Eroded	0	0	0	0	0
Plain / Burnished	4	1	0	1	1
Grooving	0	1	0	3	0
Incised Line	8	1	0	1	0
Wavy Combing	0	0	0	0	0
Triangular Punctate Impression	1	0	0	0	0
Circular Punctate Impression	1	0	1	0	0
Fingernail / Shell Lip Impression	0	0	0	1	0
Snailshell Apex Impression	0	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Roulette	1	0	0	0	0
Twisted Cord Impression	0	0	0	0	0
Folded Strip Roulette	1	1	0	0	0
Braided Cord Roulette	0	0	0	0	0
Grid Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	1	0
Grid Wooden Impression	0	0	0	0	0
Linear Wooden Roulette	0	2	0	1	0
Rectangular Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0
Triangle Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0
Chevron Wooden Roulette	0	0	0	0	0
Maize Roulette	0	0	0	0	0
Interior Red Paint / Slip	2	0	3	1	0
Exterior Red Paint / Slip	1	1	1	0	0
Interior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior White Paint / Slip	0	0	0	0	0
Appliqued Band	3	0	1	1	0
Appliqued Figure / Geometric	0	0	0	0	0
Perforation	0	0	0	0	0

Table B.2 Counts of diagnostic sherds from archaeological sites in the study area.

The majority of sherds were plain, or lacking any clear decoration. Many sherds had smoothed or lightly burnished surfaces, but in general there was no clear distinction between a sherd that was intentionally burnished and one that was simply smoothed during the construction of the vessel. Some sherds, particularly from surface contexts, were eroded or too fragmented to be identifiable.

Some sherds were decorated by dragging a stylus across the surface of the vessel, producing decorations designated grooving, incising, and wavy combing (Figure B.1). The difference between grooving and incising can be slight, but was defined as grooving being a broad mark (>2 mm) while incision was more narrow (<2 mm). The size difference likely reflects a difference in the tool dragged across the surface. Each of these two decoration styles contain a great deal of variability. Incising, in particular, has a great variability in composition, including annular bands, arcs, parallel marks, and cross-hatching. In some cases, parallel incised lines occur that may have been produced by combing. However, except for combing resulting in clear waves or arcs, these were recorded as incising.

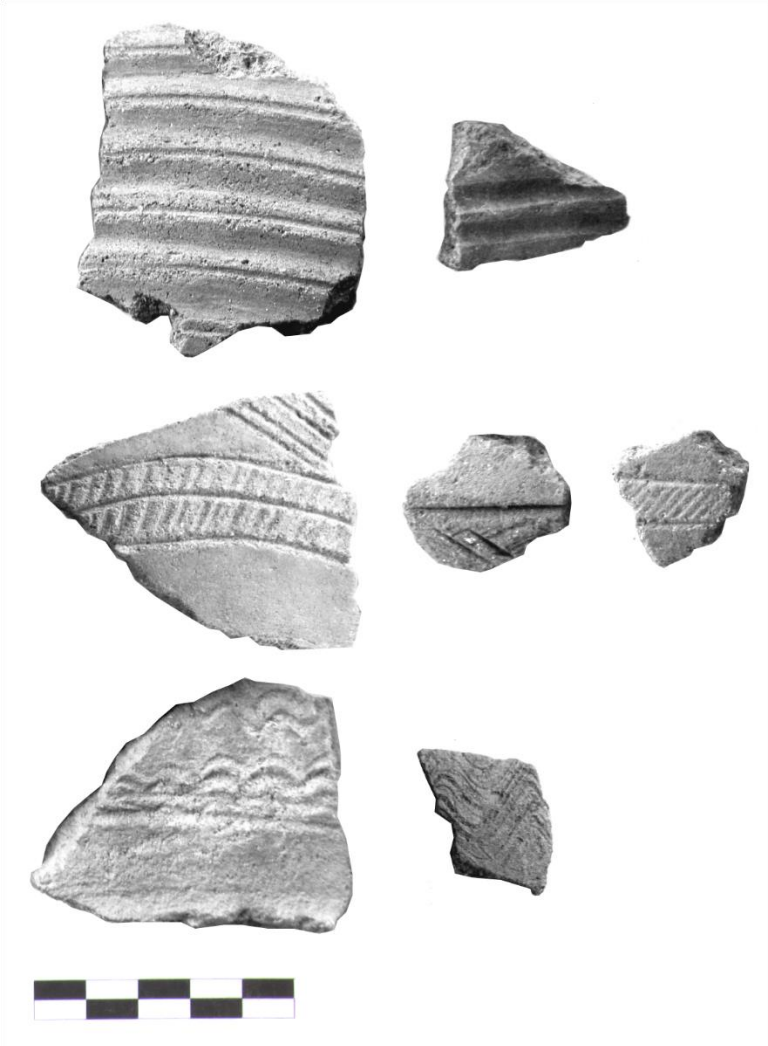


Figure B.1 Dragged decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are grooving (top row), incising (middle row), and wavy combing (bottom row).

Some sherds were decorated by impressing a tool tip on the vessel surface (Figure B.2). The form of these impressions varies based on the tool used, and were categorized by their general shape: circular or triangular. These impressions sometimes occur as isolated marks, though this may be due to small sherd sizes. More commonly, circular and triangular impressions appear in bands. Small impressed arcs are also encountered, which are variably referred to in African ceramics studies as either impressions from fingernails (Stahl 2001) or shell lips (Ogundiran 2001). Either are possible, though such designs can also occur from rolling a de-kernelled maize cob across the surface, which has led to some confusion over decorated sherds

from pre-Columbian exchange contexts at Old Oyo (Usman 2003). In addition, spiral impressions are also encountered, which are produced by the apex of snailshells.

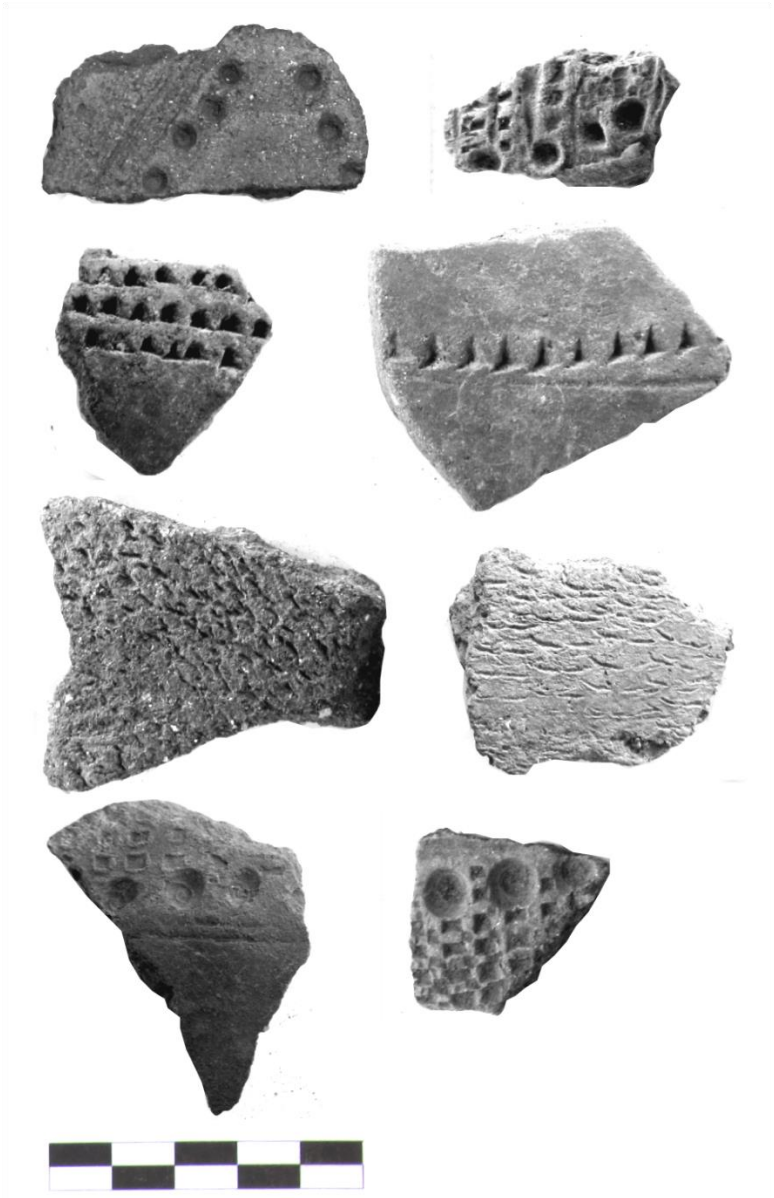


Figure B.2 Impressed decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are circles (top row), triangles impressions (second row), fingernails/shell lips (third row), and snailshell apices (bottom row).

Decorations from flexible-core roulettes are frequently encountered (Figure B.3). These roulettes are created from plant fibers that are then rolled over the surface of the vessel. The way the fibers are combined affects the resulting marking left by the roulette. Based on the examples

illustrated in Haour et al. 2011, three general roulette forms are present in the assemblage: braided, knotted, and twisted cord roulettes. However, there is great variability within each type stemming from differences in the creation and wear of the roulette.

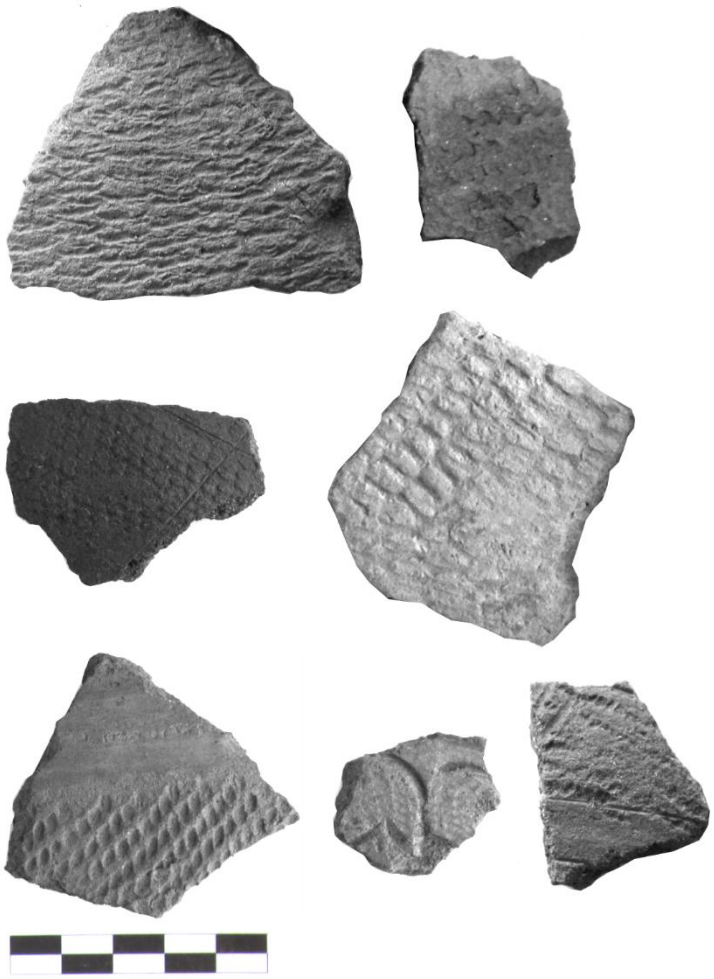


Figure B.3 Rouletted decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are from braided cords (top row), knotted strips (middle row), and twisted cords (bottom row).

Decorations from rigid-core roulettes are also common. These are produced by rolling a carved implement, likely wood, over the surface of the vessel. The carved form produces a negative-relief in the clay. The majority are simple rectilinear designs (Figure B.4). These are square grids, rectangles (sometimes referred to as “ladders” or “lozenges”), and parallel linear

bands. The square grid roulette is by far the most common. In contemporary pottery production around Abomey, such designs are likened to maize cobs (Randsborg & Merktye 2009).

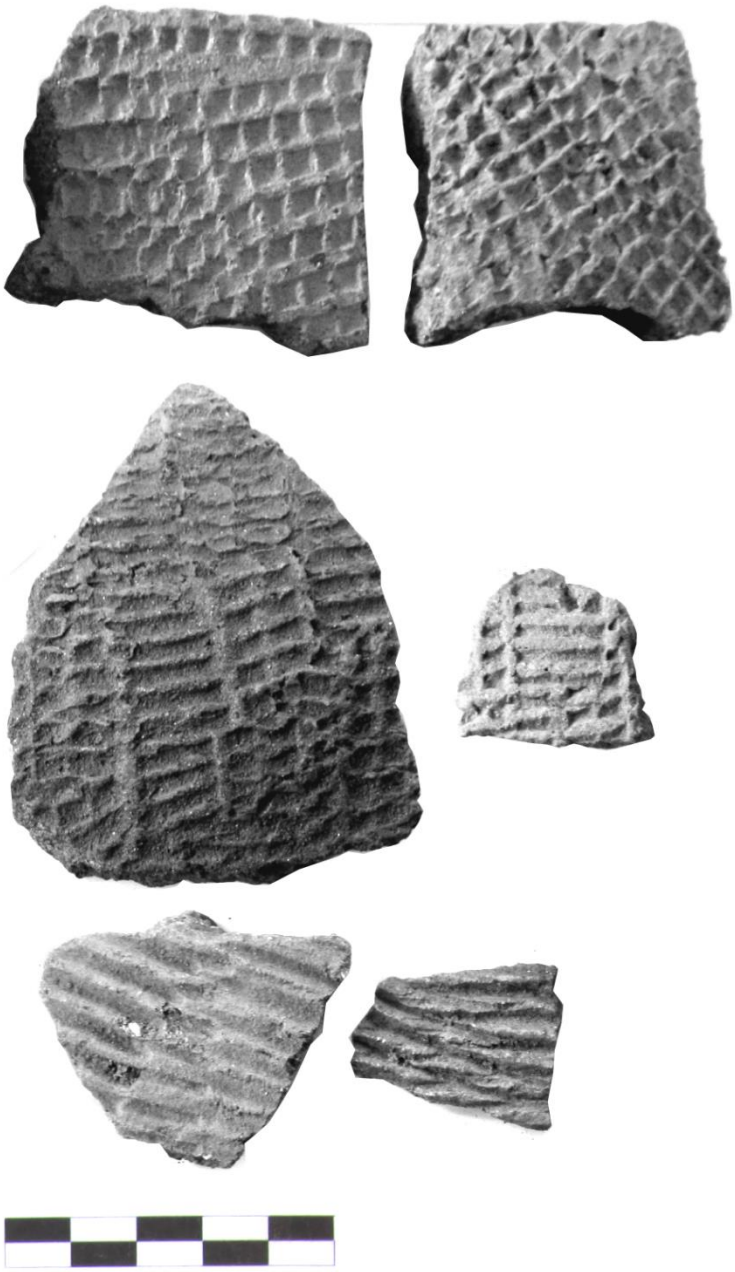


Figure B.4 Rouletted decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are shaped as grids (top row), rectangles (middle row), and parallel lines (bottom row).

Less commonly encountered designs are also found (Figure B.5). These carved roulettes are triangles and chevrons. Maize cob impressions are also present. Maize cobs can be rolled

across the surface of a vessel just as with any other rigid core roulette. Similar to how de-kernelled cobs can be confused with fingernail or shell lip impressions, cobs with kernels can be confused with square grid roulettes. However, maize cobs tend to be more irregular.

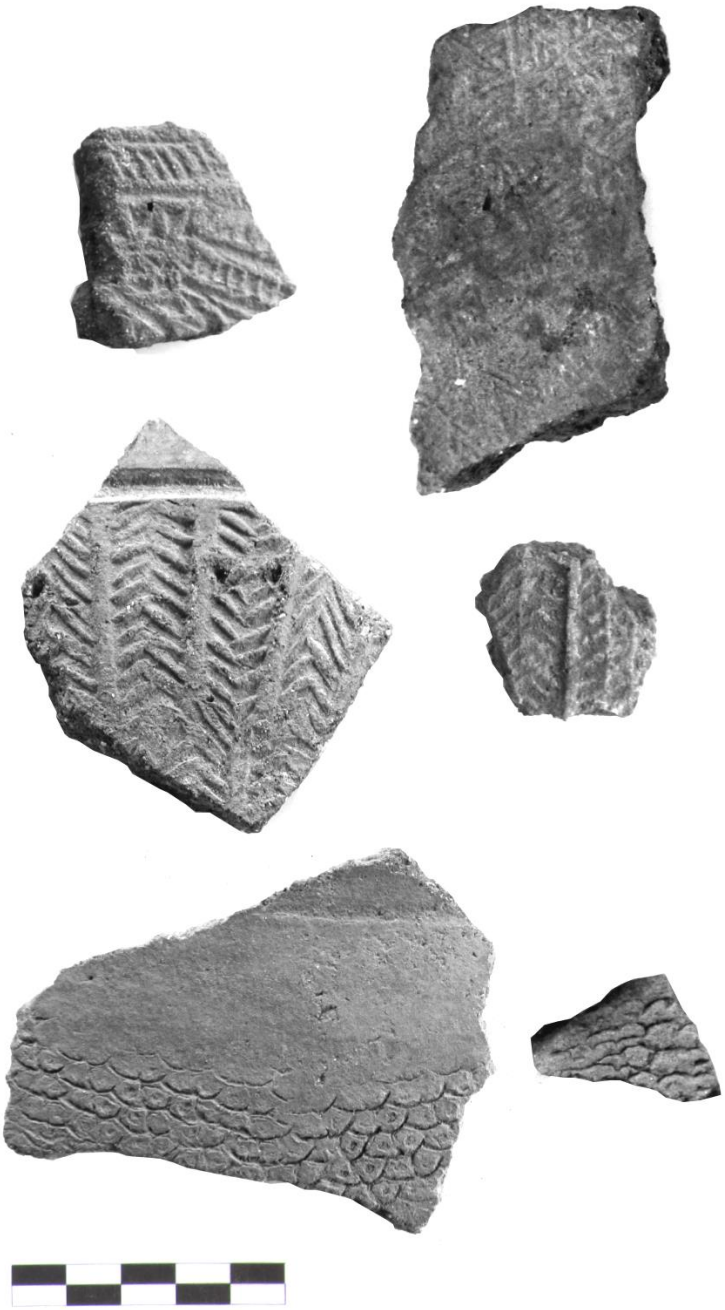


Figure B.5 Rouletted decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are shaped as triangles (top row), chevrons (middle row), and maize impressions (bottom row).

The last kind of decorations are formed with the body of the vessel itself (Figure B.6). This includes colored slip or paint. Red and white slips or paints are found, on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. Red paint is most often on the inside of vessels, though also occurs in an annular band along the outside lip as well. Formed decorations also include appliqued bands and figurative elements. In addition, perforations were counted as decorations, though these could also have functional aspects by allowing sifting and steaming with vessels, as well as possible ritual use (see Norman 2011).

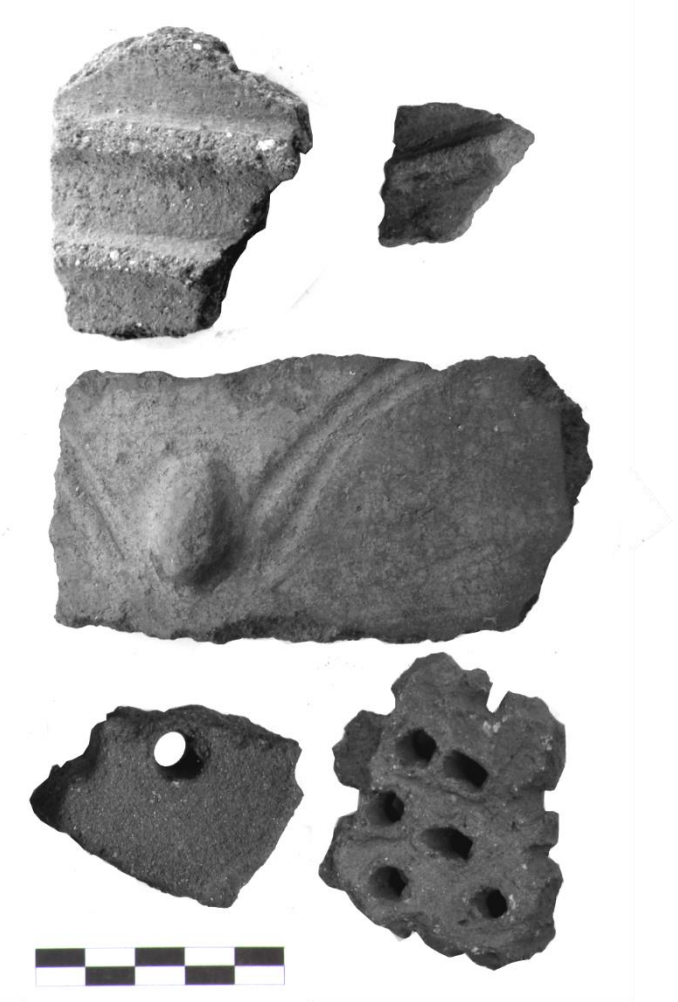


Figure B.6 Formed decorations on coarse earthenware pottery are appliqued bands (top row), figurative elements (middle row), and perforations (bottom row).

2. Coarse Earthenware Beads

Three beads were recovered from two sites: S12-035 (Phase I) and S13-004 (Figure B.7). Each bead is roughly spherical, though have flattened axial faces. The hole is formed by a rolled tube that the rest of the bead is constructed around, reflecting a two stage construction process. All three beads have evidence of paint on the surface, including one bead that still has alternating red and white annular bands. The visible temper of all three beads is a quartz/feldspar sand.

Figure B.7 Coarse earthenware beads from S12-035 (top) and S13-004 (middle and bottom).

3. Coarse Earthenware Pipes

Pipe bowl fragments were recovered from several sites and contexts (Table B.3). The clay fabrics and surface decoration techniques are drawn from the same range as the coarse earthenware ceramics (Figure B.8). The bowl fragments are typically too small to identify specific styles, though some carinated fragments are similar in bowl form to European-inspired

designs that developed after the 18th century CE (Philips 1983; Handler 2008). Other bowl forms are general cylinders as well as slightly everted bowls.

Site	Context	Bowl Fragments	Surface Decoration							
			Plain / Burnished	Grooving	Incised Line	Twisted Cord Roulette	Chevron Wooden Roulette	Interior Red Paint	Exterior Red Paint	Appliqued Band
S12-035	Excavation	2	1		1	1				
S12-037	Excavation	2				1		1	1	1
S13-004	Excavation	10	3	3	4	4	1		1	
S13-011	Excavation	1	1							
S12-004	Surface	1			1	1				
S13-017	Surface	1			1	1				

Table B.3 Pipe bowl fragments from archaeological sites in the study area.

Figure B.8 Pipe forms from archaeological sites in the study area include cylindrical bowls (top row), everted bowls (middle row), and carinated bowls (bottom row).

4. Refined Earthenware Pottery

Refined earthenware potsherds are present at some archaeological sites in the study area, but are very limited. The one exception is at site S12-028, where 51 such sherds were recovered—contrasting with the eight sherds from all other sites. All refined potsherds have a hard white paste and are glazed. Many are painted, with colors derived from cobalt, metallic oxides, and chrome. The design technique also range dramatically, and include annular banding, hand-painting, stenciling, and transfer printing. These coloring agents and techniques are all typical of 19th century CE assemblages (Figure B.9). Thus, the availability of refined earthenware pottery in the area is likely a distinct feature of the Late Shabe period.

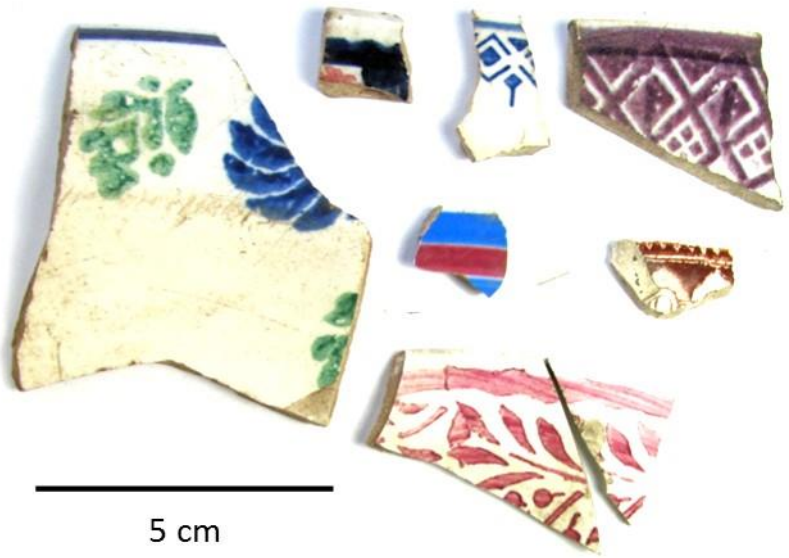


Figure B.9 Refined earthenware ceramics from S12-028 demonstrating the range of decoration techniques (annular banding, hand-painting, stenciling, and transfer printing) and coloring agents (cobalt, metallic oxides, and chrome).

APPENDIX C

Lithic Artifacts

Lithic artifacts were present at many archaeological sites in the study area. However, the forms, materials, and quantities of these artifacts are limited. From the Early Shabe to European Colonial periods, bladed stone tools had largely been supplanted by iron tools. Indeed, this transition happened much earlier than 1600 CE. The history of iron production in West Africa begins with the introduction of smelting technology around 500 BCE (Childs & Killick 1993: 321). This is a conservative estimate, with some archaeological evidence for iron production as early as 2000 BCE (Killick & Fenn 2012: 565). However, iron is not a suitable or practical choice for all tools. Thus, the stone tools found at Shabe archaeological sites are generally restricted to ground tools, where the curved surface and weight of stone tools was necessary to their function. Stone is also used where the material may have a ritual or symbolic value, such as in stone beads.

Lithic artifacts collected from archaeological contexts were recorded in the field with contextual information, bagged, washed, photographed, and catalogued. Lithics were categorized according to their probable use type: tool or bead. Within each type, artifacts were then categorized according to their manufacturing technique, material, and form (Table C.1).

Site	Context	Ground Tool					Flaked Tool	Bead		
		Quartz	Granite				Quartz	Quartz	Bauxite	Jasper
		Hammer	Hammer	Millstone	Basin	Anvil	Biface	Disc	Disc	Cylinder
S12-017	Excavation	1	1							
S12-035	Excavation (Phase I)	2		1	1				1	
S12-035	Excavation (Phase II)							1		
S12-036	Excavation	1								
S12-037	Excavation		1							1
S13-004	Excavation	2	1	1						
S13-010	Excavation		1					1		
S13-011	Excavation	4		1	1					
S12-004	Surface	7	4		3					
S12-006	Surface	1					1			
S12-007	Surface	1								
S12-009	Surface			1						
S12-013	Surface	2	4							
S12-014	Surface	2								
S12-015	Surface	1								
S12-016	Surface	1								
S12-017	Surface	5		2	4					
S12-021	Surface				1					
S12-025	Surface	1		1						
S12-027	Surface	2								
S12-028	Surface	1								
S12-030	Surface				1					
S12-033	Surface	1	1							
S12-035	Surface		1			1				
S12-036	Surface			1	2					
S12-037	Surface			1						
S13-010	Surface	1								
Total		**36**	**15**	**9**	**13**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**

Table C.1 Lithic artifacts of different manufacturing techniques, materials, and forms recovered from sites in the study area.

1. Ground Tools

Tool forms consist almost exclusively of hand-sized spheres between 5 and 10 cm in diameter (“hammers”), oblongs between 18 and 30 cm in length (“millstones”), oval slabs with concave impressions ranging between 30 cm and 60 cm in length (“basins”), and a single

example of a lenticular disc 30 cm in diameter ("anvil"). The source materials for these tools are quartz (for hammers) and granite (for hammers, millstones, basins, and the anvil). These materials are widely available in the study area, as granite with large quartz concentrations is found as large boulders and inselbergs throughout the region. In addition, ground stone tools are still in use today. Indeed, the inferences between tool form and its probable use are drawn from my own observations and discussions with lithic-using Shabe informants. However, this also makes lithics recovered from surface contexts problematic, as they may be recent introductions. This is particularly problematic for the sites S12-004 and S12-017, where present-day agricultural camps were observed on the sites that were actively using ground stone tools.

Hammers are the most ubiquitous tool type (Figure C.1). They are produced through selecting quartz or granite nodules of a similar size to the finished tool and grinding the surface to a rough spherical shape. Some examples have a pitted texture along one or more face, indicating pounding—probably through use as a hammer. Most recovered specimens were fractured, and therefore likely intentionally discarded. Hammers are used for pounding activities, such as driving stakes, repairing hoes, and blacksmithing. In addition, hammers may be used in conjunction with basins to grind small quantities of foodstuffs or pigments.

Figure C.1 Granite (top row) and quartz (bottom row) hammers from sites in the study area.

Millstones are found less frequently than hammers (Figure C.2). They are produced similarly to hammers. However, only granite millstones were recovered. The number of specimens is low, but this may indicate a selection preference for granite. Alternatively, it may simply indicate the lack of appropriately sized quartz nodules. The millstones recovered from archaeological sites are all fragmentary. In the present-day, millstones are used in conjunction with basins to grind foodstuffs, particularly millet, maize, peanuts, and peppers.

Figure C.2 Granite millstone fragments from sites in the study area.

Basins are slightly more frequently documented than millstones. However, this applies only to surface contexts, where it is likely that the much larger basins are simply more visible. Millstones are produced by selecting appropriately sized slabs of granite and grinding a concave depression into the surface. This cavity is also elaborated through use. Basins were not collected from surface contexts due to their size and weight (Figure C.3). Two basin fragments were recovered from excavation contexts and were collected (Figure C.4). In the present-day, basins are used in conjunction with millstones or hammers to grind foodstuffs, particularly millet, maize, peanuts, and peppers.

Figure C.3 A concave granite basin from the surface of a fortified hilltop site (S13-009).

Figure C.4 Granite basin fragments recovered from excavation contexts at sites in the study area.

A single granite anvil was recovered from the surface of Atenro, S12-035 (Figure C.5). The anvil is similar in form and manufacture to a hammer, but larger and more lenticular in profile, rather than spherical. One surface of the anvil is heavily "pecked," suggesting a use in pounding. I observed slightly larger lenticular stones in use among Yoruba-descendant blacksmiths at Cana in southern Bénin in 2010. These stones were used as anvils for shaping iron preforms and tools. However, the smaller size, and resultant low inertia, of this stone would be impractical for sustained iron production. This stone may have instead served as a striking surface for blade and tool repair, rather than production.

Figure C.5 A possible granite anvil from the surface of Atenro (S12-035).

2. Flaked Tools

A single flaked quartz object was also found (Figure C.6). The object is projectile-point sized, triangular/trapezoidal in plan, lenticular/diamond in cross-section, and appears to be bifacially flaked. Its greatest length is 3.4 cm along the midline, and its greatest width is 3.0 cm at the base. The quartz is opaque white—possibly a kind of chalcedony, or microcrystalline-structured quartz. However, a point fracture, poor contextual information (it was discovered on the surface), and the non-conchoidal fracturing nature of quartz precludes a definite identification of this object as a tool.

Figure C.6 A bifacially flaked quartz object from the surface of S12-006.

Blades and projectile points are the most likely use for flaked stone tools. However, stone tools of this type had likely been supplanted by iron artifacts. Indeed, many more iron blades and projectile points have been found at archaeological sites in the Savè area (see Appendix D). In the Ife dynastic field, iron production is ritually linked to the worship of the *ooṣà* Ogun. Ogun is also the patron of hunting and warfare; the main uses for iron blades and projectile points.

Flaked stone tools are in general unusual in West African iron-using societies, though not without precedent. Archaeological excavations in the 17-19th century CE Hueda kingdom of southern Bénin suggest that enough iron was produced locally to meet most needs, but quartz knives were still used in domestic contexts (Kelly 2001: 93). The flaked stone biface may be an example of one of these small blades. That the blade was found at the refuge of Fiditi may indicate the substitution of stone for iron during a period in which iron may not have been readily available.

3. Beads

Four stone beads were recovered from sites in the study area (Figure C.7). Each was recovered from one of four different excavation contexts. Interestingly, these contexts represent the entire range of the Early Shabe to Late Shabe periods. Stone beads were and continue to be an important complement to the more well-known glass beads of the Ife dynastic field (Drewal 1998; Ogundiran 2002). Beyond the Ife dynastic field, stone beads have been produced and used in West Africa since at least the middle Holocene (McIntosh & McIntosh 1988: 101). The stone beads recovered were all produced through grinding the stone into the desired shape, drilling a hole, and polishing.

Figure C.7 The four stone beads, from left to right: opaque quartz disc, semi-translucent quartz disc, bauxite disc, and jasper cylinder (side view).

Two quartz beads were recovered. Both beads are disc-shaped beads with bifacially drilled holes. However, one is an opaque white quartz and the other is a semi-translucent pinkish white quartz. These beads may have been produced locally, as quartz is found throughout the Savè area. The opaque bead is smaller, with a diameter of 9 mm, a hole diameter of 2 mm, and a length of 3 mm. The semi-translucent bead has a diameter of 11 mm, a hole diameter of 3 mm, and a length of 7 mm.

A third disc-shaped bead was recovered. It is bifacially drilled, but unlike the quartz beads the holes are drilled at an approximately 45° angle to the face of the bead. This would result in the bead resting askew when strung. Its reddish gray brown color, luster, and softness are characteristic of bauxite. The nearest major source of bauxite is in Ghana, where bauxite has been used in bead production for at least 500 years (Anquandah 1982, 2006; Kumekpor 1995). However, small quantities of bauxite may have been exploited closer to or in the area, as bauxite

can form through the lateritization of granite where sufficient weathering and drainage is present. The bead has a diameter of 13 mm, a hole diameter of 4 mm, and a length of 5 mm.

One cylindrical stone bead was recovered. Like the disc beads, it is bifacially drilled. The stone is a dark red with a pitted surface. The most likely material is jasper, a kind of chalcedony. The nearby city of Ilorin was a major manufacturing center for jasper beads in the 19th century CE (O'Hear 1986). However, the manufacture and trade of red chalcedony beads is often linked to participation in longer-distance exchange networks (e.g., Insoll & Shaw 1997; Insoll et al. 2004; Gliozzo et al. 2014). The bead has a diameter of 5 mm, a hole diameter of 1 mm, and a length of 12 mm.

APPENDIX D

Ferrous Artifacts

Ferrous artifacts were present at some archaeological sites in the study area. Ferrous artifacts included iron figurative objects, tools, and fragmentary debris. Slag, a byproduct of iron production, was also present at some sites. The low number of iron artifacts suggests that iron was not disposed of in the same way as ceramic, or even lithic, artifacts. Despite the ubiquity of iron in West Africa during the second millennium CE, it may have still been a valuable resource, particularly in an area, such as the Savè hills, where primary iron production did not occur on a large scale.

Iron was likely in use in the Savè area well before the Early Shabe period. Large-scale iron production has been documented prior to 1600 CE in the Bassar area of Togo to the northwest (de Barros 2001); the Abomey plateau to the south (Randsborg & Merkyte 2009); and the Ife dynastic field polities to the east (Ogundiran 2005). Mastery of other metalworking technologies is known in the region from the intricate bronze sculptures of Ile-Ife produced in the 11-13th centuries CE, and those from Igbo-Ukwu before that (Willett 1960; Chikwendu & Umeji 1979). More generally, West African iron production begins around 500 BCE, though there is some evidence for production as early as 2000 BCE (Childs & Killick 1993: 321; Killick & Fenn 2012: 565).

Ferrous artifacts collected from archaeological contexts were recorded in the field with contextual information, bagged, cleaned, weighed, photographed, and catalogued. Iron artifacts were categorized according to their product: slag or iron object. Slag artifacts were recorded as either angular or rounded according to their general appearance. Iron objects were categorized according to their identifiable tool or figurative types, or general forms if fragmentary (Table D.1).

Site	Context	Slag	Iron Object									
			Figurative	Tool								
				Identifiable					Fragmentary			
				Attachment	Blade	Club Head	Fish Hook	Projectile	Ring	Rod	Sheet
S12-017	Excavation	2								1	
S12-035	Excavation (Phase I)				1					1	
S12-035	Excavation (Phase II)	3	1								
S12-037	Excavation	1							2	1	
S13-004	Excavation						1				
S13-010	Excavation					1		2			
S13-011	Excavation	1								1	2
S12-004	Surface	1		1							1
S12-006	Surface					1					
S12-007	Surface				1						
S12-009	Surface			1							
S12-014	Surface										2
S12-025	Surface	1									
S12-035	Surface										1
S12-037	Surface	1									1
S13-004	Surface										1
Total		**8**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**8**

Table D.1 Ferrous artifacts of different types and forms recovered from sites in the study area.

1. Tools

Several tool types were identified in the iron artifact assemblages. The types are based on the forms of ethnographically and archaeologically described iron objects (see Smith 1967;

Aremu 1998; Usman 2001; Ogundiran 2009; Blench 2014). As described below, all tools are consistent with those used in subsistence activities: agriculture, hunting, and fishing. All of the recovered tools show signs of wear, indicating discard toward the end of their use.

Two partial tool attachments were recovered (Figure D.1). Though the exact form of the original tools cannot be identified based solely on the attachments, the attachments themselves do provide some clues as to the original use. Both attachments are triangular shafts that open to what would, presumably, be a wider head. These attachments could be affixed to wooden handles by piercing or binding the shaft to the handle. One of the most common iron tools that is affixed to a handle in this way is the hoe (Blench 2014: 249). A second possibility is a spear blade, which could be bound to a wooden pole. However, oral histories contain no mentions of spears in Shabe armament, perhaps suggesting that spears were not commonly used in hunting or warfare.

Figure D.1 Tool attachments from archaeological sites in the study area.

Two blades were recovered (Figure D.2). One blade, from the surface of the rockshelter site Ohi Amon (S12-007), is a long rectangular blade. There is significant wear on one edge of the blade. The attachment area of the blade is broken, but a semi-circular indention suggests that the blade was affixed to a handle by pinning. This style of attachment is the same as those for

mass-produced knives available in Savè markets in the present-day. In contrast, the second blade, from an excavated context from Atenro (S12-035), is a short triangular blade. The attachment is a triangular shaft that would be bound, or less commonly transpierced, to a handle. This style of knife is no longer used in the Savè area.

Figure D.2 Iron blades from archaeological sites in the study area.

Two club heads were recovered (Figure D.3). Both club heads are rectangular iron rods coiled into cylinders. Ostensibly, these coils would be worked around a wooden shaft with other coils to provide mass behind a club's blows. The identification of these objects as club heads is tentative, as such tool forms are poorly described in the ethnographic and archaeological literature. However, club heads made of coiled iron rods or bars are noted by Smith (1967: 99) in his summary of Yoruba weapons. Further, hunters in the Savè area recognized these objects as club heads used to hunt small mammals.

Figure D.3 Iron club heads from archaeological sites in the study area.

One fish hook was recovered (Figure D.4). It is a C-shaped hook with a simple non-barbed point. Interestingly, this single fish hook was recovered from an excavation context from Aukpon (S13-004), a site far from the major Ouémé and Okpara rivers which are most associated with fishing in the present-day and in historical references to the European Colonial period. This may indicate the greater prevalence of fishing in Savè settlements, regardless of proximity to the major rivers, in earlier periods. Alternatively, it may indicate the pronounced mobility of individuals to move between the upland and river basin environments.

Figure D.4 Iron fish hook from Aukpon (S13-004).

Two projectile points were recovered, both from S13-010 (Figure D.5). One projectile point has a typical projectile form: widening out from the attachment, and then tapering back to a point. There are also two sets of barbs, placed on opposite faces. The first set is where the point begins to taper, about 2 cm from the end. The second set is 4 cm from the end. The second projectile point is less securely identified. This point also widens out from the attachment and then tapers to a point. However, it significantly longer than the barbed point, and the shaft is bent where the point begins to taper. This bending may have occurred in use and led to the object's discard.

Figure D.5 Iron projectile points from S13-010.

Many more fragmentary pieces of iron were recovered. These pieces are likely broken parts of tools. Iron fragments were categorized by their general form: rings, rods, or sheets (Figure D.6). Rings are pieces of iron closed into a loop. Rings could be linked together to create chain, or used individually as an attachment area or articulating joints in conjunction with other

iron or fiber objects. Larger rings could have been used as ornamentation or as a kind of currency, though no rings large enough were discovered. Rods are linear pieces of iron, either circular or quadrilateral in cross-section. Some rods may have be the product of tool breakage, particularly of attachment shafts. However, small iron rods could also serve as pins, nails, or be the byproduct of tool production. Further, small iron rods are common components of *ogù*, or magic charms, and occasionally used as currency. However, all the rods recovered were fairly small, ranging between 30 and 86 mm. Sheets are flat fragments of any shape, though less than 3 mm in width. Like rods, sheets may be the byproduct of tool production or broken tool parts, though sheet fragments come from tool blades. Hoes are likely candidates for producing sheet fragments, as they are regularly used and can chip when coming into contact with rocks in the soil.

Figure D.6 Iron fragments from archaeological sites in the study area are categorized according to the general form: rings (left), rods (center), or sheets (right).

2. Figurative Object

One figurative iron object was recovered from a Phase II occupation context at Atenro (S12-035). The object was placed in a shallow pit dug into an earlier Phase I midden. After this, the pit was closed and new midden deposits were added. The object has the form of a miniature pair of bilboes-style manacles (Figure D.7). It is composed of three separate iron rods that have

been bent together. One rod forms the shaft of the bilboes, including a loop on the end where a chain would be attached. The two other rods form the restraints of the bilboes.

Figure D.7 Figurative bilboes-style iron manacles from Atenro (S12-035).

This specific form of restraint was in use in the Atlantic trade since at least the early 16th century, as bilboes have been recovered from early shipwrecks in the Americas (Keith 1988). Bilboes are most closely associated with the Spanish, though the design was copied by others (Malcom 1998). Miniature bilboes are known from other ethnographic and archaeological contexts in West Africa. McNaughton (1988: plate 41) reports miniature copper bilboes used as charms or amulets among the Mande. Stahl (2013: 61) reports a miniature iron bilboes from a shrine context in the Banda area of Ghana. Interestingly, this context pre-dates the rise of the Atlantic slave trade, likely indicating that bilboes were known in North Africa. Indeed, it may be that bilboes entered Spain sometime after the Muslim conquest in the 8th century CE.

It is tempting to equate this figurative object with the slave trade, as iron restraints are one of its most potent symbols. Further, the object dates to the Late Shabe period, a time of

intense warfare and predation by slave-raiders. In this context, the deployment of an *ogù*, or magic charm, to protect against slavery is a compelling explanation. However, *ogù* are infused with complex metaphorical associations, and the meaning of such an object is not always obvious (Parrinder 1961: 156-165; Bascom 1969; Doris 2011). For example, the bilboes form may be employed to metaphorically invoke the concept of pairing or twinning, which is a common theme in Yoruba symbolism (Lawal 2008; Peek 2008, 2013).

3. Slag

Slag was recovered from archaeological sites in the study area (Figure D.8). The very limited quantities of slag and the lack of specialized iron production sites or features in the study area suggest that iron production was never an organized or full-time craft specialization. Instead, small amounts of slag were recovered alongside other domestic refuse: potsherds, faunal remains, charcoal, etc. The presence of slag indicates that some iron production did occur in the area, but it remained a small-scale industry. Alternatively, it may be that iron production did not occur locally, and both slag and iron were imported. Slag may have had some ritual or symbolic associations and employed for these, rather than produced as a byproduct in ironworking.

Figure D.8 Iron slag from archaeological sites in the study area.

APPENDIX E

Vitric Artifacts

Small quantities of vitric artifacts were recovered from archaeological sites in the study area. Two types of vitric artifacts were recorded: glass vessels and glass beads. There is no evidence for glass vessel production in precolonial West Africa. Vessels are present in Atlantic era archaeological sites, but are universally described as an import. Vessels are therefore indicators of participation in long-distance exchange with either North Africa or Europe, or less commonly East Africa. Beads, on the other hand, were produced at Ile-Ife as early as the 11th century CE (Lankton et al. 2006; Babalola 2011). However, beads also entered West Africa by the same routes that brought glass vessels. Regardless, glass vessels and beads were not created in the Savè area, but brought in from the Ife dynastic field and beyond.

Vitric artifacts collected from archaeological contexts were recorded in the field with contextual information, bagged, cleaned, weighed, photographed, and catalogued. Vitric artifacts were categorized as either shards from vessels or beads based on their form. Glass vessels were further categorized according to their color, vessel type, and manufacturing technique. Glass beads were described according to their color, shape, opacity, and manufacturing technique.

1. Vessels

Glass vessel shards were recovered from several sites (Table E.1). 43% of the shards were recovered from the surface of a single site: S12-028. Moreover, 92% of glass shards came from surface contexts. Of the four shards from excavated contexts, only one came from a subsurface stratum at S12-037. The distinct lack of vessel shards from excavated contexts suggests that these objects were a relatively late and rare import to the Savè area.

Site	Context	Total Shards	Total Weight (g)	Color											VType			Manufacture				
				Colorless	Olive Green	Light Olive Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Yellow Green	Aquamarine	Cobalt Blue	Dark Amber	Black	Patinated	Container	Tableware	Unidentifiable	Free Blown	Machine-Made	Mold Dipped	Multipart Mold	Unidentifiable
S12-035	Excavation (Phase II)	1	5.6								1					1						1
S12-037	Excavation	1	2.9		1										1							1
S13-004	Excavation	2	5.2											2			2					2
S12-004	Surface	1	21.4										1		1			1				
S12-009	Surface	3	11.6	2	1										3							3
S12-014	Surface	1	32.9									1			1					1		
S12-024	Surface	1	3.0		1												1					1
S12-025	Surface	10	88.1		4	1	1	2	1	1					9		1			3		7
S12-028	Surface	22	414.6	10	7			3			2				13	2	7			8	1	13
S12-037	Surface	9	252.7	4	3			2							6		3		1	2	1	5
TOTAL		**51**	**838.0**	**16**	**17**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**34**	**3**	**14**	**1**	**1**	**14**	**2**	**33**

Table E.1 Glass vessel shards of different colors, vessel types, and manufacturing techniques from archaeological sites in the study area.

The majority of glass vessel shards do not provide any information about their original form. However, some shards are complete enough to infer their original form and thus their possible usage context. One container lip and neck was recovered from the surface of S12-004, or Fiditi (Figure E.1). The lip has an applied finish—an additional band of glass wrapped around the lip. This style of finish is chronologically sensitive, suggesting a manufacture between 1800 and 1880 CE and associated with alcohol transport (Lindsey 2015). This range is consistent with the occupation of Fiditi in the mid-19th century CE. Alcohol containers were most likely case bottles—wide-shouldered alcohol bottles exported from Europe specifically for long-distance trade. This is supported by the limited information on the forms in the container assemblage. A total of 14 container bases were also recorded. Of these, 11 are the square type associated with case bottles and only 3 are round.

Figure E.1 Applied finish lip from Fiditi (S12-004).

Of the many shards from S12-028, three deserve special mention (Figure E.2). One square base shard has the letters “Wz.” embossed on the side, likely referring the German term “Warenzeichen,” or trademark, which is abbreviated as “Wz.” Another square base shard is too

narrow to be a case bottle and was likely from a smaller bitters bottle. A large circular base shard has a visible pontil scar as well as concentric embossed circles on the bottom.

Figure E.2 Select bases from S12-028.

Though most vessel shards were either identified as containers or unidentifiable, three shards were identified as handles from tableware vessels (Figure E.3). Each was colored a distinct cobalt blue. Interestingly, these shards were found at two different sites, but are almost identical in color and form.

Figure E.3 Tableware handles from S12-028 and S12-035.

2. Beads

A total of eight glass beads were recovered from three archaeological sites in the study area: four from the surface of S12-028, three from excavated contexts at S12-035, and one from the surface of S13-027. Two of the beads from S12-035 came from Phase I deposits (Early Shabe period) and one bead came from a Phase II deposit (Late Shabe period). There is a great deal of variability among bead styles (Figure E.4). However, all but one bead are blue tubular or cylindrical beads. These types of beads were widely circulated throughout the Ife dynastic field (Euba 1981; Eluyemi 1987; Ogundiran 2002). However, the shade of blue, opacity, and bead length varies significantly. Four cylindrical beads were recovered, all from the surface of S12-028. Three tubular beads were also recovered. One heptagonal bead was excavated from S12-035. The wear pattern on the surface of the bead suggests the shape was produced by grinding the faces of a tubular bead into the desired shape. This could have occurred locally after importation or prior by traders or during manufacture.

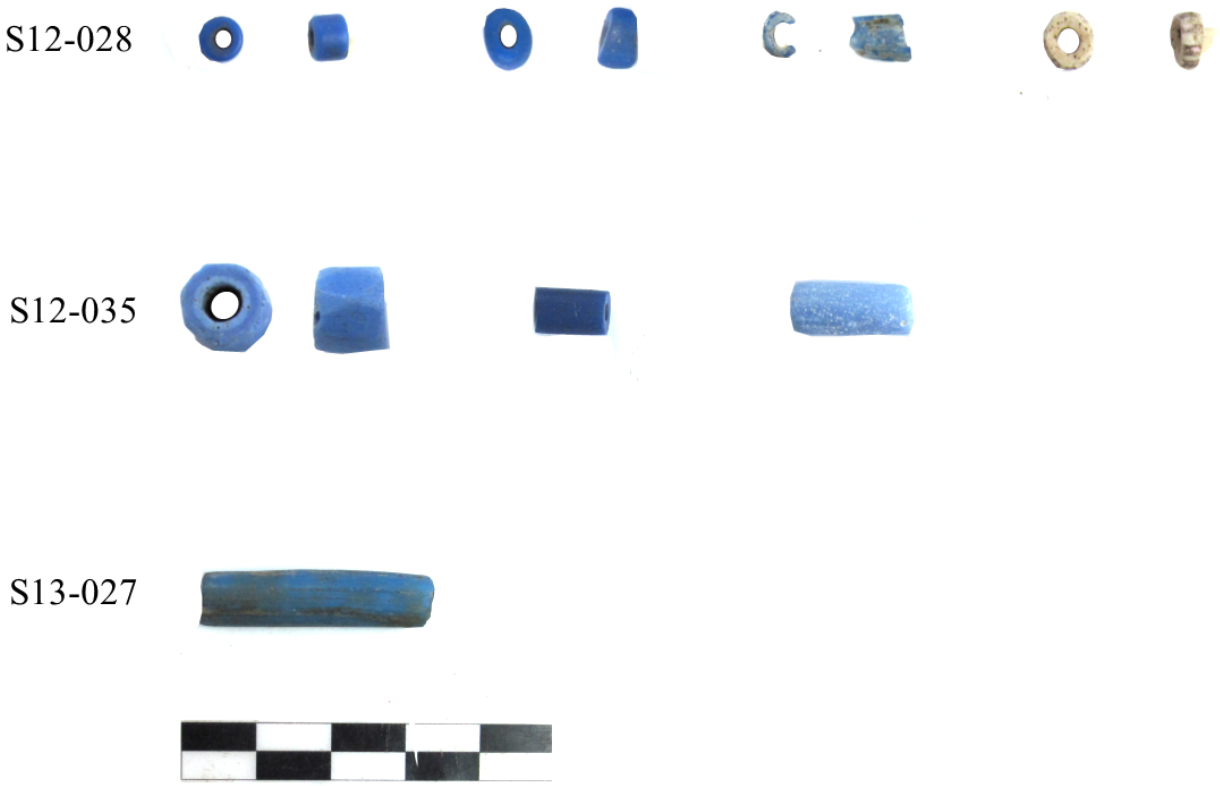


Figure E.4 Glass beads from archaeological sites in the study area.

APPENDIX F

Faunal Remains

Faunal remains were recovered at many archaeological sites in the study area. Faunal remains were well represented in excavation contexts, but much less so in surface assemblages. This likely represents differential preservation processes, wherein bone is preferentially preserved in oxygen-deprived contexts. Some of the faunal remains represent subsistence activities in the Savè area, such as pastoralism, hunting, and fishing. However, some remains were likely deposited from ritual activities that blur into subsistence, or obtained through long-distance exchange. This is certainly the case for cowry shells, which originate in the Indian Ocean.

Faunal remains collected from archaeological contexts were recorded in the field with contextual information, bagged, cleaned, weighed, photographed, and catalogued. Faunal remains were categorized as either a bone element, fragment of bivalve shell, cowry, or bead (Table F.1). Human remains were recovered from a burial deposit at Aukpon (S13-004), but these remains were not collected or analyzed, and so are not reported in this appendix. A full analysis of the collected animal bone and shell, though within the scope of this dissertation, is beyond the skills of this analyst. Though potentially identifiably, the remains remain unidentified. The vast majority of the animal bone consists of fragmentary elements which are likely to small to identify beyond general size class. Cowries were further subcategorized as

either rounded or knobbed based on its general form. The two beads fashioned from faunal remains were subcategorized based on their material as either ivory or shell.

Site	Context	Bone Element	Bivalve Shell	Cowry		Bead	
				Rounded	Knobbed	Ivory	Shell
S12-004	Excavation	3					
S12-017	Excavation	23					
S12-035	Excavation (Phase I)	116		6	1		
S12-035	Excavation (Phase II)	305	1	17	5		
S12-037	Excavation	175	1	2	2		
S13-004	Excavation	226	3	17	17	1	
S13-010	Excavation	265	1	1	4		1
S13-011	Excavation	31					
S12-004	Surface			1			
S12-009	Surface	9		16	2		
S12-012	Surface	4		3	1		
S12-013	Surface	43		8			
S12-014	Surface	3		2			
S12-022	Surface			2			
S12-024	Surface	1					
S12-028	Surface	5					
S12-029	Surface	4					
TOTAL		**1213**	**6**	**75**	**32**	**1**	**1**

Table F.1 Faunal remains from archaeological sites in the study area.

1. Cowry Shells

Cowry shells (Cypraeidae) were imported into the Save area through regional exchange. Cowry shells were a major currency throughout the Bight of Benin region, widely employed in Atlantic slave trade (Hogendorn & Johnson 1986). However, cowry shells were used for exchanges beyond coastal capitalism, in a diverse range of social contexts (Guyer 2004). Further, the importation of cowries into West Africa predates the Atlantic trade, having first been supplied overland from North or East Africa (Heirmann 1980). However, the Atlantic trade

certainly changed the nature of cowry wealth in West Africa by saturating the market with billions of shells (Ogundiran 2002).

Two specific taxa were used as currency in West Africa: *Monetaria moneta* and *Monetaria annulus*. Both species are endemic to the Indian Ocean, typically harvested from the Maldives (Hogendorn & Johnson 1986). The use of these shells in currency often led to their modification—specifically the removal of the dorsal shell to facilitate stringing (Figure F.1). *M. moneta* and *M. annulus* are quite small, with typical shell lengths ranging between 1 and 3 cm. Both species can have yellow rings on their dorsal faces, though this ring is more pronounced in *M. annulus* individuals. Only seven of the 134 cowries recovered show a yellow dorsal ring, though many individuals were modified to remove part of the dorsal shell and therefore may be obscuring the ring. *M. annulus* are also more rounded, while *M. moneta* can have a knobbed "club" shape. 33 of the 134 cowries have this distinct knobbed form.

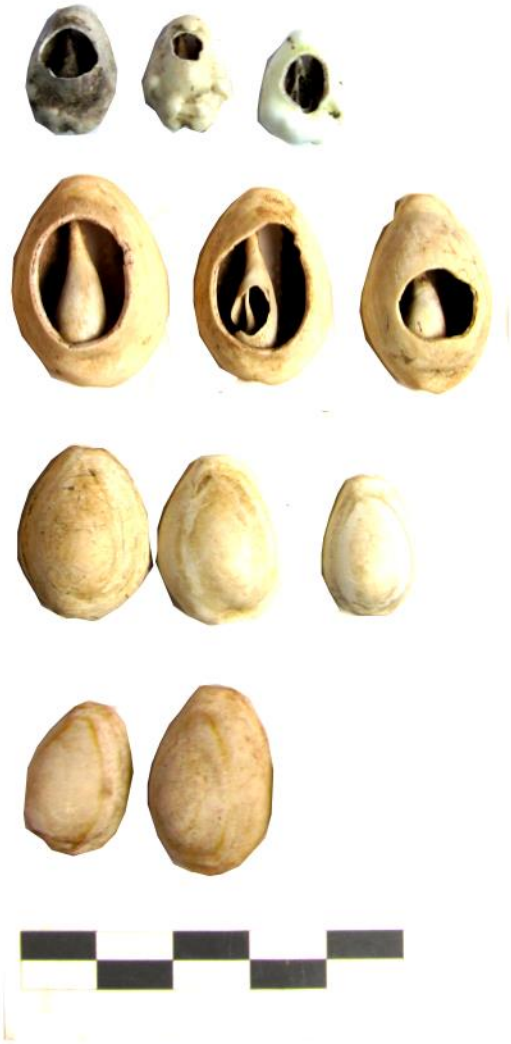


Figure F.1 Cowry shells from archaeological sites in the study area. From the top, rows show knobbed cowries with dorsal modification, rounded cowries with dorsal modification, intact rounded cowries, and intact rounded cowries with yellow dorsal rings.

2. Beads

Two beads made from faunal material were recovered (Figure F.2). One is a disc bead made of shell from S13-010. It is similar in size and form to stone disc beads recovered from other contexts (see Appendix C). Like stone, mollusk shell is available locally, and could be the source of the bead. The second is a tubular bead made ivory from Aukpon (S13-004). It is the only ivory object discovered in the study area. Schreger lines are visible running longitudinally along the length of the bead. The bore hole is bifacially drilled and slightly curved. Oral history

records that elephants existed in the area since the foundation of the Shabe kingdom, though there is no heirloom ivory regalia among the king or titled officials today. Elephants appear to have been extinct from the area by the early 20th century CE (Couchard 1911). Ivory was a valued resource for trade and for consumption within the Ife dynastic field throughout the second millennium CE.

Figure F.2 A shell bead (left) and ivory bead (right) from archaeological sites in the study area.

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