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OLIVIER GOSSELAIN

ROADS, MARKETS, MIGRANTS

THE HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF A MALE HAUSA POTTERY TRADITION IN SOUTHERN NIGER

A la *loi naturelle*, à *l'action fatale des choses* chères aux pseudo-savants a fait place: *la volonté opiniâtre de l'homme.*

Antonio Gramsci

ABSTRACT

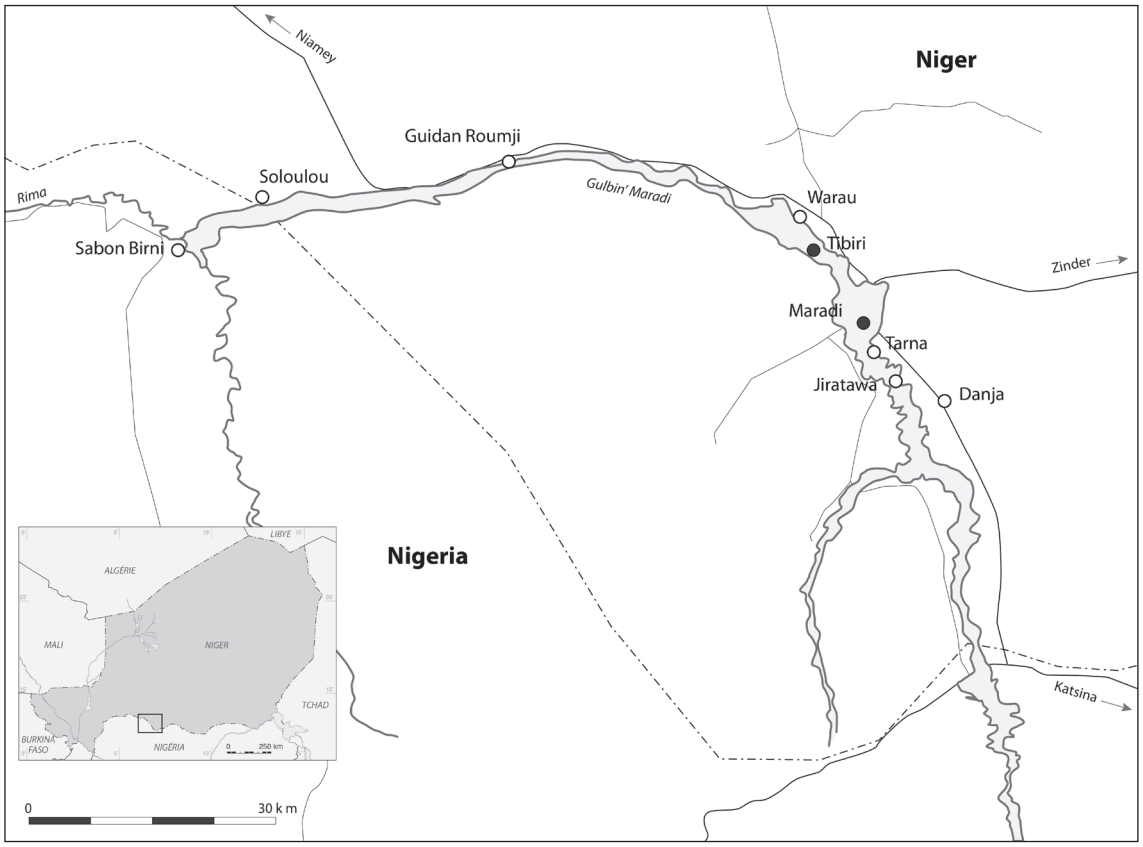
The Hausa male pottery tradition of South-Central Niger and Northern Nigeria is a striking technical and sociological phenomenon. Not only is it restricted to a gender usually kept apart from pottery making in the area, but also it is characterized by a high degree of technical homogeneity and craft intensity. Each day individual potters produce from 20 to 60 water bottles of similar shape and size. Although grouped in the pottery quarters of localities scattered across a huge area, they share the same shaping technique (radiating pounding), a limited set of clay processing recipes, and two main firing techniques.

Standardization in techniques and finished products is traditionally explained in terms of craft specialization and labor intensity. Here, however, additional factors must be taken into consideration to explain the characteristics and spatial homogeneity of the tradition. Its history clearly results from a series of factors operating at various temporal and spatial scales: the progressive development of social and economic spaces within which potters engage in seasonal migrations; the connections between potting communities through family ties, exchanges of tools, or shifting trading strategies of middlemen; the historical development of polities and political boundaries since the early 1800s; the specificities of the Hausa masculine praxis and worldview; and the existence of fertile valleys that attracted farmers and traders throughout the 20th century, leading to a population increase from the 1950s onward.

At the onset of the 21st century, several surprises were in store for anyone who visited pottery-producing villages around the town of Maradi, in South-Central Niger. First and foremost, the scale of production was massive. Dozens of potters were at work in each center during the dry season, each producing from 20 to 60 vessels a day. Beginning each morning, artisans, patrons, middlemen, and food sellers bustled among pots piled in huge heaps. Second, products were highly standardized. *Tulu*, a small- or medium-sized water bottle (fig. 3 f), was the main form produced throughout the area, and only a few potters engaged in the making of a second form – *randa*, a large water jar. Vessels were also of similar appearance, to the extent that potters claimed not to be able to recognize their own wares without marking them. Standardization extended to the *chaîne opératoire*, for potters from the various centers shared tools, techniques, and recipes. Finally, the pottery tradition was seen to be exclusively in the hands of men, a puzzling phenomenon since pottery making is a female craft around the Maradi area, as well as in most Hausa communities of Southern Niger and Northern Nigeria. Even more surprisingly, this inversion came from a context where gender relations are so polarized that men and women often seem to inhabit parallel universes[1].

Something uncommon was definitely happening here.

[1] Salamone 2007.



1 Location of the Gulbin' Maradi and the six villages with male pottery production (blank circles) where enquiries were made between 2002 and 2010 (© ■■■)

As I visited the pottery centers of the Maradi area on various occasions between 2002 and 2010 – in the course of my research project »Atlas des traditions céramiques du Niger«[2] – I became increasingly interested in their history. Starting with technical observations and enquiries into the social context, I launched into a more systematic collection of data in 2009 and 2010. These data included historical narratives, potters' biographies, interviews with patrons and middlemen, a census of the potters, and some quantitative measurements of production output. The research program was prematurely interrupted, due to unrest in Niger and north Nigeria. But while an in-depth reconstruction of the history of Hausa male potting communities awaits further work, several elements may already be identified that have contributed since the end of the 19th century to the development of a most original pottery tradition.

As in previous publications[3], I will focus on two specific dimensions of craft practice to retrace its local evolution: social relations and spatial embeddedness. Relational aspects have been especially discussed by Jean Lave[4], who urges us to envision the »social world of activity« as a set of relations: between persons acting and between the social and material worlds. Such relations do not merely delineate a socio-historical framework within which artisans operate.

2 Fieldwork in Niger was funded by the Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine of the Université libre de Bruxelles. I thank the two successive directors of the Centre – Didier Viviers and Laurent Bavay – for their support. My interest for the social and spatial embeddedness of craft practices arose from discussions with members of the project »Gestes, objets, lexiques. Analyse multiscalaires de transmissions culturelles«, funded between 2002 and 2007 by the grant »Actions de Recherche Concertée« from the DGENORS (Direction de la Recherche scientifique de la Communauté française de Belgique). None of the work done so far in Niger would have been possible without the help of the students involved since 2003 and my research assistant Doulla Sindy.

3 See for example: Gosselain 2008a; Gosselain 2008b.

4 Lave 1996; Lave 2011.

They actually partially determine how artisans shape and give meaning to their daily engagement in the craft; for example, how they interact with each other, share knowledge, use tools and materials, cope with changing situations, or seize new opportunities. This is what Lave calls the »circumstances« of practice[5], an essential dimension for understanding not only the functioning of a specific activity, but also its historical trajectory.

›Spatial embeddedness‹ must be conceived in relational terms as well. It pertains to two different, but complementary, categories of space. The first is the space experienced by individuals through daily activities, social interactions, economic exchanges, or travels, and around which a sense of identity and belonging develops together with practical knowledge and representations. ›Spaces of experience‹ have an obvious impact on craft practice, since they tend to channel artisans' behavior. Yet they often develop irrespective of the craft itself, and may vary from one artisan to the next within the same community. The second category of space is representational. It concerns all the places known by an individual through secondary accounts (e.g., from kin or friends). Such knowledge generally reinforces a person's sense of belonging, but also enriches repertoires and opens the way for new opportunities.

In the case of the Maradi area, we will see that spatial and social relations are crucial notions regarding the historical development of the male pottery tradition, and that they relate to processes occurring at various temporal and geographical scales. For this reason I will consider two areas in this chapter: the region of the Gulbin' Maradi, along which the pottery-producing villages mentioned above are situated (fig. 1); and the northern half of Nigeria – on the other side of the border – where a series of male potting communities are also encountered (fig. 2). As will become apparent, these two areas share numerous historical, cultural, political, and economic ties.

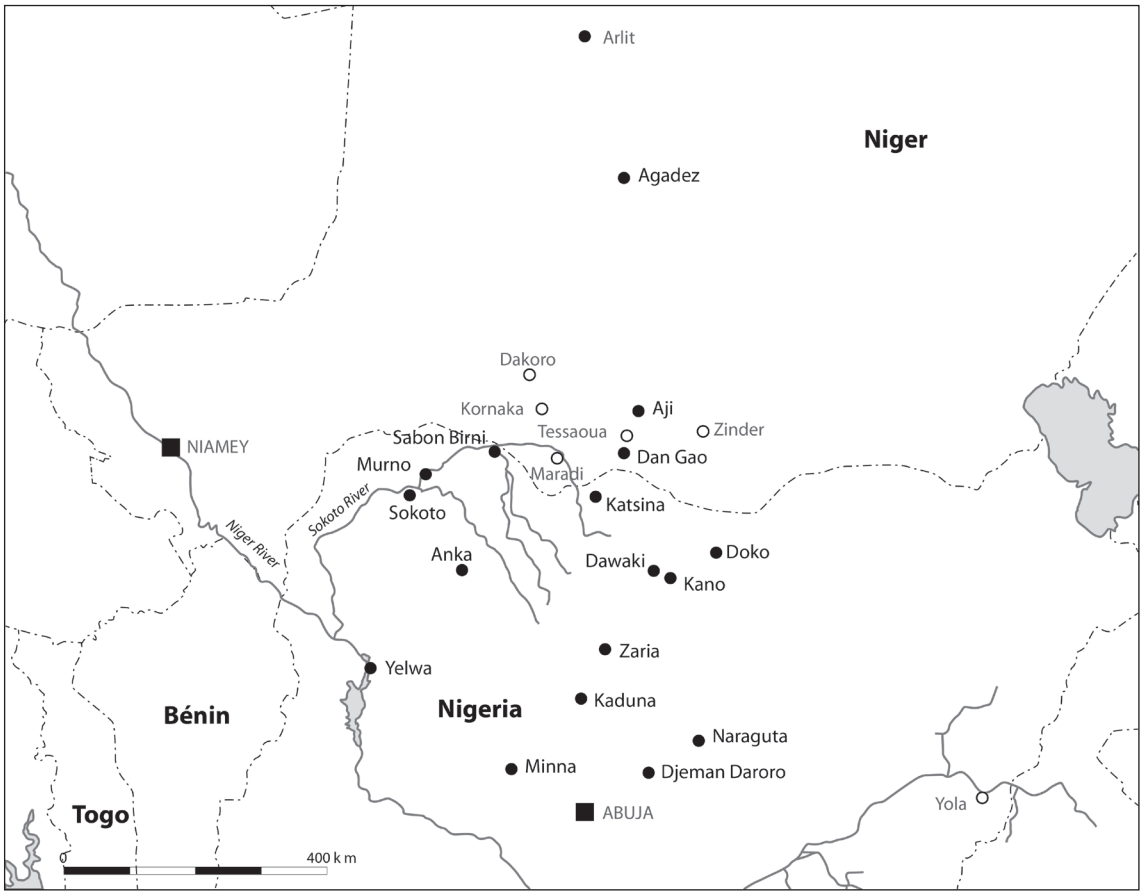
A last remark must be made regarding the way this chapter is constructed. As a social scientist, I believe that our main duty is to use ethnography as a method for addressing the complexity of the world and attempting context-related analyses of socio-historical processes, not as a starting point for building abstract concepts and theories. The latter should simply be conceived as tools to be used strategically and efficiently. Keeping that in mind, I have chosen to put the emphasis on the historical narrative; that is, on what could be achieved by looking at social and spatial relations in a craft environment. What others choose to do with this case study is their own responsibility.

SETTING THE CONTEXT: POTTERS AND POTTERY IN THE GULBIN' MARADI

Data presented here were collected between 2002 and 2010 in six villages – Jiratawa, Warau, Guidan Roumji, Tarna, Danja, and Soloulou – situated along the Gulbin' Maradi, a temporary river flowing into the Rima and belonging to the Sokoto river basin (fig. 1). The first four villages are important potting centers, where a majority of men were, or had been, engaged in pottery making when I started my enquiries. Together, these villages produce the bulk of water bottles used in a 150 km radius extending to the east, north, and west of the Gulbin' Maradi. In the two remaining centers, only a small number of men practice the craft on a regular basis. Yet their techniques and mode of organization are similar to those of the bigger centers.

While a peculiarity of the Gulbin' Maradi potting centers is the gender of the artisans, women are not completely absent from the picture. In Tarna, for instance, many women are involved in the craft, either as retailers or potters. The latter are usually married to potters and work close to their husbands' workshops; yet they use another shaping technique (molding on a convex mold, as opposed to radiating pounding [see below]) and specialize in the making of large water jars and cooking pots. Female potters were also encountered in Warau and Jiratawa, but they originated from Tarna and only recently married local potters. A slightly different situation prevails

[5] Lave 2011, 143.



2 Location of the towns and villages mentioned in the text. Black dots correspond to places were male and/or female potters have been observed since the beginning of the 20th century. Most of them use the radiating pounding technique (© ■■■)

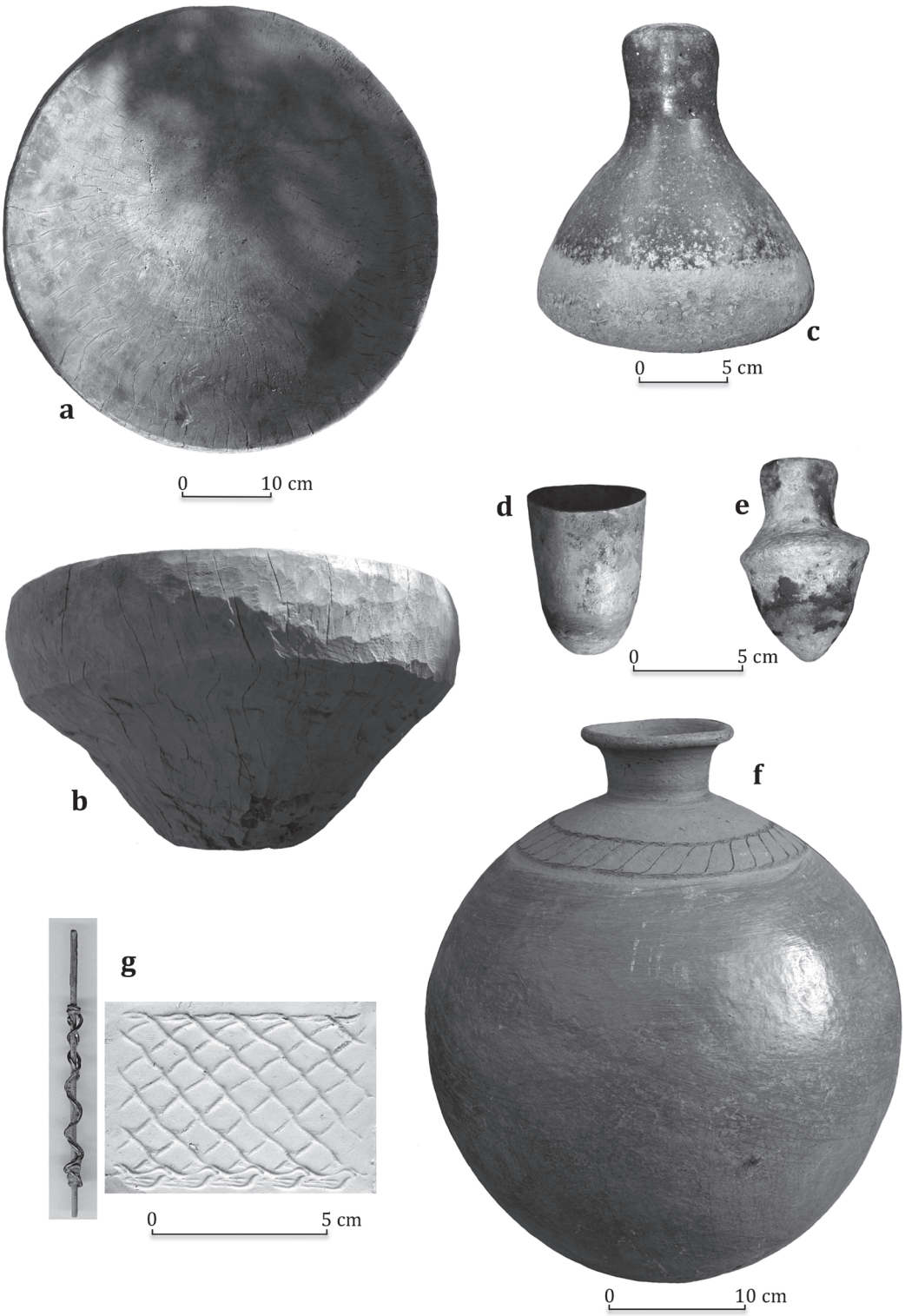
in Guidan Roumji, as female potters are concentrated in a particular district and are mostly unrelated to male potters.

Male informants are eager to draw a strict boundary between male and female practices, especially when referring to potting techniques. It is only natural, they say, that women use molding while men use pounding, as the latter »demands more strength«. Moreover, »women should never sit on the ground with their legs spread apart«, a posture typically associated with the pounding technique. When molding a pot, women stand and bend, just as they do when tending fields or preparing food.

The pottery tradition discussed in this paper is thus strictly gendered, besides being essentially confined to a small region in Niger.

CRAFT ORGANIZATION

Male potters usually congregate in specific districts, working alone or in groups of two or three in small rectangular workshops made of millet stalks. These workshops are typically built on the outskirts of villages, in large open areas close to clay extraction sites. A recent population increase and the development of market gardening have put heavy land pressures on such areas, forcing an increasing number of potters to retreat within built-up areas. At the time of my enquiries, there was one pottery district in Guidan Roumji and one in Soloulou, two in Jiratawa, four in Warau, but none in Tarna or Danja, where potters worked in their courtyards and only gathered at firing places.



3 Some characteristic elements of the male pottery tradition discussed in this chapter: (a. b) *talgue*, a wooden support used for pounding the vessels during the shaping process; (c) *dindinge*, a ceramic tamper used for pounding clay on the wooden support; (d. e) calabash and unfired clay template used for giving a uniform shape to the vessel's aperture; (f) *tulu*, a highly standardized water bottle; (g) *mazania*, a string-wrapped stick roulette used for impressing signature-like motifs (Photos ■■■)

4 Interior of a workshop in the Dankawa district of Jiratawa. Vessels are shaped in three stages, in series of 20 to 60 (Photo ■■■)

In terms of intensity and subsistence, two situations are observed. The first situation concerns a small number of individuals (less than 10 % of the potters' population) who work full time, all year round. Although these men own fields and cattle, they receive much of their income from pottery making. Usually characterized as men aged above forty who are workshop owners and members of old potters' lines, they are local figures of authority. The second situation concerns younger individuals who work part time during the dry season (from December to April). For them, pottery making is a job comparable to any other male activity that allows them to raise cash between periods of agricultural work. While most belong to potters' lines and own their workshops, others have trained with nonrelatives, with whom they continue working. As we will see below, part-time potters tend also to be mobile, settling seasonally in other potting centers of the Gulbin' Maradi, or in more distant regions.

Most potters perform all the steps of the manufacturing process and work daily, on series of 20 to 60 vessels (fig. 4). From clay processing to surface finishing, all pieces pass through a given stage before the next is started. This system of production obviously explains the standardization of finished products. Yet similarity should not be considered as a mere by-product. Rather, it is actively sought by potters, who view it as an index of technical expertise, and by clients, who praise the industrial appearance of the vessels.

A form of labor division exists in several potters' districts, especially in Jiratawa and Warau, where individuals only marginally engaged in the activity may carry out clay extraction, slipping, burnishing, or firing. Most are children or apprentices who simply give help to their relatives or masters. But a small number of hired workers who do not plan to enter the craft are also in charge of unspecialized tasks. More striking, labor division may include skilled potters who do not make pottery but buy unfinished or unfired vessels from others and complete the manufacturing process. Here, a larger volume of vessels sold compensates lower gains per unit.

« ...do not build vessels anymore but buy unfinished or unfired ones from... »

Chaîne opératoire

Clay is extracted in large communal pits on the banks of the Gulbin' Maradi, between 50 and 500 m from the workshops. The raw material is transported on the head or in oxcarts, sprinkled

with water, roughly mixed with a hoe, and put in circular pits or in pairs of clay pots buried in front of the workshop. In Jiratawa, the raw material is usually mixed before transport and stocked within the workshop, under plastic sheets or in mat-covered pits.

5 Shaping a vessel with the radiating pounding technique, using a clay tamper and a wooden support. Note the use of the right foot for turning the vessel on the support (Photo ■■■)

Having soaked for a night, clay is mixed with millet husk – about 30 % in volume – and kneaded on a mat. Handfuls of the prepared material are taken, pressed between the hands, and hit and rolled on the mat until acquiring a rough spherical shape. Each one will serve to form a complete vessel body, their number corresponding to the number of vessels a potter plans to make during the day. Measurements made in Jiratawa and Guidan Roumji gave a weight of 4.3 to 5.6 kg for individual lumps, with less than 5 % variation in series made by the same potter.
Fashioning is done in three stages, with each stage conducted successively on the whole series of clay lumps. First, a lump is rolled into a cylinder, then flattened by throwing it violently on the mat, and pinched between the fingers until obtaining a thick, slightly concave disc. Second, the disc is placed on a *talge*, a half-buried, concave wooden anvil[6] (fig. 3 a. b) and pounded into a hemispherical form with a *dindinge*, a clay tamper (fig. 3 c). The technique used is called radiating pounding[7], in which blows start from the center of the clay lump and radiate toward the rim, while the clay is continuously rotated on the anvil (with the hand or the foot). The resulting shape is a thin-walled hemispherical bowl with a thick coil-like rim. Finally, this rim of clay is thinned down and elongated by pounding it on the anvil until obtaining a spherical shape (fig. 5).
After scraping and smoothing the wall around the aperture, it is next given a uniform shape with a round-shaped template, either a calabash end or unfired clay plug (fig. 3 d. e). Next, the potter shapes the neck with a mixture of clay and crushed donkey dung. The material is shaped into a cone, pierced with the finger and put, upside down, on the hole. Pinching it between thumb and fingers, the potter first turns the vessel on the anvil with the remaining hand, then places it on his left hand (on a sherd) and rotates it quickly, while exerting a constant pressure on the rim. The neck and lip are thus progressively formed through a process not unlike wheel throwing. A similar technique is used for big water jars, except that clay is initially shaped into a ring, and the vessel is rotated on the wooden anvil.
Rolled impressions are often made on the shoulder with string-wrapped sticks (nails or twigs wrapped with a twisted copper wire [fig. 3 g]). Such tools provide different motifs viewed by many potters as ›signatures‹ that help in sorting vessels after communal firings or at the time of selling. In addition to occasional figures incised below the neck (triangles, festoons), potters consider as proper decoration slipping the lower two-thirds of the body with crushed ochre diluted in water. The slip is applied with a rag, in one or two layers, and polished first with a string of baobab seeds then with a mosquito net.
With the exception of the Dakawa district of Jiratawa, firing is done in circular mud-walled ovens about one meter in height and two to three meters in diameter. Pots are staked in several

[6] Made with the wood of *Piliostigma reticulatum*, *Prosopis africana*, or *Acacia albida*.
[7] Gosselain 2010, 673.

layers, with the first layer placed on clay brick or fired vessels, and the last covered with sherds or small clay banks[8]. During firing, armfuls of millet stalks are continuously pushed through four holes at the base of the oven. Then potters cover the sherds with millet husk and let the fire burn down. The whole process takes about an hour. In the Dakawa district, potters build a rectangular bonfire of about 4 by 5 m, placing vessels on twigs and covering them with sherds and a thick, compacted layer of straw and millet husk. Fire is set at dusk and let to burn down for the night.

DISTRIBUTION

As a rule, active potters never sell vessels outside their workshop. The bulk of the production is bought and distributed by middlemen, whose status varies from petty traders to semi-professional peddlers. Selling prices are fixed and broadly similar throughout the area, which is at odds with common bargaining practices in markets. Middlemen usually work with the potters directly, but a growing number of retailers operate in some centers. In Warau, for example, six former potters, with enough cash to launch into the trade, were buying the whole village's production in 2009 and 2010.

In terms of traveling distance and quantity, local female traders operate at the bottom of the scale. Buying pots from relatives or neighbors, they bring them on foot to local markets, traveling within a radius of 15 km. In large localities – and especially in the town of Maradi – they must compete with male retailers who usually have larger resources of cash, transportation, and stock.

Male petty traders originate mainly from nonpotting villages and operate during the dry season. Buying and reselling a variety of products, they usually follow a given route that passes through one or two pottery district(s). In March 2009, for example, an adolescent made daily bicycle trips between Maradi, Jiratawa, and his home village, some 15 km to the south, selling guavas in Maradi and on his return trip buying pots to sell along the road. While such trading practices have a low geographical and economic impact when considered at the individual level, the sheer number of persons involved during the dry season ensures that pottery produced in the Gulbin' Maradi percolates through every market and village community within a radius of 30 to 50 km.

The next level in pottery distribution includes semi-specialized male peddlers. Most live in distant villages and only engage in pottery trading during the dry season. Owning an oxcart, donkeys, or camels, they are able to transport loads of 40 to 150 vessels over distances of 50 to 150 km. These seasonal peddlers usually frequent the same potters or retailers for years, establishing trusting relationships. For example, a Bella[9] man from the area of Kornaka (80 km to the north of Maradi) had been visiting the Dakawa district of Jiratawa for 17 years in 2009. Accompanied by an apprentice, he made weekly trips with two donkeys during the dry season, transporting 44 bottles on each trip. He sold them, with increasing prices, over a 50 km area to the west of Maradi. Another peddler, from a village situated some 100 km to the northeast of Maradi, used a cart for transporting a load of 140 bottles that he sold at markets around his home village. He had been frequenting the same retailer in Warau for two years. Interestingly, these male peddlers operate within a space and along tracks formerly used by herders who frequented the important cattle market of Tarna from the last decades of the 19th century to the mid-20th century[10]. Trading relationships between northern farmers and southern Hausa communities of the Maradi area are thus long-standing, with pottery bottles constituting just another item that recently entered the distribution network.

[8] Usually made by apprentices and sold in markets.

[9] Also called »Buzu« by the Hausa, Bella are former Tuareg slaves. In the area under study, most of them no longer speak Tamasheq and are adopting a Hausa identity (see Gosselain 2008a; Gosselain 2008b).

[10] Grégoire 1986; Rain 2001.

All in all, hundreds of water bottles may thus leave pottery districts everyday at the peak of the dry season. Distributed around the Gulbin' Maradi as well as in more distant regions, they frequently coexist with vessels made by female potters (especially water jars and cooking pots). Dozens of potting communities are indeed located in a 150 km radius to the north of Maradi, where only women carry out the craft and sell their products at local markets. In these contexts, pottery bottles from the Gulbin' Maradi constitute a niche market whose development does not seem to have had a significant impact on the local craft (other than the fact that some female potters stopped making water bottles and concentrated on other – often more profitable – pottery forms).

The most notable effect of long-distance distribution is that an increasing number of people have been introduced to a novel category of products: light, industrial, cheap, and easily replaceable water bottles. Their wide adoption has given rise to a new market that is currently tapped, strengthened, and expanded by a variety of entrepreneurs. Through their involvement in the craft, these individuals not only shape a new ›pottery landscape‹ but also contribute to the growing reputation of the Gulbin' Maradi potting centers, frequented by increasingly distant peddlers since the 1980s.

BROADENING THE SCOPE

The pottery tradition described above is not confined to the Gulbin' Maradi. During fieldwork in Niger, for instance, I encountered several male potters who used the radiating pounding technique and specialized in the production of pottery bottles. This was the case in Dan Gao (fig. 2), some 100 km to the east of Maradi, where a dozen Hausa potters were at work in March 2005, under the direction of a 45-year-old man. His father had learned the trade during a temporary sojourn in Northern Nigeria, and opened his own workshop upon his return in the 1970s. I met another potter in Agadez (fig. 2), in March 2006. A Tuareg from the KelTedek group, he had started his professional life as a salt trader, then learned the craft in Agadez during the 1960s from a migrant potter from Sararaou, 5 km to the west of Dan Gao. A cross-check of biographical details indicates that two other male potters observed in Arlit by Lhote[11] are actually the sons of this Sararaou man. They settled in Arlit during the 1970s, at the time of the uranium boom, and were still active in 2007. To my knowledge, they constitute the most northern occurrence of the Hausa male pottery tradition.

It is, however, to the south of the Gulbin' Maradi that the male pottery tradition is especially flourishing. Since the early 20th century, male Hausa potters have been consistently encountered in Northern Nigeria, within or in the vicinity of large towns such as Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Yelwa, or Yola (fig. 2)[12]. As social, technical, and historical aspects of their traditions provide clues about the history of the Gulbin' Maradi potters, relevant information will be summarized below.

MALE POTTERY MAKING IN NORTH NIGERIA

A comparison of available data shows that craft organization is broadly similar to that observed in the Gulbin' Maradi: full-time activity, annual variation in the production output – with a marked peak in the dry season, manufacturing operations conducted on series of 10 to 60 vessels, and forms of labor division (e.g., apprentices shaping the neck of vessels made by their

[11] Lhote 1977.

[12] Allen 1983; Broß et al. 1993; Cardew 1952; Fagg 1971; Garzio 1980; Hambly 1935, 425; Heatcote 1976; Jenness 1974; Krieger 1961; Leoni – Prichett 1978; Nicholson 1929; Nicholson 1931; Oyeoku 1999; Simmonds 1984; Simmonds 1992; Slye 1962; Slye 1973. During fieldwork in Niger, I heard about the existence of many other pottery-producing villages in northern Nigeria, especially in the region of Katsina. Yet I was not able to get accurate locations or complementary data about their history or technical traditions.

masters)[13]. Among notable differences is the fact that some production centers[14] are, or were, only frequented by itinerant potters. Originating from the Kano area or Sokoto, these men practice the craft for several months and return home at the beginning of the farming season. Another difference concerns the involvement of female potters, who may share the same technical tradition as men, and even supplant them in some centers. This is the case in Dawaki and Zaria, for instance, where the radiating pounding technique was formerly used by men and women alike, but is now in the hands of women only. Men have either abandoned the craft or shifted to molding[15]. Although this male usage of the molding technique is striking, given the situation observed in and around the Gulbin' Maradi, it seems widespread in northern Nigeria[16].

Regarding manufacturing techniques, available data reveal a complex situation. In Sokoto, Katsina, Yelwa, Murno, and Yola, techniques used at different steps in the manufacturing process are strictly or nearly identical to those of the Gulbin' Maradi potters. Differences include the use of a compacted and smoothed depression in the ground instead of a wooden anvil, or different categories of roulette (e.g., ear of *Blepharis* sp. or folded strip roulette) for impressing motifs on the shoulder of the vessels[17]. In other centers, and especially in Anka and the Kano and Zaria areas, more pronounced differences are observed. For example, potters temper the clay with sand, grog, or crushed donkey dung, and/or fire their pots in large bonfires rather than ovens[18]. Variations also concern the shaping technique, as some potters shape the upper wall of the vessel through beating it with a wooden paddle[19], a technique usually associated with molding among Hausa or with the ›converging‹ pounding technique in neighboring populations[20]. Interestingly, the latter technique was also documented among female potters of Sokoto and Kano in the first decades of the 20th century[21].

To summarize, several connections exist between the Gulbin' Maradi area and North Nigeria, at both social and technical levels. Yet aspects of craft organization and processing techniques are seen to be less consistently associated with the area under study, and it is only around Sokoto, Yelwa, and Katsina (i.e., in Northwestern Nigeria), as well as Doko and Yola, that fully similar practices have been observed. One should note that these potting centers also specialize in the production of water bottles, while other centers produce a wider range of pottery forms. In North-Central Nigeria, and notably around Kano, Zaria, and Kaduma, male potters do not only display technical variations – especially in finishing the vessels by paddling, or firing them in large bonfires – but also seem to be less rigidly separated from female potters, with whom they exchange techniques and materials. While a connection with Gulbin' Maradi potters is less salient, other technical aspects, as well as the potters' vocabulary or production mode, indicate that they probably belong to the same broad tradition.

THE MALE POTTERY TRADITION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The history of male potters in north Nigeria definitely needs further research. But some elements may already be observed. First, neither the male involvement in the craft nor the scale of production documented in the second half of the 20th century seems to be very old. European travelers who explored Hausa regions during the 19th century and sojourned in cities such as

[13] See Slye 1973.
[14] Yelwa (Jenness 1974, 73; Nicklin 1979, 443), Tsugugi (Allen 1983), Minna and Yola (Simmonds 1984; Simmonds 1992).
[15] Abdullah – Hamza 1998; Fagg 1971; Leoni – Pritchett 1978. For a description and a picture of the pounding technique used by a female potter in Dawaki, see: <http://www.detomosabroad.com/?p=1354> (20. 11. 2012).
[16] See for example: Broß et al. 1993.
[17] Nicholson 1929; Oyeoku 1999; Slye 1973.
[18] Allen 1983; Fagg 1971; Garzio 1980; Krieger 1961; Simmonds 1984; Slye 1973.
[19] Fagg 1971; Garzio 1980; Leoni – Pritchett 1978.
[20] For a description and distribution, see Gosselain 2010.
[21] Hambly 1935, 425; Nicholson 1931.

Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, or Zaria[22] provided information about several production activities, but never mentioned the existence of pottery-making districts or male potters. As they were mainly interested in male activities and trade[23], one is led to conclude that pottery making was in the hands of women during the 19th century or characterized by a low production scale – as is currently the case in most Hausa communities.

Tremearne[24] was the first to mention the existence of a male Hausa potter in 1910, but the man he observed in Djeeman Daroro used the molding technique, just as his modern male and female counterparts in the neighboring town of Naraguta[25]. At the end of the 1920s, the use of the radiating pounding technique was documented in Sokoto, among male and female potters of the Aderawa subgroup, whose ›Berber‹ (i.e., Tuareg) ancestors would have emigrated from central Niger (Ader) in the early 19th century[26]. Their *chaîne opératoire* is strikingly similar to that observed in the Gulbin' Maradi. In the Ader region of Niger, however, Tuareg potters shape the lower part of the vessels with the converging pounding technique and use a combination of coiling and paddling for the upper part[27], as do other Tamasheq-speaking or Tuareg-related potters in Niger[28]. We saw above that this method was also observed in Northern Nigeria. During the 1920s, it seems to have been the prerogative of female potters in Kano[29] and Sokoto. In the latter town, female potters using the converging pounding technique belonged to the Zorumawa subgroup and claimed a Fulbe or Mande ancestry[30]. Although Leoni and Pritchett[31] do not provide enough details, I suspect that the converging pounding technique was also used by the female potters of Zaria. They were members of the Bambadawa subgroup of palace praise-singers and would have had the monopoly on the craft in Zaria since the early 19th century. Interestingly, Bambadawa potters were also observed in Kano in the early 1920s[32]. Originating from Katsina, they included some men and relied on the molding technique for shaping the vessels. As for Katsina, available data indicate that the craft was in the hands of women up to the early thirties and that the shaping technique used was identical to that of the Aderawa potters of Sokoto[33].

Depending on regions and town districts, Hausa potters were thus mainly or exclusively females until the 1930s. From various origins, they used at least three different shaping techniques: molding, radiating pounding, and converging pounding. Men occasionally shared the first two techniques during the 1920s, but molding could have been more broadly and earlier associated with male potters, especially in contexts where craft practices depended on other social criteria besides gender division. In major Hausa towns, pottery making seems indeed to have been the privilege of specialized subgroups, whose male members were essentially engaged in other activities.

Radiating pounding appears as an innovation that emerged in the Sokoto-Katsina area during the first decades of the 20th century, either introduced independently, or evolving locally from the converging pounding technique – itself possibly introduced by non-Hausa female potters during the 19th century. Even if available data remain limited, it appears that this innovation may

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22 Among others: Hugh Clapperton in the 1820s, Heinrich Barth in the 1850s, Paul Staudinger in the 1880s, and Charles Robinson in the 1890s.
23 Bivins 2007, 43 f.
24 Tremearne 1910.
25 Oyeoku 1999, 29.
26 Nicholson 1929.
27 Gosselain 2008b, 75; Gosselain 2010, 675–676.
28 Gosselain 2008a.
29 Hambly 1935, 425.
30 Nicholson 1931. According to Lovejoy 1986, 217, Zoromawa Hausa were professional kola and salt traders during the 18th c. In Kebbi (the westernmost Hausa state), they constituted a caste-like subgroup including traders, potters, and blacksmiths.
31 Leoni – Pritchett 1978.
32 Meek 1925, 163–165.
33 »Henry Balfour diaries« 1930 < http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/manuscripts/balfourdiaries1930.html> (13. 08. 2005); Temple 1919, 471.

have taken place in a context characterized by an increasing specialization in pottery products as well as a more pronounced involvement of male potters. It also included the use of transportable clay or wooden anvils as well as ovens.

From the 1930s onward, male involvement in pottery making grew exponentially, to the extent that men supplanted women in several regions. Used to the practice of *cin rani*[34] migrations, they also exported their techniques and products outside the Sokoto and Kano areas. In Zaria City, for instance, migrant potters from the Kano area arrived at an early date; by the end of the 1940s, hundreds of them were at work in the town during the dry season[35]. Some settled for good, others pushed further to Kaduna and Minna[36]. To the west, migrant potters from Sokoto frequented Yelwa[37]and could be responsible for the introduction of the radiating pounding technique and oven firing in Murno. Judging by the techniques used by migrant potters in Yola[38] and the potters of Doko[39], some connections with the Sokoto area seem likely. Thus, by the end of the 1970s, the Sokoto and Kano variants of the male pottery tradition had diffused southward to a distance of 450 km and had even reached the eastern confines of Nigeria.

Why such a shift from a female-based, small-scale economy to a male industry? If data remain scarce in regard to pottery making, there are indications that the male Hausa economy faced important challenges at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, especially in urban contexts[40]. The British protectorate notably disrupted a slave-based plantation economy centered on cotton that had not only benefitted plantation owners, but also a large-scale network of male weavers, dyers, and retailers. Trans-Saharan trade, whose history was intimately connected to the economic and political development of Hausa towns since at least the 17th century, gradually faded with the emergence of colonial towns along the Atlantic coast. This reorientation of trading networks was also accompanied by an influx of European goods that came into competition with the local products of male activities such as blacksmithing or leatherworking. In a context where men had (and still have) to provide the means for feeding their families[41], such changes must have forced individuals to develop new economic strategies. Shifting to pottery making or increasing one's involvement in the craft was a sensible choice: with no access to electricity or water distribution systems, North Nigerian populations relied heavily on pottery vessels for transporting and cooling water. And even cooking continued to be commonly done in clay vessels until the introduction of aluminium pots in the 1950s[42]. Thanks to population growth and the development of urban centers, potters were thus able to tap into an ever-expanding market until the 1970s. Recession came in the last decades of the 20th century, with the mass introduction of plastic containers and the availability of water pipes in urban houses. Unsurprisingly, men started to withdraw from pottery making as swiftly as they had invested in it half a century earlier[43].

All in all, the history of the north Nigerian male pottery tradition does not simply result from a ›technical abduction‹, but from the transformation of an existing system under changing circumstances. The process was initially made possible by the absence of a strict gender division in pottery production, due perhaps to the internal fluidity of existing groups of craft specialists. This change obviously affected the geographical location of emerging male potting

[34] Literally »eat the dry season«, a term used to denote circular migration during the long nonfarming season. Such migrations mostly involve young Hausa males from rural regions who seek employment or engage in petty trading activities in urban centers (see Rain 2001).
[35] Leoni – Pritchett 1978, 10.
[36] Allen 1983; Simmonds 1992.
[37] Jenness 1974; Nicklin 1979, 443.
[38] Simmonds 1984.
[39] Slye 1973.
[40] See for example: Baier 1980; Cooper 1997; Lovejoy 1978; Lovejoy 1986; Shea 1975.
[41] E.g., Salamone 2007.
[42] Romainville 2009.
[43] E.g., Leoni – Pritchett 1978.

centers. Regarding the manufacturing process, men relied mainly on techniques used previously by women. However, they implemented a mode of organization typically associated with other male crafts[44]: collective workshops, seasonal specialization, and standardization in products. And through seasonal migrations, they diffused their potting practices at a rate and a geographical scale never achieved by female potters.

BACK TO THE GULBIN' MARADI

We have seen that the pottery tradition observed in the Gulbin' Maradi has obvious historical ties with that of North Nigerian production centers – especially in the Sokoto and Katsina areas. Yet questions remain as to how and under what circumstances it emerged in the area. As for Nigeria, reconstructing the trajectory of the Gulbin' Maradi potters forces us to consider elements of a broader regional history.

FROM JIHAD TO MARKET GARDENING

Two Hausa subgroups dominate the region under study: Katsinawa and Gobirawa. The first is concentrated around the town of Maradi, in an area that includes the potting villages of Tarna, Jiratawa, and Danja. The second occupies the western part of the Gulbin' Maradi, including the potting villages of Warau, Guidan Roumji, and Soloulou. Associated respectively with the ancient Hausa states of Katsina and Gobir, both subgroups have been present in the area since at least the 18th century, even though the locations of their capitals as well as state boundaries have shifted through time[45]. Their history took a dramatic turn in the early 19th century, with the jihad of the Fulbe reformist Usmandan Fodio that led to the creation of the Caliphate of Sokoto. Hausa states were progressively conquered and placed under Fulbe rule. Taking refuge in the north, surviving members of the Katsina dynasty created the town of Maradi in 1815. Two decades later, the king of Gobir settled some 10 km to the northwest, in Tibiri. The Gulbin' Maradi thus became a refuge area and, throughout most of the 19th century, the locus of a relentless political and military opposition to the Caliphate.

Constant warfare and slavery raids created an inauspicious environment for trading activities and forced people to live near or in fortified cities. Caravan roads detoured to the east, to the benefit of towns such as Kano and Zinder, and it was only during the last decades of the 19th century that the Gulbin' Maradi witnessed some improvement in its economic situation, thanks to the development of trading relationships between the cattle market of Tarna and the towns of Tibiri and Kano[46]. Throughout the period, however, Hausa on both sides of the Caliphate border were able to maintain kin ties and a shared sense of identity. After the French and British conquests, the border drawn between Niger and Nigeria (following in part the northern boundary of the Caliphate) thus divided a world characterized by intense cultural, economic, and social relations.

The economy and demography of the Maradi area remained stagnant until the end of the First World War[47], when taxes and customs notably hampered trading activities. Further, forced labor and the famine of 1914 led many to flee to Nigeria. The situation started to change in the 1920s with the abandonment of custom duties and the creation of a market in Maradi (1927). Small groups of traders traveled henceforth to Katsina and Kano where they exchanged tanned skins for goods that they would sell in rural villages on their way back. More importantly, the development of groundnut cultivation led to a series of spatial and social transformations that included an increased colonization of uncultivated lands and the creation of new villages. As a

[44] A good example is the indigo dyeing industry (Shea 1975).
[45] Augi 1984; Grégoire 1986; Séré de Rivières 1965.
[46] Grégoire 1986, 48.
[47] Grégoire 1986, 24–26. 56–59.

consequence, the space known and experienced by the inhabitants of the Gulbin' Maradi that had been essentially oriented toward southern regions, developed northward 150 km. During the boom period of groundnut production (1950–1970), Maradi attracted a growing workforce and progressively became a prominent economic center, closely connected to the industrial basins of Kano and Katsina[48].

The economic vitality of the town and the existence of surrounding fertile lands ensured the continuous development of the area after the decline of groundnut cultivation. Population indeed quintupled between 1960 and 2009 in the Department of Maradi[49] and the area is currently the most densely populated in Niger, with 64 inhabitants per km²[50]. As we will see below, recent changes notably include a shift in farming practices, from crop cultivation to market gardening. The banks of the Gulbin' Maradi around Tarna and Jiratawa have been increasingly exploited for this purpose.

DEVELOPMENT OF POTTING COMMUNITIES

Some uncertainty remains regarding the beginning of pottery making in the Gulbin' Maradi. The only sure thing is that the male pottery tradition has contrasting historical depths in the communities under study. In Guidan Roumji, for instance, it only developed during the 1970s, through seasonal migrations or the immigration of foreign potters. According to some, the first men to work locally came from Soloulou, but they used the molding technique. The pounding technique and the oven firing are said to have been introduced by itinerant potters from Sabon Birni (Nigeria), who were quickly joined by people from Warau. The extraordinarily swift development of bottle production was related to the growth of the local weekly market, particularly after the construction of the tarmacked road in 1965. Some attribute the current use of pounding and ovens in Soloulou to itinerant potters from Sabon Birni too, while others explain that potters from Soloulou took refuge in Guidan Roumji after a flood in late 1970s: upon their return, they would have introduced in Soloulou the techniques learned during their exodus. Whether in Guidan Roumji or Soloulou, the shift from molding to pounding is explained in functional terms: faster than the first, the second technique would also make it possible to obtain more regular forms and stronger products[51].

In Danja the male tradition was introduced in the early 1960s, following bloody political events in Jiratawa. People from the Rumawa district who belonged to a political faction opposing that of the Dakawa inhabitants took refuge in the bush east of the village. After some time, potters came back to work in Jiratawa during the day, building their workshops near the clay extraction site. Yet many finally decided to stay in Danja, where they had established their fields.

Historical data are more confusing for Warau, Tarna, and Jiratawa, where the male tradition obviously developed earlier. Potters from the three localities consider their respective ancestors as the first potters of the area and claim that men from the other potting villages took over the craft years later. The village of Warau is notably said to have been founded »around 1740« by two men originating from Sabon Birni, one of whom – Tchibiri Maale – was a potter[52]. Their hometown, Sabon Birni, was however founded not earlier than the 1860s, by a dissident member of the Tibiri ruling family. Allying with the Sokoto Caliph, from whom he received material support and numerous slaves, he built a town that attracted »all the uprooted from the area,

[48] Abdoul et al. 2007.

[49] Source: Annuaire statistique des cinquante ans d'indépendance du Niger, 2010 <www.stat-niger.org/statistique/file/Annuaires_Statistiques/Annuaire_ins_2010/serie_longue.pdf> (25.04.2013).

[50] Abdoul et al. 2007, 131.

[51] Interestingly, a reverse situation was observed during the late 1970s in Zaria City (Nigeria), where male potters shifted from pounding to molding because, they said, the second technique was »faster« than the first (Leoni – Pritchett 1978, 6).

[52] See also Augi 1984, 97.

from breakaway slaves to the [Gobirawa] of Tibiri who opposed their chief«[53]. Sabon Birni thus became the capital of Western Gobir and remained in armed conflict with Tibiri and Eastern Gobir until the colonial era, when it was incorporated into British territory. It is consequently dubious that migrants from Sabon Birni would have founded Warau much earlier than the late 19th to early 20th centuries.

Some Jiratawa informants believe that the village dates from the early 17th century, but attribute it to religious warfare in present-day Nigeria and the subsequent flight of refugees toward the Gulbin' Maradi. This information fits more closely with the events surrounding the jihad of Usman dan Fodio in the early 19th century, as seen above. Nobody knows how and when pottery making developed locally, however, except that the craft was already in the hands of men and oriented toward the production of water bottles »three generations ago«. Scattered information indicates that there may have been two phases in the process: one characterized by the use of open firing and the production of cooking pots and large water jars, and the other by the use of ovens and the making of water bottles – two innovations introduced during the 1940s or the 1950s by migrant potters from the Katsina area.

In Tarna, potters claim that they inherited the craft from Chameli, a man »originating from Nigeria« who settled in the village after 1900 accompanied by his wife, also a potter. According to his grandson, born around 1940, Chameli mastered both the pounding and the molding techniques, while his wife only used the molding technique. Teaching both techniques to Tarna inhabitants, he would have been responsible for the local development of the female and male traditions. Although most potters interviewed contest this interpretation, I suspect that a process similar to that reconstructed in Jiratawa may have taken place in Tarna.

To summarize, the male pottery tradition of the Gulbin' Maradi did not develop earlier than 1900 and first appeared around urban centers, in connection with the seasonal or definitive relocations of potters from Sabon Birni and Katsina. Situated at the confluence of the Gulbin' Maradi and the Rima river, some 100 km northeast of Sokoto, Sabon Birni could well be one of the oldest centers of dissemination of the tradition. Not only are the local potters said to have been particularly mobile and inclined to colonize northern regions, but we saw above that the Sokoto area had probably witnessed the innovations in technique, the vessel morphology, and the social organization of the craft from which emerged the male pottery tradition discussed in this paper. Given the cosmopolitan nature of Sabon Birni and the historical importation of various slave groups – including palace praise-singers[54] – the town may even have been the locus of such innovations. In this scenario, the Sokoto/Sabon Birni tradition would have subsequently spread to the Katsina area and, from there, to southeastern localities of the Gulbin' Maradi.

SPATIAL AND SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS

Whatever their origin, potters systematically settled along the banks of the river, close to large clay deposits. They also favored locations situated near important towns and markets: Tibiri and Maradi attracted the first male potting centers and the Tarna workshops were established near the oldest and most important weekly market of the area. Decades later, the production of water bottles developed in Guidan Roumji, when the town and its market acquired a regional importance.

This pattern in the spatial evolution of the male pottery tradition mirrors that of north Nigerian communities. As in north Nigeria, the tradition spread across a space structured along preexisting historical, social, and economic ties between Hausa communities, and through seasonal or permanent male migrations. Within this migratory space, the tradition was either introduced in localities with no prior involvement in pottery making – e.g., Warau – or developed along-

[53] Séré de Rivières 1965, 160; my translation.

[54] The former chief of the Guidan Roumji potters gave this information in 2002. He was not able to provide any clan name, however, so I cannot determine whether these praise-singers are related to the Bambadawa of Zaria and Kano (see Leoni – Pritchett 1978; Meek 1925).

side a previous pottery tradition, as in Jiratawa, Guidan Roumji, Soloulou, and perhaps Tarna. Where pottery making was exclusively in the hands of male artisans, the coexistence of the two traditions did not last long: radiating pounding, oven firing, and bottle production swiftly supplanted molding, open firing, and the production of large jars (except in the Dakawa district of Jiratawa where pots are still fired in large bonfires, or in Tarna, where several men are engaged in the making of water jars). In Tarna, where the craft was in the hands of men and women, the possible later introduction of pounding and oven firing may have led to a stricter technical division between women and men, and the subsequent independent development of both traditions.

One must note, however, that the striking technical and stylistic homogeneity observed today across the Gulbin' Maradi not only stems from the diffusion process described above, but also from ongoing relationships between potting centers. For example, one-third of the potters aged forty or above report having spent at least one potting season in a neighboring village. Two reasons are invariably provided. First, staying at home with relatives would make it difficult to save money: as put by many, »each franc earned stays in one's pocket when sojourning away from home«[55]. Second, other potting centers may provide – temporarily or structurally – better economic opportunities. This was notably the case in Guidan Roumji after the construction of the tarmacked road, but also in Warau whose regional reputation attracts numerous peddlers, and in Tarna, due both to its proximity to the town of Maradi and the fact that, according to some, »people buy all vessels produced, even unfired«.

Seasonal sojourns in other communities mostly take place in the years before and after marriage, when young adults build a home and gain independence from their parents. In that regard, they also have formative and ›initiatory‹ dimensions. Settling in the workshop of a senior potter, a young man works part time for his host and part time for himself. This arrangement allows for the development of professional skills and the occasional acquisition of other ways of doing things. Many add, however, that they often suffered from jealousy and witchcraft, despite the moral duty of a host to welcome, lodge, and provide professional support for travelers[56]. In such instances, they were forced either to find ›ways‹ of protecting themselves or to come home. Although not explicitly stated by potters, adapting to alien environments and resisting evil doings could well be part of the learning process, especially in a male context where individuals are prone to develop activities and interactions outside their home community. As such, it may be related to the notion of *gucha* (moving out) frequently emphasized by informants, and typically associated with male life trajectories: moving out of the father's physical presence when adolescent[57], moving out of the village when entering adulthood, moving out of other people's protection or subordination after marriage. As in the case of seasonal migrations, an element of the sociohistorical background that structures a person's experience and trajectory is thus seen to also structure the social world of pottery activity: by compelling individuals to develop relationships – and homogenize practices – between potting communities.

The circulation of pottery tools further reinforces such relationships. Wooden anvils and clay tampers are indeed only manufactured by a handful of aged potters, in Warau and Tarna. These men sometimes travel from one center to another during the potting season, but potters who are assembling a new toolkit or need to replace a damaged item mostly seek them out in their home villages. Strong ties may thus be developed that are occasionally passed on from one generation to the next. Besides reinforcing ties and exchanges between potting communities, the monopoly in tool production has implications for the evolution of the pottery tradition. For instance, a family of potters from Tarna settled in Aji (100 km northeast of Maradi) in the 1920s, after having heard of the existence of an important clay deposit. They used both the radiating pounding and

[55] Migrant potters from the Zaria area shared a similar conception (Allen 1983, 162).

[56] See, for example, Rain 2001.

[57] In this case, moving out of the father's workshop. As put by some informants, »When you grow older, it's a shame to work with your ass against your father's ass«, or »You don't want your father to hear what you tell your friends« (mostly regarding love affairs).

molding techniques, as was the case at the time in their home village (see above)[58]. Throughout the years, the ties with Tarna loosened, to the extent that none of the present-day potters has ever visited the place. Being unable to replace their tools, those who used the pounding technique shifted to molding – the sole technique used today in Aji.

GOLDEN YEARS

It is unanimously agreed that rate and scale of production changed dramatically in the Gulbin' Maradi at the turn of the 1970s. With a fivefold increase in population between 1960 and 2009, the demand for water bottles exploded, leading a larger number of men to engage in pottery making. Formerly a family tradition, the craft became a convenient way of making money. Land pressure and the growing size of family units also had important consequences: as fields became smaller, individuals sought new sources of income to meet the needs of their families, reinforcing the shift to profitable activities such as pottery making.

The 1970s and 1980s appear in fact to be the ›golden age‹ of male pottery production in the Gulbin' Maradi, when the craft mutated into a ›village industry‹ in some centers and propagated outside its ›historical cradle‹. The rate of production also changed: from an average of 15 to 25 vessels a day, potters shifted to 40 to 60 vessels a day[59], both increasing the time spent in the workshops and the level of craft professionalization. As stressed by several informants, allegiance to the craft is indeed stronger than it was a generation ago, as is the level of technical skills and bodily endurance required. But while pottery making has become more intensive, it has also been increasingly carried out on a seasonal basis. The main reason is the availability of the millet stalks used for firing: since millet production consistently diminished during the last decades of the 20th century, while at the same time more individuals competed for its by-products[60], fuel shortage became commonplace some three or four months after harvest. With limited capacities for constituting their own surplus or purchasing millet stalks from farmers, potters often preferred to interrupt their work temporarily. Another reason is the consumption peak that takes place during the dry season, due to high levels of both vessel replacement and use at that time of the year, and the involvement of seasonal peddlers (see above).

RECENT MUTATIONS

Sensitive as it is to social, economic, and ecological circumstances, the male pottery tradition has been undergoing another set of transformations since the beginning of the 21th century. The most important change is due to the development of market gardening along the Gulbin' Maradi. As in other regions of Niger[61], off-season crops have boomed since the 1990s and are currently becoming a major source of cash for local populations. Making it possible to work both on land and during a time of year previously unfit for millet cultivation, they prove especially attractive – just as pottery making was half a century ago. A growing number of men are thus abandoning the craft, turning to an activity that they not only perceive as socially appropriate, but especially more reliable and profitable in economic terms. Doing so, they compete for land with the remaining potters, who are so far the only ones to exploit the banks of the Gulbin' Maradi.

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[58] Interestingly, the male and female potters of Aji who claim to be descended from the first family of potters from Tarna do not make water bottles of the kind produced in the Gulbin' Maradi, and do not use ovens. This observation would confirm the scenario proposed above, that bottle production and ovens are innovations introduced in Tarna at a later date.

[59] Observations made in Anka (North Nigeria) between 1951 and 1952 revealed a daily production of 15 to 20 vessels (Krieger 1961), which is in keeping with the figures provided by Gulbin' Maradi informants for the same time period.

[60] Including herders, who use millet stalks for feeding cattle.

[61] See Bastin 2009.

Another change was brought about by the development of school education. As boys spend most of their time in class or doing homework, they are only able to work alongside their relatives in the evening or during weekends. The training period has consequently lengthened, so that it is mostly young adults who now enter the craft. Quite often, they develop a more casual relationship to the profession.

The growing disaffection for pottery making among Gulbin' Maradi males further increased some years ago, when plastic jerrycans appeared in town markets and spread swiftly to rural communities. Within two years (between 2007 and 2009), they were everywhere and widely used for transporting water – the function previously of pottery bottles. The latter acquired a more peripheral position in daily life, their use being restricted to the conservation and cooling of water. These two functions imply a lower replacement rate than transport, as notably shown by Mayor[62].

All these factors currently contribute to redefining the scale and social status of male pottery production in the Gulbin' Maradi. A most notable effect is a drastic diminution of the potters' population. In the Rumawa district of Jiratawa, for example, some 30 men were at work in a dozen workshops during the winter of 2002. Four years later there were thirteen men in six workshops and only five men in four workshops by the winter 2009. Although less dramatic, the decline affected all other potting centers during the same period. Unsurprisingly, many young villagers now regard pottery making as either an outdated trade, or a sideline activity to be carried out in times of need – for instance after a poor harvest, as was the case during the winter of 2010, when there was an increase in the number of potters in Jiratawa and Guidan Roumji.

If social, technical, and economic circumstances remain unchanged, the future of the male pottery tradition within the Gulbin' Maradi seems therefore most uncertain, and could well result in its complete extinction. Some have already reached that conclusion: if willing to pursue the trade, men leave their home village for northern regions, following valleys with rich clay deposits and the network of tracks along which peddlers have already diffused their products, preparing the ground for the possible development of new pottery-producing centers. Doing so, they not only follow the steps of their Nigerian ancestors, but put themselves in a position to write a new chapter in the eventful history of the Hausa male pottery tradition.

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