HAUSA FOLKTHEATRE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS: SOME EXAMPLES IN ZARIA, KADUNA STATE

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it is a record of my research work. It has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

AUDU YUSUF JOE

DEDICATION

To my late father
and surviving mother.
My uncle Yahaya Joe,
his wife and my aunt
Dr (Mrs) H.J. Kaka.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis looks into Hausa folktheatre and occupational groups, basing the examples on Zaria.

Chapter One briefly discusses the myth of the origin of the Hausa people and culture. It also discusses the use of the term "occupational" based on two meaningso The first is to describe performances which are conducted by practitioners of specific occupations and which relate directly to the nature of these occupations. Examples include [1] Danhoto, Wasan Runji or Hawan Kaho, and Was ail Wuta. The performances reflect the nature of the occupations as performed by practitioners of the profession. They usually are for entertainment and do not aim at the acquisition of material benefits.

The second meaning is to describe performances conducted by entertainers who earn all or part of their livelihoods through the occupation of entertaining. Examples include Wawan Sarki and 'Yan gambara performances. The primary aim of this type of performances is to acquire material benefits.

Chapter two is a description of the range of some occupational folktheatre. It is a description of the extent to which some occupational groups represent the nature of their occupation in performanceso Examples are wasan Aska, Gardawa and

Wasan Planar pa occupational performances -

Chapter three takes a look at the socio-economic influences on some occupational folk-theatre. Examples include 'Yan tauri and Bori traditional folk performances. The discussion looks into the process of commercialization of the occupational performances and associates the process with the influences of modern society.

Chapter four takes a look at folktradition and occupational groups. it discusses folklore, folk-music and song and folk-dance, in relation to folktheatre and tradition.

Chapter five is a review of the occupational folktheatre as it existed and as it exists today- I suggest that the present and future status of folk performances will depend on the role and function it is supposed to fulfil in society.

PREFACE

Little or no research has been conducted into Hausa folktheatre, particularly with emphasis on occupational folktheatre. As a pioneering work it is bound to be limited in many ways. However the research embraces as much as possible detailed descriptions of theatrical qualities of some occupational performances. It also looks at the modern interpretation of traditional performances.

The thesis takes a look at the traditional and modern forms of some occupational folk theatre, their role and function in society and factors contributing to the new forms and meaning of some occupational folktheatre.

This is an introduction which is hoped will encourage more research in the field.

NOTES ON ZAZZAU

"Zaria (Zazzau) in North-Western Nigeria is a large and complex city state that cannot be construed as tribal in either the technical or popular sense. Here, one is struck by the degree and variety of occupational specialization and by the intensity and range of commerce. Heterogeneity is seen in urban-rural and commercial-peasant contrasts and in social stratification."

(AMES: 1973)

GLOSSARY

1. Garki — This refers to a ranch. In Hausaland farmers and herdsmen sometimes come to agreement on having temporary ranches set up in farms to provide manure.

2. Gayya — Communal labour groups seen during the rain season. They are usually characterised by an ensemble of musical groups associated with the occupation of farming.

3. Gungume — It is a large log or wood used in Danhoto performances. Sometimes the Dankama comedian imitates the Danhoto but with a gungume made of cloth.

4. Hura — It is another word for poison such as guba. Traditional hunters usually apply the poison on the tips of their arrows or spears.

5. Iska — It refers to spirit in Bori spirit-possession. It may be likened to a jinnee which in Mohammedan demonology refers to spirit, lower than angels, able to appear in human and animal forms, and having supernatural power over men.

6. Kirari — This is name-calling or praise-singing. During performance a musician, marok.. or participant may indulge in such salutation and demonstration of ... prowess.

7.	Sarauniya	It literally means Queen but in Bori it refers to the leader or priestess of the cult. Also Magajiya which literally means a leader of women.
8.	Sulki	This is the chain-mail, a protection for warriors during warfare. Its creation is credited to the innovations of traditional local blacksmiths.
9.	Tashe	It is performed by youths and adults in various forms. They are various social dramatic enactments associated with the fasting or Rammadan period.
10.	Yanbanga	These are thugs employed by political parties to serve as bodyguards to political party leaders.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE USE OF THE TERM 'OCCUPATIONAL' IN HAUSA FOLKTHEATRE

As mentioned earlier, culture is seen as the complex set of learned and shared beliefs, customs, skills, habits, traditions and knowledge common to all members of a society. The Concise Oxford Dictionary[1] defines folk as people in general, or as a specified class; a race. The Hausa people as a race, are an adventurous people and Hausa speakers are to be found in many corners of the African continent.

The Daura legend provides the myth of the origin of the Hausa people or States. H.A.S. Johnston in A Selection of Hausa Stories,[2] suggests that if the Daura legend is accepted as the crystallization in the folk memory of a series of actual events, it then indicates that the union between the Berbers of North Africa and the indigenous peoples whom they found in Hausaland was a peaceful one and led to inter-marriage. The observation is reinforced by the fact that the migrants arrived a little at a time and as a result they would not have been numerous enough to launch an attack. Also they could not impose themselves as an alien aristocracy. Johnston continues that "of necessity,

therefore, they would have had to settle down among the local tribes to earn their living."3

The result of the union brought about an enrichment of the Hausa vocabulary. It is observed that the Hausa language, in its embryonic form, derived its form and structure from Hamitic, or Berbers, as well as from Sudanic sources, and later borrowed some of its vocabulary from classical Arab.

The product of the union between the Berbers and the indigenes of Hausaland also brought about the development of the Hausa states or city-states. The original seven, known as Hausa Bakwai were Daura, Kano, Rano, Katsina, Zazzau, Gobir and Garun Gabas. All of them can be geographically located within an area of about two hundred square miles. The union also brought about the civilization which blossomed in the city-states.

Before the coming of the Berbers the indigenes were certainly successful in the practice of their various crafts, such as smelting iron and sinking wells. However the immigrants boosted the level of sophistication and general standard of skill by introducing new arts and crafts.

The sum total of that union is the culture now associated with Hausa people as distinct from other cultures or traditions. It is also here

that the folktheatre of the people evolved. The union brought about new arts and crafts, as a result the old ones were either discarded or modified to accommodate the dynamic socio-economic changes.

Many occupational folktheatre employ theatrical elements such as music, song and dance to convey meaning and communicate with an audience. It is usually presented to a known audience, in the sense that the performers, audience, language, themes and symbols are associated with the same culture.

The word "occupational" in Hausa folktheatre may be used to describe two forms or categories of performances. The first form is to describe performances which are conducted by practitioners of specific occupations, and which relate directly to the nature of these occupations. The second form or category is to describe performances conducted by entertainers who earn all or part of their livelihoods through the occupation of entertaining. Some examples will be used in evaluating these distinctions as well as some of their functions in society.

'DANHOTO'

'Danhoto is an occupational folktheatre performance which is conducted by practitioners of a specific occupation, and which relates directly to the nature of the occupation. It is an occupational folktheatre associated with farmers. In Hausa-land there is no occupation as widespread as farming. Common sights during the farming season are gayya or communal labour groups. Friends, relatives or age-groups come together and collectively work on farms. A group of friends may also rotate between farms until all their farms are cultivated. Sometimes communal labour work is characterised by musical groups. Such musical groups are usually associated with the occupation of farming. The musical groups encourage the workers by entertaining them with music and praise songs. When all farm work is completed there is usually a celebration. The gathering usually consists of youths and they spend the evening entertaining at the dandali or communal meeting place. This communal gathering is the incentive behind Kalankuwa performances.

'Danhoto is performed in Zaria by one or more performers. When in a group they are referred to as 'Yanhoto. 'Danhoto is a title among the farmers;

the hunters refer to their head or leader as the Sarkin Baka or Chief of the Bow, and the farmers refer to their leader as the Sarkin Manoma. Traditionally the Sarkin Manoma appears as the 'Danhoto during folk performances. In this sense the folktheatre relates directly to the nature of the occupation.

From a sociological viewpoint, the society which the Hausas evolved and which the Fulani later took over from them was neither a democracy nor a despotism. It was based largely, but by no means entirely, upon a feudal system and the machinery though which the Chief ruled embodied enough checks and balances for the Government to be described as a limited monarchy.[4] The administration of the State at all levels was half feudal and half bureaucractic. Just as the Chief depended partly on his great feudatories and partly on his officials and slaves, so the feudatories in turn depended partly on their vassals and partly on their henchmen, whether bond or free. So, too, did the lesser vassals at the village level. It was a hierarchial society in which titles proliferated and were eagerly sought after. Invariably this pattern of social stratification of the system is reflected in the occupational groups. The

Sarkin Manoma who traditionally appears as the 'Danhoto during folk performances, is a respected and competitive title in the farming profession. Also honoured and respected are other traditional occupational titles such as Sarauniya in Bori ritual, which refers to the head of the cult or priestess or the wanzamai (local barbers) who refer to their leader as the Sarkin Aska or Chief of the Blade.

'Danhoto is usually performed after harvest. During performance the 'Danhoto is in a special costume, such as the walki or leather girdle worn round the waist. Attached to the girdle are numerous strips of cloth of different leangths and colours. Sometimes a bell is also attached and it emphasises the movement of the performer. He is bare-foot and from the waist down looks like a miniature masquerade in ceremonial attire. From the waist up he is bare-chested, adorned with charms and amulets of various shapes and sizes. He may also wear a leather cap or a very bushy wig. The costume of the 'Danhoto has been associated with his role for years. In terms of traditional objects, costume or symbols associated with 'Danhoto performances, there is evidence of some of its traditional form and structure.

The prop or stage tool the 'Danhoto uses is the garma, a fairly large-sized hoe. As the musicians beat out a tune, he dances to the rythm of the music. As part of his performance, to demonstrate the strength and vigour of the Sarkir Manoma, the 'Danhoto sometimes has a large log or gungume placed on his back. A man may climb unto the log and the 'Danhoto continues with his movement and gestures. The performance aims at representing the vitality and dignity of the occupation. Certain musicians, such as those associated with farmers, have over a long period of interaction assumed a patron-client relationship. Gangan noma are special drums associated with farming and are used during communal labour work or 'Danhoto performances. Gangan noma is a large-sized bass drum slung around the shoulder. Sometimes a medium-sized type of drum is used accompanied by the small open-end, hour-glass type of drum called kazagi. There are also songs associated with individual farmers or the occupation of farming. In any well organised gayya, the musicians are part and parcel of the communal activities. This feature is also reflected in 'Danhoto folk performances as it relates to the nature of the occupation.

In this occupational folktheatre there is music, songs and dances. The natural role of the performers in their real life occupation is farming. For the performances they wear special costume such as the leather girdle, strips of coloured cloth, charms and amulets. They communicate with their audience through the use of gestures and movements. The 'Danhoto usually performs using mime, as a result, since words are not used by the actors, mime must exploit all non-verbal techniques of communication or acting such as the facial expressions and gestures. The occupational folktheatre is a recreation of a widespread occupation in the society. For theatrical purposes certain stage effects are added to convey meaning and communicate with an audience.

The performance is purely for entertainment and has no magical or religious undertones. As a social function it is usually traditionally performed as some sort of thanksgiving after harvest. In its traditional context it is not performed in anticipation of payment or gifts. But people willing to present some payment or gifts are welcomed. Apart from the fact that the performance is related to the nature of the occupation, we must keep in mind that it is also a display of

the strength and vigour of the 'Danhoto. The Sarkin Manoma is the embodiment of the dignity of farming and its symbol as represented in performance. Well-wishers or admirers may express their opinions through payments or gifts. However it is not the custom or customary for the performers to perform with the primary objective of material benefits.

Earlier mention was made of the garma as the prop or stage tool used by the 'Danhoto during performance. The garma is represented in the performance as a symbol of the occupation. During performance the 'Danhoto may improvise or actually perform the act of farming such as the creation of ridges using the tool. He may employ a number of methods or antics but essentially he tries to convey to his audience the image of a person engaged in farming. He is also trying to convey to his audience the nature of his occupation. The 'Danhoto may employ a number of techniques such as throwing the garma in a twisting pattern so that it whirls in the air before grabbing it as it comes down. This form of display expresses his affinity or familiarity with the tool. It is an imitation or simulation of farming as performed in a stylized manner.

The bulk of this occupational folktheatre, including artists, props, costume and music, is related to the nature of the occupation.

WASAN RUNGI OR HAWAN KAHO

Hawan Kaho is an occupational folktheatre associated with butchers. They are also practitioners of an occupation whose folktheatre relates directly to the nature of the occupation. People may be trained into the occupation but more often, as for example around Zaria, butchers are born into the profession. There are some families with a long history of belonging to that occupation. The leader of the butchers within a given locality is referred to as the Sarkin Pawa.

In conveying cattle for slaughter butchers usually tie one fore-leg and one hind leg. This is accomplished by means of long ropes handled by two butchers. In Zaria there is a flourishing trade in cattle. Hundreds of heads of cattle may be bought wholesale by one butcher. He may then resell them for a certain profit until they reach the markets. Cattle are kept in ranches or garki before being taken to the abbatoir. The method of transporting or handling the cattle described

above is also the system used during folktheatre performances.

Hawan Kaho is usually performed on the eve (jajiberi) of Sallah or the Eid festivals. A day before the event the selected cow or cows are prepared specially for the performance. More than one cow may be used during a performance. Only cows with fierce traits qualify for this performance. More than one cow is used because sometimes more than one person volunteers to climb the horns. In such circumstances different cows are used as performers usually handle a cow each. It is believed that before performances certain methods are used to make the cows more fierce. One such method is to irritate the cow by smearing its own faeces over the face. Another method is to take the cows dried faeces and "smoke" the cow, that is burning off the faeces with the cow in an enclosed area so that the direction of the wind carries the smoke or fumes towards the cow.

During Hawan Kaho performances more than one musical group may be present. Usually the musicians sing in praise of the performers. The costume of the 'actor' is usually tight shorts. Sometimes they wear leather girdles adorned with amulets and charms. The performers are usually

bare-chested with no shoes. The stage or space provided for such entertainment is the street or any open space around the market square. It is the custom to take the performance round the locality. There is also usually a mammoth audience which gets larger as the performers move from one street to another. Sometimes a cow may break loose and charge at the audience. In such cases of emergency the open air nature of the performance allows a better chance of retreat.

The cow is handled by two men by means of long ropes. The "actor" handles the rope in front and his assistant handles the rope attached to one of the hind legs. The assistant's role is very important. He must also be an experienced cow-handler because the life of the performer may depend on how good the assistant is. In as much as this folktheatre relates directly to the nature of the occupation it is also a very dangerous performance. The aim of the performer is to climb the horns of the cow. This task is not made any easier by irritating the cows as described earlier. However the climax of the performance is to see how long such a person can stay riding the horns. This is an important aspect of the performance. It is the desire of every rider to out-tire the

cow. It becomes a mark of distinction or credit to such a rider and they aspire towards it. To out-tire the cow means the cow's acceptance of the foreign body on its horns. As such its protests gradually subside and it does not struggle to dislodge the rider.

To climb the horns the rider slowly shortens the distance between him and the cow. He does this by slowly inching towards the cow still holding onto the rope. The aim is to come as near as possible to the cow and lie flat between the horns. The rider supports himself by holding on tight to the horns or skin. It is a face-to-face confrontation and usually the cow is ready to attack at the slightest opportunity. Some of the more fierce cows charge at the rider without the least hesitation. This move is also anticipated by the experienced cow-handlers. Cow-handling is their profession and experienced hands must have had several encounters with different types of cows. The performers of Hawan Kaho represent the nature of their occupation in their folk theatre performances.

Split-second decisions are always called for during Hawan Kaho performances. It is here that the rider's skill and courage are put to the test.

Depending on the rider's skill, experience and strategy he climbs the horns as the cow charges at him or waits for a better opportunity. The rider may also create the opportunity through the help of his assistant. Men and cow dodge and manoeuvre to attain some form of order in the confusion. It is during these trying times that the assistant's role is called into action.

As emphasised earlier this is a dangerous occupational form of folktheatre. And serious accidents may sometimes occur - even death. That is why it is not any Tom, Dick or Harry that participates in such performances. The suspense created in the audience centres on the hazards associated with the performance. It is a sort of life or death affair and depending on individuals the performance of Hawan Kaho pumps a lot of adrenalin in the system. For example a man living in Zaria is known to have had his arm torn off. During this incident more than one cow was used for the performance. It is also not the person's first time of performing Hawan Kaho. As a result of some miscalculation the rider was flung off the cow's horns. He was caught in the air, before he landed, by another cow in the arm. He was saved from further damage by the swift action

of the assistants. Sometimes accidents occur while the rider is still clinging onto the horns. For example a wild cow, in trying to dislodge the rider, may charge at the nearest wall or structure and use the rider as a buffer. More often the first reaction of cows when the rider climbs the horns is to leap into the air. It does this to dislodge the rider and may continue in this fashion until it disloges the rider or subsides. When the situation seems to go out of control it is the assistant's job to bring order. If the cow becomes too difficult he lassoes the hind legs thereby bringing man and beast to the ground. In the occupational terminology the process is referred to as mari. If the cow succeeds in dislodging the rider, the man escapes or is saved by assistants. A lot of speed and courage is needed before the cow recovers and launches another attack.

In Tudun Wada Zaria, depending on the number of cows and riders, the performance takes off from the Sarkin Pawa's house. As the leader of the butchers within a given locality, it is the custom as a sign of honour or courtesy to start the performance from his house. This is a social phenomenon that has been of long standing. The audience, performers and musicians then proceed to other

venues. As explained earlier the space or stage provided for the performance is the street, as such the movement of the ensemble attracts more people. Usually, they perform in front of colleagues' houses or in the street in which a performer resides. At other times they may perform in front of the houses of those not associated with the occupation. Sometimes such people may offer them presents in cash or kind although this is not the usual practice or custom.

Hawan Kaho performances are not aimed primarily at the attainment of material benefits. The performers are not entertainers who earn all or part of their livelihoods, through the occupation of entertaining. These gifts, if and when given, are not obligatory on the host nor any other member of the audience. Nor do the performers expect gifts during such performances. The aim of the performance is to demonstrate and express the skill and daring of the cow-handlers. The presents given to them by an individual or group are rather tokens of their appreciation. This occupational folktheatre takes place only annually, usually on the eve of Sallah. The cows used for the performance are usually those to be slaughtered on Sallah day and performing with the cows is also

a way of calling on the audience to patronize their stalls. The performance is a representation of the butcher's craft as he practices it in his occupation.

The performers or 'actors' of Hawan Kaho do not belong to any specified age-group. More often however the participants are youths or adults with considerable experience in cow-handling. It is important for such performers to be strong and willing to undertake the dangerous task. The performance demands and taxes the mental and physical strength of a performer and calls for courage, skill, speed and accuracy.

WASAN WUTA

The literal meaning of Wasan Wuta is fire play or the play with fire. It is an occupational folk theatre associated with blacksmiths. In performance it also relates directly to the nature of the occupation. Makera is the Hausa name for blacksmiths. Like the mahauta or butchers there is found among them a long professional family tradition. But as the sons and daughters of the blacksmiths may learn other occupations, so also do people from other walks of life learn blacksmithing.

Wasan Wuta is usually performed during naming ceremonies, marriage ceremonies or other similar festivities. It is an open air performance without formal structures to denote a theatre. When performed within the walls of a compound, the audience are usually the guests or invitees. When performed outside, such as in front of a house or under a tree, interested persons form the audience. As such there is nothing like a gate-fee, which invariably means that the performances are not solely for material benefits.

Like many other folk theatre performances, Wasan Wuta employs a lot of music and dancing. The type of music played during such performances is popularly called dundafa. The performers or 'actors' do not belong to any special age-group, however, experience counts and as some people say "man-pass-man." During performance there is no special costume, but performers are usually in shorts and bare-chested. They may also wear charms and amulets.

Wuta means fire and necessarily the performance requires fire. Bellows are used to keep the fire going and in the fire are pieces or rods of iron. The music is also important in this performance. Musicians are usually praise-singers

who may single out a performer and play his call-tune. There is also a lot of kirari or name-calling as a preliminary for "warming up" the individual. Former masters in the occupation are mentioned and their call-tunes played, legends and ancestors are recalled. The performer may acknowledge the praises by dancing to the music and/or make his personal kirari. Meanwhile the bellows are kept going.

When the pieces of iron are red-hot they are brought out of the fire. This is accomplished with an instrument called hantsaki. The hantsaki is a pair of bigger pliers used by the craftsmen for such purposes while plying their skill. The more experienced or "cooked" performers use their bare hands. The performers will then dance on the pieces of red-hot iron and recite their kirari Others may handle the hot iron with bare hands and rub it over their bodies. It is here that the makera prove their worth. The atmosphere may be filled with the acrid scent of burning flesh, but the performers emerge uninjured. This demonstration is associated with the "trade-secrets" of the makera. According to my source the concoction that is associated with the makera "trade-secrets" may be rubbed on the body or drank. The less

experienced or less "prepared" performers may show some misgiving or fright. It is essentially however a professional performance and as the saying goes practice makes perfect. Blacksmithing is a recognised and respected occupation and the makera folk-theatre relates directly to the nature of the profession.

The performance is sustained by constantly having red-hot pieces of iron at hand. And also by how well the performance is conducted as it generates the audiences' interests. The performance employs the use of tools or equipments used in the practice of the occupation. The bellows are part of a local method used in smelting iron. The hantsaki is also used in the practice of the craft and in performance. As such the makera represent the nature of their occupation in the folktheatre performances.

As mentioned earlier it is a well respected occupation in the community. The performance expresses the "trade-secrets" associated with the profession. Such "trade-secrets" are usually handed down within families. The stage props, in this case the tools of the trade are familiar features to the audience. However the way and manner in which the makera display and express

their skills are reserved for traditional performance purposes. This is what the audience does not see everyday and it is during such ceremonies that the opportunity arises.

During the pre-colonial and colonial eras the blacksmiths had an important social function. They were looked upon as the armourers. The makera manufactured the weapons used during the wars. They were called upon to supply the spears, swords or other battle tools. A coat of armour such as the sulki or chain-mail is attributed to their innovations. The makera also manufactured the horse-shoes used for battle horses. This part of the country is reputed for the breeding of horses as is evidenced on Sallah durbars.

Among other things, the makera are also socially functional in the agricultural sector. They produce iron farming tools locally such as sickles, blades for hoes or garma, cutlasses and matchets, or ploughs. They manufacture and see to the repair of these tools. Although modern agricultural tools and equipment are creeping into the market, the makera are still sought after craftsmen. Many areas still use the traditional forms of agricultural tools. For commercial purposes today, the makera produce locally manu-

factured swords, daggers or knives that are artistically designed. The raw material and tools used during Wasan Wuta performance relates directly to the nature of the occupation. However the traditional role and function of makera has given way to modern innovations.

The second form or category in which the term "occupational" is used in Hausa folk theatre, is to describe performances conducted by entertainers who earn all or part of their livelihoods through the occupation of entertaining. The first example in this category is the Wawan Sarki.

WAWAN SARKI

The Wawan Sarki is the court-jester. His is a highly specialized form of folktheatre. The occupation is honoured and respected in the society. The Wawan Sarki is viewed as one of the officials of the royal family. He performs a rather complex set of roles as a jester-cum-adviser of the Chief. His rather free association with the Sarki has earned him the title of the Sarki's playmate (abokin wasan Sarki).

The Wawan Sarki usually performs in the presence of the Sarki or royal household, such as

in the palace or when the Chief goes on public outings. The Wawan Sarki performs without assistants. It is a one-man affair that does not necessarily employ musicians. Sometimes the Wawan Sarki may provide the music necessary. On such occasions his musical instrument is a horn which he blows from time to time and hangs around his shoulder. Among other qualities the Wawan Sarki must have wit, imagination, a sense of humour and the art of the story-teller. As Coleridge says, "good sense is the body of the poetic genius, fancy its drapery, motion its life, and imagination the soul that is everywhere, and in each; and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole."[5] At the time of writing, there is only one known court-jester in the courts of presentday traditional rulers. He is in the Sarki's royal court in Zaria and his name is Wawan Sarkin Zazzau, Muhammadu Dan Wawa.[6]

As mentioned earlier the Wawan Sarki may sometimes assume the role of a story-teller. Through the transmission and creation of folk tradition by word of mouth, the performance of the Wawan Sarki may focus on themes that not only entertain but advise and caution the listeners. It is in this role that the Wawan Sarki earns all

or part of his livelihood through the occupation of entertaining.

In this instance the Wawan Sarki serves a traditionally social function. Whatever he expresses in his performances - such as myths - are created to give some form of sanction to custom, legends to glorify dead heroes, cautionary tales to reinforce taboos and proverbs to educate the young. In the narrative of the Hausa stories the raconteurs by mime, gesture, accent or tone of voice, created their atmosphere as they went along. The Wawan Sarki employs these theatrical elements in communicating with his audience. Within the palace walls the Wawan Sarki, as the court-jester, will also entertain the Sarki's guests if and when such a situation arises. These guests may or may not present the Wawan Sarki with gifts. His role and function not withstanding, he is a performer or traditional entertainer, who earns all or part of his livelihood through the occupation of entertaining.

During performances outside the palace walls, such as during large gatherings, the Wawan Sarki is usually seen in special costume. He wears an animal skin, such as the skin of a hyena, that he wraps round his body. He may wear it in the fashion

of a leather girdle, or throw it over the shoulders, sometimes he wears a wig and attached are charms and amulets of various dimensions. Or he may shave half of his hair or shave most of the hair leaving only tufts at different angles. This style of shaving is sometimes called tuntu. He may also paint his face with bula or blue, a locally prepared bleach, or alternatively powder his face.

As part of his props he uses a horn that he blows from time to time. This horn (Kaho) or trumpet is usually the type used by hunters. He also carries a club (gora) that he teases the audience with and sometimes, the Sarki. He is part of the Sarkis' royal entourage during public outings and when the Sarki is on horseback, the Wawan Sarki is sometimes seen on horseback. When he is about people usually gather around him to see his performance, which is meant to humour the Sarki as well as the audience. His interaction with the Sarki is watched with keen interest and amusement. He sometimes teases the Sarki, and people not used to his performances will begin to wonder how he gets off free.

For example the Wawan Sarki may 'order' the Sarki, while in public, to repair his sitting position or royal robes if not in order. He

creates humour by teasing the Chief with his club such as saying:

> "A gyara zama, ranka ya dede,
> a gyara zama."
>
> "Repair your sitting, may you live long,
> repair your sitting."

He says this while pointing threateningly at the Chief with his club. The dogarai or Sarki's body-guards may easily see to the correction of this oversight in an orderly manner. However the Wawan Sarki uses such opportunities to create humour knowing fully well that there are onlookers. He therefore used his own style, as his occupation permits, to see to the proper presentation or orderly presence of the Sarki. The use of salutations such as "may you live long" weaves some politeness or respect in the seemingly hostile encounter.

A social circumstance in which the Wawan Sarki performs may be seen in the court. For example the Sarki may have a number of guests. It is traditional or customary in Hausaland for one to remove his shoes while in the Sarki's presence. The custom runs through the society and it is seen as sign of courtesy or respect to remove one's shoes or footwear when going into another person's house or compound. Those who

fail to do so in the Sarki's presence, due to ignorance or forgetfulness, are reminded by the Wawan Sarki.

However, it is in the way that the Wawan Sarki does so that the jest evolves. He may for instance use his club to advance threatingly at the guests. Or he may shout out an order, but he does these things comically so as to create humour. At the same time he is having a joke at the expense of the guests.

Story-telling is a theatrical component and the Wawan Sarki sometimes assumes the role of a story-teller. However story-telling is not drama because it has no sustained impersonation. As a theatrical element which the Wawan Sarki sometimes employs, to earn all or part of his livelihood through the occupation of entertaining, it must be developed to suit his purposes. He develops his own form of music, songs and dance to communicate with the audience.

This form of occupational folktheatre is in its own way sophisticated and complex in nature. The nature of the occupation has earned the Wawan Sarki a prestigious status in the court. His performances within and outside the palace walls

are essentially to humour the Sarki. The performances are based on a traditionally mutual understanding between performer, the audience and the Sarki who in this case forms part of the audience. It is through this complex set of roles that the Wawan Sarki earns all or part of his livelihood through the occupation of entertaining.

'YAN GAMBARA

These are the Hausa burlesque performers and these comedians also earn all or part of their livelihoods through the occupation of entertaining. Other variants in this category are Na-Uwale, 'Dan Bashirwa and 'Dan Karma.

The similarity between these performances is that they are for entertainment. They improvise humourous scenes or enactments usually accompanied with music and song. The venue of these performances are usually strategic places where there is the likelihood of an audience. They may perform inside markets, such as on market days, moving from one stall to another. The burlesque artistes may also perform during large public gatherings.

The 'Yan Gambara may be invited during social

functions to entertain guests. They perform for material benefits and it is through this occupational folktheatre that they earn all or part of their livelihood. Practitioners of this occupation may pursue some other business or local occupation. However there are those that are professionally and primarily practitioners of Gambara. The 'Yan Gambara usually work in groups. As part of their performance, two performers may play the musical instruments, sing and sometimes dramatize the lyrics. The objective of their songs and enactments is to entertain and the themes or subject-matter are varied.

On a certain level, the 'Yan Gambara are maroka. A maroki functions as a praise-singer during social gatherings such as naming or wedding ceremonies. The 'Yan Gambara sometimes assume this role and sing or entertain in honour of some patrons or guests.

At other times the 'Yan Gambara make themselves the centre of their satire or jokes. The aim of this style of performance is to create humour and entertain the audience by cracking jokes at each others expense. Two performers will play the gambara music and in song abuse and insult each other creating humour from their

exaggerated improvisations. For example one 'Dan gambara may say to the other;

> "Ka ga tafiya kaman biri na koyan keke"
>
> "Look how he walks like a monkey learning how to ride a bicycle."

and the other may reply,

> Ka ga ido kaman kuturu da ya sha dukan ruwa aka ce an ba baki tuwon shi.
>
> "Look at his eyes like a rain soaked leper after being told his food (tuwo) had been given to guests."

The performers have over a period of time developed some form of mutual understanding and the aim is to create humour and communicate with the audience.

Different themes are easily incorporated into the 'Yan Gambara lyrics maintaining a harmony of music and song. A common theme in the world of the 'Yan gambara is where staple crops, vegetables and farming instruments have a life of their own and personality. For example a currently popular gambara lyric says;

> "Ai mun gane wayon burodi, burodi mai kumburin banza; iska ne duk ya cika cikin."
>
> "We now understand the trick of bread, bread that is swollen for nothing; it is only air that fills its stomach."

When the 'Yan Gambara perform during social functions or in the markets, it is usually in

appreciation of a present or in anticipation of one. Another form of performance is where one group or set of 'Yan Gambara use another group as target for their entertainment material. This feature of the 'Yan Gambara is some sort of trade-mark that distinguishes them from other forms of Hausa burlesque performers.

The performers do not usually wear any special costume. The costume is the day-to-day traditional attire of the Hausas, that is trouser, flowing gown (Babban riga) and cap. They can easily improvise the gown into say a soldier's uniform to enact that role. They simply fold the hands up and use a rope to tie the waist which represents the belt. Or they adapt the gown into a loin-cloth and wear buje or pantaloons leaving the upper part of the body exposed, thereby resembling the 'Dan Kama's mode of dressing. Their occupational tool is the gambara, a double-ended, one-membrane, cylindrical drum. They beat the musical instrument without sticks and it is slung round the shoulder. They may use the open end of the drum as an improvised trumpet or handle it in such a manner as to represent a rifle.

An example of one of the 'Yan Gambara's popular enactments is that in which they imper-

sonate a dancing old man. It may be indirectly associated with a tashe performance. The lyric says:

Ka - yi - rawa - kai - Mallam - ka - yi - rawa.
Mu - je - gida - mu - ce
Mallam - ya - yi - rawa,

and the old man will keep on replying:

Ban - yi - ba

"You did dance a jig, Pious one,
you did dance.
Let us go homeand tell the Mallam danced,"

the old man replies:

"No I did not."

Tashe performances are various social dramatic enactments associated with the fasting or Rammadan period. In this tashe performance, the Mallams antagonists jeer at him by alleging that he has deviated from the path of a true cleric or Mallam by joining in the dance of the youth. Although he is enjoying himself, he denies the allegation but on their insistence he says,

"Bari-in-taba" or
"Let me give it a try"

The actor then enacts the old man's moods as he jigs a little and finally dances to a state of exhaustion.

The 'Yan Gambara performance is similar to this but with some differences in theme, music and enactment. An example of a lyric is

> "Dan tsoho, kyamus, kyamus, a taba mana, kyamus, kyamus. Ga taro na, ga sisi na, a taba mana, kyamus, kyamus.

Kyamus or rawa means dance but the use of kyamus here denotes the somehow "shaky" dance movement of an old man.

> "Old one, jig, jig,
> Give us some, jig, jig,
> here is my three pence, here
> my six pence,
> give us some jig, jig."

In the Gambara performance one of the artists will enact the old man while the other or both sing. They may also change the theme and content to suit their performance needs. The performance usually has a story-line or plot condensed to meet the needs of the performance. They use exaggeration of movements, gestures and facial expressions in impersonating comically the excitement of a dancing old man. The nonsense is not generally hurtful when performed according to the tradition, nor is it detrimental to authority. The aim of the performance is to amuse and entertain the audience.

The 'Yan Gambara, through the utilisation of their skill, talent and other human resources, earn

all or part of their livelihoods through the occupation of entertaining. Among their themes are economic, social or political phenomena.

The first section of this discussion looks into occupational folktheatre performances of Danhoto, Wasan Runji or Hawan Kaho and Wasan Wuta. These folk performances are examples of performances which are conducted by practitioners of specific occupations, and which relate directly to the nature of these occupation. The second part of the discussion looks into occupational folktheatre performances of the Wawan Sarki and 'Yan Gambara as entertainers who earn all or part of their livelihood through the occupation of entertaining.

NOTES

1. Concise Oxford Dictionary, London University Press, 1961, p. 462.

2. H.A.S. Johnston, A Selection of Hausa Stories. London. Clarendon Press. 1966, p. xvi.

3. Ibid., p. xvi.

4. H.A.S. Johnston, A Selection of Hausa Stories. London, E. E. Evans. Pritchard ed. 1966 p. xxv. Clarendon Press.

5. S.T. Coleridge, Biographia Literaria. London, George Watson ed. 1965. Everyman's pub.

6. U.B. Ahmed "Taxonomy of Hausa Drama". Seminar paper presented at Bagauda, Kano. 1982 p. 20.

CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RANGE OF SOME OCCUPATIONAL PERFORMANCES

Occupational folktheatre is usually presented to a known audience, in the sense that performers and audience are usually familiar with each other. Sometimes invitations are extended from one locality or community to another, the language, themes, symbols and performers being associated with the same culture.

For the purposes of this discussion, culture is defined as the complex set of learned and shared beliefs, customs, skills, habits, traditions and knowledge common to all members of it. Material culture may refer to concrete things that the society creates or uses such as technology. Non-material culture may refer to abstract things such as values, norms or beliefs. Members of such a community constitute a folk and folktheatre is a combination of the folklore, folkdance, folksong and music associated with the people and based on the experiences and typical behaviour of such a community.

Some of the occupations of the people have

contributed in forming the inspiration for many folk performances. The occupations are as varied as the performances and this chapter takes a look at three types of occupational folktheatre performances. They are meant to give an idea of the range in form and structure of Hausa occupational folktheatre.

The first example is associated with wanzamai or the local barbers.

WASAN ASKA

The local barbers are a recognised occupation group. Like in some other occupations they have their own set of guidelines or professional ethics. Traditionally in trades such as circumcising of babies (associated with local barbers), drumming, blacksmithing and weaving, the practices have been restricted to certain families.

The local barber in Hausaland, is doctor and surgeon in one, as in medieval Europe or the Orient. His activities are numerous; leaving aside the ordinary routine work, we may say that every barber has his own speciality, his own expert knowledge, his own cures and his own special field. The busy and prosperous local barbers, do not usually

practice farming or any other trade in addition to their main occupation; nor do sons of barbers ever follow any other profession.

Traditionally apprenticeship in this occupation usually lasts for one year but the medical side of the craft may take five or more years to learn. Neither the "trade-secrets" of the barber-doctors nor the training in the craft involves any magical or religious conception and form of procedure. This also applies to Wasan Wuta, the occupational folktheatre associated with blacksmiths. It is purely a craft technique. The special cures and forms of treatment are secrets of individual barber families. They are handed on from generation to generation and are the common property of all adults in a family (though not of the larger group, the guild section or guild). The more highly paid jobs are the shaving of the hair, the cutting of tribal marks at name-giving ceremonies and the circumcision of boys.

Wasan Aska literally means the performance with blades or the blade performance. It is usually performed during name-giving ceremonies and is specially reserved for barber families or those learned in the occupation. During name-

giving ceremonies the invited guests and colleagues constitute the audience for Wasan Aska performances. It is an occupational folktheatre that utilises the tools of the trade more positively than other forms of occupational performances. For example the Danhoto uses the garma but it is not always in performance that he actually creates ridges using the tool. The tool of trade of the local barbers is aska or the razor blade and it is used during performance on the performer or the baby to be given a name. In the Yan tauri performance the performer uses the tool of his trade to demonstrate on himself. The performers of Wasan Aska may be bare-chested or clothed with usually an assortment of charms and amulets. There is a lot of music, songs and dances; the musical instruments usually include the Kalangu which is the hour-glass type of drum.

The musicians serve the function of warming up the atmosphere. It is not uncommon to find a sprinkling of maroka or praise-singers. The distinct feature in this range of performance is the extent to which practitioners may go to prove the worth of their "trade-secrets." As part of the performance, the performers masticate and swallow broken bottles. To express their profes-

sional competence, they sometimes shave the hair without using water. And this they perform with speed and accuracy without drawing blood. A more interesting and suspenseful demonstration is when the blade is used on the new-born baby. Performances like Hawan Kaho have their own share of suspense and dangerous moments. However in Wasan Aska the notion of using the blade on a new-born baby creates different imaginations for the unaccostomed spectator.

As part of traditional initiation into the wanzamai family, the new-born baby is slashed and cut with razor sharp blades. Sometimes two or more blades are inserted into the mouth and rotated. The aim of this performance is to show to the audience how they come out of the demonstrations unhurt. Like in traditional 'Yantauri performance, the baby in Wasan Aska performances nor any of the professional performers are cut however hard or long they try. This is the form and structure of traditional Wasan Aska, in which the local barbers demonstrate their "trade-secrets". Earlier mention was made that neither the "trade-secrets" of the barber-doctors nor the training in the craft involves any magical or religious conception and form of procedure. It is seen as pure craft technique.

This occupational folktheatre employs its own form and structure of communication. The performance utilises the tools of the trade to express and represent the nature of the occupation. In Wasan Aska there is no sustained impersonation as in drama.

GARDAWA

The Gardawa occupational folktheatre is associated with the snake or hyena charmers. Like the local barbers and some other occupational groups, the Gardawa associate their craft with certain "trade-secrets." As earlier mentioned many of the occupational groups do not associate their "trade-secrets" with some magical or religious rite and the Gardawa are no exception.

The gardi born into a family of Gardawa inherits the family "trade-secrets" handed down through the generations, which are zealously guarded. The snake-charmers perform a traditionally social function. The nature of their folk performance reflects the nature of their occupation. It is a distinct type of occupational folktheatre just as much as the occupation is distinct. It is not common to hear one say he is a gardi as much as other occupations such as local-barbers, farmers

or blacksmiths. The non wide-spread nature of the occupation makes the folk performance a rare type of occupational folktheatre.

In the traditional community, as in the rural areas, it is not uncommon to find snakes around the houses. For example dangerous snakes from around the bushes may find their way into the poultry or rooms. In such a situation a gardi is called to remove the snake. It is an occupation still in vogue today whether in rural or semi-urban areas.

At the time of writing, the present-day head or Chief of the Gardawa in Zaria is Mallam Haruna Sarkin Gardi, Rimin Kambari, Zaria City.[1] In a radio interview, the Chief said that he had retired from performing with snakes as done in folk performances. He now removes snakes from houses, as described above, when called upon to do so. Another social function which the Gardawa perform and which the Chief indulges in sometimes, is to hunt for certain species of snakes when called upon to do so. Such requests may come from leather workers, for research purposes or as zoo specimens.

For performance purposes a certain species of snakes is used. This occupational folktheatre is also performed in other areas like Katsina,

Sokoto and Kano. The more fierce snakes are also believed to be found in these areas. Those that we may call "play-snakes" are species like Tandara, Mesa, Kasa and Dan gida or Beyi. These snakes are by Gardawa standards less dangerous and are used commonly for Gardawa performances. Mesa belongs to the python species and Kasa is valued for its rarity. A method of acquiring the snakes is by smoking them out of caves and holes with special herbs. A more experienced gardi may perform with a certain species of dangerous snakes, such as Kumurci and Kububuwa. These are the spitting and highly venomous variety of snakes.

This type or style of occupational folktheatre is also unique in itself. As a description in a range of occupational performances it is one of the few occupational performances that uses reptiles and animals as part of the performance. In Hawan Kaho a cow is used which is also an animal. However in Gardawa performances snakes and scorpions, each with its own danger, are used in performance. During performance the gardi does not have any special or recognisable costume like that of the Danhoto. However he is accompanied by some musicians and assistants. The assistants may be apprentices gardi who can also handle the snakes.

However a more important role of the assistants is usually conveying the box or boxes in which the snakes are kept.

To entertain an audience, the snake-charmer teases the snakes. In this way he shows to the audience his control over the snakes. Some of the snakes will strike at him but their attacks are harmless. And when they do strike their mouths are closed and this the gardi accomplishes through "trade-secrets" associated with the occupation. Sometimes they coil the snakes over their bodies and put the head of the snake in their mouths, all without harm.

This kind of occupational folktheatre particularly encourages audience participation. The gardi may push the snake up his trousers and then invite a volunteer from the audience to perform the feat. The gardi tries to build up the confidence of his audience and promises no harm will come to the volunteer. In this way he tries to show to the audience that his control over the reptile is absolute. Having a volunteer from the audience to participate in the performance is usually the climax of the show. Some volunteers stay till the end of the act and others flee. It is not unusual to hear the audience singing.

These songs are popular and associated with the performance. Over the years and in certain gardawa performances, the songs are mainly satiric and aimed at volunteers that have lost confidence before the end of the act.

Another traditional social function that the Gardawa perform is providing cures for snake bites. They have the medicine for the different species and they help in providing cures to victims of snake bite when they are sought. In a situation where the type of snake is unknown, the gardi sniffs the wound. For the experienced gardi, sniffing the wound is a traditional method of tracing the type of snake.

The Gardawa performance is an occupational folktheatre that relates to the nature of the occupation. It is unique in its own way and expresses to an audience the calling of their trade. Another variety of Gardawa use for their performance scorpions. These scorpions are very dangerous as the tarantella species. Others perform with hyenas and all of them express to the audience their control over the animals. And in this way they reflect the nature of their occupation.

This group of performers may perform with more than one hyena. The hyenas sometimes have their

muzzles removed during performance. He does this to push his hand into the hyena's mouth without being bitten. Sometimes they are accompanied by musicians. The aim of the performance is to show to the audience their control over the hyenas. They may give instructions to the hyena, such as to sit, lie down or dance and the animal obeys. Sometimes they try to arouse the temper of the hyena by having mock battles. To gain the confidence of the audience and involve them positively in the performance, a gardi may call on a volunteer to perform some of the acts he does with the hyena. The gardawa are also patronised by parents who sometimes pay a gardi to have their children mounted on a hyena. This is believed to make the children fearless when they grow up.

The Gardawa occupational folktheatre aims at showing the audience the authencity of their "trade-secrets". They also perform with those reptiles and animals they claim to have power over. They serve an important social function and their traditional performance is a way of promoting and advertising the occupation.

WASAN MAHARBA

The next example in the description of the range of occupational performances is that associated with the traditional hunters. The hunter's folktheatre performance also relates to the nature of the occupation.

There are various categories of traditional hunters. Some hunt big game such as leopards, elephants and other animals in this category. Others hunt smaller game such as antelopes, wild pigs or such animals that are edible. Some hunt in groups while others may hunt alone. Some are born into the occupation while others learn the occupation. However a family of hunters guard their "trade-secrets" zealously. The leader of the hunters is called Sarkin Baka or Chief of the Bow. Wasan Maharba is performed during naming or wedding ceremonies for entertainment purposes.

This kind or mode of performance is peculiar because of the variety of theatrical elements it employs. Wasan Maharba employs among other things mime, gesture, spectacle, impersonation, music, songs and dance. The dance is organised in the sense that it involves some form of choreography an element not so prominent in the forms discussed above.

The basic form of traditional Wasan Maharba consists of two groups of actors. Both groups wear special costume so as to differentiate character during the performance. This feature in Wasan Maharba is not readily observable in Wasan Wuta, Gardawa or Hawan Kalo performances. The first group of actors that may number up to five or more actors are dressed in hunter's attire. This is usually shorts with a Fulani type dress with wide open ended sleaves. They may or may not wear caps but usually adorn themselves with charms and amulets. They also hold bows and arrows while others have traditional locally made hunting guns. These stage props are also the tools of the trade and they are represented in performance. This group of actors represent the hunters as portrayed in performance.

The second group of actors of about the same number as the first are dressed in animal skin. They wear the skin of a bird called burtu. The burtu is a fairly large sized bird about the size of a swan or flamingo. It is an edible bird but also specially hunted for the folk performances. The bird is skinned and left to dry then a local chemical is used to soften the dry skin. The finished product is then worn over the body as a

'coat' or 'shawl'. The bird is long-necked and it is represented in performance by improvising with local material. It is then fastened round the head of the actors. This group of actors represents the game or the animals to be hunted. The actors assume the posture, movement and gestures of the burtu. In other words they imitate or act "as if" they were the burtu.

Wasan Maharba as a particular kind of occupational folktheatre tries to bring on stage the nature of the occupation. The form and structure of the performance imitates the idea or concept of a hunting expedition. Those actors dressed in animal skin improvise the behavioural patterns of the bird. For example they may improvise the burtu's mode of behaviour while drinking at a pond. There is no dialogue and they imitate the vocal expression of the bird. Those actors dressed in the hunter's attire then represent the movements and gestures of a hunter. They try to communicate to the audience the idea of a hunter in search of game. There is no written-down plot but both groups of actors communicate to the audience "as if" it was a hunting expedition. As mentioned earlier there is some form of choreography woven into the traditional performance. As part of a modern mode

of performance the hunters may systematically dance to music.

Unlike some other occupational performances that may use a variety of musical instruments, the hunters are more associated with one musical instrument. This is the garaya usually accompanied by song and sometimes rattles. Another occupational performance that is associated with a particular musical instrument is Danhoto. The performance, as with the occupation are associated with gangan noma. The garaya associated with the hunters is fashioned out of horse tail strands or currently synthesised rubber strings. A calabash covered with a particular type of animal skin serves as the 'box' of the local guitar. It is usually used for solo performances but two or more players can play together. The garaya players usually sing in praise of performers, the hunting profession and in honour of legendary hunters.

Another important feature in this kind of performance is kirari or praise-singing. It is a feature observable in many forms of occupational folktheatre. However each performance has its own way of incorporating kirari. In Wasan Maharba maroki, garaya player or the performer may indulge in kirari. Also in a sudden rise of emotion a

member of the audience, who is a hunter, may chant his kirari and indulge in a self-praise demonstration of prowess. A demonstration of heroic ability in the field of hunting which is usually met with the spectator's ovation.

A hunter's kirari of self-salutation may be:

"Ban da tudu
ban da gangara,
sakan sarari dai.
Allah kar ka kai
min gawa na nesa,
sunar hura na hana
ketara."

The closest literal meaning may translate as:

"No uphill,
no downhill,
I need a clear view.
Allah (God) do not take
my game far,
the name of my poison
is no crossing."

The meaning of this is the hunter's wish or desire to find game on plain ground where there are no hills or obstructions. He calls on Allah to spare him the trouble of chasing after his game. This means that he does not wish to merely injure the animal and chase it until it finally drops dead or exhausted. His hura (guba) is the poison on the tip of his arrow, he calls it hana ketara which I translated as "no crossing." The idea is that of

a poison so lethal that it kills on contact.

The occupation also associates itself with certain "trade-secrets". The performances are usually conducted in open space and it is not unusual to find domestic animals roaming about. Sometimes a hunter who is performing may be so siezed by excitement as to aim at any animal in sight.

This kind of occupational folktheatre can be seen to employ a variety of theatrical elements and dramatic forms. There is improvisation from both groups of actors. While one group is in hunter's costume and the numbers assume the role of hunters for performance purposes, the other group imitates the gestures and movements, sounds and responses of an animal; in this case the burtu. The form and structure of the performance depends on the idea the performers wish to communicate to the audience. The mode of the performance utilises mime and involves impersonation and story through action to communicate with the audience.

FOOTNOTES

1. Radio Nigeria Kaduna Programme, Zakaranka Rakuminka, 6th January 1984.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFLUENCES ON SOME OCCUPATIONAL FOLKTHEATRE

As earlier mentioned the traditional Hausa society was based largely, but not entirely, upon a feudal system and the machinery through which the Chief ruled embodied enough checks and balances for the system to be described as a limited monarchy.

The administration of the state at all levels may be described as a feudal bureaucracy. For the effective running of the state, the Chief depended on assistants loyal to him. They in turn recruited other assistants, usually from close kin or trusted friends who reported directly to them. This form and structure of administrative officialdom is reflected not only in the state but also in the administration of vassals at the village level. It was a hierarchial society in which titles proliferated and people sought such titles competitively.

The administrative form and structure is also represented in occupational group guilds. Specific occupational groups associate themselves with a leader who is usually referred to as the Chief. The Chief has assistants who will represent the craft guild when the need arises. These officials

will therefore act on behalf of the guild members. When for example the Chief of the community requires the services of a particular occupational group, the craft executives will supposedly voice the opinion of the members as well as inform them of the royal requests. Naturally many of the craftsmen employ their skill in earning a living, however the practice of the craft may or may not be their main source of income. As long as the services or products of these craftsmen is needed within the community, the craftsmen aid in the cultural development of their various communities.

In traditional Hausa communities titles allocated to occupational groups in villages were also replicas of traditional offices held in the emirate capital. At both levels each craft or trade formed a unit under the charge of an official head drawn from its practitioners. These officially appointed heads were responsible for collecting occupational taxes, for organising work required by the rulers, for informally supervising the market and for consulting with other craft heads or the Chiefs as necessary.

The craft officials appointed by an Emir in turn appointed assistants to subordinate titles. Usually the titled officials were drawn from

relatives, friends or clients or slaves. These officials in turn recruited helpers from similar categories. The local craft head called on these assistants in his dealings with the community chief or with the representatives of the head of his craft in the emirate.

Specific occupational groups are associated with particular folktheatre performances. Through the practice and presentation of the performances, the craft will be promoted and advertised. Through the occupational performances the practitioners may fulfill a social community function. For example they may be called upon to perform during traditional festivals. Over a period of time specific occupational groups have also been associated with a particular musical group or praise-singers. For example the butchers, farmers and blacksmiths occupational groups are associated with particular musical groups. Over the years it has developed into a form of patron - client relationship. For instance in bori-spirit possession, during traditional performances, musical groups are invited for their professionalism. For example their specialization in playing all the call-tunes and theme songs of the various spirits associated with the practice of bori.

The traditional forms of folktheatre performances reflect the social stratification, organization and way of life of the Hausa traditional community. Some social forms of traditional folktheatre, including occupational performances, have in modern times assumed different names and roles. Over a period of years some traditional forms of folktheatre performances have come to focus more on the acquisition of material benefits rather than the purely cultural function which they traditionally performed. New social groupings have also developed. Some are based on age-groups, some on trade associations and some on village groups for community development. These socio-economic changes brought into the Hausa traditional community a whole new concept of life and living, which was reflected in the performing arts.

Among some social forms of folktheatre that have reflected the influence of modern socio-economic order is Kalankuwa.[1] It is a traditional social form of dramatic enactment that encourages community get-togethers and transmission of culture.

In Kalankuwa various characters are created reflecting the occupational groups in society. For example characters were created to represent

colonial officials such as resident governors, District Officers, Sole Administrators and when the Queen of England is characterised, her place in the performance is usually reflected by setting the character on some sort of high pedestal.

In the development of Kalankuwa, traditional characteristics of the folk performance were overshadowed by the more modern developments. For example the Danhoto performers or maroka that usually dominated the performances became sideshows. The performance was also an opportunity for youths to woo and know each other better. This phenomenon in Bomo has been replaced by concentrating more on dramatic enactments that discuss current socio-economic problems.

With the coming of politics in 1979, dramatizations of Kalankuwa incorporated government policies usually being sympathetic with the political party that the majority of the participants are associated with. During this era it was the cash nexus, or rather the source of finance, that determined the context of the enactment. The traditional objective of encouraging understanding between members of the society and their neighbours took on a different meaning.

However this new form of revivalism also

introduced new forms of community development projects. The organizers of Kalankuwa have now formed themselves into a social group - the Farmers Club or Kungiyan manoma. In an effort to continue with tradition, the club has initiated community self-help projects in conjunction with the organization of Kalankuwa. The new form and structure of Kalankuwa reflects a curious mixture of modern thought and tradition.

Among the earlier socio-economic changes in traditional society were the new forms of industrialization. The innovations resulted in urban overpopulation as a result of rural to urban migration. The machinery used in the industries and factories created new job opportunities and rural dwellers were attracted.

What the migrants sought were the material benefits and amenities associated with city life. The new socio-economic order therefore brought in a new way of life which influenced the people's idea of recreation and entertainment. The Western civilization therefore influenced the traditional way of life of the people. Consequently the arts and crafts underwent sociological as well as economic changes. The propelling factor in the steady rural to urban migration was the oil boom.

In the early 1970's the Nigerian oil boom generated a lot of socio-economic activity, within and outside the country.

There are some local craftsmen who have succeeded in adapting to the modern changes. They adapt to these changes by developing their skills to suit modern needs and demands. For example traditional hunters satisfied the needs of the local community in which they lived. With the development of the urban areas the traditional hunters had other avenues of earning a living. They therefore adapted, like some other occupational groups, to the new civilization. The type and demand of the services of such practitioners will to a large extent dictate the public opinion of such products or services. The effect of the new civilization may structurally weaken the traditional guild as a result of dispersed members. Some practitioners may go to the urban areas to seek job opportunities or ply their crafts, thereby reducing the membership capacity of some craft guilds in the rural areas.

The introduction of the modern communication media has influenced the uniqueness of some occupational folk performances. Before the advent of the colonial administration, traditional Hausa

society had traditional social forms of drama performed by the people. But with the radical cultural changes brought about by the new socio-economic changes in traditional society, came modern forms of communication: film, television, radio and theatre. There are few communities that have not been affected by these radical and rapid changes which are necessarily reflected in the performing arts.

For example in a current programe of dramatic performance on N.T.V. Kaduna, the form and structure of a certain traditional performance is recreated in the studio. In the contemporary version of the performance, there is reflected a situation whereby the acquisition of wealth has become more dominant. The programme Gidan Kashe Ahu includes performances of dramatic and musical episodes. In the olden days gifts or rewards to musicians and praise-singers were modest and humble. For example a wealthy patron may offer a horse or new bribe to a musician which were highly valued. The modern trend is to find some patrons trying to outdo each other in giving out expensive cars and mansions to musical groups. This theme is reflected in the current programme Gidan Kashe Ahu.

The studio audience is usually of several

social groups, clubs or associations invited for each programme. The performance attempts to capture the theatrical atmosphere of a traditional social form of entertainment. In this form of performance a wealthy citizen of the community may invite or is visited by an ensemble of musicians. The musical group is rewarded in cash or kind by the hosts or guests at such gatherings. The studio audience represent the spectators found in such performances.

The main characters in the television version are the Alhaji a wealthy citizen, his wife, his close friend or amini Mallam Korau and Tumbuleke their son characterized as a half-wit and clown. Another character sankira is a sort of maroki or praise-singer who liases between the Alhaji's household, his guests (the studio audience) and the musical groups invited.

There are different types of occupational groups with different forms of folktheatre performances. Each performance expresses its own form of communication and message. As mentioned earlier the folk performances have served particular cultural functions in society such as in community festivals. Apart from the cultural role these performances play, the performances are also a way of drawing the people's attention and interest to

their craft. The performances are still presented today when the occasion arises; however in certain instances there are some differences between the modern and traditional mode of performance in some occupational folktheatre. These differences as earlier explained were sometimes determined by modern socio-economic changes. Sometimes these changes influence the traditional role and function of some of the traditional performances.

Among traditional performances of occupational groups is the 'Yan tauri. This group has folk-theatre performances that are genuine and still practiced today - genuine in the sense that the performance has preserved most of its traditional form and structure. Also its traditional role and function in society is represented to a large extent in contemporary performances. 'Yantauri genuine performance is witnessed during the Sallah festivities. There are however other forms of the same occupational performance that have deviated from the traditional social function. In the context of this discussion, such 'Yantauri performances, as in some other occupational groups, have been influenced by the socio-economic changes today.

The 'Yantauri are a variation of the makera or blacksmith's occupational folktheatre.

Literally tauri means tough or hardened, in this context it may be interpreted as the performance of the hardened ones. The 'Yantauri express or communicate to an audience their power over metal. Associated with the 'Yantauri "trade-secrets" is also the power over weapons made of horn and the power to "disappear" in times of danger. This protective charm called layan zana in Hausa is believed to make the users "evaporate" into the air or go through walls. The 'Yantauri are also believed to have power over guns, meaning that they believe they will not be harmed by gunshots. A popular traditional myth surrounding hardcore 'Yantauri is that when they come in contact with metal structure, such as railway lines, the lines will either melt or bend.

A genuine tauri performances such as witnessed on Sallah days, takes place in Zaria City after the Sallah prayers. After the Sallah prayers the Sarki is usually followed by a multitude of people back to the palace. When he is seated his subjects come to greet him and in such circumstances representatives of various occupational groups perform for the Sarki's entertainment. The Sarki has his own personal Yantauri who may perform on such occassions. Those that perform in the palace are

strictly under the Sarki's authority. They are in essence the royal 'Yantauri who do not join in performances outside the confines of the royal household.

The traditional role and function of the Sarki's 'Yantauri is that of bodyguards. They are responsible for his security and also serve the traditional role as advance parties in periods of war. Before the colonial period, Zaria had vassal states under the direct authority of the Sarki. It was not unusual to find rebels and such rebels and dangerous criminals sometimes went into hiding. The 'Yantauri were traditionally assigned the function of tracking down such criminals.

More than one 'Yantauri may participate in a performance. Each performer demonstrates his own skill and ability to the audience employing individual styles of communication. The 'Yantauri are usually followed by an ensemble of musicians associated with the occupation. As mentioned earlier, over a period of time certain musical groups, through their relationship with occupational performers, assume a patron-client relationship. Among this group are the Yantauri musical groups and other examples among occupational folk entertainers include professional musicians associated with farmers and hunters.

The main objective of this form of performance and the traditional social function it served was to demonstrate the performer's resistance to metal weapons. It is also a way of promoting the craft. As part of community festivals the 'Yantauri performances traditionally performs a cultural function in the community. In its original traditional form and structure, the 'Yantauri performances have no commercial undertone. However the audience may offer obligatory gifts in cash or kind.

As in some other occupational folktheatre performances, such as Wasan Aska or Danhoto, the 'Yantauri reflect the stylized representation of their various crafts. The main objective of such performances is to demonstrate and prove to the audience the power of their "trade-secrets". The 'Yantauri perform their demonstrations on themselves and the message in such performances is straight forward. They do not attempt to tell a story through a sequence of actions. It is the way in which they express their craft in a stylized manner that identifies them as 'Yantauri. For example the hunter's occupational folk performance wasan maharba, involves improvised scenes and situations as reflected in the nature of their occupation. As has been stressed, the original forms of tradi-

tional performances are not subject to commercialization in the performer/audience sense of the word. This is evidenced on Sallah day performances of palace 'Yantauri.

Another form of traditionally genuine occupational folktheatre performance is associated with the Bori spirit possession cult. The performers of bori for entertainment may also perform the more serious rites. The more serious bori is conducted in a manner appropiate to the cult rites; however as A. Akodu observes "both in the simple cult of the villages and in its more elaborated manifestations, met with in the cities, the underlying principles of possession and initiation are the same."[2]

The practice of bori has survived through many generations. In both its traditionally serious context and its entertainment form there is some form of material transaction. However due to modern socio-economic changes the financial transactions have been emphasised in some forms of performances rather than the spiritual awe and reverence it traditionally commanded. The bori spirit possession cult persists in Hausa urban centres because enough people believe in its usefulness of ritual healing, and still more view it as a lively enter-

tainment for weddings, namings and other important events.

Bori as a religion has survived many generations. Bori performances occur most often at times of family or community crisis or transition, serious illness or epidemics, marriages, Muslim Eid festivals, the opening of new markets and moments of national instability. They are usually held, when in public, in an open space or area where the local practitioners and whoever else may wish to, attend. Bori had its origins before the coming of Islam or Christianity, as a traditional religion it may be compared with other nature religions such as the worship of Barbushe at Dala Hill in Kano and the worship of the sacred snake in Daura and Zuru.

In traditional bori practice girka refers to the initiation or training period. Girka means to "boil" or "cook" and it may last from about a week to a month. In extreme cases it may last up to three months. During this period the initiate is not allowed any outside contact or communication. There are more female members in the cult than male members and the leader or priestees is usually referred to as Garauniya, Magajiya or Inna. The occupation through which most of the members earn their livelihood is prostitution. The initiation

ritual must meet up to certain prerequisites. There will be someone who is spirit-possessed, that is the sick person. There must be a person who is responsible for the welfare of the person to be initiated, who will teach the new initiate how to eat and perform other acts of the ritual. There must also be a musician who can play the stringed instruments goge and garaya and who knows the call-tunes of all the spirits.

An initiate's drink in traditional bori initiation ceremony is made by pounding rice mixed with a solution of ninety-nine different roots of trees that have been gathered and boiled in a large pot. A thin gruel is made to which are added spices. Her food is made by pounding ibiri or rice and the powder is mixed with water to make a thick paste. Medicinal powder is mixed with the paste and then kneaded into balls. Through out the initiation, the initiate will not utter a word to anybody, although the initiator does instruct her, until after three days when they will have their "mouths cut for them." This means that the woman and the spirits in her head are given permission to speak to anybody.

In traditional bori practice, some form of material transaction was practiced during initia-

tion. The material transaction is specifically limited to the needs and demands of the ritual. In this transaction the items are for the spirits not the medium, performers or musicians. Hausa Customs[3] identifies some of the items traditionally used for material transactions in bori. These are "a bottle of perfume, a packet of cigarettes, six kolanuts, sour milk and butter, two eggs, groundnuts, the bitter green gauta (a tomato type of vegetable), cassava, potatoes - if they are in season, kuli-kuli (the balls of fried residue after oil has been pressed from them."

The traditional religion believes in the existence of ninety-nine different known spirits. This is also the number of the different types of roots that are gathered and boiled for the initiate's drink. The traditional religion also believes in the existence of basically two types of spirits, the black ones and the white ones. In the performance of bori, spirits such as Kure, Doguwa or Irna are represented. They are also said to be the more dangerous and evil. The white spirits on the other hand are said to be good, such as Barahaza and Mallam Alhaji.

During the performance of bori these spirits are called upon so as to request certain favours from them. The spirits in bori performance are

traditionally represented with a specific character or characteristics. For example Ba-Maguji is a pagan Hausa spirit who causes drunkenness and is physically realized as a reeling inebriate. Mallam Alhaji, the King of the Muslim iskoki dispenses medicinal cures and is physicalized as a bent, learned old man, counting his prayer beads and reading from the Quran. The female spirit 'Yarkunama (daughter of the scorpion) is typical of spirits causing pimples and boils and characterised as moving her arms like a scorpion.

As mentioned earlier the traditional bori cult in the villages and its more elaborate and commercialized manifestations met with in the cities, have the underlying principles of possession and initiation.

For the initiation ceremony all kinds of food dishes are prepared on the morning of the ritual. They go to some idol in the bush, usually a tree, and the usual rites are performed at its foot. As some form of material transaction it is traditionally the practice to offer some sacrifices to the spirits. In this instance also the items or material are specifically meant for the ritual. These are the necessary prerequisites of the rites and there is no commercialization as may be found in the modern

context of some forms of bori performances. Hausa Customs[4] identifies these items as seven different kinds of chicken sought for the ceremony. "The first is a black-coloured hen, the second is a black-and-white coloured hen, the third is a white-coloured hen, the fourth a cock with a saddle-shaped back, the fifth is the red-feathered cock, the sixth is the speckled hen and the seventh a hen of the same colour as the greenish bulrush-millet."

Over the years the traditional form and structure of some of this folktheatre has changed. The changes were to a considerable extent determined by modern socio-economic developments. The sum total of the gradual advancement of the modern socio-economic influences in the traditional society, is the contemporary system and structure of society. This structure is also reflected in the performing arts. For example a variety of the 'Yantauri performers perform for entertainment with obvious commercial purposes. In effect some of the practitioners of this occupation employ the form and structure of the traditional folktheatre performance to earn a living. As emphasised earlier, in its original and traditional form, there is no commercial emphasis.

On the commercialization of some occupational

folktheatre some forms of traditional performances have been geared solely towards the acquisition of wealth. The cultural aim of such performances has therefore assumed a modern interpretation. The performers of some occupational folktheatre have set aside the more serious objectives of the performances and utilised the traditional form and structure of the performances for commercial purposes. Such performers may or may not earn their livelihood solely through the performances since practitioners of occupational groups may have other sources of income, for example farming on a personal basis.

Apart from genuine performances of the 'Yantauri for cultural-cum-religious purposes a new breed of 'Yantauri performers with solely commercial undertones had developed over the years. The performers of tauri for entertainment and commercial purposes have all the attributes of the court 'Yantauri or genuine performers. The main difference is that this group of performers set out purposely for the material benefits to be gained. They are a popular entertaining group in Hausa traditional society and may be seen performing in both rural and urban settings. As a commercial enterprise they also advertise and promote their performances so as to

attract the audience. They may perform on invitation or present some performances in anticipation of invitations. They may also stroll round the streets and perform for individuals when called upon to do so. They are also seen sometimes on market days earning some form of income through the use of the traditional form of performance.

When a client requests for a performance they are rewarded in cash or kind. Such presents are expected by these performers and the presents may come from the patron, guests or spectators who form the audience. The performer/audience relationship in such a performance is solely commercial in nature.

The development of commercialization in the traditional form and structure of some occupational folk performances is also observed in bori ritual performances. The practice of bori as a religion has been associated more with prostitution than any other occupation. The nature of the occupation itself is geared specifically to a commercial enterprise. This inbuilt commercial nature of the occupation itself is reflected in the bori ritual performance. However over the years the material transactions in some forms of bori performances are more emphasised than the spiritual inclinations.

Bori ritual performances are usually held in brothels where all or a large number of the occupants are masu bori (practitioners of bori). Some ritual performances require that certain sacrifices are made or some sort of gift is given to a spirit as necessary. The gifts are meant for the spirit but it is believed that traditionally some of the gifts are given to the invited professional musicians. In contemporary Hausa communities brothels where the bori performances are usually held have assumed modern socio-economic functions. The compounds have now, more or less, become indigenous club houses or social centres. Not only is the bori conducted as an entertainment-cum-commercial enterprise but the patrons of such compounds may invite other forms of musical groups on a fee settlement basis.

There are essential differences in the audience of bori ritual and bori performance. The gifts offered to the iska or spirit were traditionally distributed to the professional musicians of the ensemble as payment and were not seen as a source of income by the masu bori. A Horn notes "the medium's personal rewards presumably lay in the social control she acquired, the emotional catharsis of role-playing (not unlike that of psychotherapeutic psycho-drama) and the physical stimulation

of ectastic frenzy."[5] The medium therefore plays the role of a go-between of the spirit and the vehicle through which the requests of the spirit are met and favours asked. When a medium is possessed by a spirit she becomes the spirit which has "mounted" her. For the duration of the trance, whatever she says or does is seen as the doings of the spirit. It is also at this point that the audience enter into the performance and make requests to the spirit.

Offered gifts are placed on mats before it, the iska may converse with the spectators, foretell individual fates, offer guidance in personal conduct, issue orders or "speak in tongues." This then is the practical functional aim of most public bori performances, a direct communication between spectator and spirit, between men and the supernatural. This also is the traditional mode and manner in which it was conducted. With the commercialization of bori the brothels have become permanent entertainment centres. The demands of modern society are also reflected in the performances. Although such performances are serious in nature, such as the performance for divination or duba, the offered gifts reflect contemporary demands. As Horn says: "gifts are now often viewed

as payment to the medium rather than as an offering exclusively to the spirit."[6]

Music as a theatrical element is prominent in bori. Traditionally the musicians of bori receive payment from gifts offered to the spirit. Today with the nature of the compounds as entertainment centres where various musical groups are invited on a fee-paying basis, the bori musicians are paid as other musicians or entertainers. To call upon a spirit, the spirit is played a particular tune and the theme-song recited. In traditional Hausa society, Hausa musical performances are usually produced in repertoire which in the traditional concept is termed take. In this case each song or musical composition is meant for a person, animal, thing or event. Take in most cases are not the same though they might be similar in rhythm, thought, concept, music or song. The musicians are usually professionals brought specifically for such a purpose. Such professional musicians do not necessarily belong to the cult but are familiar with the tunes and theme songs. They should not be associated with the male members of the cult who are believed to be either homosexuals or impotent.

It appears as if it is the act, the drama

that is therepeutically effective, whether there is actual possession or not. The pratitioners of a ritual not held in public offer sacrifices in form of material objects or items to the spirit. In public bori spectators may offer sacrifice as in a dubu ritual so as to request favours from the spirit. As is the practice today these payments are used by the medium or those directly involved in the rites. The traditional practice of giving the musicians the proceeds is not strictly practiced.

The 'Yantauri performances are also associated with music and professional musicians. They are among some other occupational performances that have permanent musical ensembles. Permanent in the sense that over a long period of interrelationship they have assumed a patron-client relationship.

The performers of tauri for strictly commercial purposes further developed another form of operation during the political era. In traditional Hausa society musicians in political life may include ordinary court musicians of the Emir and high officials residing in the capital city of Zaria and district heads; famous singers and their bands (often court musicians) who travel through the emirates of Northern Nigeria; and musicians who primarily play - or did, at least until recently -

for functions of modern political parties. Before the December 1983 military coup, the preceding political era witnessed some of such performers associated with the 'Yantauri occupational performances. These groups of 'Yantauri performers employed the form and structure of the traditional performances for strictly political purposes.

The nature of their performance also consists of performers trying out their power over metal. In this case however, such as during political rallies, performances are more adequately described as threatening rather than entertaining. They do not perform for traditional purposes nor do they perform in rallies because they expect reward from the audience. The aim of their performance and form of the demonstrations is to promote and boost the moral of the political party they associate themselves with.

This groups of 'Yantauri and ensemble of musicians are seen as party thugs who act as body-guards for political leaders. In this role their activities can not be described as folk-theatrical. They have rather stolen the traditional form and structure of the performance for political purposes. These 'Yantauri may have the power they claim over metal however they do not demonstrate the "trade-secrets" for the traditionally cultural function

it serves in society and as it is today being reflected by genuine 'Yantauri performers.

Such a group of 'Yantauri performers are part and parcel of the political party with which they associate themselves. In effect they may be seen as being employed by the political parties for such specific duties. This group of people are referred to in Hausa as Yanbanga which generally refers to thugs.

They were a frequent sight during the political era especially during political rallies. Although they may have similar characteristics with genuine tauri performances, their aims and objectives are far different. They also differ from those performers that walk the streets earning a living through the utilisation of forms of the occupational folktheatre. The 'Yantauri who associate themselves with political parties are employed by such parties for political functions recruited to form as the Yanbanga.

This group of performers receive payment or gain materially but as some sort of salary earners. Their performance can not be described as folk-theatre since they do not aim for the traditionally cultural social function the genuine performance serves in society. It is a political as much as a commercial development.

In the further commercial development of bori as an occupational folktheatre, hawa - that is the "mounting" of the spirit - may be consciously impersonated without seriously affecting the audience's belief in the ritual. In dramatic concepts, an actor impersonates a character consciously. In serious bori ritual performances true possession of the spirit is marked by genuine trance and sneezing fits. In this context there is no attempt at role-playing. Communication with the spirits is the supreme aim of bori ceremonies and it does not try to communicate to an audience through a sequence of actions as in the dramatic concept of plotting.

From a sociological viewpoint bori ritual is an accepted traditional religion. In its lighter or entertainment form, the form and structure of the performance is used for strictly commercial purposes. As practised in the religion, following the order of layed-down spiritual rites, the audience will then be referred to as worshippers or followers/diciples of that religion.

The traditional form and structure of some occupational folktheatre has changed in the modern mode of performances. The changes were among other things influenced by the modern socio-economic developments in society. The traditional society

witnessed radical social, political and economic changes that necessarily influenced the traditional way of life of the people including the performing arts.

The developments in modern society have influenced the people's idea of relaxation and recreation. With the modern technology have come new job opportunities that were further boosted by the 1970's oil-boom. Necessarily, some craftsmen sought new and better job opportunities. Occupational groups therefore witnessed the exodus of members which necessarily influenced the occupational folktheatre. Today, the seriousness and authenticity of occupational folk-theatre performances depends on the role and function it serves in society and the social setting in which it is performed.

FOOTNOTES

1. The information on Kalankuwa is a product of field research conducted in Bomo. Mallam Sule Dauda, who gave me useful information, is a performer and one of the organizers of Kalankuwa in Bomo.

   Mallam S. Bappa of the Drama Section, A.B.U also provided me with a tape recording of interviews conducted with performers and organizers of Kalankuwa in Bomo.

2. A. Akodu, "Who Are the Maguzawa?" Seminar paper presented in A.B.U. July 1982 p. 17.

3. I. Madauci, Y. Isa, B. Daura, Hausa Customs Zaria. N.N.P.C. Ltd. 1968, p. 81.

4. Ibid., p. 82.

5. Andrew Horn, "Ritual, Drama and the Theatrical: The Case of Bori Spirit mediumship" in Yemi Ogunbiyi, ed. Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: a Critical Source Book; Lagos Nigeria Magazine, 1981 p. 192.

6. Ibid., p. 192.

CHAPTER FOUR

FOLKTRADITION AND OCCUPATIONAL PERFORMANCES

FOLKLORE

Folklore may be seen as the traditional stories, arts, songs and like expressions of the life of the common people or folk.[1] Hausa occupational folktheatre include folklore such as stories of great farmers, legendary hunters or myths of working people or folk. On a more strict note, folklore includes all those materials that may be transmitted orally; ballads, songs, fables and myths. Folklore may then be said to be the nerve centre of folk tradition. This interpretation emphasises the lore of the people as handed down by word of mouth. In a broader sense folklore includes the activities and arts as well as the speech of the people. Experts in the study of folklore may concern themselves with folk-dancing, folk-music, carving, cookery, painting, costume and handicrafts.

The folklore of the people reflects the tradition and way of life of the people. It also reflects the occupational folktheatre associated with the various arts and crafts. Certain features recur more often in these folklore such as cautionary

themes, aetiological explanations (for example, how the hyena got its spots), and dilemma situations in which the hero has to choose between two agonizing alternatives or in which the audience is asked to judge the relative virtue or virtuosity of certain characters.

In essence therefore, the most important factor in the survival and continuity of folklore is tradition. In societies where violent social changes have taken place, the new norms and values brought about by the changes frequently clash with tradition. But old songs, old tales and old customs persist despite the innovations of modern existence. In this manner the occupational groups transmit the common folklore associated with the arts and crafts as they are represented in the society.

The Wawan Sarki will be used to illustrate the creation and transmission of folklore in occupational folktheatre. As part of the traditional role and function of the Wawan Sarki or court jester, he may be seen as contributing to the preservation and interpretation of folklore. He is referred to as the Sarki's play-mate or personal entertainer. This therefore is the main objective and traditional role of the Wawan Sarki. It is not the usual practice for the Wawan Sarki to perform for the common people of the community, except for the

courtiers who are part of the courts or the royal household.

In the practice of his craft and skill, the Wawan Sarki may perform for the Sarki and his guests within the palace walls. He is seen by a larger and more homogenous audience during important festivals or gatherings such as during Sallah. For example during Sallah celebrations, the Sarki is led into the palace from the praying ground by a multitude of people. At the forefront of the Sarki's entourage is the Wawan Sarki, usually on horseback.

Within the palace walls, the Wawan Sarki may be said to assume sometimes the role of a story-teller for the entertainment of his audience. Theatrically speaking he may be associated with professional drama practitioners of imitation. As part of dramatic act, an actor may assume different characters to communicate a story to an audience. For example as in one-character dramatic presentations or performances recognised as one-man shows.

From a social viewpoint the Wawan Sarki's interaction between the Sarki and the audience takes him a step higher than the commoners. In certain instances he may serve as an intermediary

between the Sarki and the people. For example in the role of a story-teller or performer for entertainment purposes, he may transmit orally or dramatize communal songs, tales, proverbs, superstitions, riddles, legends, sayings, fables and myths. In other words he communicates to an audience the folk-tradition or culture using stylized behaviour. In the role of a professional occupational folk-theatre performer, the Wawan Sarki may not sustain characterization like professional actors in drama. He may on the other hand arrange his story in a plot to communicate effectively to an audience.

Folk-music and song and occupational performers

"Folk-music is the music of the people or folk, as contrasted with music created by an individual or a trained composer."[2] This meaning illustrates that a piece of folk-music is usually one of unknown authorship that has been handed down by word of mouth long before being written or notated. In these terms folk-music is the most direct and spontaneous expression of human nature in music.

In the traditional society and folk-culture of the people, the drum has summoned people from time immemorial to councils, warned them of the approach of danger, directed them on the battle-

field, brought them news from the outside world, preserved their legends and tales, beaten a sythm for their dances, mourned at their funerals and added dignity and solemnity to traditional and religious ceremonies. A Kirk-Greene says the drummer's stature is already ensured in legend. "In the beginning," says a fragment of African folklore, "the Creator created the Drummer, the Hunter, and the Smith." First the drummer, a significant pointer to the fundamental role of the drum in Nigeria."[3]

As a traditional craft, drummers can be old men or young boys. Like some other occupational groups, usually the art of drumming remains in the family, a skill handed down from father to son. An outsider who wishes to learn the art of drumming must be apprenticed to one of the guilds. Some Hausa proverbs figure the drummer prominently such as in kida ya sake, rawa ma sai ta sake meaning when the music changes, the dance will also change, in other words we must change with the times.

The practitioners of occupational folktheatre may be seen as the creators and transmitters of folk tradition through music and song. There are various songs with different themes in contemporary society that reflect the tradition and culture of

the Hausa people. For example cattle-rearing as an occupation requires the movement of the nomads and herd from one place to another in search of pasture. The cattle-rearers are mainly the Fulani found mostly in the Northern part of Nigeria. In looking for pasture for the cattle, frequent reports of clashes are heard between cattle-rearers and farmers as they move down to the Southern part of the country.

A folk-song in the Hausa culture that may be associated with the occupation of cattle-rearing, illustrates the movement of the herd according to the seasons. The folksong is usually sung with a lead singer and chorus. The chorus sing "maraki" after every stanza. For example

Lead singer: "Don maraki, maraki
Chorus: maraki
Lead singer: Dan maraki nawa.
Ka je inna ne?
Na je Ilori.
Yaushe za ka dawo?
Sai watan gobe.
Gobe da labari
Jibi da labarai."

"Dan maraki" refers to a bull calf.
Where have you gone to?
I have gone to Ilori.
When will you return?
Until next month.
Tomorrow there is news.

This folksong is still heard today in children's games. As part of the influences of modern socio-economic changes on traditional forms, a modernised version of the folksong has been waxed by a contemporary musical group. The folksong in its traditional context seems to reflect mixed feelings as it refers to the movement of the nomads and herd. Those left behind reflect on the destination of the cattle and the song communicates a longing for their return. "Ilori" may refer to Ilorin in Kwara State and the implication of this suggests names of towns met with on the movement down south for pasture. The modernization of the folksong for a more wider audience is an example of the creation and transmission of folklore through the use of music and song. Another example in this direction may be cited from the waxed Hausa Children's Songs. The album is a collection of Hausa children's songs produced by the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies. The album won a silver medal at the sixth National Festival of the Arts in Maiduguri. It was held in November 1983.

Music in the Hausa traditional social life is a specialized occupation. As D. Ames observes "complexity in the social organization of musical life reflects societal complexity, as exemplified

by musicians in the Hausa City State of Zaria, where one encounters professionalization, full-time specialization, master-apprentice relationships and the development of a distinctive occupational micro-culture."[4] Music as a traditional occupation is therefore a long established institution.

The occupation is recognised as one of the many traditional occupations or crafts (sana'a), like blacksmithing or weaving. From the vast material that still remains available, it is observable that the Nigeria of around eighteen hundred, had a rich store of music and musical material of every kind. The court bands at the palace of important chiefs varied as much as the courts varied. Each had a unique style of performance and musical instruments included several types of flutes, of strings, of reed instruments, horns, gongs, rattles, infinite varieties of drums and of unorthodox ways of making rhythm.

A considerable number of the Hausa musical instruments are played only by professional musicians. Many of these musicians belong to the category of practitioners who earn all or part of their livelihood through the occupation of musicianship. And as Ames observes "urban musicians were more often full-time specialists than were

rural musicians.[5] He also stated that the level of their professionalism may be measured on certain terms. Among them are the commitment of the professionals to this line of work for the earning of their living, the great dependence of a large portion of the community upon them when music is desired and the recognition of their professionalism in the community definition of their work as a traditional craft skill or sana'a.

The traditionally social context in which professional musical groups performed is subject to the general societal stratification. Hausa classified three or four social strata based on occupational status and rank. The order includes high officials (masu sarauta), wealthy merchants (attajirai) and Muslim scholars in the upper range and a large number and variety of occupation groups - including musicians and butchers - at the bottom. D. Ames says "it is probably not accidental that musicians are often of very low rank in Muslim societies from Maiduguri to Sudan. Islamic authorities have long censured listening to music and not thought well of the musicians themselves, though "the law concerning listening to music has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance.'"[6]

The main reason why music was frowned upon was not the music itself, in its social context, but the inter-sex gatherings. Also music performed where alcohol or spirits were consumed was deemed criminal. Among the musicians in Zaria, those who frequently performed for harlots and bori dancers were held in especially low esteem. So also were the musical groups associated with the seductively sexy dances of the young girls.

Religion is not the only source of the low esteem sometimes associated with musicians. D. Ames[7] characterizes the musician as a sort of "hunter" who is always looking for "game." He shrewdly selects, stalks and literally studies his "prey" by learning his genealogy, personal history, strength and weaknesses. If rebuffed, this hunter "fires" away at his "preys" vulnerable parts. Because of this behavioural trait characterizing the Hausa musician, non-musicians resent being constantly hounded for gifts, and with modern influences on the traditional lifestyle of the people, may find praise-singing insincere. Also most of them dislike the idea of being forced or coerced to pay in order to avoid being ridiculed indirectly in song.

It is suggested that the traditional role of music may best be classified by grouping these

professionals according to their patrons and to the social settings in which they usually perform. Ames classifies them as "the musicians of occupational classes, musicians in political life, musicians of recreational music, music entertainers and musicians for the bori spirit possession."[8] Musicians of occupational classes are musical groups that are, by tradition, tied to an occupational group who act as their patrons. In this category are the butchers, blacksmiths, hunters and farmers occupational groups. The folktheatre performances of these groups have been discussed earlier. The musicians themselves have their own special class of low-ranking musicians tied to them.

For musicians in political life, a discussion had already been made on their patronage and the social settings in which they perform. For example reference is made to the description of the 'Yantauri performers who perform solely for political purposes. Cited among musicians of recreational music are many kinds of freelance musicians who play for the general public. They may include famous singers and their bands, who perform primarily for titled nobility, high office holders and wealthy merchants. Others may concentrate on

music for secular activities such as boxing, dancing, wrestling and play-associations of the young. Also cited in this category are single-stringed fiddle players or lutanists, who often play in harlot's houses, hotels and gambling places.

'Yankamanci or the Hausa burlesque performers belong to the music entertainers group. This group is said to be usually made up of itinerant entertainers and comedians of various sorts, who perform with musical accompaniment in market places and at other large public gatherings such as on Sallah festivals.

Musicians for the bori-spirit possession are said to be the only professional musicians who regularly play music as an integral part of a religious ceremony. Some of the bori musicians, lutanists (masu garaya) and fiddlers (masu goge) may also perform at naming and marriage ceremonies, and the latter may perform often for modern political party functions, at least, until the coup in December 1983.

With the adoption of Islam in Hausaland, which did not have much time for music as an integral part of religion, Hausa music proper, as distinct from the music of the pagan tribes indigenous to the North, were distinguished by such instruments

as the goge or one string fiddle, the algaita with its double reed and the court bands of the North, known usually as the personal bands of the Emir. This group of entertainers use the long trumpet, known as kakaki, which is also characteristic of Northern Nigeria's Hausa traditional music.

In Hausa traditional society, the finest drummers of Hausaland have songs sung about their art. This is illustrated in an example cited from the Hausa Drummer:[9]

> "The drum drums health,
> the drum drums wealth;
> He takes his wife six
> hundred cowries.
> The drum drums health,
> the drum drums wealth."

As it is the case with some other cultures, through the centuries, dance, music and song has been transformed into either an art or a pleasurable pastime. In tune with the development of individuality dance became an art in the sense that through it an individual might express his emotions, thoughts and feelings, while non-participants might view the entertainment as spectators. Formal music training in the traditional craft is normal and carried out cheifly by the father or a close kinsman, or in an established master-apprentice relationship.

The main example of occupational performers as creators and transmitters of folk tradition, through music and song, is the Gardawa occupational folk theatre. There is the popular use of certain folksongs during the snake-charmer's occupational folktheatre. In Zaria the folk-songs and play themes recited are handed down from one generation to another by word of mouth. As explained earlier, the Gardawa performances invites and encourages audience participation, for example when a gardi invites a member of the audience to participate as part of the performance.

A lyric in the Gardawa occupational folk-theatre says,

"Maciji ya shiga wando,
A gaya masa banda gwalatan." meaning,

"A snake has entered the trouser,
Tell it not to touch the testicles."

The essential objective of trying to involve the audience in Gardawa performances, is to seek support in proving to the audience the power he claims over snakes, hyenas or scorpions, depending on the orientation of the gardi. Another reason may be mischievous in nature. It may seem as if the gardi wants to create humour in the performance. For example he invites the audience in witnessing the multiple responses of the volunteer with a

snake up his trouser leg. Another reason may be to make the audience feel free and give them a chance to participate positively in the performance. Using this strategy he may have a better opportunity of attracting the interest of the audiences, and the folk audience will collectively contribute in the creation and transmission of the folk tradition.

Folk-dance

Dance features prominently in some forms of occupational folktheatre. Broadly speaking it refers to the active organized response of the human body to rhythm, usually but not necessarily of a specifically musical nature.

Folk-dance may be defined as "a traditional country dance or the dance of the common people."[10] In this context it is seen as an expression of the desire for pleasure through movement to the accompaniment of music in the company of other people in a relatively close-knit social unity. In other words such a company of people satisfy the prerequisites of a folk-audience.

"What sociologists refer to as ethnic dance," says Peggy Harper, "expresses a way of life: the beliefs, attitudes and habits of people living

within a homogenous community."[11] Folk or ethnic dance is therefore a form of dance which evolves as a statement of life in such a community, and changes in the dance reflect new elements or attitudes within that society. In this context the dance is therefore as familiar to the audience as it is to the performers. It is also true with Hausa occupational folktheatre performances that feature the dance forms. The occupational performers of folk-dance will in this process create and transmit folk tradition through dance.

Occupational folk performances such as in genuine bori spirit possession, wasan aska associated with the local barbers and hawan koho associated with the butchers have retained some form of folk tradition. Among occupational folk theatre that have utilised the dance form prominently as an integral part of the performances is the bori spirit mediumship. In a folk-culture a lot of things called dance into being. For example courtship, marriage, the hunt, war, planting, harvest, the changing of the seasons, sunrise, sunset, rain, thunder, lightning and a lot more.

Bori as a traditional religion involves dance associated with religious and curative rituals. It should be distinguished from other occupational

performances or folk-dance forms. The dance in bori spirit mediumship is ultimately a religious expression. In spirit mediumship the emphasis is on communication (through stylized behaviour) with the spirit. The spirit is not merely expressing himself but is regarded as having something to say to an audience.

There is genuine trance and faked trance. In genuine bori performances such as for curative or initiation ceremonies, the psyhic interests may be greater than the theatrical. A typically traditional dance movement in bori is characterized by the "throws." Just as the fully possessed do, by a "throw" is meant jumping off the ground and falling on the bottom with the legs fully streched. As earlier pointed out simulated trance is accepted by the audience or practitioners who may still treat the medium as the iska or spirit.

There are observable differences in the audience - performer relationship in a traditional or ethnic and in a modern theatrical context. Once an ethnic dance is moved into a theatrical setting it is usually required to play a different function and will have to change to meet the new demands of the new situation. Peggy Harper observes that "whatever the standard of the result, it will no longer be the original dance but a

performance which may use spatial designs, rhythmic patterns and dynamic qualities typical of a particular form of ethnic dance but now seen purely as a display of dancing for entertainment, or used for a dramatic purpose in a theatrical setting."[12]

In present day Hausa society some genuine forms of occupational folktheatre are practiced in their traditional context. However a genuine folk performance, embodied in age-old tradition, is a product of a genuine folk culture. Culture is not static and as the Hausa society developed with the modern innovations, so also the craftsmen, traders and workers of various occupational groups have modified or adapted to these changes. The socio-economic changes also necessarily influenced to some extent the mode and manner in which folk-theatre performances were conducted, including various forms of occupational folktheatre performances.

For example in traditional Wasan maharba associated with the hunters, such as during namings or marriage ceremonies, there is skilled dramatic enactment. Each movement or gesture in the enactment symbolises or reflects a particular meaning to the audience. In its traditional context, this occupational folk performance places the

emphasis of the dramatic entertainment on the re-enactment of events during hunting expeditions. Recreated may be events that reflect the strategies and skirmishes involved in the hunting profession. The garaya musical instrument, mainly associated with the hunters, also plays an important role in the performances. It may be used to balance the tempo of the performance by using sounds that resemble or suggest the object or action enacted.

These characteristics in genuine folk performances are not usually readily available in some modern versions. For example in some festivals of Arts and Culture, these delicate characteristics in genuine performances are not given time to materialize due to the controlled situation it meets with. In modern festivals of Arts and culture, events are usually given a specific duration of time. Participants therefore adjust their productions to meet up with the time limit. Some of these performances, in their social role as occupational folktheatre, may last for days. In the traditional context the occupational performers are the creators and transmitters of the folk-tradition or culture. The modern performances of some occupational folktheatre are imitations of genuine performances siphoned to meet modern demands.

Folk tradition is created and transmitted through the 'Yankama occupational group. However, with the modern socio-economic developments, the traditional role and function of the 'Yankama has given way to the modern culture. In the traditional Hausa society the 'Yankama were a popular lot. They are the Hausa burlesque performers and they are popular comedians because their performances are skilfull and designed to amuse all category of people.

In the olden days before the spread of local knowledge, the comedians were the bearers and creators of news and their jokes had an educative as well as recreational effect. In other words, this traditional occupational group were the creators and transmitters of folktradition. The 'Yankama contributed their own quota in the continuity of culture as it exists at a particular period in time.

Gidley says "the notion conveyed by the Hausa name may indeed once have been "villainy", then "brazen effrontery."[13] With modern socio-economic changes came the spread of general education, assisted by modern media such as radio and television, there is also the spread of general knowledge. The 'Yankama in modern terms have been

relegated more to the background in their traditional function as creators and transmitters of folk tradition. Gidley says "in the context of 'Yankamanci today it now corresponds to "satire" as that word is popularly used in the context of an English society - or perhaps "light hearted disregard for convention."[14]

A study of the craft of the 'Yankama will reveal various hidden meanings in words, phrases and sentences which are deeply embedded in Hausa culture, and on various aspects of Hausa life in general. In the modern and traditional role of the 'Yankama, as creators and transmitters of folktradition, the Dankama must have a retentive memory, ready wit and dramatic talent. He must also have a good knowledge of everyday affairs, a nice sense of humour, and a good temper. Also combined with all this is his skill in developing his resources, always watchful for audience reaction and spontaneous in his own, constitutes what Gidley refers to as the comedian's azanci or meaning and sense.

Folk tradition and occupational groups have existed side by side since time immemorial. Just as ward headship is a territorial office so also do craft titles combine duties and responsibili-

ties for a given occupational group, the members of which are generally dispersed. The occupational performers of folktheatre contribute as creators and transmitters of the folk tradition.

FOOTNOTES

1. American People's Encyclopedia (A.P.E.) New York, 1963, Vol.8 714-720.

2. Ibid., 8-721-726.

3. A. Kirk-Greene, (Makidi) "Hausa Drummer" Nigeria Magazine. M. Crowder ed. Lagos, 1961. No. 71.

4. D. Ames, "Igbo and Hausa Musicians: A Comparative Analysis" in Journal of the Society of Ethnomusicology. 1973, Vol. 47, p. 250.

5. Ibid., p. 256.

6. Ibid., p. 272.

7. Ibid., p. 266.

8. Ibid., p. 257.

9. A Kirk-Greene, "(Makidi) Hausa Drummer" in M. Crowder ed. Nigeria Magazine. Lagos 1961, No. 71, p. 348.

10. A.P.E., New York, 1963, Vol.8 711 - 714.

11. Peggy Harper, "Dance and Drama in the North." in T.O.A. Adebanjo ed. Nigeria Magazine, Lagos, 1967. No. 94, p. 219.

12. Ibid., p. 219.

13. C.G.B. Gidley, "The Craft of the Hausa Comedian," in Yemi Ogunbiyi ed. Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: a critical source book, Lagos, Nigeria Magazine, 1981, p. 255.

14. Ibid., p. 255.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

There are many types of trades and crafts traditionally practiced in Hausaland. Some of the traditional occupations have faded into history while others are struggling side by side with modern innovations. For example there still exists pockets of traditional blacksmiths here and there, however their traditional role and function has given way to modern technology. No longer are they solely depended upon for the manufacture of weapons. With the new forms of technology, the blacksmith's role in the manufacture and repair of traditional farming instruments suffered a set-back. In the field of traditional occupations that have adapted fairly suitably to the new socio-economic order is traditional medicine or herbalism. The herbalist's knowledge and craft is today widely sought by modern medical services.

Traditional occupations practiced in Hausaland may include weaving, smithing, hunting, carving, building, barbing and hair plaiting, drumming, dancing and acrobatics, leather-working, singing, pottery-making, mat-making, bead-working, dyeing and food selling. Not all of these occupational

groups are associated with specific folktheatre performances.

In Hausa occupational groups one is either born into the profession or learns the skill. In cases where a son inherits his father's occupation, "trade-secrets" that are in the family and associated with the occupation are handed from father to son. In the traditional society, certain occupational groups insist in continuing the profession in the family. For example in traditional society a family of local-barbers expect the male issues to follow in the family tradition. In Hausa traditional society, a time-honoured device in vocational training, for educating youths and adults, is largely the apprenticeship system. Children are usually trained by relatives, master-craftsmen in particular fields or friends rather than the parents. This is in order to ensure discipline and concentration.

A recurring theatrical element in some of the examples given in occupational folktheatre is impersonation or imitation. This features prominently in Wasan Maharba, Wawan Sarki, 'Yan Gambara and Danhoto folktheatre performances. The traditional performances employ individual styles of communicating to an audience. And communicating

effectively to an audience is the hall mark of entertainers. With the exception of the Wawan Sarki who is musician and entertainer all in one, occupational folktheatre prominently features song and music and dance. In Gardawa performance there is less dance than music and song and occupational performances like Wasan Maharba and Danhoto associate themselves with particular musical instruments. With developing interrelationship between musicians and performers, certain musical groups have been associated with particular occupational groups. Examples are the blacksmith's, hunter's and farmer's occupational groups. This association has contributed in the continuity of the creation and transmission of culture.

The role and function of traditional folktheatre depends mainly on the social context in which it is performed. For example in Bori spirit mediumship, curative and initiation ceremonies bear purely religious undertones. In this case the theatrical qualities are more important to us than the spiritual connotation. In Wasan Aska, Wasan Wuta and Wasan Maharba the traditional social context in which they were performed include name-giving ceremonies or marriage ceremonies. Danhoto is an annual occupational folktheatre and

the social context in which it is performed is usually after harvest. The role and function of such an occupational folktheatre in traditional society is to create an opportunity to offer thanksgiving for a good harvest. The 'Yan Gambara folktheatre have a purely entertainment motive. The role and function of their performances as burlesque performers in traditional society is that of creators and transmitters of folktradition. And they employ their own special means of communication in fulfiling this function.

The culture or tradition of a people is handed down from one generation to another. For its continued existence the younger generation are traditionally exposed and guided to these norms and values at an early age. As the saying goes catch them young and "emulation is the spur of wit, and sometimes envy, sometimes admiration, quickens our endeavours." For example folk performances may include story-telling as in enactments by the Wawan Sarki. Others incorporate poetry sometimes woven into song as in Wasan Maharba in salutation or honour of great ancestors. Within these theatrical elements are sometimes proverbs. Proverbs often reflect the characteristics of a country and they usually incorporate various

themes and interests.

As a means of preserving worthwhile folk-tradition children are habitually introduced to proverbs at an early and impressionable age. The proverbs play a significant part in shaping ways of life and perpetuating attitudes of mind. In other words they contribute in the creation and transmission of folktradition. The proverbs are important in that in addition to the usual homely truths a good deal of popular philosophy can be traced in them.

Hausa life has been determined by the rythm of the seasons. In half the year a man in Hausa-land can grow his food and the other half is a time of opportunity. In the traditional society it was then that the Chiefs and Emirs went to make war. The leather-workers, mat-makers, weavers, potters and builders finish their farm-work and go back to their trades, the Mallams will take out their books and the dry season peregrines will set off to look for work anywhere they find it. It is during this time of opportunity that various forms of Hausa folktheatre is performed. The annual performances like Danhoto and a host of other entertainment motivated performances dominate the social scene.

Traditional folk performances are currently mainly relegated for the rual areas. With modern forms of communication such as radio, television and cinema the rural dwellers idea of recreation and relaxation have changed. The urban or semi-urban dweller is averagely satisfied to view or listen to secondary sources of folktheatre performances. Meanwhile the rural dweller yearns to acquire the amenities of modern existence.

Simulations of folk performances for radio or television no more connotes a folk audience. The folk-songs associated with some performances such as in Gardawa performances will be lost. And if they are incorporated no more will they effectively stir the communal feeling of belonging that such gatherings generate. Currently one finds clusters of folk performances being performed here and there in semi-urban areas. In cases like Bori spirit mediumship, the more serious rites of the villages and its more elaborate manifestations in the cities hold the underlying principles of possession and initiation. As a result the form and structure of occupational folktheatre and the role and function it serves today, depends on the social context in which it is performed. For example Wasan Aska may today

be performed when a local-barber wishes to give a naming-ceremony in the traditional style of the occupational group. The Danhoto performs at a certain time of the year because it is the traditionally accepted period. Nor will Hawan Kaho be performed unless the jijibari or eve of the Eid festivals. And the social context in which Bori is traditionally performed does not include the fasting period. This rule is still functioning as it has been incorporated as part of religious obligation.

Society is expected to change but the important thing is what worthwhile culture has been preserved. With social, political and economic rapid developments still going on, one is almost tempted to say in a few generations little or nothing of folk tradition will be valued. However a Hausa saying goes "kowa ya bar gida, giba ya bar shi." Meaning "whoever leaves home, the home will also leave him." So if we forget our culture the culture will also forget us. And of course not even the new culture can solve all our inherent problems.

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20. Zakaranka Rakuminka, Radio Nigeria Kaduna Programme. 6th January, 1984.

APPENDIX

TOWN	PERIOD	SOURCE OF INFORMATION
Zaria	Jan. 1982 - Aug. 1984	(a) Mallam U.B. Ahmed (b) Mallam Danjuma Kofan Jatau, Zaria City (c) Mohammed T. Sani (d) Ibrahim at Tudun Wada (e) Mallam Salihu Bappa (f) Mallam Sule Dauda (g) Alwalu Adamu (h) Unknown people at Jajibari and Sallah Eid festivals.
Kaduna	"	(a) Elisha Na'along (b) Tsalhatu Ibrahim
Jos	July 1983	(a) John Johnson (b) Mallam Yusuf (c) Gabriel.
Maiduguri	Nov. 1983	(a) Hassan Ezekiel (b) Usman Abba (c) Unknown participants and officials at National Festival of Arts and Culture, 1983.
Sokoto	Nov. 1983	(a) Hamza Mohammed, Rima Radio.
Kano	Feb. 1984	(a) Sule Adamu (b) Balarabe Idi (c) Usman Ahmed