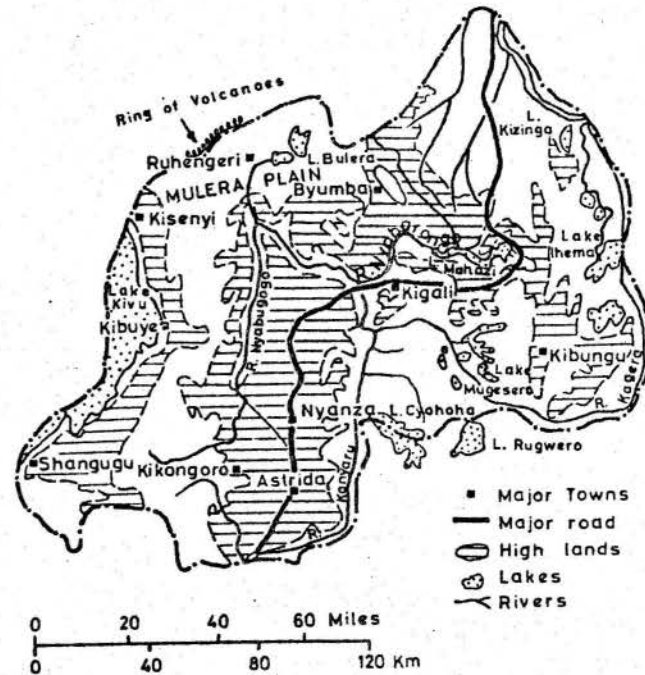
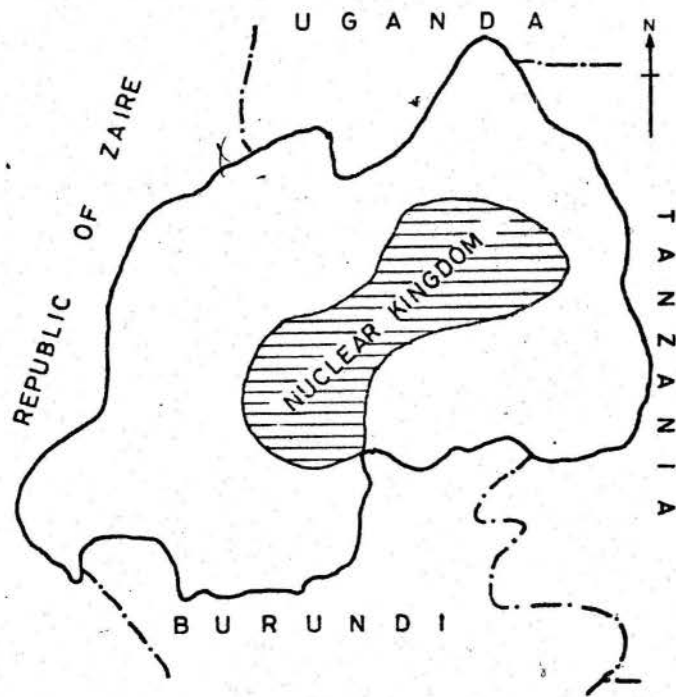




THE "PREMISE OF INEQUALITY" IN RWANDA: A CRITIQUE

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1 (left) *The nuclear kingdom in relation to modern Rwanda*  
 2 (right) *Rwanda: physical features*

Noting that, "a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society and had helped a great deal in acceptance of frustrating conditions," Jacque Maquet (1961:26) delineated this "Premise of Inequality" as an important contribution to the study of Rwandan society.<sup>1</sup> Though the "Premise of Inequality" is the summarized conclusion of the study, it is evident that this critique of an ideology is the fundamental hypothesis in Maquet's study. Just as Max Weber assumed that an ethos growing out of Calvinist theology contributed significantly in the transition to the "iron cage" of "bourgeois capitalism", one can detect a Weberian approach in Maquet's study, beginning with an ethos of ethnic inequality, that contributes to a widespread network of "feudal" relations in Rwandan society. In a politically and ideologically dominated society, it may be the case, that a critique of the ideology could go a long ways in explaining the nature of the social structure and the expropriation of surplus. However, this essay, after outlining Maquet's position, will investigate whether a clearer understanding of the nature of expropriation of surplus value could serve as a more fruitful premise for a study of Rwandan society and, in turn, call into question some of Maquet's work. His use of Weberian "ideal types"; the focus on political relations and neglect of a clear understanding of control over the land, as well as his assumption of an initial fetishization of cattle, and the influence of a European ethnic hypotheses and use of the category of "castes"; all contributing toward the construc-

Not clear who is dominated?  
value?

1?  
(see p.)

1?

tion of a functionalist equilibrium model, are specific points that need to be critiqued.

Following an assumption that has been embedded in the minds of European observers of Rwandan society since the turn of the century, Maquet (1961:135-6) describes a stratified system, divided by a caste structure, along ethnic lines. These he outlines as "ideal types", with each member of the society being born into a caste which, with few exceptions, remains endogamous, having hereditary occupations, stereotyped features, and a clear hierarchy of social power acknowledged. Thus, the Batutsi, constituting 16.5% of the population,<sup>2</sup> occupied a ruling class position with pastoralists skills. The Bahutu, 82.7% of the population, were agriculturalists, and the Batwa, .67%, at the bottom of the caste structure, are described as hunter-gathers, potters, and entertainers.

Though Maquet refrains from the use of a blatant "Hametic hypothesis" (Sanders 1969) attributing ethnic superiority to some African peoples, he accepts the hypothesis of a migration of a pastoralist people into the area long after hunter-gathers and agriculturalists had established themselves.<sup>3</sup> The role of the cattle as a force of production, but more significantly, their use as a symbol in unequal exchange relations, was the formative factor in the shaping of Rwandan social structure. The institutionalizing of the unequal exchange become known in Kinyarwanda as ubahake. In Maquet's words (1971:211) ubahake "is a remarkable instrument which



balances exploitation and protection, solidarity of superiors and cohesion of all". The "ideal type" of ubuhake relation involved a customary granting of the use of one or more head of cattle by a superior person to an inferior person, with the promise of aid and protection in exchange for services. The client (umugaragu) could benefit from the usufruct right over the cattle he had been given, entitling him to the milk male increase, and dead animals while the female increase remained his on the same terms as the original cow(s); to be returned in the event of a breach in the relation. He could also expect the benefit of protection by the patron (shebuja), representation in juridical disputes, aid in times of famine, assistance in the payment of bridewealth, and support for the family of the deceased. In exchange his obligations involved personal services and accompaniment of the patron when at home and when travelling. Further, two out of four working days in a five day week were spent cultivating the patrons garden. Consturction and maintenance of the patrons kraal, and night-watch duty were other customary duties to be performed by the client or by someone appointed by him. In a typical ubuhake relation, a Mututsi patron had a Muhutu client, although a wealthy Mututsi could be patron to a less well-to-do Mututsi. Obligations for Batutsi clients differed some from those of Bahutu clients in the deletion of any requirement of agricultural labor, maintenance work and sentry duty. (Maquet 1961:129-33).

The transition to this stratified society, in Maquet's opinion, began from a center and expanded outward. There is no need to assume any initial military conquest as Batutsi, utilizing the "natural capital" that they had in their herds in a "strategy of domination" involving the formation of ubuhake relationships, gained hegemony (1961:82). "Cattle (in Rwanda) had very much the same function as money in our culture; to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services." As a network of ubuhake relations spread, stratification emerged. Further, the close association of the Batutsi and the political rulers, as well as the collective representation, singing the praises of Batutsi intelligence, beauty and strength in poetry, myth and legend, consolidated this stratification. As in the later European domination, "the racist doctrine was a superstructure arising from an advantageous network of social inequality"<sup>4</sup> (Maquet 1971:156,174).

With the cohesion and strength of this central kingdom consolidated, efforts began to extend domination through conquest followed by tribute gathering administration and then further extension of the ubuhake network. The most intense period of such expansion efforts seems to have been in the last half of the 19th century. Ubuhahe relationships and the ideological dominance was never as thorough in these periphery areas. But an assumption, seems to be that without European

intervention the Rwandan "feudality" would have continued to expand (Maquet 1961; Vansina 1962).

Maquet (1961:133,137) prefers to speak of these ubuhake relations as a qualified form of feudalism. This feudality, he identifies not as a mode of production but as an "institutionalization of that identification of an individual socially weak, with another, socially powerful, who secures for the former the necessary protection against other socially powerful individuals". In Rwandan society, "granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement".

Elsewhere, Maquet (1962:309) defends this use of the term feudal as a term "focused primarily on interpersonal relations... separated from any reference to land ownership", as any parallel to the Roman concept of land ownership is unlikely to be found in "Negro Africa". Thus, feudalism is in Africa, not a mode of production but a political structure defining the institutionalized relations between the governing and the governed members of a society (Maquet 1961b:296).

In Rwanda, ubuhake fulfilled the function of feudality, by providing protection for inferios<sup>✓</sup> by identification without destroying inequality,<sup>&</sup> maintaining social cohesion within the status quo of perpetuated Batutsi privilidges, while preventing the Bahutu from gaining independent control over cattle. As it came to be believed that it was inadvisable for a person of inferior rank to be without a protector and

as the termination of an ubuhake relation could leave the client destitute of not only cattle that had been given to him by his patron, and thier offspring, but, in the case of a Bahutu client, any other cattle (imbata) that he may have acquired through bridewealth payments or other exchanges. Maquet (1961:134) does not speak of ubuhake as a contractual relation but as an agreement. Elsewhere, Maquet (1971:208) clearly states that the material exchange was a very unequal one. The cows did not produce much milk which had to be shared with the calves and benefits of protection were necessary because of the exploitation that the system itself produced.

The Batwa, though only a fraction in the populatn, are clearly differentia<sup>o</sup>ted, in Maquet's model. (1961). They did not enter into ubuhake relations and were not even considered for potential marriages by Batutsi or Bahutu. However, their exchange of pottery goods, entertainment and expio<sup>o</sup>age services, for protection and welfare goods, bound them frequently to wealthy Batusi.

It is in the context of this institutionalization of inequality that the "premise of inequality" is seen to play a dominant role in maintaining social cohesion while perpetuating exploitation. Maquet (1961:165) has summed up this principle in the following terms: "People born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights." ] see notes

The "theorems" that are derived from this premise include:



a strict hierarchy of social relations with paternalistic and dependency attitudes being the norm; a lack of privacy in the life of the inferior with authoritarian patterns characterizing the superiors; the impossibility of strictly contractual relations; and widespread dissimulation of inferiors attitudes, with verbal behavior expressing dependence more than true feelings. (Interestingly this last point betrays a lack of ideological dominance).

On the political level, the Mwami (king) and Queen-mother, advised by cultic guardians of tradition (babiru), from a particular clan, were at the apex of two branches of political authority. A council of high chiefs extended their authority down through a division between land chiefs and cattle chiefs, both of whom a hill chief was subordinated to, followed by family heads. This administrative structure provided for the gathering of tribute, in kind, at harvest time, with the hierarchy of chiefs receiving their share as the tribute was passed on to the royal court. With poor agricultural conditions existing in much of the country, considerable administrative efficacy was required in this tribute gathering function.

On the other hand, a military command structure, presiding over an all Batutsi military, was a separate yet overlapping coercive force for maintaining Batutsi hegemony as well as for extending it, as was mentioned above. With the possibility of land chiefs or cattle chiefs being army chiefs as well as patrons in ubuhake relations, Maquet (1961:140) has noted the

considerable overlap in these structures. However, as separate lines of authority structure, he clearly perceives ubuhake, among them, to be the most significant in shaping Rwandan stratification.

Maquet (1961b; 1962) has theorized the possibility of "feudalism" existing in Africa either with or without a state structure. A state, he defines as a government with a permanent coercive agency. In turn, he is of the opinion (1962:308) that, Rwandan society should not be characterized as being despotic. "A government may be said to be despotic when its power is limitless." In Rwanda there were checks to assure against excessive exploitation and to maintain equilibrium: Ubuhake provided protection for inferiors against severe deprivation in tribute collections. In ubuhake a client could appeal for protection from another patron and terminate an over-exploitive relation. At a higher level, succession of the Mwami was ultimately out of his hands and in the control of the guardians of the traditions who generally chose from among the sons of the Mwami. It becomes clear that, in Maquet's opinion, ubuhake is the dominating feature of Rwandan society. The political structure reinforces a caste solidarity to further assure the perpetuation of ubuhake to the advantage of the Batutsi. Even when Maquet more directly analyses the forces of production, what he finds to be most significant is that the controlling relations of production are extensions of the ubuhake model.

Maquet, together with Saverio Naigiziki (1957), in a study on land rights in pre-colonial Ruanda, recognize a lineage based land management system on which the hegemony of Batutsi domination was superimposed, in the form of land management closely correlated with the political organization. In predominantly agricultural regions, lineage rights were perpetuated as long as tribute was paid to Batutsi chiefs. However, land was, over a period of time, alienated from the lineage collectives as Batutsi chiefs assumed the role of arbitrators of land disputes and awarded usufruct of disputed land to individuals in return for services and tribute. (1957:349). Land that formerly would have fallen back into that belonging to the lineage collective reserve, for lack of an inheritor or some other reason, was likewise alienated. Land alienated by either of these means was called i-sambu, with a form of land clientship emerging. Formerly, in the lineage custom, best described by Lydia Meschi (1974),<sup>5</sup> land was divided according to lineage custom yet could not be sold without the consensus of the entire lineage; remaining, for the most part, inalienable from the lineage.

Unoccupied land and lineage reserves were more directly confiscated, with the imposition of Batutsi grazing rights. A consequence of this was a limitation being set on room for lineage growth resulting in a breakdown of the lineage authority system, with more individualized efforts being made in a quest for patrons. With some variation, use of these pasture

lands (ibikingi) were given by the Mwami to favored clients in return for tribute. These clients could in turn form ubuhake relations and grant grazing rights to clients on these lands. (1957:347).

Again, Maquet, with Naigiziki, (1957:359) focusses on ubuhake as being the "model" of most other relations in Rwanda. The i-sambu land clients, as well as ibikingi pasture clients, are seen as relations that followed the pattern of ubuhake. In concluding, these authors confess a degree of "admiration" for the "particularly remarkable" strategy that enabled the Batutsi to extend their hegemony while leaving the greater part of the population dependent on them for cattle, pasture, and cultivatable land.

Luc de Heusch (1966:146f) has questioned Maquet's analysis and use of the term "feudal". With the political structure in view, de Heusch sees a centralized authoritarian state more appropriately labeled "despotic". Notions of state and royal ideology predominated. This structure emerged in parallel with the spread of ubuhake, with Batutsi clients, being bound to military duty, furnishing the warriors to extend the hegemony of large cattle holders. Thus, the history of the Rwandan monarchy is that of the inauguration of the state. Powerful cattleholders centralized authority, giving it religio-magic legitimation to extend their hegemony and protect themselves against invading neighboring peoples. De Heusch (1966:150) contrasts this transition with European feudalism



that emerged out of the ruins of a crumbled empire, with imperial authority being taken up by feudal lords. But more significantly he refers (!966:154) to the doubtfulness of speaking of a purely pastoral feudality. Though a Roman-like concept of property<sup>ty</sup> may have been absent, the land was essentially under the jurisdiction of the Mwami, and a Batutsi aristocracy, with the Mwami acting more as sovereign than suzerain. Chiefs did not hold any feudal-like entitlement to the land as a fief but acted as fiscal functionaries in the collection of tribute and arbitrators in the maintenance of centralized authority. In conquered territories, not yet dominated with ubahake, large tracts of land were (ibikingi) granted by the Mwami to favored clients who in turn exchanged their use for services and tribute. Continued good-standing with the Mwami was required, including a sharing of the collected tribute.<sup>6 6</sup>

Maquet has clearly emphasized, in his study, the primacy of the ideology legitimizing inequality in the feudal structure, whereas, de Heusch accentuates the influence of the ideology surrounding the monarchy and the political structure. Though these are dominating ideologies, the question has to be raised as to how determinative they are. Maquet (1961:143) tries to avoid an ethnic determinativeness, though these elements become a part of the ideological superstructure reinforced by the stereotypical features of the three castes he refers to. The Batutsi did not possess any superiority in material culture other than their possession of cattle.

Not clear - expand

Even here, it is not certain that the Batutsi were the only ones who owned the cattle.<sup>7</sup> But for Maquet, the Batutsi's use of the cattle, in a fetishized manner to form ubuhake relations of unequal exchange, is crucial. Further, the relatively small population of Batutsi in relation to Bahutu make an equilibrium attainable in an area where agricultural surplus was minimal.<sup>8</sup> 12

Maquet's later study, Power and Society in Africa (1971:206-211) gives a good summary of his theoretical position as he sought to understand a functioning toward equilibrium of unequal social relations in Rwanda. "Feudality", as it occurs in ubuhake, with parallels in neighboring interlacustrine kingdoms, functions to re-inforce a superior caste while acting as a buffer in the struggle between castes. Superior status is translated into power and material advantage. "Inequality artificially creates the need for protection of inferiors. Feudality organizes the purchase of that protection. By this mechanism, the superior...obtained goods and services without equivalent return."

The obvious question at this point is whether it was superior status that translated into power and material advantage or, if it was not the other way around, with status becoming the disguise. The distinction between ideological domination and ideological determinativeness is brought into focus. The research of Claudine Vidal (1969; 1974) is a promising search for a more suitable response to this issue as it occurs in the Rwandan context. She contends (1969:388)

that for Maquet, as well as for de Heusch, an assumption of an anterior "caste" structure is crucial in understanding the transition to an institutionalized stratification, with its accompanying feudal and political structures. In Vidal's words (1969:385), "Les fonctionés de la structure de clientèle se réduisent, en dernière analyse, à assurer la possibilité de la structure de castes." A theoretical impasse emerges in this perspective in the reciprocity of the caste structure and the ubuhake structure. Ubhake assures the caste structure yet the caste structure is anterior to the ubuhake structure. Even for de Heusch (1966:144), ubuhake, beginning as a system of equal exchange, became "perverted" with the consolidation of the Batutsi political structure--still a caste distinction.

Further, Vidal contends that an assumption of an early fetishization of cattle, with clients valuing not so much the cows, but the identification with and protection of a patron that the cattle symbolized, may be occurring more in the minds of anthropologists than it did in the transitional period of history in Rwanda. She admits, however, (1974:73) that this fetishization of cattle did become a prominent feature of Rwanda life, with the exchange value of cattle surpassing their use value, but her consideration of the transition is markedly different than Maquet's.

Recognizing the ideologically valorized and socially superior ubuhake relations, Vidal, nevertheless, searches for a more compelling determinativeness in the relations regulating land rights and control of labor power. After

noting a significant ecological factor, namely, severe and regular famines, she notes the very distinct attitudes on the part of Rwandans in differentiating between the rich and the poor. A division exists between those that are directly engaged in production and those that profit from some form of exploitation of surplus with which they "hire" labor. Among the rich, there was in the 19th century, the royal court and around twenty high chiefs surrounded by an aristocracy that controlled most of the country's cattle and pasture land. Following these, the common patron, who Vidal focusses her study on, occupied a position of subservience to the aristocracy, but still was in a position to expropriate surplus labor value from land, cattle, and hoe clients, as well as from laborers completely alienated from means of production. Most patrons preferred to rent out land for usufruct than to hire free laborers, as it required less supervision and a stabler situation could be realized, with labor being less likely to move on. It did create a much more personal bond, as well, with four to eight percent of the harvest being paid to the patron for use of the land. The rich could be either Batutsi or Bahutu. Rich Bahutu are characterized as having surplus agricultural goods to hire labor with and, perhaps, cattle, to form ubuhake relations with, while they themselves were clients to wealthy patrons. For the Batutsi, wealth was measured, in the eyes of Rwandans, mostly in terms of numbers of cattle with which to subjugate clients, as well as, in numbers of land clients (Vidal 1974:53-62).



"La richesse d'un exploitant se fondait, en dernière analyse, sur le nombre des journaliers qu'il pouvait engager. Eux seuls fournissaient régulièrement le travail qui permettait aux uns de ne pas franchir le seuil de la pauvreté, et aux autres, de maintenir et d'accroître leur fortune." (Vidal 1974:62).

The poor, on the other hand, were essentially those who traded agricultural labor for food, among the Bahutu, and those with few or no cattle to subjugate clients with, among the Batutsi. But there were significant distinctions among poor Bahutu. The most scorned were those completely alienated and forced to trade their labor for subsistence. Such a person may own their own hoe and cultivate a personal plot but paid the two out of four working days for that plot and additional grain that was needed for survival. A surprising ethnographical find for Vidal, (1975:69) was that the, seemingly, more impoverished, who don't even own a hoe and become "hoe clients" doing additional work for the use of a hoe, are considered to be in a better social position. The hoe symbolizes an agreement with parallels to ubuhake. Such a person is recognized by a patron and with this connection has a greater chance for advancement. Above these are land clients, who pay a percent of the harvest for use of land. These together constitute the poor and are not a marginal group, forming as much as half of the population; hiring out to others for survival but never hiring others to work for them. Theirs is a denegated position in the social structure with the common notion among the rich being that laziness,

gluttony and lack of mental ability are the reasons for people remaining laborers. Vidal found there to be a weak social mobility, with economic and social categories rigorously restricted (Vidal 1974:63-68).

On a theoretical level, Vidal, does not resolve the question of how the transition to a stratified society occurred but she does bring into focuss the dialectic between economic coercion and ideology, in the history of Rwanda. Concurring with much of Maquet's analysis of the dominance of "feudal ideology" she questions his assumption of how it emerged and whether any real equilibrium was realized. Maquet's caste hypothesis is more of a theoretical necessity for him than a historically substantiated point. Though a tribal identity remained among Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa, any caste associations could have come with the stratification rather than proceeding it. As for equilibrium, ubuhake relations certainly pacified a critical strata of society, but not without the constant threat of shame and starvation that was the experience of the laboring class.

Likewise, on the question of the fetishization of cattle, Vidal, concurs with Maquet that this has become central, in the ideology of the society, though it didn't begin that way. In her words (1974:73); "Si la vache s'averait richesse par excellence, c'est qu'elle la démontrait. Mais elle signifiait bien plus. Liée au groupe dominant, autrefois peuple pasteur, elle incarnait l'essentiel de ses valeurs et de sa civilisation. Le développement de l'État avait opéré

une synthèse du mode de production pastoral et du mode de production agricole et mis en place les rapports de domination et d'exploitation dont nous avons montré le schéma. La vache exprimait l'ambiguïté fondamentale de cette formation sociale: elle symbolisait l'emprise idéologique du lien d'homme à homme, instrument de domination politique, et en même temps, elle manifestait la démarcation objective entre ceux--Tutsi or Hutu--que la féodalité avait privilégiés, et ceux qu'elle avait déshérités. Fétichisée par la société, sa possession représentait pour tout Rwandais l'accomplissement d'une vie réussie. 'Rien ne surpasse la vache', disait un proverbe que personne ne contestait. Ainsi la lente histoire de la domination avait-elle forgé une mentalité et donné à l'État les armes idéologiques indispensables à la consolidation de son pouvoir économique."

With the ethnographical data that Vidal presents one has to question whether Maquet's focus on an ideological premise does not go far enough in unmasking the exploitation that occurred in the central Rwandan social structure. There is no doubt that tribal identities remained, but to speak of these as castes is a European colonialist's way of ideologically transforming class structure into a seemingly "homogenous" continuous scale that only reinforces a "premise of inequality". Doubtlessly, members of the Batutsi tribe controlled most of the means of production in the central kingdom area, but classes were not divided along tribal lines.

Good

Significantly, the ubuhake system mediated between laboring and non-laboring classes by providing mystification and a buffer that impeded class polarization. Further, Maquet has taken his ideal types from the central kingdom area assuming that there would have been a gradual assimilation of conquered areas into the ubuhake system, even without European intervention. The social formation, however, differed in the periphery conquered areas from at the core where effectively assured exploitation made possible the maintenance of a strong military for expansionist ventures and control of tribute gathering in conquered areas. The situation was so much in flux that it is understandable how Maquet, in focussing on the core could speak of it being "feudal", while de Heusch, looking at the entire social formation speaks of despotism. Core and periphery may be appropriate labels in as much as tribute flowed toward the central monarchial regime but it was anything but a well functioning system. Northern conquered territories launched severe resistance early in the twentieth century that was only quelled by German led forces.<sup>9</sup> It was not an equilibrium situation, with imperialistic ventures being resisted, and thus a setting where a functionalist-equilibrium model would fail to do justice to the historical context. It becomes obvious that use of the category of ideal types is an effort toward overcoming this deficiency, but not altogether successfully.

As for the "premise of inequality", there is no doubt but that the presence of the Mwami and Batutsi aristocracy was strongly felt in central Rwanda. But as has been noted, inequality was not divided along "caste" lines or even tribal



lines in ubuhake relations. According to Vidal, the poor were not considered to be poor because of their caste but because of their laziness etc. And it is doubtful that a poor laborer excepted his lot as part of his tribal identity.

Maquet is certainly part right in identifying an ethos surrounding ubuhake, as de Heusch considers the ethos surrounding the monarchy, and there certainly was an ethos surrounding the possession of cattle, at least in the central kingdom region. These were certainly dominating ideological influences masking the exploitation that occurred and leading to an acceptance and perpetuation of frustrating conditions. What determined the emergence of these conditions might be better found, as has been suggested, in focusing on the shrewdness and coercion that alienated people from their lineage lands.

Maquet certainly knows the ethnography of Rwanda as well as anyone. But he seems to be somewhat enamored with the nature of Batutsi hegemony, while at the same time concerned about inequality--an ambivalence that characterized the history of colonial administration and mission efforts in Rwanda (Linden 1977). What has become clear in this study is how ethnographical data can be shaped by a theoretical framework as has been noted in the contrast between Maquet's interest primarily in the superstructure and use of an equilibrium model, and Vidal's scrutiny of the infrastructure with historical-materialist insights.

Excellent! You could have developed more systematically the critique of how such an ideology may be generated by the mode of production (tributary?) involved?

END NOTES

1. The original French version of this work appeared in 1954 as, Les systèmes des relations sociales dan le Ruanda ancien, Belgique: Tervuren, at a time when steps were being taken to alter what Maquet considers to be the central legitimizing institution of this inequality, as well be shown in this essay. His work, among others, could have contributed to the "ethnic" split in the revolutionary struggles of the late fifties and early sixties. Li
2. These figures are from a 1956 demographic survey.
3. In his Power and Society in Africa (1971:142) Maquet changes his views, speculating that initial "negrillo type" hunter-gathers in the interlucustrine area were followed by early (first milleniam b.c. ) Ethiopid herdsmen. Bantu speaking cultivatirs began arriving and absorbing the earlier herdsmen around 100 A.D. Later Ethiopid nomad warriors migrating into the region, beginning around the 13-14th centuries included among them the Chezi, Hima and Tutsi. A later 15th century Luo, Nilotic warrior herdsmen, migration from the north established the dingdom of Bunyoro.
4. Maquet says this in regard to Eurpean colonial racism. Though the same thing might be said of the transition to stratification, Maquet does not directly say so, remaining ambiguous, although his theoretical model seems to require a denial of this, with an assumption of an innitial ethnic inequality--as will be shown.
5. Meschi's study is limited to one hill in southern Rwanda.
6. Dispute over ownership of thses tracts of land was a major source of discontent among peasants on the eve of the revolution in 1959-62.
7. In fact Bahutu did own cattle (imbata) derived from exchanges and bridewealth payments. However, Maquet's ideal type of Bahutu does not have secure independent ownership of cattle.
8. This last point may indicate more about Maquet's "caste" bias than determination of stratification.

9. Historically, what did occur, was an extension and reification of a Batutsi dominated political structure by the colonial powers in their implementation of a policy of indirect rule--a further mediatorial masking of exploitation.

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