AN ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF LARGE POTS IN DAWAKIN TOFA, KANO STATE.

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DECEMBER, 2012.

DECLARATION

I Aliyu Adamu ISA declare that this research work "An ethnoarchaeological study of large pots in Dawakin Tofa, Kano State" was carried out by me, and supervised by Dr (Mrs) B.N. Mangut and Dr K.T. Odofin. All sources of information that aided the completion of this thesis have been duly and properly acknowledged. I certify that this thesis has not being presented or submitted in any previous application for award of Master of Arts in Archaeology or another degree in any university or institution.

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Aliyu Adamu ISA **Date**

CERTIFICATION

This thesis titled **An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Large Pots in Dawakin Tofa, Kano State**, meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Masters of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

This modest work is dedicated to my Family.

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Abstract

Archaeological researches in Kano State in the last 3 decades that tried to infer the use to which some excavated large pots must have been put, faced problems. These include incomplete analysis and correlated study of the vessels, lack of wide circulation of reports of past researches and changes associated with cultural contexts as well as technical systems of pottery manufacture of the people involved. Almost all of these pots were recovered through poor rescue excavation with no accompanying archaeological reports. Through the use of methods such as ethnographic survey, oral tradition, and archaeological study, my research on the ethnoarchaeological study of large pots carried out at Dawakin Tofa 20km away from Kano City indicates that the activities of the dominant potters in the area (Bambadawa- Fulani) resulted in the spread and subsequent excavation of these large pots in the Kano area. The research scrutinized the process of pottery manufacture in the area through observation and questioning specified behavior that might have accounted for the archaeological material culture patterning those pots. Through this, it was ascertained that the pots seem to be similar in form; groove, incised decorations, and the use of slip are still practiced. Contextually, the pots were deeply buried because the only documented pot (excavated at 210cm depth) have no cultural layer above the one it was excavated. Thus, indicating that it was intentionally buried contrary to the idea of an abandoned dyeing pot which could have been covered by natural sedimentation process. The pots were perhaps used for ritual purposes because they are also related to ritual sites. However, ethnoarchaeology is not an end in itself but one of the many tools which can be used to refine our explanation and understanding of the past. Careful collection and preservation of cultural products, proper Historical documentation for empirical data base is recommended because contextual information matter most to archaeologists.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The area of research, Dawakin Tofa Local Government Area in Kano State is located between Latitude 12^0 15^1 north and Longitude 8^0 15^1 east, and about 20 kilometers north of Kano City (Map 1, 2, and 3). Here, large pots known as *Kumbu*, *Kwartanniya*, and *Dokin gini* are produced. Dawakin Tofa is the mainstream of pottery in Kano state (Barau, 2007, Mahadi, 1982; Shea, 1983) with long established tradition of pottery production.

One of the traditional interest of ethnoarchaeology is the concern with the limitations of the archaeological evidence (Folorunso, 2001:8).These include poor or differential preservation, and limited sample of represented human behaviour that might have accounted for material remains. Ethnoarchaeology therefore, is the study of an actual situation in which specified behaviour can be observed (Schiffer, 1978), and tested (Roux, 2007). Since archaeologists aim to have an idea of the past which may be based upon the selection of alternative behaviors that can most economically account for the facts, it is perhaps appropriate that empirically based insights be made into the function of some 'special' group of pots found and preserved in Kano State-Nigeria. These large pots excavated mostly across Kano city's landscape are averagely 112 centimeters in height, and 96 centimeters in width. Other areas where large pots were excavated include Sabon Gari, Kura, and Riruwai. Hence, they are grouped as pots from the Kano area. These pots are presently preserved in the National Museum (Gidan Makama) Kano, and the State's History and Culture Bureau Museum known as Gidan Dan Hausa.

These spectacular innovations in the potting industry of Kano are assumed to have a special significance, in view of the paucity of concrete artefactual testimonies of the cultural

heritage of Hausaland (Hambolu, 2002).That apart from the city walls, which form a component of Hausa traditional architecture, these vessels seem to be the next most significant testimony of the presence of dynamic societies of this century in the area. Pottery like any other piece of material culture is woven into the complex tapestry of people's lives (Skibo, 1999:1). People make pottery vessels and then distribute, use, and eventually discard them and these form the archaeological record, all in the context of their everyday life.

Archaeological and Historical researches in Kano State in the last 3 decades have tried to infer the use to which these large pots must have been put, without any empirically based data (Mahadi, 1982; Shea, 1983, 2004; Hambolu, 2002; Egwuogu, 2004; Isa, 2006). These might be as a result of lack of wide circulation of reports of such archaeological research, incomplete analysis of the Vessels (Hambolu, 2002) and changes associated with social and cultural contexts, as well as technical systems of pottery manufacture of the people involved. Worthy of consideration also is the fact that almost all of these pots were recovered through poor rescue excavation with no excavation reports in most cases, after reports of accidental discovery.

While some archaeological data incorporate strong evidential constrain, ethnoarchaeology developed to provide better ethnographic analogies to assist in the interpretation of archaeological data (David and Kramer, 2001). Its basic goal is to link artefacts and their behavioural correlates in such a manner that archaeologically testable propositions may be made (Stanislawski, 1978). Because "laws of cultural process" is impracticable, ethnoarchaeology take up modeling of behavior to interprete unknown behaviours (David and Kramer, 2001). Further, the general model implicitly assumes the existence of underlying relationships in the form of hypothesis is susceptible to testing. The research looked at the historical relationship between Dawakin Tofa and Kano City to reaffirm the link between the two

places. the study argues that excavated large pots were manufactured in Dawakin Tofa. It argues further however that the activities of the dominant potters in the area (Bambadawa potters) resulted in the spread and subsequent excavation of large pots in the Kano area. Dawakin Tofa is the only area in Kano State where large pots are manufactured today, while Kano City is the area where 75% of the total large pots were excavated. The research scrutinized the manufacturing process of large pots in Dawakin Tofa to understand technicians' intentions, which reveal the specific technical choices pursued that affect the item's formal properties (Roux, 2003). This is in a bid to understand and explain the transformation of systems of pottery production in the area which also affects the transformation of culture of the area as a process. Culture is made up of components. Each of these components works to make or mar the culture as a whole. It is also generally believed that traditional potters always have in mind the function a particular pottery type would serve and consequently proceed to furnish it with the needed attributes (Ibeanu, 1993), pottery function is very important in its classification/typology. An attempt is made on the classification of both archaeological and ethnographic pots under this research. The research uses ethnographic survey, oral tradition, and archaeological study in its methodology.

The area falls within the central region of Kano around Dala hill, the initial nucleus of the city (Mahadi, 1982).The research area can also be conceived as a specialist pottery manufacturing centre as a result of the influx of itinerant potters from different parts of Kano State and beyond, who find the area as possessing a good source of pottery clay, making the population composition what it is today. Pottery manufacture here can be said to be influenced by social and economic factors outside the potters' area of practice because evidently they produce at community level for regional consumption. These factors perhaps indicate the potential of the area for such study.

1.2 **Literature Review**

The role of ethnoarchaeology is acknowledged to be useful, providing an empirical database for building stronger archaeological inferences than do common sense explanations of material culture patterning (Agorsah, 1990; Roux, 2007).

This is done through controlled observational and experimental procedures according to explicit theories (Roux, 2007) rather than mere collection and report of data (See Hambolu, 2002; Egwuogu, 2004)or tentative conclusions (See Shea, 1983).This however, had been hinged upon the lack of wide circulation of reports of archaeological researches and incomplete analysis

of finds (Hambolu, 2002) and the lack of proper examination of processes and techniques of production among researchers (Shea, 1983). In one of these researches, Egwuogu (2004) carried out an ethnographic study of large pots in Dawakin Tofa and surrounding areas within Kano State, in order to ascribe meaning to excavated pottery materials under study. In this study, there is no systematic collection of data relating to ethnoarchaeological study of large pots in the area. Also, there is no reference to informants knowledgeable in the potting Industry of the area. Documents where inferences concerning functions of large pots in the past were made do not provide any empirical evidence to support these inferences. Thus, Egwuogu (2004) mentioned that "the views of Mahadi and Shea as pointed are more of historical phenomenon, because no archaeological evidence clearly supports their postulations" (See Egwuogu, 2004). In an attempt to describe decoration on pots from Kofar Ruwa, Sabon Gari, and Riruwai in Kano State, carved roulette decoration was mistaken for notching. Elsewhere this type of decoration had been known in Kano, and is similar to those from Kagoro and Samun Dukiya dated (210_+95BC) (Darling, 1988 a&b). This correction is important because pottery decoration is essentially and most likely accurate to reflect social distinctions and its practical and aesthetic implications are of interest (Soper, 1985). This research attempts to provide a systematic and coherent data on ethnoarchaeological study of large pots in Dawakin Tofa. However, Egwuogu (2004) observed that due to the occurrence of these large pots, more of them appear to be consistent in the archaeological landscape of Kano City. Concluding that "the pots under study were used for dyeing clothes, storage of water and other valuables, burials, cooking and firing of smaller pots, among others". It is however pertinent to note that even though pottery manufacturers make pots that would cater for general needs, like fetching and storage of water, cooking and eating, they also make specialized pots for rituals, ceremonies, etc(Ibeanu,1993). In fact, in Dawakin-Tofa,

the area of this research, makers of small and medium sized pots are different from the makers of large pots. This according to Mallam Adamu Attahiru (2010 pers.comm) is based on specialization and competency.

The search for the function of these large pots from the Kano area had made scholars like Shea (1975) and Mahadi (1982) to posit that large pots were earlier used for dyeing before increase in demand of textile products in the nineteenth century made the people of Kano opt for dyeing pits. Adding that the dyeing industry in Kano witnessed three important developmental stages: The first perhaps took place before or at the beginning of the second millennium AD when dyeing was carried out in small pots. Secondly, large fired clay pots like those excavated from across the Kano area reasonably from the fifteenth or the sixteenth century came into use (Shea, 1975 in Mahadi, 1982) due to intense commercial activities; and thirdly, is the use of pits plastered with local cement (Laso) from the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century. Dyers at the Kofar Mata dyeing centre had earlier refuted this idea (Egwuogu, 2004, Gambo Sule, 2011 pers. Comm.).

If not for poor documentation, the most important aspect of these finds is that the pots were recovered from excavation in their complete form. This is the case of the Agadasawa vessel excavated about 70 centimeters below to the then ground level (Hambolu, 2002). Beside the buried pot, at 85 centimeters, a charcoal sample was found, while a layer of ash was found at both sides of the pot including the inner part of the pot. Also, seven (7) stratigraphic layers above the pot were deciphered. Comparison with other finds previously recovered in the area is at the moment difficult due to improper documentation of discovery and recovery of the collections (Hambolu, 2002). However, (Hambolu, 2002) concluded that ethnographic parallels reveals that it is a dye-pot, not minding the burial situated close to it. Above all, the antiquity of the pot is

attested to, considering the seven stratigraphic layers above the one it was buried, even though none of these layers was a true cultural one (See Hambolu, 2002). Fatunsin et al (1988) mentioned two big incomplete pots from Kabuga, east of Goron Dutse in Dala which are still part of the exhibition at Gidan Makama Museum in Kano. Accordingly, the pot from what was left of them must have been very big and deep with inner lining that look like cement. The pots and the stratigraphic layers were washed and eroded to the extent that no section of the surface in which it was buried can be excavated with meaningful results. It was later gathered that the pots were the ones used by king Rumfa (of Kano) for preparing concoctions during wars in the past. Also, Fatunsin et al (1988), believed that the pots could have been either storage or dye pots. Additionally, they were classified as 'Baggy' pots. They are according to Fatunsin et al neither spherical nor globular but have coarse surfaces. This research attempts to correlate and interprete ethnoarchaeological data of pottery manufacture in Dawakin Tofa, Kano State, and relate such to evidence (archaeological and historical, see Chapter 5), in order to provide an empirical backing to function of large pots from the Kano area. As most ethnoarchaeological researches advocated (See Agorsah, 1990; Effah-Gyamfi, 1980; Roux, 2003, 2007), the processes of pottery manufacture are observed, questions on specified behaviours are asked. Answers to these questions are then analyzed, and related to observations from excavated pottery material. Study in pottery techniques among present day societies had been encouraged in order to see what links might be found with excavated materials. Archaeologists are particularly interested, among other things, in surface decoration. For example, what is the real difference in patterns created by a string roulette compared to those made with a corn cob? They can often look similar; much depending on the way a corn cob has been chewed or deseeded. These subtleties may be important to an archaeologist who also wishes to deduce facts about agriculture in the past

(Simmonds, 1993:146). Since the main focus of archaeology is human behaviour, this (human behaviour) cannot be quantified with any statistical analysis (Ibeanu, 1993:159). Archeologists need to step out and demonstrate (rather than assume) observed relationship between pottery types and Social Institutions. This is based on the concept that artefacts are not to be treated as things in themselves or as individual works of art, but are always to be related to a specific social system and a specific type of behaviour.

Expectedly, differences or changes do occur, as rightly pointed out by Effah-Gyamfi (1980:113) that "an archaeologist cannot expect direct correlation of the present pottery with that of the past". Consequently, for an empirical explanation on the function of large pots in the past in the Kano area, it is imperative to understand the processes underlying the transformation of systems concerning pottery technology itself, social factors, economic, and political of the people concerned. This is because apart from the potential for change internal to technology, which is caused by the social factor of "need" (Roux, 2007), external triggers of change in technology, like economic, political, and social factors also lead to innovation. These are analyzed and interpreted through aspects of manufacture of large pots, their distribution, and function (See Chapters 3 and 4). This to some extent eliminates unproven ideas that characterize previous researches (See Egwuogu, 2004; Fatunsin et al, 1988; Hambolu, 2002; Mahadi, 1982; Shea, 1983).

1.3 Statement of Research Problem

Since the first discovery of these large pots in Kano in 1975, researches have tried to infer their uses in the past (Mahadi, 1982; Shea, 1983, 2004; Hambolu, 2002; Egwuogu, 2004;

Isa, 2006). So far, inferences from these researches were unproven scientifically. This is mainly due to the absence of a correlated data between the past and the present pottery traditions from the area, as well as the lack of wide circulation of reports of archaeological research in the area. There is also the incomplete analysis of the vessels (Hambolu, 2002), and changes associated with social and cultural contexts of technical systems of pottery manufacture of the people involved. Also, worthy of consideration is the fact that almost all of these pots were recovered through poor rescue excavation with no excavation reports in most cases, after reports of accidental discovery.

This research aims at filling this gap through ethnoarchaeological study. According to Schiffer (1978) Ethnoarchaeology is the study of material in systematic context for the purpose of acquiring information, both specific and general, that will be useful in archaeological investigation. The research therefore studied pottery materials (presently in Kano Museums) and attempts to investigate their function(s) in the past by observing specified behavior of pottery manufacturers in the present, comparing certain characteristics or properties of pots (in the past and present), and making inferences based on the former.

1.4 Justification for the Research

The research is justified by the need for archaeologists and other scholars to understand large pot function(s) in the present tradition of the people as a basis for detailed interpretation of pottery in the archaeological record. This is because inferences on the functions of excavated large pots from previous researches were not based on empirically based data. Further, this aspect (function) of excavated large pots in the area has remained a problem for over three

decades now. This research aims at solving this problem; considering the significance of these large pots in the archaeology of the Kano area.

1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Research

The aim of this research work is to provide an ethnographic data on the functions of large pots which could aid in the interpretation of such archaeological pottery finds in the Kano area. The aim is to be achieved through the following objectives:

1) a collection and study of relevant oral tradition on pottery production in the area.

2) an ethnographic study of pottery production in the area.

3) an investigation of the socio-cultural values of pots in the area.

1.6 Scope of the Research

The research is limited to the study of the production of present day large pots and function(s) in Dawakin-Tofa, Kano State, in order to relate these to archaeologically collected large pots in museums in Kano State. The field research involved ethnographic survey, archaeological study, and the collection of oral tradition. These are in a bid to provide data for the interpretation of excavated large in the Kano area. This is done by observing specified

behaviours on large pots manufacture and their use/function thereby relating similarities and/or differences between ethnographic and archaeological pottery from the area.

1.7 Research Methodology

This research employs a three-point approach involving ethnographic survey, archaeological study, and oral tradition.

Ethnoarchaeological Survey

Kramer (1996 in David and Kramer, 2001) defined Ethnoarchaeology as an ethnographic fieldwork carried out with the express purpose of enhancing archaeological research by documenting aspects of socio-cultural behavior likely to leave identifiable residues in the archaeological record. Methods of ethnoarchaeological research used in this research include Participant Observation, and Interviewing.

Participant Observation: This involves immersing oneself in a cultural setting over an extended period of time, and taking part in the richness and diversity of everyday practice witnessing or critically viewing the values, dynamics, internal relationships, structures, and conflicts as they play out in the community (Maskell, 2005:86). This often counters normative statements given in interviews, and the two can operate successfully in a dialogic relationship. During the research, personal experiences in the dynamics of large pots manufacture in Dawakin-Tofa were observed.

This accordingly form the basis for inferences made concerning pottery making in Dawakin Tofa, as well as large pots excavated around the Kano area.

Interviewing: This is engaging with stakeholders, and a modality through which their account is taken through verbal interactions or conversations (Okpoko and Ezeh, 2005). It provides opportunities for respondents to talk freely and in details on experience, beliefs and attitudes, and on the subject of interest as they relate to the research problem (Okpoko and Ezeh, 2005). In this research, experts in the art of pottery making and distribution from the research area were interviewed on aspects (manufacturing of pots and sales) which they have or had been into for decades.

Archaeological Study

Archaeologists aim at studying the past history of man through material remains; his development and character of such development through time and place. They do these through systematic studies of these things which man did and used at different places through time (Okpoko, 2006). In this research, archaeological materials (excavated pots) were classified and analysed in order to examine the physical characteristics of the pots and relate same to manufactured pots in Dawakin Tofa. Areas or aspects of form, ware, surface finishing, and decorative motifs were looked at.

Oral Tradition

This can be described as the testimony transmitted from one generation to another generation through the word of mouth about the history and the traditions of a people. It can also

be statements made by one person about a single sequence of past events provided that the person had not acquired new information between the various statements (Vansina, 1981). They are distinct from rumours which always bear the character of sensational “news” (Andah, and Okpoko, 1979). As a literary product of primary production, oral tradition is not deliberately transmitted from generation to generation in the same way (Andah, and Okpoko, 1979). Hence, it goes beyond lived experiences, and memories thereof (Field, 2007). In this research, oral tradition is used to understand the history of the inhabitants of Dawakin Tofa as it relates to pottery tradition in the area. Informants knowledgeable in these areas were selected. Questions were asked on specific behaviours relating to pottery ethnoarchaeology, and the History of the people of Dawakin Tofa. Recording was done in written form, while a question guide was also used.

CHAPTER TWO

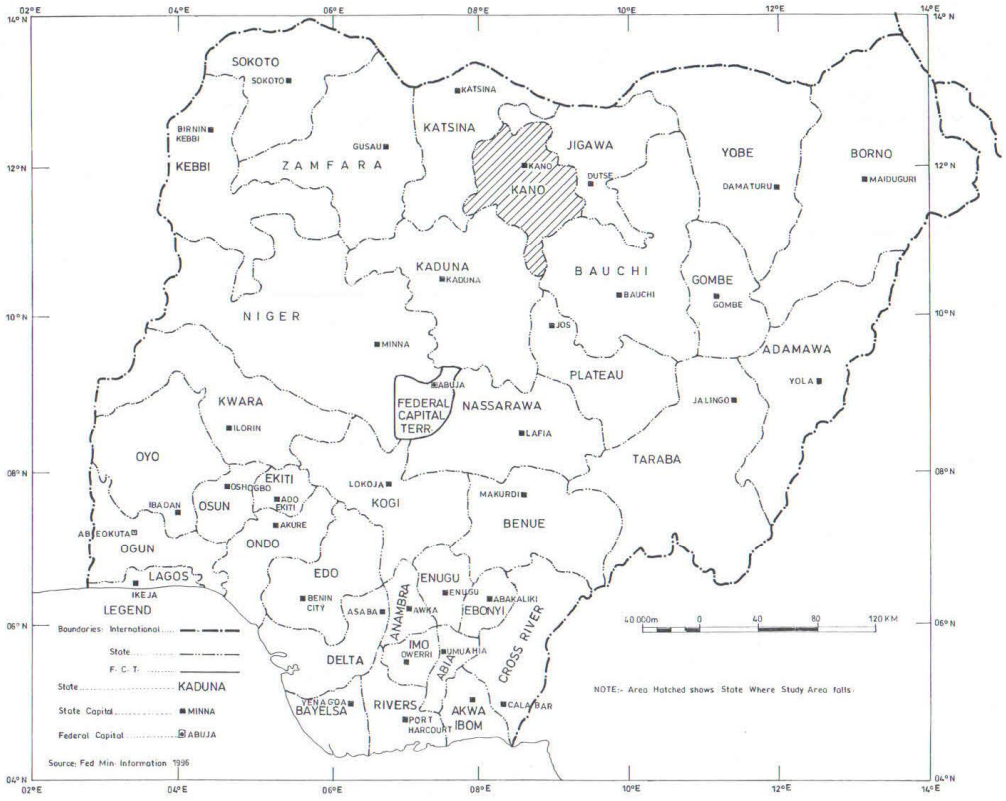
GEOGRAPHICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND OF THE AREA.

2.1 Environmental Background

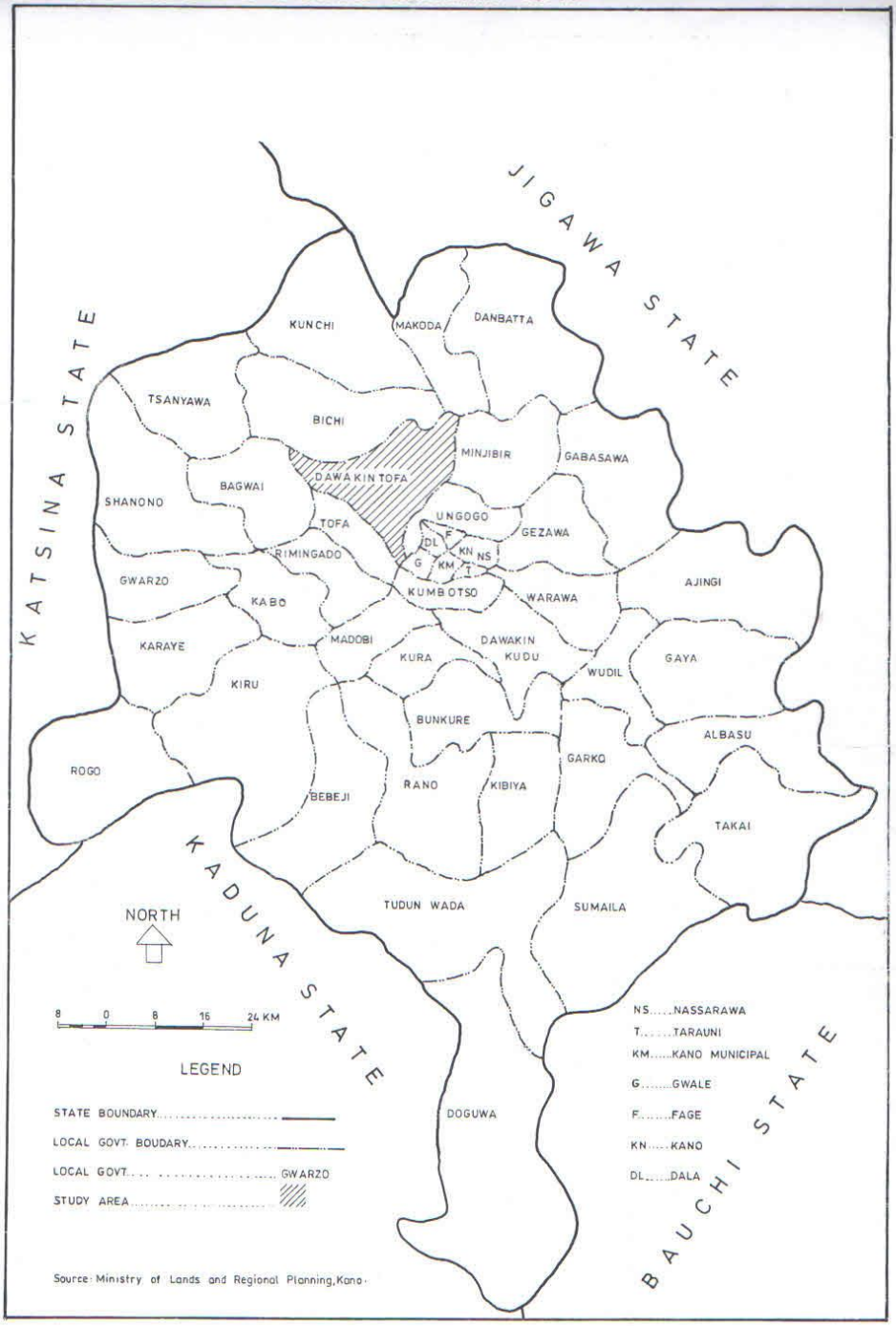
Geographical Location

Dawakin-Tofa town is the administrative capital of Dawakin-Tofa Local Government Area in Kano State-Nigeria (Map 1&2). It is located between Latitude 12^0 15^1 north and Longitude 8^0 15^1 east. The town is about 20 kilometers north of Kano City and Kano Municipal Council, the State Capital (Map 3). It is also a district under the Kano emirate, and consists of eleven (11) wards. Dawakin-Tofa Local Government Area is borded by Dala, Minjibir and Ungogo Local Government Areas in the east; Makoda and Bichi Local Government Areas in the north; Bagwai and Tofa Local Government Areas in the west and south respectively.

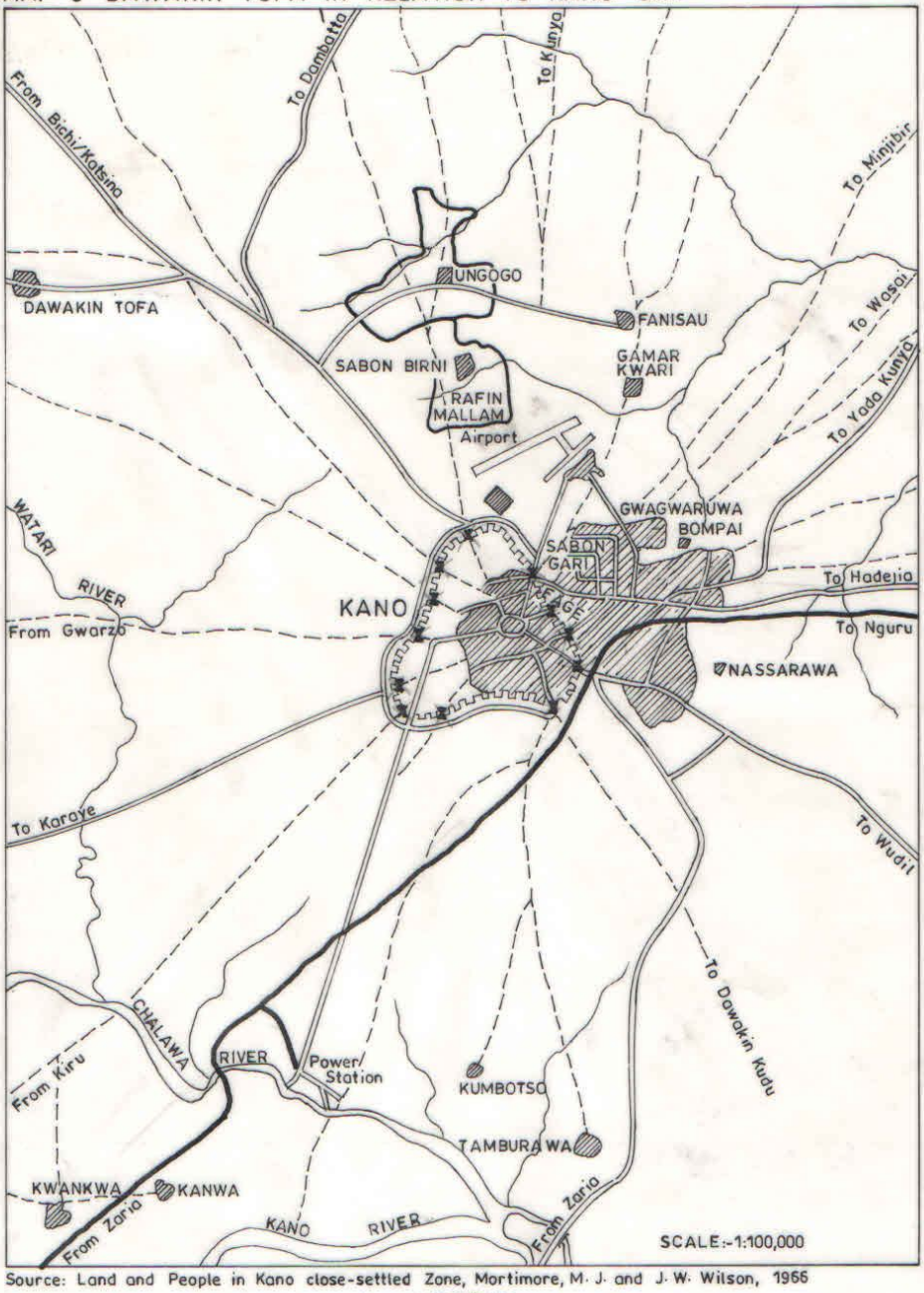
MAP 1: NIGERIA SHOWING KANO STATE



MAP 2: KANO STATE SHOWING DAWAKIN TOFA



MAP 3 DAWAKIN TOFA IN RELATION TO KANO CITY



Source: Land and People in Kano close-settled Zone, Mortimore, M. J. and J. W. Wilson, 1965

LEGEND

Town Wall..... Gate..... Built up Areas.....

Roads..... Rivers..... Principal Footpath.....

Railways..... Village Area Boundries.....

Settlement

Dawakin Tofa is within the zone of greatest rural density of Kano (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). The average density of population in this area is 609 per square mile. It is a nucleated village of considerable size, with dispersed compounds based upon the extended family unit. The population of these compounds varies from few persons to as much as 30 for the large extended family compounds (Udo, 1970). The population is predominantly Hausa with a considerable number of Fulani. Farming is the main occupation of People, while Pottery making, basketry, weaving, etc are other occupations mostly practiced during the dry season when little farming activity (using irrigation methods) is undertaken. The settlement is walled showing consideration for defence in the past. Recent developments in industries and agriculture have created employment opportunities for seasonal labour in farms as well as skilled and semi-skilled labour in Kano city, and the Kano Municipal Council Area, 20km away. As a result dispersed compounds consisting of few huts or several with granaries are found. They are usually enclosed by a fence with a single entrance (Udo, 1970).

About 80% of the area is under cultivation in any one year (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). This is made possible by heavy manuring mostly provided from animals kept within domestic premises. Agricultural holdings are small, mostly for subsistence. Groundnut is an important commercial element grown for sale. Bush and grazing land constitute up to 7.5% (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). They occur on steeper slopes which are prone to erosion, gullying, and the exposure of underlying rocks and laterites. Further, cultivated flood plain (Fadama) constitutes about 4.2% of the area. This is where irrigated agriculture is practiced throughout the dry season based upon the production of vegetables for the Kano market and for

export to southern Nigeria. Other few patches of land which appear to the eye are often in fact burial grounds and cattle tracks. Also, this area like other Kano City's surroundings served as collecting and distributing centre for such goods as Natron from Lake Chad, Kola from forests of Guinea, and slaves; and European goods coming in by way of the Mediterranean like Sword blades, Copper, French Silk, Beads and Sugar in the past (Udo, 1970).

Weather and Climate

This area is located within the tropical Sudan savanna climate, it is hot and dry for most of the year with maximum day temperatures of about 100^0f and a minimum temperature of 55^0f (Udo, 1970).With this temperature plant growth is therefore possible all through the year. Although rainfall is often unreliable (25-50mm per month), the rain is derived from occasional isolated thunderstorms, with relative humidity varying from about 90% at night to 60% during the day (Ayoade, 1982). It starts early in the month of May and cropping follows almost at once. August is the wettest month where an average of 50mm is recorded. The dry season begins in October. At this period surface winds are southerly with hot days and only moderately cool nights. Grasses wither and trees shed their leaves, while water courses dry up during this period.

Geology and Soil

The area is underlain by crystalline rocks of basement complex. These are groundmass of undifferentiated metamorphic rocks. They include metasediments consisting of schists and quartzites,calsilicates,metaconglomerates,amphibolites and metamorphic ironbeds (Akintola, 1982). These have been through at least two tecto-metamorphic cycles (Kogbe, 1976) and subsequent metamorphism, migmatisation and granitisation, extensively modifying the

original rocks that they generally occur as relict rafts and xenoliths in magmatites and granites, and lateritic ironstones. The solid rock covered by accumulated sandy drift several metres deep, under drier climatic conditions, but exposed along watersheds with broad and shallow valleys very common. River beds are choked with sand, accounting for seasonal fluctuations in the volume of water carried by streams.

The soil in this area consists largely of reddish-brown soils of arid and semi-arid regions with lithosols on ferruginous crust (Mortimore, 1970).They developed upon wind-transported dune sands. They are also derived from weathered rock and sandy drift; constituting the two main soil-forming parent materials. For the upper slope area the soils are reddish-brown to orange colour and consist of sandy clay loam overlying lateritic ironstone. The lowland soil is cultivated as ‘’fadamas’’ or seasonally flooded valley floors. They are heavier grey alluvial soils with a high clay content occur. Hence, the two provide a source of raw material for pottery production, though in some areas of the town accelerated soil erosion by wind and running water has laid bare some tracts. Footpaths leading to streams and cultivation furrows have also initiated gullies which tend to cut back rather rapidly by sapping away the weathered rock materials (Mortimore, 1970). The major advantage of this soil is that it possesses a larger proportion of silt or clay and the small organic matter present is well distributed throughout the profile of the soil (Mortimore, 1970). This is preferred for guinea corn and groundnut cultivation (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). Also, been situated over granitic rocks makes the soil here richer in mineral content that deep rooted plants could tap these minerals and re-distribute to shorter rootlets. This and the application of manure had been the feature of agriculture in the area for centuries (Mahadi, 1982).

Drainage

Dawakin-Tofa is drained by River Watari at the southern part of the town and the Badako Pond, to the east. This is due to the low lying nature of these sections of the town, and incidentally the sources of pottery clay in the area. These also provide sources of drinking water as well as irrigation farming for the people. Recently, baked brick making had sprung in the area due to the abundance of clay deposits there.

Vegetation

Nearly all trees found in Dawakin-Tofa belong to those of the extreme southern part of the sudan savanna, and have economic significance either as firewood or in providing crops (Mortimore, and Wilson, 1966). They are numerous especially along farm boundaries, and represents species selected from the natural flora during a period of long occupation, even though the natural vegetation is almost completely modified as a result of human interference for centuries except for remote areas (Udo, 1970).Even these areas, grazing and bush fires restrict mature woodland to a few spots including forest reserves. The few trees still found in the area include Shea butter *Butyrospermum perkii* (Hausa Name: Kadanya), Locust bean *Parkia filicoidea* (Hausa Name: Dorowa), Tamarind *Tamarindus indica* (Hausa Name: Tsamiya), Winter thorn *Acacia albido* (Hausa Name: Gawo), Black plum *Vitex cienkowskii* (Hausa Name: Dinya), Nim *Melia azadarach 1* (Hausa Name: Nim), Fig *Ficus thoningii* (Hausa Name: Chediya), and Baobab *Adansonia digitata* (Hausa Name: Kuka). Shrub communities persist over most of the landscape.

Fauna

This climatic region has animals from the wild that include Rodents, Antilopes, Hare, Chameleon, etc. Domestic animals are kept in small numbers almost in every compound. They include sheep, and goats that graze freely during the dry season while they are been kept inside

the compound and fed on collected grasses, groundnut leaves and other fodder during the wet season (Mortimore, and Wilson, 1966). Donkeys are less common than sheep and goats, and are used as a means of transport, especially to transport firewood, manure, and clay for pottery or brick making. Further, they are normally kept close to the compound, and fed on fodder.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There are three versions of traditions as regards the origin or founding of Dawakin Tofa town. One version states that Dawakin – Tofa got its name from the characteristic "typha'' grass (Tofa) found in the area. That one Abdullahi Bambara (a Fulani Prince) and his group had come to the place in search of their missing sister, Sa'adatu captured by attackers from their home in Sudan. The group settled close to the River Watari and named the place Bambarawa (meaning "the Bambara people"), perhaps coined from the name Bambara. While their cattle and horses

graze along the Watari river bank which has lots of Typha (Tofa) grasses then, they named the place Dawakin – Tofa meaning "Typha grass for horses" (Alhaji Mu'azu, 2010, pers.comm.).

Another version states that 3 Fulani herdsmen DanBambara, Dawaki, and Adalah came to the area from the east in search of pasture. Dawaki, and DanBambara settled at Badako and Bambarawa ponds respectively. The latter area is today known as Dawakin Tofa. However, Adalah moved further south about ten kilometers to settle at a place, which developed into Tofa town (Kabara, 2009).

According to the Kano State Directorate of information handbook, Dawakin Tofa was founded by Abdullahi Bambara, son of Abdulwahid. They hailed from Sudan. This was a long time…many centuries back. That according to history, the daughter of a beloved slave was captured, and Bambara and his group travelled long distances in search of her. They travelled westward of Sudan until they reached a settlement in a swampy area, three kilometres east of Dawaki, and about 1.5 kilometres away from the present Science Secondary School, Dawakin Tofa. The settlers called the place Bambarawa. There was a swampy grazing area westward of Bambarawa. The shephards used to lead their animals to that area, and they called the place "Tofa". With time, a town was established there, and was named Dawakin Tofa.

Noteworthy is the fact that the town was founded by migrant Fulani tribe from Sudan who named the place after their leader Abdullahi Bambara (Alhaji Mu'azu, 2010, pers.comm.). The settlement started from Bambarawa – one of the quarters in the area close to River Watari, about 3 kilometres east of Dawakin Tofa. Westward of Bambarawa, there was a swampy area where the shepherds used to lead their cattle and horses for grazing, which has the characteristic "Typha" grass. This place was later named as Dawakin Tofa, meaning "Typha grass for horses". This type of grass perhaps supported their lives then, and was however significant to the sighting

of Dawakin Tofa as a settlement there (Haruna Isa, 2011 pers. Comm.). Like the Bambarawa (which may relate to 'Bambadawa' as typonym) quarters in Dawakin Tofa, there is also the Badako quarter. Both are associated with the history of the town. They both had ponds in them. While the famous Science Secondary, Dawakin Tofa was built at Bambarawa, the Badako Quarters is specifically associated with the Bambadawa Fulanis in the town (Alhaji Hussaini, 2010 pers. Comm.). It has the only characteristic ancient Hausaland building architecture that is associated with the ruling class. About half of the population of Dawakin Tofa is Bambadawa Fulani Clan (Adamu Attahiru, 2012 pers. Comm.). They are known to dominate (or atleast are included in) pottery making centres in Kano and Zaria (Leoni and Pritchett, 1978; Shea, 1983). The name Bambadawa is derived from Bambada, a Fulani type of praise-singing (Shea, 1983). They traditionally specialize in praise-singing and pottery making. Their chief (Sarkin Bambadawa) is turbaned by the Emir of Kano. Bambadawa people coming from outside Kano like Dawakin Tofa lodge at Jingau in Kano City, at the home of the chief whenever they come to the city to market pots or for other purposes (Shea, 1983).

An important factor in the development of settlement in the area is the adequate sources of water like the River Watari mentioned in most traditions of early settlement in the Kano area. Favourable grazing conditions resulted in the sedentarisation of the Fulani in the area, even before the beginning of the second millennium A.D. (Mahadi, 1982; Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). Further, the region is dotted with hills and rocks (like Dala, Jigirya, Santolo, and Fanisau hills) where early settlements were found. Dala iron working furnace gave a radiocarbon date of A.D. 635_+ 95 (Willet, 1971). The valleys and flood plains provided good source of clay for agriculture and other industries like pottery making. According to Mahadi (1982), the concentration of population in the central part of the Kano region (Dawakin Tofa inclusive) in

the early period was an important factor in the emergence and development of the centralized state of Kano. This was also crucial to its emergence as a leading industrial region of the central Sudan particularly in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Hence, the fortunes of this region have been closely bound up with that of Kano city administratively, economically, and socially (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966).

Administratively, the Madaki of Kano controls the Dawakin Tofa area on behalf of the Emir (Bello, 1982). The Madaki is part of the Aristocracy composed of a number of ruling houses derived from the original contingents, later responsible for the conquest of the Kano Emirate during the Jihad. The office of the Madaki is hereditary, and controlled large tracts of land which are held more or less as fiefs.

Economically, Kano's basic food and crafts requirements are met to some extent from rural surpluses in its immediate environs like Dawakin Tofa (Bello, 1982; Mahadi, 1982; Mortimore and Wilson, 1966; Shea, 1983). One of the gates of Kano City constructed in the 12th century, known as Kofar Waika, meaning the Waika Gate leads to Dawakin Tofa, and perhaps got its name from the town (Moody, 1969). The name highlights the specific functions of the gate (Achi, 1985), and perhaps as a link between the two towns.

Close social ties exist between surrounding towns and Kano City as a result of many generations of free contacts and migration (Mortimore and Wilson, 1966). Additionally, Kano city provides not only a large market for the products of rural industries but also of a safety valve, both actual and potential for receiving surplus rural population. Today, the population of Dawakin Tofa is mixed with Fulanis, Hausas the Kanuris (from Borno State), Azbens (or Tuaregs), and Gobirs (from Zamfara State), which are associated with the development of the town, even as most of them have lost their linguistic affinities, speaking Hausa and practicing the

Hausa culture. The exact time Dawakin Tofa was founded could not be ascertained, but could have being contemporaneous with Kano City based on the above mentioned facts.

CHAPTER THREE

POTTERY MANUFACTURING AND ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING IN DAWAKIN TOFA.

3.1 POTTERY MANUFACTURING PROCESS IN DAWAKIN – TOFA

a) Obtaining the Raw Material

Resource procurement in pottery making in Dawakin Tofa includes the gathering and collection of the best clay type for the kind of pottery item one has in mind. For instance, water pot (*Tulu*) manufacture requires the most water-retained clay (*Laka*). This is searched for at the fringes of the town, and is dug mostly up to 60cm beneath the ground surface. Hence, the main implements used are hoes, and mattocks. Also, water pot manufacturers have to wet the clay surface, and then mix it thoroughly before collection. This is because its manufacture requires skillful trimming of its walls by continuous moisture of the clay. This is not the case for cooking pot, and large pot manufacture because here clay is collected in lumps from dried surfaces (Plate 1). In fact, clay for large pots is collected at about 25cm depth. Also, there is no thorough mix with water before it is collected. After returning to the shade, clay lumps are covered with a sack to help retain moisture, by sprinkling water on it a day before moulding of the clay. This clay type is also obtained at the southern fringes of the town about two kilometers away. Cart, bicycles, and donkeys drawn by male adult and children are used to convey it to pottery shades or households. Temper (*Yumbu*) in the form of fine-grained sand is collected along the bank river Watari (Map 3) using hand shovel and digger, or mattocks.



Plate 1: Pottery clay, its temper, and soaked clay.

Other temper materials include millet stalk, and donkey dung mostly used in clay mixture for pot rims. These are sourced within the community where donkeys are kept, farms, or granaries (Hauwa Sule, 2011 pers. Comm). Potters collect clay free of charge but only pay for transportation to their various work areas. Another group of potters in Dawakin Tofa who use wheel shaping machines also obtain clay from the same sources. Recently, mud bricks are also manufactured from the same clay source.

b) Preparing the Clay.

Clay (*Tabo*) is soaked with water in a clay bath (*kwartanniya*) or inside a hole within the potters' workshop and covered (in the case of a hole) with moisture retaining sack. This lasts for a day or two so as to allow it mix evenly, because the clay is collected dry, and in lumps (Hajiya Mairo, 2011 pers. Comm.). When ready for shaping, the raw clay is mixed with the temper (*Yumbu*) to obtain moderate plasticity. This is kneaded continuously as the potter moistens his/her fingers with water till the mixture of clay becomes placid (Plate 2). Mostly, the two raw materials are in the ratio of 55 % clay and 45% fine-grained sand (Mallam Idris Yusuf pers. Comm.).



Plate 2: Mixing clay and temper.

c) Shaping of Pots

When the right consistency of clay and fine-grained sand (temper) mixture is attained, it is then formed into a shape. Large pots like *Kumbu, Dokin gini*, and *Kwartanniya* vessels are shaped on already existing pot (the mould or *kife as it is called*).This according to the potters is easier compared to the pounding or pinch method (*dindinge*). This method is practically the opening up of clay lump (to form a depression) in a hole (See Leoni, and Prichett, 1978). Accordingly, the pinch method is only applicable to smaller pots manufacture. For the mould or *kife* method, Instruments like *Dokin-Gini* (mould), *Dan Duka* (wooden paddle), *Madadi* (clay disc), *Dutsen Shafa* (smoothening disc), *Mayanki* (knife), *Fatar Dori* (goat skin), *Mammoshi* (Black plum leaf) are used (Table 1 & Plate 3&4). The process of shaping starts with rubbing dry sand on the mould to prevent the clay from sticking on the mould which is placed upside down. Then, a lump of clay is placed on it (Plate 5). This is shaped over the mould by patting, and rubbing the clay downward using the clay disc and the hand. It is then wound round the mould from its bottom to the body.



Plate 3: Wooden paddle, treated skin, and decorative instruments.

Table 1: Main tools used in Pottery manufacture in Dawakin Tofa.

LOCAL NAME	DESCRIPTION OF TOOL	MAIN FUNCTION(S)
Dokin gini	A large pot used as mould.	For forming the base of large pots.
Dan Duka	A wooden paddle with a handle, and is flat at opposite ends.	For patting of clay on the mould to form the vessel.
Madadi	A clay disc almost the size of the hand palm.	For patting of clay on the mould to make it compact and even.
Dutsen Shafa	A stone disc almost the size of the hand palm.	For smoothening of clay on the mould to remove uneven particles.
Mayanki	A rectangular knife pointed at the two edges opposite the handle.	For cutting the edges of formed clay after upturning it from the mould.
Fatar Dori	A treated and flexible goat skin about $10cm^2$ in size.	For smoothening of the rim of pot in preparation for decoration.
Mammoshi	A piece of leaf from Black plum plant 'Dinya' (vitex cienkowskii)	For decoration of rim of pot in a groove manner using the leaf's stalk placed above Fatar Dori.



Plate 4:Black plum leaf *vitex cienkowskii* used in rim decoration.



Plate 5: Forming the body shape over a mould.



Plate 6: Removing formed clay from the Mould

This formed clay is allowed to stay on top of the mould for some time to attain a leather-hard stage before it is removed and kept on its bottom (Plate 6). The potter then uses a knife to scrape and even the upper section of the formed clay. Following this, successive coils, approximately two centimeters in diameter, with a length approximately the circumference of the vessel at the level where it is to be added, is rolled between the palms and added to the formed clay. The smoothening disc is then used to even the pot's surface (Plate 7). The first coil is attached to the upper part of the formed clay, and the wall is smoothened. The second coil, which is much thinner, is added to the interior around the base of the first coil and smoothened into the body of the vessel. Additional coils, some of large sizes are added until the desired height is reached. These coils are also smoothened both on the interior and exterior surface of the vessel's body while the belly of the pot is extruded by smoothening with the fingers. Lastly, the rim is

worked into its final form, and the vessel is ready for drying (Plate 8). Wall thickness of large vessels is generally about 3cm.



Plate 7: Coils for part of body and neck.



Plate 8: Attaching the neck to the body

Decoration of Pots

Pot decoration transmits culture and reinforces the pattern of social relations (Evers et. al, 1988:741). Even though decoration on Hausa pots is sparse (Leoni and Pritchett, 1978) craftsmen rely on simplicity and elegance of form to convey the beauty of the piece. A variety of these decorations is noticed in Hayin Gwanji, village in Dawakin Tofa, done at a leather-hard stage of drying of the pot. They are generally done in the neck of the pot as well as its rim with natural materials like leaves from black plum and animal or goat skin (Plate 3, 4 &9). Artificial objects like wire from bicycle tyres and motorcycle strings (Plate 10&11) are also used. The lip decoration is similar to those of excavated large pots from Kofar Kabuga and Gwammaja (i.e the only ones, having intact rims). This is achieved by placing the leaf stalk of Black plum (*Ganyen Dinya*) on a treated goat skin (very flexible), and is moved round the pot in its lip, to create a thick line known as groove.



Plate 9: Lip decoration.

Other motif designs are in form of groove decoration round the pot in its neck. The most common are the ones achieved by using string from bicycle tyres and rope tied to a stick (Plate 10&11).



Plate 10: Groove decoration with string wire.



Plate 11: Groove decoration using tied rope and stick.

When rolled, this appears like roulette decoration, even though the one Mallam Umaru Ahmed uses differs. This is a small plain plant (Dauda, *Dicoma Formentosa*) that grows in the Kano area (Leoni and Prichett, 1978). Potters in Dawakin Tofa call it *Mazaniya*, meaning Designer. The plant is picked fresh, allowed to dry, and then the leaves plucked off, leaving the stem. This gives a natural roulette decorative instrument (Plate 12).



Plate 12: Decoration using *mazaniya* (Designer) - *Dauda(dicoma fermentosa)*

d) Drying

Drying is very critical to production success of large pot manufacture. This is because the elements of weather like wind speed and its direction as well as the day's temperature must be predicted correctly for successful drying. Newly formed vessels are dried within and outside the potter's shade to reduce plasticity of pots through dehydration (Plate 13). According to Mallam Salihu (2010, pers.comm) large pots must dry slowly to attain the right plasticity. This starts from the potter's shade before the pots are taken outside the shade to dry more (Plate 14). After

this, the slip is applied (Plate 15). This makes the pots stronger and attractive. A windy and hot weather condition make pots dry faster, thereby leading to cracks on the vessels, and losses are incurred (Bello Adamu, 2012 pers. Comm.). To check against this, shades and rooms are used as necessary drying areas. Large pots are left to dry for two to three days before firing. Hence, pottery manufacturers in Dawakin Tofa collect their pottery clay on Saturdays, Sundays, or Mondays; while Tuesdays and Wednesdays are used for shaping and drying. Firing of pots takes place on Thursdays, while on Fridays pots are taken to the town's market for sale. Potters also ensure their pots are ready for sale on Tuesdays (another market day) to make sales.



Plate 13: Drying of pots after Shaping.

It could however be noted that the risks involved in pottery making limits production capacity. This is because weather conditions can cause serious havoc when there is limited drying space. Similarly, difficulty in producing large pots limits production capacity by an average of five pots a day.

In a situation where crack occur on pots while drying, the cracked surface is cleaned then clay (with little sand) is applied to repair it (Musa Danjuma, 2012 pers. Comm.). Pots are only repaired before firing. Also, repaired pots sell for fewer prices, and may only be used in burial since burial pots are broken to fit the grave.



Plate **14: Advanced stage of drying.**



Plate 15: Application of Paste on pot after drying.

e) Firing:

Firing is the final stage in the production of pottery vessels. This stage is mainly for male potters either because firing is not done within the household (most women potters are under purdah) or the kiln used for firing in Dawakin Tofa is built outside the house due to the space required (Khadija Hamisu, 2011 pers. Comm.). Also, the kiln is either owned by a household or is owned by the entire community. The kiln used for firing in Dawakin Tofa is the first of its kind in the Kano area. This makes Dawakin Tofa significantly different in the aspect of pottery production (Shea, 1983). It is a circular dwarf mud wall of about 1metre in height and 6metres in diameter. According to Mallam Salihu (2011, pers. Comm.) it conserves more heat, thereby making firing much successful. It can contain up to fifty to sixty pots for firing at a time (Plate 16).



Plate 16: Arranging pots for firing inside the kiln. Note: the fuel inlet at the base of the kiln

Firing of pots starts late in the afternoon because at this time, the wind is calm and blows gently. At times, strong wind may prevail in the afternoon thereby necessitating a night firing (Isa Musa, 2012 pers. Comm.). On a windy day, firing becomes very difficult because the uneasy wind does not allow for even spread of fire and the heat needed for a successful firing. In the kiln, pots are placed upside down on potsherds, discarded enamel bowls, and stones as supports. Pots are placed one on top of the other. By the side of the arranged pots, fuel in the form of corn or millet stalk is arranged from top to the bottom of the kiln, and the fire is ignited thereafter. This type of fuel according to Mallam Salihu (2010 pers.comm) makes firing faster and economical, hence preferable over firewood. While the firing progresses, fuel is added at all sections of the kiln (around the arranged pottery vessels) until it is ascertained that colour change (from golden yellow to glowing red) is attained (Plate 18). About fifteen people (men and children) at a time are involved in the firing process, and each person is paid by the potter in-

charge. Accordingly, all the pots been fired are paid for. These ranges from N30 to N70 a pot, depending on the size to enable the potter in-charge settle fuel and manpower expenses. While the firing process lasts, participants sing to ease pressure as well as order for control of fire using slangs only known and understood by them. This is meant to quicken and facilitate action on the firing process because it is a very delicate process requiring urgent and drastic response. Any delay could cause over firing on one side of the fire, which may lead to crack on pots and eventual damage and loss. It is an old tradition handed over from one generation of potters to another (Mallam Salihu, 2012 pers. Comm.). For example; "*Tuyar Sama*" means fuel is needed at the top of the firing arrangement while "*Tuyar Kasa*" means fuel is needed at the lower end. "*Zarmai*" means fuel is needed at the center (but on top of the pots), while "*Raabai*" means fuel is needed at the center (but by the sides of the pots). "*Kafa Uku*" means to insert fuel through the fuel entry of the kiln both left, right, and centre."*Jido*" means to collect pots from the household, and bring them to the firing point (that is before firing or for the next firing). Firing may take up to 1 to 3 hours depending on the amount of pots being fired (Plate 17). In the event of an unsuccessful firing, the potter is simply sympathized with, because of the amount of labour and resources one must have put into its production.



Plate 17: Firing in Progress



Plate 18: A successful fired pot. Note: the colour change after firing.

3.2 SOCIO–CULTURAL SETTING OF POTTERY PRODUCTION.

The understanding of complex form of social and political organization has been linked to specialized production and the implication of such (Longacre, 1999). This means that specialized production is the basis for complex social and political systems all over the world. Dawakin Tofa is an example of community specialization with household based pottery production units (Dikko M., 2012 pers. Comm.). The household (a group of men, women and children living inside a single set of walls with their own entrance) – is the basis of organization for pottery making here (Leoni and Pritchett, 1978). Potting household composition include the head or father, and his wive(s), his children and the children's wive(s), and children apprentice; thus constituting a range of 11 women and 6 men working in the largest, to others with 3 women and 2 men potters (Aminu Abdullahi, 2012 pers. Comm.). This population produces a total of 5 to 7 large pots per person a day for men, as well as ten to fifteen smaller pots per person for the women potters. Hence, communal firing is done after every three days when production is at its peak mostly during the dry season. A total of 150 to 220 pots are fired in a Kiln. Seasonality affects pottery production within a household. During the rainy season, production falls because according Mallam Umaru (2012 pers. Comm.) pottery clay loses its plasticity which is one of the most determining factors of a high quality large pot. The risk of firing is also there. This is because firing in the area is done in the open and unfired pottery products can be destroyed by rain water. Fuel in the form of corn stalk is also affected by rain and dampness.

a. **Potting Clans** - In Dawakin Tofa, there are five pottery households whose descendants constitute the potting population of the area. Presently, only few itinerant potters are

found in the area as a result of the dwindling fortune of potters especially in relation to uses outside villages. The five pottery households specialize in areas like water pots (*tulu*), cooking pots (*tukunya*), and large pots such as *Kumbu*, *Dokin gini*, and *Kwartanniya*. They are headed by Mamman Tuareg, who specialize on cooking pots; Mallam Garba, specialists on water-pots; Mai Gida Gurgu and Ali Babambade who are specialists on cooking pots. Adamu Attahiru specializes on large pots known as *Kumbu*, *Dokin gini*, and *Kwartanniya*. The nature of soil found in the area have perhaps been a pull-factor of its population in the past and present with the Bambadawa Fulanis, Kanuris, Tuaregs, and Hausas from locations around Kano (like Bebeji, and Kano City) presently in the area. A composition only found in Dawakin Tofa among pottery centres in the state. Out of the total population of the area, the Bambadawa constitute a half (Adamu Attahiru, 2012 pers. Comm.). These 'specialist' are aggregated within a single community, producing for regional consumption. At a time, all the inhabitants of Dawakin Tofa were potters except the District Head (Hakimi's) household; even the town judge's household were potters (Alhaji Shariff Tsoho, 2010 pers. comm.).

b. **Gender set-up of Pottery Production in Dawakin Tofa -** Household set up and pottery variability are determined by gender in Dawakin Tofa. Women produce within the confines of the house while men prefer the entrance hut (Zaure) or thatched shade outside the house. Larger pots are only produced by men, while less large pot categories pots are produced by women. Women also produce cooking and smaller water pots, which children apprentice, also produce. This is because large pots are difficult to produce, hence require more efforts than what women and children can endure (Isa Wajo, 2010 pers. comm.). It also takes lengthy apprenticeship period. Further, even the most

sophisticated potter only produces an average of five large pots daily. Clay collection and transportation are done by male adult and children only. Potters in Dawakin Tofa are farmers who take pottery making as a second occupation (done mostly during the dry season when little farming is practiced through irrigation). The number of women outweighs that of men in the profession here. This may be as a result of what Leoni, and Prichett (1978) calls 'the Kano tradition of recruitment'. That new Bambadawa wives entering Purdah (Marriage) are eager to adopt a profitable trade, and hence pottery tradition is passed from older to younger wives. This is both social and technical, and is mostly among the Bambadawa women. This means that pottery making is practiced as a trade among males and female in the Kano area, and is passed on patrilineally. Similarly, potters grow with the trade. That is, from smaller or less difficult products as a child, to larger ones as one grows. Women produce cooking pots for different cuisines, traditional stove, necked-water pots as well as medicinal pots. The area is blessed with a high level of potting clay where children and other labourers make earnings from sourcing clay and transporting it. Only men and children are involved in firing. This is cultural, because the firing kiln is situated outside the house, and women under purdar are not allowed to come out and participate. Also, the firing process is very tedious for women as hundreds of are fired at a time communally. Every pottery product is paid for to enable the person in-charge source for fuel (firewood, corn stalk and grasses), and pay other participants in the firing process. Pottery-making is still a lucrative business in Dawakin Tofa. This is perhaps due to its affordable capital base, the level of establishment and organization, as well as the availability of raw materials within their reach. All categories of people; children, youths, old, married and unmarried are found practicing the craft.

c. **Apperenticeship** - Pottery making is also practiced by non-potting families. A child from the age of six could undergo apprenticeship for two seasons before producing a medium-sized cooking pot. More specialization is needed for water and large pots. Apart from children and new wives eager to learn a trade, adults also go to learn new products which are more marketable than the one previously learned. This is because market demand strongly influences what potters produce in the area. Market demand which may be driven by change in value like change in cuisine, for instance *Gurasa* locally baked bread led to a high demand in Kumbu pots used for its production, and hence production swells (Salihu, 2011 pers. Comm.). Pottery making business no doubt supports the nature of livelihood in Dawakin Tofa. Presently, pottery products from the area are supplied to places within Kano, and neighbours like Katsina and Jigawa States.

d. **Income**: Most potters in Dawakin Tofa sale their products on wholesale to dealers who in turn either sale on wholesale (truck load) or retail. The dealers come to buy them in the potters shade or houses. This eliminates transport cost on the potter, while the dealer may add it up when selling his stock. Hence, it is possible to calculate potters income with little approximations to determine the viability of the trade and its likely survival with time and place. Using data collected from one household in comparison to quite similar ones during the peak of dry season production, the table below present income of three potters under normal production but different working rates as is the case.

Table 2: Pottery income of three potters in one household.

Potter	Weekly Production	Weekly cost (N)	Weekly income	Average sale price per	Approximate net income

	(Pots)		**from sales (N)**	**pot (N)**	**per annum (N)**
A	42	1500	12000	350	192000
B	49	2000	14000	342.85	224000
C	35	1300	11200	353.57	179200

Average sale price is introduced due to breakage before, during, and after firing. This is about 15% per day. Another 5% of total production of pots is lost to repaired pots after cracking which lowers its actual price. Large pots sell between ₦500 and ₦600 from dealers in the town's market.

Annually, three full months of production starts from January to March. There is less activity at the beginning and end of the rainy season to about 70%, while production falls to about 30% during the rainy season. This amounts to approximate net income per annum, which perhaps sustains an average family size of eleven in a rural setting like Dawakin Tofa. This includes the head of the family or father, two wives and eight children. This is also coupled with supplementary income from farming activity.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATIONS.

The basic goal of ethnoarchaeology is to link artefacts and their behavioural correlates in such a manner that archaeologically testable propositions may be made (Stanislawski, 1978). In other words, our purpose is to render ethnographic evidence comparable to that from excavated sites, and thereby use archaeological data to lead to an understanding of ethnographic systems in dynamic change.

However, ethnoarchaeology regard the utility of optimization approaches to the interpretation of a range of constrained behaviours against a general theory (Davids and Kramer, 2001). Hence, through analogy, modeling of behavior is used to assist in the interpretation of unknown behaviours.Further, analogy entails that the subject and source cultures should be similar in regard to variables likely to have affected or influenced the materials, behaviours or processes being compared. Also, antecedent-descendent relationship established ensures a greater intrinsic likelihood between the archaeological and the ethnographic cultures being compared. This approach takes into account the variables of time, place, and people, as established from oral traditions, written documents, etc (Okpoko, 2005).

The approach also recognizes the change in function of objects with time; and that tracing direct historical continuity is more reliable, if time disparity is limited. Despite changes that might have occurred through time, contiguous or neighbouring areas have higher possible similarity than geographically large separated areas. While hypotheses developed from these analog models should be tested, the bases of interpretation should be elaborated to establish relevance between the two cultures.

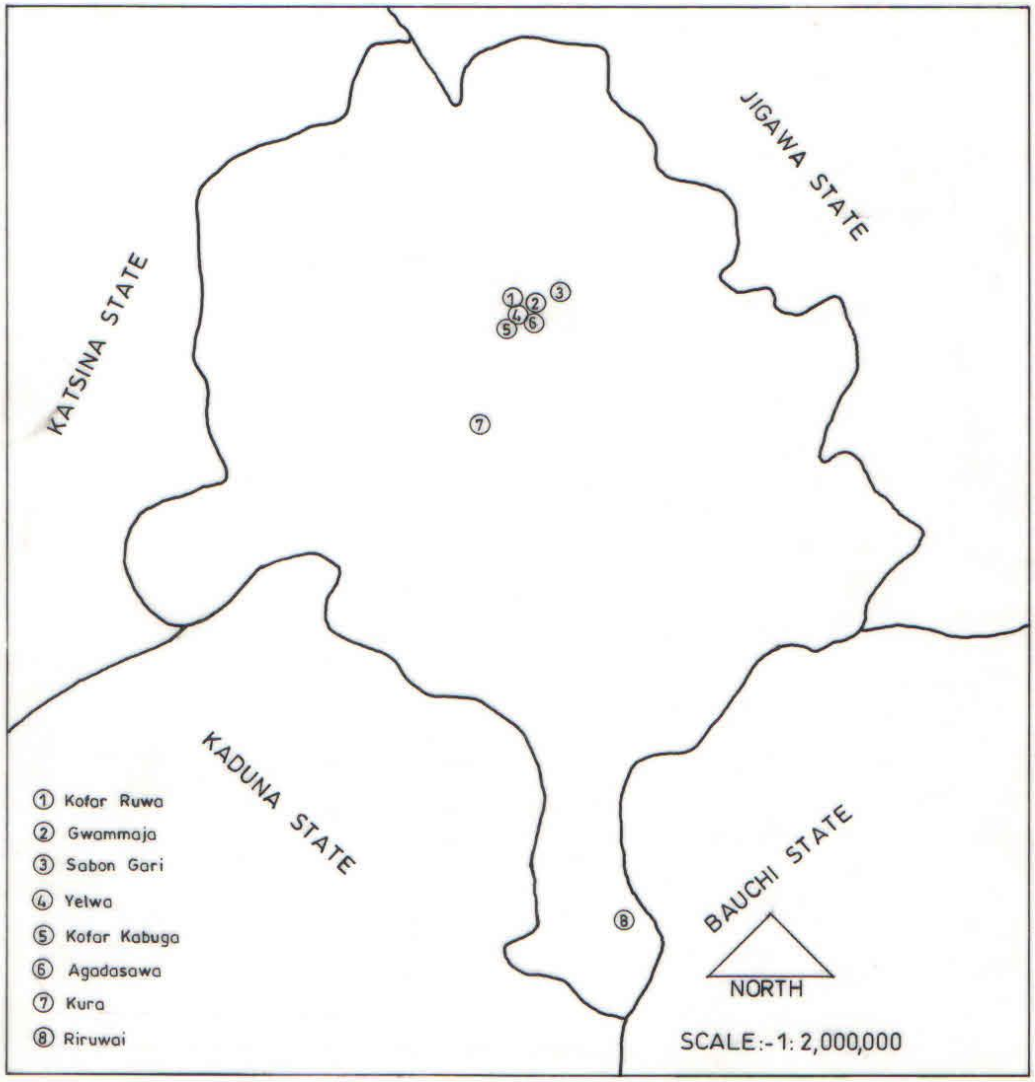
4.1 Archaeological Data

Only one out of the eight large pots excavated from the Kano area so far was documented and published accordingly. These had made further research on them rather difficult. This may not be unconnected with the fact that they were discovered accidentally with poor rescue methods that carried on them. While large pots excavated from areas like Sabon Gari, Riruwai, Yelwa, Agadasawa, and Gwammaja, were discovered by artisans digging septic tanks; pots from Kofar Ruwa, and Kofar Kabuga were exposed as a result of road construction in these areas (Abdullahi Musa, 2010 pers.comm.). As a result, excavations were hastily carried out by staffs who are amateurs in the archaeological profession, under the employment of the State's History and Culture Bureau. This is partly because of the interest these large pots aroused from the members of the public who troop in large numbers to have a glimpse of them (Hambolu, 2002). Hence, there are no excavation reports accompanying these excavated pots, except for the large pot excavated from Agadasawa quarters in Kano City.

Here, the pot was excavated at about 70 cm below the present ground level which corresponds to the seventh (7^{th}) layer below (Hambolu, 2002). Out of these layers, only one in which the pot was buried seem to be a cultural layer, with ash beside the upper part of the pot. Also, a human burial was noticed beside the pot, as well as a charcoal sample further below at 85 cm. At the moment, this charcoal sample is yet to be dated (Hambolu, 2011 pers.comm.). At Gwammaja quarters in Kano City, Dala Local Government Area, the large pot was excavated at 210 cm below deep, while digging a septic tank. The pot was described as a ritual pot due to charcoal, bones (suspected to belong to the cat family), and potsherds that were found in it (Kwaru, 2006). According to Mallam Muhammad Inuwa (a 95 year old man), he never heard nor saw the burial or discovery of such a large pot before (Kwaru, 2006). Similarly, at Yelwa, in

Kano City, Dala Local Government Area, the large pot also contain bones suspected to be that of a bird (Adamu Garba, 2010 pers.comm.). It was excavated close to the area's cemetery. Large pottery vessels (Baggy pots) found at Kabuga in Kano which now form part of the exhibition at Gidan Makama Museum, Kano, were said to have been used by king Muhammadu Rumfa (1463 – 1499AD) for preparing concoctions during wars (Fatunsin et al, 1988). At Kura town, 25 kilometers south of Kano city, this author in an earlier research observed a dyeing pit around the centre of the town poked through a large pot (Isa, 2006). Generally, large pots had been excavated mostly within Kano City in places like Kofar Kabuga, Yelwa, Gwammaja, Kofar Ruwa, and Agadasawa. Others are Sabon Gari (a satellite town of the City), Kura (about 40 kilometres south of Kano City), and Riruwai (at the Southern part of the State) (Map 4).

MAP 4: KANO STATE SHOWING SITES WHERE LARGE POTS WERE FOUND



Soure: Google Earth 2010

4.2 Observation

The author of this research is of the opinion that the use of pot represents the potters' intention or ultimate aim of its production, the property of the vessel found in actualistic/ethnoarchaeological study and above all, the context of disposition. This is because pottery items satisfy many domestic and ceremonial requirements, and thus they are associated with specific activity area and stored/kept/collected near their area of use (Deal, 1998:91). Additionally, objects most times acquire wide range of meanings during their manufacture and use as they pass through the hands of various individuals in different social strategies, accumulating histories and multiple stories about the people (Gosselain, 2000). Large pots excavated from the Kano area perhaps have ritual significance because they are related to ritual sites which also relates to a period in the history of Kano when ritual activities were practiced for the protection of the City, and its inhabitants from foreign aggression and for prosperity. For instance, Kwaru (2006) in an interview quoted Mallam Muhammad Inuwa, a 95-year-old man in Kano, saying that in the past large pots were buried with charms as a ritual to protect Kano from the attack of enemies during the pre-Islamic period (before the 13th century) in Kano. This is a period when intra and inter-ethnic wars, besides wars being fought between neighbouring towns and villages happened.

At times such pots were even buried by individuals in their houses, as security against both human and animal attacks. Skin of animals, bones and parts of domestic or wild animals were buried in the pot believed to be a protective device. One pot would be buried at the centre of the House, one at each corridor, with the belief that calamity, attack or disease would not befall the House. Concluding that "the ritual would only fail if the pot is exhumed''. Also, Kano City walls also had charms planted at their gates to ward off enemies by causing panic (Achi,

1985). A tablet with inscription in Arabic was found buried under the Waika gate (Moody, 1968b). The inscription is in jumbled form, supposed to have been magical powers to ward off evil; besides, the Waika gate is one of the loneliest gates which was continually being harassed and attacked by raiders. Apart from this, it is however noteworthy that in the pre-Islamic period, there was the concentration of all religious, political, and economic activities around the Dala area as well as other hilly areas like Goron Dutse, Santolo, Fannisau, and Kwafsaye (Tukur, 1989). Hence, Yelwa, Gwammaja, Agadasawa, Sabon Gari, Riruwai, Kofar Ruwa, and Kofar Kabuga pots were probably buried for ritual purposes in the past because these areas are close to the Dala hill as well as the gates of Kano City. Besides, excavated pots from Yelwa, and Gwammaja were found with animal bones in them as well (See Chapter 5). At Kura, 25 kilometers away from Kano City, a large pot was however found within one of the town's dyeing centre with a constructed dye pit pierced through its bottom, deep down (Shea, 2004; Isa 2006). This area had been attested to be almost the centre of the town (Shea, 2004); and the large pot could have been buried as a protective device. Large pots elsewhere imply a ritual significance (Nuhu, 1992).

Considerably, the only documented pot out of the excavated large pots in the Kano area so far, known as the Agadasawa vessel (see Hambolu, 2002) have no cultural layer above the one it was excavated. This perhaps indicates that it was intentionally buried, contrary to the idea of an abandoned dyeing pot which could have been covered by natural sedimentation process. This is why I argue that it could however be evidently proven that large pots excavated from the Kano area were used for ritual purposes during the pre-Islamic period (about one thousand years ago), when the earliest gates were built (see Moody, 1968a). It is however not known at the moment if all the archaeological pots were buried at the same or subsequent times.

4.3 Ethnographic Information

Field observation shows that function of large pots is not mutually exclusive. *Kumbu*, *Dokin gini*, or *Kwartanniya* can all be used for storage, boiling of water, and burial. But Physical attributes between archaeological and ethnographic pots differ in the area of size, and thickness (Table 3). Similarities occur between the two (archaeological and ethnographic pottery) in aspects of form, decoration, and the use of slip and temper (Plates 2, 9, 10, 11, 15). Thick lines (groove) decorations in the lip (upper part of the rim) as well as incised decoration on pot shoulder (lower part of the rim) are still practiced. Even though it is not immediately ascertained the of type instruments used to produce the above mentioned decorations in the past, presently leave stalk, and wire from bicycle tyre are used to decorate the lip and body of large pots. The lip decoration can be seen in excavated pots from Kofar Ruwa and Kofar Kabuga, while both the lip and shoulder decoration (groove and incision) are found on pots excavated from Agadasawa, Yelwa, Gwammaja, and Kura. Application of slip on pots is also noticed in large pots presently manufactured in Dawakin Tofa. This is called *Bakuwa* in Hausa language. It is fine-grained sand golden in colour, obtained around the town fringes, to the North. When mixed with water it turns dark-brown, and on application, it gives a golden colour immediately it dries. This golden colour changes to red when fired. Application of slip is also noticed in large pots excavated from all sites so far (Plates 19, and 20).

Characteristics	Kofar Kabuga Vessel, Gidan Makama Museum.	Sabon Gari Vessel, History and Culture Bureau,	Kumbu Vessel	Dokin Gini (Mould)

		Museum.		
Height	120cm	130cm	107cm	110cm
Rim Diameter	102cm	86cm	60cm	35cm
Wall Thickness	5cm	5cm	3cm	3cm
Temper	Grog, vegetable, laterite	Laterite	Laterite	Laterite
Surface Treatment	Rough Smoothening	Burnished	Burnished	Burnished
Decoration Placement	Lip	Neck	Neck/lip	Neck/Lip
Decorative Motif	2 band of Grooves	Carved r (grain-like pattern)	Incision/Groove (single)	Incision/Groove (single)
Lip form	Flat	Tapered	Round	Round
Colour	Reddish/Brown	Light brown	Reddish/Brown	Reddish/Brown

Table 3: Comparing the physical characteristics of some selected vessels from museums and Dawakin Tofa.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that both excavated large pots from the Kano area, and large pots presently manufactured at Dawakin Tofa are similar in many aspects, and they also show some level of continuity in technology of manufacture and culture.



Plate 19: Excavated pot from Sabon Gari. Note: the form and use of slip.



Plate 20: Present day pots in Dawakin Tofa. Note the form, lip decoration, and the use of slip in the pots.

4.4 Pottery Function and Typology

It is true that pots serve many functions; mostly according to the function its user(s) puts them into. It is also generally believed that traditional potters always have in mind the function a particular pottery type would serve and consequently proceed to furnish it with the needed attributes (Effah-Gyamfi, 1980; Ibeanu, 1993). Hence, the function and Attributes (form) of a particular pot combine to define its usefulness, though this is usually very difficult to separate. Pottery typology is a vessel's variable attribute observed to occur in it as distinct from other vessels. Functions of large pots in Dawakin Tofa are as follows:

(a) Dokin gini – This is the largest vessel between 1.10m (or 110cm) high and 0.35m (or 35cm) wide, and 0.3m (or 3cm) wall thickness. The diameter of the circumference of this vessel is larger than its rim and its base or bottom (Plate 19). This means that its rim and its base are smaller compared to the body. Thus, the vessel appears spherical when viewed from its side. As its name implies, it serves as a mould on which other large pots like *Kumbu* and *Kwartanniya* are manufactured. This type of large pot is not decorated at all.



Plate 21: *Dokin gini* (the mould) used for the manufacture of *Kumbu* and *Kwartanniya* pots.

(b) Kumbu – Is also a large vessel for storing drinking water, or water for ablution in mosques (Plate 20). It is also used by sachet water sellers who store them in Kumbu pots filled with water to make it cool before sells. Women use it at child birth for boiling water for the 40days hot parturition bath ritual. However this is very rear now because iron drums have replaced this purpose (Mallam Abdullahi 2011 pers. Comm.). Ultimately the Kumbu vessel is used in the baking of local bread known as *Gurasa.* This type of pot is most suitable because it provides the even surface from its rim to its bottom for easy spread of heat for baking through a little hole at the bottom of the pot. The rim diameter of Kumbu pot is 0.6m (or 60cm) in most cases, 1.07m (or 107cm) high, and 0.3m (or 3cm) wall thickness. Due to its even structure, it is also used for burial by breaking the pot into two halves symmetrically. Each part can then

be used to cover the dead body in the grave. The Muslim burial is done in such a way that after digging a first pit (rectangular in size), few centimeters below, before the end of this pit, a narrow pit (the same shape) is dug thereby appearing like a step into the first pit. This platform is where the broken half pot is made to rest, with the inner curvature of the pot facing the dead body. Kumbu, been lengthy will cover an average – sized man by placing the two halves at both edges. This according to Mallam Adamu (2011 pers.comm.) is more economical than the use of smaller pots or firewood to cover the body. In view of this, Philanthropists in many places like Dawakin Tofa, Kibiya, Kano City, Kura, etc in Kano State buy and stock Kumbu pots in cemeteries for use in covering the dead. This accordingly had increased the demand for the pots across the State.



Plate 22: A Kumbu pot used for storage of Water.

(c) ***Kwartanniya*** – Is a vessel less in height than the above two (Plate 21), and measures 0.4m (or 40cm) in height, 0.5m (50cm) wide, and 0.3m (or 3cm) wall thickness. Kwartanniya is manufactured through a similar process with the two large pots mentioned above. It is used for bathing, and for medicinal preparation. Women at childbirth use it also for boiling of water for the 40 days parturition bath. It is also still used in the preparation of concoctions for warriors (*Yan Tauri*) against sharp iron objects like knives, arrows, and axes. Certain plants mostly collected from the wild are soaked inside the Kwartanniya for a period of time. The mixture from this is used for bathing and drinking for weeks mostly during the harmattan season (Hama, 2010 pers. Comm.). Further, the Kwartanniya as a bath and having non-metallic properties is believed to have some of the requirements for the efficacy of such medicines (Zainab Ibrahim, 2011 pers. Comm.). It is also large enough to allow for even mixture of the solution. Achi (1988) mentioned that in pre-colonial Hausaland warfare; charms, amulets, and concoctions for warriors and their horses were believed to be capable of emboldening the warriors and could make them and their horses invincible to the weapons of their opponents.



Plate 23: *Kwartanniya* (the bath) used for bathing and medicinal preparation.

4.5 **Pottery Marketing and Distribution**

Pots manufactured at Dawakin Tofa are found all over Kano. Barau (2007) maintained that Dawakin Tofa is the mainstream of pottery in Kano State. From the household to the community as a whole, over 95% of the inhabitants have been practising pottery making for many years. These potters had over the years developed a special kiln for firing, and had specialized and standardized their products to survive to the present.

Marketing of pottery products from Dawakin Tofa is presently carried out through middle men known as dealers. They buy pots from manufacturers and stock them for wholesale buyers who purchase them in truckloads. A large pot like Kumbu for instance, sells for N500 in the town's market which is a few meters from the production area. Buyers could purchase up to a truck load of pots for onward sale in their own locality. These customers come to buy pots from places like Kura, Dawakin Kudu, Riruwai, Kibiya, Tudun Wada, and other areas within Kano

and neighbouring Jigawa and Katsina States. Market days in Dawakin Tofa are busy of activities. This according to Mallam Salihu (2010, pers.comm) makes economic sense because using an affordable capital; they manufacture pots and sell them within their vicinity thereby providing them with income to support themselves and their families. In fact, pot dealers come to buy the vessels from manufacturers in their houses or shades and stock them for wholesale buyers. This explains why they continue to be in the business despite dwindling fortunes in the pottery industry elsewhere. A young man can be sole proprietor in the craft with small amount of money as a starting capital. Above all, cooling (of drinking water) and heating (of water) properties of pot as against metal and rubber vessels will continue to serve the local populace at least for now.

In the past, these large pots were taken to the famous Kurmi market in Kano city for sale. Men trek to the market from Dawakin Tofa which is about 20 kilometers away with one or two pots on their heads. The journey according to Mallam Adamu Attahiru(2010 pers. Comm.) starts very early in the morning and arrival at the market is before noon of that very day. It is not known at what point in time this exchange or trade began, but Karofi (2007) mentioned that Dr. Muhammadu Uba Adamu of the Bayero University, Kano explained that by the year 684 AD, the Kurmi market served the influx of migrants to Kano as a result of the city's agricultural boom as well as the Trans-Saharan and Slave trade. That the Kurmi market was established over 1000 years ago, making it the oldest market in Kano State. Accordingly, it is strategically located, thereby accessible to the entrance gates of Kano city.

Conclusively, similarities between archaeological and ethnographic pots can be seen in physical attributes like form, decoration, and the use of slip; while differences can be seen mostly in functional attributes. According to Mallam Adamu Attahiru (2011 pers. Comm.) pots from the archaeological record were used for storing *Kalwa* (locust bean cake) which is mostly

used as food seasoning. They were also used for boiling of water for women at childbirth for the 40days parturition bath. Presently, large pots are still used for boiling water at child birth, for medicinal preparation, baking of local bread (*Gurasa*), burial, storage of water for ablution in mosques, and can be used as mould for manufacturing other large pots.

CHAPTER FIVE

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS.

Archaeological data emerges when observations are made about artifacts. These observations are attributes the investigator regards as significant. They include artifact shapes and sizes, properties of raw materials used, method of manufacture of tools, etc. Hence, the idea behind classification and analysis.

(i) Classification According to Ware Analysis

Visual analysis carried out on pots under study shows that they are of two (2) wares. Ware refers to the particular nature of clay substance which a pot is made from.

Ware A

This is light-brown in colour, with lateritic temper. Pots from Sabon Gari, and Riruwai appears to be of this ware (Table 3).

Ware B

This is reddish-brown with grog temper. Pots from Kofar Kabuga, Kofar-Ruwa, Agadasawa, Yelwa, Gwammaja and Kura appear to be of this ware (Table 3).

Table 4: Showing the Type of Pottery Wares.

Sites	Ware A	Ware B	Percentage
Sabon Gari	1	0	12.5%
Riruwai	1	0	12.5%
Kofar Kabuga	0	1	12.5%
Kofar Ruwa	0	1	12.5%
Agadasawa	0	1	12.5%
Yelwa	0	1	12.5%
Gwammaja	0	1	12.5%
Kura	0	1	12.5%
Total	2	6	100.00

(ii) **Classification According to Vessel Forms**

Among the excavated pots under study, pots from Kofar Ruwa and Kura have no intact rims. Thus, two rim forms were identified out of the remaining 6 pots.

Form A – This is everted with a steep neck, and tapered lip. The pot with this rim form (Gwammaja vessel) has a rim diameter of 80cm.

Form B – This is also everted with a sloppy neck, and flat lip. The lip is decorated. Pots from Kofar Kabuga, Agadasawa, Yelwa, Sabon Gari, and Riruwai have this type of rim form. Their rim diameter is 80cm, 120cm, 55cm, 55cm, and 75cm respectively. Generally, their wall thickness is 5cm.

Table 5: Showing the Type of Pottery Forms.

Sites	Form A	Form B	Percentage
Gwammaja	1	0	16.66%
Kofar Kabuga	0	1	16.66%
Agadasawa	0	1	16.66%
Yelwa	0	1	16.66%
Sabon Gari	0	1	16.66%
Riruwai	0	1	16.66%
Total	1	5	100.00

(iii) **Classification According to Surface Finish.**

Burnishing is a term used to describe the surface finish of a pot smoothened by polishing the exterior part of the pot with either a pebble or a blunt stick when the pot is still in its leather-hard state. Out of the 8 excavated pots, all are burnished and decorated (Table 6).

Table 6: Showing the Surface Finish of Pots.

S/No.	Type of Surface Finish.	Quantity	Percentage
1	Burnished Decorated	8	100%
2	Burnished Undecorated	0	0%
3	Unburnished Decorated	0	0%
4	Unburnished Undecorated	0	0%
Total		8	100.00

(iv) **Use of Slip**

Slip is a semi-fluid substance used in coating the surface of pots and other earthen wares. This when applied evens the surface of a pot thereby making it appear shiny or glossy. All excavated pots in the Kano area so far have indication of the use of slip on them. This is also noticed in present pottery manufacture in Dawakin Tofa. It is called "Bakuwa".

(v) **Classification According to Decorative Motifs.**

The following decorations were observed among excavated pots under study.

Motif A

Incision – A line stroke or notch cut by a sharp tool in which the clay is pushed out on the side. Double-line incised pattern is noticed in pots from Yelwa, Kura, and Gwammaja, and triple-line in the Agadasawa vessel (Table 7).

Motif B

Rouletting- A roughly cylindrical object rolled over the surface of wet clay leaving a continuous band of impression which repeat itself at each revolution. Carved roulette (grain-like) is noticed in pots from Sabon Gari and Riruwai (Table 7).

Motif C

Groove – Is generally similar to incision but is deeper and wider. This type of decoration is found in the lip of pots from Kofar Kabuga and Gwammaja (Table 7).

Table 7: Showing the Types of Pottery Decorative Motifs.

Sites	Type of Decoration and nature.	Placement	Quantity	Percentage
Kofar Kabuga	Groove (single)	lip	1	12.5%
Kofar Ruwa	Carved Roulette: grain-like (single)	neck	1	12.5%
Agadasawa	Incision: zig-zag (single)	neck	1	12.5%
Gwammaja	Groove (single)	lip	1	12.5%
Sabon Gari	Carved Roulette: grain-like (single)	neck	1	12.5%
Kura	Incision (single)	neck	1	12.5%
Riruwai	Carved Roulette: grain-like (single)	neck	1	12.5%
Yelwa	Incision: zig-zag, banded groove (double)	neck	1	12.5%
Total			8	100.00

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION.

In its attempt to explain the past through material remains of past peoples, archaeology is faced with the problem of decay and loss of substantial part of these material remains. In some cases (like the one under study), it is the problem of lack of excavation report; hence the loss of contextual information, incomplete analysis of finds (excavated pots) and ultimately the loss of empirical data base for proper interpretation. As a remedy, this research uses ethnoarchaeology, the study of behaviours of present day manufacturers and users of pots in the Kano area as an aid to interprete the use/function of these pots in the past. The exact types of these pots are only seen in the archaeological record. This may explain why they attract so much attention from scholars and the public. Through Ethnographic Survey, Archaeological Study, and Oral tradition, as methods of study, the research attempts to sort for the use of these artefacts in the time past.

Consequently, this research looked at the Geographical and Environmental background of the area of study (Chapter Two) because this is intricately interwoven with man's existence and achievements. Insightfully, it shows the natural or environmental resources that were exploited to enable man attain this degree of ingenuity in pottery production. The behavioural modeling approach of ethnoarchaeology, it interpretes unknown behaviours through analogy. Hence, the need to establish a relationship between the cultures that are compared. In Chapter 3, through Ethnographic Survey vis-a-vis Participant Observation and Interviews, questions were asked on every aspect of pottery production in the present in order to infer what might have accounted for material remains of large pots across Kano State. In other words, the chain of production, and status of potters were investigated. This Chapter also discussed the function and typology of pots in the present and the past; their sellers, buyers and users. This in effect is to

know how it impacts on the lives of the people through trade, use and disposition; and why is a certain type of pot preferable over the other. The nature of support it gives to its makers for them to continue in the craft and trade.

For a study like this, there is the need for theoretical backing (Dobres and Hoffman, 1994) to make for an empirical conclusion. Hence, Chapter Five focused on this aspect through the descriptive analysis of archaeological pots. The result of this is to enable the author to interprete the research findings, as well as situates same in the historical context of the area. Through this, it is however clear that similarities and differences occur between the archaeological and ethnographic pots from this area. The similarities can be seen in physical attributes like form, decoration, and the use of slip; while differences can be seen mostly in functional attributes because according to Mallam Adamu Attahiru (2011 pers. Comm.) pots from the archaeological record were used for storing *Kalwa* (locust bean cake) which is mostly used as food seasoning. They were also used for boiling of water for women at childbirth for the 40days parturition bath. Pots may however acquire wide range of meanings during their life time as they pass through the hands of various individuals in different social strategies, accumulating histories and multiple stories about them (Gosselain, 2000). The summary, purpose, and significance of this research, coupled with an outline of its gains are stated in Chapter Six.

This research work attempts to provide an empirical data for interpreting the function of pottery artefacts from the Kano area. This aspect is a subjective criterion of classification but very vital because it is one of the process through which all processed data become actual historical evidence, and the past can thereby reconstructed (Chard, 1969). Additionally, it provides a type concept to represent a class for these artefacts for further study at least to situate them in an evolutionary framework, where changes are examined in their time-dimensions

(Obayemi, 1973). Differences in functions between archaeological and ethnographic pots may be due to what Effah-Gyamfi (1980) sees as variation of forms as a result of distance from one tradition to another (i.e the past and present tradition of the people of the area). Presently large pots like *Kumbu* and *Kwartanniya* are used for boiling water for the 40days hot parturition bath ritual; and baking of local bread known as *Gurasa* (in the case of Kumbu). *Kwartanniya* pot is most suitable in the preparation of concoctions for warriors (*Yan Tauri*) against sharp iron objects like knives, arrows, and axes. Certain plants mostly collected from the wild are soaked inside the Kwartanniya for a period of time. The mixture from this is used for bathing and drinking for weeks mostly during the harmattan season.

The research endeavour has perhaps succeeded in its aim. This is because it has attempted to fill the gap on the interpretation of large pots in the Kano area as well as provide a remedy to problems other researches faced while interpreting them (See Literature review of this work). It also throws some light into resource exploitation in pottery production by the people in one of the areas in the Kano area to meet up their cultural needs over time; the nature of cultural set-up of pottery production, growth in the potting industry of the area and its associated development; placing of such development in Historical context (chronology) of Kano city as a whole; and the distribution of finished products in the past and present through exchange/trade in the area. Above all, two of the large pots (Dokin gini, and Kumbu) studied in Dawakin Tofa are inextricably related to excavated large pots (Chapter 4). Changes in pottery characteristics and their uses can also be inferred to be an index of cultural change. This is as a result of the need to meet up customer demands as regards cultural, political and social demands like 'ritual' and storage activities. They all play very vital role(s) in pottery typology as well as other functional purpose(s) in the area. The complexity of pottery manufacture in Dawakin Tofa has indicated the

degree of cultural development in the area. Noteworthy is the number of established households with specialization in different type of pots. The kiln used in firing of pots in Dawakin Tofa is the only type found across the Kano area.

In method of pottery manufacture, the people of the area presently practice all the three techniques of pottery manufacture (the pinch, mould, and coil) known in Hausaland. Additionally, both the archaeological and ethnographic pots are well distributed across the Kano area.

The study had contributed to some aspects of material (pottery production), and non-material (ritual or protective activity) of the people of the Kano area as part of their History. Evidently, it has debunked earlier views by Egwuogu (2004) that large pots were used for soaking of clay for pottery production as well as firing of smaller pots (See Chapter 3). Considered concretely also, this research findings have proven that large pots excavated from the Kano area so far were not used for dyeing as mentioned by Mahadi (1982), Shea (1983, 2004), and Hambolu (2002). However, Agorsah (1990:191) has asserted that 'Ethnoarchaeology is not an end in itself but one of the many tools which can be used to refine our explanation and understanding of the past'. It is however recommended that careful collection and preservation of cultural products (artefacts) should be adopted by the authorities in Kano and elsewhere for proper Historical documentation, because contextual information matter most to archaeologists. In other words, well trained archaeologists should be involved in managing cultural materials.

Also, in the future professional archaeological excavations should be carried out for better understanding of the nature of archaeological data in the area, rather than the rescue excavation by amateur archaeologists. Sites and documentation of archaeological data should be given utmost priority for self discovery and pride, as well as income generation. Large pots on

exhibition at the Kano State History and Culture Bureau should be preserved properly either by constructing a roof above them. Finally, it is hoped that other dimensions of archaeological study like microscopic thin section and dating of these large pots would be incorporated into researches like this, to shed more light on their cultural significance through the understanding of clay components used in their manufacture as well as chronology.

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Appendix 1

List of Informants.

NAME	OCCUPATION	AGE	GENDER	DATE AND PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1. Mallam Adamu Attahiru.	Farmer/Potter.	70 Years.	Male	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
2. Alhaji Lawal Isa Wajo.	Farmer/Potter.	70 Years.	Male	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
3. Mallam Adamu Abdullahi.	Farmer/Potter.	54 Years.	Male	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
4. Mallam Idris Yusuf.	Farmer/Potter.	45 Years.	Male	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
5. Mallam Umaru Yusuf.	Farmer/Potter.	40 Years.	Male	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
6. Adamu Garba.	Civil Servant.	42 Years.	Male	2011, Kano City.
7. Mallam Yakubu Muhamad.	Farmer/Potter.	37 Years.	Male	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
8. Mallam Salihu Muhamad.	Farmer/Potter.	31 Years.	Male	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
9. Hamisu Adamu.	Farmer/Potter.	35 Years.	Male	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
10. Alhaji Shariff Tsoho.	Pottery Dealer.	90 Years.	Male	2011, Kura Town.
11. Alhaji Mu'azu Umar.	Civil Servant.	59 Years.	Male	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
12. Mallam Abdullahi Musa.	Civil Servant.	38 Years.	Male	2011, Kano City.
13. Hajiya Hama I.	Weaver/Potter.	58 Years.	Female	2010, Dawakin Tofa.
14. Gambo S.	Potter.	49 Years.	Female	2011, Dawaki.
15. Hauwa Sule.	Potter.	45 Years.	Female	2011, Dawakin Tofa.

16. Khadija Hamisu.	Potter.	34 Years.	Female	2012, Dawakin Tofa.
17. Umaru Ahmad.	Farmer/Potter.	45 Years.	Male	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
18. Alhaji Hussaini Aliyu.	Civil Servant.	40 Years.	Male	2010, Tofa.
19. Zainab Ibrahim.	Weaver/Potter.	68 Years.	Female	2011, Kura Town.
20. Hajiya Mairo Abdullahi.	Potter.	40 Years.	Female.	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
21. Alhaji Dikko Muhamad.	Civil Servant.	44 Years.	Male.	2011, Kano City.
22. Bello Adamu.	Potter.	25 Years.	Male.	2012, Kano City.
23. Aminu Abdullahi.	Dyer.	32 Years.	Male.	2012, Kano City.
24. Musa Danjuma.	Farmer /Potter.	25 Years.	Male.	2012, Kano City.
25. Isa Musa.	Farmer/Potter.	37 Years.	Male.	2011, Dawakin Tofa.
26. Chidiadi Ignatius Nwosu.	Civil Servant.	41 Years.	Male.	2012, Dept of Agronomy, A.B.U. Zaria.

QUESTION GUIDE

(1) What is your name?

(2) How old are you?

(3) Are you a native of this place?

(4) If No, where do you come from?

(5) Who were the early settlers of this area?

(6) Where did the people come from?

(7) At what time did they settle here?

(8) Why did the people choose this area for settlement?

(9) What is the craft of the people?

(10) What is the social organization of the people?

(11) Where and how did you learn the craft of pottery-making?

(12) Is your master a relation to you?

(13) If yes, what is he to you?

(14) What are the task(s) in learning this craft?

(15) How long does it take to learn the craft?

(16) Is anyone allowed to learn the craft?

(17) What items do you produce here?

(18) Who produce what (male/female)?

(19) Under what condition do you produce what you produce?

(20) What motivates you to produce what you produce?

(21) What group of people do you produce for?

(22) Do you have any trademark?

(23) What significance does it hold?

(24) What are your decorating instruments?

(25) What is their significance?

(26) Where and how do you get raw materials for your products?

(27) How do you finance production?

(28) What constraints do you face in production?

(29) How do you solve them?

(30) Do you have any reason to form an organization, and why?

(31) How many hours do you put at work in a day?

(32) What amount of materials do you produce within this time?

(33) Who are the users of your products?

(34) How do you connect to them?

(35) Do they give you the shape of material needed?

(36) Or what determine the materials you produce?

Do your products compete with others in the market? If yes, what are those pottery products and who are their manufacturers?

(37) What is an average lifespan of a pottery product?

(38) Do lifespan of a pottery product vary according to their types?

(39) How do you cope with breakage of pottery product?

(40) Do you repair broken pots?

(41) What is the value of a repaired pot?

(42) How do you react to eventualities in the course of production?

(43) How do you dispose used products?