

1 **Saving 1,000 years of African history : there is no evidence of a population collapse in**  
2 **Congo rainforest from 400 to 600 CE – 1. The radiocarbon dates.**

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5 **Pre Print for the *Science Advances* journal, response to the published paper** “Seidensticker (D.), Hubau  
6 (W.), Verschuren (D.), Fortes-Lima (C.), de Maret (P.), Schlebusch (C.M.) & Bostoen (K.), 2021, Population  
7 collapse in Congo rainforest from 400 CE urges reassessment of the Bantu Expansion, *Science Advances*,  
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9 Seidensticker *et al.*'s interesting study uses “*an integrated multi-proxy approach*” that  
10 combines radiocarbon dates and pottery styles. The authors lump all pottery-using communities  
11 into an Iron Age, dismissing any idea of a “Stone to Metal Age” or “Neolithic”. Iron, in fact,  
12 is widespread only from about 2,000 years ago (1). They also impose a sharp distinction  
13 between Early (EIA) and Late Iron Ages (LIA) not generally favoured by other researchers.  
14 What is more, their 11 ‘regions’ are determined by modern day international borders (‘regions’  
15 A to D, Cameroon, Gabon & Equatorial Guinea, Congo, western Democratic Republic of  
16 Congo or DRC), or specific research programs (‘regions’ E to H, and J). The last ‘region’, I, is  
17 a catch-all that groups a few sites in Angola but omits 10 dates from Mbanza Kongo. The only  
18 ‘region’ making sense is K, Bioko Island, part of modern Equatorial Guinea. Each of the  
19 ‘regions’ is claimed to have been studied by archeologists who applied similar strategies and  
20 ceramic analyses: this is simply incorrect. We question, for instance, the association of dates  
21 hundreds of kilometers apart which lack cultural homogeneity, especially in ‘regions’ A  
22 (Cameroon) and C (Congo and western DRC).

23 An important study argues that a statistically significant survey needs at least 100 <sup>14</sup>C for a  
24 given geographical sub-set to adequately reflect major trends in settlement intensity (2). Since  
25 that study, other researchers have argued for a minimum of 200 <sup>14</sup>C dates: “*summed probability*  
26 *plots based on less than 200-500 radiocarbon dates should be treated as provisional and likely*  
27 *to change appreciably once larger datasets become available*” (3). Multiple publications  
28 worldwide have also discussed the problems in using dates to estimate populations (e.g. 3 &  
29 4).

30 Seidensticker *et al.*'s “*transparent classification system*” for <sup>14</sup>C dates leads to 1,149 dates  
31 “*considered to be reliable*” (Class I, subdivided into Ia to Id). We consider Class Id (n=90)  
32 identical to Class IIc: dates not associated with any archeological material. In the remaining  
33 1,059 Class I dates (due to their context several should not be labeled Class I), we find 399  
34 from zone A (Cameroon), 196 from zone B (Gabon and Equatorial Guinea), 205 from zone C  
35 (Congo and DRC), 88 from zone D (Congo, DRC, CAR), 28 from zone E (Congo), 32 from  
36 zone F (DRC), 28 from zone G (DRC), 9 from zone H (DRC), 8 from zone I (Angola), 53 from  
37 zone J (DRC) and 13 from zone K (Equatorial Guinea, Bioko Island). Statistically, most zones  
38 do not reach the minimum requirements, especially zones D to K, and illustrate rather a lack  
39 of research. Only zone A, with 399 dates (51% come from only 11 hilltops dotted over southern  
40 Cameroon) and zones B and C, with about 200 dates each, are relevant; but we find in A, 1  
41 dated site per 2,876 km<sup>2</sup>, in B, 1 dated site per 2,937 km<sup>2</sup>, and in C, 1 dated site per 2,188 km<sup>2</sup>.  
42 Several large-scale studies exist of the growing corpus of <sup>14</sup>C dates from Central Africa (5).  
43 These studies, however, were not up to statistical standards, and their context was not  
44 systematically verified. In Seidensticker *et al.*'s Table S1, for instance, we find the same  
45 weaknesses. For example, 12 dates ranging over 1,000 years come from a single ancient pit at  
46 Oliga (Yaoundé, Cameroon), and 2 dates come from an old termite mound at Otoumbi 2

47 (Gabon) (6), while the authors ignore papers by L. Digombe and P. Schmidt that give the  
48 contexts of the EIA dates from Moanda, Gabon.

49 The best context is often ancient pits. Exceptional cases can yield up to 12, as at Oliga, but  
50 usually the numbers range from 1 to 3, leading to another discrepancy in the ‘good’ dates: they  
51 artificially boost the number of EIA dates from areas A and D-F. Eliminating multiple dates  
52 from a single feature, probably the result of a single historical event, reduces the Ia to Ic assays  
53 in specific ‘regions’, and in turn reduces the difference between the EIA and LIA. Multiple  
54 dates from one feature makes sense from an archaeological perspective, but not for past  
55 demography. What is the demographic significance of the 20 <sup>14</sup>C dates from as many features  
56 at the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Ngongo Mbata town (DRC), the 27 <sup>14</sup>C assays from 17 features at  
57 the EIA Campo (Cameroon) site, and the Okala site (Gabon) with 9 dates from as many features  
58 and 3 separate and successive Neolithic villages (7) ? It is the range of dated features, not the  
59 number of dates, that is important. Consequently, the radiocarbon evidence does not support  
60 Seidensticker *et al.*’s conclusions.

61 We argue that the more complex or vast a site, the more excavated surface is needed along with  
62 more dates. The high numbers, however, will not necessarily be linked to past demography,  
63 but to excavation strategy and the research questions under investigation. The link to research  
64 design is well documented throughout sub-Saharan Africa (8).

65 We do find a deficit of <sup>14</sup>C dates from 1400 BP through the LIA, even though the number of  
66 recorded sites is much higher than for the EIA. This is supported by the genetics of Gabonese  
67 people mentioned by Seidensticker *et al.*, suggesting a population increase after the 11<sup>th</sup>  
68 century. Rather than a hiatus between the EIA and LIA, the lack of empirical data for the LIA  
69 is to be linked to academic disinterest, differing fieldwork practice, soil preservation  
70 conditions, and a low demography suggested by historical and ethnographical accounts from  
71 Central Africa all pointing to low populations densities (9).

72 Available data do therefore not support a ‘*population collapse in Congo rainforest from 400*  
73 *CE*’, especially when only western Central Africa (‘regions’ A to C) has barely sufficient  
74 evidence. We need more and better datasets to determine the best hypothesis: “*Only further*  
75 *archaeological research will make it possible to know if we are indeed confronted with a large-*  
76 *scale demographic phenomenon or if the current void is still the result of a lack of research.*”  
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