Acta Archaeologica vol. 69, 1998, pp. 209–227
Printed in Denmark · All rights reserved

ACTA ARCHAEOLOGICA
ISSN 0065-001X

SUBTERRANEAN STRUCTURES
Archaeology in Bénin, West Africa

by

KLAVS RANDSBORG – WITH OBARÈ BAGODO, THOMAS ROLAND, RICHARD SOGAN, GÉRARD TOGNIMASSOU, AND SOUAYIBOU VARISSOU

Ghézo was a forest in which wild beasts dwelt securely,
And now Ghézo has left to his son that forest.

Dahomey court recital, as quoted from Burton [1966]/1864 (King Ghézo, 1818–58, son King Glélé 1858–89)

In the Spring of 1998 several man-made "caves" were found in tilled fields during major road-work at Abomey and Bohicon in Southern Bénin, West Africa sponsored by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/DANIDA represented in Bénin by the chargé d'affaires Mogens Pedersen, director of the Danish Embassy (Fig. 1). The cave-site is at Agonguinto on the north-eastern outskirts of Bohicon town, some one hundred kilometres from the coast of the South Atlantic, in a hot and humid, densely populated higher plains savannah landscape of tilled fields and fallows, with some trees, even patches of tall rainforest, and many scattered habitations.

An explorative Béninise-Danish Archaeological mission (now *BDArch*) was undertaken in November 1998 by the above authors (with assistants and not least local work-men), respectively of the Bénin Ministry of Culture, the department of monuments (R. Sogan), the University of Copenhagen (K. Randsborg & T. Roland), the University of Bénin (O. Bagodo), and PREMA, Prevention in the Museums of Africa, Bénin (G. Tognimassou & S. Varissou). Also Daavo Zéphirin with Dorothé Mīzehoun (both of the Palace Museum, Abomey) participated in the work.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION

The activities during the BDArch mission comprised the following areas:

(1) Visits to, recording of, and archaeological investigations/excavations at and in the, probably, 65–70+ "caves" of the area around the first found one (Agonguinto, near Bohicon). The tube-shaped vertical entrances to the caves are only 1+m in diameter and 1+m long (Fig. 2); the oval subterranean main- and side-chambers (respectively, e.g., $5^1/_2 \times 5 \times 3$ m and $5 \times 3 \times 3$ m) are spacious, and often in two levels, or 7+m deep in all. Interconnecting galleries are said to exist.

(2) Visits to and recording of several large groups of similar caves in other locations at Bohicon, at Abomey, and at [Gunu Duji] near Dogbo (Southwestern Bénin).

(3) Excursions to the former great slave ports of Little Popo (Anecho, Togo), Grand Popo, and, in particular Ouidah (Whydah); Ouidah includes former European fortified emporia, including a claimed Danish installation (cf. below; and, Clochard 1993; Sinou 1995).

(4) Excursions to the royal centres/"palaces" of the state capitals of Abomey, Savi, Porto Novo, etc. (cf. Fig. 11; and, Sinou & Oloudé 1988; Souza Ayari 1998).

(5) Excursions to other sites of archaeological and related interests.

(6) Visits to Museums (Anecho (in Togo), Abomey, Ouidah, Grand Popo; cf. Ardouin 1997).

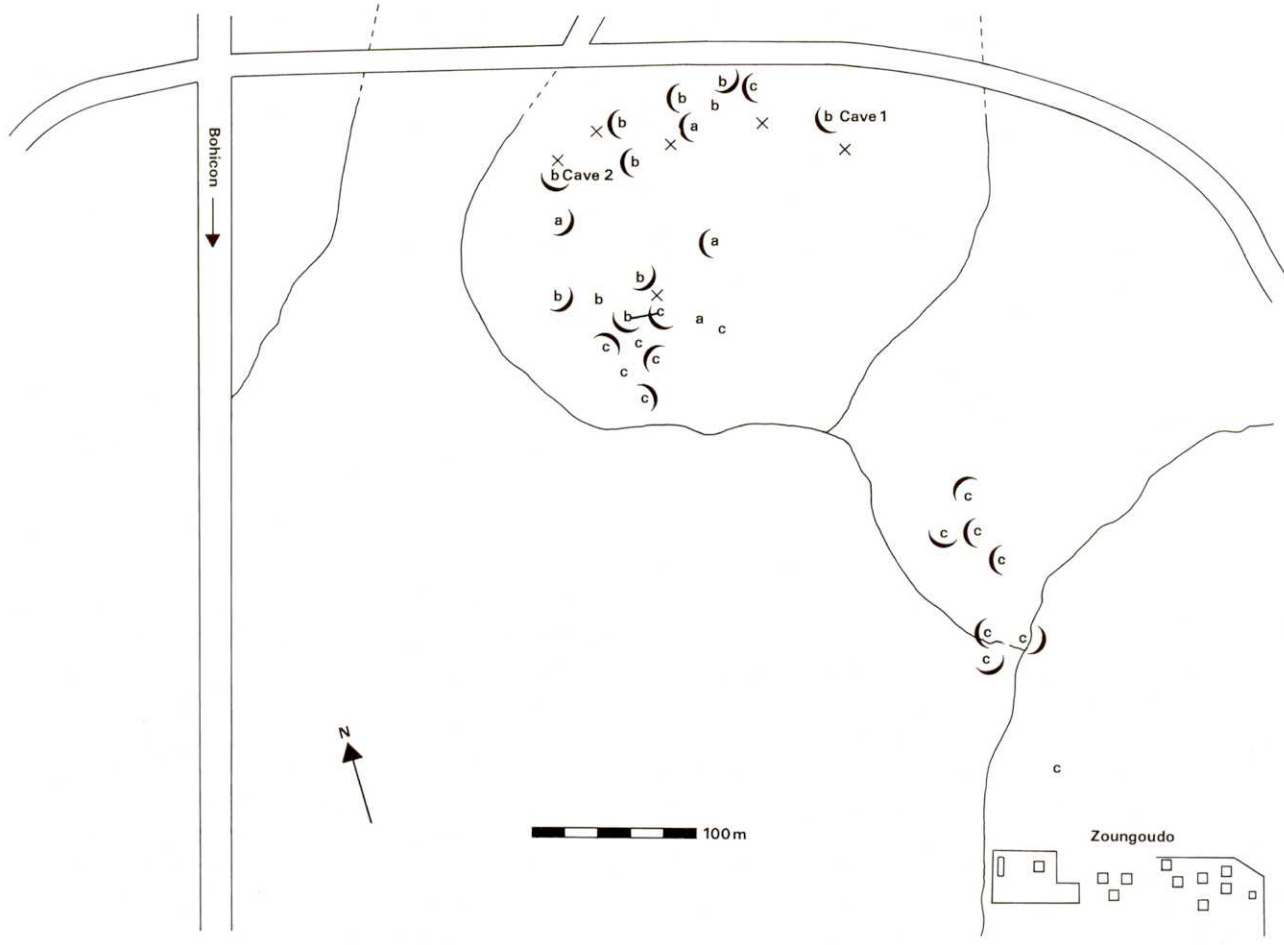

Fig. 1. Plan of the "cave-field" at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin. Large areas were *not* visible at the time of the BDArch mission in November 1998 due to tall standing vegetation. – Entrances to subterranean caves: **a**=by dirt closed entrance to cave (roof of cave preserved); **b**=collapsed entrance to cave (roof of the cave, with the entrance, collapsed); **c**=fully preserved entrance to (and roof) of cave; (=hillock (dirt from cave, in crescent shape to the one side of entrance); ×=Baobab tree. – Major roads and various tracks (mainly foot-paths) are shown, and a hamlet (Zoungoudo). – Caves 1 and 2 (cf. below), and a section through a hillock are also indicated (cf. Fig. 7). – Original mapping and sketch-drawing D. Mīzehoun; the present chart by P. Foss.

(7) Visits to institutions of archaeological interest, including PREMA and the University of Bénin.

(8) Interviews with scholars and others.

(9) Various cultural visits and, in particular, ethno-archaeological experiences.

A particular focus was the ancient and traditional kingdoms, including Dahomey, and the European coastal establishments of pre-modern centuries, but highly interesting ethno-archaeological, social anthropological, and, recent historical perspectives were also taken in by, in particular, the foreign – Danish – members of the mission. The latter in particular appreciated the traditional rural settlement, complete with shrines, village life, traditional boats, demi-colonial townscapes, etc. (General and specific mostly scientific references, also for the following, e.g., Adandé 1962; Agbanon II 1991; Ajayi 1974; Ajayi & Espie 1965; Akinjogbin 1976; Alpern 1998; Barbot [1992]/1732; Bosman 1704/1705 (1721) [1967]; Brooks 1998; Burton [1966]/1864; Connah 1987, 1998; Cornevin 1962; Dalzel 1793; van Dantzig 1980; DeCorse 1998; Fage 1978; Feldbæk & Justesen 1980; Fletcher 1998; Greene 1996; Herskovits 1938; Jones 1985; Kelly 1995, 1997; Law 1991, 1995; Nørregaard

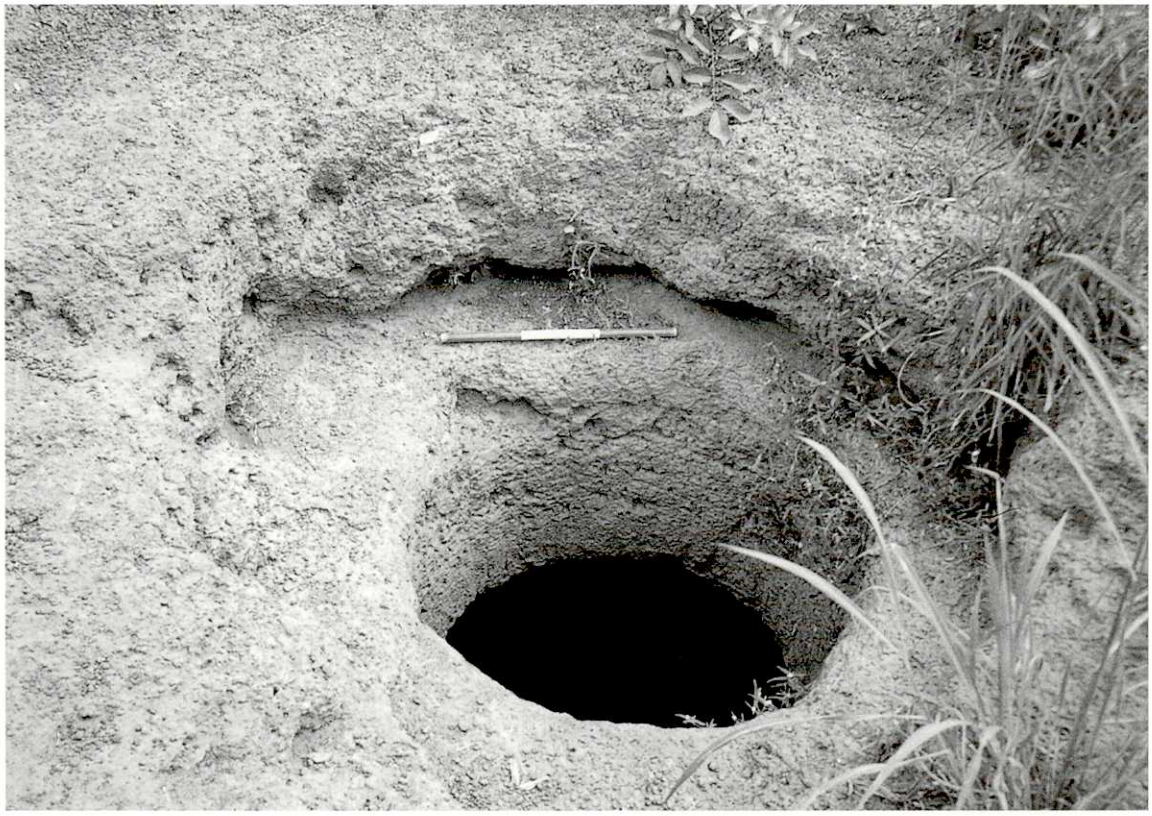

Fig. 2. Undisturbed entrance to cave at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin. – Photo main author.

1966; Raunkiær 1917 (Isert); Reader 1998; Römer 1756, 1760; Sinou 1995; Thomas 1998; Thornton 1999; Trillo & Hudgens 1995; Woodhouse 1998.)

The kingdom of Dahomey is seemingly a very late feature (post-1600 AD) of the overall oral, written (for the earlier periods, mainly European sources), and argued history of Southern Bénin. A material/archaeological history is hardly established; it mainly figures in the late royal palaces, in the equally late royal capitals of Abomey, Allada (almost no traces), Savi, etc., and in Whydah and other ports on the South Atlantic coast, as well as in contemporary, or near contemporary, culture. A rough outline of the history of the Dahomey kingdom and other features is outlined in Appendix I.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD-WORK

A full, though partial, documentation of the "caves" near the above new/improved road at Bohicon, all dug into laterite clay with a high or very high iron content, was attempted. This took the form of six (or more) steps of investigation.

(1) Clearing/excavation of the first found cave (on the road, Cave 1) and drawing of the remains in terms of all types of archaeological properties (one water-filled major side-chamber, next to identical with the other one, was not fully cleared) (Figs. 4 & 8–9).

(2) Clearing and excavation of parts of the infill of the main chamber and all of the infill of a wide section of one of the lower level side-chambers of an unexcavated cave (Cave 2, near the above Cave 1) (Figs. 3 & 5). Seemingly, all dirt removed from Cave 2 was secondary and in part deposited in water, to judge from observations of the earthen layers in the walls of the section of the side-chamber. On the very bottom of the excavated side-chamber, incidentally smaller than the ones of Cave 1, a large fragment of a hand-made unornamented bowl was found (Fig. 6).

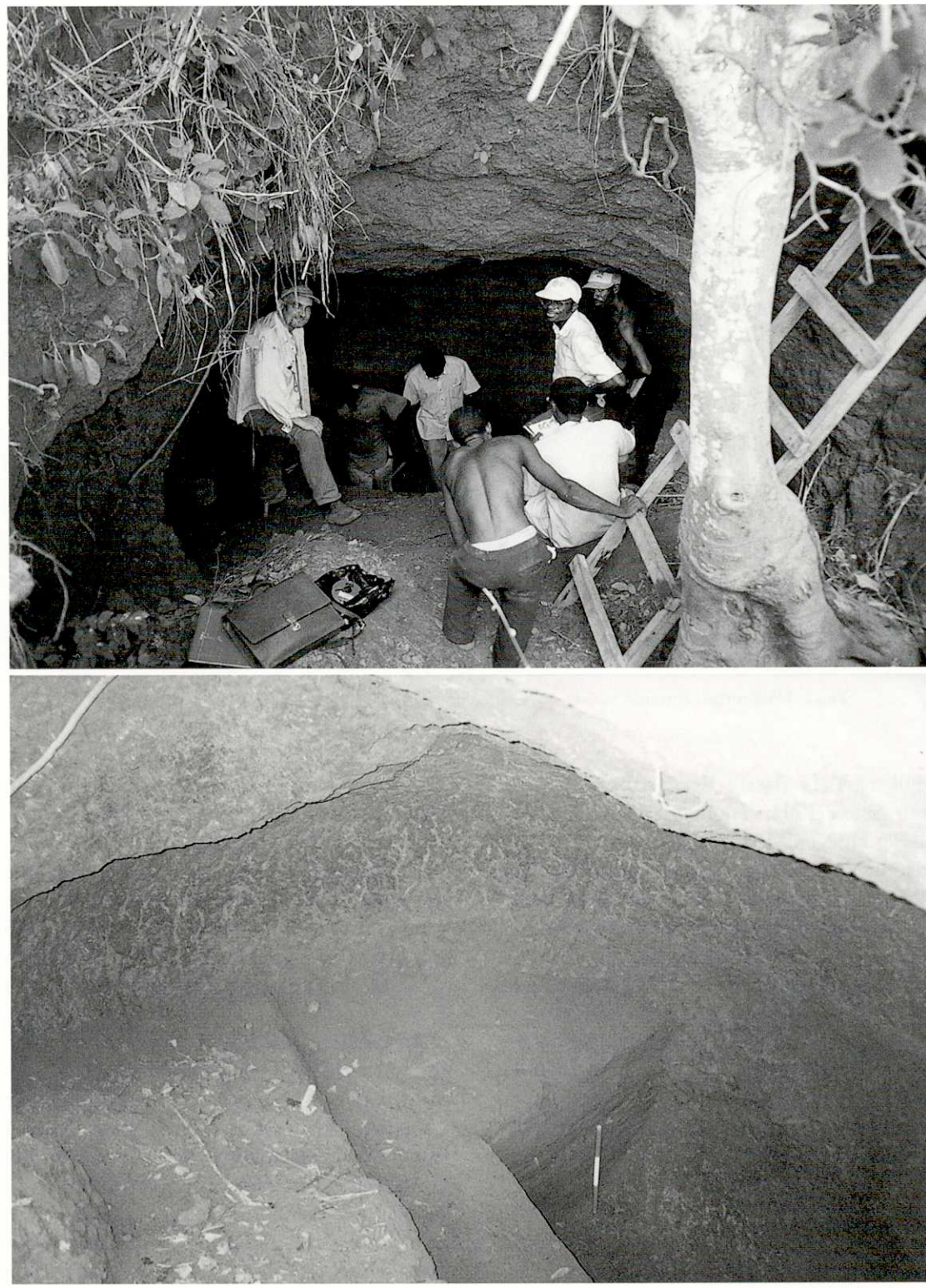

Fig. 3. Top: Cave 2 (roof fallen in) at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin; work in progress. – Bottom: Cave 2 at Bohicon, Bénin. Excavation of side-chamber (section). – Photos Roland and main author.

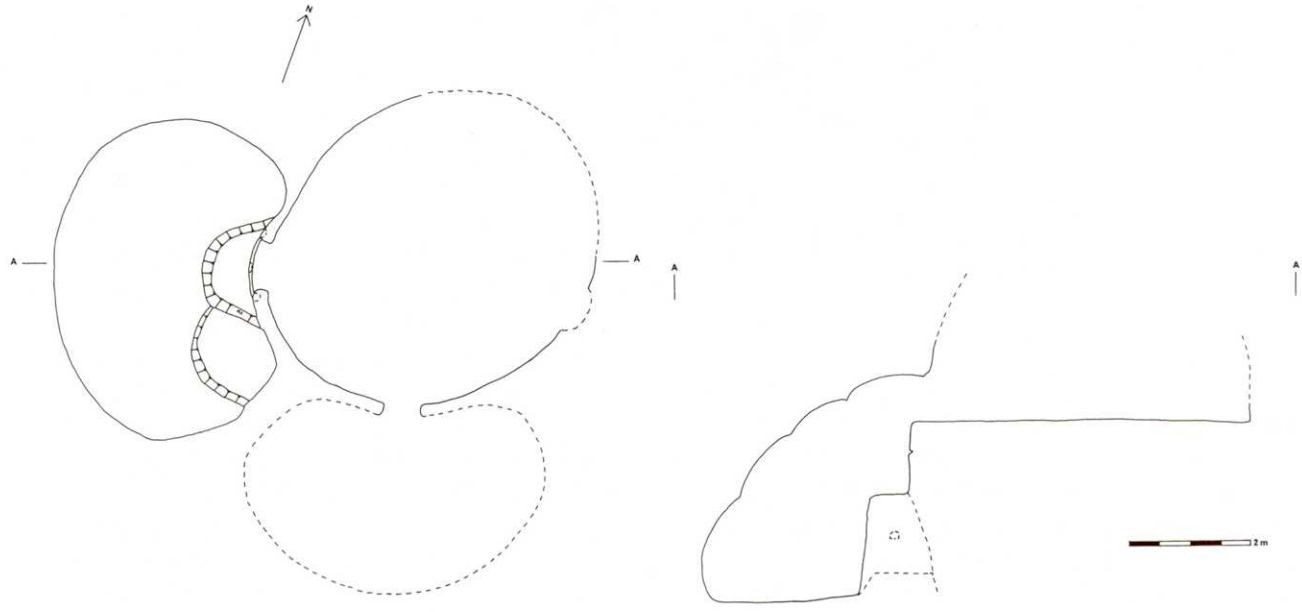

Fig. 4. Plan and section of Cave 1 at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin (roof collapsed). – Original drawing Roland, with the main author; the present one by P. Foss.

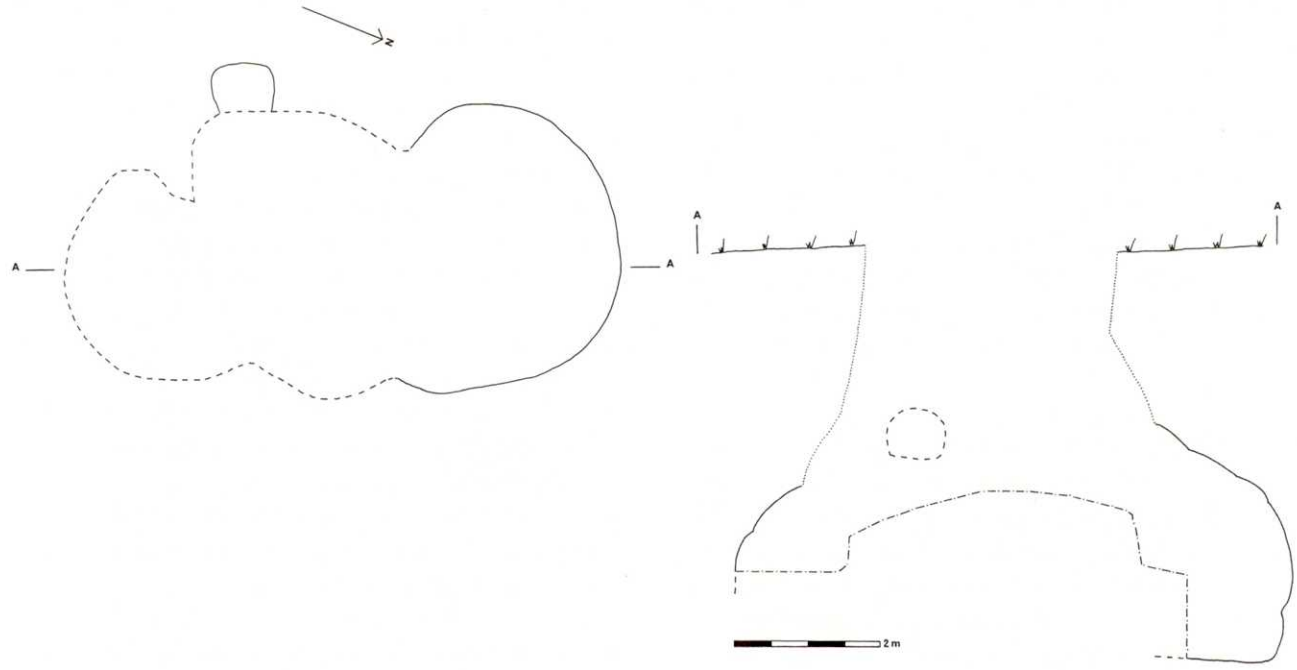

Fig. 5. Plan and section of Cave 2 at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin (roof collapsed). – Original drawing Roland, with the main author; the present one by P. Foss.

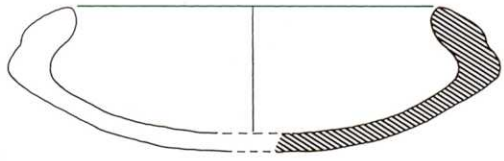

Fig. 6. Large potsherd of a hand-made unornamented bowl found during excavation on the very floor of a lower level side-chamber of Cave 2 (cf. Figs. 3 and 5). Date unknown. – Original drawing main author; the present one by P. Foss. – Scale 1:2.

This sherd is probably from the last phase of the use/occupation of the cave or, possibly, from the first phase of the secondary use (and infill) of the monument, the uncertain point being the date of the collapse of the roof in the history of this particular cave. The bowl in itself is, as of yet, undated.

(3) Digging of a section through one hillock of dirt from a cave near the largest baobab tree around (Fig. 7), below which a recent field sanctuary (Fig. 10). The sherds found (only in the top ca. 50cm, including the tilling-zone) comprise common "maïs-decorated" pottery (roulette stamps, large jars) and local pipes of about 1700 AD.

(4) Precise mapping of all caves visible (very dense vegetation in some locales) in the greater area around the first found cave (Cave 1) (Fig. 1).

(5) Investigation of identical or parallel material at Bohicon, and at Abomey.

(6) Investigation of parallel material in Western Bénin ([Gunu Duji] near Dogbo-Tota), where artefacts are claimed to have been found in the complex cave-systems, and where substantial iron production sites from before the mid-eighteenth century AD, when local production comes to an end (heaps of slag of, e.g., 20×6×4 m, major shaft-ovens, etc.).

INTERPRETATION OF THE "CAVES"

It seems clear that many of the "caves" have been, and still are, in secondary use as cisterns, etc. This function is hardly original, since the caves are constructed with very much care, sense of beauty, and are highly sophisticated. Rather, an original function as habitations, perhaps only partly, or temporary, is suggested. It should be added, though, that subterranean habitations are seemingly not known from the ethnographic present (or the near present) (Herskovits 1938 (I), 137ff.). Incidentally, early elaborate digging in steps is described in connection with gold-mining in Ghana (e.g. Römer 1760, 173ff./177f.).

A function as graves (with separate chambers) for the "caves" cannot be ruled out, but the formal properties of the caves do not conform to the traditional picture of such. The graves of the ethnographic present or, rather, the near present are narrow, earth-filled and two to four metres deep, even deeper for more important persons, and possibly with a low extension at the end of the shaft (to avoid the filling to fall directly on the corpse); they are positioned in settlements/at house structures (even in houses) (cf. Herskovits 1938 (I), 352ff./359). For earlier periods, e.g., J. Barbot (1655–1712) mentions ([1992]/1732 (travels etc. 1678–1712) II, 640/Part Three, Letter 2, with notes), for Ouidah, that "The dead are usually interred in the hut where they died, because they have no cemeteries or special [burial] places". Also Bosman and Römer give early information on funerals and graves in West Africa (Bosman 1704/1705 (1721) [1967], Letter XIII, etc.; Römer 1760, 113, 243f.). Incidentally, close to the investigated caves at Agonguinto, near Bohicon, a small mound ($1^1/_2$ m high) is said to hold the body of a decapitated Yorouba warrior chief of an invading force – possibly a special purpose burial. "Many sherds" are said to have been found at the site (but none seen during the mission).

According to local informants, beehive-shaped tombs with "collective burials" have been found at Farendé (east of Pagouda) in the Kara-Pagouda region of northeastern Central Togo (pers. comm. J. Eiwanger, Bonn). These tombs, dug into the laterite clay, have narrow vertical entrances, but no information is available as to their size or inner construction. The tombs are, possibly, from the Late Iron Age; among the claimed grave-goods are bronze bracelets. Whether we are dealing with tombs, or, in fact, with our "caves", is uncertain, since the identification of the Farendé "tombs" as burials seemingly is not substantiated by other observations.

The dates of the "caves" are, no doubt, AD (use of advanced iron tools), and most likely of this millennium, possibly the latter half (rather good state of preservation, existence of advanced societies, etc.). No

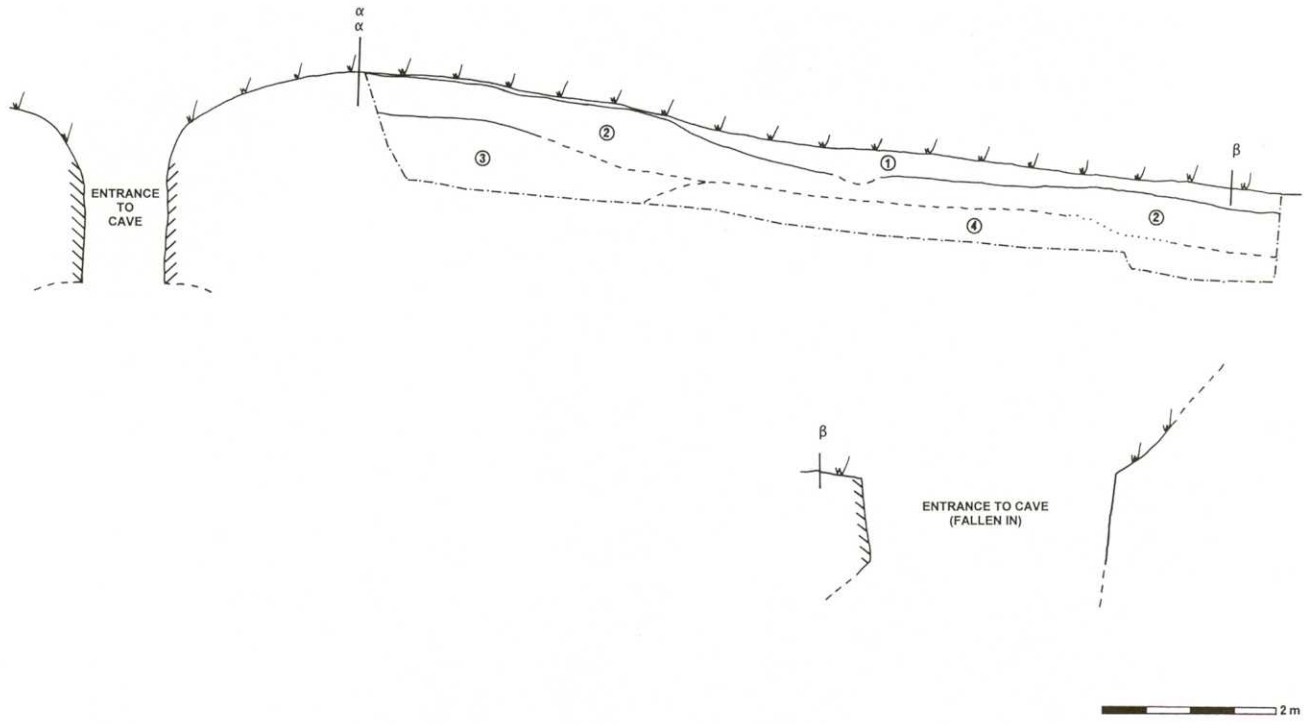

Fig. 7. Section of a hillock (dirt from cave(s)) at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin. The adjacent cave-entrances are dislocated at one metre (the one to the left, fully preserved, pertaining to the very hillock, on the left) and at one and a half metre (the one on the right, collapsed roof), respectively, from the line of the section in the direction of the observer (the αs and βs indicate the same point as measured horizontally along the axis of the section). (1) Slightly reddish grey-brown sandy laterite clay with some humus, (recent) sherds etc. are common; (2) Brownish red sandy laterite clay with inclusions of yellow clay (traces of roots/animal tunnelling?), several sherds; (3) Reddish brown sandy clay, no sherds; (4) As/identical with (2), but with fewer yellow inclusions and more homogeneous, increasing mineralization towards the floor of the excavated section and very hard indeed, no sherds. – Interpretation: (1) Present-day tilling-zone; (2) Earlier tilling-zones, etc., with (older) sherds, the layer, at least in part, probably composed of excavated sub-soil from the neigbouring caves; (3) Dirt from the ancient excavation of the cave on the left, the brown colouring might stem from admixture of ancient top-soil; (4) Sub-soil. – Original drawing by Roland, with the main author; the present one by P. Foss.

conclusive archaeological dating evidence was, however, found during the mission, perhaps apart from the above-mentioned local pipes from about 1700 AD (of the hillock trench/section). The bowl from the floor of the excavated lower level side-chamber of the above Cave 2 might later be dated (Fig. 6).

Oral traditions concerning the caves and their dates come from several sources. Information gained during the mission by interviewing gentlemen whose families were attached to the court of Abomey, and particularly informed of the history of the Dahomean kingdom, indicates the period of this realm (ca. 1600 AD onwards), with some being even earlier. Also, the Bohicon/Agonguinto caves are said to be located in an old "military area", not much used. In support of a relatively recent date is also the large number of monuments, their uniformity, and the grand scale of the caves, which ought to speak in favour of the existence of a measure of central organization. Finally, pieces of information about Oyo (Nigerian) attacks on the Dahomean capital of Abomey (in the early eighteenth century AD) indicate that the Dahomean army "disappeared" in the face of the enemy, later to re-appear behind him (cf. Thornton 1999) (cf. Appendix I). These tales are usually taken to indicate magic, but might also be understood quite literally. The above-mentioned caves at [Gunu Duji] near Dogbo-Tota are locally ascribed to an earlier population than the present one which is of non-Dahomean stock and only settled in the area during the nineteenth century.

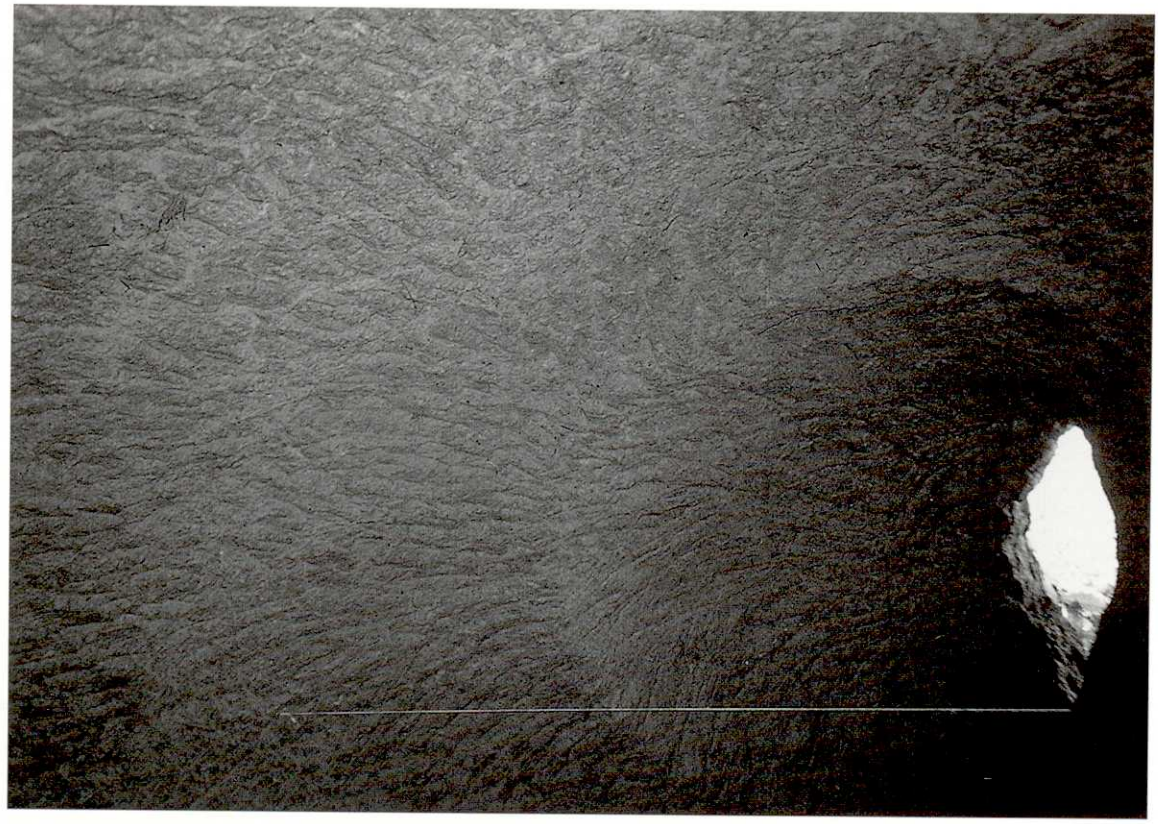

Fig. 8. Cave 1 at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin. Side-chamber, second level. Roof and entrance. – Cf. Fig. 9. – Photo main author.

Local oral claims – rather than an oral tradition – give high dates for the caves ("fifteenth century or older").

In the highly fertile and heavily populated environment of Southern Bénin of proto-historic and historical times, competition between chiefdoms and kingdoms was, no doubt, fierce. Endemic warfare ensued, not least in the light of access to European goods, including fire-arms. Under such circumstances, and in the light of the fact that the main commodity of the country was slaves (won in war and raids), subterranean, almost "VietKong-like" habitations and storages would be no wonder, nor is their (secondary) use as cisterns.

The vicious circle was of course, "warfare→captives/slaves→slaves traded for guns, liqueur, and other goods→renewed warfare", etc. This no doubt both enhanced warfare between the petty (and some larger) West African states of the region, and increased the super-regional, or international, trade in gold, ivory, slaves, etc., which, before the arrival of the Europeans, was mainly with the Saharan North. Thus, ultimately, the "sweet tooth" of Europe (sugar, and other pleasurable tastes) was the main historical factor behind the famous triangular economy. This had three legs, Africa – originally providing mainly gold and ivory directly to Europe, increasingly slaves for the plantations in the Americas; the Americas – producing plantation sugar, etc. for the European market; and, Europe – selling guns, and other goods to the African elites, for slaves.

The Europeans also created and interfered in a number of events on the Bight of Bénin, and elsewhere, thus instrumenting changes in the societies of West Africa. Nevertheless, African culture, history, and archaeology largely remained a local and regional one, the Europeans, in spite of their influence, being spread thinly on the coast, and often mere pawns of local politics in a sea of huge African populations and culture. The key element being European

and African ability at communicating, thus living up to the new challenges.

If the above interpretation of the "caves" holds true, the BDArch explorative mission has accidentally stumbled over a superb medium to establish part of the rural settlement pattern (or, at the very least, a series of state- or army establishments) of the ancient chiefdoms and kingdoms of the region. In fact, recent (as well as earlier) houses are in pisé (sun-baked claystones), or, wood and branches, and would leave almost no archaeological traces. The same holds true for traditional fireplaces, etc. Only the common half subterranean water-jars (and possible pits) are expected to have been buried sufficiently deeply in the ground to be recorded by archaeologists. At any rate, remains of water-jars would be highly difficult to establish in any systematic fashion – the problems of chronology nonewithstanding. Till date, only the fortified ancient city-centres like Abomey, with their palaces, etc. (currently undergoing restoration), have been investigated, although still not archaeologically – the areas of the palaces and the royal burials in particular are being held sacred, which precludes excavation and establishment of a sequence of local and European artefacts (Fig. 11).

Of significance for the above general interpretation is the fact that large groups of "caves", "at least 150–200 years old", seem to occur in the very north of Togo (Koutjware, Dapaon, about one hundred specimens), to judge from an unpublished survey report of 1979 by M. Posnansky, Los Angeles (pers. comm. Y. Bredwa-Mensah, Accra). Posnansky did not enter these caves (which were filled with water and in use as toilets at the time of his inspection), and rather suggests a function as cisterns dug into the laterite clay, although, as is stated in the report, the caves "bell out" below the tube-like entrances, of dimensions exactly like the above Bénin specimens (i.a., pers. comm. M. Posnansky). Possibly, the above-mentioned "tombs" from Farendé, Kara-Pagouda, Togo, are, in fact, also "caves" like the Bénin ones. The latter, as a particular archaeological type, are, on the other hand, seemingly unknown from Ghana and the Ivory Coast (pers. comm. Y. Bredwa-Mensah, and J. Polet, Paris). Other parallels are older subterranean and semi-subterranean dwellings in, e.g., the Ouagadougou area of Burkina Faso to the northwest of

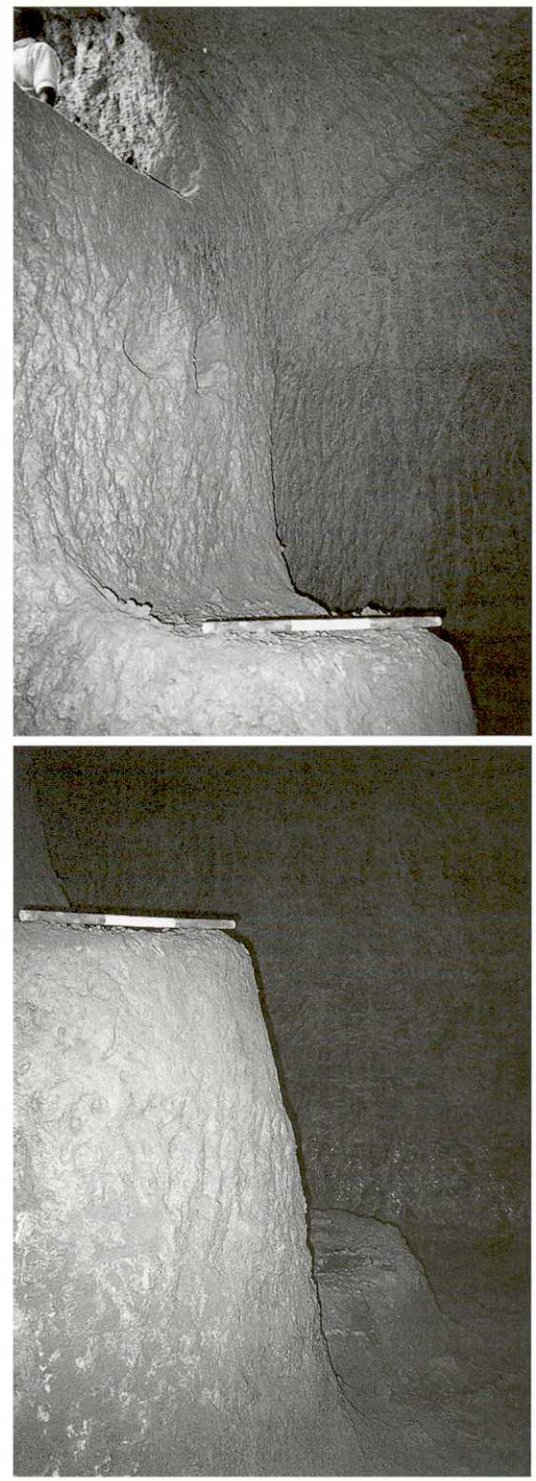

Fig. 9. Top: Cave 1 at Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin. Side-chamber, second level; entrance and step, holes for hands, etc. – Bottom: Cave 1. Side-chamber, second level; step and floor (continuation of above photo). – Cf. Fig. 8. – Photos main author.

Fig. 10. Small recent/modern shrine at large baobab-tree; sacrifice of thick-walled unornamented (ritual) round-bottomed cups, the one with "fingers" in relief. At Agonguinto near Bohicon, Bénin; near Caves 1–2 above (Figs. 3–9). – Photo main author.

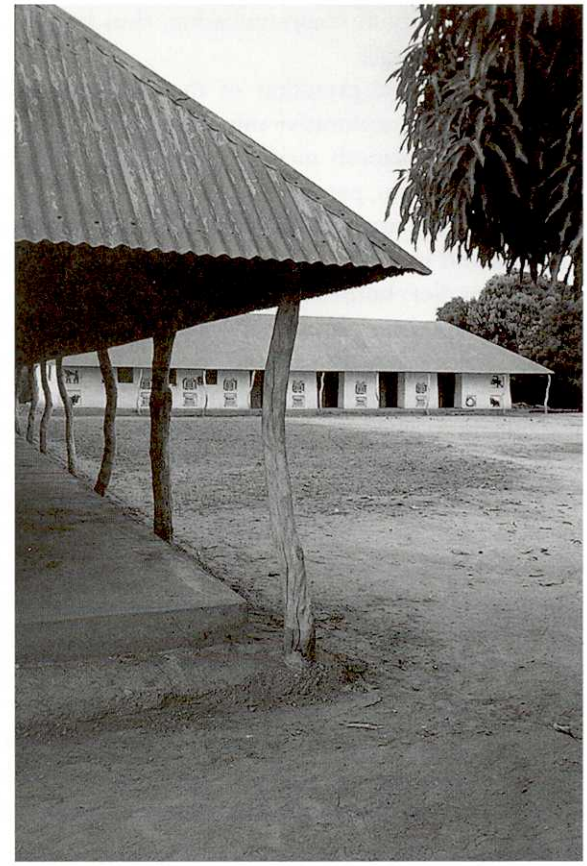

Fig. 11. Palace complex at Abomey, Bénin. Small detail. – Photo main author.

Togo (as recorded by the German ethnographer L. Frobenius at the turn of the nineteenth century) (cf. Frobenius 1933, Figs. 168–69). Nevertheless, other functions, in particular as graves, still cannot be ruled out completely for the "caves", although steps and holes for hands, among many other features, speak against this interpretation.

Thus, the "caves" seem (along with the well-known royal palaces and the traditional capitals of the region) to represent a class of monuments which, most likely, represents housing structures mainly from the European contact-period, but nothing conclusive can be said as of yet. It is possible that at least some of the caves are earlier. It is also possible that they have other original functions.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

For dating, and for otherwise determining the function of the "caves", further investigations, documentation, and studies, not least of the ancient pottery from the region, are much in need. (A typology-chronology for this crucial class of common artefact has, till date, seemingly, not been worked out, but might be so on the basis of archaeological contexts holding imported – and historically dated – European items as well.) Incidentally, the future investigations of the Bohicon-Abomey caves may be supported by, i.a., a limited study of the above [Gunu Duji] caves near Dogbo, Western Bénin, where artefacts, pottery, even traces of an oven from the period of use, are said to remain in the monuments which hold several

interconnected/tunnelled galleries, including one supposedly 20 m long (oral interviews on location).

In fact, the wanted local pottery chronology may well be established on the basis of archaeological excavations in Ouidah city, for instance, at the supposed "Danish Factory" site, situated in the southern part of the town, at the beginning of the "Slave Route" from Ouidah to the open South Atlantic coast. (Information was gathered at the Museum of Ouidah, with the help of Martine de Souza, and others.) Such investigation might also illuminate a hitherto undocumented aspect of the Danish presence in early West Africa, although the possibility of a historical "mistake" is still looming.

The standard literary reference to a Danish emporium at Ouidah is found in Burton ([1966]/1864, 69; cf. Cornevin 1962, 255), seemingly citing Barbot ([1992]/1732 (travels etc. 1678–1712) II, 644/Part Three, Letter 2, Additional Passages (after 1682), from the published 1732 edition, with notes) (also, see Appendices II–III). Burton is not altogether clear as to the location of this site, in contrast with the informed local tradition which is pointing out the plot of a children's school. Incidentally, this site is near the residence of the famous Brazilian slave trader F.F. "Chacha" de Souza of the early nineteenth century, lying to the south of the three well-known fortified European emporia, the French, the English, and the Portuguese one. Brandenburg, establishing itself on the West African coast during a shorter period at the close of the seventeenth century, also possessed an emporium at Ouidah, the location of which is unknown (Jones 1985; cf. Cornevin 1962, 255) (cf. Appendix III).

It is possible that Barbot, who himself visited Ouidah (in 1682), might have confused Ouidah for Accra, Ghana (pers. comm. R. Law, Stirling). The indication of this is the fact that the Danish site at Ouidah, according to Barbot, is located "at Acra" ([1992]/1732 (travels etc. 1678–1712) II, 644/Part Three, Letter 2, Additional Passages (after 1682), from the published 1732 edition, with notes). In the text, where the locations of the European establishments of Ouidah are given, "Acra" is a part of Ouidah city. Perhaps Accra, the name of the town (now in Ghana) near the Danish headquarters in West Africa (Christiansborg Fort) had sprung to mind. In general, Barbot's works are not without problems, some of it drawn on informants, although very rich, also in detail.

At any rate, several Danish ships are known to have called at Ouidah at the time of Barbot (Appendices II–III). This would indicate the existence of an ad hoc Danish factory in the city. A permanent Danish factory was clearly not in existence in 1784, when P. Isert reported that the goods of the Danish ship "Ada" (of the headquarters at Christiansborg, Accra), that he was accompanying, were sold from the English "Fort William" in Ouidah, which provided the cheapest – governors' – rate of trading-tax to the king of Dahomey (Raunkiær 1917, 75ff./83). Also, for the late eighteenth century (with increasing government control, rather than mere company rule and private interests), the documention of the Danish posessions in West Africa is very good indeed, the easternmost permanent establishment at the time of Isert being at Anecho, Togo. Nevertheless, in the above-mentioned source, Isert also reported that commercial ships calling at Ouidah were establishing their own factories, being taxed by the size/number of masts of the ships (Raunkiær 1917, 83). Finally, claimed written documents as to the "Danish Factory" are in want of study at Ouidah (City and City Museum Society).

The Danish ships known to have called at Ouidah do suggest some arrangement, indeed a factory (however temporary) in the town itself (Appendix II, cf. 1788f.), although till date, the easternmost documented Danish fort or factory remains the one of the trading town of Anecho (Little Popo), Togo, just across the border from Bénin. (Anecho was also visited by the BDArch mission in 1998 and information gathered at the museum, with its keeper Kofi Agbetsoamedo.) Interestingly, the site of the "Danish Factory" in Ouidah, one of the children's schools of the city, is highly accessible for archaeological excavation (only a few structures lie in the large open school-yard cum ball-court). Although in the middle of the city, it is expected to hold culture deposits of some magnitude. Limited surface surveying at Grand Popo – formerly a major trading port linked with Little Popo (Anecho), but archaeologically totally unknown – may conveniently accompany the proposed excavations at Ouidah city, the latter first and foremost to establish a chronological resolution for local artefacts.

BÉNIN: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH POTENTIAL

The archaeological research potential of Bénin (as well as of Togo) is immense (cf. Appendix I; for Togo, e.g., Eiwanger 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999). Only a very few studies and very few excavations indeed have been carried out till date (cf. Ardouin 1997; Pétrequin & Pétrequin 1984; Zogo 1995). The excavations have been haphazard, at any rate very limited, and, incidentally, in the main in the northern and dryer parts of the country. A few Stone Age studies, a particular French interest, perhaps stand out but there is not much till date in Bénin of wider academic attention.

For the later periods, in particular the second millennium, there is very little material or archaeological evidence, except for the mentioned royal sites and cities, of which the former mainly have undergone restoration. At Savi, north of Ouidah, American K.G. Kelly, Flagstaff, Arizona has carried out minor excavations in the royal settlement (supposedly more or less abandoned after the conquest by Dahomey in 1727 AD, and thus not sanctified). The investigation is discussed in an (unpublished) PhD-thesis of 1995, but the archaeological particulars are very few indeed; the use of imported European tile for floors and other foreign goods is particularly stressed (Kelly 1995, 1997).

For the southern parts of Bénin, the potential for archaeological investigations of the proto-historical/historical periods is particularly great, although the visibility is usually hampered by a very dense vegetational cover. Another problem is the very rapid circulation of organic materials in the ground – also holding no stone – of this tropical environment. This implies that archaeological stratification is very difficult indeed, though not totally impossible to account for, as was evident in the section dug by the BDArch mission through the original spoils from one of the Bohicon "caves" (Fig. 7).

Finally, the lack of a general archaeological survey and of topographical archaeological data-bases for Bénin is noteworthy. This is an area where Denmark, among other West European nations, has a particular long tradition for systematization (in fact, since the 1620s; cf. Randsborg 1994) and valuable recent experience indeed, including digitalization of all information, maps, drawings, illustrations, etc. The topographical perspective is highly important in culture management, as well as in archaeological research. For Bénin, it constitutes not only a development parameter, but is also a cultural project in its own right, allowing management and research to continue – as well as collaboration. Such is of particular interest to the Bénin Ministry of Culture, the department of monuments. It is also, at least partly, new to African archaeology south of the Sahara.

As a consequence of the above, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/DANIDA, in 1999, has acknowledged the archaeological and historical prospects, the scientific, and – not least – the cultural developmental perspectives in Bénin. A substantial grant has been offered for archaeological work and studies, etc. over the following three+ years. At the same time, this investment represents the first main cultural initiative among the development projects carried out in the poorer nations of the World, for which Denmark is highly prominent among the richer donor nations.

For Danish, and European, archaeology, a West African/Bénin encounter implies a substantial research involvement in African history and material culture of the past, areas still rather poorly investigated. In addition – on the ethno-historical and cultural anthropological side – material analogies would form, both general and specific, heuristically aiding the interpretation of Europe's own past.

NOTES ON ANALOGY

Past, yet relatively recent West African societies and cultures, in their historical interaction with European traders and administrators, are indeed like an abstract archaeological-anthropological play on a number of European themes in archaeology and history. Conversely the African observations may illuminate European archaeological and historical findings.

The traditional academic context for such analogy is an evolutionary view of man's biology, society, and culture. This is often considered an archaic and insufficient mode of study. The reason is that the traditional evolutionary perspective – with its stress on man's material needs and the economy – has little concern for the function of the elements of society (and culture). The beliefs, cultural values, and honour of society (as

seen from within) are largely overlooked for the larger perspective. Nevertheless, the long and larger perspective has much for it, in particular if considering the elements of the smaller perspective as well. Consciousness of space, of time, and of contexts all amount to a historical view of the world and its development. Such historical perspective is not only a description of the development of political bodies or states, nor of prominent (political) personages, but a platform for all kinds of considerations, including analogous ones.

At the root of analogy is observation, with its point of departure in human similarity and cultural variation, the latter, in turn, being the stuff of history. Observation is primarily of the material (PhysicalCultural) world of which the cultural parts or spheres are the results of man's action. The motivations for action are found both in the PhysicalCultural world and in humans as individuals and groups – the BiologicalCultural forces of history. The explanations are the stuff of human reflective intelligence, some of it academic in form.

Thus, the small coastal tribal states or petty kingdoms of the eighteenth century are in size (all less than one or two thousand square kilometres), and possibly even in structure, military organization, etc., much like the European political units of the late second millenium BC (cf. Fig. 12). Socially stratified and militarist in outlook, they resemble Bronze Age chiefdoms (and states) with their elitist and individualist ideology, great interest in communication, the trades and commerce, and with a firm agricultural basis. Royal centres, capitals, and major market towns – like Dahomean Abomey (Bénin) – were often fortified with earthen walls and ditches and saw much ceremony and ritual. In several respects they resemble many of the European centres of, e.g., the early first millennium BC, including the Greek poleis.

European maritime trade, in particular after 1600 AD, implied a new flow of wealth, but also changes in life and outlook for the societies in West Africa. Traditional trade in gold, ivory, and slaves (previously exclusively with the overland North, apart from some coastal traffic) now became linked with the provision of firearms in quantities, in turn a military necessity for surviving in the new line of infantry warfare. Also other European goods made an impact, in the political sphere for instance liqueur, in the economic one for instance metals, with the local production of iron disappearing altogether after 1700 AD. The analogy with the Roman Empire vis-à-vis the contemporary states of northern Central Europe is striking, Roman products forcing age-old industries to cease.

That Europe of the age of the Classical Mediterranean cultures is a useful general analogy to later West African history, transpires, among other things, from the political, military, social, and not least cultural responses of the Central and North Europeans to the powerful South. The northern parts of Europe, rather than imitating the South in matters possible, maintained their own cultural identity, including the religion. Even the Roman conquest did not make Italians out of the European tribes; rather, the latter, in particular the upper classes, subscribed to a number of imperial features.

Organizationally and technologically superior cultures, with a high investment of accumulated capital in production and exchange, are often considering other societies and cultures as "barbarian". The latter is a literary notion which in European history goes back to Classical Greece (cf. Randsborg 1995). Thus, "ungrateful" barbarian responses should rather be seen as conscious attempts at protecting own culture and society in the face of increasing integration and communication, even military conquest. Turned on its head, the same may hold true of the "civilized" societies and cultures, as the Greek example shows – the period in question seeing the establishment of a regional and super-regional market economy, as well as much international commerce. Interestingly, the initial Archaic Greek period of colonial expansion is, seemingly, less condemning, or "racist", in its outlook. Also this theme is observed in Africa, *videlicet*, early versus later European attitudes to local culture.

Furthermore, the remarkable early Danish plantations (in East Ghana, though) much look like the early colonial Roman villas (estate centres) in, e.g., Gaul (Bredwa-Mensah 1996; Bredwa-Mensah & Crossland 1997; Kea 1995) (cf. Fig. 12). The important coastal ports-of-trade (at European fortresses, or with European factories/forts) – like the great Ouidah (Bénin) – seem, to the archaeologist, a distant replay of, e.g., the Northwest European Carolingean/Viking emporia and their relations with royal centres and estates.

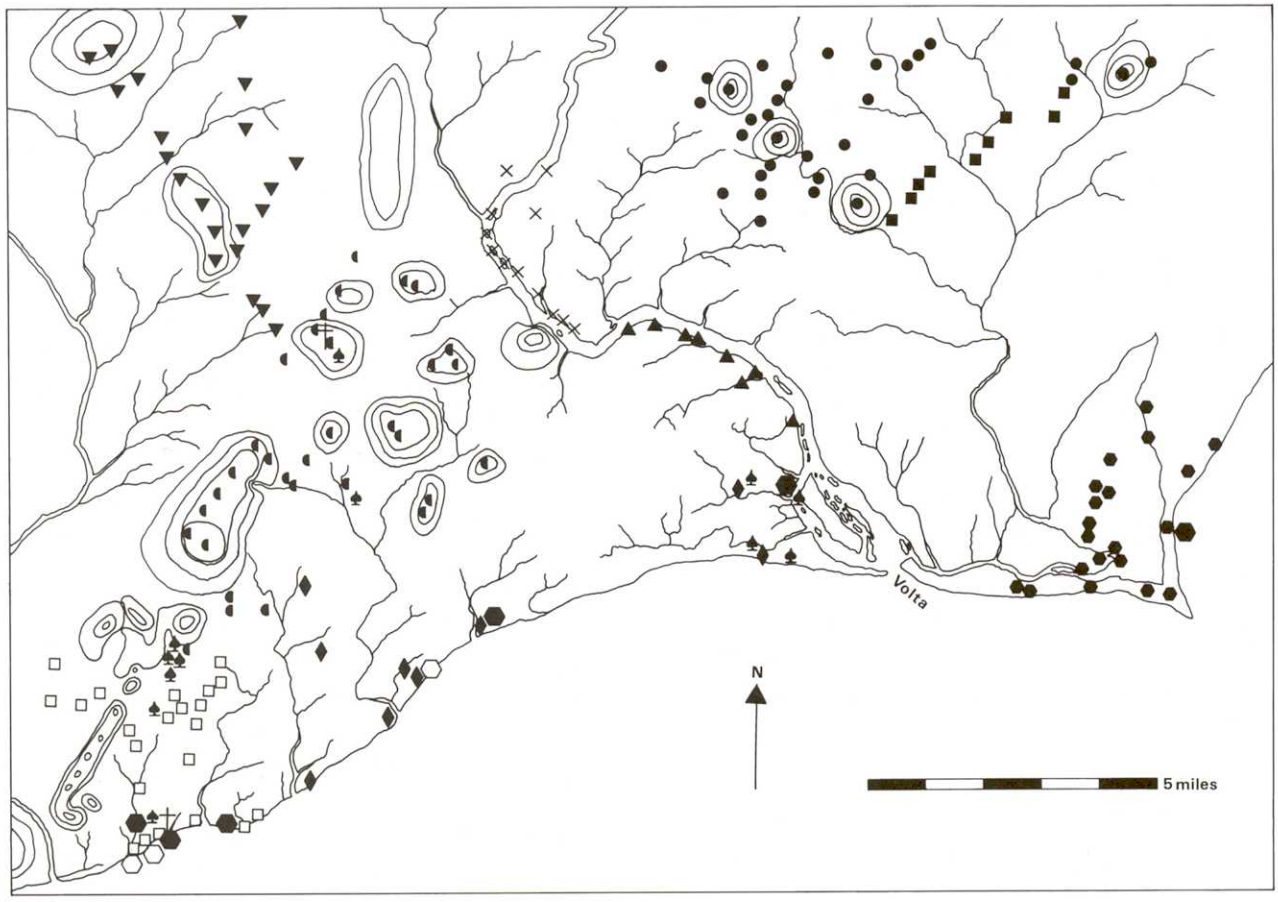

Fig. 12. The settlements of the various African tribal states/petty kingdoms – as well as Danish (and other European) installations – in coastal East Ghana around the lower River Volta at about 1800 AD. – Chart by P. Foss, with the main author, after a map drawn in the field by Danish P. Thonning in 1802, and with geographical revisions of 1828 and 1837(–38) (redrawn after Nørregaard 1953/(1966, map not included)). – One *Danish* mile=7.533 kms. The map displays the Atlantic coastline, the rivers, and some hills but not the rest of the contours of the landscape in detail. – The remarkably clear delimination and spatial separation of the African realms/groups of settlements should be noted. – The Danish plantation sites are revised after Bredwa-Mensah 1996; Bredwa-Mensah & Crossland 1997; and others. Various symbols not among the below=African settlements of the various tribal states/petty kingdoms, each given a signature of its own. – Black hexagon= Danish fortress; White hexagon=Other European fortress. – Tree (♠)=Plantation (all Danish). – Cross (†)=Danish church/mission (the churches/chapels in the forts not shown).

Finally, very many small things forgotten by modernity may deeply interest and enlighten the European archaeologist in West Africa. Such include simple technologies, regarding boats for instance, but in fact all practical skills in a low-capital environment at land or sea. "European" lake-dwellings (Neolithic/ Bronze Age) are still in use (Pétrequin & Pétrequin 1984). They also comprise social organization at the level of the village and the household, as well as the varying cultural styles and modes of life – e.g., between the sexes. Finally rituals, not least the material dimensions of rites and beliefs, are of substantial interest – down to the woodcut deities at the entrances to hamlet and dwellings. In other words, the European archaeologist is placed in a material, in fact "old-fashioned", by contemporary social anthropology often over-looked ethnographic environment, with the informed African colleague a discussant of European archaeology, history – and the function of analogy and association.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adandé, A. 1962. *Les récades des rois du Dahomey.* Dakar (Institut français d'Afrique noire).

Agbanon II, F. 1991. *Histoire de Petit-Popo et du royaume Guin* (1934). Lomé (Karthala, Paris/Haho, Togo).

Ajayi, J.F.A. 1974. The Aftermath of the Fall of Old Oyo. Ajayi & Crowder 1974. 129ff.

Ajayi, J.F.A. & M. Crowder (eds.) 1971. *History of West Africa I.* London (Longman).

Ajayi, J.F.A. & M. Crowder (eds.) 1974. *History of West Africa II.* London (Longman).

Ajayi, J.F.A. & I. Espie 1965. *A Thousand Years of West African History. A Handbook for Teachers and Students.* Ibadan (Ibadan University Press).

Akinjogbin, I.A. 1976. The Expansion of Oyo and the rise of Dahomey, 1600–1800. Ajayi & Crowder 1971. 304ff.

Alpern, S.B. 1998. *Amazons of Black Sparta. The Women Warriors of Dahomey.* London (Hurst).

Ardouin, C.D. (ed.) 1997. *Museums & Archaeology in West Africa.* Washington (Smithsonian Institution Press).

Barbot, J., with P.E.H. Hair, A. Jones & R. Law (eds.) [1992]/1732. *Barbot on Guinea. The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678–1712. I–II.* London (Hakluyt Society).

Bosman, W. 1704 (Dutch)/1705 (English) (1721) [1967]. *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea. Divided into The Gold, The Slave, and The Ivory Coasts.* London (Frank Cass).

Bredwa-Mensah, Y. 1996. Slavery and Plantation Life at the Danish Plantation Site of Bibease, Gold Coast (Ghana). *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 37;4. 445ff.

Bredwa-Mensah, Y. & L.B. Crossland 1997. A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Investigations at the Danish Plantation Settlements along the South Akuapem Ridge, Ghana. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 8. 59ff.

Brooks, G.E. 1998. Climate and history in West Africa. Connah 1998. 139ff.

Burton, R. [1966]/1864. *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C.W. Newbury. London (Routledge).

Clochard, B. 1993. *Ouidah. Petite anthologie historique. Historique de la ville. La traite des esclaves, la diaspora. Les dieux d'Afrique.* Cotonou (Fit).

Connah, G. 1987. *Africans civilizations. Precolonial cities and states in tropical Africa: an archaeological perspective.* Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).

– (ed.) 1998. *Transformations in Africa: essays on Africa's later past.* Leicester (Leicester University Press).

Cornevin, R. 1962. *Histoire du Dahomey.* Paris (Berger-Levrault).

Dalzel, A. 1793. *The History of Dahomey: An Inland Kingdom of Africa.* London.

Dantzig, A. van 1980. *Forts and Castles of Ghana.* Accra (Sedco).

DeCorse, C.R. 1998. The Europeans in West Africa: culture contact, continuity and change. Connah 1998. 219ff.

Eiwanger, J. 1992. Recherches archéologiques au Togo: étude préliminaire. *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 12. 155ff.

– 1995. Felsbilder des nördlichen Togo. *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 15. 85ff.

– 1996. Barrenmessing – ein mittelalterliches Handelsgut zwischen Europa und Afrika? *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 16. 215ff.

– 1997. Jenseits der grossen Wüsten. Archäologie in der Republik Togo. *Antike Welt* 28;2. 89ff.

– 1999. Sites de l'âge de pierre dans le Nord du Togo. *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie* 19. 151ff.

Fage, J.D. 1978 (2nd ed. 1st 1958). *An Atlas of African History.* London (Edward Arnold).

Feldbæk, O. & O. Justesen 1980. *Kolonierne i Asien og Afrika.* København (Politiken).

Fletcher, R. 1998. African urbanism: scale, mobility, and transformations. Connah 1998. 104ff.

Frobenius, L. 1923. *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas. Prolegomena zu einer historischen Gestaltlehre.* Zürich (Phaidon).

Greene, S.E. 1996. *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast. A History of the Anlo-Ewe.* Portsmouth, NH (Heinemann).

Hellesen, J.K. & O. Tuxen (eds.) 1988. *Historisk Atlas Danmark.* København (Gad).

Herskovits, M.J. 1938. *Dahomey. An Ancient West African Kingdom. I–II.* New York (Augustin).

Isert, P. See Raunkiær.

Jeppesen, A.H. 1966. *Danske plantageanlæg på Guldkysten, 1788–1650.* Geografisk Tidsskrift.

Jones, A. 1985. *Brandenburger Sources for West African History 1680–1700.* Studien zur Kulturkunde 77. Stuttgart (Franz Steiner).

Kea, R.A. 1995. Plantations and labour in the south-east Gold Coast from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century. Law 1995. 119ff.

Kelly, K.G. 1995. *Transformation and continuity in Savi, an African trade town: the archaeological investigation of culture change on the coast of Bénin during the 17th and 18th centuries.* (Doctoral dissertation.) Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles (unpublished).

– 1997. The archaeology of African-European interaction: investigating the social roles of trade, traders, and the use of space in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Hueda* Kingdom, Republic of Bénin. *World Archaeology* 28;3. 351ff.

Law, R. 1991. *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550–1750. The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society.* Oxford (Clarendon Press).

Law, R. (ed.) 1995. *From slave trade to "legitimate" commerce. The commercial transition in nineteenth-century West Africa.* Papers from a conference of the Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling. Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).

Nørregaard, G. 1966 (2nd ed./1st 1953). *Vore gamle tropekolonier 8. Guldkysten.* København (Fremad).

Petersen, S. 1946. *Danmarks gamle Tropekolonier.* Det kongelige danske geografiske Selskab. Kulturgeografiske Skrifter 4. København (Hagerup).

Pétrequin, A.-M. & P. 1984. *Habitat lacustre du Bénin. Une approche ethno-archéologique.* Mémoire 39. Paris (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations).

Randsborg, K. 1994. Ole Worm. An Essay on the Modernization of Antiquity. *Acta Archaeologica* 65. 135ff.

– 1995. *Hjortspring. Warfare & Sacrifice in Early Europe.* Aarhus (Aarhus University Press).

Raunkiær, I. (ed.) 1917. *Lægen Paul Iserts Breve fra Dansk Guinea 1783–87.* København (Gad).

Reader, J. 1998 (1997). *Africa. A Biography of the Continent.* London (Penguin).

(Römer, L.F.) 1756. *Tilforladelig Efterretning om Negotien paa Kysten Guinea, Af hvilke Nationer den drives, og paa hvilken maade den er indretted af enhver Nation især, tilligemed Ufforgribelige Betænkninger, Hvorledes vor Negotie derhen og til Vestindien, bedre kunde indrettes.* Kiøbenhavn (Ludolph Henrich Lillie).

Römer, L.F. 1760. *Tilforladelig Efterretning om Kysten Guinea, Indeholdende: Beskrivelse. I. Om Kysten i Almindelighed. II. Om Europæiske Nationers Handel der. III. Om Negernes Religion. IV. Om Negernes Historie, Sæder og Levemaade. V. Om os Danske, vores Forter og Etablissements.* Kiøbenhavn (Ludolph Henrich Lillies Enke). (With Fortale/Preface by E. Pontoppidan).

Souza Ayari, R. de (ed.) (*et al.*) 1998. *Plan de conservation du site des palais royaux d'Abomey.* Cotonou (Républic du Bénin. Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication).

Sinou, A. (*et al.*) 1995. *Le comptoir de Ouidah. Une ville africaine singulière.* Paris (Karthala).

Sinou, A. & B. Oloudé 1988. *Porto-Novo. Ville d'Afrique noire.* Marseilles (Parenthèses).

Thomas, H. 1998 (1997). *The Slave Trade. The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870.* London (Papermac).

Thornton, J.K. 1999. *Warfare in Atlantic Africa 1500–1800.* London (University College London/UCL Press).

Trillo, R. & J. Hudgens (*et al.*) 1995 (2nd ed.). *West Africa.* London (The Rough Guides/Penguin).

Woodhouse, J. 1998. Iron in Africa: metal from nowhere. Connah 1998. 160ff.

Zogo, F.M.-J. (*et al.*) 1995. Regards sur les musées et les monuments du Bénin. Cotonou (République du Bénin. Ministère de la Culture et des Communications).

APPENDIX I

Southern Bénin/Dahomey. Oral, written, and argued later history in rough sequence of events, and in the relevant West African context. Parts of this history have some material/archaeological correlates. Archaeology will no doubt play an important future rôle, in particular for the centuries (even millennia) before ca. 1900 AD (extracted from Dalzel 1793; Ajayi & Espie 1965; Ajayi 1974; Akinjogbin 1976; Trillo & Hudgens 1995; etc.).

- Yoruba primary expansion from *Ife* (Nigeria) to Benin City in the south-east, to Ketu in the west, to Old Oyo in the north, then west.
- Rise of the Oyo (X–XIV AD).
- Aja (including Egun, Fon, etc.) secondary expansion (from "Ife") to Allada (c1575 AD), Abomey, Whydah, etc.
- Portuguese, Cape Verde 1444, Yoruba-Aja coast 1461–71, Benin 1483. French 1530, English 1533, Dutch 1595.
- "Oyo Ile" reconquered by Oyo towards 1600; cavalry, expansion.
- Allada tries to concentrate European trade c1625, French Capuchins to Aja 1640, French to King of Allada 1669 (Allada mission to France 1670, fails).
- French trading station at Whydah 1671, Dutch 1682, English 1683, Brandenburger 1684, etc.
- Foundation of Dahomey c1625 (strong central monarchy).
- Dahomey bars the way to Allada slave-raiders 1670–71, 1687–88. Oyo attacks Allada, Dahomey 1680–82, Allada 1698.
- French company re-established at Whydah 1701, international port 1703.
- Dahomey 40 towns & villages in 1708 (death of King Akaba); King Agaja, military training, body of spies, expansion towards the coast.
- War Whydah-Allada 1712–, Dahomey occupies Allada 1724, invades Whydah 1727.
- Oyo invades Dahomey 1726, 1728 (scorched earth techniques), 1729, 1730 (peace by help of Portuguese in Whydah); treaty with Oyo, capital moved from Abomey to Allala, annual tribute, Ajase/later Porto Novo directly under Oyo.
- King Agaja turns slave-trade into royal monopoly centered on Whydah (the *Yovogan* royal middle-man).
- Internal problems in "New" Dahomey 1734–43 (creation of amazon regiment), invasion of Oyo territory 1737, Oyo retalitates 1739 (King Agaja dies 1740/King Tegbesu).
- Oyo invasion 1742/43, Abomey again capital of Dahomey 1743, new treaty with Oyo 1748; air of prosperity.
- Increasing powers of King Tegbesu (by 1751), administrative reorganization, royal messengers (*Ilari*), even drives out directors of European posts.
- Oyo military detachments on frontiers (e.g., 1764 against Ashanti); from 1774, however, expansion discouraged, trade encouraged (Oyo King Abiodun, dies 1789).

- European ships avoid Whydah by 1767 (lack of slaves, the trade destructive of itself), King Tegbesu dies 1774/King Kpengla (dies 1789) attempts to raid for slaves, son King Agonglo (ill., Dalzel 1793) willing to accept Christianity from the Portuguese, murdered by his subjects 1797 (civil war till c1818).
- Porto Novo (under Oyo) leading slave port by 1776 (new source of slaves, Hausa, etc.), French fort planned.
- Decline also of Oyo slave-trade. Successful revolts of Oyo subject states 1782/83– (e.g., Egba frees itself, Borgu in North defeats Oyo army in 1783, Nupe in East in 1791); demise of Oyo by c1797 (army mutiny), interregnum c20 years; Moslem/Fulani pressure on Ilorin.
- Gezo takes power in Dahomey 1818, yields slave-trade to Brazilian Francisco Felix da Souza in Whydah; reorganization of army (16,000, of whom 6,000 women), Oyo army defeated (annual celebration in Abomey).
- 1819–67 British patrols against slave-shipping (re-settling in Freetown/Sierra Leone).
- Ibadan defeats Ilorin cavalry in 1840.
- Dahomey expansion into Mahin (North), Eweland (West, confronts Ashante power), control of Porto Novo politics, of Egbado (East, slaves for export/cultivation).
- Marseille soap-making companies in Whydah 1843 (palm-oil trade 1830s on), royal contract.
- The Egbas recently resettled in Abeokuta invited to confront Dahomey (war 1842–53, 1845 Egba ambush captures Dahomey royal drum, state umbrella, etc., King Gezo attacks Abeokuta 1851, defeated by European arms and advisers).
- Formal prohibition of import of slaves into Brazil 1850, rise in number of domestic slaves. European powers increasingly felt.
- Ibadan hegenomy, strong military, demands 1855–75 (pressure on Abeokuta, etc.).
- Lagos British colony 1861, British control of Badagary.
- King Toffa of Porto Novo (claims to Badagary) makes P.N. a French protectorate 1863 (for fear of the British).
- Dahomey expeditions into Egbado, destroy Isaga 1862, attack (fails) Abeokuta 1864, etc. (Abeokuta expels Europeans 1867).
- Dahomean King Glele cedes the rights of Cotonou to the French 1868.
- Dahomey brings Sabe & Ketu (north-east) under control, forces towns on upper Ogun to retreat to hilltop-settlements.
- War Moslem-ruled Ibadan-Egba etc. 1877–, sofisticated European weapons; the British peace-makers 1886, fill vacuum left by Oyo (and Ibadan).
- Togo, throughout history on the periphery of empires and powers, German protectorate 1884.
- Dahomey King Behanzin 1889–, refuses French rights to Cotonou (anger at French alliance with enemy King Toffa of Porto Novo), attacks c1890 with army of 5–6,000, besieges P.N.
- King Behanzin supplied with modern weapons (e.g., Martini-Henry rifles for female warriors) by the British, German; the French under Dodds march to Abomey 1892, heavy Dahomey losses; battle at Cana (traditional burial place of Dahomey kings), King Behazin's last stand. Dodds takes Abomey (already in flames), King Behazin captured 1894.
- Conquest of the north of Dahomey; frontiers drawn up with British, German 1901. Part of French West Africa 1904.
- German Togo capitulates 1914 to the British, French (western 1/3 to Gold Coast/Ghana after World War I).
- Catholic missions in Dahomey 1920–30s, country famed for "middle-rank" education.
- Independence of Togo 1956/1960.
- Independence of Dahomey 1960; coup 1963, etc., Kerérékou's take-over 1972, (Marxist) Bénin 1975. Democratic era 1989–.

Note. It is highly characteristic that the old kingdom of Dahomey throughout was small and compact, coherent, and acknowledged the authority of a single ruler (strong central monarchy). It was also effectively organized (in particular militarily). A marked degree of nationalism is noted, too, the king personifying the state. The administration lacked writing, though (in contrast to, e.g., the land-locked Islamic empires to the North).

APPENDIX II

Denmark and the so-called Slave Coast (with its settlements)=the West African coastal regions to the east of the Volta estuary in present-day Ghana. – Historical data after Nørregaard 1952–53/1966, Vol. 8, with Raunkiær 1917 (Isert). Selected/relevant other events are also cited (cf. Ajayi & Espie 1965; Ajayi 1974; Akinjogbin 1976; Greene 1996; Thomas 1998 (1997); etc.). Cf. Appendix III.

1484 – Two Portuguese ships at Whydah.

1669–71 – French trading station at Whydah; H. Carloff (in Danish service) establishes (in 1671), in the name of the French, a trading station at Whydah, "Pillau", in the hamlet of Gléhoué (Glehue).

1670s – Portuguese trading station at Whydah, "São Joao Bautista".

1680 – Accra people (under King Ashangmo), fighting Akanian Akwamu or Aquambo invasion, fugitives in Little Popo (Anecho); under protection of the King of Whydah, helping the latter against Dahomey.

1682 – Dutch trading station at Whydah.

1683 – English trading station at Whydah.

1684 (1694?) – Brandenburger (and other) trading station at Whydah.

1694 – Trader N.J. Arf loses two ships, "Christiansborg" & "Gyld-

enløves Vaaben", to pirates at Principe island in the Golf of Guinea.
1697 – Danish ship "Mynten"/"Nye Københavns Mynt" to Christiansborg and the Slave Coast.
1699 – Brandenburg surrenders its slave trade (departure of last "General" 1716).
1701 – French company re-established at Whydah.
1702 – Large French fortified lodge at Whydah, "Fort Saint-Louis" (first director mentioned for 1704); Akwamu conquers Little Popo.
1703 – Whydah "international port".
1703(/04?) – Danish ship "Christianus Quintus" to Whydah (249 slaves).
1707 – Danish ship "Christianus Quintus" to Popo & Whydah (211 slaves in addition to 236 from Christiansborg); later Admiral Peter Wessel (Thundershield) a ship's boy.
1709 – Danish ship "Christianus Quintus" to Whydah (drowning accident); Danish ship "Fridericus Quartus" to the Slave Coast (slave mutiny aboard).
1710f. – Danish assistant at Keta ("Nearer Slave Coast").
1712 – Construction of an English fort, "Fort William", at Whydah.
1716 – Danish constable at Keta.
1717 – Danish constable at Keta.
1718–20 – Danish post at Keta.
–1720 – Attempts at sending Danes to Whydah (merchant K. Rost, dies 1720).
1721 – Danish assistant at Keta; Portuguese fort at Whydah, "Fort Sao-Jao-Batista d'Ajuda".
1724 – Dahomey conquers Allada (and its port).
1727 – Dahomey invades/conquers Whydah.
1731 – Danish coastal ship "Printz Friderich" wrecked at Popo.
1737 – Small Dutch fort "Singelenburgh" (built 1734) at Keta taken by negroes, offered to the Danish, blown up.
1744–45 – Danish lodge at Keta (encouraged by the king of Popo).
c1748 – Danish lodge at Keta re-established.
1757 – Danish gifts to the king of Popo; Danish lodge at Way (soon evacuated).
1762f. – Danish lodge at Way re-established.
1763 – Factor nominated for Danish lodge at Keta (F.J. Kuhberg?).
c1767 – European ships avoid Whydah (lack of slaves, the trade destructive of itself).
1769 – Awuna, allied with people from Way & Keta, attack Ada.
c1770 – Danish lodge at Keta supported by the king of Popo.
1772f. – Awuna, Way, Keta attack Aflahu (Ghana, at present border with Togo).
1772(–1790(f.)) – Danish lodge at Little Popo (Anecho).
1775/76 – State of war at Danish posts, incl. Keta.
1777–89 – 1677 slaves bought by Danes at Keta/Prinsensten, 1520 slaves at Popo.
1783f. – Danish intention of continuous occupation Christiansborg-Keta.
1783 – Awuna attack on Danish force *en route* to Keta.
1784 – Danish party receives military support from Popo, Aflahu; Atocco, Awuna, Way burned; Danish battle victories; Danish fort at Keta, "Prinsensten" (same plan as Kongensten); Danish free passage through Awuna country, Danish lodge at Awuna (trade monopoly); Danish lodge at Aflahu.
1784–89 – 484 slaves bought by Danes at Aflahu.
1784 – Danish ship Ada at Ouidah; P. Isert selling the goods from the English Fort.
1785 – Danish gifts for the king of Popo; English fear of Danish trade expansion to Whydah.
1786(?) – Unrest at Prinsensten; monthly Danish gifts to the king of Popo.
c1788f. – Negro (Akwamu-cabuceer) suggestion that Denmark build fort at Little Popo; royal offer of factories in Dahomey.
1790 – Danish lodge in Popo under pressure due to struggles between pretenders; Negro attack on Keta (murder of Danish factor Thessen).
1792 – Still Danish lodge at Aflahu; Danish abolishment of slave trading, effective as of 1803.
1793 – Prinsensten still blocked from land.
1796 – Plan of Danish evacuation of Prinsensten (& Christiansborg).
1797 – Armistice between Awuna & Keta arranged by the Danish (soon broken).
–1800 – Popo & Whydah as slave ports.
1803 – Cf. the entry for 1792.
1812 – Battle between Awuna & Keta; plan of giving up Prinsensten.
1834 – Only one Danish soldier at Prinsensten.
1839 – Spanish slaver J. Mora active at Atocco, Way, Popo, Whydah, etc. chased by the Danish.
1842 – Danish expedition to Way, Atocco to capture Mora.
1844 – Children for slave-market at Way (Mora) saved.
1845 – Danish bailiff at Prinsensten captures slave-transport of 62, forced to return slaves to Awuna; Prinsensten restored.
1847 – Prinsensten besieged by negroes, fighting; capture of Way-negroes; etc.
1850 – The Danish flag on Fortress Prøvestenen lowered, as the last one over the West African posessions, on March 30.

APPENDIX III

Brandenburgers, Danes, Dutch, English, French at Little Popo/Attome, Grand Popo, Whydah, Savi, Ardra (Allada?), etc. ca. 1680–1700. Historical data extracted from Jones 1985 (Brandenburg sources, etc.) (etc.). Cf. Appendix II.

1680–83 – Danish ship "Charlotte Amalie" makes three(+) round-trips to Guinea.

1682 – English merchant Wyburne settled at Whydah; Brandenburg ship at Ardra (Allada); English, French, Dutch buy many slaves at Ardra (Allada) & Whydah.

1683 – Danish ship "Charlotte Amalie" (with Brandenburg ship "Waterhondt") seized by English pirate (later released).

1684 – Brandenburg post at Whydah (1694?).

1685 – Brandenburg permitted to sell slaves and start plantations on Danish St. Thomas (30 year treaty).

1686 – Dutch, English ships at Ardra (Allada).

1687 – Brandenburg residing agent Poselwit at "Attome" near Little Popo (post abandoned in April); Wyburne agreement with Royal African Company (dies 1690).

1688 – Brandenburg ships at Whydah; English, French ships at Whydah; English, French posts at Whydah; Brandenburg ship "Stadt Berlin" seized by Dutch warship off Great Popo; Dutch post founded at Great Popo.

1693 – Brandenburg fleet, including "Friedrich Wilhelm", passing Little Popo en route to Whydah; English house at Whydah surrounded by wall and small-calibre cannon; French merchants at Whydah(?)/French house.

1694 – Brandenburg short-lived trading posts at Great Popo (1694, rather than 1684), Whydah (1694, rather than 1684), Calabar/Calbarij (East of Niger) (1694), although not mentioned in Brandenburg Sources; English factor living four miles from "king of Whydah(?)"'s town; French factor at Savi.

1697/98 – French occupying Dutch lodge, Dutch living at Brandenburg shelter at Whydah.

1698 – Brandenburg ship "Ceur Princess" attacked by pirates/English privateer after leaving Whydah.

c1699 – Brandenburg surrenders its slave trade (departure of last "General" 1716).

c1700 – Brandenburg lodges at Popo & Whydah? (p. 190n).

Author's address:
Department of Archaeology and Ethnology
University of Copenhagen
Vandkunsten 5
DK-1467 Copenhagen K
Denmark
randsb@hum.ku.dk