

# Journal of African Archaeology Monograph Series

VOLUME 13

*Series Editors*

Peter Breunig  
Sonja Magnavita  
Katharina Neumann

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/jaam](http://brill.com/jaam)

# Two Thousand Years in Dendi, Northern Benin

*Archaeology, History and Memory*

*By*

Anne Haour



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



Arts & Humanities  
Research Council



UNIVERSITY  
OF LONDON



**D n p c-Mali**

DIRECTION NATIONALE DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL

Cover illustration: The Niger River near Tin Tin Kanza. Photo by Nicolas Nikis, January 2013.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>  
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: [brill.com/brill-typeface](http://brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 2468-8266

ISBN 978-90-04-35584-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-37669-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

## Contents

Acknowledgments	XI
List of Figures and Tables	XIII
List of Maps	XVI

### PART 1

- 1 Introduction 3  
*Anne Haour*
- 2 Crossing Archaeology and Oral Tradition: Approaching Dendi History from Sites of Memory 6  
*Olivier Gosselain and Lucie Smolderen*
- 3 Palaeoenvironmental Data on Dendi, in the Last 3000 Years 20  
*Anne Haour*
- 4 The Archaeology of the Eastern Niger Valley 23  
*Anne Haour and Didier N'Dah*
- 5 An Archaeological and Ethnographic Approach to a Site and Its Region 26  
*Anne Haour, Olivier Gosselain, Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Sam Nixon and Didier N'Dah*

### PART 2

- 6 Landforms, Hydrography, and Vegetation 31  
*Raoul Laïbi, Didier N'Dah and Paul Adderley*
- 7 The Archaeological Landscape: Survey and Settlement 41  
*Nadia Khalaf, Anne Haour, Didier N'Dah and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*

### PART 3

- 8 Ethnographic Methods 53  
*Olivier Gosselain, Lucie Smolderen, Victor Brunfaut, Jean-François Pinet and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- 9 Architecture and Settlements Today 58  
*Victor Brunfaut and Jean-François Pinet*
- 10 Textile Production in Dendi: An Ethnographic and Historical Study of a Chain of Production 73  
*Lucie Smolderen*

## PART 4

- 11 Excavation Strategies and Methods: Approaching an Archaeological Terra Incognita 85  
*Anne Haour, Didier N'Dah, Carlos Magnavita, Sam Nixon and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- 12 The Mound of *Tombo*: Introduction to the Site 92  
*Didier N'Dah, Carlos Magnavita, Sam Nixon, Anne Haour and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- 13 The Geophysical Prospection of Birnin Lafiya 96  
*Carlos Magnavita*
- 14 The Pavements at *Tombo* Birnin Lafiya 103  
*Didier N'Dah and Barpougouni Mardjoua*
- 15 Pavements and Other Architectural Features 112  
*Sam Nixon*
- 16 Stratigraphy and Dating: Excavation Units and Associated Dates 132  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Louis Champion, Nicolas Nikis and Anne Haour*
- 17 The Pottery 139  
*Anne Haour, Sam Nixon, Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Nicolas Nikis, and David K. Kay*
- 18 Ironworking 174  
*Caroline Robion-Brunner*
- 19 Metal Objects and Slag from Birnin Lafiya 193  
*Anne Filippini*
- 20 Beads and Pendants 199  
*Sonja Magnavita*
- 21 The Cowrie Shells 205  
*Annalisa Christie and Anne Haour*
- 22 Figurines and Terracotta Objects 211  
*Romuald Tchibozo*
- 23 Archaeobotanical Remains 216  
*Louis Champion and Dorian Fuller*
- 24 Wood Charcoal 234  
*Barbara Eichhorn*

25 Animal Remains 240  
*Veerle Linseele and Wim Wouters*

26 Human Skeletal Material 254  
*Ronika Power and Anne Haour*

**PART 5**

27 Birnin Lafiya within West African Archaeology 283  
*Anne Haour and Sam Nixon*

28 The Site within West African Political and Craft History 294  
*Olivier Gosselain and Anne Haour*

**PART 6**

*Catalogue of Trench Descriptions*

A Pekinga (PEK) 305  
*Abubakar Sule Sani*

B Toutokayeri (TTO-14-SI, II & III) 314  
*Nicolas Nikis, Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Anne Haour*

C Kompa Dune (KOD) 323  
*Anne Haour and Nadia Khalaf*

D Torouwey (TRO/14/SI) 331  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Olivier Gosselain*

E Kompanti (PTI/14/SI) 334  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Nicolas Nikis*

F Tin Tin Kanza 337  
*Louis Champion, Nadia Khalaf and Anne Haour*

G Tin Tin Kanza, TTK-13-SI 338  
*Louis Champion and Anne Haour*

H Tin Tin Kanza (TTK/13/SII) 353  
*Nadia Khalaf and Anne Haour*

I Boyeri (BOY/14/SI & II) 357  
*Nicolas Nikis, Olivier Gosselain and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*

J Bogo Bogo (GOG/14/SI) 363  
*Nicolas Nikis and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*

- K Kwara Zeno (KAZ/14/SI & II) 370  
*Pascal Gnankpo Amoussou, Inès Corolin Amoussou, Nicolas Nikis, Olivier Gosselain and Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- L Gorouberi (GOB/13/SII) 376  
*Caroline Robion-Brunner*
- M Gorouberi (GOB/14/SI & II) 387  
*Nicolas Nikis, Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Anne Filippini and Anne Haour*
- N Karimama (KAR/14/SI) 392  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Nicolas Nikis*
- O Kusulabu (KUS/14/SI & SII) 396  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Nicolas Nikis and Mardjoui Barpougouni*
- P Kozungu (KOZ/14/SI) 402  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Nicolas Nikis*
- Q Tondo Windi (TOW-14-SI) 413  
*Louis Champion and Anne Haour*
- R Bokobu (BOK) 418  
*Frank N'Po Takpara and Anne Haour*
- S Blaf SI 424  
*Anne Haour*
- T Birnin Lafiya (S4) 431  
*Anne Haour and Barpougouni Mardjoui*
- U Birnin Lafiya (LAF-12-S5) 447  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Nicolas Nikis, Louis Champion and Anne Haour*
- V Birnin Lafiya (S8) 457  
*Richard Lee*
- W Birnin Lafiya (LAF/13/SIX) 465  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Nicolas Nikis*
- X Birnin Lafiya Trench 3/10 484  
*Sam Nixon*
- Y Birnin Lafiya (S11) 497  
*Richard Lee*
- Z Birnin Lafiya S13 520  
*Jennifer Wexler and Nestor Labiyi*

- AA Kargui (KGI-14-SI) 528  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Anne Fillipini*
- AB Alibori I 534  
*Didier N'Dah*
- AC Alibori Site 2 538  
*Didier N'Dah*
- AD Molla (MOL/14/SI) 543  
*Carolin Amoussou, Nicolas Nikis, Alexandre Livingstone Smith and Anne Haour*
- AE Tomboutou (TOU/14/SI) 549  
*Pascal Amoussou, Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Nicolas Nikis and Anne Haour*
- AF Kantoro (KRO-14) 554  
*Louis Champion*
- AG KRO-14-SI 555  
*Louis Champion and Anne Filippini*
- AH KRO-14-SII 570  
*Louis Champion and Anne Haour*
- AI Garou (GAR-14-SI) 578  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- AJ Guéné zeno (ENE-14/SI & II) 582  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- AK Guene (GUE-14-SI) 585  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- AL Kouboukourou (ROU/14/SI) 588  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith*
- AM Madekali (KLI/14/SI, RC1) 593  
*Alexandre Livingstone Smith, Louis Champion, Nicolas Nikis and Anne Haour*
- Pottery Plates 604
- Small Finds, Crossroads of Empires 642
- Radiocarbon Dates 700
- Gazetteer 714
- References 759

## Birnin Lafiya (S13)

*Jennifer Wexler and Nestor Labiyi*

### 1 Location

Trench 13 was a 2 × 2 m excavation unit located on the site of Birnin Lafiya. It was situated on a slope at the presumed western edge of the site, midway down from the high point of a mound and below a distinctive red baobab tree. Archaeological material was visible as a high-density scatter of pottery in the area surrounding the unit. No other obvious surface features were present and the unit's location was chosen in order to examine the deposition history near the as yet untested western edge of the mound.

### 2 Discovery

Trench 13 was part of the systematic investigation of the large habitation mound of Birnin Lafiya.

### 3 Destruction Risks

The site is ploughed regularly by a farmer from Birni Lafia and is likely subject to erosion. Mitigation measures are not urgent.

### 4 Excavation

The trench was 2 × 2 m and was excavated between 3 January and 5 February 2014. The excavation was supervised by Jennifer Wexler and (for part of the work) Nestor Labiyi, with Samson Tokannou assisting for the first period of excavation and Alidou Abdou Dramane assisting during the second part, as well as participation from local workmen. Excavation proceeded in spits of 10 cm starting at the ground surface, which was at 40 cm BD. Within each spit, archaeological contexts (i.e. distinct units) were separated, and sieved and bagged separately. All material was sieved down to 5 mm, except for the first excavated level (Level 1, 40–50 cm), removed without sieving as it appeared to have been disturbed by agricultural activities. The trench was ended 390 cm BD upon reaching sterile soil.

### 5 Layers and Contexts

Level 1 was a hard, crumbly brown loamy soil with mixed gravels and potsherds, and grey sandy soil appearing in the southeast corner at base of the level. A bead (SF 2014-12) was recovered in this level, which was otherwise not sieved; the bead, with a red exterior and black interior, was initially thought to be plastic or ceramic but was later identified as possible ore or reworked slag (Chloë Duckworth, University of Leicester, pers. comm).

Level 2 featured a brown, hard, clayey soil (Context 2) with small gravels and mixed sherds found throughout most of the trench, and a loose, grey, sandy and ashy soil occurring in the southern portion of the trench (Context 3), concentrated in the southeast and southwest corners and suggesting the presence of a pit.

Level 3 was split into five contexts. Context 2 continued to be present throughout most of the trench, but four new contexts were also noted: Context 4, a pit with grey sandy soil in the southeast corner; Context 6, a pit with grey sandy soil in the southwest corner; Context 5, a mixed sandy area in southern portion of trench between Contexts 4 and 6, and finally Context 7, a small sandy pit in the northeast quadrant of the trench.

Level 4 was a brown, compact silty soil with mixed gravels and pottery, and it occurred throughout most of the trench (Context 8), replacing the hard clayey soil (Context 2), while the sandy pit continued in southeast corner (Context 4). Contexts 5–7 disappeared.

Level 5 saw a brown, compact silty soil with mixed gravels and pottery occurring throughout most of the trench (Context 9), with the pit (Context 4) shrinking in the southeast corner, and two small sandy pits (Contexts 10–11) appearing in the southeast quadrant of the trench.

In Level 6 a brown, compact silty soil with mixed gravels and pottery was found throughout the entire trench (Context 12).

Level 7 saw the continuation of Context 12 with the addition of some slag and an increase in small lateritic nodules in the soil.

Level 8 saw the continuation of same context.

Within Level 9, at 130 cm BD, a step of 50 cm width was cut along the northern portion of the trench to



FIGURE X.1 Location of Trench 13 at Birnin Lafiya, dominated by a large baobab

reduce overburden and ease access. The soil continued to be of the same type found in the previous levels but was renamed Context 13 to reflect the changed dimension of the trench.

Level 10 saw the continuation of Context 13.

Level 11 saw the continuation of Context 13, with slightly more clay inclusions.

Level 12 featured the beginning of another pit structure with grey, sandy soil in the southeast side of the trench (Context 14), with compact yellowish-brown silty soil found in the rest of the trench (Context 15). A clay line was visible at the interface of Contexts 14 and 15, probably the edge of the pit.

Level 13 saw the continuation of Contexts 14 and 15, with the pit structure now concentrated in the southeast corner again.

Level 14 saw further continuation of Contexts 14 and 15, although Context 14 was shrinking to concentrate in the southeast corner. A natural crack in the soil appeared, running across the trench northeast/southwest, and remained a feature of the trench to a depth of 260cm BD.

Level 15 saw Context 14 continue to shrink, while compacted yellowish/reddish-brown silt (Context 15) occurred

throughout rest of trench with small gravels, ferrous rocks, and widespread charcoal throughout.

Level 16 marked the end of Context 14, indicating the bottom of this pit, and the continued presence of Context 15.

Level 17 featured sandy lenses continuing in the southeast corner (Context 16). Context 15 also continued, and a second step was cut down at 160cm into the existing step. Part of a large animal mandible, likely cattle (Linseele & Wouters, this volume), was found along the northwest wall of the trench next to the step, which was sectioned lengthwise (west/east) in order to trace the extent of the bones, taking out intervening soil down to around 200cm. From this level (200cm), this section was sieved as a separate context (Context 15a) from Context 15 (the rest of the trench). In Context 15a, instead of following the standard 10 cm levels, we hand-troweled and hand-picked from c. 205–215cm searching for any notable faunal remains, but it became clear that while there were many mixed bones found throughout, no *in situ* skeleton was present. At 210cm the mandible was removed largely as a complete specimen and bagged separately. It is most likely that Context 15a represented the remains of another pit; such a feature was suggested in the wall profile. The soil between

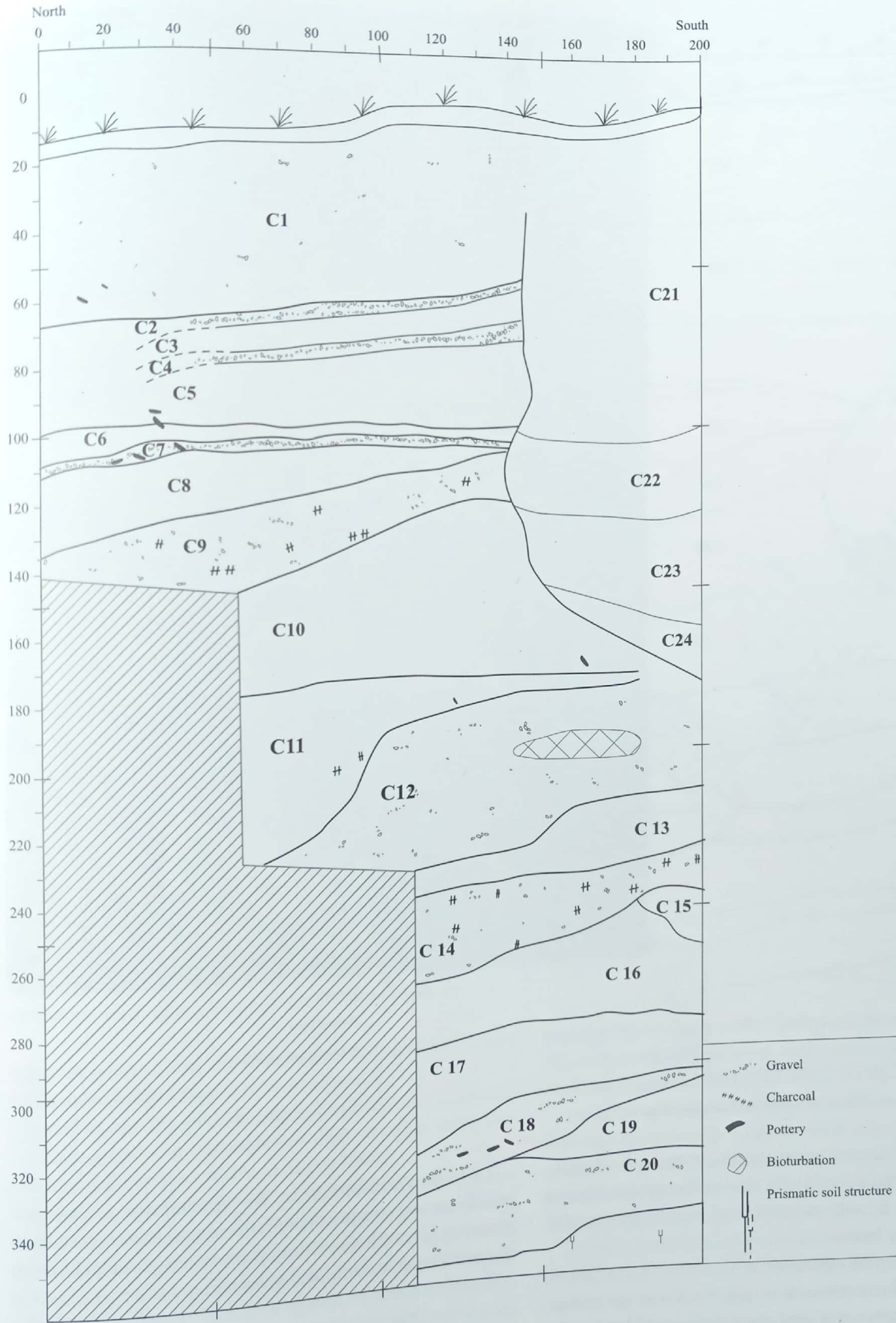


FIGURE X.2 East section at completion

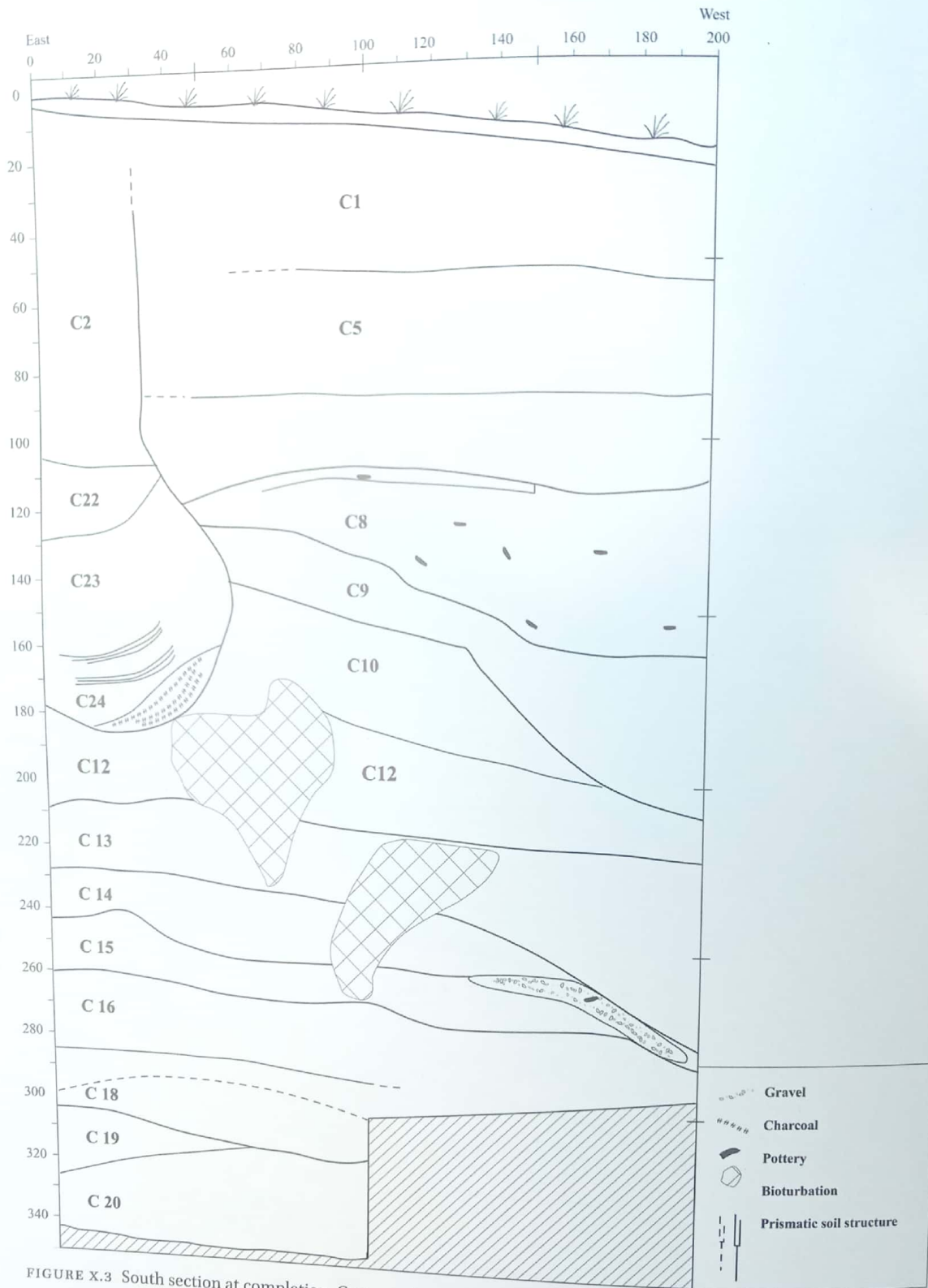


FIGURE X.3 South section at completion. Compare Figure X.4.

200 and 220cm BD in Context 15a and in the area directly south featured chunks of burnt clay and contained burnt wood, charcoal, laterite pebbles, and burnt pottery, and some ashy/sandy lenses.

Level 18 saw the continuation of Contexts 15, 15a and 16.

Level 19 saw the continuation of Contexts 15, 15a and 16, with more compact soil and numerous pebbles in the northwest section of the trench.

Level 20 was marked by the appearance of dark yellowish-brown compact clayey silt across the entire trench (Context 17), with a continued presence of the pebbles in the northwest section of the trench.

Level 21 saw the continuation of Context 17, with increasing pebbles in the northwest. For safety reasons the size of the trench was decreased to 1 x 2 m, and excavation continued in the southern portion in 10 cm spits, allow-

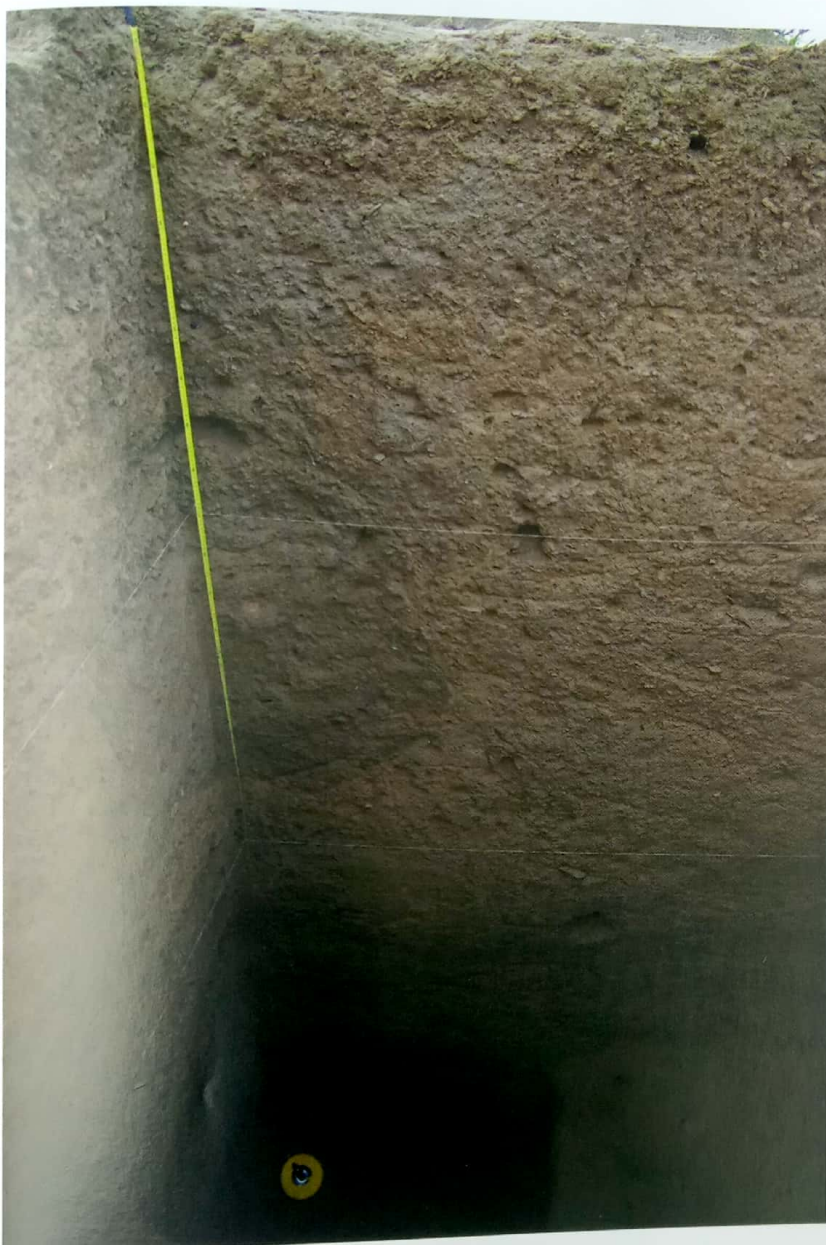


FIGURE X.4 South section at completion. Compare Figure X.3.

ing us to section both the northwest and southeast areas, while the northern half (1 m) was closed.

Level 22 saw the continuation of Context 17.

Level 23 saw the continuation of Context 17, with visible new soil layers at the base of the level.

Level 24 revealed a pit structure (Context 19) of approximately 73 × 105 cm, which appeared in the southeast corner with grey, very compacted, ashy soil, apparently bordered by baked earth fragments. The pit continued to a depth of c. 360cm. The rest of the trench (Context 18) had dark brown, very compact, clayey silt with lots of pottery, bone, large pieces of charcoal, and some small finds.

Level 25 saw the continuation of Contexts 18 and 19. Context 19, the pit structure, encompassed the entire south-

east quarter of the trench. It was partially outlined, as indicated in the previous level, and contained many daub or piled wall mud debris.

Level 26 saw the continuation of Contexts 18 and 19. Soil was increasingly compact with many pebbles, especially in the northwest corner. Context 19 continued to expand to the entirety of the southeast quadrant of the trench, and a large partial pot was found at 300cm BD.

Level 27 featured the continuation of Contexts 18 and 19, with the soil becoming increasingly ashy in the southeast corner. At the base of this level at the northern edge of the two contexts, a dark brown ashy stain of c. 82cm in width appeared. This feature, which was sampled for flotation and yielded millet, rice and sorghum (Champion & Fuller,

this volume, Table 23.2), had a depth of c. 10cm and was very ashy. At the base of this ashy deposit there was some harder soil with baked clay and charcoal, suggesting the possible remains of a hearth or another pit. Remains of another possible small pit appeared in the northwest corner of Context 18, with part of a broken pot.

From Level 28 the trench was reduced to 1 × 1 m focusing on the southeast corner in order to trace the end of the Context 19 pit feature. Excavation continued in 20cm spits for the sake of speed, given the depth of the trench. This was a quite a rich and very ashy level and we found an almost complete animal figurine, and at least eight other terracotta objects (SF 2014-19 and 2014-20b to -27). The level also contained a quantity of daub fragments, slag, pottery, and bone. All in all, an increase was noted in the number of small finds recovered towards the bottom of the pit, but whether this is a reflection of post-depositional factors, or represents phases of deposition, remains uncertain.

Level 29 was marked by the continuation of the rich deposit with very ashy, loose soil, and finds include some very large sherds. We also found a worked bone (SF 2014-06b) near some large sherds, a possible ceramic figurine fragment (SF 2014-24), and bone throughout.

Level 30 continued these artefact-rich layers with a large amount of pottery, bone (including large teeth), daub fragments, charcoal, and various small finds, including a stone bead (SF 2014-06), a polished tooth, two partial ceramic figurines, and a miniature pot (SF 2014-25 to -27). The soil became increasingly less sandy/ashy, and at the base of this level we came upon a lighter brown, compact, clayey soil type.

From the beginning of Level 31 it was clear that sterile soil had been reached. The soil became very heavy, with chunks of grey and yellow-brown clay and large, angular rocks but nothing to indicate an archaeological layer. These levels were excavated in two 10 cm spits (370–380cm and 380–390cm), in order to confirm that we had indeed reached sterile levels. A few small sherds and one small piece of bone were recovered in these levels, probably in relation to the transition between the soils and movement of objects through animal burrowing rather than any archaeological deposition. The trench was closed at 390cm BD.

## 6 Stratigraphy

The first excavated level was started 40cm below the datum point. This first level was not sieved. The soil at this level was fairly uniform with mixed sherds and pebbles.

A grey, sandy, artifact-rich soil began to appear at 50cm depth in the southeast corner and eventually extended across part of the southern portion of the trench.

As we continued to excavate through the next two levels (50–60cm and 60–70cm), this area of grey sandy soil centered in the southeast (Context 4) and southwest (Context 6) corners of the trench. Particularly in Context 4, the soil became very soft and ashy, and contained substantial quantities of burnt bone, shell, iron and ceramics, indicative of a sizeable pit. Context 6 appeared to be a smaller, shallow pit and it disappeared by around 70cm BD. Context 4 however continued (albeit as a gradually shrinking feature) in the southeast corner until around 90cm BD, thus extending over a depth of some 40cm.

Between c. 90–150cm BD a fairly consistent soil was encountered across the trench (Context 12), with compact, hard soil with gravels, abundant sherds, and slag/iron pieces. At 130cm, a step 50 cm wide was cut along the northern quarter of the trench.

At 150–160cm, another pit feature (Context 14) appeared in the southeast portion of the trench. The pit was composed of grey, sandy/ashy soil which is clearly visible in the wall profile. By 170cm, this feature seemed concentrated in the southeast corner, in a similar position to the earlier Context 4, while the remainder of the trench featured a fairly uniform compact yellowish-brown silty soil. A large amount of pottery and charcoal was found both inside and outside the pit feature. Contexts 4 and 14 may represent two phases of filling up of the same deep pit going to c. 260cm.

By 190cm, the pit (Context 14) had shrunk to only a small area directly in the southeast corner, and it came to an end by 200cm with a clear bottom visible in the wall profile. Sandy lenses continued in this part of the trench (Context 16), excavated separately in order to assess their relationship to the overlying pit structure. The rest of the trench continued to feature consistent compacted yellowish-brown silt. The depth of the trench made it necessary to cut a second step at 160cm BD into the existing step along the northern portion of the trench.

At 200cm part of a large animal mandible was encountered along the northwest wall of the trench; a new context was defined (15a) and excavation proceeded slowly with the hope of recovering an *in situ* skeleton. This did not happen, but excavation suggests that Context 15a represented a pit, as is visible in the wall profile. The quantities of fired earth/baked clay, charcoal, laterite pebbles, burnt pottery, and ashy/sandy lenses recovered in the soil between 200 and 220cm BD in Context 15a and in the area directly south of it, together with chunks of burnt clay and

daub fragments containing burnt wood, suggest a specific depositional feature, probably a pit, as became clear subsequently on inspection of the wall profiles.

By around 230–240 cm, the soil throughout the trench became more uniform again with very compact clayey silt (Context 17), although more compacted in the northwest corner and more sandy in the southeast. At 250cm, the trench was sectioned further and excavation continued only in the southern 1 × 2 m portion of the trench. Large amounts of bone, pottery, and charcoal continued to be found throughout the trench.

At 270cm, another pit structure (Context 19) appeared in the southeast corner. Unlike the previous pit occurring at a higher level in this general location, Context 19 appeared to be constituted of compacted ashy clay, rather than loose sandy ash, and seemed outlined by tan baked clay or daub. This pit structure continued to broaden out to c. 105 × 73 cm, encompassing the entire southeast quarter of the trench. Although Context 19 is situated in the same general area as Contexts 4 and 14, which are also pit features, these seem quite distinct. This relationship was very clear in the southeast corner wall profile. There was a very obvious gap of c. 20 cm between the bottom of the “upper pit” (Contexts 4 and 14) and the “lower pit” (Context 19). This boundary suggests that these are two separate pits, particularly since the depositional composition and histories seem quite different. The pit continued to a depth of c. 360cm.

At 310cm, a dark brown ashy stain appeared at the boundary between Contexts 18 and 19 and was sampled for flotation. At the base of this deposit there was some baked clay and charcoal with another possible small pit in the northwest corner of Context 18.

After 310 cm, the trench was reduced to 1 × 1 m in the southeast corner, and excavation proceeded in 20 cm spits, with a view to determining the base of the trench.

This level featured ample finds of artefacts. We encountered artefact-rich deposits until 370cm BD, and the pit appeared to continue. We then came upon a lighter brown, clayey compact soil type, suggesting that we were reaching sterile levels. These were investigated by two further spits and no significant artefacts or indications of archaeological deposits were found.

## 7 Interpretation and Cultural Attribution

The pottery from this trench is under analysis in Benin and thus data are not provided here.

Trench 13 is a deep trench with a series of depositional episodes. Rather than representing specific occupational layers, the trench appears to contain a sequence of settlement debris and pits seemingly typical to its downslope position at the edge of the main habitation areas of Birnin Lafiya. Despite its lack of clear occupation structures or layers, the excavated sequence recorded in this trench plays a key role in understanding the overall stratigraphy, morphology and site formation, and artefact sequences at the site. The key features are the series of repeating pits cutting in and out of the southeast corner, and to a lesser extent in the middle section along the western wall. Notable finds include numerous modeled clay objects (Tchibozo, this volume) as well as two marine bivalves (Linseele & Wouters, this volume).

Radiocarbon dates indicate that this trench has a date range of cal AD 600–900. The three samples submitted were chosen from Contexts 14 and 19 with the hope of better dating the earliest phase of Birnin Lafiya (0–500 AD), but they turned out slightly more recent. Priorities for future dating will be the bottom of Context 19, in order to clarify the depositional history at the base of the trench.

## 8 Radiocarbon Dates

Beta-411139	1210	30	BLAF-S13-234. Context 14, 150–160. To date large pit (Context 14, c. 150–190cm depth) in SE corner.	Phase 3
Beta-411140	1320	30	BLAF-S13-15. Context 14, 180–190. From base of grey, ashy, sandy pit (Context 14) in SE corner of the trench.	Phase 3
Beta-411141	1300	30	BLAF-S13-232. Context 19, 280–290. Sample taken from daub-lined pit in SE corner. Pit has compacted grey, ashy soil.	Phase 3