

Importance of Cowrie Shells in Pre-Colonial Yoruba land South Western Nigeria : Orile- Keesi as a Case Study

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Abstract

Cowrie shells played important roles in the day to day activities of the Yoruba in the pre-colonial period. In order to establish this fact, Orile-Keesi, an abandoned settlement, was used as a case study among the Egba in Yorubaland. The general belief is that cowrie shells were only used as a medium of exchange among the Yoruba of South western Nigeria in the pre-colonial period. However, this investigation reveals that they were used for many purposes. For example, they were used in divination, to send symbolic messages, to prepare medicinal herbs, to decorate musical instruments among others. The investigation reveals that today, its importance is growing wane as a result of westernization and civilization.

Key words: orile-keesi, cowrie shells, egba, cypraea annulus, cypraea moneta, yoruba

1.0 Introduction

The Yoruba¹ are found in the southwestern part of Nigeria even though they can be found in other parts of Nigeria. Yorubaland lies between the parallels 5.86⁰ and 9.22⁰ north, and between 2.65⁰ and 5.72⁰ east,(Fadipe,1970) with an estimated area of about 181,300sq.km (Atanda,2007).This area is covered by the present states of Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo, Ekiti, Osun and parts of Kwara in Nigeria. Outside this homeland, their influence has even spread beyond the lower Niger northwards into Nupeland, other parts of Nigeria and African countries notably Togo, Northern Ghana and also the eastern part of The Republic of Benin (known as Dahomey in the past). They are also found outside Africa: some are in Brazil, others in the Caribbean and the West Indian Islands. Today, they are estimated to be more than 50 million, and about 40 million Yoruba inhabit their traditional homeland (Awolalu and Dopamu, 2005).

Orile-Keesi our case study is located in the Southwestern part of Abeokuta the state capital of Ogun State in the southwestern part of Nigeria (*see fig. 1*). It is situated off Ibadan – Abeokuta road at a distance of about 1 kilometre from the main road. It is under the jurisdiction of Odeda Local Government Area of Ogun State and Odeda, its headquarters is situated 28 kilometres away from Abeokuta along Abeokuta – Ibadan road. The settlement stands generally on a flat terrain, although some areas are sloppy. It is about 157m above sea level(Gbadegesin,1992)

Climate-wise, Orile-Keesi is a tropical one but the climate is mild and it does not prove uninhabitable to man, plants and animals. Its annual average temperature is between 60⁰f in the coldest season and 75⁰f in the hottest season. Rainfall is very adequate. Annual rainfall ranges from 100 in (254 cm) to 40 in (101cm) (Atanda,2009).

The vegetation of Orile-Keesi is secondary forest. This developed from primary forest vegetation as a result of combination of factors such as erosion, shifting cultivation, annual bush burning, deforestation among others. This type of vegetation has therefore developed basically as a result of the cultural practices of the people. The word ‘Orile’ means ‘original homeland’ and the word ‘keesi’ is derived from ‘lakiyesi’ i.e. ‘take notice of (personal communication with Mr Hammed Ajagunjeun 70years in Orile-Keesi on 13 May,2003). With time, the name was contrasted to ‘keesi’ by the inhabitants of the land. Orile-keesi, the original homeland of the Keesi people, was a prominent settlement before the Egba² migrated to Abeokuta in 1830.

¹ The Yoruba are of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. Others are the Hausa and Igbo

² The Egba are a sub-group of the Yoruba and they live in Abeokuta, Ogun State.

At present, it is a small village, with relics of the past settlement scattered around it. This was because only a handful of the descendants of the settlers of Keesi went back to resettle after its initial abandonment. The town was founded by Ojo, an emigrant from Ile-Ife³ (Ajisafe,1964). We started our investigation in 2000 and we rounded off in 2005. Two mounds designated Mound 1 and Mound 2 were excavated. Four test pits designated MD1 TP1, MD1 TP2, MD2 TP3 and MD2 TP3 (EXT) were opened on the mounds. It is not the concern of this paper to discuss the finds recovered from the excavated units. Our concern in this paper is to examine the importance of cowrie shells among the Yoruba in the pre-colonial period using Orile-Keesi as a case study. Two categories of artifacts were recovered: pottery and non-pottery. The analysis of the non-pottery finds is based on the artifacts collected from the excavated test pits. A total number of 83 cowrie shells were recovered from the excavations. The highest number came from MD1 TP2 with a total number of 55 (8.65%) (see Table 1). Two types were recovered and they are known as *Owo eyo* (*Cypraea moneta*) and *Owo Ero* (*Cypraea annulus*). The former has an angular outline and their length varies from 13 mm to 19 mm while the latter is smooth and ovoid with lengths between 18mm and 26mm (see fig 2).

The Yoruba distinguish between perforated and unperforated cowries. Cowries that were perforated as a result of chipping or grinding were called *owo eyo* and these were arranged in strings to make a unit of currency, while unperforated ones were usually used in a ritual context and they were known as *Owo Ero* (Eluyemi,1977). Cowrie was originally called ‘concha veneer’ – the shell of Venus – by the ancients. The scientific name ‘*Cypraea*’ came from Cyprus or Cyprian, the isle where the worship of Venus Aphrodite began (Kiltz,2010). It has been a symbol of the goddess and it is connected with the strength of the ocean. It is believed to give fertility and sexual potency. The vessel of life force and regeneration, the cowrie was the insurance of life’s continuity. It was the dwelling place of the goddess who made fertile both crops and women, and whose voice can be heard whispering her ancient wisdom. The women of Pompeii wore it to prevent sterility while the Aztecs and the Japanese associate it with pregnancy. The backside of cowrie shell represents a female sexual organ, the front, the abdomen of a pregnant woman. The meaning is not erotic and this unique design of it is one of the main reasons why it has gained much popularity throughout history (Kiltz,2010).

Cowrie, historically, is a symbol of wealth and used as currency, jewelry and as a religious accessory, in almost all the parts of the world. In the realm of sympathetic magic and sorcery, it is a powerful force. It represents the eye of the gods and the womb of the goddess. (Wayne,2010.) Cowries came from the Maldiv Islands in the Indian Ocean via two routes to West Africa. The first one via North Africa to the Middle Niger in the 11 C and spread southwards to the Guinea forest and the Niger delta. The second source was through the Europeans that came to the coast of West Africa as from the 16C onwards (Atanda, 2007). Its influence also spread to China where brass and silver cowrie shells were used as a form of currency. The Chinese even used its shape to form their pictograph for money. Today, excavations have discovered the money of China in brass and silver cowrie shells. Cowries are a common archaeological artifacts in the material culture of many parts of West Africa, as well as in many archaeological sites of the 16 to 20 century in Yorubaland (Ogundiran, 2000). They are also an important chrono-stratigraphic type-fossil in West African archaeology, more importantly for the post – 15 century sites, and help the archaeologists to comprehend the relative temporal framework of archaeological sites where absolute chronology is not available in their investigations (York, 1972).

The first evidence for the presence of cowrie shells in Yorubaland especially *moneta* cowries post-dated the 15 century. As from 1515 onwards, the Europeans who were involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade started the importation of *moneta* cowries into the coast of Benin. The Portuguese who were the first set of Europeans to appear on the coast of West Africa in the 1480s recorded that they observed another type of cowrie, probably of Angolan origin, on the coast of West Africa. These are small olive-colour shells that may be similar to or be the same as the *C. lurid* (*l*) species that was observed on the West African coast (York, 1972). It has been shown through archaeological data that the widespread of cowries in Yorubaland started after the 16 century. Between 17 and 18 centuries, *C. moneta* became a medium of exchange among the centralized polities of the coastal, rainforest and the savanna belts of West Africa. However, it was not until the middle of the 19 century that *C. annulus* was imported more than the former. This species was imported from the East African coast, especially Zanzibar and the neighbouring Islands (Johnson, 1970).

³ Ile-Ife is the cradle of the Yoruba

It is the belief of York that the presence of *C. moneta* cowries alone in any archaeological context in West Africa would mean a 1500 – 1800 period while the presence of *C. annulus* would suggest a 19 century date (York, 1972).

2.0 Cowrie as a Medium of Exchange

Trade in Yorubaland and in other places in West Africa before the introduction of metal currencies was by barter. Trade by barter means the exchange of goods without the use of money when articles of trade were purchased. It was practiced for a very long time and it continued till the end of the 19 century. The method was very useful for large transactions of goods and services before they used cowries as a medium of exchange (Atanda, 2007)

Though it played an important role, but when trade went beyond neighbour to neighbour transactions and situations developed where people felt barter could not work for them and also because of the growth of market centres where buying and selling took place, people had to look for another alternative other than barter. Thus currency was introduced. Metallic currency was uncommon in Yorubaland and before the coming of the Europeans and in many areas before 1897 which were far away from the coast, they were regarded more or less as a curiosity. People preferred silver to gold and copper because it could be converted to ornaments. There were many silversmiths but coppersmiths and goldsmiths were very rare. At this time, cowrie shells were used as a means of exchange.

Ogundiran suggested that the cowries were initially used and valued in West Africa for aesthetic purposes, especially as ornaments. He submitted that they might have been used as beads and their scarcity as exotic objects would have transformed them into worthy medium of exchange for other commodities. By the beginning of the 18 century, cowrie shells had become the means of exchange in many regional markets of West Africa, particularly from Western Nigeria to Liberia (Ogundiran, 2000).

Cowrie shells therefore became very important as a medium of exchange and were thus calculated:

40 cowries = 1 string

50 strings = 1 head

10 heads = 1 bag (Johnson, 2001)

The value of cowrie was never fixed and countries very close to the coast had access to them more than those at the interior and hence, its value was higher in the interior. But since the British occupation of the Lagos Port in Yorubaland and English coins came into circulation, the rate of exchange was fixed at 60 for a 'head' (the usual standard of circulation) i.e. 2000 cowries; hence 3d = 1000 cowries. But because copper was seen as an inferior metal, one penny was taken at 300 cowrie each; 3d in coppers then would be 900 cowries. Cowries became very important at this time and had to be used together with European coins. For objects below one penny, fruits, herbs and small articles of food may be purchased for a few cowries. Beggars collected them by twos and threes from passersby, and hence, able to keep body and soul together: to what extent they were rare, to that extent the hardships of life were felt in the land (Fadipe, 1970). The cowrie shell fulfilled to the local people practically all the requirements of money. It served as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and a store of value. Cowrie was the first pan-regional currency to be used in the whole West African sub-region, and it entered Orile-Keesi together with the chain of extensive regional exchange networks that concentrated on the trans-Atlantic trade. In the whole of Yorubaland, apart from enlarging the pre-existing regional interactions, the commerce also changed the orientations of the intergroup relations and introduced new materials as well as new ideas to different communities. It became the most common imported material to Yorubaland in the period of trans-Atlantic commerce because of its usefulness as a currency, its importance in exchange for other commodities as well as a means of valuing assets and personality (Ogundiran, 2000).

In the Bight of Benin, from where cowrie shells were first introduced and from where it might have been introduced to Yorubaland, the Benin political class dominated and monopolized the trade on the coast with the Europeans. Hence, cowrie became one of the major items that played the role of a sociopolitical currency for compensating people within the political class before it passed down to other segments in the society and eventually became the object of economic transactions in the local markets. This monopoly was also adopted in Yorubaland by their kings and rulers had representatives and agents that controlled and supervised the trading routes, the rural and city markets. The acceptance of cowrie shells as a medium of exchange in Yorubaland was a result of three important reasons.

First, the presence of centralized system of administration in the whole of Yorubaland; second, the institutionalized pre-1600 practice of market control and supervision by the political class; and third, the extreme difficulty inherent in counterfeiting cowrie shells (Ogundiran, 2000). The first two factors might have led to the usage of a pan-regional social currency while the third factor might have led to the standardization and convertibility of the social economy.

3.0 Cowrie Shells As Symbolic Messages

Before the advent of Christianity and westernization, 'Aroko' (symbolic message) was a common phenomenon among the Yoruba. 'Aroko' was used to send messages to people far and near especially when secret messages were to be sent through a messenger. Cowrie shells, gun-powder, cap, cutlass, calabash, feather, comb (oya), ring among others were sent to one another in Yorubaland. 'Aroko' was usually used by kings, village heads, warriors, idol worshippers, herbalists and other groups of people used it to send symbolic messages to each other. However, idol worshippers and herbalists used them much more frequently than other class of people (Opadotun, 1986).

If 'aroko' is forwarded to an individual who is well versed in its usage; there is no need for any further explanation because he will know the meaning of the message. For example, if a king packaged some gunpowder which was sent to another king, it means the receiver should prepare for war. The use of 'aroko' was a common practice among the Yoruba before the advent of westernization.

'Aroko' can be likened to handwritten letters we send to people today. As the messenger may know the content of the letter, so also the one conveying the 'aroko' may also know its meaning. Also, it is possible to envelope a letter so that the bearer will not know the content and this also applies to 'aroko'. It can be wrapped in leaves, cloths etc. so that the bearer will not know the content. This may happen especially if the message has to do with the bearer. For example, the message may be that on receiving the message from the bearer, the receiver should kill the bearer immediately. If, however, the sender feels that out of curiosity, the bearer may open it on the way, he may send the person ahead and choose another reliable person to deliver the message. It now becomes the duty of the bearer to inform the receiver that the message has to do with the first person.

In understanding the usage of 'aroko', three things are important:

3.1. The person sending the symbolic message.

This is very important because if the fellow is ignorant of the right material to use and send a wrong 'aroko', it may cause a lot of misunderstanding, disagreement or crisis. Hence, it becomes very important for the fellow to know the right objects to be sent and what they stand for. It is, therefore, very important for one to send verbal messages if one is not versed in its usage.

3.2 The receiver of the symbolic message

The receiver must be able to interpret the message sent to him. If he does not know the meaning, then, he has to look for someone who can interpret it. However, the best thing is for him to be able to interpret it all by himself especially if the message is for him and not for another person's consumption.

3.3 The bearer of the symbolic message.

This is the most important. The bearer must be somebody who is reliable, dependable and trustworthy. He must be someone who will not replace the objects with other things which may cause serious misunderstanding between the sender and the receiver. The message sent through him must be delivered accurately and accordingly or else, the receiver may become angry on receiving the message and if care is not taken, it can lead to war.

Examples of the use of cowrie shells as symbolic messages can be seen below:

If two cowrie shells were tied together facing each other with a black thread, the sender is telling the receiver that he wants to see him. If a lady sends this to her future husband, it means she wants to see him for some reasons and he has to come immediately. If a feather is added it means be expecting me: I am coming. If two cowrie shells are tied back to back, it means i shun you. If another cowrie shell is added in return, it means i kick you off. But if a coal is sent in return, it means, i fail to comprehend the cause of your shunning me (Ajisafe, 1964). Moreover, if cowrie shells and a horse tail are sent to a king by another one, it means he wanted them to come together and act as one for a peaceful co-existence. Again, if eight cowrie shells were sent to someone, it means such an individual is free from danger.

Also, if a king pierced a cowrie shell with a piece of wood and sent it to an individual especially a man, it means such an individual is no longer wanted in the community and he has to leave immediately. The pierced shell means that his actions hindered the peaceful co-existence of the community at large (Opadotun, 1986). If a town sent salt, kolanuts and three cowrie shells to another town, it means that the receiving town wanted to wage war against them before but they had decided to apologize and acknowledge the superiority of the town over them.

4.0 Cowrie Shells as Objects of Divination

Among the Yoruba, there are many gods and goddesses who were worshipped in the past. Some of them were Ogun, Sango, Obatala, Oya, Orisa-Oko, Korikoso, Orisa-nla, Ifa, Yemoja, Esu among others. They believed that they were a means to an end and not an end in themselves. It was their belief that these gods and goddesses were intermediaries between them and God since the latter could not be approached directly because He was too supreme. Some of these gods and goddesses were deified ancestors among the Yoruba. These gods and goddesses were brought into the world for specific reasons part of which was to serve God in the theocratic government of the world. In the Yoruba creation story, we find that Orisa-nla, the arch-divinity, was commissioned to create and equip the solid earth and to mould human beings. Here, he was carrying out an order, and doing the will of God (Awolalu and Dopamu, 2005).

All these gods and goddesses were consulted through divination. In the past, cowrie shells were also used in divination in order to know the minds of the gods and goddesses. In the 17th and 18th centuries, this method of divination was carried to the New World by the Africans during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The art of divination has many variations. Among the Yoruba in the past, there was a group of diviners known as the sixteen elders i.e. *agbagba eerindinlogun*. They used sixteen shells in divination which they put in a white container. Whenever they wanted to consult the gods on behalf of someone, they would pick one of the shells and give it to the fellow. They would then tell the fellow to speak to the shell on his reason(s) for coming. The act of doing this is known as '*onda aniyán*' i.e. *the fellow wants to the minds of the gods*. The diviner would collect the shell from the fellow together with money. He would pick two of the shells and recite some incantations. Then, he would drop the shells. There are two ways in which the shells can fall: either in an open or in a closed position. If the shells were closed, then, it means negative. It means the divination is unfruitful and the fellow should retrace his steps. If one shell is open and the other one is closed, it means it is okay but not very good. If, however, two shells were open, then, it means the fellow could embark on the reason for coming for divination which could be because of a journey, a project, marriage, business transaction etc.

The shells can also be used to divinate before the gods of the twins known in Yoruba as '*orisa ibeji*'. Two effigies which represent twins would be carved and placed at the shrine where the gods of the twins were worshipped. A cowrie each would be placed in front of the two effigies. If, again, someone wanted to embark on a journey he could seek for the guidance of the gods. The two shells would be given to the fellow and he would speak to the shells and ask questions like 'should I embark on this journey or not?' 'Let me know your mind whether to go or not.' The two shells would be returned and the shells would be thrown on the ground by the priest. If the two shells were open, it means, there would be no danger if he embarked on the journey. If the shells were closed, it is negative and if one was open and the other close, it means the journey is okay but not very good.

Moreover, herbalists, Sango and Ifa⁴ priests used ten cowrie shells to divinate whenever they were making enquiries from the gods for 'awure' i.e. prosperity and they would inform the fellow who came to divinate to pick one and speak to it. After this, they would collect the ten shells and recite incantations. After this, they would say '*ki ewa ko wa ire wa fun o, ki ewa ko gbe ire ko o*' i.e. may number ten bring prosperity to you, may it bring prosperity across your path. They believed that what they had said would come to pass (personal communication with Mr Thomas Ogunbiyi, 92 years, in Abeokuta on 6 October, 2010). In order to learn more about the usefulness of cowrie shells among the Yoruba, I had to interview an Ifa priestess who performed the art of divination in my presence. According to her, if three cowrie shells were used in divination together with some kolanuts and all were thrown down, if all of them were open, it means '*aji ogbe*' i.e. there is no way and no more divination. If, however, all the shells and kolanuts were close, it means '*odi*' i.e. the diviner must not go further to divine so that the problem in question would not come upon him.

⁴ Sango and Ifa are two of the traditional gods of the Yoruba.

She further explained that if three cowrie shells and three kolanuts were thrown down, if two of the kolanuts were open and one was closed and the shells were open, it means a visitor is coming (personal communication with Mrs Kehinde Keshinro, 53 years in Ijebu-Igbo on 30 November, 2010).

5.0 Cowrie Shells as Objects of Medicine

If a woman was pregnant and the placenta was too big or not well positioned in the womb even before the advent of westernization, this could be known through divination. What they normally did was to get seven cowrie shells and a calabash. The leaves of bitter leaf (*Vernonia amygdalina*) would be plucked and crushed in order to extract the water therein. Once this had been done, the seven cowries would be placed in the extracted water and the woman would be drinking it. They believed that as the pregnant woman was drinking this, the placenta would be well positioned or it would reduce in size.

Moreover, if a child was born, the placenta would be collected and put in a small pot with a cowrie shell and incantations would follow. They would be mentioning the name of the mother of the child as the incantations were going on. They believed that after finishing the incantations, the placenta could not be used for evil. This is because the Yoruba believed that the placenta of a new born baby could be manipulated to affect the destiny of the child adversely. But once this is done, the placenta would not be manipulated. The earth would be dug and together with the small pot and the shell, the placenta would be buried (personal communication with Mr Thomas Ogunbiyi, 92 years, in Abeokuta on 6 October, 2010). If Ifa worshippers wanted to make a ritual known as '*ebo aiku* or *oyeku*, i.e. 'sacrifice that nullifies sudden death.' They would get a small calabash and put '*eko*' i.e. 'Indian corn meal' in it. They would insert three shells in the corn meal and made them stand upright. The ritual would be taken to a crossroad very early in the morning before 6.00a.m. On getting to the crossroads, incantation would be recited and the name of the fellow's mother would be mentioned as the incantation was going on. They believed once they did this, the fellow would not die (personal communication with Mr Thomas Ogunbiyi, 92 years, in Abeokuta on 6 October, 2010).

In addition, if one ate in the dream, the Yoruba regarded it as an evil sign. Some shells would be grinded, mixed with some herbs and used to incise the neck of the person in question. They believed that witches and other agents of evil fed people in their dreams in order to manipulate their destinies and introduce diseases, problems, etc. into their lives. Once the neck of the person had been incised, the effect would be nullified (personal communication with Mrs Kehinde Keshinro, 53 years in Ijebu-Igbo on 30 November, 2010).

6.0 Other Significance

The shells were also used to decorate a local musical instrument known as '*sekere*' i.e. a calabash drum which was usually ornamented with strings of cowrie shells. Cowries were regarded in the Yoruba belief as the harbinger of good-luck and success and as a result of this, they served as the emblematic-personification of wealth and *Aje*. *Aje* is the patron of commerce but in view of the broad Yoruba conception of the human world as a market place of unending socioeconomic transactions, cowries can also serve as the emblematic representation of human competitive endeavours (Ogundiran, 2000). In the pre-colonial period, the Yoruba had a deity which they called '*Ori*'. It was worshipped by men and women as the god of fate and protector of one's fortune and destiny. They believed you either experience good or ill luck according to the decree of this deity. Because of this, the favour of the deity was sought in order not to receive ill luck from him. The deity was represented with a-41 cowrie string together in form of a crown. This would be placed in a secret place in a large coffer, the lid of which was of the same form and material. This place was called *Ori's* house and the size of it depended on the owner. Some could contain as much as 6 heads (12,000) of cowries, and the manufacturer who worked in leather had to be paid the same amount of cowries as was used in making the image of *Ori*. *Ori* was worshipped by the adults. Once the owner died, the image of *Ori* would be destroyed together with the *Ori's* house and the money would be spent (Johnson, 2001).

Moreover, they were used to decorate masquerade garments and the images of gods and goddesses. They were also used to prepare many charms and amulets which were worn on battle field and in the period of peace, to ward off aggression from forces of darkness. Again, they were usually used as part of architectural designs of houses and they were usually inserted into walls and floors of houses and shrines as charms to ward off evil. They were also used to decorate the hair by priests and priestesses of gods and goddesses in the past. For example, the devotees of *Sango* (god of thunder) used the shells to decorate their hair.

7.0 Conclusion

It is clearly seen from the above that cowrie shells played an important role in the day to day activities of the Yoruba in the pre-colonial period. Apart from being used as a medium of exchange, the Yoruba used them for other purposes in the past. It is, however, important to note that its importance is growing wane today as a result of westernization and civilization. Today, those who still use the shells are the devotees of gods and goddesses. They are no longer playing any significant role in Yorubaland of today. It has been shown in this paper that the shells were not only used as a medium of exchange as believed in some quarters. Cowrie shells are used today to make wrist bands and it is not a common practice to see women using the shells to plait their hair again. There is no doubt that the shells were very important in Yorubaland before the advent of westernization and Christianity.

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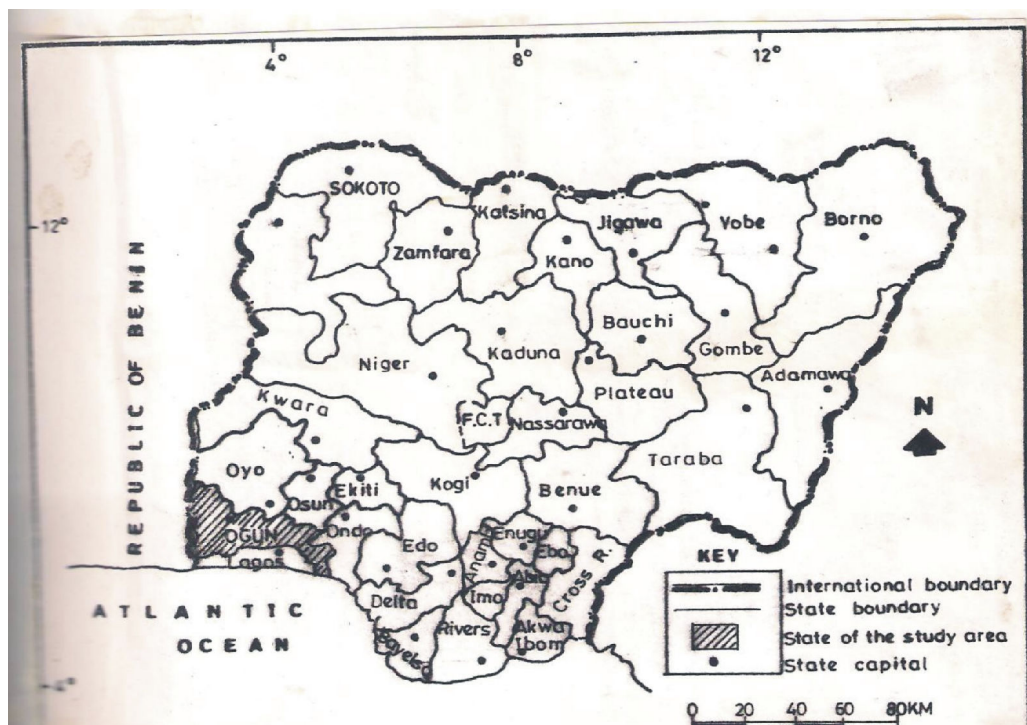


Fig. 1: Map of Nigeria showing the location of Ogun State.

Source: Gbadegesin, 1992

| | MDI TP1 | % | MDI TP2 | % | MD2 TP3 | % | MD2 TP3 EXT. | % | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|-----------|-------|------------|------|------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|
| Shells | | | | | | | | | |
| Cowrie Shells | 1 | 1.16 | 55 | 8.65 | 9 | 2.47 | 18 | 8.22 | 83 |
| Snail shells | 8 | 9.30 | 5 | 0.79 | 10 | 2.75 | 9 | 4.11 | 32 |
| Periwinkle shell | 1 | -1.16 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| Mussel shell | 1 | 1.16 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| Smoking Pipe | | | | | | | | | |
| Complete Pipe | | | | | 1 | 0.27 | | | 1 |
| Bowl | 1 | 1.16 | 2 | 0.31 | 5 | 1.37 | 3 | 1.37 | 11 |
| Stem | -- | -- | 2 | 0.31 | 3 | 0.82 | -- | -- | 5 |
| Fragments | -- | -- | 3 | 0.47 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3 |
| Lithic Objects | | | | | | | | | |
| Burnt stones | 3 | 3.49 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 3 |
| Hammer stone | 8 | 9.30 | -- | -- | 1 | 0.27 | -- | -- | 9 |
| Upper grinding stone | 1 | 1.16 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| Bones | 56 | 65.1 | 54.0 | 84.9 | 253 | 69.5 | 163 | 74.4 | 1012 |
| Animal teeth | 4 | 4.65 | 11 | 1.73 | 3 | 0.82 | 9 | 4.11 | 27 |
| Burnt kernel | -- | -- | 1 | 0.16 | 28 | 7.69 | 1 | 0.46 | 30 |
| Baked clay | -- | -- | 4 | 0.63 | 46 | 12.6 | 10 | 4.57 | 60 |
| Iron Slag | -- | -- | 6 | 0.94 | 1 | 0.27 | 2 | 0.91 | 9 |
| Charcoal | X | -- | X | -- | X | -- | X | -- | X |
| Metal Objects | 1 | 1.16 | 7 | 1.10 | 5 | 1.37 | 4 | 1.83 | 17 |
| Coin | 1 | 1.16 | | | | | | | 1 |
| TOTAL | 86 | | 636 | | 365 | | 219 | | 1,306 |

Table 1: Non-Pottery Finds from the Excavated Units
Source: (Odunbaku, 2007)

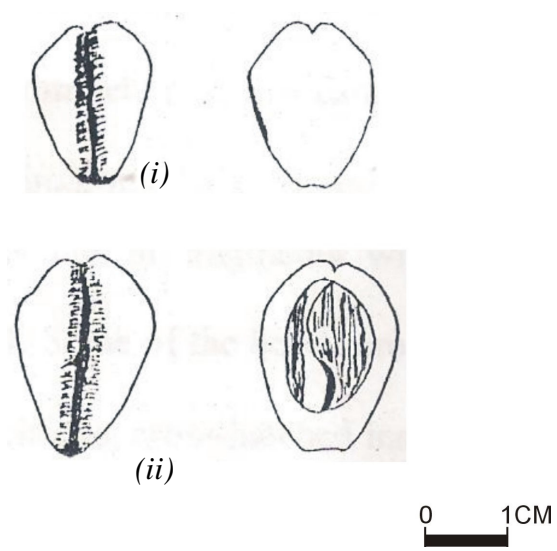


Fig. 3(i) *Cypraea moneta*
(ii) *Cypraea annulus*