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Panel: **Les Traditions Ceramique de la Boucle du Niger à la Volta Noire/ Ceramic Traditions from the Bend of the Niger to the Black Volta**

Barbara FRANK, Stony Brook University, NY, USA
(befrank2009@gmail.com)
Mapping Mande Griot-Potters

This paper presents some preliminary results of field research concerning the distribution in time and space of Mande griot-potters. This presentation is part of a larger project mapping ceramic traditions in relation to other artistic traditions in order to get a better handle on the historical interactions among these artisan groups and their various host populations/clients. My work draws on field interviews as well as published linguistic, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research.

I take into account: 1) the identity of the potters and their husbands (including ethnic identity, "caste" status, language, traditions of origin, and marriage alliances); 2) styles of technology *(chaînes opératoires)* in the production of pottery, especially initial forming techniques, the use of specific tools such as metal scrapers and carved and braided roulettes, the use of signatures, as well as taboos associated with the mining of the clay and firing; and 3) the distribution of specific pottery types and styles, including utilitarian vessels such as water jars and cooking pots, as well as vessels that may serve a ritual purpose such as shrine pots (with nodules) and steamer/smoker pots.

The starting point for this research is a ceramic tradition in the Folona region of southeastern Mali near the border with Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso (Frank 2007). Here, most of the pottery consumed by the majority Senufo population of the region is produced by Mande (Jula) griot-potters. Like other Mande peoples, they trace their origins to the Mande heartland region north and west of the Folona near the border between Mali and Guinea. However, certain aspects of the identity and artistry of the Folona potters sets them apart from their Bamana and Maninka counterparts. Most significantly, they are not the wives of blacksmiths as expected within the ideology and practice of most other Mande peoples. Their husbands are griots whose identity is tied as much to the artistry of their potter wives as to their own more distant heritage as oral artists and leatherworkers. It is not unusual to find casted artisan groups in West Africa who moved from their ethnic homelands in search of clientele, settling as minorities among neighboring peoples in need of their expertise, as was the case with Mande blacksmiths, sculptors, griots and leatherworkers across a whole stretch of West Africa, from Senegambia to Ghana (Richter 1980, Tamari 1991, Zemp 1964, Roy 1987, Kastenholz 1998, and Frank 1995). One might presume that the Folona potters simply accompanied their husbands and continued to practice the craft of their mothers. However, the styles and types of objects these women make, and the way they form and fire them, are fundamentally different from those of Bamana and Maninka potters to the north, and have more in common with those of non-Mande potters to the south and east. I suggest that while the origins of the potters' husbands might well be traced to the Mande heartland, the ancestry of the women is not so clear. I believe that their identity may have become subsumed within that of their husbands, and that these women may have unknowingly preserved their maternal

heritage in their craftsmanship as potters. A closer analysis of oral traditions, and of the distribution of identities and technologies reveals the challenges of unraveling this history.

THE FOLONA POTTERS AND ORAL TRADITIONS

In the Folona region, the largest concentrations of griot-potters are in the villages of Dogbeledougou, Sissingue and Dioumatene, with smaller numbers in Kambereke, Nguele, and Zekoun/Zegoun. There are two grand families of Mande griots in the Folona -- Kouyate and Diabate -- each with their own traditions of origin in the Mande heartland and their own distinctive paths to their present locations.

The Kouyates of Dogbeledougou and Sissingue recount that their ancestors came from Kaaba (Kangaba) to the Sikasso region, settling either in Doniena or in Misirikoro. From there, they are said to have traveled south by way of Niangassoba to establish the village of Lofine. It is from Lofine that two brothers split apart and went their separate ways. One went with his family to Kadiolo, but because they were griots, they were refused hospitality and so continued on where they were received by a man known as Dogbe of Nakomo. It was Dogbe who invited the Kouyates to settle on the land that became the village of Dogbeledougou (lit. village of the short man).

The second brother went to Diou and it was from Diou that the Kouyate who are now in Sissingue came. However, according to one version of the story, because the clay in Diou was not good, the Senufo *chef-du-village* asked the Kouyate to prospect between Diou and Siama, and to settle where they found good clay. The way the Kouyates tell the story, it was their ancestor Shiaka who was the first to build a home in what is now Sissingue. Shiaka encountered a Senufo hunter named Tenezie Diabate who became the first *chef-du-village* of Sissingue. The Senufo Diabate of Sissingue who continue to hold the chiefdom, tell the story somewhat differently. They claim that it was their ancestors who settled first and later discovered that someone was “stealing” their clay, and only then did they “invite” the Kouyate griots and their potter wives to settle next to them.

There is at least one family of Sogodogo originally from Kambereke intermarried with the Kouyate jeli of Sissingue and there are the griot Diabate of Dioumatene -- not to be confused with the Senufo Diabate of Sissingue and elsewhere. The griot Diabate’s, like the Kouyate’s, claim distant origins in the Mande heartland, but their more recent history has them coming from Kong in Côte d’Ivoire. Similarly, the Diabate jeli of Nguele told Nafogo Coulibaly that they too came to the region by way of Kong.

Coulibaly (2004) also identified a family of Danioko griot potters, but said that their origins were not as griots. According to Coulibaly, the Danioko of Zégoun say that their ancestors were originally merchants, marabouts, and *komotigiw* (chiefs of Komo) who left Kaaba and traveled first to Sarro in the Segou region, then to Tièrè and Tarakasso outside Sikasso. From there, they went on to found the village of Ganakono in northern Côte d’Ivoire (Département de Tengréla), later crossing back over the Bagoe river to settle in Zégoun et Kébéni. These movements took place sometime before the second half of the 19th century.

It was as a result of the turbulent times of the late 19th century that the Danioko ancestors essentially became griots as a result of their wives becoming potters. Throughout southern Mali, southwestern Burkina Faso and northern Côte d’Ivoire, people were uprooted, some were killed, and entire villages abandoned as a result of the slave-raiding activities of the

powerful state of Kenedougou and the advancing army of Samory Touré. The Danioko, like other residents of the region, sought refuge in and around the city of Sikasso. Under these difficult circumstances, their ancestors chose to return to the village of Tarakasso where they found griot women making pots. The wives of the Danioko began making pottery next to their female counterparts, something they then took with them when they returned to Zegoun.

When the French siege of Sikasso ended in 1898 with the defeat of Babemba Traoré, some, like the Kouyates of Sissingue and Dogbeledougou and the Danioko of Zegoun, apparently did return to their prior villages while others may have gone on to settle in different places.

MAPPING CERAMIC TRADITIONS

Despite the griot-potters' claims of a Mande heartland heritage, I have long suggested that the origins of this ceramic tradition lie elsewhere. One reason for this is that in the Mande heartland (and elsewhere in the Mande world), potters are the wives of blacksmiths, not the wives of griots. So part of the process of mapping ceramic traditions is designed to identify possible historical ties between the Mande griot potters of the Folona and other pottery traditions – north towards Sikasso, east into southwestern Burkina Faso, and south across northern Côte d'Ivoire to the Black Volta region of west-central Ghana.

Following the lead from oral history, my research has revealed that there are significant numbers of Mande griot-potters working in and around the city of Sikasso, and in at least several villages not far from Sikasso. In the town of Loulouni halfway between Kadiolo and Sikasso, there is at least one quarter of Diabate jeli whose oral traditions are closely tied to the fall of Sikasso and the subsequent movement of their ancestors from several communities in Burkina Faso to their present residence. They say that when the siege of Sikasso ended, their ancestors went to the town of Sindoukoroni in Burkina Faso and then to Tiongo, and from there to Sirkasso and Nibougou. It was the Bamba proprietors of the land from Dosso (south of Sikasso) who asked their ancestor to come to Loulouni and be their griots. They have maintained some marriage alliances with other Diabates from Pelignan, Kolokoni, Oulonkoto and Tiongo, but the ties are not as strong as they were in the time of their fathers. Diabate is the main patronym although there are some Kouyate among them.

The Diabate potters of Missirikoro and Tarakasso share a parallel history recounting their journey from the Mande heartland to Burkina Faso and back to the Sikasso region. The Diabate of Tarakasso say that they settled for a while in Oulonkoto, but because there was not enough work for them there, they returned to the Sikasso region to the village of Zerila. It was the Berte chef du village of Zerila who authorized the Diabate griots to settle in what became the village of Tarakasso. The timing of these movements is not clear, but they told us that the Kenedougou king Tieba "tied his horse" in Tarakasso, implying that they were already installed there at that time (1876-1893) and that their fathers provided their services to Tieba as leatherworkers. Diabate is the primary griot family in Tarakasso, although there are some Traore among them. The Diabate of Missirikoro say that they too came to the region by way of Burkina Faso (Djobabougou and Kolokoni as well as Tarakasso), and that the Berthe *chef-du-canton* called their grandfather to be his griot.

Western Burkina Faso is rich with a diversity of ceramic traditions, including significant communities of Jula-speaking griot-potters in Sindou, Kawara, Oulonkoto, Pelignan, and Kenga. The men are traditionally leatherworkers and the dominant family name here is Diabate, with some Kouyate and Traore among them. And, as with their counterparts in

Mali, their oral traditions recognize Kaaba as their ancestral home, and they too recount stories of dispersal after the defeat of Tieba and Babemba. Sidiki Kouyate (head of Jeli community in Pelignan) says that the Jeli came from south of Korhogo during reign of Tieba of Kenedugu, and that they were forced to work as artisans at the palace of the King at Sikasso. After the defeat of Tieba, they were asked by the French to return to their former villages, and on the way some asked to settle in Pelignan (Diamitani 1999).

It is clear that these Diabate griot-potters are part of the same historical movements of peoples and indeed other aspects of their ceramic tradition including the way they make pots and the kinds of pots they produce are identical to those of the Folona griot-potters.

Further north and east of the Kenedougou region, there is at least one other group of Mande griot-potters with leatherworker husbands. According to Banaon (1990), among the Nuna of Tierkou in west central Burkina, there are three distinct families of Mande griots: The Sama who left their Marka homeland and crossed the Black Volta River led by Ptourma Sama. Their wives are potters, and they brought with them the war drums (*tamtam de guerre*) from Marka. There are two other griot families in Tierkou, but it is not clear that they have any relationship to pottery production. Presumably some of these griots are also leatherworkers, because in a discussion of the "problem of caste" Banaon notes that the social separation of griots from the rest of the population has to do with notions of purity and that the griots are considered impure due to the splotches of color on pottery and to colorants used in tanning leather.

South of the Folona, in the region of Korhogo, one finds 3 distinct groups of potters, none of them associated directly with griot-leatherworkers (Spindel 1988, 1989). Two of these groups are both associated with metalworking, one the *sidunbele* (*sidun* or *cedunbele*) whose husbands are blacksmiths, and the other *kpeenbele* whose husbands are traditionally bronzecasters. Scholars have suggested that both of these groups have origins in the Mande world. There is a third group of potters who are not casted at all, but are the wives of Senufo-Nafanra farmers.

Also in northern Côte d'Ivoire, one finds griot-leatherworkers identified as Jeli, who are recognized as the first inhabitants of what is now the major town of Korhogo (Launay 1995). According to Daouda Coulibaly (Troebs 1998): The first Jeli of Korhogo came from Wangolo to Solona to Korhogo (Koko Quartier), but they were originally from Ghana, where the jeli are called "Ligbi". He says that one can find many Jeli in Ghana in the region of Wenchi, as well as in Bondoukou, Dabakala, Bouna, and Mankono. Coulibaly also mentions the town of Mbengue as a Jeli town founded by these same Ligbi from Ghana, but he says that the Jeli there do not do leatherwork, but rather, that they make pottery just like the Mangoro of Katiola, and he adds that the Mangoro language is very similar to the language of the Jeli of Korhogo.

If we move further south on the map to the eastern part of central Côte d'Ivoire, around Katiola and Dabakala, we find a group of griot-leatherworker-potters called Mangoro who identify Manden as their ancestral home (Biot and Fofana 1991, Thoret 1971, Traore 1985). Their family names include Kone, Coulibaly and Ouattara. In addition, in the Dabakala region, the Mangoro compete with another group of potters, identified as "Dieli", whose husbands are leatherworkers. It is not clear whether there are any Mangoro or Jeli potters in the regions of Bondoukou or Bouna, because pottery production there seems to be identified with non-Mande potters known either as Mo or Degha (Bravmann 1973, 1974).

Ceramic production in the Banda/Wenchi region of west-central Ghana is in the hands of two distinct groups of potters, neither of them Mande: Mo (Degha) and Nafana (or Nafanra), serving an ethnically complex clientele that includes (in addition to the larger Mo and Nafana population), the Ligby (with the Hwela and the Noumou) as well as Kulango (Kuulo) and Ewe (Cruz 2003, Stahl 2001). As mentioned above, there may well be an historical connection between the Ligbi of this region and the Jeli griot-leatherworkers of the Korhogo region, but whether or where pottery production fits in this part of the story is not very clear. In addition, there is a linguistic relationship between the language spoken by the remnants of Mande blacksmith populations (Noumou and Hwela) in west-central Ghana, the extinct language of Mande blacksmiths (Noumou) in central Côte d'Ivoire, and the endangered language of the Jeli leatherworkers of Korhogo, which may well be related to that still spoken by the Mangoro potters of central Côte d'Ivoire.

The presence of Mande griot-potters and intriguing linguistic connections among potters, leatherworkers and blacksmiths across southeastern Mali, into southwestern Burkina Faso, and south to central Côte d'Ivoire and west-central Ghana, suggests a similar if not shared history of movement and interactions of certain Mande artisans. However, the identity of these women as griots and not blacksmiths, and the fundamental differences in the way these women make pots when compared to the techniques used by Bamana and Maninka blacksmith potters, suggests a more complicated history than just migration. My initial hypothesis was that Mande men (griot-leatherworkers) moved south and acquired non-Mande wives, and that although the women may then have adopted the Mande language essentially becoming Mande, at the same time, they preserved a non-Mande way of making pots taught to them by their mothers. I now believe that there may be a number of alternative histories hidden in the distribution of identities and technologies across this region, and that there remain significant gaps in the available data that need to be documented to arrive at a more nuanced story of this ceramic tradition and of Mande artists in the hinterlands more generally.

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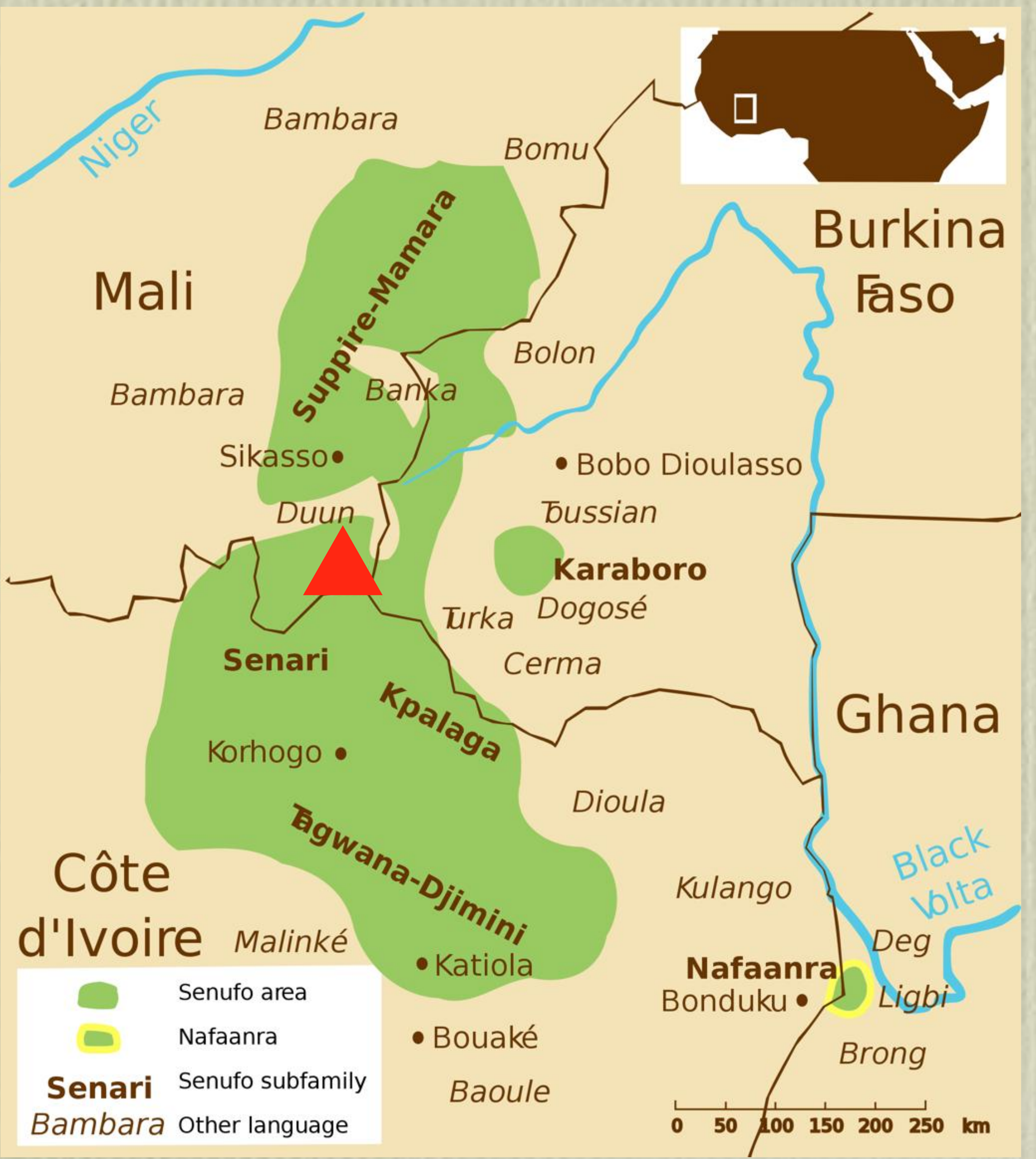
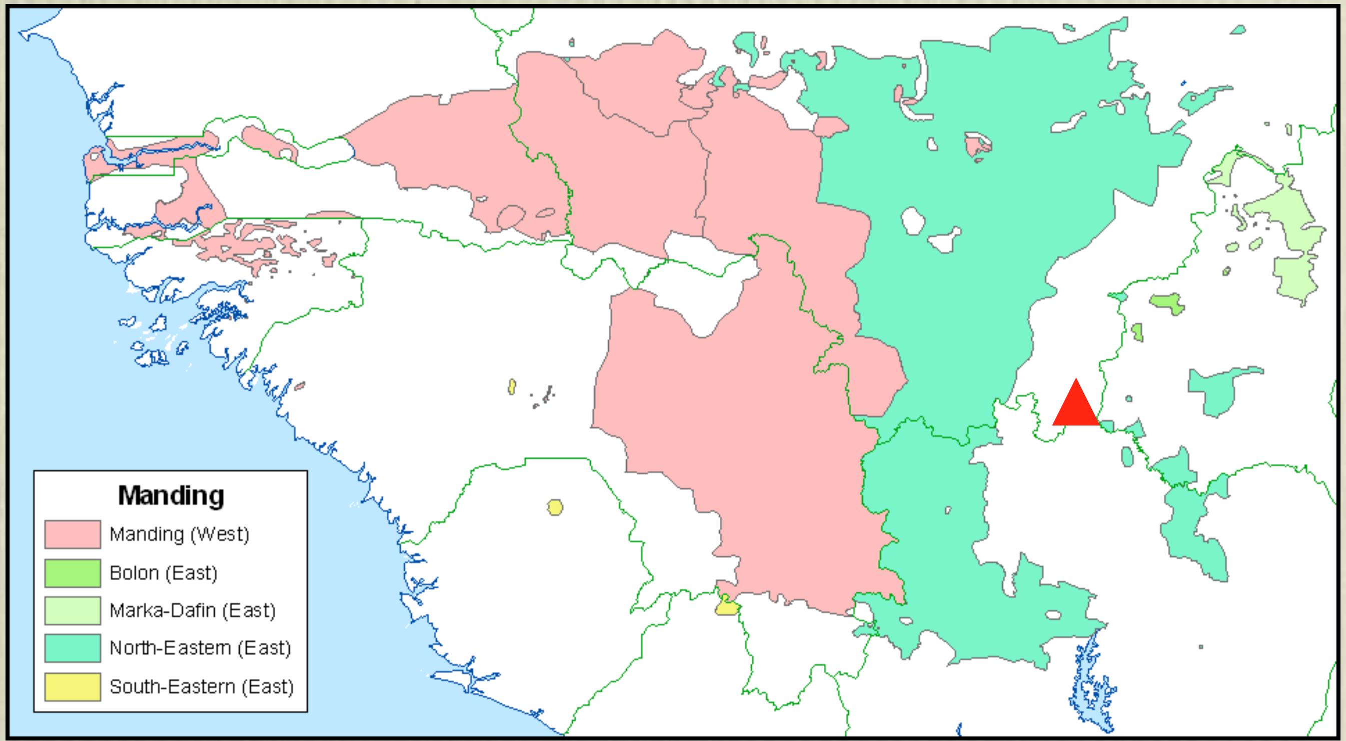
Dr. Barbara E. Frank

Mapping Mande Griot Potters
La cartographie des potieres-griottes Mande

Awa Sogodogo, Sissingue, Mali

Folona
(Kadiolo region)





I.Identité (Identity)

1. ethnicité, groupe d’artisans (caste), language,
2. traditions orales des origines,
3. patronymes, liens du mariage

II. Chaînes opératoires (Styles of technology)

1. techniques de modelage,
2. des outils spécifiques,
3. l'utilisation de signatures,
4. les tabous liés à l'extraction de l'argile et la cuisson

III.Objets (Objects)

1. typologie/fonction
2. typologie/forme
3. style (traitment de surface)

Identité (Identity)

ethnicité/langue: Mande (Jula), groupe d'artisans: *Jeli (jeli bobo)*

hommes: travail du cuir; femmes: potieres

Groupes d'artisans principales au Folona (Cercle de Kadiolo)

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine/ langue	patronyms	localite
Senufo / Syenara	*jeli* (J) *celibele* (S)	poterie	travail du cuir	Mande (Kaaba)/ Jula	Kouyate, Diabate, (Sogodogo, Danioko)	Dogueledougou, Sissingue, Dioumatene, Nguele, Zegoun, Kambereke
Senufo / Syenara	*sidunbele* (S) *numu* (J)	(poterie), fabr. de potasse	(extraction du fer), taille du bois, boisseliers	Mande?/Senufo Syenara	Bamba, Ouattara, Kone, Diarra	Chieme, (Gouene, Ouatiali) (Papara, Tengrela)
Senufo / Syenara	*vono* (J), *fonibele* (S)	vannerie, prep. de la biere du mil	travail du fer	tuntun?	Bamba, Cisse, Konate, Coulibaly, Sanogo, Ouattara	Dioumatene Gouene, Pitiangoma
Senufo / Syenara	*zagilebele dalebele, saglew* (S) *kule* (J)	raccom-modage des calabasses	taille du bois, sculpture, masques	Mande?/ San? /Senufo Syenara	Kone, Sogodogo	Kargouan
Senufo / Syenara	Tagwa	prep. de la biere du mil	tissage, commerce du tissus	Burkina Faso	Diarra, Kone, Sylla	Diou, Kadiolo, Dioumatene, Pitiangoma

Traditions Orales

KOUYATE:
Manden ➔ Sikasso ➔ Missirikoro, Tarakasso ➔ Lofine (via Niangassoba) ➔ Dogueledougou (via Kadiolo, Nakomo) et Sissingue (via Diou)

DIABATE:
Manden ➔ Djimini Kong ➔ Folona ➔ Sikasso ➔ Dioumatene

SOGODOGO:
Kambereke ➔ Sissingue

DANIOKO:
Manden ➔ Segou ➔ Sikasso ➔ Tiere et Tarakasso ➔ Ganakono ➔ Zegoun et Kebeni ➔ Tarakasso ➔ Zegoun

NORD-OUEST: KAABA (MANDEN)

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine /langue	patronyms	localite
Mande / Maninka	*numu* (M)	poterie (vannerie)	travail du fer	Mande (Kaaba)	Kante, Bagayoko, Doumbia	Kangaba, Bougouni
Mande / Maninka	*jeli* (M)	la music, raconter les traditions orales	la music, raconter les traditions orales, et travail du cuir	Mande (Kaaba)	Diabate, Kouyate	Kangaba, Kela, Bougouni
Mande / Maninka	*garanke* (S)	tatouage	travail du cuir	Soninke	Mangassi, Korkhoss, Sylla	Kangaba

NORD: SIKASSO

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine / langue	patronyms	localite
Senufo / Supyire	*jeli* (J) *ciiwe, ciilii* (S)	poterie	la music, raconter les traditions orales, et travail du cuir	Mande (Kaaba via Kong) /Jula	Diabate, Berthe, Danyoko, Diarrasouba, Kouyate, Dembele	Loulouni, Sikasso, Missirikoro, Tarakasso, Molasso
Senufo / Supyire	*tuntun* (S) *numu* (J)	vannerie, poterie	travail du fer	Mande?	Balo, Sogodogo, Keleman, Berte, Denso	Molasso, Fanterila ?
Senufo / Supyire	*vonno*	?	travail du fer	Senufo?	?	?

EST: BURKINA FASO

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine / langue	patronyms	localite
Senufo / Tagwa	*jeli* (J) *ciiwe, ciilii* (S)	poterie	la music, raconter les traditions orales, et travail du cuir	Mande (Kaaba)	Diabate	Pelignan, Kenga, Sindou, Kawara, Oulonkoto
Senufo / Tagwa	*tuntun (kue)* (S) *numu* (J)	prep. biere du mil	(extraction du fer), travail du fer	Dzungoma	Barro, Konate, Traore, Coulibaly	Soukouraba, Kankalaba, Kangala, Noumoussoba,Kotoura,Chokoro
Senufo / Tagwa	*fonon*(S) *numu* (J)	vannerie	travail du fer	?	?	Kankalaba
Senufo / Tagwa	*jeli* (J)	?	la music, raconter les traditions orales	Mande (Dafin, Dedougou)	?	Sokoroni
Nuna / Nuni	*jeli* (J)	poterie (Sama)	la music, raconter les traditions orales	Mande (Zamo, Tisse)/ Jula	Sama, Bako, Banaon	Tierkou

SUD: CÔTE D'IVOIRE (Nord-Centrale)

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine / langue	patronyms	locale
Senufo / Cebaara	*kule*	calabash	travail du bois	Mande	Soro	Dikodougou?
Senufo / Cebaara	*sidunbele, tyeduno* (S)	poterie	travail du fer, tissage	Mande		Dikodougou?
Senufo / Cebaara	*fono (S)*	vannerie	(travail du fer), travail du bois, travail du bronze	Senufo?	Yeo, Soro	Dikodougou?, Korhogo
Senufo / Cebaara	*lorhon, lorgo* (J), *kpembele, kpeen* (S)	poterie	travail du bronze, tissage?	Mande to Kong to Korhogo / langue archaic = Ligbi?	Yeo, Danyogo, Tuo, Soro, Kulibali	Dikodougou?, Korhogo
Senufo / Cebaara	*jeli, tyeli, dieli* (J), *jelibele, tyelibele*(S)	jardinage (du tabac et legumes vert)	travail du cuir, l'agriculteur	Mande / jeri-kuo	Kone, Coulibaly, Baro? Bagayogo ?	Dielisso, Korhogo
Senufo / Cebaara	Nafanra	poterie	l'agriculture	Senufo		Dagbarkaha

SUD-EST: CÔTE D'IVOIRE / GHANA

ethnicite/langue (majorite)	groupe d'artisans (caste ou ethnie)	travail des femmes	travail des hommes	origine /langue	patronyms	locale
Senufo / Jimini or Tagwana	Mangoro	poterie	travail du cuir, l'agriculture	Mande (Guinea)	Kone, Coulibaly, Ouattara, Bamba	Katiola, Gorossou, Gorbodougou, Nangbotokaha, Ourongbankaha, Darakokaha, Kawolo Mangorosso, Kpana, Djemala
Senufo / Jimini	*jeli*, *dieli* (J)	poterie	travail du cuir, l'agriculture	Mande / Jula?	?	Dabakala, Dielisso, Gbadougou, Nanfale
Mande / Jula	*jeli* (J)	?	travail du cuir, l'agriculture	Mande (Kaaba)/ Jula?	Baro, Ouattara, Diabagate, Kouyate	Kong
Mande / Jula et Gur ?	*numu* (J) ?	poterie	travail du fer	Mande (hommes) Gur (femmes)	?	Kong
Senufo / Jimini	*numu* (J) ?	?	travail du fer	Mande? / tuntun	?	Torro, Tahoro, Kafine, Panangana, Nawolo, Bokala, Tissela Noumousso, Kawolo Konanra, Sanankoro, Sebole, Dyamokoro, Tagbono Noumousso, Diagesso, (et.al.)

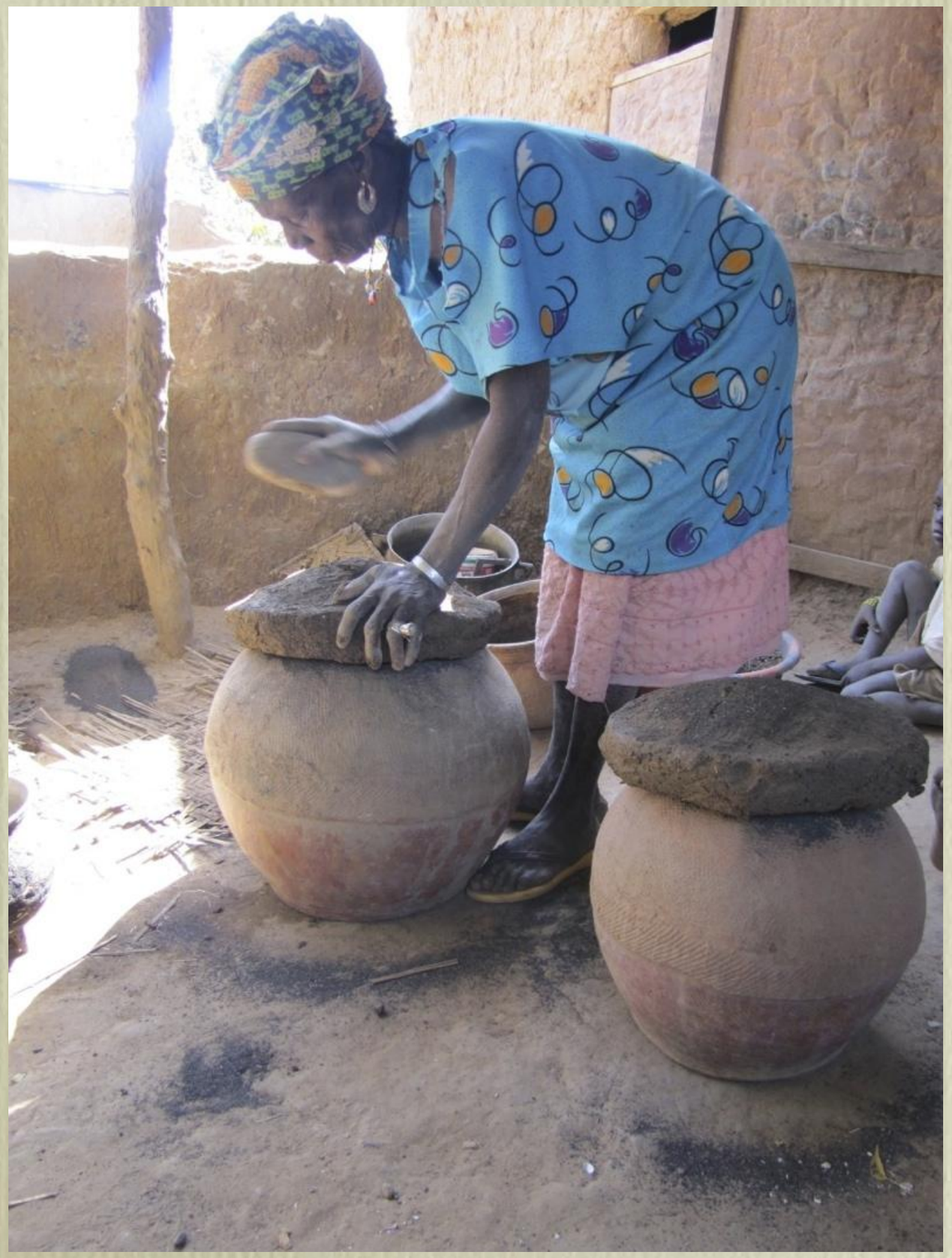
JULA
jeli
(Kadiolo
Mali)

Chaînes opératoires (Styles of technology)

creusage
de la
motte
(direct pull)

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)

BAMANA *numu* (Kangaba)
moulage sur forme convexe



JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)
creusage de la motte

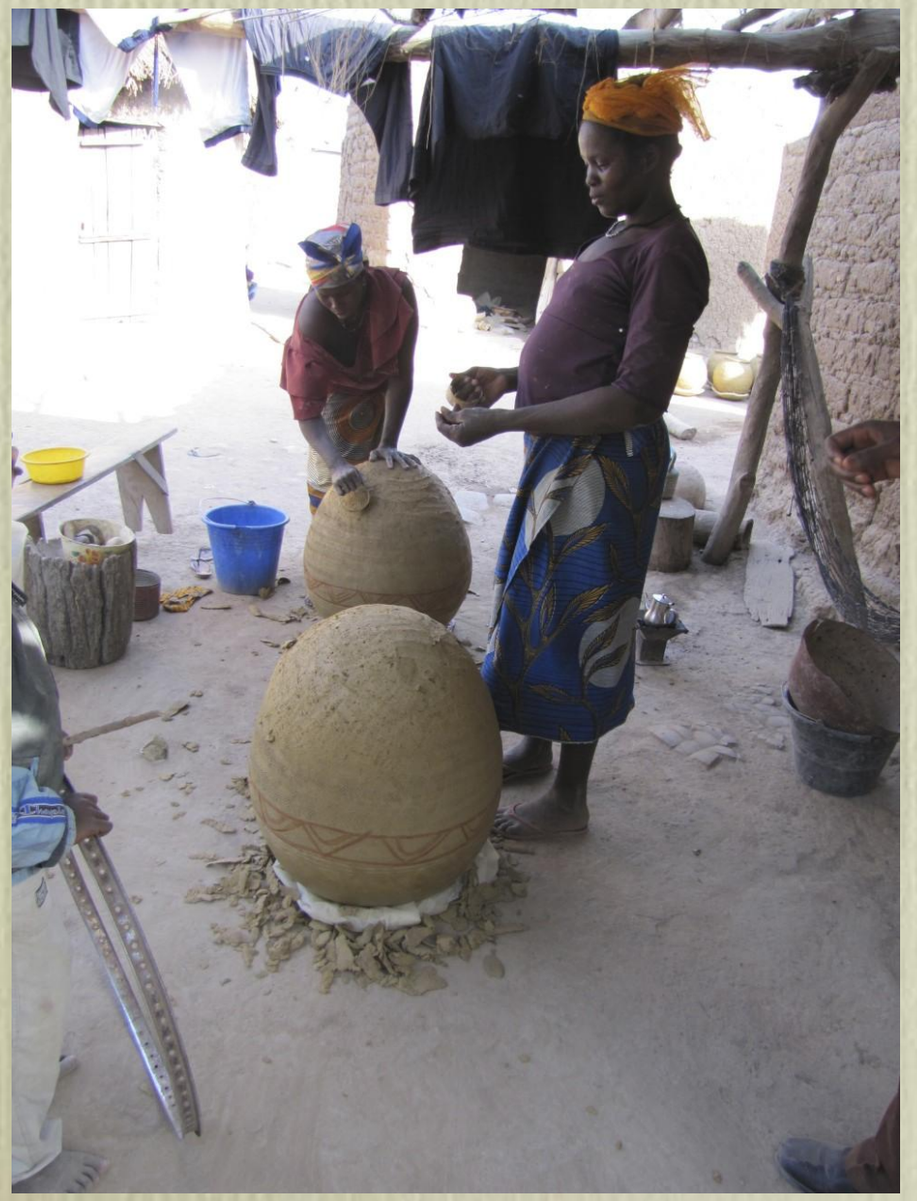
BAMANA *numu* (Kolokani)
columbins

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)
columbins

MANINKA
numu (Kangaba)

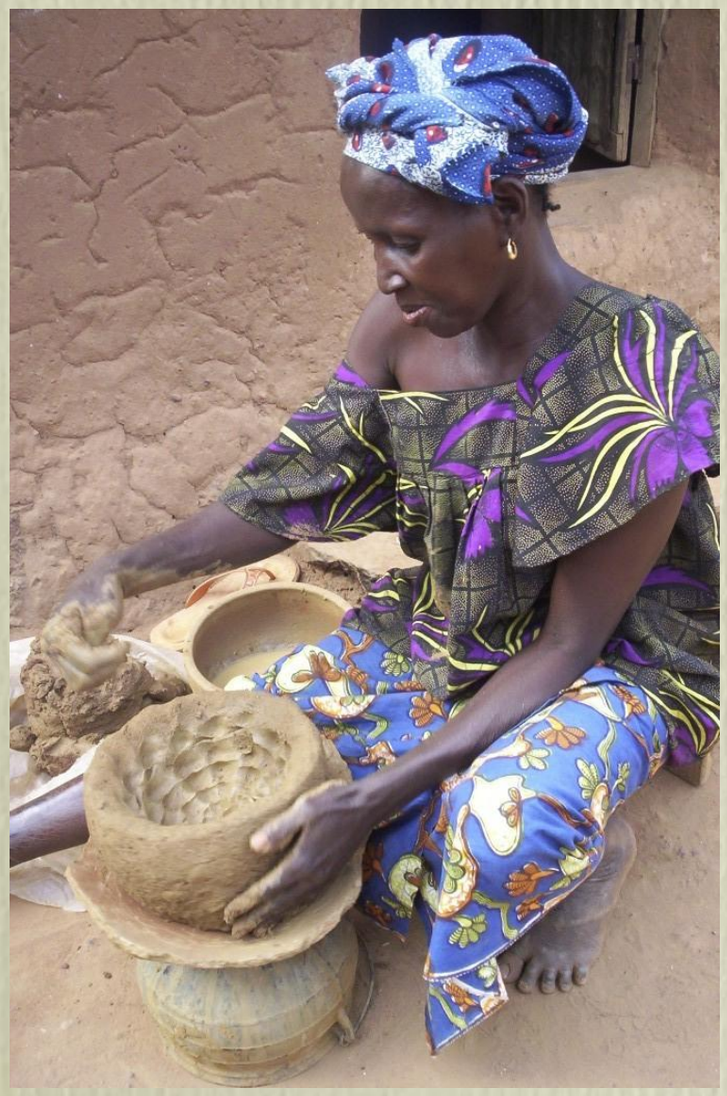
JULA *jeli*
(Kadiolo)

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo) raclage



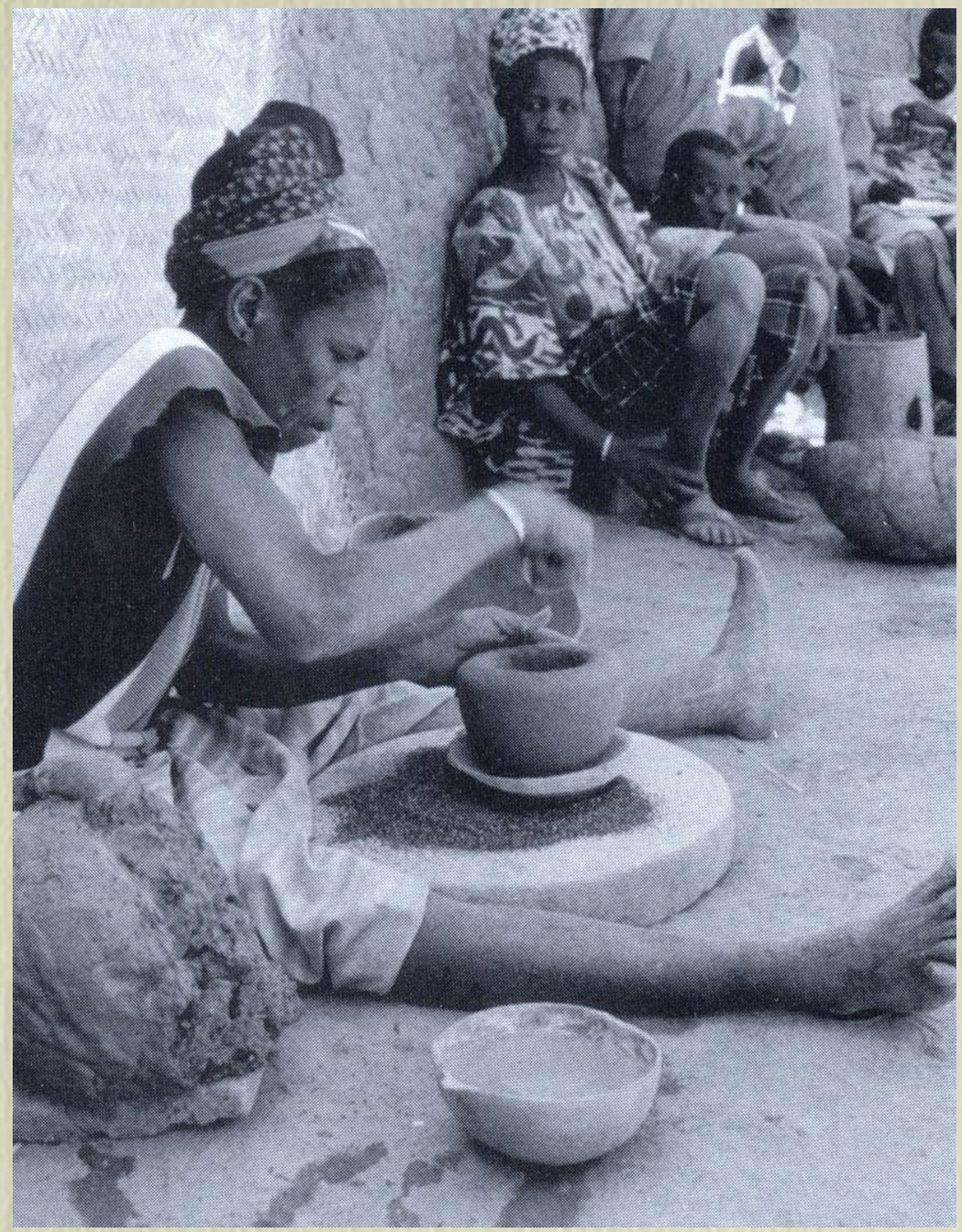
NORD:
JULA *jeli*
(Sikasso)

creusage
de la motte



Samake

NORD:
BOBO



Gallay

EST:
Burkina Faso

JULA *jeli* (Kenedougou)
creusage de la motte
raclage

Gagliardi

Roy

SUD
SENUFO *sidunbele* (Kadiolo - Korhogo)
moulage sur forme convexe

SENUFO *sidunbele*
(Kadiolo et Kadiolo)
moulage sur forme
convexe

BAMANA *numu* (Kolokani)
moulage sur forme convexe

SENUFO *Kpeenbele* (Korhogo)
moulage sur forme convexe

Spindel

MANINKA *numu* (Kangaba)
moulage sur forme convexe

NAFANRA-SENUFO
(Korhogo)
creusage de la motte

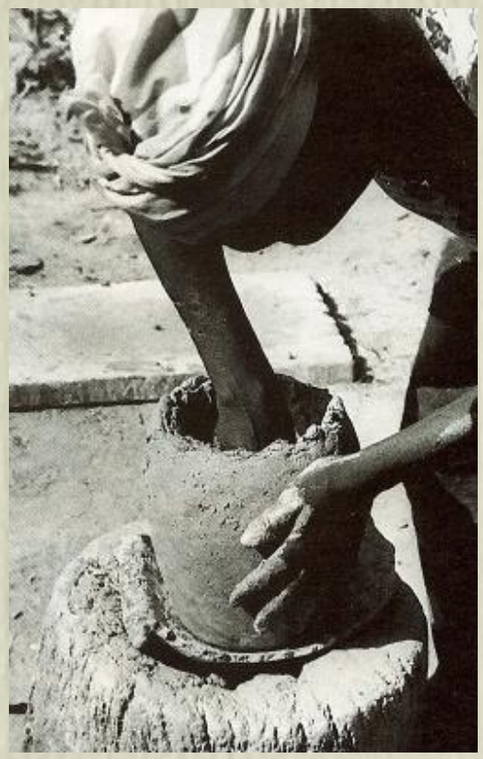
JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)
creusage de la motte

Samake 2006

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)

SENUFO?
(Ferkessedougou)

JULA *jeli*
(Sikasso)



Etienne
-Nugue

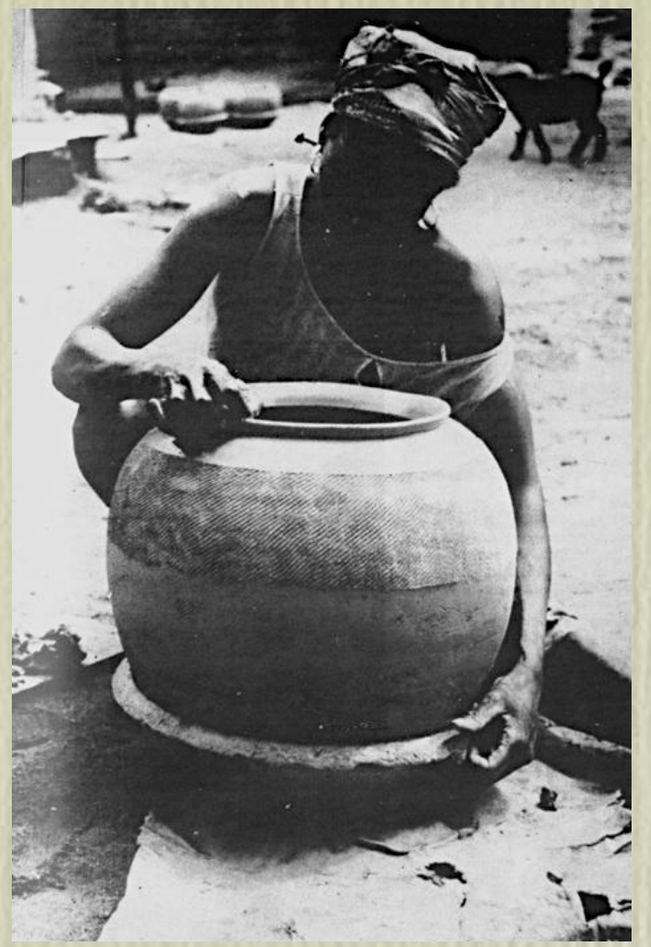
MANGORO (Bouake-Katiola)
creusage de la motte

Comoe Krou

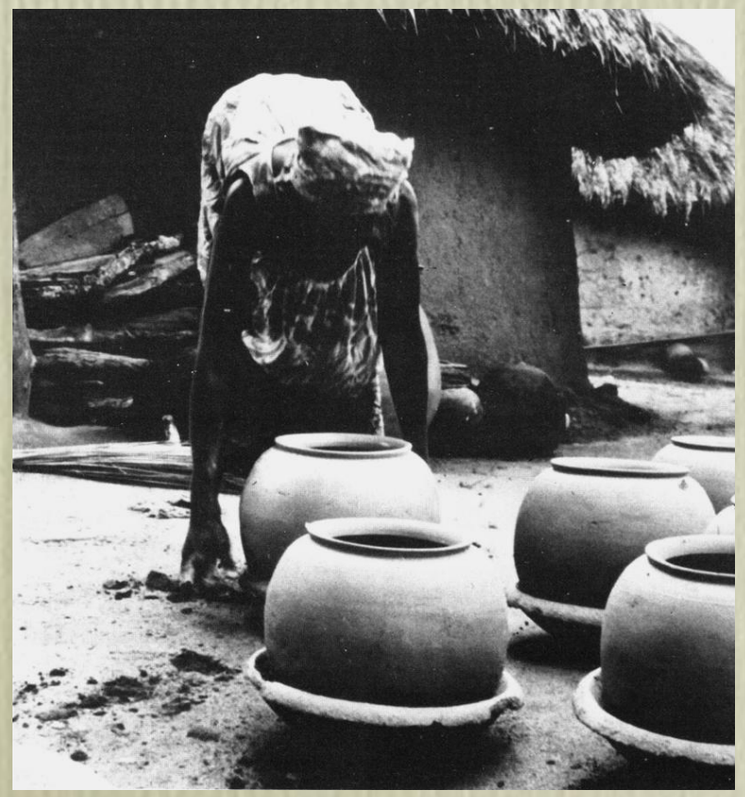
JULA *jeli* Sikasso

Samake 2006

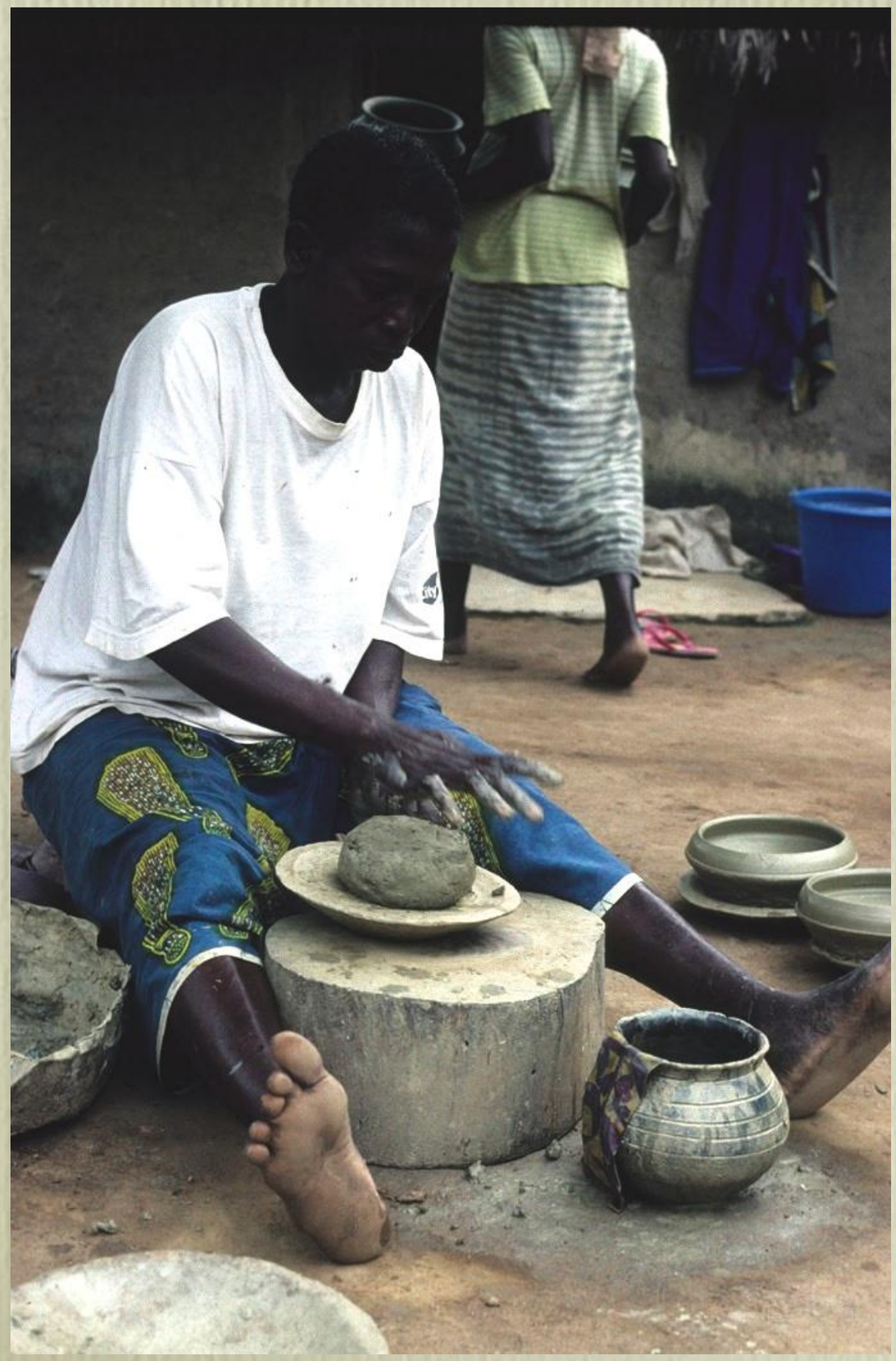
MANGORO
(Bouake-Katiola)

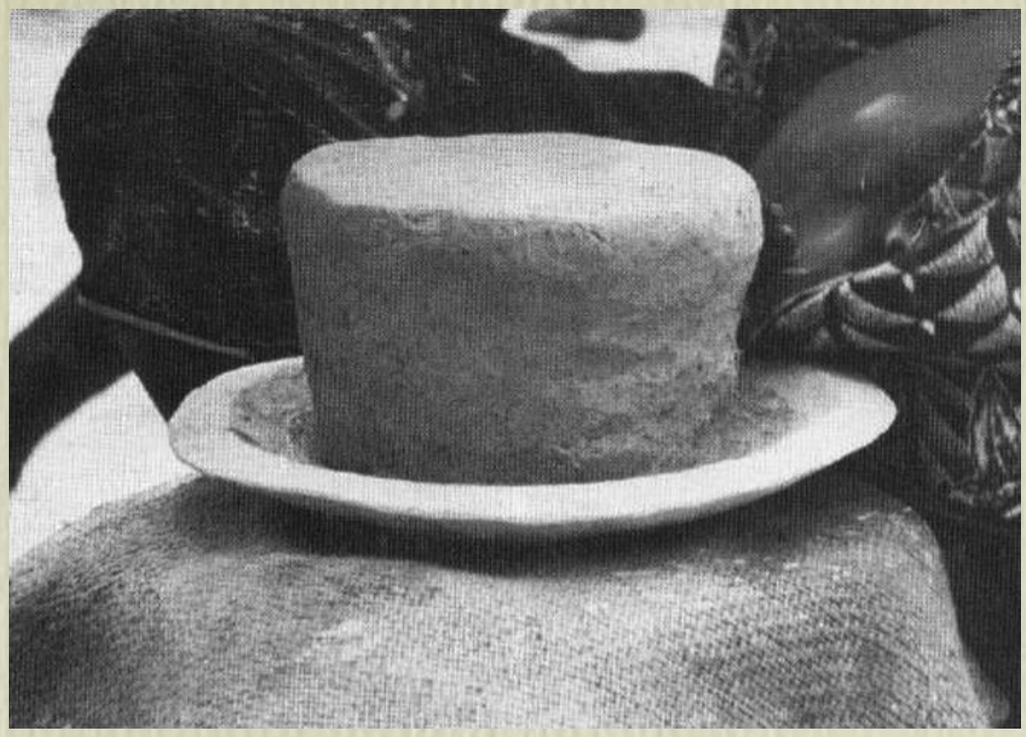


JULA *jeli*
(Kadiolo)



BAULE non-casté (Bouake)
creusage de la motte





Gunner

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)
creusage de la motte

JIMINI-SENUFO?
(Kong)
creusage de la motte

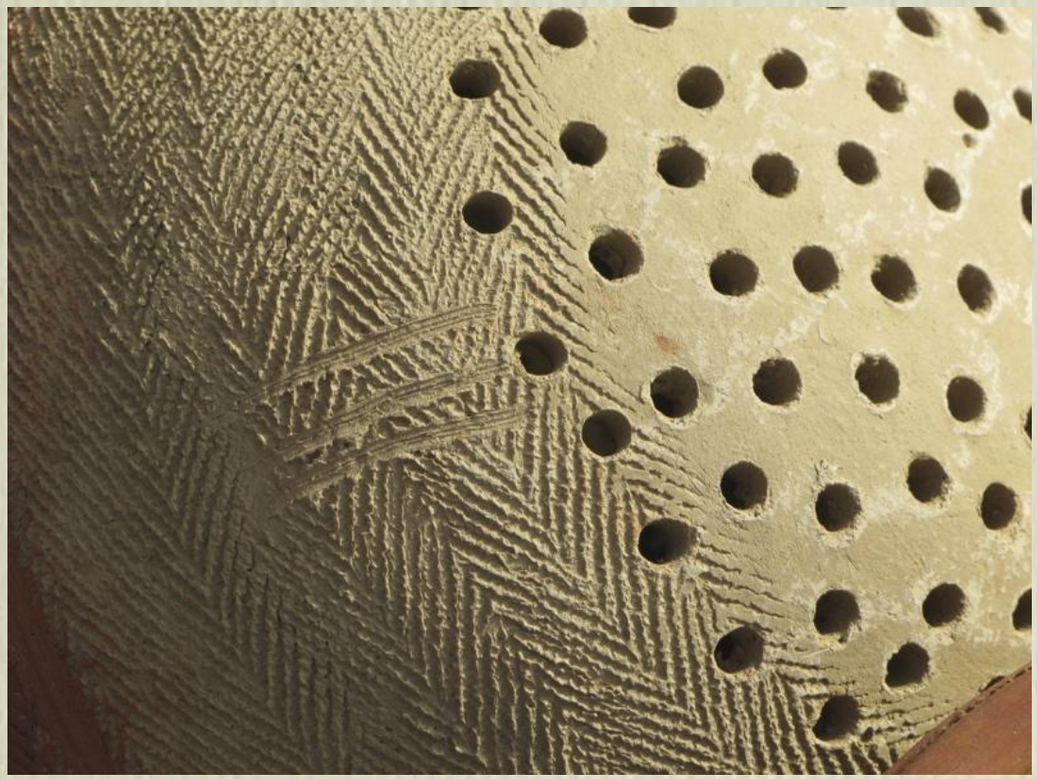
DEGHA/MO (Banda)
creusage de la motte

WANGARA (?) (Hamale)
creusage de la motte
columbins

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)
columbins

Outils

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo) signatures



JULA jeli (Burkina Faso)

JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)

DEGHA? (Bondoukou)

DEGHA (Banda, Ghana)

Post-cuisson trempage

JULA *jeli*
(Dogueledougou)

BAMANA *numu*
(Banamba)

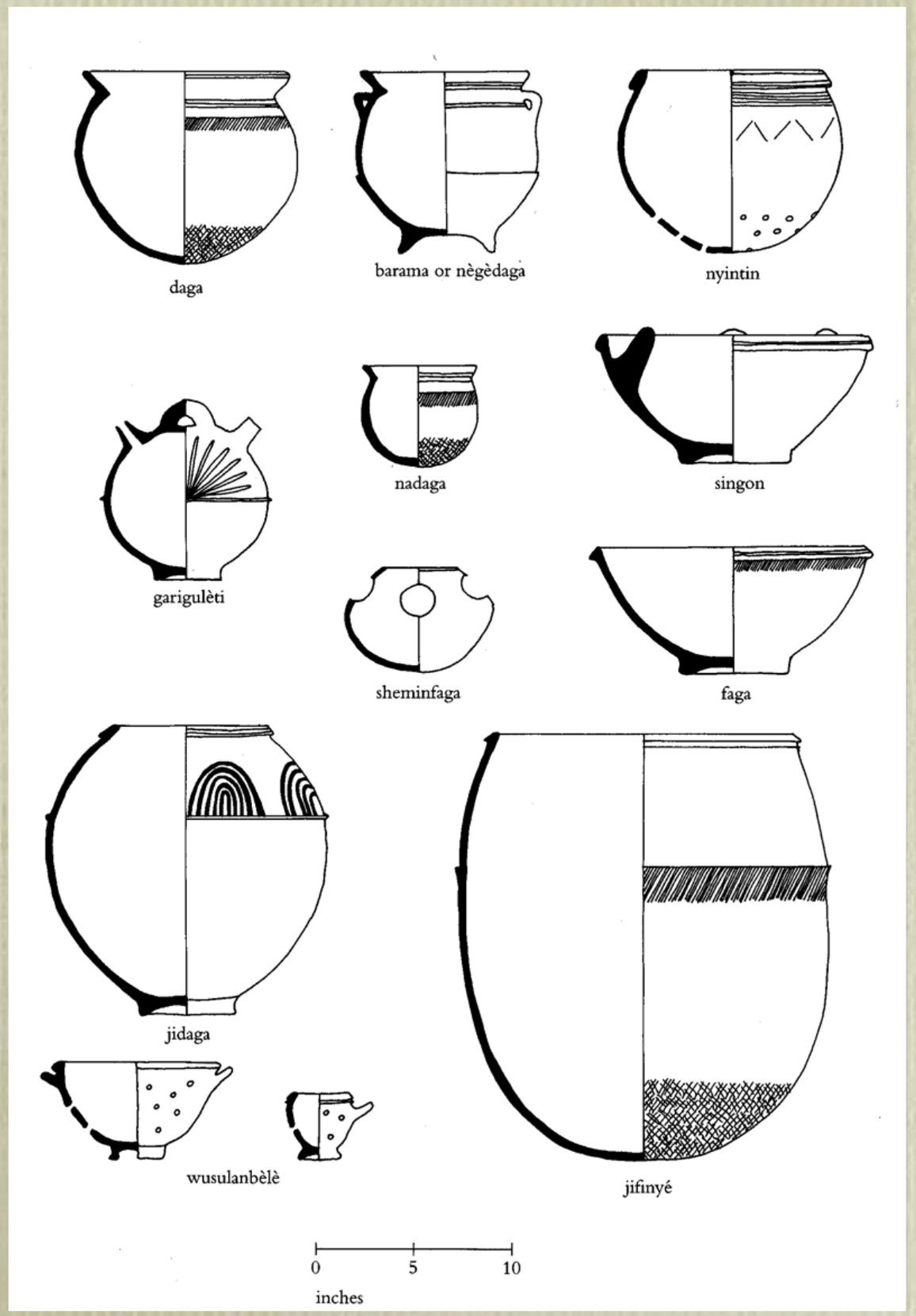
SENUFO *sidunbele*
(Kadiolo)

JIMINI?
(MANGORO?)
Kawolo

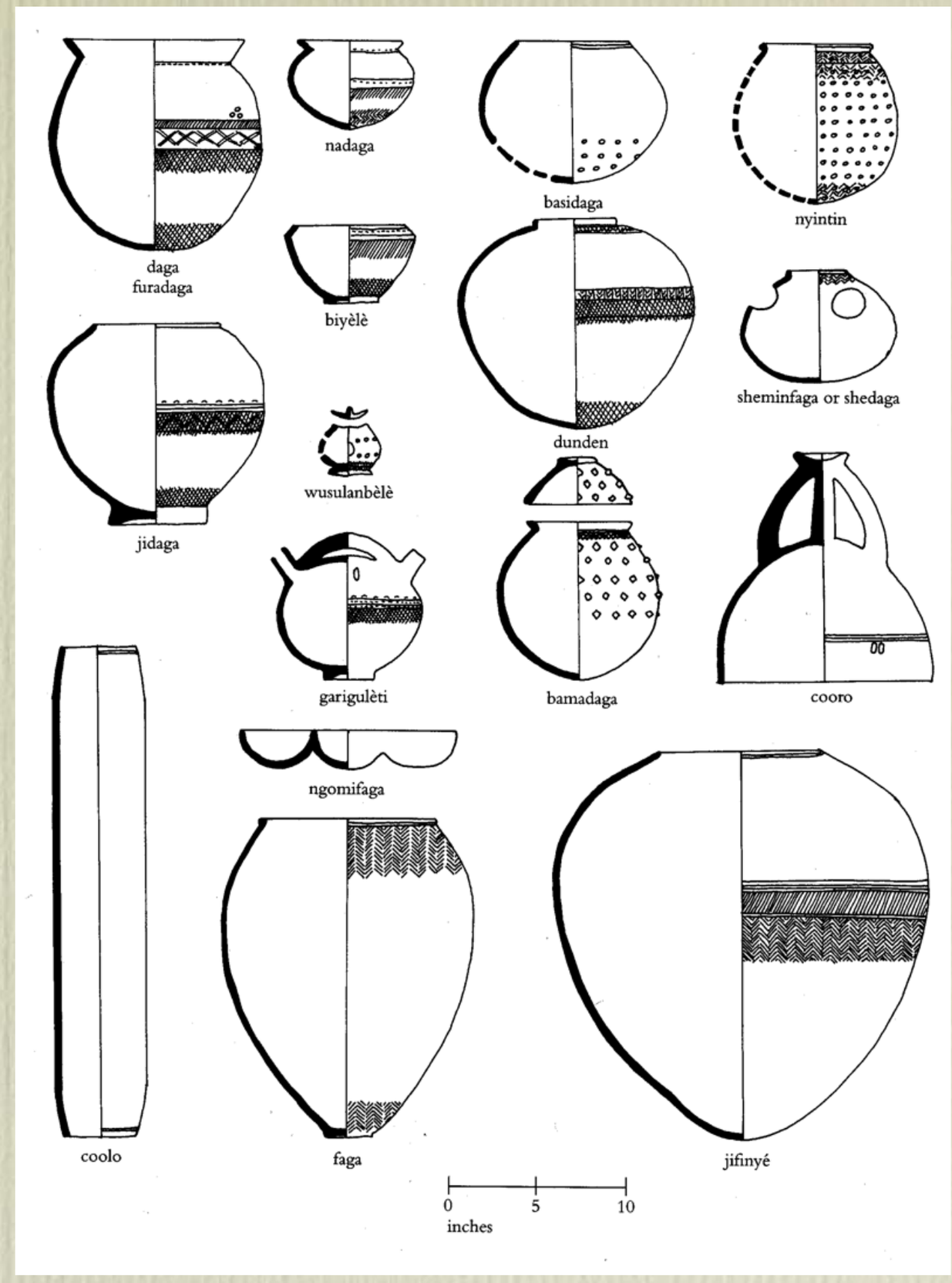
JULA *jeli* (Kadiolo)

Etienne-Nugue

BAMANA *numu*



JULA *jeli*



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Stony Brook University

dédiée à Claude Ardouin (1950-2011)

et aux jeunes filles de l'Folona qui apprennent
à faire des pots de leurs mères.