

graphic analyses are integrated to reach a preliminary, yet insightful conclusion. As it becomes clear why certain clay types were used for different functions during the Early Iron Age, it is also evident that the clays used for tuyeres demand the strictest requirements. They must be highly refractory. The tuyere clays could have functioned for pottery making (due to their plastic quality), but were almost never used in this way. This suggests that limited access to the most refractory clays in an area would have benefited iron smelters by minimizing its overexploitation by other craftsmen. Even when highly refractory clays were not available, such as at the BU and KAB sites, the clays used for tuyeres and pottery were clearly different. Thus, there was a careful partitioning of resource use that may have reflected economic or socio-political adaptations and controls in the society.

At one of the six sites investigated, different groups of iron smelters may have had differential access to the best tuyere-making clays. Despite the use of superior tuyere clay at the nearby KM2 and KM3 sites, it seems that the iron smelters at KM resorted to using a pottery clay that melted at lower temperatures. Experimental iron smelting in the Kagera region suggests that the quality of the tuyere clay directly affects the productivity of a smelt. The iron smelters with access to the best clays could produce more iron and therefore gain economically. Such economic prosperity could result in socio-political rank differentiation that should be reflected in the archaeological record in other ways. This will be tested further as new excavations occur.

The success of a ceramic research project that utilizes petrographic techniques lies in integrating many methodological considerations. The excavation of suitable clay objects from clear, datable contexts, careful sampling of those ceramics, systematic petrographic study (sometimes along with chemical or other physical analyses) of the samples, and the collection and petrographic analysis of local clays are all important components of a careful project. Petrography is not a methodology that can be learned quickly by archaeologists since what must be learned is both the methods developed for geology and also how to interpret the effects of human alteration on geological materials (for instance, the thin section in Figure 4b is highly complex). The rewards are many, however, when the time is taken

to master the techniques.

## Acknowledgments

The field and laboratory research discussed in this article was funded by grants from the National Science Foundation (BNS75-19611 and BNS78-07855) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (R0010570-83) awarded to Dr. P. Schmidt. The petrographic and experimental work with the Tanzanian ceramics and clays was conducted in the laboratory of the Center for Materials Research in Archaeology and Ethnology at MIT.

## References

1. A. Shepard, *Plumbate, a Mesoamerican Trade Ware*, Publication 573 (Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1948).
2. *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*, Publication 609 (Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1965).
3. A.F. Hallimond, *The Polarizing Microscope*, 3rd ed. (Vickers Ltd., York, 1970).
4. F.D. Bloss, *An Introduction to the Methods of Optical Crystallography* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1961).
5. *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987).
6. P. Kerr, *Optical Mineralogy*, 4th ed. (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1977).
7. W. Deer, R. Howie, and J. Zussman, *An Introduction to the Rock Forming Minerals* (Essex: Longman, 1966).
8. W. MacKenzie and C. Guilford, *Atlas of Rock-Forming Minerals in Thin Section* (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1980).
9. J. Oates, T. Davidson, D. Kamilli and McKerrell, "Seafaring Merchants of Ur?" *Antiquity* 51 (1977) p. 221-234.
10. P. Rice, "Continuity and Change in the Valley of Guatemala: A Study of Whiteware Pottery Production," unpublished PhD thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1976.
11. S.T. Childs, "Style in Technology: A View of the Early Iron Age Iron Smelting Technol-

ogy Through its Refractory Ceramics," unpublished PhD thesis, Boston University, 1986.

12. D. Arnold, "Mineralogical Analysis of Ceramic Materials from Quinua, Department of Ayacucho, Peru," *Archaeometry* 14(1) (1972) p. 93-102.
13. O. Rye, "Keeping Your Temper under Control: Materials and the Manufacture of Papuan Pottery," *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 11(2) (1976) p. 106-137.
14. C. Stimmell, R. Heimann, and R. Hancock, "Indian Pottery from the Mississippian Valley: Coping with Raw Materials," *Archaeological Ceramics*, edited by J. Olin and A. Franklin (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Press, 1982).
15. DeAtley, S., "Mix and Match: Traditions of Glaze Paint Preparation at Four Mile Ruin, Arizona," in *Ceramics and Civilization*, Vol. 2. of *Technology and Style*, edited by D. Kingery (American Ceramic Society, Ohio, 1986).
16. S.T. Childs, "Refractory Clay Selection for African Iron Smelting Technologies: Replicative and Experimental Approaches," in *Pottery Technology: Ideas and Approaches*, edited by G. Bronitsky (Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1989).
17. C. Hutchison, *Laboratory Handbook of Petrographic Techniques* (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1974).
18. P. Schmidt, *Historical Archaeology: A Structural Approach in an African Culture* (Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1978).
19. P. Schmidt and D. Avery, "More Evidence for an Advanced Prehistoric Iron Technology in Africa," in *J. Field Archaeology* 10(4) (1983) p. 421-434.
20. P. Schmidt and S. T. Childs, "Innovation and Industry During the Early Iron Age in East Africa: The KM2 and KM3 Sites of NW Tanzania," *African Archaeological Rev.* 3 (1985) p. 53-94.
21. P. de Maret, *Fouilles Archeologiques dans la vallée du Haut-Lualaba, Zaire, II, Sanga and Katongo*, 1974. Tervuren: Annales du Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, Sciences Humaines, Vol. 120. □

## Advertisers in this issue:

ASM International	12	National Electrostatics	14
Brimrose	back cover	Nicolet/Siemens	3
Cahn	5, 13	Princeton Gamma-Tech	11
Commonwealth Scientific	inside back cover	Process Products	15
General Ionex/Genus	inside front cover	Rudolph Research	30
High Voltage Engineering Europa	6	Siemens/Nicolet	3
Ion Tech	19	TMS	35
Janis Research	48	US Inc.	10
Lake Shore Cryotronics	20	VCH Publishers	65
MIT Press	17	Voltaix	18
		Carl Zeiss, Inc.	9