



**Colonization and Evangelization: Power dynamics and ethnicity
in the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy in
Burundi under the Belgian colonial administration
(1916 – 1961)**

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Declaration

I, Ezéchiél Rivuzimana, declare that

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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Ezéchiél Rivuzimana



1 February 2016

Prof Philippe Denis



1 February 2016

Dedication

*This study is dedicated to the very
first missionaries who died on the soil of
Burundi endeavouring to spread the
Good News of Jesus Christ.*

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my thanks to Msgr Stanislas Kuburungu, Bishop Emeritus of Ngozi, who gave me the first insights about the history of the missionary activity in Burundi. The information, especially, the documentation I got from him enabled me undertaking this study unhesitantly.

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May Almighty God bless each and every one of all the above-mentioned people.

List of abbreviations

C.EP.R :	Conférence épiscopale du Rwanda
COREB:	Conférence des Ordinaires du Rwanda et du Burundi
CRA :	Centre des recherches Africaines
CSP:	Conseil Supérieur du Pays
DACB:	Dictionary of African Christian Biography
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
ed(s):	Editor (s)
et al:	and others
Fr:	Father
Ibid:	Ibidem
M. Afr:	Missionary of Africa
Msgr:	Monsignor
NB:	Nota bene
n.d:	no date
no:	numero
n.p:	“no Publisher”, “no place” or “no page”
OMI:	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
SDN:	Société des Nations
s.ed. :	Sans éditeur
s.l :	Sans lieu
UCM :	Union du clergé Murundi
UN:	United Nations
Url:	Uniform resource locator
UPRONA:	Unité pour le Progrès National
WWI:	The first World War
WWII:	The second Word War

Wherever the local clergy exist in sufficient numbers, and are suitably trained and worthy of their holy vocation, there you can justly assume that the work of the missionary has been successful and that the Church has laid her foundations well.

Pope Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud* (1919), no.16.

Contents

Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	iii
List of abbreviations.....	iv
Contents.....	vi
Abstract.....	1
Chapter One.....	2
General introduction.....	2
1.1. Background to the research problem	2
1.2. Statement of research question	4
1.3. Statement of research objectives	4
1.4. Literature review.....	4
1.5. Theoretical framework	6
1.6. Research methodology	8
1.7. Structure of the study	9
1.8. A note on spelling and clarification of terms.....	9
1.8.1. Spelling.....	9
1.8.2. Clarification of terms.....	9
Chapter two	11
Overview of the history of colonization and the Catholic evangelization in Burundi	11
2.1. Overview of the history of colonization in Burundi.....	11
2.1.1. Beginning of colonization of Burundi.....	11
2.1.2. The German occupation.....	12
2.1.3. The Belgian occupation.....	14
2.2. Overview of the history of Catholic evangelization in Burundi	16
2.2.1. General context of the Catholic evangelization in Burundi	17
2.2.2. Major subdivisions of the history of the Burundian Catholic evangelization from its beginning until 1961	18
2.3. Summary of the Chapter.....	26
Chapter three.....	27
Power dynamics in Burundi during the period 1916-1961.....	27
3.1. Burundian people.....	27

3.1.1. Physical characteristics of Burundian people	29
3.1.2. The 'Hamitic theory'	31
3.1.3. The social relations between Burundian people	31
3.2. Legacies of colonists and missionaries: 1916-1961	34
3.2.1. German colonists and missionaries	35
3.2.2. Belgian colonists and Missionaries	37
3.3. Summary of the Chapter	41
Chapter four	43
Development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy	43
4.1. The training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy	43
4.1.1. The seminaries	43
4.1.2. The first Burundian seminarians	46
4.2. The growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy	53
4.2.1. The ordination of the first Burundian Catholic priests: 1925-1961	53
4.2.2. Progress of Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy	59
4.3. Analysis	61
4.3.1. Tables and graphics	61
4.3.2. Ethnic groups classification of the Burundian priests ordained between 1940 and 1961	70
4.4. The status of the Burundian Catholic priests	75
4.4.1. Burundian Catholic priests, Missionaries and Colonizers	75
4.4.2. The Burundian Catholic priests and the Burundian people	77
4.4.3. The Burundian Catholic priests and the independence movement	77
4.5. Summary of the chapter	81
Chapter five	83
General conclusion	83
5.1. Assessment of the study's contribution to knowledge	83
5.2. Areas for future research	86
5.3. Religion and ethnicity in Burundi	88
Bibliography	91
Appendix	102

Abstract

Jean Pierre Chrétien argues: “The Great Lakes of Africa is a crucial region for historical research not only because its history is particularly fascinating but also because the tragedies of its present are very much a function of the political manipulations of its past.”¹ This statement is suitable politically, in reference to the effects of the colonization but, to some extent, it also stands religiously, in reference to the missionary activity in the Great Lakes region of which Burundi is part.

In this study I postulate that the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy was influenced by the manipulations of colonization. The power dynamics around the ethnic issue occurring in the Burundian colonial period, especially during the Belgian administration, changed Burundian society with regard to the relations that existed among Burundians. The interaction of the colonizers, especially, the Belgian administrators, with the missionaries played a big role, as noted by an analyst: “The Belgian administrators in Burundi were favourably disposed toward missionaries, because of their assumption that colonial goals could be more easily realized in a society embracing Christian, social and moral principles.”²

However, in promoting these principles the European man did not respect the socio-economic and culture differences existing between Burundian people, as far as ethnic groups were concerned. Instead the European man imposed an ideology which totally changed the social relations between Burundian people resulting in a conflict of identities. Unfortunately, the training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy started during this period of social confusion created by the European ideology. This may partly explain the ethnic inequalities that characterised the development of this clergy throughout the colonial period, the period around the independence, and even today. Solutions for getting out of this state of affairs are not easy to design in such a short study. All I can suggest is that the Burundian Catholic Church leaders should reflect on the historical legacies of both colonizers and missionaries in order to allow the Burundian clergy to rediscover where they come from, where they are now and most importantly how they have got there. This would enable them moving forward.

¹ See Jean Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa. Two Thousand Years of History* .Trans. by Scott Straus (New York: Zone Books, 2003), on the inside of the front cover.

² Gordon C. McDonald et al., *Area Handbook for Burundi* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), 69.

Chapter One

General introduction

1.1. Background to the research problem

This study is located in the field of History of Christianity. It is about Burundi³, one of the countries that form the African Great Lakes region⁴. The main interest of the study is the development of the Burundian indigenous clergy during the period of the Belgian administration, from 1916 to the independence of Burundi on 1 July 1962. More precisely, the period covered by the study goes from 1916 and stops in 1961, the date when Burundi held its first legislative elections that led to its independence⁵. The year 1961 is also significant with regard to Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy because it was during this year that a Burundian bishop (André Makarakiza) was appointed to replace⁶, for the first time in the history of the Catholic Church of Burundi, a missionary bishop (Msgr Joseph Martin)⁷. In addition, 1961 is the year during which the highest number of Burundian Catholic priests was ordained during the period before independence of Burundi. So the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, in this study, will then be assessed for the period 1916-1961, a period of 45 years. Like its South Africa counterpart the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy has encountered not only race-based inequalities—as is the case for South Africa⁸— but also and especially ethnicity-based inequalities. In Burundi, it has been documented that, on one hand, the

³ See the figure 2 of the appendix.

⁴ See figure 1 of the appendix. Méthode Gahungu states: “The African great lakes region consists of the countries that surround the african great lakes. It comprises Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. This territory surrounds the African Great Lakes: Victoria, Tanganyika, Kivu, Albert, Edward and Malawi (Nyassa)”. See Méthode Gahungu, *La formation dans les séminaires en Afrique: Pédagogie des Pères Blancs* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), 16.

⁵ The following information confirms it: “In preparation for independence elections were conducted in September 1961.” See “Burundi: Belgian colonial rule (1916-1962)”, accessed July 23, 2014, url: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/burundi-belgian-colonial-rule-1916-1962>. This other information is in the same line: “On December 21, 1961, Burundi was granted internal autonomy”. See “The world at war: Ruanda-Urundi 1914-1962”, accessed November 13, 2014, url: <http://www.schudak.de/timelines/ruanda-urundi1914-1962.html>.

⁶ Here, the stress has to be put on ‘replacement’, otherwise the first Burundian indigenous bishop to be appointed in the history of the Burundian Catholic Church was Bishop Michel Ntuyahaga (consecrated on October 11, 1959). The vicariate of Bujumbura, newly created, was entrusted to him. He did not then replace anyone. See Warren Weinstein, *Historical Dictionary of Burundi* (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1976), 176. See also *Annuaire ecclésiastique du Burundi* (1979), 226.

⁷ See Warren Weinstein, *Historical Dictionary of Burundi*, 33.

⁸ During the research related to my Honours project I did in the University of KwaZulu-Natal for the academic year 2013, I worked on the following topic: “*The Development of an Indigenous Clergy within the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) in the Natal Province from 1901 to 1994. A Critical Analysis of Sources.*” During the research I discovered that the South African Catholic indigenous clergy encountered race-based inequalities throughout its history, especially, during the apartheid era.

so-called ethnic groups were created or rather intensified by the colonizers and missionaries who were favouring (for most of the time they spent in Burundi) the minority Tutsi to the detriment of the majority Hutu ethnic group⁹; and, on the other hand, the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy was influenced by ethnic matters¹⁰. For instance, while most of the first Burundian priests were Hutu, the first two Burundian bishops were both Tutsi. Similar ethnicity-based inequalities continued to be observed within the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy after the colonizers and missionaries had left Burundi.

Therefore, I have realised the need to investigate the role played by power dynamics in Burundi during the period of the Belgian colonial administration. In this study, the word ‘dynamics’ means the forces or properties which stimulate growth, development, or change within a system or process.¹¹ ‘Power dynamics’ refer to the relations between role-players such as the Belgian colonial administration, the missionaries, the local authorities, the Holy see, the Burundian indigenous clergy, the Burundian people, etc. These relations will be analysed with regard to the evangelization in Burundi, in general, and to the training and the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, in particular, as far as ethnicity is concerned. This is what leads to the main research question and to its correlative sub-questions and objectives.

⁹ This is how Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja understands things. He states: “The missionaries, colonial anthropologists and other Belgium ideologies that had created the myth of Tutsi superiority, found it expedient to portray the Tutsi as an aristocracy of alien origins that should relinquish power to the oppressed Hutu indigenous majority. [...] With the intensification of oppression under colonialism, ethnic categories came to be more rigidly defined, while the disadvantages of being Hutu and the advantages of being Tutsi increased significantly.” See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, «Ethnic Identification in the Great Lakes Region» in Simon Bekker, Martine Dodds, Meshak M. Khosa , eds., *Shifting African Identities* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2001): 64-65. Jean-Pierre Chrétien noted the same. He said : “Il est essentiel d’identifier le jeu politique et culturel des colonisateurs dont une des passions a été précisément de reconstruire la société traditionnelle dans les faits et dans les esprits. Tout en prétendant rétablir la coutume dans sa pureté primitive, l’administration belge entreprend dans les années 30 d’épurer le milieu dirigeant local de ses éléments Hutu. Elle sélectionne de plus en plus exclusivement dans les années 40 et 50 les fils de Tutsi pour l’entrée à l’école d’Astrida, le seul établissement secondaire, autre que les séminaires, où soient formés alors les futurs cadres des deux pays le Rwanda et le Burundi. Plus des trois quarts des élèves rwandais recrutés entre 1932 et 1957 sont Tutsi. On cultiva alors chez cette élite un esprit d’aristocratie naturelle.” See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, « Le défi de l’intégrisme ethnique dans l’historiographie africaniste: le cas du Ruanda et du Burundi », *Politique Africaine*, no. 46 (1992): 73.

¹⁰ Msgr Julien Gorju, Vicar apostolic of Urundi (Burundi) during the period 1912-1936, in 1929, wrote a book entitled *Statuts synodaux du vicariat de l’Urundi* in which, with regard to the conditions of recruitment of Burundian seminarians, he stated that the Tutsi subjects were more preferable than the Hutu ones. The quotation stating this will be provided later.

¹¹ See <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/dynamics>, accessed July 12, 2014.

1.2. Statement of research question

The main question of this study is the following: How did the power dynamics present in the Belgian colonial system in Burundi shape the evangelization, in general, and the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy, in particular, as far as ethnicity is concerned?

In order to respond to this question, the study asks some other sub-questions. Firstly, how was the training of the members of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi planned by the missionaries, during the period 1916-1961? Secondly, which influence did the relationship between the Belgian authorities and the Catholic missionaries have on the training and the growth of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi? Thirdly, how were the members of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy (Hutu and Tutsi) perceived by the missionaries together with the colonizers, on one hand, and by the Burundian people, on the other hand? Fourthly, how were the first Catholic Burundian priests (Hutu and Tutsi) involved in the independence movement in Burundi? And lastly, what role did ethnicity play in the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi for the period before independence?

1.3. Statement of research objectives

In correlation with the five sub-questions above outlined, this study aims to, firstly, study the way the Catholic missionaries envisaged the training of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi, during the period 1916-1961. It will, secondly, critically analyse the impact of the relationship between the Belgian authorities and the Catholic missionaries to the training and the growth of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi. Thirdly, the study will interrogate the status the members of the Catholic indigenous clergy (Hutu and Tutsi) had in the eyes of the missionaries together with the colonizers, on one hand, and of the Burundian people, on the other hand. Fourthly, the study will try to find out to what degree the first Catholic Burundian priests (Hutu and Tutsi) were involved in the independence movement. The study will, lastly, assess the role played by the ethnic factor with regard to the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi during the period before independence.

1.4. Literature review

A certain number of studies have been written on the history of the colonization of Burundi, the evangelization of the country, the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy and on ethnicity. One of the most relevant works is that of Méthode Gahungu, *La formation dans les*

*séminaires en Afrique: pédagogie des Pères Blancs*¹² (The training in the seminaries in Africa: Methodology of White Fathers). In this book Gahungu discusses the methods used by missionaries in the training of indigenous seminarians of the Great Lakes region, including Burundi. Relevant information in regard to the training of the Catholic indigenous clergy in Burundi is given. However, it does not show the role played by the colonizers.

My study will make a contribution in this regard. Another interesting work is the one by Joseph Gahama, *Le Burundi sous l'administration belge. La période du mandat, 1919-1939*¹³ (Burundi under Belgian administration. The period of the mandate, 1919-1939) which deals with the Belgian administration in Burundi, between the two World Wars. The book gives some insights on how Belgians and Catholic missionaries were involved in the training of the Catholic indigenous clergy and how these two groups of people (colonizers and missionaries) were perceived by Burundians. Even though the book stops in 1939, it shows how the Catholic indigenous clergy trained by these missionaries liaising with the colonizers were perceived. Another valuable work is that by Alison Des Forges, "Kings without crowns: the White Fathers in Rwanda."¹⁴ Des Forges describes the power dynamics between the colonizers, the missionaries, the Rwandan people and the king. She examines how these categories of people played around the ethnic issue and how this later shaped the socio-political life of the Rwandan society with regard to conversion to Catholic faith and education. The article by Des Forges is important to my study because of these two elements (faith and education) impacted on the recruitment, the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic clergy given that what was happening in Rwanda was also happening in Burundi. I will then make use of this work, especially, with regard to the focus of the colonizers and the missionaries in the training of Burundian seminarians, as far as their ethnic groups were concerned.

To complement Des Forges' information, I will use also the work of Augustin Mvuyekure, *Le Catholicisme au Burundi: 1922-1962. Approche historique des conversions*¹⁵ (Catholicism in Burundi: 1922-1962. Historical approach to conversions.) In this book, Mvuyekure describes the techniques used by the missionaries to persuade Burundians to convert to the Catholic faith. The training of seminaries was part of these techniques. The ethnic factor played a role in the conversion

¹² Gahungu, Méthode, *La formation dans les séminaires en Afrique: Pédagogie des Pères Blancs*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.

¹³ Gahama, Joseph, *Le Burundi sous l'administration belge. La période du mandat, 1919-1939*. Paris: Karthala, 1983.

¹⁴ Des Forges, Alison, "Kings without crowns: the White Fathers in Rwanda." In Daniel McCall, Norman Bennett, and Jeffrey Butler, Eds., *Eastern African History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 176-207.

¹⁵ Mvuyekure, Augustin, *Le Catholicisme au Burundi: 1922-1962. Approche historique des conversions*. Paris: Karthala, 2003.

of the Burundian people to Christianity and in the training of the first Burundian missionaries. The result is an imbalance between the number of Burundian Hutu and Tutsi priests, for the priests ordained before 1940. My study will analyse Mvuyekure's figures and also will try to examine the possible historical dynamics that may have contributed to that situation.

On ethnicity in Burundi another relevant work is that of Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi"¹⁶ ("Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda and Burundi"). This article explores the strange situation of two separate ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi, who share the same language, culture and territory. The 'Hamitic theory' describing the origin of the Tutsi is also examined. I will be using this article to show how this Hamitic theory influenced the evangelization in Burundi, especially, the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

All these works will help me to analyse the extent to which the ethnic factor shaped the training and the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

1.5. Theoretical framework

Directly, my study discusses how the Belgian authorities alongside the missionaries shaped the ethnic group matter and, indirectly, the training and the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy. The theoretical framework of this study is the postcolonial perspective.

My understanding of the postcolonial perspective, as suggested by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin in their book *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*¹⁷, is that 'postcolonialism' does not only have a chronological meaning but rather has a wide meaning in diverse ways. Therefore, applied to Burundi, 'postcolonialism' takes into account the effects of the colonization to Burundian society for both pre- and post-independence period, whereby the legacy of the metropolis (Belgium) is analysed from the view of the colonial periphery, with regard to ethnic group matters.

¹⁶ Chrétien, Jean-Pierre, "Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi", in Jean-Loup Amselle, Elikia M'bokolo, eds., *Au cœur de l'ethnie. Ethnies, tribalisme et Etat en Afrique*. Paris: La Découverte, 1985, 129-165.

¹⁷ Ashcroft, Bill, et al., *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.

In this book, 'Post-colonialism' is defined in these terms: "'Post-colonialism' (or often 'postcolonialism') deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies. As originally used by historians after the second World War in terms such as the post-colonial state, 'post-colonial' had a clearly chronological meaning, designating the post-independence period. However, from the late 1970s the term has been used by literary critics to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization [...]. Postcolonialism is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities." See Bill Ashcroft et al., op. cit., 186-187.

On one hand, considering this postcolonial approach, especially concerning the ethnicity factor as it was shaped by the power dynamics of the colonizers and missionaries, my study will follow the principles contained in the works of the French historian Jean-Pierre Chrétien and in particular two studies, “Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi”¹⁸ and *Rwanda. Mille collines, mille douleurs*¹⁹ (Rwanda. Thousand Hills, a Thousand Pains). In both studies Chrétien explores the strange situation of two separate ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi who share the same language, culture and territory and yet they are regarded as two different ethnic groups. He emphasizes that the two ethnic groups existed before the colonization period, were flexible, lived in harmony, and none of the two did consider the other as foreign. Only differences in the social status between the two ethnic groups were observed. For Jean-Pierre Chrétien, the ethnic groups in both countries, Burundi and Rwanda, anthropologically do not have any basis. They were basically class differences rather than ethnic group classifications. The physical characteristics of these so-called ethnic groups, according to Jean-Pierre Chrétien, were exaggerated and rigidified by colonial anthropologists together with missionaries basing on the basis of the socio-economic and cultural differences.

So this study is going to critically look at the categories used by the colonizers and missionaries to describe the two ethnic groups and how these categories (though not objective) influenced the Burundian society, in general, and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, in particular, during the period before and, somehow, after independence.

On the other hand, bearing in mind the postcolonial approach, with regard to the Hamitic theory²⁰, the study will follow the principles found in the book of Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*²¹. The book is about the incorporation of the *Tswana* peoples into a colonized, and later a postcolonized, state. The Comaroffs show the juncture of history and anthropology in which the Christian missions were caught up from the start. They point out how important were the divisions within colonizing populations; how they were related to distinctions, at home and abroad, of class, gender, and nation; how over time, they played across the racial line between ruler and ruled, creating new affinities and alliances. Even though the Burundian case considered in this study is not really about race²² but rather about ethnic groups, given that the relationships between Burundian people and the Belgian

¹⁸ Chrétien, Jean-Pierre, op. cit.

¹⁹ Chrétien, Jean-Pierre, *RWANDA. Mille collines, mille douleurs*. Bruxelles: Editions Nevicata, 2014.

²⁰ In this study there will be a separate section in which the Hamitic theory will be clearly defined and widely discussed.

²¹ Comaroff, Jean and John, *Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*. Vol.1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

²² In Burundi and Rwanda, in general, Hutu and Tutsi are not referred to as two different races. However, Jean-Pierre-Chrétien used the term “race” to mean Hutu and Tutsi in the context of the genocide in Rwanda.

colonizers together with the missionaries were shifting in terms of pastoral interests throughout the history of the Burundian society and that of the Catholic Church, the approach of the Comaroffs will be useful. In this regard, the study will examine on what were built the affinities that existed between the Belgians and the Tutsi, who were considered, for a long period of the history of the colonial Ruanda-Urundi, as a ruling ethnic group to the detriment of the ruled Hutu basing on the Hamitic theory²³.

1.6. Research methodology

In this study I shall follow a historical approach. I will historically and critically analyse the documents written by different categories of people on colonization and evangelization in Burundi. These documents include primary sources as well as different secondary documents. These will include not only the documents about Burundi but also those written about countries such as Rwanda²⁴, Tanzania, Kenya, DRC and even South Africa for the sake of comparison. For the documents talking about the colonization of Burundi, those containing the information related to Belgian administration will be privileged. As to the documents talking about the evangelization of Burundi, accent will be put on the work done by the Catholic missionaries in Burundi, especially the role they played in the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

However, given the fact that most of the primary sources in relation to my study are not housed in Burundi but rather in Belgium and in Rome, a big number of the documents that are used in this study are secondary documents. In addition, being not in Burundi during the time of this research, I did not have the opportunity to formally conduct interviews with the members of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy who might have a testimony to give for the study. However, some written documents they kept in their private archive were consulted in depth and will enhance the quality of the study.

²³ The explanation of the Hamitic theory will occupy a whole section in this study.

²⁴ It is important to use documents referring to Rwanda in order to illustrate the conditions in Burundi for two reasons. Firstly, politically, Rwanda and Burundi, during the whole period of colonization were administered together as one country, Ruanda-Urundi. This would be clear in the annual reports of the Belgian administration of Ruanda-Urundi territory. In addition, the three ethnic groups of the people in both countries, Rwanda and Burundi, are the same. Secondly, ecclesiastically, the two countries Rwanda and Burundi shared many things with regard to the development of the Catholic indigenous clergy to the extent that since 1960, the two countries had a common Bishops' Conference, as Jean-Perraudin states: « Une conférence épiscopale commune aux deux pays fut constituée au cours de l'année 1960. [...] L'approbation officielle fut notifiée aux Evêques par une lettre du 6 décembre 1960. Elle émanait de la Congrégation de la Propagande. Du côté de la Belgique, la reconnaissance civile fut accordée sans difficulté par un arrêté royal du 27 décembre 1960 ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*. Tome II (Bujumbura: Presses Lavigerie, 1996), 23-25.

1.7. Structure of the study

The study comprises five chapters. The first chapter contains the general introduction, which encompasses the background to the research problem, the statement of research question and that of research objectives, the literature review, the theoretical framework, the research methodology, the structure of the study and a note on spelling and clarification of terms. The second chapter gives an overview of the history of the colonization and that of the Catholic evangelization in Burundi, whereas the third chapter emphasizes the power dynamics in Burundi during the period of the Belgian colonial administration. The fourth chapter focuses on the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy of which the training of Burundian seminarians and the growth of the Burundian indigenous clergy constitute the main sections. In the same chapter the status of the Burundian indigenous priests and the role played by some of them in the independence movement are discussed. Lastly, in the fifth chapter a general conclusion is drawn.

1.8. A note on spelling and clarification of terms

1.8.1. Spelling²⁵

Kirundi is a Bantu language which employs prefixes and suffixes and is tonal. Kirundi is the language of the Barundi (Burundians) spoken in Burundi. The singular for animate nouns is *umu* (or *mu*) and the plural is *aba* (or *ba*): for example, *umuganwa* or *muganwa* (in singular) and *abaganwa* or *baganwa* (in plural). The ethnic labels, in plural, are Tutsi, Hutu and Twa but other forms are *Abatutsi* (or *Batutsi*); *Abahutu* (or *Bahutu*) and *Abatwa* (or *Batwa*). This study will use the forms Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, whether in singular or in plural.

1.8.2. Clarification of terms

Clergy: The word « clergy » is understood in the broadest sense. It refers both to ordained and non-ordained ministers²⁶. But in this study, among these ministers, will only be considered the males within the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

Indigenous: Etymologically, the adjective *indigenous* means "native" or "born within". In the religious sense the word "indigenous" is controversial. Its meaning depends on the relationship one has to the African heritage. Some authors only consider those clergy to be indigenous whose

²⁵ Some of the elements of this note on spelling were made by Warren Weinstein, op. cit., xvii.

²⁶ See Philippe Denis, ed., *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), 10.

ancestors were born on the African continent²⁷. In this study “Indigenous” is to be understood as locally-born, meaning born Burundian.

Ruanda: Swahili version of Rwanda used by Germans and Belgian administration.

Urundi: Swahili version of Burundi used by German and Belgian authorities.

Usumbura: The Swahili name for Bujumbura, the current capital city of Burundi. After 1916 it became the seat of Belgium’s administration for both Burundi and Rwanda. Usumbura was the official name until the city was incorporated fully into Burundi in 1959/1960. At that time the Kirundi form, Bujumbura, was adopted²⁸.

Ruanda-Urundi: The official name applied to the mandated territories given to Belgium after the World War I²⁹. Ruanda-Urundi was changed to Rwanda and Burundi in 1961³⁰.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 284.

²⁹ In fact, ‘Ruanda-Urundi’ existed before the World War I not as a territory but rather a military-administrative district of German East Africa. The following information confirms: “In 1890 the kingdom (called Urundi) and the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda were formally incorporated into German East Africa, but only in 1896 was the first military presence established in Usumbura and in 1899 was Ruanda-Urundi constituted as a military-administrative district administered from German East Africa.” See Kristina A. Bentley and Roger Southall, *An African Peace Process: Mandela, South Africa and Burundi* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2005), 32.

³⁰ See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 247.

Chapter two

Overview of the history of colonization and the Catholic evangelization in Burundi

2.1. Overview of the history of colonization in Burundi

Burundi was among the last areas of Africa to be penetrated by Europeans. It was penetrated during the second half of the 19th century because of the difficulty of access and the remoteness of the area³¹. The colonial period in Burundi covered more than half a century. It started when Urundi was still a kingdom. Urundi was successively administered by Germany and Belgium. The period of German occupation was short (1896-1916) but that of the Belgian administration was quite long (1916-1961). Before presenting certain details related to these two occupations, it is important to give the general context in which the colonization of Burundi started.

2.1.1. Beginning of colonization of Burundi

Two major things contributed to the start of the colonization of Burundi during the second half of the 19th century. These were the exploration of the areas of Ruanda, Urundi and the Lake Tanganyika and the Berlin Conference.

a. Explorations of the Lake Tanganyika

The first Europeans who entered Burundi were explorers. John Hanning Speke and Richard Francis Burton, both born in England, were the first people from overseas to visit Burundi as they explored the Lake Tanganyika. They wanted to discover the source of the Nile River that they had hoped to find at the northern end of the lake. On 14 April 1858³² they reached the southern limit of Urundi. Speke and Burton did not stay long in Urundi. After two days in the south of Urundi, they left for Uvira, on the northwest of the Lake Tanganyika. There they realised that the Rusizi river—the natural western frontier of Ruanda-Urundi—flowed into and not out of the lake. They had discovered that the Lake Tanganyika was not the source of the Nile. Another explorer who visited Urundi, the interior of the country this time, during the second half of the nineteenth century was an Austrian by

³¹ It is Gordon C. McDonald et al. who say it: “Remoteness and difficulty of access caused the area of Rwanda and Burundi to be one of the last regions of Africa to be penetrated by Europeans.” See Gordon C. McDonald et al., 8.

³² William Roger Louis, *Rwanda-Urundi 1884-1919* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 102.

the name of Oscar Baumann³³. This period of exploration in the Great Lakes' region of the African continent went until 1892³⁴. However, after the Berlin conference (1885), the explorations opened the way to colonial administration³⁵ and the period of the colonization of Burundi started.

b. The Berlin Conference: 1884-1885

During the period of explorations above-mentioned, the areas of Ruanda and Urundi had remained almost unexplored. This was due to the fact that the explorers were more interested in discovering geographical features like the source of the Nile River rather than the kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi as such. The real exploration or, in other words, the colonization of Ruanda-Urundi came after the division of Africa into spheres of European influence during the Conference of Berlin (1884-1885)³⁶. In this conference, the kingdoms of Urundi and Ruanda were given to German.

2.1.2. The German occupation

In 1885, although the Conference of Berlin designated Ruanda-Urundi as a sphere of German interest, it was not until the 1890s that the Government of German East Africa extended its authority to the territory³⁷. It is important to note that by 1890 German East Africa comprised the modern-day territories of Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. It was therefore in 1896 that a German military post was founded in Usumbura. The German occupation of Ruanda-Urundi had thus started. Usumbura remained the administrative centre for the two kingdoms (Urundi and Ruanda) until the establishment of the German Resident for Urundi in 1906 and for Ruanda in 1907³⁸. With the establishment of residencies in Urundi and Ruanda, precisely in 1906, German military occupation of Ruanda-Urundi was to end and thus German colonial administration had started.

With regard to Urundi, the period of 1906-1908 saw the triumph of German *indirect rule*³⁹. William Roger Louis argues that this *indirect rule* was a purely German invention, and was not copied from

³³ Joseph Gahama points out : "En 1858, Burton et Speke atteignaient le lac Tanganyika, mais le premier Européen qui a vraiment exploré l'intérieur du pays est l'Autrichien Oscar Baumann en 1892." See Joseph Gahama, *Le Burundi sous l'administration belge. La période du mandat, 1919-1939* (Paris : Karthala, 1983), 19.

³⁴ William Roger Louis confirms: "Until 1892 most of the information about Ruanda-Urundi had come from the great explorers who had painted the lines of the African continent with a broad brush." See William Roger Louis, op. cit., 103.

³⁵ The information is confirmed again by William Roger: "Explorations after the Anglo-German partition of 1886 became inseparable from colonial administration." See Ibid., 103.

³⁶ "La conférence de Berlin qui s'est tenue de novembre 1884 à février 1885, fut organisée par le chancelier Bismarck afin d'établir les règles qui devaient présider à la colonisation de l'Afrique.

Voir <http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/berlin-conference-de-1884-1885/>, accessed December 24, 2014.

³⁷ Gordon C. McDonald, et al, op. cit., 9.

³⁸ Ibid., 9.

³⁹ During the time of German occupation of Urundi, 'Indirect rule' meant "the establishment of German authority by recognition of the *Mwami* as king of Urundi and administer the country through cooperation with him." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 142. In this way, "orders of German colonizers were given to the King who transmitted them to Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs. Then the latter were to recruit labourers for the execution of European orders." See Leonce

foreign imperial systems and grafted on the Rwanda-Urundi⁴⁰. During this period Urundi was headed by *Mwami*⁴¹ Mwezi IV Gisabo (1840-1908)⁴². The establishment of the Residency in Urundi (1906) had the misfortune of coinciding with a period of transition in the German East Africa government. Von Rechenberg became the new governor replacing von Götzen⁴³, who was the Governor of German East Africa for the period 1901-1906. The resident of Urundi, von Grawert returned to Germany for home leave in 1908⁴⁴; he was succeeded by a bewildering number of residents in Urundi starting by Heinrich Fonck⁴⁵. These new German authorities, even if they had been determined to continue the policy of indirect rule, did not manage to implement the ideas of Götzen and Grawert. The lack of an adequate replacement for Götzen and Grawert created in Urundi an inconsistent colonial policy. Sometimes the new German authorities would support Mwami Gisabo, sometimes they would support the Ganwa⁴⁶, who opposed him. Mwami Mwezi Gisabo died on August 21, 1908⁴⁷. He was succeeded by Mwami Mutaga IV. The death of Mwami Mwezi Gisabo weakened the Urundi political structure to a point that the Germans were unable to restore the mwami's control over Urundi. In part, this was because the new ruler, Mwami Mutaga IV, was a man of about 15 years of age.

So a number of Ganwa and lesser chiefs took advantage of Mutaga's weakness to consolidate their own power and the centralized rule disintegrated. This is confirmed by what von Stegmann, the Burundi Resident during the period 1911-1912, wrote: "The mwami himself has nothing to say

Ndarubagiye, *Burundi: The Origins of the Hutu-Tutsi Conflict*, 2nd ed., Trans.by Severin Karabagega (Nairobi: w.p, 1996), 22.

⁴⁰ William Roger Louis, op. cit., 200.

⁴¹ The kings in Burundi are given the title of Mwami. In this study the two words 'mwami' and 'king' are used interchangeably.

⁴² The information is confirmed here: "Mwezi IV Gisabo ruled Burundi from 1852 to 1908. He was born in the year 1840 and was the son of King Ntare IV Rutaganzwa Rugamba."

See <http://www.mapsofworld.com/burundi/government-and-politics/mwezi-iv-gisabo.html>, accessed January 13, 2015.

⁴³ Weinstein states: "von Götzen became governor of German East Africa until late 1906, and the conquest of Urundi was effected while he held this office. During his years as Governor he continuously opposed expeditions mounted against Urundi's king. von Götzen together with von Grawert, the Resident of Urundi gave consistent support to Mwami Gisabo. By the end of 1907 Mwami Gisabo and the German forces were able to subdue the refractory princes. von Götzen was also a staunch believer in indirect rule." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 142.

⁴⁴ The information was provided by Weinstein: "Von Grawert was appointed commander of Urundi in 1904. He became resident of Urundi in 1906 and remained commander of the German protectorate force company at Usumbura. By 1908, he had helped the king Mwezi Gisabo to unify Burundi under his control. Von Grawert left Urundi in 1908". See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 144.

⁴⁵ Weinstein describes him saying: "Fonck (Captain) was a German Resident of Urundi after Grawert's departure in 1908 until 1910. He opposed Grawert's policy of cooperation with Mwami Mwezi Gisabo whom he dismissed as an arbitrary absolute ruler whose dynasty was fated to disappear. Fonck favoured bypassing the Mwami and having the German administration deal directly with chiefs." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 136.

⁴⁶ This category of Burundian people will be explained in depth in the following chapter.

⁴⁷ See http://www.evi.com/q/facts_about_mwezi_iv_gisabo_of_burundi, accessed January 13, 2015.

except in his own village ... in short, his political influence is non-existent; he exists because tradition says that he must; but he is not the ruler of the country.”⁴⁸

German control remained firm only in Usumbura and the immediate area. German authority diminished in proportion to the distance the Ganwa were situated from the centre of German power. In 1912, this led to the decision to move the seat of the Residency to Gitega⁴⁹, a place situated in the centre of Urundi. From Gitega it was hoped it would be possible to maintain more effective supervision over the Ganwa.

The reign of Mwami Mutaga did not last for a long time. He suddenly died on 30 November 1915. Then the German regime proceeded to the installation of Mutaga's son as Mwami Mwambutsa IV, on 16 December, 1915⁵⁰. This was one of the last acts of the Germans in Urundi. As Mwambutsa was only two years old at the time of his accession, a regency was established to rule on his behalf. A few days later, the Germans ended their occupation of Urundi. By June 1916, Burundi was under Belgian control.

2.1.3. The Belgian occupation

Belgians took effective control of Ruanda-Urundi from 27 June 1916⁵¹. With regard to Burundi, the period of Belgian occupation is to be divided into two main periods, namely, the Belgian administration under the mandate of the League of Nations and the Belgian administration under the Trusteeship agreement.

a. Belgian administration under the Mandate

During WWI, when Belgium was invaded by Germany, the Belgians who were in Congo retaliated in German East Africa. Belgian troops moved then from the Belgian Congo towards East and occupied Ruanda-Urundi. The Belgian conquest of Ruanda-Urundi was completed with the capture of Kitega province in Urundi, in June 1916⁵². When WWI ended, Belgium's first task was to have its claims to the possession of the conquered territories recognized by the four-power allied council (Council of Four). This latter comprised the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy⁵³. On 7 August, 1919⁵⁴, the Council of Four finally recognized Belgium's claims to Ruanda-Urundi. On 28

⁴⁸ See McDonald et al, op. cit., 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See “The world at war: Ruanda-Urundi 1914-1962”, op. cit.

⁵³ See McDonald et al., op. cit., 11.

⁵⁴ See McDonald et al., op. cit., 11. However, Joseph Gahama gives the date of 7 May 1919. He says: “Le procès-verbal de la séance du 7 mai 1919 de la S.D.N partage l’Est africain allemand entre la Grande-Bretagne et la Belgique. Il

June, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed. Germany surrendered its rights in East Africa including the districts of Ruanda and Urundi⁵⁵. With a decision taken by the League of Nations, on 23 August 1923⁵⁶, Ruanda-Urundi became a mandated territory of the League of Nations under the supervision of Belgium⁵⁷. In 1924, under the conditions established by the League of Nations, the Belgian Parliament accepted the responsibility for Ruanda-Urundi. Although the terms of the Mandate required that Ruanda-Urundi be maintained as a separate and distinct territory, the League of Nations permitted Belgium to administer it as a part of the Congo colony⁵⁸. From 1925, Ruanda-Urundi was linked with the Belgian Congo. However, the colonial rule took a very different form in the two territories. While the administration of Congo was centred in Brussels, that of Ruanda-Urundi was left in the hands of the kings of the two kingdoms, Ruanda and Urundi. Of course the traditional political organization in Ruanda-Urundi was subordinate to the Belgian administration⁵⁹. With regard to Urundi, throughout the entire period of Belgian administration, the Mwami was Mwambutsa IV⁶⁰. Ruanda-Urundi was considered as another province of the Belgian Congo. This region of Ruanda-Urundi was divided into two units, Ruanda and Urundi, each administered by an officer known as a Resident. The Residency of Urundi was divided into territories each under a Belgian Territorial Administrator⁶¹. The period of Mandate went until WWII. It covered a period of twenty years, a period known as the period between the two World Wars (1919-1939)⁶². This period was followed by WWII (1940-1945). After this war, the structure of Ruanda-Urundi changed from a Mandated Territory of the League of Nations administered by Belgium into a Trust Territory under the Trusteeship Agreement administered, again, by Belgium.

b. Belgian administration under the Trusteeship Agreement

By the end of WWII, after the official formation of the United Nations in 1945, Ruanda-Urundi was made a Trust Territory and the period of the League of Nations Mandate ended. The General

attribue à cette dernière le territoire du Rwanda-Urundi. Le mandat est enfin accepté par la loi belge du 20 octobre 1924, après que les Etats-Unis eurent approuvé le projet.” See Joseph Gahama, *op. cit.*, 37.

⁵⁵ See “The world at war: Ruanda-Urundi 1914-1962”, *op. cit.*

⁵⁶ However, the period of mandate as applied to the territory of Ruanda-Urundi is known to have theoretically started in 1919 after the Council of Four had recognized the Belgium’s claims after the First World War. See Joseph Gahama, *op. cit.*, 5.

⁵⁷ Mc Donald et al., *op. cit.*, 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ McDonald et al. explain why Mwambutsa had a long reign. They say: “Mwambutsa's long reign is explained by the fact that he became king when he was 2 years old. He was installed on 16 December, 1915, when the Territory was still under German rule. Until his marriage in 1930, he was assisted by a council of regency, composed of his mother and two uncles.” See McDonald et al, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² See Joseph Gahama, *op. cit.*, 5.

Assembly approved the Trusteeship Agreement on 3 December 1946, and again Ruanda-Urundi was placed under the Belgian Administration. However, the Belgian Parliament delayed ratification until April 1949⁶³. Compared with the Mandate, there was a significant addition to the Trusteeship Agreement. This involved the political development of the people of Ruanda-Urundi. The Trusteeship agreement required Belgium to allow the development of free political institutions and to assure people of Urundi and Ruanda of increased participation in administrative responsibilities, which would lead to self-rule. It was in this line that on 7 January 1960, Prince Louis Rwagasore, a Burundian prince, founded the political party UPRONA to promote a platform calling for immediate independence and social justice. Some days later, in February 1960, Joseph Birori, another Burundian prince founded the PDC. The PDC also called for independence, creation of a democratic state based on Christian principles of justice and equality and maintaining close ties with Belgium⁶⁴.

Urundi held its first legislative elections, on September 18, 1961, under United Nations supervision. UPRONA won 58 of 64 seats in the assembly. These results led to the Independence of the country. On 21 December 1961⁶⁵, Urundi was granted internal autonomy. Meanwhile, Belgium held control of the country's foreign relations, police, defence and finances. The United Nations General Assembly resolved to remove the Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda and Urundi, on 28 June 1962.⁶⁶ On 1 July 1962, Belgium declared Ruanda and Urundi independent at the insistence of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. Ruanda became a republic. The spelling of the name was changed to Rwanda. Urundi became independent as a constitutional monarchy under the same King Mwambutsa IV. Urundi also changed the spelling to Burundi⁶⁷.

2.2. Overview of the history of Catholic evangelization in Burundi

Catholic evangelization in Burundi began towards the end of the 19th century and was mainly done by members of the Roman Catholic religious congregation, the Missionaries of Africa, known as White Fathers. From the beginning of the missionary activity in the Great Lakes region (around 1878) until 1961, the history of the Burundian Catholic Church can be subdivided into seven periods⁶⁸: from 1878 to 1886, from 1886 to 1895, from 1895 to 1912, from 1912 to 1922, from 1922

⁶³ See McDonald et al, op. cit., 13.

⁶⁴ See "The world at war - Ruanda-Urundi 1914-1962", op. cit.

⁶⁵ See Ibid. However, some other documents, notably, Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 11; David Lea, Anna Marie Rowe (ed.), *A Political Chronology of Africa* (London: Europa Publications, 2001), 52, state that Burundi was granted autonomy in internal affairs in January 1962.

⁶⁶ See "The world at war - Ruanda-Urundi 1914-1962", op. cit.

⁶⁷ See <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/plaintexthistories.asp?historyid=ad25#ixzz38Q7AY2Af>, accessed July 23, 2014.

⁶⁸ The historical maps related to these periods are provided in the appendix to this study.

to 1949, from 1949 to 1959 and, lastly from 1959 to 1961. But before talking in depth about these different periods, it is important to present the context in which the Burundian Catholic evangelization started.

2.2.1. General context of the Catholic evangelization in Burundi

The history of the Catholic evangelization in Burundi started the period of the revival of the missionary activity that occurred during the nineteenth century. On a world scale, some ecclesiastical factors influenced this revival of the missionary activity. Amongst other factors, one could mention the restoration of Roman Catholic religious congregations and societies in connection with the missionary activity that had been abolished. This is the case of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit (Spiritans)⁶⁹, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits)⁷⁰, the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)⁷¹, and the society of the foreign Missions of Paris⁷². It was also during the nineteenth century that several new societies were founded in connection with the missionary activity. Two of them are worthy to be mentioned. These are the Society for the Propagation of the Faith⁷³ and the Association of the Holy childhood⁷⁴. During the same period new congregations devoted to missionary work were also founded. With great regard to this study, one should mention the congregation of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers), founded in 1868 by Charles Lavigerie Martial Allemand⁷⁵ whose ultimate aim was to evangelize the entire continent of Africa⁷⁶. Already, in 1873, Lavigerie started his project of sending his missionaries into Africa's interior region, namely the north of Algeria as well as the

⁶⁹ See <http://www.spiritans.com/history.html>, accessed November 13, 2014.

⁷⁰ See <http://www.norprov.org/identity/restoration.htm>, accessed November 13, 2014.

⁷¹ See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06281a.htm>, accessed November 13, 2014.

⁷² See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14079a.htm>, accessed November 13, 2014.

⁷³ See <http://www.missionsocieties.ca/about-us/history/propagation-of-the-faith-spf/>, accessed July30, 2014.

⁷⁴ See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07399a.htm>, accessed August 08, 2014.

⁷⁵ The online collection "Catholic-hierarchy" presents his biography in these terms: "Charles Lavigerie Martial Allemand was born in 1825, in France. He was ordained a priest and bishop respectively in 1849 and 1863, becoming later the first Archbishop of Algiers, Algeria (1967). He was elevated Cardinal Lavigerie in 1882. He founded, in 1868, the Missionaries of Africa named "White Fathers" by the local population because of the colour of their habit". See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/balla.html>, accessed October12, 2014.

⁷⁶ See DACB (Online), accessed November 14, 2014.

Sahara region⁷⁷. The White Fathers reached the western part of Burundi, at Ujiji, by the end of January 1879⁷⁸. The evangelization of Burundi had then started.

2.2.2. Major subdivisions of the history of the Burundian Catholic evangelization from its beginning until 1961

a. First period (1878-1886)⁷⁹: Provicariate of Tanganyika⁸⁰

During this period, as far as missionary activity is concerned, Urundi belonged to a region that registered two major transformations. The region was firstly designed as a mission and secondary as a provicariate. Towards the end of 1877, Lavigerie proposed to the Holy See the creation of four missions in the heart of Africa. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda accepted Lavigerie's proposal. On February 24, 1878, Pope Leo XIII ratified a decree of the Congregation of Propaganda creating Catholic missions in Equatorial Africa. To this end, the Pope appointed Lavigerie as apostolic delegate for the Central Africa⁸¹.

In fact, the decree created four missions in Africa: two in the south of the Equator, in the region Tanganyika, and two in the north, in the region of the Lake Victoria-Nyanza. More precisely, besides the missions of Tanganyika and Victoria-Nyanza the two other missions were the Southern Congo and the northern Congo⁸². However, clear delimitation of these missions was postponed to a later date⁸³. Meanwhile, the Urundi region was included in the Tanganyika mission. Two years later, on 27 September 1880, the Tanganyika mission as well as the three others were recognized as provicariate of Tanganyika⁸⁴ and Urundi continued to be part of this provicariate. Father Livinhac

⁷⁷ The information found in *Bibliographie coloniale Belge* confirms : "Mais dès 1873, Mgr Lavigerie envoya ses fils spirituels et plus tard les Sœurs Blanches fonder des postes de mission en Kabylie... En cette même année, Mgr Lavigerie décide de porter l'Évangile au Sahara. A la fin de 1875, trois Pères Blancs quittèrent Metlili et s'enfoncèrent dans le désert, décidés à atteindre Tombouctou. Plusieurs mois se passèrent sans aucune nouvelle de la caravane. Un beau jour un message vint révéler la triste réalité disant que les trois missionnaires avaient été massacrés par les Touaregs, ensemble avec leur guide ". See Institut royal colonial Belge, *Biographie coloniale Belge*, T. III, 1952, Col. 504-518,

url: http://www.kaowarsom.be/documents/bbom/Tome_III/Lavigerie.Charles_Martial.pdf, accessed November 18, 2014.

⁷⁸ Rabeyrin states: "Partis de Bagamoyo le 7 juin 1878, les pionniers Pères Blancs arrivèrent à Tabora (Tanzanie) le 1er octobre, et à Ujiji (Burundi), le 24 janvier 1879". See P. Claudius Rabeyrin, *Les missionnaires du Burundi durant la guerre des gentils hommes en Afrique orientale 1914-1918*, (s. l : s. ed., 1973), 5.

⁷⁹ See the figure 3 of the Appendix.

⁸⁰ Certain scholars use 'Tanganika' instead of 'Tanganyika', but both forms refer to the same place. 'Tanganyika' is the form that is used in this study.

⁸¹ See Institut royal colonial Belge, *Biographie coloniale Belge*, T.III, 1952, Col. 504-518, op. cit.

⁸² Jean-Claude Ceillier notes: "En 1878, deux autres Missions étaient également confiées à Lavigerie par la Propagande, le Congo Septentrional et le Congo Méridional". See Jean-Claude Ceillier, *Histoire des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs). De la fondation par Mgr Lavigerie à la mort du fondateur 1868-1892* (Paris : Karthala, 2008), 186.

⁸³ See Institut royal colonial Belge, op. cit.

⁸⁴ Ceillier again notes : "Le 27 septembre 1880, les quatre Missions sont érigées en provicariats apostoliques par un décret de la Congrégation romaine de la Propagande ce qui leur confère un statut canonique plus assuré et reconnaît la réalité de l'implantation missionnaire commencée dans ces régions". See Ceillier, op. cit., 186.

was appointed first apostolic provicar of the provicariate of Victoria-Nyanza (or the provicariate of Nyanza, the two designations being both used that time) and Father Deniaud the first provicar of the provicariate of Tanganyika⁸⁵. Meantime, the missionary activity had already started in this region. From 25 May 1878 the first caravan composed of ten Missionaries of Africa left Algiers towards the central of Africa⁸⁶. The missionaries for the mission of Nyanza reached Rubaga, the then capital of Uganda on 19 June 1879; those for the Tanganyika mission⁸⁷ arrived at Tabora on 1 October 1878 and at Ujiji on 23 January 1879⁸⁸. The same year, on 30 July, the first group of missionaries⁸⁹ founded the first mission station in Urundi, at Rumonge, on the east side of the Lake Tanganyika. This mission station did not, however, prosper. Two years later, on 7 May 1881⁹⁰, it was abandoned because two missionaries were killed by Burundians⁹¹. Without losing courage, the White Fathers tried again, in 1884, to cling to the borders of Urundi, not in the region of Rumonge, this time, but further at the extreme north-east of the Lake Tanganyika, in Busige (or Buzige), currently Bujumbura. Unfortunately their stay was short-lived for the same reasons as at Rumonge.

b. Second period (1886-1895)⁹²: Apostolic vicariate of Tanganyika

By the decree dated 30 December 1886, Propaganda significantly modified the provicariate of Tanganyika. Through this decree two of the previous four provicariates were suppressed and two more created. The suppressed provicariates were the southern Congo and the northern Congo, whereas the two new ones were the provicariate of Unyanyembe and the provicariate of Upper-Congo⁹³. These latter were separated from the provicariate of Tanganyika which was still existing but significantly reduced in size. By another decree dated 11 January 1887, the provicariate of

⁸⁵ Ibid., 186-187.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ This group consisted of Fathers Deniaud, Joseph Augier, Théophile Dromaux and Henri Delaunay. Father Pascal, the Superior of the Caravan died on the way, in the forests of Ugogo, because of fever. See P. Claudius Rabeyrin, op. cit, 5.

⁸⁸ See Julien Gorju, *En zigzag à travers l'Urundi* (Namur: s. ed., 1926), 10.

⁸⁹ The Fathers Deniaud, Dromaux and Augier were part of the group. See Ibid.

⁹⁰ Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels, no.1, année 1905-1906* (Alger: Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1907), 194.

⁹¹ The document of Archidiocèse de Gitega confirms : "Le 4 mai 1881, deux Pères Blancs, le R.P. Deniaud, alors Provicaire, et le P. Augier (tous deux français) tombèrent sous les lances et les flèches des Noirs Indigènes, agissant sous l'impulsion des Arabes esclavagistes. Un auxiliaire laïque, Mr Félix D'Hoop, originaire de Belgique, fut la troisième victime. Ainsi finit l'épopée de Rumonge. Le 7 mai, la station était abandonnée". See Archidiocèse de Gitega, « Origine et développement de la mission au Burundi », *Pastorale* n° 12 (1962): 1.

⁹² See figure 4 of the Appendix.

⁹³ Storme notes : "Le décret du 30 décembre 1886 apporta l'arrangement proposé par le Cardinal Lavigerie pour ses Missions orientales : le Congo septentrional et le Congo méridional furent supprimés. Le provicariat de Victoria-Nyanza et le provicariat de Tananyika formeraient désormais trois Provicariats : Tanganyika, Unyanyembe et le Haut-Congo". See M.-B Storme quoted in Justin Nkunzi-Baciyunjuze, *La naissance de l'Eglise au Bushi. L'ère des pionniers 1906-1908* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2005), 145.

Tanganyika was elevated to the rank of an apostolic vicariate⁹⁴. Again, Urundi kept on being part of the new apostolic vicariate of Tanganyika. This apostolic vicariate received Mgr Jean-Baptiste-Frézal Charbonnier, who was ordained a bishop by Bishop Livinhac at Kipalapala (near Tabora) on 23 August 1887, as the first vicar apostolic. However, he died few months later and was replaced by Mgr Bridoux. In 1894, when this latter also died, it was Mgr Adolphe Lechaptois who became the apostolic vicar⁹⁵. During the whole period that Urundi was part of the Tanganyika apostolic vicariate until 1895, the missionaries kept on attempting to settle in this area. For instance, during the year 1891, they tried to settle in Busige again but they did not manage because of the Arab local potentate nicknamed Rumaliza who did not allow them to settle permanently⁹⁶.

c. Third period (1895-1912)⁹⁷: Apostolic vicariate of Unyanyembe⁹⁸

On December 10, 1895⁹⁹, Urundi as well as the region of Uha¹⁰⁰ was attached to the Provicariate of Unyanyembe¹⁰¹. The provicar of this ecclesiastical area was Mgr François Gerboin¹⁰² who had replaced Father Ludovic Girault after having left Africa, in 1890, to Europe due to illness. On 28 January 1897, the Provicariate of Unyanyembe was elevated to the rank of apostolic vicariate and Mgr Gerboin became its first apostolic vicar. On 21 November 1897 he was ordained a bishop by Bishop Joseph Hirth¹⁰³.

The first concern of Bishop Gerboin, the vicar apostolic of Unyanyembe (who was staying at Ushirombo¹⁰⁴), was to try to enter Urundi from the East. The apostolic enterprises of Bishop Gerboin in Urundi certainly deserved him a title of the pioneer of the missions in this area. Bishop Gerboin sent to Urundi, two Dutch missionaries, Van der Burgt and Van den Biesen. The caravan set in motion on 30 June 1896. On 16 July 1896 the two missionaries reached the river Ruvubu in the

⁹⁴ See the annotation (in French language) of the map 4 of the Appendix.

⁹⁵ See Ceillier, op. cit., 188.

⁹⁶ See Archidiocese de Gitega, op. cit. p. 1.

⁹⁷ See the figure 5 of the Appendix.

⁹⁸ On 31 May, 1925 the name of the Vicariate was changed from Unyanyembe to Tabora. See <http://archidiocese-tabora.net23.net/history.html>, accessed November 21, 2014.

⁹⁹ Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit. : 1. See also P. Claudius Rabeyrin, op. cit., 7.

¹⁰⁰ Uha and Buha refer to the same region.

¹⁰¹ L'Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer states: "Le provicariat de l'Unyanyembe comprenait *grosso modo* toute la contrée autour de Tabora ainsi que le Buha et le Burundi actuel". See Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, *Biographie Belge d'Outre-Mer*, T.VI, 1968, Col. 397-402, accessed November 13, 2014, url: http://www.kaowarsom.be/documents/bbom/Tome_VI/Gerboin.Francois.pdf.

¹⁰² The online collection *Catholic-hierarchy* provides his biography: "François Gerboin was born on February 22, 1847 in Laval, France. He was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa, on October 10, 1872. On January 28, 1897 he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Unyanyembe, Tanzania. On November 21, 1897, he was ordained Bishop and, in addition to his previous position of Vicar Apostolic, was appointed Titular Bishop of Thuburbo Minus. He died on June 27, 1912 in Tanzania still as Vicar Apostolic of Unyanyembe." See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgerbo.html>, op. cit.

¹⁰³ See Académie Royale des sciences d'Outre-Mer, op. cit.

¹⁰⁴ A region situated in the current Tanzania, at 300Km in North-East of Tabora.

province of Buyogoma and pitched their tents on 31 August 1896, on the plateau of Kawanga¹⁰⁵. But yielding to the deep hostility of the chief Musabiko, they abandoned their residence on 5 October 1896 and retreated to Ujiji. From there they went to the north and founded the mission of Busige (for the third time), which again, due to the death of Father Van den Biesen (in January 1898), had only a fleeting existence¹⁰⁶.

Bishop Gerboin ordered then Father van der Burgt to return back to Ushirombo. The exodus took place on 1 February 1898. However, the same year, the vicar apostolic, Bishop Gerboin restarted the penetration of Urundi still by the East. In the meantime, two missionaries, Frs. van der Bom and van der Wee, had been sent in Urundi, in November 1896, to help their colleagues on the plateau of Kawanga. Arriving at the border of the country, they learned their hasty retreat. Not knowing where to reach them, they temporarily settled in Misugi where they remained until the month of May 1898. It was from there that Bishop Gerboin ordered them to go to settle at 20km away, in Urundi, where there was a dense population. On May 25, 1898¹⁰⁷ the move was done and the missionaries finally settled in Muyaga. On 11 February 1899, Fathers Desoignies, Van der Wee and Van der Burgt founded the mission of Mugeru¹⁰⁸.

On 8 December 1902, another mission at Buhonga was founded¹⁰⁹. On 11 January 1905¹¹⁰, two missionaries, Van der Burgt and Schultz, founded the mission of Kanyinya. Toward the end of January, precisely on 27 January 1909, Bishop Gerboin together with Father Van der Wee, Father Canonica and Father Egide founded the mission of Rugari, in the nord of Urundi¹¹¹. The sixth and last mission to be founded in Urundi under Bishop Gerboin as apostolic vicar was the mission of Buhoro founded by three Fathers, Van der Wee, Roch and Polycarpe, on 11 February 1912¹¹². However, this mission of Buhoro would be abandoned three years later.

¹⁰⁵ See Academie Royale des Sciences d’Outre-Mer, op. cit.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ The date of 25 May 1898 is considered to be the date when the first mission of Burundi (Muyaga) was founded. However, some other documents sometimes give the date of 13 November 1896, referring to the establishment of the first station at Misugi which was transferred to Muyaga, giving birth to the first Burundian mission founded on 25 May 1898. The information found in the annual report no 1 of the missionaries of Africa notes: “Etablie primitivement à Misugi le 13 novembre 1896, la station fut transférée à Muyaga le 25 mai 1898”. See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), op. cit., 195.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), op. cit., 195.

¹¹⁰ See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), op. cit., 204.

¹¹¹ See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels, no.4, 1908-1909*, (Alger: Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1909), 314.

¹¹² See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit. : 2.

d. Fourth period (1912-1922)¹¹³: Apostolic vicariate of Kivu

By a rescript dated 12 December 1912¹¹⁴, Urundi was detached from the Unyanyembe Apostolic Vicariate and united to Ruanda (detached from the apostolic vicariate of the Southern Victoria Nyanza) to form the vicariate apostolic of Kivu (Ruanda-Urundi). Archbishop Jean-Joseph Hirth¹¹⁵ was designated as vicar apostolic. At first he decided to stay in Nyundo, and then in Kabgayi, Rwanda¹¹⁶. During this period (1912-1922), there was no foundation of new mission stations in Urundi. This was due to WWI, on one hand, and to the shift from the German occupation to that of Belgians in 1916, on the other hand¹¹⁷. In May 1915, one of the six existing missions (created by Bishop Gerboin) was even completely abandoned due to the war¹¹⁸. The missionary activity would return to the normal state after the war ended.

In the summer of 1919, Bishop Hirth sent a missionary in expedition to look for the location of future missions. The chefs competed to indicate to this missionary the most favourable locations for mission installation. With this sign, Urundi was already mature enough to stand on its own. This is what the ecclesiastical authority understood in allowing, three years later, Urundi to form alone an apostolic vicariate.

e. Fifth period (1922-1949)¹¹⁹: Apostolic vicariate of Urundi

By a rescript of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, dated 10 April 1922¹²⁰, the apostolic vicariate of Kivu was divided into the apostolic vicariate of Urundi and that of Ruanda. The first

¹¹³ See the figure 6 of the Appendix.

¹¹⁴ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit.: 3.

¹¹⁵ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: “Jean-Joseph Hirth was born on March 21, 1854, in Spechbach-le-Bas, France. He was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa on September 15, 1878. On December 4, 1889, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Victoria-Nyanza, Uganda. On May 25, 1890, he was ordained Bishop (Titular Bishop of Theveste). On July 13, 1894, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Southern Victoria Nyanza, Tanzania. On December 12, 1912, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Kivu, Ruanda-Urundi. On October 25, 1920, he resigned as Vicar Apostolic of Kivu. He died on January 6, 1931, at the age of 76.” See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bhirth.html>, op. cit.

¹¹⁶ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op.cit., 3. The information is also confirmed by Institut royal colonial Belge : “[...] le 12 décembre 1912, fut donné le décret créant un nouveau vicariat qui lui était confié, le vicariat du Kivu, formé du Rwanda pris sur le Nyanza méridional et le Burundi, détaché du vicariat de l'Unyanyembe. Mgr Hirth quitta sa résidence de Rubia et vint au Rwanda où il se fixa provisoirement à Nyundo”. See Institut royal colonial Belge, *Biographie coloniale Belge*, T.V. 1958, Col.428-446,

url: http://www.kaowarsom.be/documents/bbom/Tome_V/Hirth.Jean_Joseph.pdf, accessed November 18, 2014.

¹¹⁷ The same document notes : “La guerre qui éclata en Europe en août 1914 et qui ne tarda pas à s'étendre au centre africain, l'occupation du Kivu allemand (Rwanda et Burundi) par les troupes Belgo-congolaises en avril- mai 1916, entravèrent beaucoup la marche des missions, sans toutefois les paralyser complètement”. See Ibid.

¹¹⁸ See Jean Perraudin, *Naissance d'une Eglise. Histoire du Burundi chrétien* (Bujumbura: Presses Lavigerie, 1998), 99.

¹¹⁹ See the figure 7 of the Appendix.

¹²⁰ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit. : 3. Un autre document qui confirme cette date est COREB, *Annuaire ecclésiastique du Burundi*. Bujumbura : s. ed., 1979. Il dit : “Le 10 avril 1922, l'Urundi est érigé en vicariat apostolique avec à sa tête, S.E. Mgr Gorju” (12). Cependant d'autres documents donnent différentes dates. Par exemple, l'Institut royal colonial Belge donne le 5 avril 1922. Le texte qui le précise est le suivant: « Donc le 5 avril 1922, le vicariat du Kivu, passé tout entier sous le mandat belge, disparut de la nomenclature ecclésiastique et fit place à deux nouvelles

apostolic vicar for Urundi was Father Julien-Louis-Edouard-Marie Gorju ¹²¹, whereas that of Ruanda was Father Léon-Paul Classe. Julien Gorju was consecrated bishop, in the church of Villa Maria in Uganda, on 15 August 1922. On 11 October 1922¹²², he moved to Mugeru, Urundi. Until that time there were still, in Urundi, the only five mission stations created by Bishop Gerboin.

On 20 August 1926¹²³, the region of Uha was detached from Urundi and then attached to three vicariates of Tanganyika, Tabora and Bukoba. In 1936 Bishop Gorju will make Gitega his episcopal residence¹²⁴. Exhausted after forty one years of ministry in Africa and concerns inherent to his duty, Bishop Gorju resigned in early 1936. During the fifteen years that Bishop Gorju directed the apostolic vicariate of Urundi he founded seventeen new mission stations and the minor seminary of Mugeru.

Towards the end of that 1936, a successor to Gorju was appointed in the person of Bishop Antoine-Hubert Grauls¹²⁵. In the middle of October 1937, he arrived in Urundi and undertook his missionary activity. From 1937 to the split of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi, in 1949, ten other new mission stations would have been founded by Bishop Grauls. At that date, the total number of mission stations in Urundi was 32. Consequently, the number of Christians had significantly increased. This is what led to the split of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi into two apostolic vicariates.

missions : le Ruanda au Nord, auquel était préposé le R. P. Classe et l'Urundi au Sud, qui aurait à sa tête le R. P. Gorju, missionnaire du Buganda". See Institut royal colonial Belge, T.V., Col.428-446, op.cit. The book of Dominic Nothomb, *Petite histoire de L'Eglise Catholique au Rwanda* (Kabgayi: Kabgayi Press, 1962), gives the date of 25 avril 1922. It states: " Le 25 avril 1922, le Pape Pie XI (qui venait d'être élu Pape le 6 février 1922), divisait le Vicariat Apostolique du Kivu en deux Vicariats distincts : celui du Ruanda, et celui de l'Urundi. Le lendemain, le 26 avril, le Pape, qui venait ainsi d'ériger ses deux premiers Vicariats Apostoliques, nommait le P. Classe Vicaire Apostolique du Rwanda, et le P. Gorju, celui du Burundi"(26). Jean Perraudin, op. cit., 141, gives the date 25 avril 1922 as well.

¹²¹ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: "Julien-Louis-Edouard-Marie Gorju was born on December 31, 1868 in Saint-Servan, France. He was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa, on September 22, 1892. On April 26, 1922, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Urundi and, at the same time, Titular Bishop of Musti. On August 15, 1922, he was ordained Bishop. On May 29, 1936, he resigned from being Vicar Apostolic of Urundi. On January 14, 1942, he died at the age of 73."

See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgorju.html>, op.cit.

¹²² See Joseph Gahama, op. cit., 221.

¹²³ Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels*, no.20, 1926-1927, (Alger: Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1927), 153. Le document de l'Archidiocèse de Gitega donne plus de précisions : " L'Uha, territoire situé à l'Est du Burundi, faisait, depuis 1912, partie intégrante du Vicariat du Kivu et, à partir de 1922, du Vicariat de l'Urundi. La Convention Orts-Milner l'ayant, en 1919, attribué à l'Angleterre, Mgr Gorju demanda à Rome que son Vicariat restât seulement dans les limites assignées à la Belgique. En 1926, la Sacré Congrégation de la Propagande détachait l'Uha de l'Urundi et le rattachait aux trois vicariats du Tanganyika, de Tabora et de Bukoba, en territoire anglais. » See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit.: 3.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: "Antoine-Hubert Grauls was born on February 1, 1899, in Kortesse, Belgium. On July 16, 1923, he was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa. On December 23, 1936, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Urundi and, at the same time, Titular Bishop of Mades. On April 5, 1937, he was ordained Bishop. On November 10, 1959, he was appointed Archbishop of Gitega, Urundi. On October 16, 1967, he resigned from being Archbishop of Gitega and was appointed Titular Archbishop of Giru Marcelli. On July 26, 1986, he died at the age of 87." See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgrauls.html>, op.cit.

f. Sixth period (1949-1959)¹²⁶: First split of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi

On 14 July 1949¹²⁷, by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, the apostolic vicariate of Urundi, which had just celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the foundation of its first mission station, was divided into two vicariates: the vicariate of Gitega (Urundi-South), keeping Bishop Grauls as vicar apostolic, and the vicariate of Ngozi (Urundi-North) for which Mgr Joseph Martin¹²⁸, former missionary in Urundi, was promoted first bishop¹²⁹. After the split, the apostolic vicariate of Ngozi got thirteen mission stations, whereas the apostolic vicariate of Gitega remained with nineteen mission stations¹³⁰. From 1949 to 1959 these numbers had increased significantly. On the eve of the new split, the apostolic vicariate of Gitega had twenty nine mission stations and that of Ngozi twenty-one, making a total of fifty mission stations for the whole Urundi¹³¹. This number of mission stations led to the creation of a new apostolic vicariate in Urundi.

g. Seventh period (1959-1961)¹³²: Second split of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi

On 18 July 1959¹³³, the creation of the new apostolic vicariate of Usumbura was made. This new apostolic vicariate was entrusted to Msgr Michel Ntuyahaga¹³⁴, who would be the first African bishop of Burundi. The new apostolic vicariate comprised, at the time of its erection, fourteen mission stations: eleven detached from the apostolic vicariate of Gitega, and three from that of

¹²⁶ See the figure 8 of the Appendix.

¹²⁷ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit., 4.

¹²⁸ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: “Joseph Martin was born on April 29, 1903 in Saint-Rémy-les-Chimay, Belgium. On June 29, 1926, he was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa. On July 14, 1949, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Ngozi, Urundi and, at the same time, Titular Bishop of Oliva. On November 30, 1949, he was ordained Bishop. On November 10, 1959, he was appointed Bishop of Ngozi, Urundi. On June 6, 1961, he was appointed Bishop of Bururi, Urundi. On September 17, 1973, he resigned from the post of Bishop of Bururi. On June 13, 1982, he died at the age of 79.” See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmartinjo.html>, op. cit.

¹²⁹ The annual report of the Missionaries of Africa (1948-1949) confirms: “C’est la dernière fois que paraît le rapport du Vicariat Apostolique de l’Urundi, car ce Vicariat n’existe plus en tant que tel. Après la clôture de l’exercice 1948-1949, un télégramme de Rome nous apprenait que l’Urundi était divisé en deux circonscriptions ecclésiastiques : la partie septentrionale, environ le tiers du pays, devient le Vicariat de Ngozi et est confié à Monseigneur Joseph Martin, des missionnaires de l’Urundi, qui a été nommé Vicaire Apostolique avec le titre d’évêque in partibus d’Oliva ; l’autre partie, sous le nom du Vicariat de Gitega, reste confiée à Monseigneur Grauls”. See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels, Année: 1948-1949*, (Alger: Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1949), 279.

¹³⁰ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit., 4

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² See the figure 9 of the Appendix.

¹³³ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit., 4. See also COREB, op. cit., 25.

¹³⁴ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: “Michel Ntuyahaga was born in December 1912 (the day is uncertain) at Nyarugati, Ruyigi, Urundi. On July 26, 1941, he was ordained a priest (not of missionaries of Africa) by Bishop Grauls. On 18 July, 1959, he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Usumbura, Urundi and, at the same time, Titular Bishop of Alabanda. On October 11, 1959, he was ordained Bishop by Bishop Grauls. On November 10, 1959, he was appointed Bishop of Usumbura, Urundi. On October 9, 1964, he was appointed Bishop of Bujumbura, Burundi. On November 14, 1988, he retired. On June 11, 2002, he died at the age of 89”. See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bntuy.html>, op. cit.

Ngozi¹³⁵. The fifty mission stations were divided in this way: Gitega remained with eighteen mission stations, Ngozi remained with 18 mission stations as well, and Usumbura got fourteen mission stations. With the decree dated 10 November 1959, the episcopal hierarchy was established in the Belgian Congo and Rwanda-Urundi. Urundi then formed an ecclesiastical province, whose metropolitan see was Gitega. The former apostolic vicariate of Gitega became archdiocese with the dioceses of Ngozi and Usumbura as suffragan¹³⁶. The number of Christians continued to increase. In 1961, another split of the former apostolic vicariate of Urundi would be necessary.

h. Third split of Urundi in 1961¹³⁷: Creation of the diocese of Bururi

On June¹³⁸ 6, 1961, Rome decided to erect the diocese of Bururi and transferred Bishop Joseph Martin from the diocese of Ngozi to this new diocese. Soon after, Rome appointed a second Burundian bishop, Msgr André Makarakiza¹³⁹, to succeed to Bishop Joseph Martin at the see of the diocese of Ngozi. The diocese of Bururi, detached from the Archdiocese of Gitega of which it remained suffragan, was extended over three provinces: Bururi, Rutana and Makamba. It was given seven mission stations. After the erection of the diocese of Bururi, the mission stations were distributed as following. Gitega: 13 mission stations, Ngozi: 20 mission stations, Usumbura: 15 mission stations and Bururi: 7 mission stations. Urundi had in total 55 mission stations¹⁴⁰. Urundi was then ready to keep on growing for both in number of mission stations and that of ministers, meaning African priests and bishops born in Urundi.

¹³⁵ See COREB, op. cit., 24.

¹³⁶ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit., 5. See also COREB, op. cit., 16.

¹³⁷ See the figure 10 of the Appendix.

¹³⁸ With regard to the creation of the diocese of Bururi, the document Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit, gives (without any detail on the date), the month of July instead of June. However, the date of June 6, 1961 is likely to be accurate because it was found in many other documents consulted; for instance, COREB, op. cit., 44; Jean Perraudin, op. cit., 40, www.catholic-hierarchy.org; etc.

¹³⁹ The online collection *Catholic-Hierarchy* provides his biography: “André Makarakiza was born on June 30, 1919 at Rudehe, Urundi. On August 16, 1951, he was ordained a priest of Missionaries of Africa. On August 21, 1961, he was appointed Bishop of Ngozi, Burundi. On December 8, 1961, he was ordained Bishop of Ngozi. On September 5, 1968, he was appointed Archbishop of Gitega to replace Bishop Grauls. On November 6, 1982, he resigned from being Archbishop of Gitega. He died on 17 April, 2004, at the age of 84.” See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmaka.html>, op. cit.

¹⁴⁰ See Archidiocèse de Gitega, op. cit., 5.

2.3. Summary of the Chapter

The colonization and the evangelization of Urundi started almost at the same time, during the last quarter of the 19th century. With regard to the colonization of Urundi, it happened in two phases. During the first phase Urundi was linked to Ruanda to form Ruanda-Urundi, and, together with Tanzania Mainland, they were colonized by the Germans, representing German East Africa.

The second phase followed the end of WWI which ended in 1918 when the Germans were defeated. Their colonies in Africa had to be taken over by the League of Nations and handed over to other nations. Ruanda and Urundi were given to Belgium, and hence they became Belgian colonies¹⁴¹. After WWII that ended in 1945, the structure of Ruanda-Urundi changed but the two kingdoms remained in the hands of Belgians until their independence.

Burundian catholic evangelization was started and carried on by the Missionaries of Africa. The chapter has shown that the history of the evangelization of Urundi, from the beginning of the missionary activity in the region of the Great Lakes region until 1961, recorded seven modifications. These changes led Urundi from being part of other established structures (provicariate, vicariate and apostolic vicariate) to its autonomy, where it ended up being divided into four Burundian dioceses, in 1961. Two of them were entrusted to Burundian bishops. Urundi had also, already, in 1959, one archdiocese. The Burundian Catholic church had reached maturity.

After this overview of the history of the colonization and that of the evangelization of Urundi, the following chapter will discuss the power dynamics present in Burundi in terms of colonization and evangelization. This will show how colonization and evangelization shaped the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, a point that will be discussed later on.

¹⁴¹ See Gaudens P. Mpangala, *Origins of Political Conflicts and Peace Building in the Great Lakes Region* (Paper Presented at a Symposium Organized by the Command and Staff College, Arusha, held on 23rd February 2004), accessed December 16, 2014.
url: <https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/5727/3000.pdf?sequence=1>.

Chapter three

Power dynamics in Burundi during the period 1916-1961

The understanding of the power dynamics in Burundi during the Belgian administration period supposes the knowledge, for the whole period of colonization in Burundi, of the theories constructed around Burundian people and of the categories of people who used these theories. These include the colonizers, the missionaries and other decision-makers such as the Burundian king, the pope, the vicar apostolic, the bishops and local dignitaries¹⁴². But before talking about power dynamics, it is important to speak first about the Burundian people themselves, as far as ethnic groups are concerned.

3.1. Burundian people

Burundi has three ethnic groups of which the main two are the Hutu and the Tutsi and then the Twa, which is numerically almost insignificant¹⁴³. The Hutu represent 85%, the Tutsi 14% and the Twa 1%¹⁴⁴. Some colonial historians alleged the hypothesis of migration, trying to explain how the three separate ethnic groups arrived in the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, during different periods. According to them, as noted Léonce Ndarubagiye, the migrations happened this way, centuries ago: The Twa were the first to occupy that land, the Hutu came thereafter, while the Tutsi were the last to arrive from Ethiopia or Somalia to colonize the first two occupants¹⁴⁵. However, this theory is rejected by many authors of whom Chrétien, who states that the theory was just an invention of Europeans¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴² In this study there will not be any exclusive part reserved to this category of people, but their intervention will be assessed as they were getting involved in the mission being done by either colonizers or missionaries.

¹⁴³ “The Twa were an insignificant but in some places a bothersome minority—less than one per cent of the population.” See, William Roger Louis, *op. cit.*, 107.

¹⁴⁴ These three percentages are the proportions of Burundian people that are found in many historical documents talking about Burundian ethnic groups. However, these percentages are likely to have considerably changed.

¹⁴⁵ See Léonce Ndarubagiye, *op. cit.*, 15.

¹⁴⁶ He said: “Par contre, même si les différences de statut social étaient réelles, nul n’était considéré comme ‘étranger’. Personne n’aurait jamais songé à dire que les Tutsis étaient venus d’ailleurs. Cette image de l’étranger, du groupe venu de l’extérieur du territoire, a bien été amenée par les Européens”. See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *RWANDA. Mille collines, mille douleurs*, 75.

The three ethnic groups existed in Ruanda-Urundi before the colonial period and lived in relative harmony. They shared and still share a language called Kirundi in Burundi¹⁴⁷ and Kinyarwanda in Rwanda. They also share a joint culture and customs, and often intermarried. This mostly applies to the Hutu and the Tutsi. The Twa were, somewhat, undervalued¹⁴⁸ by the other two ethnic groups.

In Burundi, the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa share similar kinship structures, social values and language. They essentially adhere to the same religious beliefs. As the Hutu and Tutsi cultures have become more interrelated, it has become difficult to determine in which ethnic group certain cultural features originated. The Twa pygmies play an insignificant role in the socio-political life of Burundi. The other two ethnic groups (Hutu and Tutsi) are the main ones and are divided into clans. Hutu do not attach importance to clans despite their theoretical existence. On the contrary, within the Tutsi community, solidarity takes roots at clan level. All Tutsi belong to one of the following two clans: Banyaruguru and Bahima¹⁴⁹. The Banyaruguru (those who came from the North) are considered as pastoralists who started to immigrate from the early 16th century. The Bahima are also cattle raisers. They began to settle in the area from the East in the 17th century. Although the Hima are associated with the southern provinces (especially the Bururi province), none of the Tutsi groupings can be considered as living in a certain area of the country.

Another categorisation within the Tutsi ethnic group is that of the Mwami (king) and the Ganwa¹⁵⁰. During the colonial period, these two categories seemed to stand apart from both Hutu and Twa, on one hand, and from the two Tutsi groups, the Banyaruguru and the Bahima. Some scholars have discussed the issue. René Lemarchand, for instance, says, “The Ganwa were the ruling princely oligarchy forming a separate ethnic entity different from both Hutu and Tutsi. They stood at the very top of the socio-political hierarchy and they were the supreme holders of power and privilege.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Depending on the regions, this language can be spoken with certain slight modifications, as Roger Louis states: “Throughout Rwanda-Urundi the three ethnic groups spoke basically the same language with local modifications.” See William Roger Louis, op. cit., 108. Gordon C. McDonald et al., are more specific. They put it this way: “All Burundians speak Kirundi, but there are dialectical and regional variations. The forms spoken by the Tutsi and Hutu are very similar, whereas the variation used by the Twa has more obvious peculiarities”. See Gordon C. McDonald et al, op. cit., 44.

¹⁴⁸ McDonald notes: “The Twa are a pygmoid subgroup of the larger group of Twide pygmies, who are the first known inhabitants of eastern and central Africa. They have wide noses, tightly curled hair, and yellowish body hair. The Hutu and Tutsi treat them as inferior and refer to them in various derogatory terms, allegedly because of what they regard as unacceptable dietary and hygienic customs”. See Gordon C. McDonald et al, op. cit., 43.

¹⁴⁹ See Leonce Ndarubagiye, op. cit. 15.

¹⁵⁰ Ganwa (or Umuganwa) is a term derived from the verb *kugana*, “to go towards.” The Ganwa is the representative of royal authority. If the King named someone chief of the province, he was considered in theory as his son and from then he passed as such. See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 271

¹⁵¹ Lemarchand quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, “Modern Folklore, Identity, and Political Change in Burundi,” *African Studies Review* 40, no. 3 (1997): 32, accessed December 18, 2014, url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/524965>.

Warren Weinstein and Robert Schrire state the following: “The Tutsi group however, was far from homogeneous and was dominated by the Ganwa, a class of aristocrats associated with certain Tutsi lineages. These relationships were institutionalized in a traditional sacred kingdom.”¹⁵² Gordon C. McDonald et al note, “The Mwami and the Ganwa were Tutsi, but they had special status and were considered a group apart. The ordinary Tutsi were themselves subject to Ganwa although, on the whole, their social standing was superior to that of both Hutu and Twa¹⁵³.”

Considering this, even if the debate is still going on up to this day among scholars and even within Burundian themselves, my view is that the Ganwa (together with the Mwami) are likely to be a class within the Tutsi ethnic group rather than a separate ethnic entity to be situated outside the three well-known ethnic groups in Burundi. A similar debate divides different authors with regard to the physical characteristics of Burundian people.

3.1.1. Physical characteristics of Burundian people

Bearing in mind what is stated in the previous section, one could already say that the three ethnic groups do not meet the requirements to be considered as three different ethnic groups anthropologically speaking¹⁵⁴. This is to say that the issue of ethnicity in Burundi (and Rwanda) is controversial because of the lack of scientific evidence to differentiate the three ethnic groups. This becomes clearer when it comes to the physical characteristics attributed to these three ethnic groups. Some authors defend that the three ethnic groups are different while others say that they are not. Those who postulate that the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa are physically three different ethnic groups base their argument only on some slight features. For instance, Gordon C. McDonald et al say: “Although there has been a great deal of intermixing, the three ethnic groups still differ, somewhat, in physical appearance and social position.”¹⁵⁵ William Roger Louis, in trying to be more specific, states the following: “The Tutsi were tall, handsome, slender, and well-proportioned, sometimes over seven

¹⁵² Warren Weinstein and Robert Schrire, “Ethnic Strategies and the Primacy of Ethnic Survival: The Case of Burundi,” *International Review of Modern Sociology* 5, no. 2 (1975): 186, accessed December 17, 2014, url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41421529>.

¹⁵³ Gordon C. McDonald et al, op.cit., 6.

¹⁵⁴ Jean-Pierre Chrétien wrote, “L’ethnicité se présente sous un jour très particulier au Rwanda et au Burundi, puisque les identifications héréditaires patrilineaires en tant que hutu ou que tutsi ne correspondent pas à une différenciation linguistique, culturelle ou géographique, comme cela se passe pour les autres entités dites ethniques en Afrique.” See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, « Le défi de l’intégrisme ethnique dans l’historiographie africaniste. Le cas du Rwanda et du Burundi », *Politique africaine* 12, no. 46 (1992): 72.

¹⁵⁵ Gordon C. McDonald et al, op. cit., 40.

feet. The Twa, in contrast, were grotesque little creatures whom the Germans referred to as dwarfs. Between the two stood the stocky aboriginal Bantu, the Hutu”¹⁵⁶.

This statement is, however, not always true because there are cases in Burundi where Hutu are taller than certain Tutsi of the same age. There are cases in which some Twa are taller than certain Hutu and Tutsi. This can, of course, apply to the other characteristics mentioned by Roger Louis, such as the handsomeness, the slenderness, etc. This is why Roger Louis contradicted or corrected himself, somewhere, saying: “Anthropologists have shown, however, that the physical characteristics distinguishing the three groups are not sharply defined.”¹⁵⁷

In this line, Jean-Claude Desmarais is more convincing in denying the existence of clear characteristics distinguishing the three ethnic groups, especially, the Hutu and the Tutsi. He says:

These ethnic groups are not clearly distinct and internally homogeneous racial categories, as many mental models assume. [...] While there are individual "type-cases" of Hutu and Tutsi, there are wide physical variations within each ethnic category, and significant physical overlap between the two. So it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusions based on the internal characteristics of a specific group: there are tall Hutu and short Tutsi, just as colour and physiognomy vary as well¹⁵⁸.

In fact, as Chrétien states, these differences with regard to physical characteristics were exaggerated and rigidified by colonial anthropologists together with missionaries basing on the basis of the socio-economic and cultural differences that existed already between the people of Ruanda-Urundi before the colonial period¹⁵⁹. This strategy was in line with the politics of “divide and rule” practiced by the colonizers in support of the indirect rule. The strategy impacted negatively on relations between the two groups, Hutu and Tutsi. According to Chrétien, ethnicity took the form of racism and ended up creating in the process a conflict of identity among people of Ruanda-Urundi. So by emphasizing ethnicity within Burundian people, the colonial authorities confused them. In this view, Burundian people could not have a common goal such as a nationalistic vision and thus the colonial authorities were expecting to extend as long as possible their stay in the area of Ruanda-Urundi¹⁶⁰. Part of this strategy was also the Hamitic theory which contributed to the differentiation between the three ethnic groups, especially the Hutu and the Tutsi. This is what the following section is about.

¹⁵⁶ William Roger Louis, op. cit., 112.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ See Jean-Claude Desmarais quoted in David Newbury, « Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Loyalties », *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 272.

¹⁵⁹ See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, « Le défi de l’intégrisme ethnique dans l’historiographie africaniste. Le cas du Rwanda et du Burundi », 71-72.

¹⁶⁰ The following excerpt alludes to that: « Beaucoup croient à une victoire des Bahutu aux prochaines élections. Elle prolongerait notre présence ». See M. Laude, « Impressions d’un récent voyage au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi, 21 janvier-9 avril 1960 », quoted by Marc Tuyaga, *L’évolution des rapports sociaux du Burundi en situation coloniale. Les élites nationales et la tutelle belge face au problème ethnique (1956-1962)*, Thèse de Maîtrise (Sciences politiques), Montréal, Université de Montréal, 1973, 100.

3.1.2. The 'Hamitic theory'

The 'Hamitic theory' is a theory postulated by Europeans, especially, the Belgian colonizers and missionaries¹⁶¹. They situated the origin of Tutsi neither in Burundi nor in Rwanda but as being descended from a mythical biblical tribe of Ham in Ethiopia. This consideration of Tutsi elevated them to a higher position over Hutu and Twa. It is this consideration of the 'Hamitic theory' that justified the colonial support for Tutsi domination. In this view this theory has been accused by some social scientists, including Chrétien, of contributing to ethnic conflict. In Rwanda, for instance,

Hamitic ideology legitimized a rigid pseudo-racial hierarchy which had profound and long-reaching political consequences. The elevation of the Tutsi meant the relegation of the Hutu to the status of Bantu serfs, and of the Twa to the lowest position of aboriginal "pygmoids"-supposedly remnants of an earlier stage of human evolution¹⁶².

As we shall see later, the 'Hamitic theory' influenced different sectors of the socio-political life of Ruanda-Urundi people during the colonial period. The training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy was no exception. For instance, it has been said that because of the Hamitic theory during the Belgian administration period especially, "When the Hutu were let into the seminaries, they were indoctrinated with the eternal rightness of their subjection by religious sanction"¹⁶³. But, seemingly, this did not remain unchanged throughout the whole period of the Belgian occupation in Burundi. This topic will be discussed at length later in the chapter reserved for the training and the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy. Now, in order to understand how the Belgians and missionaries shaped the socio-political context of Burundi, it is important to look at, first, how the social relations between Burundian people were structured

3.1.3. The social relations between Burundian people

Under this title of social relations between Burundian people, I discuss how the social relations between Burundian people were structured, firstly, during the pre-colonial period and, secondly, during the German colonial period until 1916. This will help to understand what happened later during the Belgian administration period (1916-1961) with regard to the issues of ethnic groups.

¹⁶¹ The following excerpt states it clearly: "In the period from 1910 to 1940, the White Fathers, led by Bishop Leon Classe, developed this Hamitic ideology. Classe and his acolytes then rewrote Rwandese history to conform to it, designating the Tutsis as Hamites, inventing a Christian origin for them, and arguing that they were "lapsed" Ethiopians destined for a privileged place in Christian evangelism. The theory coincided neatly with colonial anthropologists' quest for racial topologies". See «The Ungodly Missionary Legacy», accessed November 12, 2014, url: <http://www.mediafilter.org/CAQ/CAQ52Rw2t.html>.

¹⁶² See Ibid.

¹⁶³ Jean-Loup Amselle and Elikia M'Bokolo, «Au cœur de l'ethnie. Ethnies, tribalisme et État en Afrique » reviewed by Aidan Southall, « The Ethnic Heart of Anthropology », *Cahiers d'études africaines* 25, Cahier 100 (1985): 571.

a. During the Pre-colonial period

Nearly all scholars agree that the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were not clearly distinguished and rigidly separated ethnic groups in Burundi during this period¹⁶⁴. They were considered, to some extent, as groups. Primarily, the groups were distinguished by their position within the political and economic system, which assigned members of each group specific economic activities and social roles. While the Hutu worked primarily as farmers, the Tutsi dominated most political offices and made their living predominantly from raising cattle. The Twa lived as hunters and gatherers and fulfilled certain social functions such as making pottery¹⁶⁵. Some Hutu could acquire cattle, the traditional sign of wealth and source of power in the *Ubugabire*¹⁶⁶ patron-client system. These Hutu could eventually be considered as Tutsi¹⁶⁷. During this period, the exchange of goods between the Hutu and Tutsi allowed for great variation of self-identification. Individual identification was a fluid, transformative process which was defined, at least in part, by service to the Ganwa monarch¹⁶⁸. Select Hutu and Tutsi clans were expected to perform certain tasks for the royal court. Clan differentiation, as defined in terms of service to the monarch, diminished the relevance of ethnicity as a rigid marker of primordial identity. Moreover, there were instances of crossing, known as *kwi hutura*, which enabled Hutu to become Tutsi and to qualify for responsibilities previously assigned to select Tutsi clans. On the same note, Lemarchand explains that it was also possible to improve one's status within each group. He says: "It was not uncommon for an ordinary Hutu to acquire wealth and political influence through his own personal resourcefulness, [...], status difference based on personal achievement thus significantly blurred the contours of the formal hierarchy associated with the caste system."¹⁶⁹ In some cases, said Weinstein and Schrire, wealthy Hutu preferred not to cross over because they were benefitting from their existing status¹⁷⁰. They said that this was especially true for Hutu clans that provided cult ritualists. Such individuals, if they served the monarch well, were often rewarded with land, cattle and political posts of varying importance¹⁷¹. Hence, ethnicity, defined in terms of social status, was a fluid process, whereby the Hutu and Tutsi experienced identity shifts depending on

¹⁶⁴ See Linden quoted in Timothy Longman, «Christian Churches and Genocide in Rwanda» (Online revised paper originally prepared for conference on genocide, religion, and modernity at the United States holocaust memorial museum, May 11-13, 1997): 17, accessed November 13, 2014, url: <http://faculty.vassar.edu/tilongma/Church&Genocide.html>.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Leonce Ndarubagiye gives the definition of *Ubugabire* saying: "*Ubugabire* means the lending or donation of a cow by the owner of a herd of cows to someone who had none of it. In this case also, the beneficiary of the lending or donation, if he was a Hutu, was compelled to do all kinds of works on behalf of the lending Tutsi family." See Léonce Ndarubagiye, op. cit., 21.

¹⁶⁷ Linden quoted in Timothy Longman, op. cit.: 17.

¹⁶⁸ Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit.: 30.

¹⁶⁹ Lemarchand quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit.: 31.

¹⁷⁰ Weinstein and Schrire quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, ibid.: 31.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

their social relations with the ruling monarchy. Both Hutu and Tutsi were actively involved in the performance of rituals during certain ceremonies. The king would determine who was qualified to participate in assigned ritual roles and would bestow on those who were chosen with the prestige of higher social status. Identity was instrumentally defined by the monarch, with primordial assumptions of ethnic difference less important than social status in the kingdom. Because of these kind of social relationships, members of Hutu and Tutsi clans frequently intermarried during this period, thus complicating the parsimony of ethnic difference that became the hallmark of European colonial rule afterwards¹⁷².

b. During the German colonial period

During the early years of German colonial rule fluidity gave way to a gradual rigidification of identity. Instead of reinforcing social mobility, colonial rulers emphasized and institutionalized Hutu-Tutsi differences, assigning explicit roles for each ethnic group and de-emphasizing clan differentiation¹⁷³. In this regard, Lemarchand noted, “the ‘distorted’ colonial depiction of Burundi society was seen in terms of an ‘ethnic pyramid’ with the minority, cattle-herding Tutsi holding the ‘commanding heights of power’ over the majority Hutu farmers and, hunter-gatherer Twa, numerically small ¹⁷⁴. This created within the Burundian society a kind of feudal relationship¹⁷⁵, which was the primary framework for a whole system of dominant-subordinate roles to be continued during the whole colonial period. According to certain German administrators who administered the territory at the turn of the 19th century, “the Tutsi were perceived as innate rulers, wily, aristocratic, and the history of Burundi was believed to be the history of the Tutsi. The Hutu were perceived as boorish workers who feared and respected the Tutsi as their masters”¹⁷⁶.

In this way, the social relations that had characterised Burundian people during the pre-colonial period had thus changed altogether. Inasmuch as Belgian administrators would fundamentally inherit German legacy¹⁷⁷, this ‘new version’ of Burundian history propagated by colonial administrators

¹⁷² Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit.: 31.

¹⁷³ Lemarchand quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit.: 32.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ See Gordon C. McDonald et al, op. cit., 40.

¹⁷⁶ Weinstein and Schrire quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit., 32.

¹⁷⁷ It has been established that the Belgians substantially inherited the German system. Here are some examples: “Although the Belgians softened the stereotypes of Germans towards Burundian society, they did not change them in any fundamental way.” See Weinstein and Schrire quoted in Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit.: 32. “The short period of German rule was brought to an end with the outbreak of WWI and the subsequent Belgian occupation of Burundi in 1916, but their system of indirect rule and their transmutation of socio-economic groups into ethnicities were inherited and advanced by their Belgian successors.” See <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/burundi-german-colonialism-1890-1916>, op.cit.

who elevated the status of the minority Tutsi at the expense of the majority Hutu was to last until the independence of Burundi.

The training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy that started during the German occupation and continued during the Belgian administration period would encounter different problems related to adaptation, especially, with regard to the shift of preference of the colonizers and missionaries towards Burundian people. This shift did not only occur when the Germans were replaced by the Belgians, but it also happened during the period the Belgians spent in Ruanda-Urundi. The training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy was affected by this situation.

3.2. Legacies of colonists and missionaries: 1916-1961

The legacy of the German colonizers (who were in Burundi before 1916) influenced that of the Belgian administrators (who came to Burundi after the Germans had left), politically. With regard to the relationship between the colonizers and the missionaries it might have been the same. This section discusses, first, the interaction of the German authorities with the first generation of missionaries¹⁷⁸, and secondly, that of the Belgians who were “working with”¹⁷⁹ some missionaries of

¹⁷⁸ This first generation of missionaries is the group of French missionaries who came to Burundi at the beginning of the missionary activity in Burundi and remained there until the WWII. The same group carried on its mission even after the German colonizers had left Burundi (in 1916), working then with the Belgian colonizers. This is confirmed by the following statement: “The bishop of Rwanda in 1920, for example, was the same Father who had led the first Roman Catholic expedition into the kingdom in 1900.” See Alison Des Forges, «Kings without Crowns: the White Fathers in Rwanda» in Daniel McCall, Norman Bennett, and Jeffrey Butler, eds. *Eastern African History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 192.

¹⁷⁹ Here I am using the expression “colonizers working with missionaries” because it has been established that the two groups of people were helping each other. Some examples can be given, in this regard. In his book, William Roger Louis wrote: “The German administration protected the missionaries from hostile Urundi and Ruanda. Attacks on missionaries were regarded by the German authorities as attacks on the administration itself; those guilty of offences against the missionaries were punished in the same way. Protection was the main way in which the administration assisted the missionaries. This was their bond of friendship; they united as Europeans against Africans.” See William Roger Louis, *op. cit.*, 177.

Some more examples:

- “En décembre 1904, Mgr Hirth se présenta personnellement à la cour du roi Musinga (au Rwanda), accompagné du P. Lecoindre et du Frère Pancrace. En vain sollicita-t-il l'autorisation tant désirée, de fonder une mission ; elle lui fut refusée. D'autres essais n'eurent pas un meilleur résultat. De guerre lasse, Mgr Hirth s'adressa au résident von Grawert. Celui-ci répondit par retour du courrier : “Je donne à Votre Grandeur l'autorisation de fonder une mission partout où elle le voudra dans le Nduga ou le Marangara. Afin de vous rendre cette fondation plus facile, j'envoie gracieusement mon premier lieutenant von Nordeck qui se rencontrera avec vous dans le Nduga et à qui vous montrerez l'endroit que vous aurez choisi : il a pour mission de vous appuyer de toute son autorité. Le lieutenant von Nordeck accomplit parfaitement sa mission : le Roi n'osa pas lui refuser l'autorisation royale”. See Inst. Roy. Col. Belge, Biographie coloniale belge, T.V, 1958, col.428-446, *op.cit.*
- “En 1913, le Dr Kandt, résident, adressa une lettre à Mgr Hirth disant : A Monseigneur, ‘ les missions que vous avez fondées au nord du Rwanda contribuent, pour une grande part, à la pacification du district. Elles facilitent grandement la tâche du Gouvernement. L'influence de vos missionnaires nous a épargné la nécessité d'y entreprendre des expéditions militaires. Par contre, le district du Bushiru est resté insoumis jusqu'à ce jour. Le chef n'est pas en mesure d'y faire valoir son autorité. [...], je prie la mission catholique d'y établir un poste’. [...] Malgré la pénurie de missionnaires, Mgr Hirth ne crut pas devoir décliner l'offre : Rambura, au pays de Bushiru,

the first generation until the 1940s and then with another group of missionaries who came in Burundi to replace the first generation of missionaries after WWII. This second group of missionaries stayed in Burundi until the independence of Burundi and even until some years thereafter.

3.2.1. German colonists and missionaries

Since the Germans stayed in Burundi until 1915, they only dealt with the first generation of missionaries. When these missionaries (Missionaries of Africa) entered Ruanda-Urundi, at the beginning of the missionary activity in this area, they were quick to predict the conquest of these two kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi for Christianity. As stated by Alison Des Forges¹⁸⁰, their optimism was rooted in the comparison which they made between the two kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi compared to the neighbouring kingdom of Buganda, which had just experienced two decades of rapid adoption of the new faith¹⁸¹. However, what the missionaries experienced with Burundian (and Rwandan) people during the period of German colonization (as well as for that of Belgian administration) was different from what they had hoped.

The first problem that the missionaries encountered with the Rwandan and Burundian people with regard to conversion to Christianity was that the two kings (of Burundi and Rwanda) as well as the Tutsi people refused to convert to any foreign religion. Given the high value attributed to tradition, the suggestion of converting to new religion was seen as a betrayal of the king since the *Mwami* was thought to be a representative of *Imana* (God). This was the case also for the chiefs who shared the same ethnic group with the king. For them there was no need to convert. The missionaries were disappointed by this resistance of the Tutsi to convert to Christianity¹⁸² because it showed that the strategy of Lavigerie did not work. Lavigerie had told missionaries, “Christianity would become universal in a country only after it had been adopted by the chiefs”¹⁸³. He had even further stressed his argument by saying: “You will not neglect to make them (chiefs) realize that the Christian

fut fondé le 2 juillet 1914, sous le vocable de N.-D. de la Paix. Cette mission réalisa tous les espoirs que Dr Kandt avait fondés sur elle”. Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Alison Des Forges (1942-2009) was an American historian and human rights activist who specialized in the African Great Lakes region, particularly in Rwanda. But, since Burundi was linked to Rwanda to form Ruanda-Urundi during the whole colonial period, what she wrote about the experience of colonizers and missionaries towards Rwandan people is also, somehow, applicable to Burundi. She, in fact, said it: “Urundi, just to the south, had an ethnic, social, and political background very similar to that of Ruanda and had experienced contacts with Europeans under very much the same conditions.” See Alison Des Forges, op.cit, 197. Hence, in her quotes, “Ruandan people” can, somehow, be understood as “Burundian people.”

¹⁸¹ See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 201.

¹⁸² Des Forges wrote: “The Fathers were disappointed by their failure with the Tutsi, but they took comfort from the increasing numbers of Hutu converts”. See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 181.

¹⁸³ See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 201.

doctrine is completely favourable to their authority since it teaches that they are the true representatives of God on the temporal plane.”¹⁸⁴

Before this resistance of the Tutsi the missionaries decided to consider them as impossible to convert and they turned to the Hutu, above all the children¹⁸⁵. As far as education was concerned ¹⁸⁶, they established schools where Hutu children were taught religion as well as the Swahili language. Gifts such as knives, pictures, medals were distributed by the missionaries, in order to attract more converts among the Hutu. The parents who sent their children to mission schools were paid a certain amount, while the Hutu who were ill or hungry received care at the station¹⁸⁷. As Alison Des Forges said, the missionaries’ use of these economic inducements was complemented by their use of political influence. They began to offer protection to all those who frequented the station, especially, the Hutu, even if they were not yet actually committed to the new religion¹⁸⁸. The Hutu saw the missionaries as a source of security. On the contrary, the missionaries’ success among the Hutu increased the Tutsi resentment¹⁸⁹. The Tutsi saw the missionaries as secular lords if not another category of colonizers because in areas where military posts had not yet been established mission stations received complaints and handled government business¹⁹⁰.

As to the German colonizers, they were worried because the missionaries were only concentrating on Hutu children. However, the worry of the German authorities was not that the Tutsi were not converting to Christianity but rather the fact that the Tutsi were not receiving education. In December 1906, Grawert wrote to Bishop Hirth saying: “I hope that the impact of knowledge would reach the Tutsi in particular, because they tended to remain aloof from Europeans and European culture.”¹⁹¹ The German resident for Burundi, Grawert, was then expressing the fear of the administration that the missionaries would only educate the Hutu but not the Tutsi. This was in accordance with the way the Germans considered the Tutsi in believing them as the only suitable

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 179.

¹⁸⁵ William Roger Louis, *op. cit.*, 182.

¹⁸⁶ Among other domains of missionaries’ interest, education is going to be emphasized in this part of the study, since it might have had an impact, in one way or another, to the future training of Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

¹⁸⁷ Alison Des Forge, *op. cit.*, 181.

¹⁸⁸ Des Forges reported the following, “In one case, a missionary took up the cause of an as yet unconverted Hutu whose lord (Tutsi) had demanded the return of several cattle as a fine for “disobedience.” Assuming that the disobedience was nothing more than the Hutu’s recent attendance at the mission, the missionary disregarded the decision of the traditional African judge and tried to force the Tutsi to return not only the fine in question, but also cattle which the lord had confiscated from the Hutu five years before.” See, Des Forges, 181.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 182.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 184-185.

¹⁹¹ William Roger Louis, *op. cit.*, 186

“race” to rule the country¹⁹². This was exacerbated by the fact that education was exclusively entrusted to the missionaries as stated in the following:

Concerning secular education, the Holy See signed a convention with the colonial Government on the organisation of schools in Ruanda-Urundi on the 26 May 1906. That convention specified the manner in which the Missionaries would participate in the education of the indigenous people. According to that convention, the missions were supposed to provide programmes whereas the government provided subsidies. During the period of the German colonial rule, the Colonial Government was not able to set up official or public schools. It was only the Catholic Church that administered school education, almost on the behalf of the Government¹⁹³.

According to this statement, during the German colonization education was only entrusted to missionaries. However, because the Tutsi children were not educated in the mission schools as was the case for the Hutu children, the administration itself began schools. These government schools were to exclusively educate children from the Tutsi ethnic group. In 1909, a government school was established in Usumbura, Urundi. With the transfer of the residency to Gitega a school was built there also; in 1913 it had thirty-five pupils. These schools were taught by a teacher sent by the central government¹⁹⁴. But it seems that the missionaries succeeded where the German officials failed. Until the end of the German colonial period in Ruanda-Urundi the Hutu children were far better educated (in mission schools) than the Tutsi children, educated in government schools. When the Belgians arrived in Ruanda-Urundi the situation drastically changed.

3.2.2. Belgian colonists and Missionaries

The Belgian colonizers arrived in Urundi in 1916. The first generation of missionaries had been there more than twenty years before. The Belgian colonizers worked, first, with this group of missionaries for the period from 1916 to the end of WWII, and then with the second generation of missionaries during the period from the end of WWII to 1961.

a. Belgians and Missionaries: The pre-War¹⁹⁵ period

When the Belgians arrived in Ruanda-Urundi they relied on the missionaries for advice and information about the newly conquered country. Their willingness to collaborate with the missionaries was spurred by practical needs as well as by a philosophy which saw spiritual and

¹⁹² In 1906, the resident Grawert, in his instruction to other German authorities, said: “We must deal directly with the Tutsi in administration as the rulers of the country.” See William Roger Louis, op. cit., 182.

¹⁹³ See «Education in Rwanda», accessed July 23, 2014, url: <http://schoolsonline.britishcouncil.org/blogs/sttheresamukono/catholic-education-week-rwands>.

¹⁹⁴ See William Roger Louis, op. cit., 185-186.

¹⁹⁵ Here War refers to WWII.

secular progress as inevitably united¹⁹⁶. The missionaries informed the Belgians about the failure of the Tutsi in schools whether these had been introduced by the missionaries or by the administrators. This failure was interpreted as another indication of the Tutsi's refusal to accept innovation¹⁹⁷. In addition, this attitude of the Tutsi was considered as a way of ridiculing Europeans¹⁹⁸. Since secular education was completely tied to the missions, the Belgians were especially concerned about the hostility between the Tutsi and the missionaries.

The Belgians then sought how to reverse the situation. The best way of doing this was to oblige, by force, the kings (of Ruanda and Urundi) to accept the new religion taught by the missionaries. For instance, in 1917, the Belgians soon made clear to Musinga, the then king of Ruanda, their intention to support the spread of Christianity. They required Musinga himself to declare freedom of religion. The following is the "forced" declaration of Musinga:

I, Musinga, Mwami of Ruanda, I have decided that from this day forth any subject of my kingdom will be free to practice the religion to which he feels attracted. Any chief or sub-chief who prohibits his subordinated, his subjects or the children of his subjects from practicing the religion of their choice or from attending classes at the school to receive instruction, will be punished, as is the custom, like my chief who forgets that he owes me respect and obedience, by imprisonment from one to thirty days¹⁹⁹.

For both Ruanda and Urundi, other measures obliging the king, his chiefs and the Tutsi to convert to Christianity followed. A school for the sons of chiefs was assured rapid success by Musinga's approval; one hundred students (all of them Tutsi) were enrolled by 1920²⁰⁰. The tribute to the Mwami was reduced. Belgian taxes ranging between 6 to 15 francs were charged for each wife in a polygamous household and 4 francs more were collected for each head of cattle²⁰¹. The latter two burdens fell primarily on Tutsi (the Mwami included), who usually maintained several wives and large herds of cattle.

In Burundi the annual eight-day *umuganuro* ceremony was stopped²⁰². The Belgians' greatest lever in forcing change among the Tutsi was the use of men from outside the traditional elite in the

¹⁹⁶ See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 185.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 185.

¹⁹⁸ Des Forges says: "The Tutsi sense of independence from both spiritual and secular invaders could be maintained not only by passively resisting their orders and pleas, but also by ridiculing the foreigners." See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 185.

¹⁹⁹ De Lacger quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 192.

²⁰⁰ See « Rapport sur l'administration Belge » quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 188.

²⁰¹ See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 189.

²⁰² Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser explain: "The *Umuganuro* ceremony was a big feast which officially began the planting season for Hutu and Tutsi farmers throughout the kingdom. *Umuganuro* was the traditional high-point of the Burundian religious cycle, the great annual celebration of the king's divine role as nurturer and protector of the crop. In 1928, Belgian authorities, eventually, together with European missionaries pressured King Mwambutsa IV to stop presiding over *Umuganuro*, which was considered as primitive, senseless and contradictory to the religious

administration. By employing Hutu and less important Tutsi as native secretaries, the Belgians were able to threaten the leading Tutsi with complete loss of power if they did not adapt.

All these measures aimed to force members of Tutsi ethnic group to embrace the Catholic faith as well as European culture. Of course, the missionaries were very happy of the work that Belgian authorities were doing²⁰³. With all the decisions of the Belgians, the Tutsi had nothing else to do than to comply²⁰⁴. The first major of the Tutsi accommodation to the Belgian system came in 1924, when the number of students at the Nyanza School for sons of chiefs increased from 167 to 295²⁰⁵. Tutsi willingness to attend the school had progressed so much that by 1925 the administration was able to announce that the institution was exclusively for Tutsi. The missionaries were pleased with the expansion of the Church, but as late as 1925, they were still concerned that the Tutsi held back from accepting the new faith.

In 1926²⁰⁶ the missionaries began noticing a remarkable change taking place among the Tutsi²⁰⁷. The Tutsi were educated and also converted to Catholic faith, though it was by force, in the early years. So, even though the members of Tutsi ethnic group embraced the Catholic faith slowly starting by the chiefs, according to the documents consulted²⁰⁸, they became good Christians and even those who went for training in order to become priests managed to quickly get acquainted with the life in seminaries and became good priests.

Then, from 1929, the Belgians began praising Tutsi intelligence and capacity for assimilation, a sharp contrast to their earlier condemnations of the retrograde spirit of the elite²⁰⁹. During the following years, the Belgian authorities together with the missionaries played the card of “Tutsi-

education necessary for joining the Catholic Church. In 1930, King Mwambutsa IV married a Christian woman and subsequently announced that he would no longer preside over *umuganuro* festivities”. See Rose M. Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, op. cit., 33.

²⁰³ Des Forges said that, “The White Fathers remarked with pleasure that the Belgians had forced Musinga to renounce the tradition which prevented him from seeing his children attending the foreigner schools and that he dressed them in European clothes”. See Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 188.

²⁰⁴ “The Tutsi minority which ruled the country realised they had to turn to the White Fathers to consolidate and extend their positions.” See Saskia Van Hoyweghen, «The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: A Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority», *African Affairs* 95, no. 380 (1996): 380.

²⁰⁵ « Rapport présenté par le gouvernement Belge (1925) » quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 191.

²⁰⁶ See Alison Des Forges op. cit., 194.

²⁰⁷ Definitely, this late conversion of the Tutsi to Christianity would be noticeable, for both Burundi and Rwanda, about the ethnic group from which the first indigenous priests would come.

²⁰⁸ For instance, the following excerpt notes : « C’est à partir de l’est que le mouvement de conversion de la classe dirigeante a débuté avec le baptême du chef Kiraranganya Joseph. D’autres chefs de la région vont suivre son exemple. En 1924, l’objectif semble avoir été atteint, car tous les Baganwa-Batare de cette partie du pays (environ 70 personnes) sont chrétiens ou catéchumènes. A partir de ce moment, la préoccupation des missionnaires est devenue celle de « conserver tous les Batare dans la bonne voie, éduquer leurs futurs successeurs, profiter des bonnes dispositions pour convertir parents, amis et sujets ». See Diaire de Rusengo quoted by Simon Ruragaragaza et Diomède Nkurunziza, *Bukeye bwa Banga. Souvenirs de croyants et d’épreuves* (Bujumbura : Presses Lavigerie, 2004), 113.

²⁰⁹ « Rapport présenté par le gouvernement Belge (1929) » quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 191.

superiority” referring to their presumed Hamitic origin. For instance, Bishop Léon-Paul Classe²¹⁰ criticized the Belgian experiments with Hutu administrators, reminding them, in 1927, that the Tutsi were “born chiefs, who had the sense of how to command” and that the Hutu preferred obeying a Tutsi to taking orders from another member of the lower caste²¹¹. In 1930, the same bishop was even more fearful of the consequences of upsetting the “racial aristocracy”. He wrote to the administration:

The greatest disservice which the government could do to itself and to the country would be to suppress the mututsi caste. A revolution of this kind would lead the country straight into anarchy and bitterly anti-European Communism. Far from promoting progress, it would nullify the government’s action by depriving it of assistants who are, by birth, capable of understanding and following it. This is the view and firm belief of all the superiors of the Ruandan mission, without exception²¹².

These statements show how much focus was put on the Tutsi, who were then benefiting everything, education, particularly, from the Belgians and the missionaries to the detriment of the Hutu. Things went unchanged until the 1940s, precisely, after WWII, when another generation of Belgian authorities and progressive missionaries came to Ruanda-Urundi.

b. Belgians and missionaries: The post-war period

After WWII, the political climate had changed sufficiently to generate among the new generation of missionaries and administrators sympathy for the Hutu cause.

During this period, the Roman Catholic Church and the colonial authorities reversed their preferences. The new generation of Belgian missionaries who arrived in Ruanda-Urundi brought with them another strand of Catholic teaching – the social justice theory of the social Christian movement. These priests and colonial officers – most of them Flemish – turned away from the Tutsi who were a dominant minority. Instead, they identified with the oppressed Hutu majority²¹³. According to Helen M. Hintjens, this new Hutu–Tutsi relation was an immediate consequence of the inter-Belgian rivalries between Flemish and Walloons at that time²¹⁴. After WWII, many more Flemish officials and priests were appointed to the colonial service. Posted to Ruanda and Urundi,

²¹⁰ The online collection Catholic-Hierarchy provides his biography: “Léon-Paul Classe was born on 28 June 1874, in Metz, France. He was ordained priest on 31 March, 1900, in the congregation of the Missionaries of Africa. He was given different responsibilities including that of being in charge of Saint Léon Seminary of Kabgayi, in Rwanda. He was appointed vicar apostolic of Rwanda on 10 April, 1922. He was ordained Bishop on 28 May, 1922. He died on 31 January, 1945. See <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bclas.html>, accessed January 18, 2015.

²¹¹ De Lacger quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 195

²¹² De Lacger quoted in Alison Des Forges, op. cit., 195-196.

²¹³ See «The Ungodly Missionary legacy.» op.cit.

²¹⁴ See Helen M. Hintjens, «Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda», *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no.2 (1999), 254. However, this theory announced by Hintjens concerning the “Hutu-Tutsi relation” as an immediate consequence of the “Flemish and Walloons relation”, that time, has not been much discussed in the literature. It should then be an interesting area for future research.

they tended to identify with the Hutu underdogs against the Tutsi rulers, whom they may have equated with the Walloon elite in Belgium, perceived as snobbish and effete. This new generation of Belgian officials and clergy that emerged after WWII identified then more strongly with the Bahutu cause, possibly because of the projection of Flemish feelings of resentment at Walloon domination onto the (completely different) situation of polarisation in what was then Ruanda-Urundi²¹⁵.

This generation of Belgian authorities and, especially, the progressive priests who came to Ruanda-Urundi during this period used the above theory to shape if not to reverse the situation, as Linden points out:

While the majority of Catholic missionaries continued to sympathize with the Tutsi minority who dominated the society, the new progressive priests cultivated a Hutu counter-elite, providing opportunities for education and employment to select Hutu. The progressive priests and their Hutu protégés helped raise the consciousness among the Hutu masses of their exploitation, and in the late 1950s, ethnic tensions increased sharply. The Belgian administration, influenced by the missionaries, abruptly switched its allegiance from the Tutsi to the Hutu and rapidly replaced Tutsi chiefs and officials with Hutu. For instance, Rwanda achieved independence in 1962 with an almost entirely Hutu government²¹⁶.

This situation would, somehow, impact on the training of the Burundian seminarians that was underway when this shift of focus from Tutsi to Hutu occurred. Saskia Van Hoyweghen confirms the fact saying: “In the seminaries a Hutu counter-elite was formed. This elite could move to power because it successfully rallied the support of social Catholicism.”²¹⁷ This was what was happening in Rwanda and Burundi, around this period of Post-War until the independence of both countries.

3.3. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter examined the power dynamics between the decision-makers involved with Burundian people, as far as ethnic groups were concerned, throughout the period of colonization in Burundi in general, and that of Belgian administration in particular. The colonizers, basing themselves on some ideological assumptions, especially the ‘Hamitic theory’ that overemphasized the distinction between the Tutsi and Hutu, considered that the members of the Tutsi ethnic group were more suitable to govern than the rest of Burundian society. However, when it came to education, a problem arose because this education was provided by mission schools and the Tutsi did not want, initially at least, to attend this kind of school. This had a reason. The missionary education went along with conversion to Christianity and the Tutsi, rooted in their tradition, did not want to convert to

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Linden quoted in Timothy Longman, «Christian Churches and Genocide in Rwanda», op. cit.

²¹⁷ Saskia Van Hoyweghen, op. cit.: 381.

Christianity, an act they regarded as a betrayal, especially when this was to be applied to the king. So the Tutsi missed conversion as well as the education. The missionaries then turned to the Hutu for education with a view to preparing them for some future high social positions. But the administrative authorities could not let this state of things continue. The German authorities and, later, the Belgian authorities decided to oblige by force the Tutsi whom they considered as a trustful people and able to govern, to get educated as well. Therefore, the government itself started creating schools in which only members of Tutsi ethnic group were allowed to enter.

By 1926, Tutsi were as educated as Hutu and even more educated than them. They had also converted to Christianity. The missionaries, who had been disappointed to see that the Tutsi did not want to convert to Christianity, were then happy and relieved by this achievement of the Belgian authorities. From there, Belgian authorities and missionaries carried on their mission in Ruanda-Urundi focussing more on the Tutsi ethnic group. This situation would reverse after WWII, when a new generation of Belgian authorities and progressive priests came to Ruanda-Urundi.

As it has been observed in this chapter, for the purpose of civilizing the Burundian people through education and civilization, the two groups, the colonizers and missionaries, had common concerns and aims and would work together, helping each other²¹⁸. However, politically, for certain other purposes, such as the independence of Burundi, these two groups would have different concerns and aims. This was because after independence of Burundi, the colonizers would go back home, whereas the missionaries would remain. This point will be clearly described later in this study.

So these dynamics between the administration authorities and the missionaries towards Burundian people, as far as their ethnic groups were concerned, definitely affected the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy. This is what the next chapter is going to discuss in depth.

²¹⁸ Augustin Mvuyekure clearly notes: "L'Eglise ne peut pas se passer de la force organisée que présente l'Etat colonial pour le maintien de l'ordre et de la sécurité ou tout simplement pour les multiples avantages matériels, tels que les concessions de terre, l'octroi de subsides pour le fonctionnement des écoles, des dispensaires et des hôpitaux sans oublier l'exemption des droits de douane pour des objets importés nécessaires au culte. Dans la construction des écoles et des postes de mission, l'Etat accorde, par le biais des chefs et des sous-chefs, la main-d'œuvre gratuite aux missionnaires. Au point de vue spirituel et moral, l'Eglise fait parfois appel à la force de l'Etat pour réprimer les « coutumes barbares » la polygamie et le culte de Kiranga ». He adds : « En 1929, le gouvernement a supprimé la fête nationale des prémices Umuganuro, fête de l'Union et de la cohésion nationale s'il en fût. L'Eglise, par ses missionnaires « très zélés » comme Canonica, n'est pas étrangère à cette mesure » See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit, 117-118.

Chapter four

Development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy

This chapter deals with the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy from its establishment until 1961. With the ethnic factor in mind, the training and the growth of this clergy within this period are going to be the main focus of the chapter. In addition, the status of the Burundian indigenous priests and the role that they played in the independence movement are also going to be looked at.

4.1. The training of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy

Two elements are going to be talked about in the following section. I will first discuss the seminaries, then the seminarians.

4.1.1. The seminaries

The Missionaries of Africa, from the beginning of their missionary activity, focussed on educating African priests who would develop the Church and, in time, replace them. This was the main strategy of Cardinal Lavigerie. In addition, the popes were always encouraging the promotion of local vocations. Their wishes were expressed in different apostolic and encyclical letters. For instance, in the apostolic letter *Maximum Illud* Benedict XV stated:

There is one final and very important point for anyone who has charge of a mission. He must make it his special concern to secure and train local candidates for the sacred ministry. In this policy lies the greatest hope of the new churches. For the local priest, one with his people by birth, by nature, by his sympathies and his aspirations, is remarkably effective in appealing to their mentality and thus attracting them to the Faith. Far better than anyone else he knows the kind of argument they will listen to, and as a result, he often has easy access to places where a foreign priest would not be tolerated.²¹⁹

In the same encyclical letter, Benedict XV had encouraged the foundation of regional seminaries serving several vicariates. Very early, the missionaries understood the message. Already, during the period when Ruanda-Urundi was still under the German occupation, thus part of German East Africa, two seminaries for training of Tanzanian, Rwandan and Burundian seminarians had been founded.

²¹⁹ See Pope Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud* (Apostolic letter on the propagation of the faith throughout the world), (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1919), no.14.

These two seminaries were both founded in Tanzania. The first one was created in 1903-1904, at Rubya, by Monsignor Joseph Hirth²²⁰ and the second at Ushirombo, in November 1908, by François Gerboin²²¹.

The Burundian seminarians were sent to be trained at Ushirombo²²² whereas the Rwandan seminarians were trained at Rubya²²³, both in Tanzania. It is important to recall that before 1912 the Catholic Church of Urundi and that of Ruanda did not belong to the same vicariate. The Catholic Church of Ruanda belonged to the vicariate of South Nyanza whereas that of Urundi was part of the vicariate of Unyanyembe. The seminarians of Ruanda-Urundi were then sent to two separate seminaries but in the same country, Tanzania. This was the case until 1912²²⁴.

In 1912 when the apostolic vicariate of Kivu – formed by Ruanda and Urundi – was created on 12 December 1912 and put under the responsibility of Msgr Joseph Hirth²²⁵, things changed. Msgr Joseph Hirth, residing in Ruanda (at Nyundo) decided to repatriate all the seminarians of Ruanda and those of Urundi to be formed in their home vicariate, the vicariate of Kivu²²⁶. A minor seminary was thus opened in Ruanda on 4 October 1913 at Kabgayi. It took the same name as in Rubya, Saint

²²⁰ The following information confirms: “On November 1, 1903 the White Fathers led by Bishop John Joseph Hirth created the Minor Seminary at Kyegoromora, Kagondo Parish in Bukoba Diocese. It was transferred to Rubya in November 1904. In 1909, after having taken the name of Saint Léon Minor Seminary, it was inaugurated by Bishop Hirth.” See Mwizerwa H. Gilbert, «Cradle of Priesthood in Rwanda Celebrate Jubilee of 100 Years», accessed January 10, 2015, url: <http://en.igihe.com/religion/cradle-of-priesthood-in-rwanda-celebrate-jubilee.html>.

²²¹ The following statement seems to confirm the fact: “François Gerboin was not able to start a seminary at Ushirombo until 1908. The building of St. Charles’ Seminary was begun during that year, and the seminary was opened in November of the same year”. See Aylward Shorter, *Cross and Flag in Africa: The White Fathers during the Colonial Scramble (1892-1914)*, (New York: Orbis Books, 2006), 217. This is confirmed again by the following information: “Mgr Gerboin had started a junior seminary at Ushirombo in November 1908 with the double aim of producing priests and catechists”. See «Brief history of the archdiocese of Tabora», accessed January 15, 2014, url: <http://www.archdioceseoftabora.org/our-history/>.

²²² See UCM, *Jubilée d’or des premières ordinations sacerdotales au Burundi 1925-1975* (n. p.: n. p., 1977), 10.

²²³ The following statement confirms: “C’est avec une joie bien compréhensible que les 35 séminaristes du Rwanda quittèrent Rubya, pour s’installer à Kansi dans des bâtisses provisoires, qu’on avait baptisés du nom de séminaire Saint-Léon.” See Institut royal colonial Belge, *Biographie coloniale Belge*, T.V. 1958, Col.428-446, (op. cit.).

²²⁴ None of the documents consulted indicated any precise date indicating when the first Burundian seminarian was recruited to be sent at Ushirombo but it is known that by 1912, some Burundian seminarians were already there. The following excerpt states: “Très tôt, les missionnaires se sont préoccupés de la formation d’un clergé local. Déjà en 1912 on fait état de quelques garçons burundais étudiant au petit séminaire d’Ushirombo, dans l’actuelle Tanzanie.” See *Dossier ANB-BIA*, «Burundi : Centenaire de l’Eglise catholique», accessed December 19, 2014, url: <http://www.ospiti.peacelink.it/anb-bia/nr342/fl10.html>. So, the first Burundian seminarian(s) was (were) recruited and sent to Ushirombo seminary in Tanzania during the period 1908- 1912, the exact year being not well known.

²²⁵ Method M. P. Kilaini notes: “In the Chapter of the Society of the White Fathers of April 1912, it was decided to divide the vicariates of South Nyanza and Unyanyembe; taking Rwanda from one and Burundi from the other to form the new vicariate of Kivu. [...] In the general meeting of 9 December 1912, the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide approved the divisions of the vicariates of Unyanyembe and South Nyanza to form a new vicariate of Kivu and the transfer of Bishop Hirth to the new Vicariate. This was ratified by Pope Pius X and officially published on 12 December 1912”. See Method M. P. Kilaini, *The Catholic Evangelization of Kagera in North-West Tanzania. The Pioneer Period 1892-1912*, PhD (Church History) Thesis, Roma, Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1990, 261-263.

²²⁶ Aylward Shorter confirms: “In 1912 Hirth was named vicar apostolic of Kivu (Ruanda and Urundi), and immediately started junior and senior seminary streams at Kabgayi (Rwanda), bringing his Rwandan students there from Rubya, as well as Burundi students from Gerboin’s seminary at Ushirombo” See Aylward Shorter, op. cit., 217.

Leon. On 26 March 1917, the Saint Leon Seminary of Kabgayi was divided into a major and a minor seminary²²⁷. The minor Burundian seminarians continued to be sent to Saint Leon Minor Seminary of Kabgayi until 1926, when the first minor seminary was set up at Mugeru in Burundi²²⁸.

This first minor seminary in Burundi opened only with new seminarians. Those who were being trained in the minor seminary of Kabgayi remained there²²⁹. On 18 November 1931, the major seminary of Kabgayi was elevated to the rank of a regional seminary for the apostolic vicariate of Urundi, Kivu, Lake Albert and of course Ruanda. On 3 December 1936 the major seminary of Kabgayi was transferred to Charles Borromeo major Seminary at Nyakibanda²³⁰. From 1936 until 1951, the Burundian major seminarians were trained at Nyakibanda. They were repatriated to Burundi in 1951 (only for those who were doing Philosophy because those who were doing Theology had to wait for another year at Nyakibanda major seminary) when the first major seminary was inaugurated at Burasira²³¹. With regard to Philosophy, the major seminary of Burasira in Burundi was also receiving the seminarians from Rwanda and Kivu. It had thus the status of a regional seminary as it was the case for that of Nyakibanda²³².

The two Burundian seminaries, the minor seminary at Mugeru and the major seminary at Burasira still exist. In the following section, we shall present and discuss the names of the Burundians who are believed to have attended these above mentioned seminaries, especially, the two first ones, Ushirombo, in Tanzania and Kabgayi, in Rwanda.

²²⁷ Mwizerwa H. Gilbert states: "Saint Leon Minor Seminary shifted from Tanzania and came to Kabgayi on 4th October 1913; after settling at Nyaruhengeri in the mission of Kansi for practically a year. Then it received the seminarians of both Rwanda and Burundi. At first, the Seminary of Kabgayi had both minor and major seminarians, because at that time the Bishop had repatriated his seminarians who had finished the Minor seminary in Tanzania. Later on the two institutions separated on 26th March 1917 under the direction of Father Léon Classe, when the Board decided to separate the Major from the Minor Seminary into two entities." See Mwizerwa H. Gilbert, op. cit.

²²⁸ The document of UCM confirms the date: "Dans une circulaire de 1922, Mgr Gorju, Vicaire Apostolique du Burundi de 1922 à 1937, explicitait son grand désir de voir un jour naître un petit séminaire au Burundi. Ce vœu se réalisa le 11 février 1926 avec l'ouverture du petit séminaire de Mugeru aux 22 premières recrues sous la direction du respecté P. Tristan." See UCM, op. cit., 17.

²²⁹ The annual report of the Missionaries of Africa (1925-1926) notes : "Au jour d'anniversaire de la fondation du poste, le 11 février 1926, dans des locaux tout neufs bâtis par le cher Frère Celse et meublés par le cher Frère Vincent de Paul, s'ouvrait à Mugeru même le Petit Séminaire de l'Urundi avec 22 nouveaux élèves, les anciens continuant leurs études au Séminaire de Kabgayi, dans le Rwanda." See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels no.21, année 1925-1926* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1926), 150.

²³⁰ See « Grand Séminaire St-Charles Borromée - Rwanda », accessed January 12, 2015, url : <http://www.gssc-rw.urbaniana.edu/pages/present.htm>.

²³¹ UCM points out : "C'est aussi en 1951 que le Grand Séminaire de Burasira au Burundi ouvre ses portes pour accueillir successivement les jeunes philosophes, et une année après, les théologiens qui séjournaient à l'étranger". See UCM, op. cit., 27.

²³² The following information alludes to that: "Le Séminaire Régional de Nyakibanda recevant les grands séminaristes des Vicariats de l'Urundi, du Rwanda et du Kivu, s'étant avéré trop petit, il a été décidé, lors du passage de Monseigneur le Supérieur Général, que dorénavant les philosophes seront séparés des théologiens. Les théologiens resteront à Nyakibanda et, pour les philosophes, on construira un nouveau séminaire : le philosophicum. [...] Les travaux commencés en juillet 1949 sont déjà bien avancés. [...] Les bâtiments suffiront pour recevoir, à la rentrée prochaine, 1^{er} février 1951, les élèves de première année de philosophie." See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels, année 1949-1950*, (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1950), 298.

4.1.2. The first Burundian seminarians

Follows here the list of the first Burundian seminarians as they were being enrolled in the Kabgayi seminary throughout the time. Secondly, a short assessment of the list will follow.

a. List of the first Burundian seminarians at Kabgayi (Table 1)

The list which is going to be presented below is drawn from a document published online by Bernard Palmer²³³. The list²³⁴ provides the names of all the seminarians who attended the minor seminary of Kabgayi (Saint Léon Seminary) during the period 1912-1990. The document only contains the names of Rwandan and Burundian seminarians. Besides the names of the seminarians, the document provides their year of birth, their parish/Mission of origin, their year of entry in the seminary and their year of leaving the seminary.

It was not easy to distinguish the name of a Rwandan seminarian from that of a Burundian, given the similarities of Kirundi (the mother tongue of Burundi) and Kinyarwanda (the mother tongue of Rwanda). The only thing that helped identifying if not separating the Burundian seminarians from their Rwandan fellow students was the indication of the parish of origin. However, for twenty-nine seminarians the indication of the parish of origin was not given. Consequently, these names were left out given that they could not be identified. But, statistically, from these twenty-nine seminarians left out, six seminarians may have been Burundians, considering the fact that in the list, the Burundian seminarians represented one-fifth of the Rwandan seminarians²³⁵.

The following is the list of Burundian seminarians who attended Kabgayi minor seminary.

²³³ No further biographical information was provided about Bernard Palmer. He published the article on October 08, 2013. The article was a pdf downloadable version. It was still online on March 01, 2015, the day I last accessed it.

²³⁴ The list (pdf document) was entitled “Petit Séminaire St Léon Kabgayi, BP 66 GITARAMA, Registre des séminaristes (1912-1990) ».

²³⁵ From the first name provided by the list under review up to the name of the last Burundian seminarian in the list, the total number of seminarians (Rwandans and Burundians together) was 517. Of this figure, Burundian seminarians clearly identified were 118, representing almost 1/5.

No ^s	Name & Surname	Parish/ Mission of origin	Date of birth	Date of entry in the Seminary	Date of leaving the Seminary
1	Auguste Nyamusi	Kanyinya	1898	October , 1913	29.07.1919
2	Basile Kagali	Mugera	(n. d)	October , 1913	1914
3	Camille Sentavyo	Rugali ²³⁶	(n. d)	October , 1913	12.01.1914
4	Clet Ruzahale	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	1914
5	Louis Simbakira	Rugali	1900	October , 1913	21.01.1917
6	Mathias Bazahica	Muyaga	1899	October , 1913	29.07.1919
7	Patrice Barakekenwa ²³⁷	Muyaga	1899	October , 1913	30.07.0918
8	Protais Misigaro	Kanyinya	(n. d)	October , 1913	12.01.1914
9	Sebastien Kabugu	Mugera	(n. d)	October , 1913	05.11.1914
10	Thomas Rubayiminsi	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	1915
11	Willibrord Segirije	Muyaga	1898	October , 1913	22.03.1917
12	Alfred Ndahimana	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	1915
13	Alphonse Bampenda	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	1915
14	Austin Syogo	Rugali	1900	October , 1913	August 1920
15	Clet Ntunguka	Kanyinya	1900	October , 1913	July 1917
16	Ernest Singizingabo	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	05.11.1914
17	Fidèle Ndimuruhanga	Kanyinya	(n. d)	October , 1913	07.11.1916
18	Irénée Bunere	Rugali	(n. d)	October , 1913	07.04.1915
19	Canisius Ntamakiriro	Muyaga	1900	October , 1913	13.04.1918
20	Lin Bampatunguye	Kanyinya	1895	October , 1913	24.11.1917
21	Matthieu Bategeshamahanga	Rugali	1899	October , 1913	August 1917

²³⁶ Rugali is the rwandan way of writing Rugari (in Kirundi).

²³⁷ For this seminarian Patrice Barakekenwa, something important needs to be mentioned. It seems that the day of his priestly ordination, his surname « Barakekenwa », - which was judged not worthy for a priest-, changed into « Ntidendereza ». He was then ordained a priest, (together with Emile Ngendagende) at Mugera, in Burundi, on 19 December 1925, as Patrice Ntidendereza instead of Patrice Barakekenwa, the name he had while he was a seminarian. (The information was given by the Emeritus Bishop of Ngozi, Msgr Stanislas Kaburungu).

22	Nazaire Kazige	Rugali	1901	October , 1913	August 1919
23	Prime Nkamakama	Kanyinya	1899	October , 1913	10.10.1917
24	Simon Mbonabuca	Muyaga	1900	October , 1913	August 1920
25	Sebastien Ndobeye	Rugali	1904	October , 1913	August 1920
26	Sebastien Ndangamira	Kanyinya	1899	October , 1913	23.03.1917
27	Xavier Muntunutwe	Rugali	1900	October , 1913	August 1917
28	Kanyugutu Jean	Muyaga	(n. d)	October , 1913	24.01.1915
29	Emile Ngendagende	Muyaga	1901	01.08.1914	August 1917
30	Gabriel Harushakamwe	Muyaga	1900	01.08.1914	29.07.1919
31	Siboire Yuhi	Mugera	(n. d)	01.08.1914	1915
32	Achille Mporakunzira	Rugali	1901	October, 1916	Gd. Sém. (n. d)
33	Aimé Minani	Kanyinya	1902	October, 1916	Gd. Sém. (n. d)
34	Alfred Ndashinuma	Rugali	1899	October, 1916	13.04.1918
35	Alype Barigenera	Rugali	1900	October, 1916	23.03.1917
36	Amédée Bushaho	Rugali	1900	October, 1916	Gd.Sém. (n. d)
37	Antoine Ntamagiro	Kanyinya	1900	October, 1916	21.01.1917
38	Antoine Buradedeye	Muyaga	1899	October, 1916	13.04.1918
39	Tatien - ?	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	25.05.1921
40	Florentin Segatwa	Muyaga	1900	October, 1916	August 1917
41	Gervais Kagomba	Kanyinya	1902	October, 1916	August 1919
42	Marc Rwaswa	Kanyinya	1900	October, 1916	29.07.1916
43	Zacharie Ntasimbakaziri	Kanyinya	1898	October, 1916	August 1917
44	Aimé Hanobukubiye	Kanyinya	1901	October, 1916	August 1919
45	Artemon Mituragaro	Muyaga	1902	September, 1917	Gd Sém. (n. d)
46	Eusèbe Sinamye	Muyaga	1904	October, 1916	01.02.1924
47	François Kaserebanye	Muyaga	1902	October, 1916	(n. d)

48	Gabriel Kasozi	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	12.06.1922
49	Gérase Mushambana	Muyaga	1902	October, 1916	August 1919
50	Henri Kaderi	Muyaga	1905	October, 1916	Gd Sém. (n. d)
51	Pamphile Kimihungo	Muyaga	1901	October, 1916	(n. d)
52	Soter Ntarazama	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	10.04.1928
53	Stanislas Munoni	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	Gd. Sém. (n. d)
54	Yves Ntaherezo	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	August 1919
55	Zacharie Baganira	Muyaga	1903	October, 1916	August 1919
56	Gaston Budondogori	Mugera	1900	October, 1916	February 1921
57	Albert Samirizi	Mugera	1900	October, 1916	(n. d)
58	Pascal Ruhashenkiko	Buhonga	1905	October, 1916	17.07.1924
59	Raphael Kamanzi	Buhonga	1905	October, 1916	29.09.1924
60	Alexis Kavuye	Muyaga	1904	October, 1918	26.09.1925
61	Joseph Rugomana	Muyaga	1904	October, 1918	26.09.1925
62	Joseph Birahari	Muyaga	1906	October, 1918	01.02.1924
63	Louis Lufyikiri	Muyaga	1906	October, 1918	12.06.1922
64	- ? Dorimana	Muyaga	1904	October, 1918	25.09.1924
65	Michel Ntezimana	Muyaga	1906	October, 1918	29.09.1924
66	Urbain Ciza	Muyaga	1903	October, 1918	25.05.1921
67	Xavier Muteragirana	Muyaga	1906	October, 1918	29.09.1924
68	Joseph Kidende	Kanyinya	1903	October, 1918	August 1919
69	Mathias Kanyabuhura	Kanyinya	1905	October, 1918	26.09.1925
70	Paul Ntirampeba	Kanyinya	1903	October, 1918	29.09.1924
71	Protas Butakotoye	Kanyinya	1903	October, 1918	29.09.1924
72	Adrien Sekacanyi	Kanyinya	1902	September ,1919	19.07.1920
73	Martin Ntwatwa	Kanyinya	1908	September ,1919	31.08.1926

74	Sylvestre Ntirujinama	Buhonga	1905	September ,1919	26.09.1925
75	Jacques Kaduri	Muyaga	1906	November, 1920	25.05.1921
76	Michel - ?	Muyaga	1906	November, 1920	31.08.1926
77	Barnabé Ntacuti	Buhonga	1904	November, 1920	23.07.1923
78	- Kanyamuhanga	Kanyinya	1906	November, 1920	10.12.1921
79	Anaclet Ruradobeye	Kanyinya	1907	November, 1920	25.05.1921
80	Pascal Ntabindi	Mugera	1907	November, 1920	31.08.1926
81	Michel Ndakoraniwe	Mugera	1905	November, 1920	31.08.1926
82	Nicodème Kinega	Muyaga	1904	November, 1920	29.12.1920
83	Irénée Serushahu	Muyaga	1906	November, 1920	31.08.1926
84	Ange Sekaruhari	Muyaga	1908	November, 1920	08.12.1923
85	Nicolas Barigono	Muyaga	1904	November, 1920	25.05.1921
86	Gabriel Rusekere	Mugera	1907	August, 1921	26.05.1926
87	Cyprien Nkundwanabake	Mugera	1907	August, 1921	29.08.1927
88	Michel Minani	Rugali	1908	August, 1921	September 1927
89	Georges Mayira	Rugali	1907	August, 1921	23.07.1923
90	Joseph Ntawe	Muyaga	1907	August, 1921	27.09.1927
91	Irénée Kashahu	Muyaga	1908	August, 1921	28.02.1923
92	Charles Ndabihaze	Muyaga	1909	August, 1921	29.08.1927
93	Abraham Sanana	Muyaga	1908	August, 1921	26.07.1926
94	Morand Ntamagara	Muyaga	1906	August, 1921	28.02.1923
95	Gabriel Bukobero	Mugera	1905	August, 1922	17.07.1924
96	Joseph Madagasha	Mugera	1907	August, 1922	23.07.1923
97	Casimir Harusha	Mugera	1910	August, 1922	27.09.1928
98	André Ukundwanabake	Mugera	1910	August, 1922	28.02.1923
99	Kizitus Cankungu	Kanyinya	1910	August, 1922	27.09.1928

100	Gallicanus Seububiri	Kanyinya	1909	August, 1922	Gd.Sém. (n. d)
101	Ritus Nyabenda	Kanyinya	1907	August, 1922	27.09.1928
102	Papianus Nyabenda	Kanyinya	1907	August, 1922	05.05.1927
103	Severus Rwasa	Kanyina	1909	August, 1922	27.07.1924
104	Pascal Ntaherezo	Muyaga	1909	August, 1922	28.02.1923
105	Pamphile Ragiye	Muyaga	1908	August, 1922	06.10.1926
106	Barnabé Sinzinkayo	Muyaga	1909	August, 1922	27.09.1928
107	Egidius Karibwami	Muyaga	1906	August, 1922	14.01.1926
108	Zacharie Binige	Mugera	1908	August, 1923	05.08.1927
109	Léon Ruribikiye	Mugera	1910	August, 1923	27.07.1925
110	Eugène Ntahorukevya	Mugera	1910	August, 1923	27.07.1925
111	Louis Bazibwegure	Mugera	1910	August, 1923	27.07.1925
112	Angelo Ntuyahaga	Muyaga	1908	August, 1923	01.02.1924
113	Adrien Baragurana	Muyaga	1908	August, 1923	05.08.1927
114	Euthyme Mpitabakana	Kanyinya	1908	August, 1923	28.04.1930
115	Prudence Bararwandika	Kanyinya	1910	August, 1923	19.09.1929
116	Jean Shiruganya	Kanyinya	1910	August, 1923	05.08.1927
117	Barthérimy Nyabenda	Kanyinya	(n. d)	October, 1928	12.08.1931
118	Michel Bimenyimana	Kanyinya	1913	October, 1928	20.02.1932

b. Assessment of the list of the first Burundian Seminarians at Kabgayi

All the Burundian seminarians enrolled in Kabgayi seminary in October 1913 (from number 1 to 28 in the above list) are likely to have attended the Ushirombo Seminary in Tanzania. This is because it was reported that when the Kabgayi seminary opened in 1913, the seminarians who were already studying in Tanzania (at Rubya for Rwandans and at Ushirombo for Burundians) were the only students accepted in Kabgayi seminary for that first year²³⁸. However, the documents consulted for

²³⁸ The Institut royal states: “Après ce que nous avons dit du soin qu'avait eu Mgr Hirth de doter le Buganda et le Nyanza méridional d'une pépinière de prêtres indigènes, on ne sera pas étonné de lire que dès l'année 1913 il voulut procéder de même dans son nouveau vicariat du Kivu. Les enfants originaires du Burundi qui étaient élevés à Ushirombo

this study did not clearly provide information on the Burundian seminarians who attended Ushirombo seminary. Only a similar list to that of Kabgayi seminary (Table 1) of all the seminarians who attended Ushirombo seminary – if it was found – would clarify the issue. Some of the Burundian seminarians left the Kabgayi minor seminary before the end of their training. Those who left Kabgayi minor seminary before 1917 are likely to have abandoned their training towards the priesthood. Those who left Kabgayi minor seminary after 1926 may have carried on their training in Burundi, since the Mugera minor seminary was opened this year. It only catered for Burundian seminarians. However, for the first year, 1926, only new Burundian seminarians were received in the seminary. So, the Burundian minor seminarians who left Kabgayi minor seminary during this year 1926 are supposed either to have immediately entered into the Kabgayi major seminary (which was operational since 1917) or to have abandoned their training to priesthood since they were not received in Mugera minor seminary that first year. As to the last two Burundian seminarians – number 117 in the above list (who entered Kabgayi minor seminary in 1928 and left it in 1931) and number 118 (who entered Kabgayi minor seminary also in 1928 and left it in 1932) –, if the date of their entry in the Kabgayi minor seminary is not wrong, some further studies should be undertaken to find out why the two Burundian seminarians were sent to Rwanda (in the minor seminary of Kabgayi) while the Mugera minor seminary was operational for all the Burundian minor seminarians during that period. Was there no enough space in Mugera minor seminary for Burundian minor seminarians that a decision was made to send them somewhere else? This is a question which ought to be clarified by future studies.

The situation of the Burundian seminarians (among the 118 identified in the above-list) who managed to get ordained priests will be discussed in the following section. More will be also said on the ethnic group of the Burundian priests ordained during the period 1925 to 1961. Moreover, given that the Burundian seminarians who left Kabgayi seminary before the end of their training seem to represent quite a big number, an attempt of explanations will be provided in the following sub-chapter, after the presentation of the list of the Burundian priests ordained from 1925 until 1961.

au séminaire fondé par Mgr Gerboin et ceux du Rwanda qu'il avait lui-même appelés à Rubya lui fournirent les premiers éléments de cette institution". See Institut royal colonial Belge, *Biographie coloniale Belge*, T.V. 1958, Col.428-446, (op. cit).

4.2. The growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy

Two main points to be discussed here are the ordination of the first Burundian priests until 1961 and the evolution of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy.

4.2.1. The ordination of the first Burundian Catholic priests: 1925-1961

The first two Burundian priests were ordained together, on 19 December 1925. They were Fr. Emile Ngendagende and Fr. Patrice Ntidendereza, both from Muyaga, the first mission to be established in Burundi. It was situated in the province bordering Tanzania. These first two Burundian priests may have been part of the group of the Burundian seminarians who went to Ushirombo seminary in Tanzania given the proximity of Muyaga mission to that seminary²³⁹.

Between the date of the ordination of the first two Burundian priests (1925) and 1961, a further 86 Burundian priests were ordained. They are listed in the following table.

a. List of Catholic Burundians ordained to the priesthood (Table 2)

Unlike the list of the Burundian seminarians having attended Kabgayi seminary, which is based on a single document, the following list is based on several documents²⁴⁰.

Name & Surname	Year of birth ²⁴¹	Mission/Parish of Origin	Date of ordination to Priesthood.
1. Emile Ngendagende	1901	Muyaga	19/12/1925
2. Patrice Ntidendereza	1900	Muyaga	19/12/1925
3. Gabriel Harushakamwe	1900	Muyaga	17/12/1927

²³⁹ There is no doubt about Patrice Ntidendereza, the then Patrice Barakekenwa (see footnote 237), because the previous list of the seminarians who attended Kabgayi minor seminary mentions that he entered in this minor seminary in 1913 and the Burundian seminarians enrolled in this seminary during this year were repatriated from Ushirombo, in Tanzania. As for Emile Ngendagende, the same list shows that he entered Kabgayi seminary in 1914. Nevertheless, given certain other abnormalities already mentioned about the list, the assumption that the first two Burundian priests attended both Ushirombo seminary still stands. However, the issue should be further researched in the future.

²⁴⁰ These documents were, mainly, the book celebrating the Golden jubilee of the first ordinations of the Burundian priests for the period 1925-1975 (UCM, op. cit.), COREB, op. cit., the annual reports of the Fathers, the list of the seminarians who attended the Kabgayi Seminary (in Rwanda) between 1912-1990, the book of Weinstein, Warren, op. cit., the article of Stanislas Kaburungu, "L'Eglise du Burundi face à son avenir" *Au coeur de l'Afrique* 6, (1973), 269-290, the website of the Missionaries of Africa available on <http://www.missionariesofafrica.org>, the online *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, available on <http://www.dacb.org/>, the collection *Catholic-Hierarchy*, available on <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>, etc.

²⁴¹ Given the kind of the documents used, the year of birth for some priests may not be accurate. In this regard, some further research should be undertaken. Nevertheless, concerning the date of ordinations, an effort was made (in comparing different sources) in order to provide, as much as possible, the accurate date, since this was the main interest of the study.

4. Mathias Bazahica	1899	Muyaga	17/12/1927
5. Sébastien Ndobeye	1904	Rugari	24/12/1929
6. Artémon Mituragaro	1902	Muyaga	06/07/1930
7. Nicolas Ndabubaha	1912	Kanyinya	06/07/1930
8. Stanislas Munoni	1903	Muyaga	30/05/1931
9. François Xavier Muteragirana	1906	Muyaga	19/06/1932
10. Sylvestre Ntirujinama	1905	Buhonga	09/07/1933
11. Paul Ntirampeba	1903	Kanyinya	09/07/1933
12. Martin Ntwatwa	1908	Kanyinya	16/07/1934
13. Barnabé Sinzinkayo	1909	Muyaga	17/07/1936
14. Joseph Ntawe	1907	Muyaga	17/07/1936
15. Kizito Cankungu	1910	Kanyinya	17/07/1936
16. Prudence Bararwandika	1910	Murehe	04/08/1937
17. Joseph Nzibarega	1912	Muyaga	25/07/1940
18. Laurent Rurayinga	1910	Mugera	25/07/1940
19. Jean Ruraseheye	1910	Rugari	25/07/1940
20. Michel Ntuyahaga	1912	Rusengo	26/07/1941 11/10/1959(ordained bishop)
21. Antoine Turo	1915	Rusengo	26/07/1942
22. Jacques Ndereye	1913	Rusengo	26/07/1942
23. Julien Mikenyeru	1915	Rusengo	26/07/1942
24. Mathias Murumba Nzogera	1912	Rusengo	26/07/1942
25. Gabriel Ngeza	1914	Giheta	25/07/1943
26. Jacques Buriye	1915	Kanyinya	25/07/1943
27. Pierre Nkundwa (I)	1914	Muyaga	25/07/1943
28. Emile Ndigiriye	1912	Muyaga	25/07/1944

29. Lazare Manege	1917	Muyaga	25/07/1945
30. Gabriel Barakana	1917	Rusengo	25/07/1947
31. Libérat Kabirigi	1918	Muyaga	25/07/1947
32. Pierre Baranyizigiye	1917	Muyaga	25/07/1947
33. Jean-Baptiste Ntahokaja	1920	Rusengo	25/07/1948
34. Philibert Bitababaje	1917	Muyaga	25/07/1948
35. Abel Murabirwa	1932	Murehe	25/07/1949
36. André Makarakiza	1919	Bukeye	16/08/1951 08/12/1961(ordained bishop)
37. François Gahungu	1921	Giheta	16/08/1951
38. Pierre Mutindi	1920	Buhonga	16/08/1951
39. Serge Ntukamazina	1920	Muramvya	16/08/1951
40. Jean-Baptiste Bigangara	1932	Busiga	15/08/1951
41. Jean Bucumi	1925	Busiga	15/08/1951
42. Nicodème Banshubijeko	1931	Busiga	15/08/1951
43. Grégoire Busuma	1923	Busiga	15/08/1951
44. Charles Gahebe	1922	Bukeye	28/12/1952
45. Gervais Ndarukerege	1931	Gatara	28/12/1952
46. Salvator Harusha	1932	Kanyinya	28/12/1952
47. Evariste Sindiho	1923	Muyaga	08/11/1953
48. Michel Karikunzira	1925	Kanyinya	08/11/1953
49. Nestor Bihonda	1932	Gisanze	08/11/1953 15/08/1965(ordained bishop) 25/03/1977 (resigned)
50. André Barampama	1932	Bukeye	20/04/1954

51. André Horumpende	1925	Nyabiraba	20/04/1954
52. Jean Ntahuga	1926	Buhonga	20/04/1954
53. Lazare Bahumwansi	1924	Ijenda	20/04/1954
54. Lazare Makuta	1924	Ijenda	20/04/1954
55. Cyprien Ntawundaba	1926	Giheta	12/04/1955
56. Roger Mpungu	1924	Gitega	12/04/1955 04/05/1980 (ordained bishop)
57. Jean-Marie Buzungu	1928	Muyaga	03/04/1956
58. Gabriel Gihimbare	1926	Giheta	03/04/1956
59. Jacques Ntibahezwa	1930	Muramvya	03/04/1956
60. Pierre Nkundwa (II)	1927	Nyabiraba	03/04/1956
61. Thomas Samandari	1927	Gitongo	03/04/1956
62. Stanislas Biraronderwa	1929	Rushubi	23/04/1957
63. Albéric Sindihebura	1930	Rumeza	20/04/1958
64. Melchior Rurakobeje	1929	Muhanga	08/04/1958
65. André Kameya	1931	Bukeye	31/03/1959
66. Evariste Ndoreye	1931	Rushubi	31/01/1959
67. Marcel Mugabonihera	1935	Rushubi	31/03/1959
68. Thomas Mahwera	1930	Mugera	31/03/1959
69. André Vyumvuhore	1930	Bukeye	16/08/1959
70. Séverin Minani	1936	Bukeye	16/08/1959
71. Jean-Berchmans Bwabo	1929	Bukeye	19/04/1960
72. Marc Gahungu	1931	Bukeye	19/04/1960
73. Philippe Siriba	1932	Gihanga	19/04/1960
74. Juvénal Bukubiyeko	1942	Muhanga	19/04/1960
75. Maurice Ntigacika	1931	Buhonga	28/08/1960

76. Déogratias Ndabarushimana	1943	Nyamurenza	04/09/1960
77. Baltazar Bacinoni	1932	Rutovu	04/04/1961
78. Cyriaque Sakubu	1943	Rumeza	04/04/1961
79. Daniel Hakizimana	1930	Giheta	04/04/1961
80. Elie Njangwa	1930	Bukeye	04/04/1961
81. Grégoire Hicuburundi	1932	Muramvya	04/04/1961
82. Henri Bujana	1931	Rusengo	04/04/1961
83. Henri Manirakiza	1933	Musigati	04/04/1961
84. Joseph Bigwabari	1935	Gatara	04/04/1961
85. Louis Semabaya	1940	Rumeza	04/04/1961
86. Marcel Nsanzako	1932	Bukeye	04/04/1961
87. Sebastien Girukubonye	1943	Ijene	04/04/1961
88. Stanislas Kaburungu	1935	Gisanze	03/09/1961 25/01/1969(ordained bishop)

b. Assessment of the list of Catholic Burundian priests' ordinations

The above table shows that, in total, 88 Catholic Burundian priests²⁴² were ordained between 19 December 1925 (ordination of the first two Burundian priests) and 3 September 1961 (ordination of Stanislas Kaburungu, the last priest to be ordained during the year 1961, the last year considering the time-frame of this study). Three missions stand out for the number of Burundian indigenous priests they have produced: Muyaga (which produced 18 priests, mostly, in the very first years), Rusengo (which produced 8 priests, mostly, around the 1940s) and Bukeye (which produced 10 priests, mostly, around the 1950s.) Some factors may explain this result. Firstly, Muyaga was the first mission created in Burundi. It was located in the Cankuzo province, a province bordering Tanzania, where the first Burundian seminarians were sent to be trained. Secondly, Rusengo is not among the first missions of Burundi but is located in the Ruyigi province, a province that borders Cankuzo as

²⁴² Numerically, with regard to the Burundian priests ordained until 1961, this number (88) matches with the one that Stanislas Kaburungu had found in his article "L'Eglise du Burundi face à son avenir" *Au coeur de l'Afrique* 6, (1973):277. The statistics given by Stanislas Kaburungu are not limited to 1961 but go further up to 1973.

well as Tanzania. So some seminarians of this mission might have imitated the example of their neighbour mission, Muyaga.

Another reason which may explain why these two missions, Muyaga and Rusengo, produced a big number of Burundian indigenous priests is that they were located in the Buyogoma²⁴³ region. In this area, especially in Muyaga, Fr. Leport was recruiting, training and accompanying the Burundian candidates to the minor seminaries in Tanzania and Rwanda²⁴⁴.

Thirdly, Bukeye which neither was the first missions nor bordered Tanzania, had however the advantage of being situated nearby the residence of the king of Burundi, in the Muramvya province. The Bukeye mission was located in the realm of the king. So, this proximity with the residency of the king might have played a big role in the recruitment of the seminarians since different chiefs were being converted around this place. Of course all these explanations are to be taken as assumptions.

By comparing the two lists (Table 1 and Table 2), it has been possible to establish the number of Burundian seminarians having attended Kabgayi minor seminary who became priests. A number of 14 Burundian seminarians out of the 118 having attended the Kabgayi minor seminary were ordained priests. This represents almost 12 per cent. From this we can deduct that more than 80 per cent of the first Burundian seminarians did not reach ordination. It would have been helpful to make a comparison between the number of Rwandan seminarians who attended Kabgayi seminary and those who were ordained priests but unfortunately the list of Rwandan priests who were ordained during the same period is not available. We only have some information on the very first Rwandan priests. On those who were sent to Tanzania and carried on their training in Kabgayi minor and major seminary after 1912, Gilbert Mwizerwa reported the following: “Of the first 15 Rwandan seminarians sent to Rubya seminary, six of them reached priesthood.”²⁴⁵ According to this source, 6 out of these 15 Rwandan seminarians, - that is 40 per cent-, reached ordination. This is more than the 12 per cent of Burundian who reached ordination. So, things did not then work the same way in Burundi and Rwanda.

²⁴³ This is a natural region of Burundi. It mainly comprises of two provinces. These are Cankuzo and Ruyigi. Two parishes, Muyaga (located in Cankuzo) and Rusengo (located in Ruyigi) are also part of this region. Fr Jean-Baptiste Bigangara states: “ Le Buyogoma a été longtemps la seule région du pays à voir fleurir des vocations sacerdotales, et cela grâce à la présence du Père Leport dans ce coin du Burundi. Parmi les 16 premiers prêtres formés à l’étranger et ordonnés entre les années 1925 et 1937, la moitié sont du Buyogoma. See Jean-Baptiste Bigangara, *Le premier évêque murundi. A l’occasion de son jubilé sacerdotal 1941-1966* (Bujumbura: Les presses Lavigerie, 1966), 31.

²⁴⁴ Bigangara points out : « Le Père Leport créa à Muyaga comme une antichambre du Petit Séminaire, un internat qu’il nommait « ibanza ». Dans cet internat, il était Supérieur, Econome, Père et Ami, formant ses candidats à la vie du Séminaire et opérant lui-même le premier triage. Il envoyait ses candidats séminaristes au séminaire de Ushirombo, et plus tard il les accompagnait lui-même au Séminaire de Kabgayi (Rwanda), à pied, son bâton dans une main et de l’autre, égrenant de temps en temps son rosaire ». See Ibid., 31.

²⁴⁵ Mwizerwa H. Gilbert, op. cit.

Nevertheless, compared to some other African countries such as Kenya and Uganda (two other countries of the Great Lakes region)²⁴⁶, the 12 per cent of the Burundian candidates who were ordained before independence seem to be a success. Concerning Kenya, Hans Burgman reported the following: “In Kenya, since 1921, when Evaritus Onyango had gone to the seminary as the first ever candidate, until 1937 (16 years later), 61 students had left the seminary.”²⁴⁷ The first Kenyan priest (Fr. Gabriel Atieno from Kisumu district) would be ordained on 18 September 1940²⁴⁸. Compared to Kenya, the Burundian situation with regard to the ordination of the first seminarians was much better.

Despite this fact, insisting on Burundi, it is important to question the 88 per cent of the Burundian seminarians who left the seminary before the end of their training. Some attempts of explanation will be given after the discussion of the evolution of the ordinations of the first Burundian priests. I firstly give the annual statistics of the ordinations of the first Burundian priests and then a graphical representation of these ordinations for the 36 years between 1925 and 1961.

4.2.2. Progress of Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy

a. Annual statistics of the first ordinations of Catholic Burundian priests: 1925-1961

Year of ordination	Priests ordained
1925	2
1926	0
1927	2
1928	0
1929	1
1930	2
1931	1
1932	1

²⁴⁶ The two countries (Uganda and Kenya) had much in common about the missionary activity, as Hans Burgman notes, “In 1920, when Kenya was still part of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, a minor seminary was opened at Nyenga in Uganda and dedicated to St. Joseph. At the beginning, this seminary was receiving Ugandan seminarians as well as Kenyan ones.” See Hans Burgman, *The Way the Catholic Church Started in Western Kenya* (Nairobi: Mission Book Service, 1990), 133.

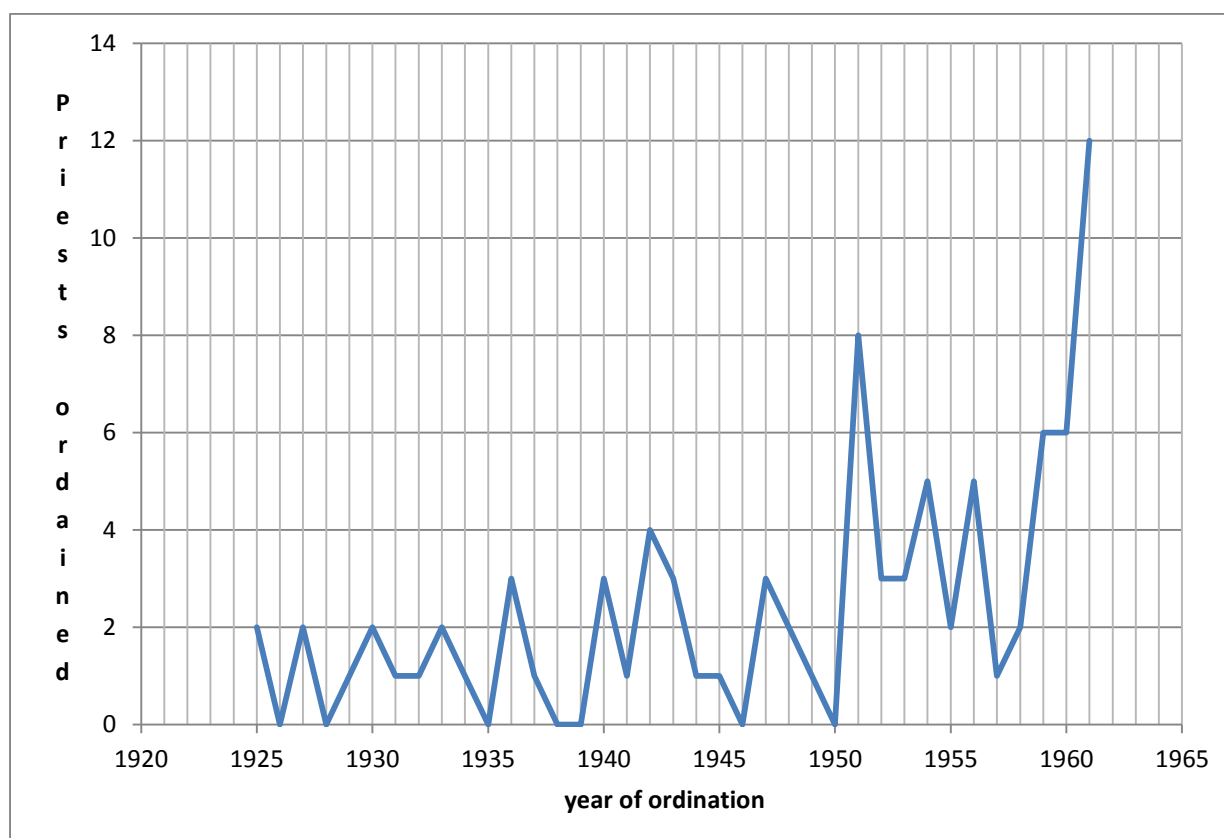
²⁴⁷ Ibid., 196.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 219.

1933	2
1934	1
1935	0
1936	3
1937	1
1938	0
1939	0
1940	3
1941	1
1942	4
1943	3
1944	1
1945	1
1946	0
1947	3
1948	2
1949	1
1950	0
1951	8
1952	3
1953	3
1954	5
1955	2
1956	5
1957	1
1958	2

1959	6
1960	6
1961	12
Total	88

b. Graphical representation of the first Burundian Catholic priests' ordinations: 1925-1961



4.3. Analysis

4.3.1. Tables and graphics

The tables and the graphics reveal that for the first Burundian seminarians it was not easy to reach ordination. Among other reasons (the educational difficulties cannot be neglected, for instance)²⁴⁹ are the power dynamics that were shaping the period of the training of the first Burundian seminarians,

²⁴⁹ The annual report of the Missionaries of Africa (1934-1935) states: “Le petit séminaire de Mugeru suit sa marche régulière. Ces jours-ci, il va présenter au Grand 4 sujets d’élite : le Burundi n’a pas besoin de s’encombrer de médiocrités.” See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels*, no. 31, année 1934-1935 (Alger: Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1935), 282.

as far as ethnic groups were concerned. The main role-players were of course the missionaries together with the colonizers.

The previous chapter showed that before 1926 very few Tutsi converted to Catholicism. This is confirmed, for example, by Alison Des Forge, “Relatively few Tutsi had accepted Christianity before 1926.”²⁵⁰ Among the very first Burundian seminarians recruited to be trained to become priests very few were Tutsi²⁵¹. The majority of them were Hutu. Hence, the first Burundian (and Rwandan²⁵²) priests ordained were Hutu. Out of the 16 Burundian priests ordained before 1940, 12 were Hutu, 2 were Tutsi, 1 was Ganwa and 1 had a Ugandan origin²⁵³. Mvuyekure even provides the names of these priests with their corresponding ethnic groups. He says:

Hutu priests : Emile Ngendagende, P. Ntidendereza, G. Harushakamwe, M. Bazahica, S. Dobeye, N. Ndabubaha, F.X. Muteragirana, S. Ntirujinama, P. Ntirampeba, B. Sinzinkayo, K. Cankungu, P. Bararwandika ; Tutsi priests: S. Munoni, J. Ntawe; Priest of Ugandan origin: M. Ntwatwa²⁵⁴.

However, considering this list of names provided by Mvuyekure, to make up 16 priests ordained before 1940, one name is missing. Mvuyekure had spoken of 16 priests but he provided a list of 15 names (15 priests). He omitted the name of the *muganwa* priest. By combining what Mvuyekure said and the list of the 16 Burundian priests ordained before 1940, as presented in table 2, the name of the *muganwa* priest that Mvuyekure failed to give is Arthémon Mituragaro, ordained on 6 July 1930. He would also be the first Tutsi Burundian priest (of ganwa lineage)²⁵⁵ ordained in Burundi, since the two other Tutsi Burundian priests (Stanislas Munoni and Joseph Ntawe) were ordained respectively on 30 May 1931 and on 17 July 1934. In addition, as it can be remarked in table 2, most of the 16 priests listed by Mvuyekure are among the earliest Burundian seminarians who were recruited before the arrival of the Belgians in the area of Ruanda-Urundi.

²⁵⁰ See Alison Des Forge, op. cit., 195.

²⁵¹ Mvuyekure notes: “La faible proportion des Batutsi et des Baganwa ordonnés prêtres avant 1940 vient du fait de leur retard à se convertir. Quant aux Batwa, il n’existait jusqu’à ce jour aucun de leur représentant”. See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit., 78.

²⁵² Jay Joy Carney points out: “The Rwanda’s first three priests were ordained in 1917 [...]. Not insignificantly, all three of these priests were Hutu.” See Jay Joy Carney, «Far from Having Unity, We Are Tending Towards Total Disunity: The Catholic Major Seminary in Rwanda, 1950-62», *Studies in World Christianity* 18, no.1 (2012): 85.

²⁵³ Mvuyekure confirms: “A la question de l’appartenance ‘ethnique’ des seize premiers prêtres ordonnés avant 1940, douze appartiennent à la catégorie sociale des Bahutu, deux à celle des Batutsi, un à l’aristocratie des Baganwa et un est originaire de l’Uganda”. See the footnote 58 of the book of Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit., 78.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ The book of Mvuyekure seems to confirm this: « A Bukeye, il y avait un seul prêtre noir, qui s’appelait Nikola (Nicolas). C’était la première fois que nous voyions un prêtre noir murundi. Après cela, j’ai vu deux autres prêtres noirs qui venaient de Giheta : l’Abbé supérieur était Bartutimoni (Artémon), un muganwa, et l’abbé Sotanisilasi (Stanislas). Tous les deux habitaient à Giheta. Ils ont combattu un Muzungu appelé Botema qui empêchait ceux qui allaient à l’instruction. Ces prêtres étaient très populaires”²⁵⁵. This information was given by the informant, Piyo Kazungu, 72 year old, interviewed by Fr. Augustin Mvuyekure on 1 January 1984. See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit. p. 258.

As to the Burundian seminarians who attended Kabgayi minor seminary who did not manage to reach the priesthood (more than 80 per cent), certain factors, one of them being the ethnic one, may explain the result. But, before giving some of the factors, it is important to notice that this situation did not only happen in Kabgayi minor seminary but it was also the case in Mugeru minor seminary. For instance, for the period of 13 years, from 1926-1939, only 18 per cent of the seminarians who attended this seminary got ordained priests²⁵⁶. The situation was still the same in this seminary until the early 50's²⁵⁷.

The main factor which caused the seminarians to leave the seminaries before the end of their training would be the ethnic factor. In the previous chapter it was noticed that when the Belgians arrived in Ruanda-Urundi, they started to force the Tutsi to convert to Christianity. The missionaries supported the actions of the colonizers in this respect. Around this period – from 1916 on –, the emphasis shifted from the Hutu to the Tutsi. With regard to the recruitment of Burundian seminarians, the situation might have been the same. For the seminarians who were already in training (mostly, the Hutu seminarians recruited during the period when the missionaries were still interested in them), the situation was heavy to bear. They might have thus decided to abandon their training towards the priesthood. This seems true if one is to look at the personalities of two missionaries who were shaping this period in Ruanda-Urundi, with regard to education and the training of future priests. They are Paul-Leon Classe²⁵⁸ (who was working at St. Leon Kabgayi seminary in 1917 and became vicar apostolic of Ruanda, in 1922) and Julien Gorju²⁵⁹ (who became also vicar apostolic of Urundi,

²⁵⁶ The Annual reports (1954-1955) of the « Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique » states : « Les données des séminaristes de Mugeru: Année de fondation : 1926. Pour la période de 1926-1939: 228 entrées. Nombre de prêtres parmi les 228 entrées : 41 prêtres. Pourcentage de persévérance depuis le petit séminaire (6^{ème} latine) jusqu'à la prêtrise : 18% ». See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, *Rapports annuels, année 1954-1955* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1954), 665.

²⁵⁷ The Annual reports (1951-1952) of the « Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique » states : « Parmi toutes les écoles d'enseignement secondaire, la plus importante restera toujours le petit séminaire de Mugeru. [...] Le 11 février de cette année (1951), le petit séminaire a fêté ses 25 ans d'existence. [...] Pendant ces 25 années d'existence, 932 élèves sont entrés au petit séminaire. Parmi eux, environ 30% sont sortis au cours de la première année préparatoire, 50% pendant les six années de latin, et 20% sont entrés au grand séminaire ». See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, *Rapports annuels, année 1951-1952* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1952), 289-290.

²⁵⁸ Gahungu portrays him saying : “Paul-Léon Classe ordonné prêtre le 31 mars 1900, il est directement nommé secrétaire de Mgr Livinhac, Supérieur général. Quand Mgr Hirth, encore vicaire apostolique du Nyanza méridional, demande des missionnaires pour fonder des missions dans le royaume du Rwanda, le Supérieur général lui donne le Père Classe. A partir de 1901, celui-ci va se dépenser dans la formation des stations sur le sol rwandais. Après l'érection du vicariat du Kivu en 1912, il devient vicaire général de Mgr Hirth. Quand le vicariat du Kivu disparaît en 1922 pour donner naissance aux deux vicariats autonomes du Ruanda et de l'Urundi, il est nommé, le 26 avril 1922, vicaire apostolique du Rwanda. Comme pasteur au Rwanda, il rêve de conquérir la classe dirigeante des Tutsi, convaincu que quand il aura les Tutsi, il aura le Rwanda entier”. See Méthode Gahungu, *Les méthodes des Pères Blancs dans l'œuvre des séminaires pour le clergé local en Afrique des grands lacs, 1879-1936*, PhD (Missiologie), (Roma, Université Pontificale salésienne, 1998), 304.

²⁵⁹ Gahungu describes Msgr Gorju : “Quand le Burundi devient vicariat autonome en 1922, c'est Mgr Gorju qui est nommé pour être son vicaire apostolique. Il construit le premier petit séminaire au Burundi en 1925. Voulant gagner la classe dirigeante à la religion catholique, il montrera lui aussi plus d'attachements aux chefs Tutsi, tandis que les Hutu

in 1922, and was the one who wrote the synodal statutes including the conditions of recruitment of Burundian seminarians). Insisting on the shift from the Hutu to the Tutsi, Jay Joy Carney portrays Leon Classe as follows:

Whereas Hutu and Tutsi had been educated together before 1920, Léon Classe, Rwanda's influential vicar apostolic between 1922 and 1945, introduced a two-tiered Catholic educational system in the 1920s. Students were segregated by ethnic group, and Tutsi received a far more rigorous course than their Hutu colleagues. This helped ensure that only Tutsi qualified for the most influential positions in the colonial administration. Tutsi students also began to dominate seminary admissions. For Classe, Hutu children should receive an education, but it should be an education suited to those who 'would have places to take in mines and in farming'²⁶⁰.

As to Gorju, he was known to consider the Hutu as unable to study or to behave in a good manner. He strongly emphasized this in the section of the synodal statutes, from 1929, on the conditions of recruitment of Burundian seminarians:

The small blacks are without personal dignity, used to surrender to all their instincts, therefore little open-minded. In Burundi, the *Muganwa* has good manner, judgement, tact and his native politeness predisposes him to the delicacy of religion and piety. The confreres will then, first, serve our minor seminarians, and later on, the clergy and our Christianity in looking for vocations among the upper class.²⁶¹

It seems that what Gorju and Leon Classe were doing to the seminarians, especially during the early 1930s was just what the authorities of the Belgian colonial administration were doing to the people

seront en quelque sorte méprisés". See Methode Gahungu, *Les méthodes des Pères Blancs dans l'œuvre des séminaires pour le clergé local en Afrique des grands lacs, 1879-1936*, 306.

²⁶⁰ See Leon Classe, 'Circulaire N°14, Écoles et Apostolat' quoted in Jay Joy Carney, op. cit.: 85.

²⁶¹ This is my own translation. The original text was in French and reads: "Les petits Noirs sont des terre-à-terre, sans dignité personnelle, habitués qu'ils sont à céder sans vergogne à tous leurs instincts ; par conséquent, peu d'ouverture d'esprit. Au Burundi, le "Muganwa" a de la tenue, du jugement, du tact, et sa politesse native le prédispose à comprendre les délicatesses de la religion et de la piété. Les confrères rendront service à nos petits séminaristes d'abord et plus tard à notre clergé et à notre chrétienté en cherchant des vocations dans la classe supérieure". See Julien Gorju, *Statuts synodaux du vicariat de l'Urundi, 1928-1929*, (Alger : Maison-Carrée), 1929, 59. On the same issue, some other sources state:

- Encore missionnaire en Uganda, le Père Gorju écrit déjà en 1919 : "On a beau faire, les Batutsi sont l'unique classe dirigeante et on ne les évincera pas ; du reste les Bahutu, habitués au servage, seraient bien embarrassés si, d'un jour au lendemain, ils devaient être chefs". En 1931, Mgr Gorju salue avec une joie immense l'arrivée de « quatre princes de sang », de « deux princes de sang royal par leur mère » et de « vingt Batutsi », au petit séminaire de Mugeru, qui totalise en ce moment 49 séminaristes. See footnotes 171 and 172 of the book of Methode Gahungu, *Les méthodes des Pères Blancs dans l'œuvre des séminaires pour le clergé local en Afrique des Grands Lacs, 1879-1936*: 306.
- Dans les rapports annuels des Pères Blancs, Gorju écrit : "Le petit Séminaire de Mugeru continue sa marche doucement mais sûrement. [...] Dans les trois premiers cours, donc les plus avancés, sur 15 élèves 13 sont de race (princes). Humilité, simplicité, entraînent dans l'acceptation des travaux, tenue, respect pour les missionnaires, délicatesse de sentiments, voilà ce que nous remarquons en eux. De ce chef, l'influence de ces enfants et jeunes gens est énorme et les meilleurs de nos petits « bahutu » s'efforcent de les imiter. Nous avons vraiment là, grâce à la sélection opérée de bonne heure et au fait que dans les cours supérieurs, au point de vue instruction-éducation, les efforts des Pères sont concentrés sur un petit nombre, une élite dont nous attendons les meilleurs résultats". Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels no.26, année 1930-1931*, (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique), 1931, 349.

of Ruanda-Urundi in general. The result was the crystallization of ethnic differences. Paul Rutayisire states:

Finally, the directions concerning the social strata to prioritize in recruitment explain (but they are not the only ones) the correlation between Christianization and crystallization of ethnic differences. [...] It is not an accident that, at a time when the synodal statutes insisted on this point, the Belgian colonial administration created, too, a social group of privileged by the concentration of executive power and social promotion means (e.g.: schools, jobs in administration, ...) in the hands of the class of Baganwa and some Tutsi families²⁶².

This situation may then have provoked some unrest in the seminaries. The Annual Reports of the « Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique » of the year 1954-1955 refer to an internal crisis within the Mugeru minor seminary during the 1930s, a crisis which might have caused some seminarians to leave the seminary²⁶³. Seemingly, this internal crisis was political and ecclesiastical. Politically, during the 1930s, the Hutu were being removed from their political posts²⁶⁴. During the same period, precisely during the year 1933, people of Ruanda-Urundi were attributed identity cards showing clearly their different ethnic groups. This situation might then have caused some Hutu seminarians to leave the seminaries.

The "Groupe Scolaire of Astrida (GSA)"²⁶⁵, which was meant to train mostly the sons of Tutsi and Ganwa, was created in 1929 at Butare in Rwanda by the Belgian colonial administration.

Ecclesiastically, Msgr Gorju may have emphasized these political decisions which were being taken by the Belgian administrators. It has been reported that he was chasing himself the seminarians from the seminaries of Mugeru and Kabgayi around 1930²⁶⁶.

²⁶² This is my own translation. The text of Rutayisire is in French and reads: "Enfin, les indications concernant les couches sociales à privilégier dans le recrutement expliquent (mais elles ne sont pas les seules) la corrélation entre la christianisation et la cristallisation des différences interethniques. [...] Ce n'est pas un hasard si, au moment où les Statuts synodaux insistaient sur ce point, l'administration coloniale belge créait, elle aussi, un groupe social de privilégiés au moyen de la concentration du pouvoir (exécutif) et des moyens de promotion sociale (p. ex. les écoles, les postes dans les services administratifs...) dans les mains de la classe des Baganwa et de quelques familles tutsi ». See Paul Rutayisire, « L'africanisation du christianisme et la pratique missionnaire en référence à la christianisation du Burundi » in Ruggieri, G., ed., *Eglise et histoire de l'Eglise en Afrique. Actes du colloque de Bologne 22-25 octobre 1988* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 111.

²⁶³ The Annual Reports of 1954-1955 point out : « Pour la période de 1926-1929 : Pourcentage de persévérance au petit séminaire de Mugeru: 28%. Pour la période de 1930-1934 : Pourcentage de persévérance au petit séminaire : 16%. Commentaire: la deuxième période marque une baisse considérable dans le pourcentage de persévérance. Raison : le séminaire connu à cette époque une crise interne qui nécessita beaucoup d'éliminations » See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, *Rapports annuels, année 1954-1955* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d'Afrique, 1930), 666.

²⁶⁴ Manirakiza states : « On sait pourtant qu'il y avait un nombre important de Hutus à la tête des sous-chefferies et même des chefferies, jusque vers le milieu des années trente. Sous prétexte qu'ils n'étaient pas tutsis et qu'on les jugeait donc incapables, les colonisateurs les chassèrent du pouvoir »²⁶⁴. See Marc Manirakiza, *La fin de la monarchie burundaise 1962-1966* (Hayez : Bruxelles, 1990), 30.

²⁶⁵ Weinstein states: "Created in 1929 at Butare in Rwanda as the 'Ecole des Frères de la Charité', it was tailored to train the sons of Tutsi and Ganwa (chief) from Burundi and Rwanda to become future chiefs or administration agents. Although an effort was made to recruit Tutsi, Hutu did attend. The Hutu were rarely more than 20 per cent of the student body. Most of the administrative elite of Burundi were educated at the GSA. In Burundi there was rivalry between GSA graduates and those who attended Catholic seminaries. During the early 1960s this had political consequences for coalition formation among members of the political elite." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 144.

²⁶⁶ Gorju said : « Depuis mon entrée dans l'Urundi, j'ai vu partir ou bien j'ai congédié du grand séminaire seize jeunes gens dont la plupart n'auraient jamais dû y mettre les pieds. C'est une pitié ». See Gorju writing to his superior General,

So, around 1930, the Tutsi were dominating the socio-political life of Ruanda-Urundi and especially the Church, as Ian Linden points it out²⁶⁷. Hence, this situation may likely have contributed to the departure of some Burundian Hutu seminarians.

Besides the ethnic factor, many other reasons may have caused the departure of the first Burundian seminarians. According to the annual reports of the missionaries of Africa, these reasons included the “intellectual inability”, “laziness”, “discipline”, “health condition”, and various other reasons that were not explained to the seminarians by their trainers. And for these reasons it seems that the ethnic preference was not looked at because it was reported that even the little son of the King Mwezi was asked to leave the Mugera seminary on 20 June 1932, due to his misbehaviour²⁶⁸.

Rutayisire added some other reasons such as the difficulties to adapt to the situation in the seminaries, the use of force in recruiting and the sending away of the candidates far from home for training without their parents’ agreement²⁶⁹.

Furthermore, the delay²⁷⁰ in ordaining the first Burundian priests may have also contributed to the departure of the Burundian seminarians, in the sense that some of them may have not got enough courage to wait until the day of their ordination. For instance, Emile Ngendagende, one of the first two Burundian priests who persevered until he was ordained a priest on 19 December 1925, had

May 19, 1930 quoted by Paul Rutayisire, « L’africanisation du christianisme et la pratique missionnaire en référence à la christianisation du Burundi », 117.

²⁶⁷ Ian Linden confirms: “Dans les années 1930, le succès de la conversion des Tutsi entraîna l’abandon provisoire du mythe de la fraternité chrétienne et fit place au triomphalisme d’une Eglise dominée par les Tutsi”. See Ian Linden, *Christianisme et pouvoirs au Rwanda 1900-1990* (Trans. from English into French by Paulette Géraud), (Paris: Karthala, 1999), 19.

²⁶⁸ Different annual reports of the Missionaries of Africa speak of these issues. The annual report (1932-1933) states: “Petit Séminaire de Mugera : Au 15 Août 1932, à la rentrée, les élèves étaient 81. Dans le courant de l’année 11 ont été renvoyés pour incapacité intellectuelle, 1 pour paresse incorrigible, et un autre, le 20 juin, un petit fils du roi Mwezi, pour son esprit d’indépendance. Trois conscients de leur insuffisance ont demandé à se retirer. L’année se termine donc avec 60 élèves”. See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels no.28, année 1932-1933*, (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1933), 185. The annual report (1929-1930) notes : “Petit séminaire de Mugera: Nous avons commencé l’année avec 55 élèves. Dès le début de l’année, trois élèves ont demandé à rentrer chez eux ; un autre a dû quitter pour raison de santé. A l’examen du premier semestre on en congédia encore quatre pour insuffisance de moyens. A la fin de l’exercice, nous avons invité six à rester chez eux, pour divers motifs. Nous commencerons donc l’année prochaine avec 41 anciens”. See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique, *Rapports annuels no.25, année 1929-1930* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1930), 284-285.

²⁶⁹ Rutayisire wrote : « Ainsi il semble que ceux qui se sont découragé en cours de formation (et même en cours de voyage) étaient plus nombreux que ceux qui ont persévéré. Pour plusieurs raisons : les maladies, les difficultés d’adaptation, le recrutement forcé des candidats et leur envoi contre l’avis des parents ». See Paul Rutayisire, *La christianisation du Rwanda (1900-1945). Méthode missionnaire et politique selon Mgr Léon Classe*, 66-67.

²⁷⁰ As for the annual report (1930-1931), it points out: “Du reste nous n’avons pas l’intention de présenter nos premiers sortants au Grand Séminaire avant deux ans, ce qui donnera à nos candidats plus de vingt ans d’âge et une formation très complète. Et tant pis si ce retard voulu nous fait désirer plus longtemps un supplément de prêtres dont plus que jamais nous sentons le besoin”. See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs), *Rapports annuels no.26, année 1930-1931* (Alger : Imprimerie des Missionnaires d’Afrique, 1931), 349.

entered Kabgayi seminary on 1 August 1914²⁷¹. According to this source, his training for priesthood lasted 11 years if he is considered to have entered Kabgayi minor seminary as a new seminarian not coming from any other seminary- which is not likely true.

This delay in the training of the first seminarians seemed to be the rule of the missionaries of the time comparing to what was happening in some other African countries. Concerning Kenya, for example, Hans Burgman states:

The first one to come across the finish line, after a marathon journey of 17 years in the seminary, was Father Gabriel Atieno from Kisumu district. Even then, the deciding factor that made the Vicariate authorities take the step of ordaining him was the imminent scarcity of priests in 1940²⁷².

This was not only happening in the Great Lakes region but it was also the case in other African countries such as South Africa. In the congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, for instance, the first black brother, Leo Gumede, was only admitted into oblation in December 1919, eighteen years after he had made his temporary profession on 7 December 1901²⁷³.

Coming back to the training of the Catholic Burundian seminarians, considering the fact that they had to attend the minor seminary before moving to the major seminary, one would say, with regard to Emile Ngendagende, for instance, that a number of 11 years of training spent for both seminaries is normal. The same could be said today. But since the missionaries themselves spoke of a delay in ordaining indigenous priests, they may have been one after all. Perhaps seven to eight years for both seminaries would have been enough. We do not know exactly how the training of seminarians was organised, what the programmes were and how they were divided.

With regard to the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, the graphical representation of the first Burundian priests shows that around the date of the independence of Burundi (1962), the number of priests ordained annually was high²⁷⁴. This happened for the consecutive four years 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964)²⁷⁵. It can clearly be seen on the following graphical representation:

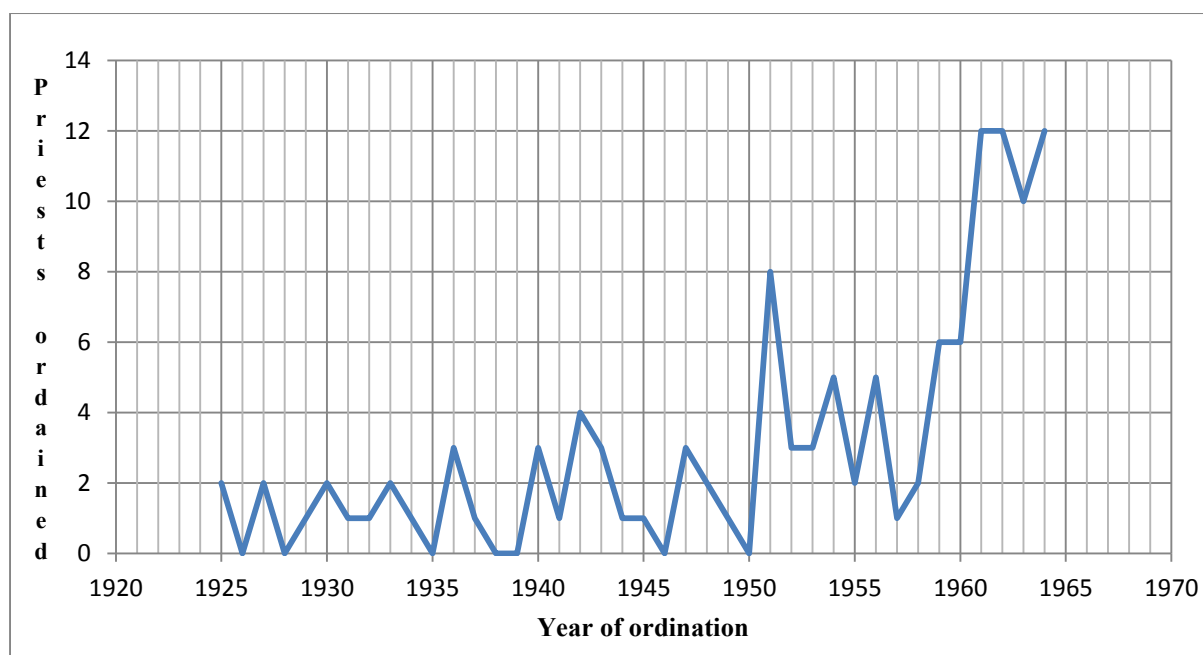
²⁷¹ This date was given by the document "Petit Séminaire St Léon Kabgayi: Registre des Séminaristes (1912-1990)" discussed in this study.

²⁷² Hans Burgman, op. cit., 219.

²⁷³ OMI Archives, Cedara, B10-160/A Gumede, L. quoted in Philippe Denis, «Race, Politics and Religion: The First Catholic Mission in Zululand (1895-1907)», *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 36, no.1 (2010): 91.

²⁷⁴ This is in comparison with what had been happening before 1961: The graphical representation shows that the number of annual ordinations of Burundian priests was superior or equal to 10 around the independence, whereas it had not exceeded 8 for the whole previous period.

²⁷⁵ Since this study is normally interested in the period of the Belgian administration 1916-1961, with regard to the statistics related to the following three years (1962, 1963, 1964), the study took advantage of the existing information that had already been researched by Stanislas Kaburungu, op. cit.: 277. The statistics provided by Kaburungu also match with the ones that were found in UCM, op. cit., 44-54.



One may be tempted to make a connexion between this shift of emphasis from Tutsi to Hutu and the two peaks observed on the graphical representation, the first one occurring in 1951 and the second one starting in 1961.

Basing only on the socio-political situation of the time, for the first peak representing the big number (8) of Burundian priests ordained during 1951, one of the temptations might lead to the assumption that, since the second generation of missionaries arrived around this date with an intention to change things, they might have decided to ordain a big number of Burundian priests (probably Hutu) as a way of restoring the rights that had been confiscated by the previous generation of missionaries, for instance, those of the Hutu seminarians, who were being, “unjustly”, delayed for ordinations.

As to the second peak of ordinations around the independence, one may assume that it was connected to the Hutu emancipation (especially in Rwanda) and hence a big number of Hutu seminarians may have been ordained to the priesthood in Rwanda as well as in Burundi in support to the Independence of both countries.

However, it seems that the Burundian socio-political situation was slightly different from that of Rwanda. Then, a quick comparison between these two socio-political situations can shed some light on the issue.

Politically, what is above assumed can stand as true, especially, in Rwanda, considering the socio-political shift in this country from the 50's on, as Deogratius Ndayishimiye notes:

In Rwanda, Bishop Perraudin, who led the church and Colonel Guy Logiest, of the colonial administration, succeeded in transferring power from Tutsi to Hutus. Immediately, Hutus organized mass killings of Tutsis, through what they called the "1959 Hutu Social Revolution" based on "the so-called Hutu Manifesto". Kayibanda Gregoire, a former seminarian and private secretary of Bishop André Perraudin and senior news editor of Catholic Church newspaper *Kinyamateka*, was then designated as Hutu political leader. Subsequently, Hutu politicians once in office excluded the Tutsi from political power and sought revenge for perceived past injustices²⁷⁶.

About the same country, Helen M. Hintjens added:

During the years prior to independence, the image of the Batutsi had thus been transformed from a proud and noble aristocracy to a lazy, parasitic and cruel pastoral 'race', alien conquerors to boot. The Mwami was deposed shortly before independence in 1962, and from 1961 to 1962 the Belgian trusteeship authorities oversaw the replacement of half of all Batutsi chiefs by Bahutu chiefs²⁷⁷.

However, ecclesiastically, as far as ordinations are concerned, things seem to have been different as Saskia Van Hoyweghen, states: "In Rwanda after independence, while 90 per cent of the Christian population was Hutu, 70 per cent of the lower clergy were Tutsi, and most bishops Hutu."²⁷⁸ In the same way, Bishop André Perraudin, who started his ministry as Bishop in Rwanda from 1956, confirms that, during the time he was still working at the major seminary (of Nyakibanda) for the period 1951-1956, out of 62 priests ordained during this period, 47 priests (75.8%) were Tutsi and 15 priests (24.2%) were Hutu²⁷⁹. With this, the hypothesis of a high number of Hutu priests ordained since the early 1950s does not stand as true in Rwanda. Maybe this may have only affected the ordination of bishops around independence considering what Saskia Van Hoyweghen stated above.

In Burundi, firstly, politically the probability was high that the Hutu would proceed in the same way as in Rwanda²⁸⁰ by excluding the Tutsi from political power and taking punitive action against

²⁷⁶ See Deogratius Ndayishimiye, «Rwanda, Burundi: The Christian Church and Genocide», accessed October 18, 2014, url: <http://themediaproject.org/article/christian-church-burundi-rwanda-genocide?page=full> .

²⁷⁷ See Helen M. Hintjens, op. cit.: 254.

²⁷⁸ See Saskia Van Hoyweghen, op. cit.: 382.

²⁷⁹ André Perraudin says: « Quant au Grand Séminaire, je puis donner les chiffres de la période où j'y étais, soit comme professeur soit comme recteur : Ces chiffres sont très significatifs : sur les 62 Rwandais devenus prêtres diocésains qui avaient vécu au Séminaire sous ma juridiction de 1951 à 1956, 47 étaient Tutsi et 15 Hutu ». See André Perraudin, *Un évêque au Rwanda. Les six premières années de mon épiscopat 1956-1962* (Paris : Editions Saint-Augustin, 2003), 132.

²⁸⁰ The article found in the Review of the Missionaries of Africa published in 1960 states : « En Urundi on attend encore les élections communales pour la mi-novembre. Il est compréhensible que les luttes entre les partis, qui s'affrontent pour la première fois, troublent quelque peu la sérénité, sans cependant arriver aux troubles qu'on a connu au Rwanda. [...] Au Rwanda les élections communales sont actuellement terminées et les nouvelles autorités mises en place. Le président Général vient de désigner Mr Grégoire Kayibanda comme premier ministre du gouvernement provisoire. De temps à autre dans certaines parties du pays éclatent encore des troubles. Les missions ne sont cependant pas visées par ces mouvements et le travail apostolique continue et se développe ». See Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, « Ruanda-Urundi » *Pétit écho*, décembre 1960, no. 510, 366.

them. However, it seems that the Burundian Tutsi did not allow this to happen in Burundi. Instead, they opted for a defensive strategy and held to power by force. For instance, as stated by Warren Weinstein and Robert Schrire, the king of Burundi, fearing that the Hutu might choose a similar strategy to that of Rwanda, opted for a tactic of not permitting them to gain any real power, while at the same time making concessions to them in terms of government and administrative appointments, the allocation of educational scholarships and apprenticeship positions abroad²⁸¹.

Secondly, ecclesiastically, this political situation may then have influenced the Catholic Church. Most Tutsi members of the clergy may have decided to support the effort of the king and the other local administrative authorities dominated by educated Tutsi. One element that may confirm this is the fact that the first two Burundian bishops Michel Ntuyahaga²⁸² and André Makarakiza²⁸³, both Tutsi, were ordained bishops, respectively, on 11 October 1959 and 8 December 1961, just some days before the independence of Burundi. So, in the same way, concerning the ordinations of Burundian priests during the 1950s and around independence, it would not be surprising if the number of Tutsi priests was superior to that of Hutu priests as it was the case in Rwanda. But with regard to Burundi, up to this point, this still stands as a hypothesis.

The following sections on the ethnic classification of the Burundian Catholic priests ordained during the period 1940-1961 and on the role played by these Burundian priests in the independence movement will throw some light on this question.

4.3.2. Ethnic groups classification of the Burundian priests ordained between 1940 and 1961

a. Ethnic groups identification of the Burundian Catholic priests

The information concerning the ethnic groups of the Burundian priests ordained during the period 1940-1961 relies on oral evidence. It was, mainly, provided by the Emeritus Bishop of Ngozi, Msgr Stanislas Kaburungu (ordained a priest in 1961 and a bishop in 1969) and Fr. Philippe Siriba (ordained a priest in 1960). They both claimed to have met most of the Burundian priests ordained

²⁸¹ See Warren Weinstein and Robert Schrire, op. cit.: 189.

²⁸² Weinstein describes his ethnic group affiliation: "Michel Ntuyahaga was a ganwa and a son of a subchief. He was born in December 1912 at Nyarugati in Ruyigi Province. He attended the Minor Seminary at Mugeru and then the Major Seminary at Nyakibanda in 1933. He was ordained a priest on July 26, 1941. He was consecrated on October 11, 1959, as the first African Bishop of Burundi. A new vicariate of Bujumbura was created and entrusted to him. He died on June 11, 2002." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 226 and <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmaka.html>.

²⁸³ Weinstein describes also the ethnic group affiliation of Makarakiza. He says: "André Makarakiza was a Tutsi, uncle of Mwami Mwambutsa's wife. He was born on June 30, 1919 at Bukeye in Muramvya Province. Trained at Mugeru and Nyakibanda Seminaries, he entered the Order of the White Fathers in 1951. He was consecrated on December 8, 1961 and became Bishop of Ngozi. He became Archbishop of Burundi in October 1963. He died on April 17, 2004." See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 176 and <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmaka.html>.

during this period. Hence, they knew each other. However, given the physical similarities between Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi (and Rwanda), some errors might have occurred. But these latter errors would be almost insignificant given that the two informants (consulted separately, Kaburungu at Busiga-Ngozi, on August 17, 2015 and Siriba at Bujumbura, on September 14, 2015) provided the same information. This is not surprising because the social status of every seminarian was well identified for seminarians before entering the seminaries. In addition, some privileges were given by missionaries (especially, during the period when Gorju was in charge of the apostolic vicariate of Burundi) to Burundian seminarians and to Burundian priests accordingly. So, it was not difficult to know the ethnic group of every Burundian seminarian and/or every Burundian priest.

According to the information provided by the two informants, among the 72 Burundian priests ordained during the period 1940-1961, 45 priests (62.5%) were Tutsi and 27 priests (37.5%) were Hutu²⁸⁴. The ratio between Tutsi and Hutu priests ordained during this period was then significant and denoted a clear inequality in recruitment and training of the Burundian seminarians since during this period (under the Trusteeship Agreement) the Hutu represented 85%, Tutsi 14% and Twa 1% of the Burundian population²⁸⁵.

b. Burundian priests sent abroad for higher studies

Most of the priests listed below (17priests) were sent to Rome (Italy), to Louvain (Belgium) and to Lovanium (in the then Zaire) for their higher studies during the period 1937-1959²⁸⁶. Their names were the following: Gabriel Barakana, Michel Ntuyahaga, Pierre Nkundwa, Liberat Kabirigi, André Makarakiza, Michel Karikunzira, André Barampama, Lazare Bahumwansi, Jean-Baptiste Ntahokaja,

²⁸⁴ According to different documents and people, as far as ethnic groups are concerned, the Burundian Catholic priests ordained during the period 1940-1961 can be classified, as follows:

The following priests were considered as Tutsi: Joseph Nzibarega, Laurent Rurayinga, Michel Ntuyahaga, Antoine Turo, Julien Mikenyeru, Mathias Mulumba Nzogera, Jacques Buriye (Ganwa), Pierre Nkundwa (I), Lazare Manege, Gabriel Barakana, Jean-Baptiste Ntahokaja, Philbert Bitababaje, André Makarakiza, François Gahungu, Serge Ntukamazina, Jean-Baptiste Bigangara, Jean Bucumi, Nicodème Banshubijeko, Evariste Sindiho, Charles Gahebe, Michel Karikunzira, André Barampama, André Horumpende, Jean Ntahuga, Lazare Bahumwansi, Lazare Makuta, Roger Mpungu, Jean-Marie Buzungu, Jacques Ntibahezwa, Pierre Nkundwa (II), Stanislas Biraronderwa, Alberic Sindihebura, André Kameya, Evariste Ndorere, Thomas Mahwera, André Vyumvuhore, Jean-Berchmans Bwabo, Phillipe Siriba, Déogratias Ndabarushimana, Balthazar Bacinoni, Cyriaque Sakubu, Daniel Hakizimana (Ganwa), Grégoire Hicuburundi, Henri Bujana and Louis Semabaya.

The following priests were considered as Hutu: Jean Ruraseheye, Jacques Ndereye, Gabriel Ngeza, Emile Ndigiriye, Libérat Kabirigi, Pierre Baranyizigiye, Abel Murabirwa, Pierre Mutindi, Grégoire Busuma, Gervais Ndarukerege, Salvator Harusha, Nestor Bihonda, Cyprien Ntawundaba, Gabriel Gihimbare, Thomas Samandari, Melchior Rurakobeje, Marcel Mugabonihera, Séverin Minani, Marc Gahungu, Juvénal Bukubiyeko, Maurice Ntigacika, Elie Njangwa, Henri Manirakiza, Joseph Bigwabari, Marcel Nsanzako, Sébastien Girukubonye, Stanislas Kaburungu.

²⁸⁵ Jean Perraudin states : « Au temps de la tutelle belge on évaluait le nombre des Hutu à 85%, des Tutsi à 14% et des Twa à 1% ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*. Tome I, (Bologna : E.M.I, 1996), 39, note 16.

²⁸⁶ It is Bishop Jean Perraudin who provided the whole of this information in his book Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*, Tome III, 1^{ère} partie (Gitega: Centre Lavigerie, 1997), 89-90.

Lazare Manege, Pierre Mutindi, André Vyumvuhore, Severin Minani, Maurice Ntigacika, Jean-Marie Buzungu, Deogratias Ndabarushimana and Thomas Samandari.

Considering the ethnic groups identification, as clarified in the above point 4.3.2.a, among the 17 Burundian priests who were sent abroad for their higher studies, 12 (70.58%) were Tutsi and only 5 (29.41%) were Hutu. This reinforced the inequality with regard to the training of the members of Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy as far as ethnicity was concerned since more pastoral responsibilities such as being ordained a bishop were entrusted to the priests who had studied abroad. For instance, the first two Burundian bishops, - Michel Ntuyahaga and André Makarakiza, both Tutsi, - are included in the above list of the priests who went to study abroad.

Another thing worthy to be mentioned here is that among the 17 priests who were sent abroad for higher studies no one was from the group of the Burundian priests ordained during the period 1925-1937, the period during which Bishop Gorju was in charge of the apostolic vicariate of Burundi. Bishop Gorju did not send any Burundian priest abroad for further studies. This situation was, in part, due to his attitude towards Burundian people. It has been revealed that he undervalued the Burundian priests ordained during 1925-1937 (maybe because they were predominantly Hutu) to the extent that he considered the Burundian priests not yet worthy to be sent abroad for higher studies²⁸⁷.

c. The first Burundian parish priests (Vicars)

Until 1947, three parishes had been entrusted to Burundian priests as pastors. These parishes were Mugerero, Makebuko and Nyamurenza. According to Jean Perraudin, around this date, these three parishes were controlled, respectively, by Barnabé Sinzinkayo, Joseph Ntawe and Arthemon Mituragaro²⁸⁸. The first two parishes had been entrusted to Burundian priests in 1933²⁸⁹ when Msgr Gorju was the apostolic vicar of Burundi. It seems that the decision to entrust these two parishes to

²⁸⁷ Paul Rutayisire said : « Pour lui (Gorju), sur les cinq prêtres barundi que comptait le vicariat en 1930, trois étaient de trop ». See Paul Rutayisire, « L'africanisation du christianisme et la pratique missionnaire en référence à la christianisation du Burundi », 114-115. Rutayisire added : « La déception de Mgr Gorju était si grande qu'il a refusé deux bourses que lui a offertes la Maison Mère pour deux grands séminaristes. Il a dit : 'Je n'ai personne à qui les donner, je n'en accuserai pas réception et, si les bienfaiteurs me relancent, je les renverrai tout bonnement à ceux qui croient pouvoir me charger ainsi d'obligations que je ne puis absolument assumer'. See Ibid., 115. Here Rutayisire was quoting a letter of Msgr Gorju to his general superior on May 19, 1930.

²⁸⁸ Jean Perraudin states : « Au février 1947, trois grosses paroisses étaient entièrement confiées au clergé local: Mugerero, Makebuko et Nyamurenza ayant respectivement à leur tête comme curés les abbés Barnabé Sinzinkayo, Joseph Ntawe et Artémon Mituragaro ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*, Tome III, 1^{ère} partie, 90.

²⁸⁹ Perraudin said: « Deux paroisses furent bientôt confiées aux prêtres barundi : Mugerero en 1933 et Murehe, un peu plus tard ». See Jean Perraudin, *Notre Eglise a cent ans* (Bujumbura : Presses Lavigerie, 1998, 56. Future research should find out whether Murehe was later on abandoned, withdrawn from a Burundian priest or changed into Makebuko, since Jean Perraudin mentioned, in 1947, three parishes entrusted to Burundian priests as Mugerero, Makebuko and Nyamurenza (excluding Murehe).

Burundian priests came from the apostolic delegate and not from the vicar apostolic himself, Msgr Gorju²⁹⁰. He had denied giving parishes to Burundian priests²⁹¹. This seems to apply not only to Msgr Gorju but also to some other missionaries who did not want to entrust certain responsibilities to Burundian priests²⁹². When it happened to Burundian priests to be given responsibilities, it seems that the ethnic group of these priests was taken into consideration, those from the Tutsi ethnic group, especially the Ganwa, being favoured most of the time. For instance, the above three Burundian parish priests (vicars) were from the group of the Burundian priests ordained during the period 1925-1940. According to the identification of the ethnic groups - done by Fr. Augustin Mvuyekure- for this period, while out of the 16 priests, 12 were Hutu, 3 Tutsi and 1 priest of Ugandan origin, two priests in charge of the parishes out of the three parish priests (vicars) were Tutsi and only one Hutu.

This situation was not surprising considering what was happening in Burundi at the political level during the 30's, as far as ethnicity was concerned. During this period the Hutu people lost political responsibilities to the benefit of Tutsi people. This is what was happening, somehow, within the Catholic Church as well.

d. The assistants of Msgr Grauls

From 1958, Msgr Grauls, the then apostolic vicar of Gitega diocese, chose his assistants among Burundian priests. The first three Burundian priests to be given this opportunity, replacing the White Fathers, were Laurent Rurayinga, Mathias Nzogera and Lazare Manege²⁹³. As can be observed through the above ethnic group classification (4.3.2.a), all three Burundian priests chosen to be assistants of Msgr Grauls were Tutsi.

²⁹⁰ Rutayisire confirms : « Mais, en 1934, il a dû confier, malgré lui, une mission aux prêtres indigènes, Mugerero suivi par Murehe. L'ordre est venu, une fois plus, du délégué apostolique et non pas de Mgr Gorju lui-même ». See Paul Rutayisire, « L'Africanisation du Christianisme et la pratique missionnaire en référence à la christianisation du Burundi 1897-1937 », 115.

²⁹¹ In a letter to his general superior, in August 1928, Gorju wrote : « Vraiment ce pays qui nous donne tant et de si braves chrétiens est encore bien peu mûr pour le sacerdoce, et je ne vois pas luire le jour où je pourrai en prendre trois pour leur donner une mission à conduire. Pour l'instant, ce serait le bon moyen de la ruiner ». See Gorju quoted by Paul Rutayisire, *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁹² Rutayisire wrote: « Parmi les missionnaires, il y en avait qui ne voulaient pas céder leur place ou fonction aux prêtres indigènes. [...] La Maison Mère a reproché aux missionnaires du Burundi et à leur évêque leur « peu de sympathie » à l'égard des prêtres indigènes ». See Paul Rutayisire, *Ibid.*, 114-115.

²⁹³ Jean Perraudin wrote: « [...] le Père Claudius Rabeyrin qui succéda au Père Jean D'Hervé, comme collaborateur de Mgr Grauls, ne resta qu'une année (1950-1951) tandis que le Père Armand Farine consacra à cette œuvre sept années (1951-1958) soucieux à fois de la formation et du recrutement des candidats. Les Pères Blancs furent remplacés dans cette charge par des prêtres burundais à partir de 1958. Les deux premiers, l'abbé Laurent Rurayinga (1958-1959) et l'abbé Mathias Nzogera (1959-1960) n'y demeurèrent qu'une année. Par contre l'abbé Lazare Manege accomplit sa mission durant trois ans ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*, Tome III, 215.

This was also the case for the first two Burundian priests who were elected as members of the High Land Council (better known as “Conseil Supérieur du pays”)²⁹⁴. The first two Burundian priests to join the other lay members, part of the council, were Fr. Laurent Rurayinga and Fr. Julien Mikenyeru²⁹⁵. Both were Tutsi. These two priests also worked closely together with Msgr Grauls and it seems that during the gatherings of the High Land Council, these priests were free to speak and could influence different decisions discussed in the council. In this regard Warren Weinstein wrote:

The supreme Land Council had control over various budgetary and administrative matters. After 1957, the council clashed more and more frequently with the administration. The first test of will was over whether or not to introduce state education in Burundi, which was opposed by the Catholic Church. The council voted not to do so despite strong pressures from the administration. [...] The council drew up a constitution for Burundi and pressed the vice Government General for internal autonomy and, then, independence²⁹⁶.

In February 1955, Msgr Grauls allowed the members of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy to create an association for mutual assistance²⁹⁷. The association was called “Union du Clergé Incardiné (UCI)”. The committee members were Frs Michel Ntuyahaga, Jean-Baptiste Bigangara, Pierre Nkundwa, Jacques Buriye, Philbert Bitababaje, Laurent Rurayinga and Charles Gahebe²⁹⁸. All were Tutsi. However, it seems that the association did not much in terms of ecclesiastical or political realisations since Perraudin who provided this information stated that the association was mainly for friendly meetings²⁹⁹.

In any event, within the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy, the inequalities in ethnic representation were observed in different domains due to the power dynamics of the time. This shows how closely the missionaries worked together with the colonizers in the sense that what was

²⁹⁴ Weinstein states: “The Supreme Land Council was created by decree in 1952 which was completed by legislative ordinance on July 10, 1953. It began to function in 1954, although a preliminary start was under way in 1953. [...] The council’s mandate ran for three years, but its indirect election made it rather unrepresentative of majority opinion in Burundi. The council was dominated almost completely by Tutsi and Ganwa. Its mandate expired on February 17, 1960, after the Council demanded total independence for Burundi by June of that year. It was replaced by a permanent Deputation, a body that continued in session when the council itself was not meeting.” See Warren Weinstein, *op. cit.* 121-122.

²⁹⁵ The information was provided by Fr. Philippe Siriba. According to him these two priests were replaced by Frs. Libérat Kabirigi (a Hutu) and Jacques Buriye (a Tutsi).

²⁹⁶ Warren Weinstein, *op. cit.*, 122.

²⁹⁷ Perraudin states : « Mgr Grauls a donné l’idée en disant : Je désire vivement qu’une association soit fondée entre prêtres barundi, dans le but de s’entraider pour leur culture et leur sanctification doit venir spontanément du clergé lui-même. L’évêque lui donne son approbation ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l’Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l’indépendance*, Tome III, 1^{ère} partie, 91.

²⁹⁸ Perraudin wrote : « Un comité est constitué avec comme président Michel Ntuyahaga ; vice-président Jean-Baptiste Bigangara, conseillers Pierre Nkundwa et Jacques Buriye, trésorier Philibert Bitababaje, secrétaire Laurent Rurayinga, secrétaire-adjoint Charles Gahebe » See Jean Perraudin, *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Perraudin states : « Dans l’ensemble, l’U.C.I reste pour ses membres un lieu de rencontre amical et fraternel ». See *Ibid.*, 94.

happening within the Burundian clergy corresponded to the colonial view that the traditional structure of Burundian society with the Tutsi as the leaders should be maintained.

This brings us to the question of how the different categories of people living in Burundi during the colonial period viewed the Burundian Catholic priests. This is the task of the following section.

4.4. The status of the Burundian Catholic priests

Here will be discussed how the first Burundian Catholic priests were considered by the missionaries, the Belgian authorities and the Burundian people themselves. Nevertheless, not much will be said about this topic because primary sources such as missionary diaries that would have helped me to come across the life of the first Burundian Catholic priests in the missionary communities could not be exploited, for different reasons. So the little information that is going to be provided below is from secondary documents.

4.4.1. Burundian Catholic priests, Missionaries and Colonizers

Without surprise, considering the general context, especially, in the beginning, the Burundian Catholic priests were found inferior compared to missionaries. They were seen as the employees of the missionaries who were responsible for guiding and directing them³⁰⁰. In addition, their integration in the communities of missionaries was very difficult. Their duties in the communities were limited. In the early years some racial segregation³⁰¹ towards the first Burundian Catholic priests was practiced. They had their own refectory far from that of missionaries. They were dressed differently compared to missionaries and the title of “Father” attributed to missionaries was denied to them³⁰². Furthermore, when it came to apostolic assignments, the Burundian Catholic priests were often sent to stations in villages, whereas the missionaries worked most of the time in parishes³⁰³.

The difficulty of integration of Burundian Catholic priests within missionaries seems to have happened in other countries of Africa as well. In Kenya, for instance, Hans Burgman states: “Early in

³⁰⁰ See Joseph Gahama, op. cit., 256.

³⁰¹ Paul Rutayisire, quoting the Mugeru diary, says: “Le Burundi a eu ses premiers prêtres indigènes (originaires de la mission de Muyaga et formés à Kabgayi) le 19 Décembre 1925. Comme au Rwanda qui avait les siens en 1917, leur présence dans le vicariat a créé un problème de cohabitation avec les missionnaires. Non acceptés par ces derniers dans leur vie communautaire, les abbés ont été obligés de vivre à part, partout où ils ont été en poste. C’est en 1932, suite à l’intervention du délégué apostolique, que les prêtres indigènes ont quitté leurs maisons pour partager la vie communautaire avec les missionnaires”. See le *Diaire de Mugeru* (janvier 1932) quoted in Paul Rutayisire, « L’africanisation du christianisme et la pratique missionnaire en référence à la christianisation du Burundi 1897-1937 », 114.

³⁰² See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit., 78.

³⁰³ Gahama states : “A lire le *Diaire de Muyaga*, on serait amené à penser que la paroisse est destinée aux pères blancs et les succursales aux abbés noirs, tant on signale sans arrêt le départ d’Emile Ngendagende dans la brousse”. See Joseph Gahama, op. cit., 256.

the 1940s it was clear that soon the Missionaries would have to welcome African Priests in their midst. A considerable number of Missionaries were emotionally not ready for the event and were reluctant to accept African priests as their equals.³⁰⁴

This seems to be what was being practiced generally. Already in 1926, Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical letter *Rerum ecclesiae*, had condemned the discriminatory manner in which the missionaries were treating native priests. The pope's document stated:

Certainly you should not allow the native clergy to be looked upon as if they were a lower grade of priests to be employed only in the most humble offices of the ministry. These priests have been admitted to the same priesthood that the missionaries possess, they are members of the selfsame apostolate. On the contrary, you should prefer the native priests to all others, for it is they who will one day govern the churches and Catholic communities founded by your sweat and labor. Therefore, there should exist no discrimination of any kind between priests, be they European missionaries or natives, there must be no line of demarcation marking one off from the other. Let all priests, missionaries and natives be united with one another in the bonds of mutual respect and love³⁰⁵.

Mvuyekure added that this situation only changed after the independence of African countries. However, surprisingly, it seems that the first Burundian priests at Mugerero parish were appreciated by some of the missionaries. The Burundian parish priests to this parish were appreciated in their ministry. In general, for some missionaries the Burundian priests were valuable contributors with regard to pastoral as far as the conversion of local people was concerned.

Some colonists too, almost in the same way, looked at Burundian priests with a good eye because they could understand their language and thus facilitate the internalization of the colonial ideology by the Burundian people, with regard to the "civilization" process especially³⁰⁶. This is why since 1954³⁰⁷ a place was reserved for a Burundian Catholic priests (in charge of spiritual matters) among the members of the Supreme Land Council. These Catholic priests who were part of the Council did not only have spiritual functions but they also would intervene, at times, in socio-political matters.

³⁰⁴ See Hans Burgman, op. cit., 218.

³⁰⁵ See Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae*. (Encyclical letter on Catholic missions) (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926), no. 26.

³⁰⁶ In the annual report of the Belgian administration (1927), it was written: « Du point de vue évangélisation, les prêtres indigènes sont bons et dévoués. Du point de vue social, leur influence est favorable au développement de l'idée civilisatrice. Ils comprennent très bien que la suppression de l'autorité européenne amènerait l'anarchie et que leur pays ne peut se développer et se transformer que sous l'égide de cette autorité ». See *Rapports sur l'Administration belge du Ruanda-Urundi, année 1927* (Bruxelles : Etablissement Emile Bruylant, 1928), 51.

³⁰⁷ See Pierre Leroy et Jacques Westhof, *Legislation du Rwanda-Urundi*, 2^{ème} éd. (Bruxelles: Imprimerie Robert Louis, 1954), 112.

4.4.2. The Burundian Catholic priests and the Burundian people

The Burundian people are comprised of local administrators and the rest of the population. Both groups considered the Burundian Catholic priests with great respect. For the first group, a Burundian priest was their equal, whereas for the second group, ordinary lay people were looking at him as someone who had acquired a higher position than them in terms of social status. In the eyes of the Burundian population, becoming a priest conferred an honour not only to the person ordained to priesthood but also to his family. The rank of a Burundian priest was equal to that of a chief³⁰⁸.

With regard to ministry the Burundian priests were held in high esteem by the ordinary Burundian people. Some parishioners were saying that the only difference between Burundian priests and missionaries was the colour of their skin. The Burundian priests inspired joy and happiness to people who attended them, especially when it came to language. People were impressed to find that these priests could speak the language of the missionaries and the colonizers. People saw the Burundian priests as their protectors since they could intervene in the conflicts opposing them to colonial administrators³⁰⁹. Some Burundians would entrust to Burundian priests delicate affairs or would bring valuable objects to the parish where Burundian priests were staying. The Burundian priests were then well appreciated by the Burundian people be it the local administrators or the rest of the population. Both groups were very proud of the Burundian priests. The confidence that the Burundian people had for the Burundian priests attracted them to convert to Christianity. Pope John XXIII made the same observation, in 1959:

If native priests are well instructed in these practical matters and serious disciplines, and if they overcome difficulties and are equipped to take the right course of action, they will be able, under guidance of their bishops, to make highly valuable contributions. In particular, they will find a more sympathetic audience among the educated citizens of their own countries and will be able to attract them to the Christian truth³¹⁰.

Since the members of the Burundian indigenous clergy were close to people and liked by them, let us now see whether or not they contributed to the independence movement as well.

4.4.3. The Burundian Catholic priests and the independence movement

To better assess the role that would have been played by the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy in the independence movement, it is important to see what the political-situation was like, as the

³⁰⁸ A Burundian priest said: “Si je n’étais pas devenu prêtre, je n’aurais jamais été invité à la table des Baganwa”. See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit., 78.

³⁰⁹ Mvuyekure states : “Il a été rapporté qu’en 1930, les abbés Artémon Mituragaro et Stanislas Munoni ont mené la vie dure Botéma, administrateur colonial de Muramvya”. See Augustin Mvuyekure, op. cit. 79.

³¹⁰ See John XXIII, *Princeps Pastorum* (Encyclical letter on the missions, native clergy, and lay participation), (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1959), no. 20.

independence of Burundi was approaching. As René Lemarchand stated, from the very beginning Burundi politics were dominated by the struggle between the “Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC)”, and the “Parti de l’Unité et du Progrès National” (better known as the UPRONA), whose leaderships were associated, respectively, with the Batare and the Bezi families”³¹¹. PDC had anti-monarchist tendencies, whereas UPRONA was supporting monarchism. UPRONA was created in September 1959 by the Prince Louis Rwagasore. As for the PDC, it was supported by the colonial administration as Warren Weinstein states:

PDC, the Christian Democratic Party was officially established on February 5, 1960, as response by chief Baranyanka’s family to Rwagasore’s UPRONA. [...]. The PDC enjoyed full-scale support from the Belgian administration which supplied it with funds and vehicles for electoral campaigning. The administration undertook to enact various legislative measures aimed at limiting UPRONA’s influence while benefiting the PDC³¹².

With regard to political aspirations towards independence, whereas the Bezi (associated with UPRONA) seldom missed an opportunity to press their claims for “immediate independence”³¹³, the Batare (associated with PDC) never displayed such enthusiasm for self-government, either out of decency towards the administering authorities, from whom they received considerable support, or because they were too much aware of how much still needed to be done before the country could stand on its own feet, economically and otherwise, the Batare never looked like a group of militant nationalists”³¹⁴. Most of the PDC cadres were people who had benefited education at the “Groupe Scolaire of Astrida” created at Butare in Rwanda by Belgian administration. The graduates of this school were called Astridians.

On the contrary, the UPRONA was a party of militant nationalists. It recruited the bulk of its middle leadership from ex-seminarists, that is from elements who bitterly resented being excluded from administrative posts while in fact claiming a much higher degree of intellectual sophistication than the Astridians³¹⁵. Even if PDC had received support of other parties, thus forming the “Common Front” (better known as “Front Commun” or “Union des Partis Populaires: UPP), on one hand, and that of the Belgian administration, on the other hand, it was defeated overwhelmingly by UPRONA (of Rwagasore) in the September 1961 legislative elections that led to the independence of Burundi.

³¹¹ See René Lemarchand, “*Social Change and Political Modernization in Burundi*”. (A document prepared for delivery at the 1966 annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Bloonington, October 24-26, 1966), 12.

³¹² See Warren Weinstein, op. cit., 234.

³¹³ Tuyaga states : “Alors que l’UPRONA demandait une courte étape d’autonomie avant l’indépendance, le PDC et ses alliés exigeaient une longue période d’autonomie qui permettrait selon eux, à la Belgique de mettre en place des réformes sociales nécessaires à une saine démocratie ». See Marc Tuyaga, op. cit., 117.

³¹⁴ See René Lemarchand, “*Social Change and Political Modernization in Burundi*”, 13.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 15-16.

In this the power game developed differently in Burundi and in Rwanda³¹⁶. In Rwanda, whereas the colonial authorities played the ethnic card by supporting the Hutu and opposing the Tutsi, in Burundi the opposition to Belgian colonialism was conducted by a group of nationalists led by Rwagasore without focusing on any particular ethnic group. And since the nationalistic position was supported by many of the Burundian population, the party of Rwagasore won the competition. Rwagasore would be killed after the legislative elections on 13 October 1961. It is clear that he was killed because the victory of his political party (UPRONA) was a sign of the rejection of the colonial power³¹⁷. That is why the leaders of PDC and the other leaders of the parties forming the then “Common Front” were found responsible for the death of Rwagasore³¹⁸.

With regard to the Burundian indigenous clergy, presumably some members of this clergy may have been influenced by PDC political vision others by UPRONA’s one. I did not come across any clear names of priests who supported PDC. But for those who were influenced by UPRONA’s political vision and thus supported Rwagasore’s party, in addition to some major seminarians who showed nationalistic ideas³¹⁹, three priests, members of the Burundian Catholic Church played a significant role towards the independence of Burundi. These were the three bishops that Burundi had before 1961, Msgr Joseph Martin (Bishop of Ngozi), Msgr Antoine Grauls (Archbishop of Gitega) and Msgr Michel Ntuyahaga (Bishop of Bujumbura). However, it seems that their views or rather their sensitivities were different. Seemingly, Msgr Martin did not want the independence of Burundi to be immediate, because he wanted it to be well prepared³²⁰. On the contrary, Msgr Grauls, in accordance with the wish of the majority of the nation, thought independence had to be immediate. In a meeting with the missionaries he said: *“The purpose of the mission is not to curb the independence, but to*

³¹⁶ Tuyaga gives a clear clarification : « Au Rwanda, l’opposition au colonialisme belge était identifiée à l’action des Tutsi et des autorités féodales locales, alors que la défense des Hutu opprimés était soi-disant assumée par la Belgique en tant que puissance coloniale. Au Burundi, l’opposition à ce même colonialisme était menée par le Prince Louis Rwagasore, en tant que leader d’un parti nationaliste solidement appuyé par la population. Il n’était donc pas possible, malgré les efforts de certains membres de l’administration et des colons de faire état d’une opposition ethnique, mais plutôt d’une opposition entre forces nationalistes et forces favorables à la présence belge ». See Marc Tuyaga, op. cit., 91.

³¹⁷ Tuyaga points out : « Les résultats des élections législatives de septembre 1961 ont sans doute démontré le rejet total du régime colonial par la préférence sans équivoque accordée au Parti de l’Unité et du Progrès National (UPRONA) ». See Ibid., 124.

³¹⁸ Tuyaga wrote: « De plus, les leaders de l’UPP (Union des Partis populaires) regrettaient de s’être associés au PDC dont les dirigeants furent reconnus responsables de l’assassinat du premier ministre Rwagasore ». See Ibid., 130.

³¹⁹ The annual report (1954-1955) of the Missionaries of Africa points out : « Quelques-uns (des petits séminaristes) se préoccupent un peu de politique et des rapports entre blancs et noirs : cette question les intéresse toujours. La question du nationalisme ne les préoccupe pas encore : ils sont trop petits. Cette question se pose davantage au grand séminaire) ». See Société des Missionnaires d’Afrique, *Rapport annuel 1954-1955*, 670.

³²⁰ With this one may be tempted to conclude that Msgr Martin supported the PDC political vision. It can only be assumed but not postulated given that the clear political position of Msgr Martin did not transpire in any document consulted.

prepare it. Burundi should be helped to achieve it in peace »³²¹. Msgr Grauls shared this view with Msgr Ntuyahaga³²². These two bishops clearly supported Rwagasore's party³²³. After the proclamation of the Burundian independence, on July 1, 1962, a solemn mass of thanksgiving was organized. During this mass, Bishops Grauls and Ntuyahaga delivered the same speech, Grauls presenting it in French and Ntuyahaga in Kirundi. They both promised to the king the support of the Catholic Church. An excerpt of their common speech read:

Your Majesty, [...], in performing the task that will be yours, the Catholic Church, without any pretension of interference in political activities that are not of its domain, promises you the fullest and most loyal support³²⁴.

Having seen the role played by the Burundian Catholic Church in the independence movement, it is now relatively possible to figure out what would have contributed to the ordinations of a great number of Burundian priests as well as the first two Burundian bishops (Ntuyahaga and Makarakiza) on the eve of the independence of Burundi.

A graphical representation of the priestly ordinations shows two great peaks about the Burundian priests ordained for two particular years. These peaks occurred respectively in 1951, when 8 priests (6 Tutsi and 2 Hutu) were ordained and in 1961, when 12 priests (6 Tutsi and 6 Hutu) were ordained. In 1959, the first Burundian bishop, Msgr Michel Ntuyahaga (Tutsi) was ordained, and later on, in 1961, the second Burundian bishop, Msgr André Makarakiza (also Tutsi) was ordained. All these events happened as the independence was approaching.

Concerning the ordination of the first Burundian bishop which took place on October 11, 1959, it can be assumed that, animated by the nationalist movement, this ordination was done in support to the independence but not in terms of the emancipation of the Tutsi ethnic group but rather that of Burundians in general³²⁵. Therefore, even the ordination of the second bishop (in 1961) might have

³²¹ This is my own translation. The original text was in French and read: « Le but de la mission n'est pas de freiner l'indépendance, mais de la préparer. Il faut aider le Burundi à y parvenir dans la paix ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*. Tome I, (Bologna : E.M.I., 1996), 12.

³²² Perraudin stated : « En cela, il était parfaitement d'accord avec Mgr Ntuyahaga. De son côté, semble-t-il, Mgr Martin aurait souhaité une meilleure préparation ». See *ibid.*

³²³ Perraudin states : « L'archevêque de Gitega (Mgr Grauls) n'a pas combattu le programme du Prince Louis Rwagasore. Il a certainement éclairé ce dernier comme il l'a fait pour la plupart des leaders politiques venus le consulter. Sans doute a-t-il souligné les aspects positifs des objectifs visés : respect de Dieu, amour du pays, désir d'unité, attention aux humbles ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*. Tome I, .16.

³²⁴ This is my own translation. The original text reads: "Mwami, [...] dans l'accomplissement de la tâche qui sera la vôtre, l'Eglise Catholique, sans aucune prétention d'ingérence dans des activités politiques qui ne sont pas de son domaine, vous promet son concours le plus entier et le plus loyal ». See Jean Perraudin, *Ibid.*, 25.

³²⁵ Perraudin alluded to that : « [...] à l'occasion du sacre de mon frère André Perraudin à Kabgayi, le 25 mars 1956, Mgr Grauls m'avait entretenu de ces problèmes. Il m'a aussi parlé de la candidature de l'abbé Michel Ntuyahaga, qu'il envisageait avec faveur, sans cependant la mettre au premier rang. Finalement, c'est ce dernier qui fut choisi, non pour Ngozi, mais pour Bujumbura. L'indépendance approchait. Il était bon qu'à la capitale un Burundais présidât aux

been undertaken in the same way. The great number of the Burundian priests ordained on the eve of the independence of Burundi can also be interpreted similarly.

As to the predominance of the members from Tutsi ethnic group, especially among the priests ordained in 1951 as well as the first two Burundian bishops, the justification would be that, wanting to ordain as many Burundian priests and bishops as possible to show the emancipation of Burundian people, the number of those from the Tutsi ethnic group was found superior to that of those from the Hutu ethnic group, given the advantages the Tutsi had received during the earlier period in terms of recruitment and quality of formation. On the other hand, with regard to the twelve Burundian priests ordained in 1961, the parity in terms of ethnic groups representation between the Hutu Burundian priests and the Tutsi ones (6 Hutu and 6 Tutsi) can be explained by two factors. Firstly, in the logic of the emancipation of the Burundian people on the eve of independence, ethnicity was somehow no longer seen as an issue³²⁶. Secondly, after the shift of interest brought by the second generation of the missionaries and the Belgian officials after WWII (during the 40s), by 1961 the number of Hutu seminarians had certainly increased significantly approaching that of the Tutsi seminarians, as it was the case in public schools³²⁷.

4.5. Summary of the chapter

This chapter dealt with the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy from the time of its establishment until 1961. Principally two points were discussed: the training and the growth of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy throughout the period of the Belgian administration. In addition, the chapter discussed the status of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy in the eyes of the missionaries and the colonizers, on one hand, and of the Burundian people themselves, on the other hand. Lastly the role played by the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy in the independence movement was looked at.

destinées de l'Eglise locale». Le 18 juillet 1959, la radio annonçait sa nomination comme Vicaire Apostolique de Bujumbura où il fut sacré le 11 octobre suivant ». See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*, Tome III, 1^{ère} partie, 99.

³²⁶ Tuyaga states : « Parmi les cadres de l'UPRONA, les Batutsi dominent. Ceci est normal si l'on considère que les deux principaux centres d'enseignement, les petits séminaires et le groupe scolaire de Butare (alors appelé Astrida) formaient avant tout des Batutsi. Cependant, l'UPRONA n'est nullement un parti mututsi. Les Bahutu y sont très nombreux ». See J. Ziegler quoted by Marc Tuyaga, op. cit., 125. Tuyaga added : « L'activité des élites Hutu dans l'UPRONA a eu une influence décisive quant au succès de ce parti contre la conspiration colonialiste, réduisant à néant les différentes tentatives de catégoriser les aspirations des Burundi en termes ethniques ». See Ibid.

³²⁷ Manirakiza states : « Après la deuxième guerre mondiale, la différenciation prit officiellement fin dans l'enseignement. Les Hutus et les Tutsis furent admis dans les écoles, plus ou moins sans distinction. Mais les Tutsis demeurèrent majoritaires dans l'administration coloniale jusqu'à l'indépendance ». See Marc Manirakiza, *La fin de la monarchie burundaise 1962-1966* (Bruxelles : Hayez, 1990), 32.

With regard to the training of the Burundian Catholic priests, the chapter highlighted that the first Burundian seminarians recruited around 1908 until 1926 were sent outside the country. They firstly received their training in Tanzania (at Ushirombo minor seminary) and later on in Rwanda (at Kabgayi minor seminary). After 1926, the Burundian seminarians did no longer go outside Burundi for their training in minor seminaries because a minor seminary was opened in Burundi, at Mugera, during 1926. However, with regard to major seminaries, the Burundian seminarians kept on going to Rwanda either at Kabgayi major seminary or Nyakibanda major seminary until 1951, when the first major seminary was opened in Burundi, at Burasira.

After the first two Burundian priests were ordained in 1925, Burundian priests were ordained almost every year, making a total of 88 Burundian priests on the eve of independence. From 1925 until 1940 only 16 Burundian priests of whom 12 Hutu, 2 Tutsi, 1 Ganwa and 1 of Ugandan origin were ordained. In general, the annual statistics show a low number of ordinations (not more than 3) until 1940. During the following period, from 1940 to 1961, 72 Burundian priests of whom 45 Tutsi and 27 Hutu were ordained. During this period, compared to the previous one, the annual statistics show an increase. But even for this period which started after 1940, the number of ordinations per year was not stable. The annual statistics of ordinations show the highest level of ten and more around the period of the independence of Burundi, when 12 Burundian priests were ordained, consecutively, in 1961 and 1962, and ten priests in 1963. With regard to the ordination of Burundian bishops, only two Bishops – both of the Tutsi ethnic group -, were ordained at the time of the independence of Burundi.

This shows that the establishment of the Catholic indigenous clergy of Burundi was influenced by the power dynamics developed around ethnicity by colonizers, missionaries and Burundian politicians since the highest number of priestly ordinations (12 priests) was celebrated in 1961 and the first two appointments of Burundian bishops were made in 1959 and 1961 respectively. This period saw the emancipation of the Burundians and a significant diminution of the weight of ethnic influence. Ethnicity no longer being less important in the eyes of colonizers, missionaries and Burundian politicians with regard to the training and the development of the Burundian indigenous clergy, on one hand, and in view of the independence movement, on the other hand, the Burundian Church may have decided to ordain a bigger number of Burundian priests (without any consideration about their ethnic affiliation) and to appoint the first two indigenous bishops during that period just as a sign of recognition for the achievement that had been made in the Burundian socio-political context.

Chapter five

General conclusion

This conclusion consists of three sections. The first assesses the contribution of this study to knowledge; the second outlines areas of future research; the third proposes concluding comments on the issue of ethnicity, which is central to the project of the thesis.

5.1. Assessment of the study's contribution to knowledge

This study did not have the intention to be exhaustive considering the length of its time-frame as well as the number of topics it had to address. The study also suffered from a lack of primary sources that, if available, would have enhanced its quality. This was due to the fact that these sources are no longer housed in Burundi but rather in Belgium and in Rome. This is confirmed by Nancy Hunt who states:

The Belgians established an archives service in Bujumbura in the late 1950s, holding some German records for Ruanda-Urundi as well as records of the Vice-Gouverneur-General and some provincial records. It is safe to assume that these records were all repatriated to Brussels at independence in 1962 and can now be found at the Archives Africaines; the German records are certainly there³²⁸.

The fact that I did not have the opportunity to formally conduct interviews with certain Burundians who could have given testimonies, with regard to my research, has constituted another handicap to the study.

However, in relation to the main aim of the study which was to examine the impact that the power dynamics in Catholic Church and society and the discourse on ethnicity had on the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy during the period 1916-1961, the study has shed some light. This was made possible by the use of valuable primary sources and secondary documents. These include the annual reports of the Missionaries of Africa³²⁹, the synodal statutes of the vicariate of Urundi written by Julien Gorju (when he was Vicar Apostolic of Urundi), the document of “Union du Clergé Murundi (UCM)” written by the Burundian Catholic priests

³²⁸ Unité de documentation du bureau d'éducation rurale cited by Nancy Hunt, «Research Protocol and Resources in Burundi», *History in Africa* 14 (1987): 400, accessed July 22, 2014, url: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3171853>.

³²⁹ These annual reports were found in one of the archives of the Missionaries of Africa in Bujumbura (Burundi). The annual reports that were mainly consulted were those from 1925 (the year during which the first two Burundian priests were ordained) to 1959 (the year during which the first Burundian bishop was ordained).

supported by the Burundian Catholic Bishops Conference at the occasion of the golden jubilee of the first ordinations of Burundian candidates to the priesthood, the list of the first seminarians who attended Kabgayi minor seminary and some other documents. Among these are those written by some members of the Burundian Catholic clergy (missionaries and Burundian priests), another document written by Gorju (*En Zigzag à travers l'Urundi*) and the book of Augustin Mvuyekure, *Le Catholicisme au Burundi 1922-1962. Approche historiques des conversions*.

These documents have helped to clarify aspects of the history of evangelization of Burundi and in particular the matter of the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy. The annual reports provided qualitative and quantitative information on the Burundian clergy, especially the number of seminarians in the different seminaries as well as the number of the Burundian priests annually ordained. It should be noted, however, that these reports give more space to the achievements of the missionaries than to those of indigenous priests. In the synodal statutes of the vicariate of Urundi (published in 1929), Gorju reserved a section on the training of the Burundian seminarians. In this section, the conditions of recruitment of seminarians (with a reference to their social status in terms of ethnic groups) were clearly described. This has helped to know the selection criteria of the indigenous candidates to the priesthood in terms of ethnicity, during the time after which the synodal statutes were published. As it was clearly stated in the document of the synodal statutes, the missionaries focussed on the “upper class” of the Burundian society, that is, the Tutsi, especially those belonging to ganwa lineage.

The Golden Jubilee document (published by the UCM in 1975) provided a list of the names together with the pictures of all the Burundian jubilee priests. All the Burundian priests ordained during the period which this study is concerned with were found in the document. On the same note, the study took advantage of the article of Stanislas Kaburungu, “L'Eglise du Burundi face à son avenir” (the Church of Burundi faced with its future). In this article Kaburungu had given the statistics of the first Burundian priests ordained between 1925 and 1973, without, however, giving their names. The information found in these two documents helped me to draw the different tables and graphical representations of the ordinations of the Burundian priests, as they have been presented in this study. Through these graphical representations, different peaks were observed. Analysing these peaks, the study has attempted some explanations, taking into account the ethnic factor. In addition, the study attempted some explanations with regard to the three parishes out of twenty five which were found to have given a high number of Burundian priests. These three parishes were Muyaga, Rusengo and Bukeye. The first two were parishes situated in the provinces bordering Tanzania, whereas the third one happened to be located in the area where the Burundian king resided.

As to the list of seminarians from Kabgayi minor seminary in Rwanda (published online), it made possible to establish the number and the names of the first Burundian seminarians who attended the Kabgayi seminary from 1913 until 1932. Through an analysis of this list together with that of the first Burundian priests ordained from 1925 until 1961 (provided by the Golden Jubilee document), the study has managed to provide the percentage of the Burundian seminarians who were ordained priests in the total of those who attended Kabgayi seminary. From this the study has also managed to deduct the percentage of the seminarians who left Kabgayi seminary before the end of their training. Given the fact that this percentage was found high, the study tried to figure out, referring to ethnic factor, what might have been the reasons.

The book of Augustin Mvuyekure (published in 2003) provided the ethnic affiliations of the first Burundian Catholic priests ordained between 1925 and 1940. In connection to this, the study has noticed the silence of the documents about the ethnic affiliations of the Burundian priests. Apart from Mvuyekure, Perraudin (hardly however) and Weinstein, nobody else spoke clearly of this issue. This is the reason why in order to have an idea about the ethnic affiliation of the Burundian priests ordained between 1940 and 1961, I had to ask two Burundian people (Msgr Stanislas Kaburungu and Fr. Philippe Siriba) who voluntarily accepted to provide the information needed. The information provided by Mvuyekure and that provided by these two informants have helped to know the criteria the missionaries used in the recruiting and ordaining of the first Burundian seminarians, taking into account different shifts occurred in the history of the Burundian Catholic Church and the Burundian society. For the first period 1925-1940, given the fact that 75 per cent of these priests ordained before 1940 were Hutu, the study has come to conclude that most of the first Burundian seminarians were recruited before 1926, the period during which the missionaries were still more interested in the Hutu candidates than in Tutsi. During the second period (1940-1961), the situation turned almost upside down. Far more Tutsi than Hutu were ordained to the priesthood in Burundi: 62.5 per cent against 37.5 per cent. From this the study has deducted that this situation was due to the shift of interest from Hutu candidates to Tutsi ones, the shift that occurred, especially when the first generation of Belgian colonizers arrived in Burundi.

The same book of Mvuyekure also provided some insights (without referring to any ethnic factor, however) about the image of the first Burundian priests in the eyes of the missionaries, the colonizers and the Burundian people. The book of Mvuyekure together with the Rutayisire's article gave some information about the relationship between the first Burundian priests and the missionaries. Unfortunately, these two documents did not provide any clear information on the implication of the ethnic factor in the life of the first Burundian priests in their communities where they were staying or

working together with the missionaries. Perhaps the Diaries -which were not used in this study-, would have shed some light on the matter. All these documents have helped to show some of the power dynamics that shaped the training and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy. For instance, taking into account the ethnic factor, the study has thrown light on several policy shifts. At times, the missionaries and the colonizers were favouring the Hutu whereas, at other times, they were favouring the Tutsi.

Another achievement of the study is that it has shown the path which the first Burundian seminarians followed until they got ordained. However, the profile of the seminaries in which the first Burundian seminarians were trained is not better known.

5.2. Areas for future research

The study left certain areas almost untouched. They need to be subsequently researched. With regard to the training of the Burundian seminarians, only the Burundian seminarians who attended Kabgayi minor seminary were examined in this study. Ideally, the seminarians who attended the Mugera minor seminary from 1926 on, those who attended the Nyakibanda major seminary from 1936 until 1951, as well as those who attended the Burasira major seminary from 1951 on should also be identified. This might be done by checking the records of these three seminaries, where they still exist. On the same note, since some inaccuracies were observed about the list of the seminarians who attended Kabgayi seminary, one should try to verify the names and identity of these seminarians. This should also be done by checking the records of Kabgayi seminary. It would also be interesting to know, on one hand, the name of the very first Burundian seminarian recruited for the training to priesthood, and, on the other hand, the name of the first Burundian diocesan priest, since the very first priests were joining the congregation of the Missionaries of Africa. In the same way, the history of the first Burundian Hutu bishop should be researched.

In this study it was revealed that Msgr Gorju, probably, due to his attitude of favouring the Tutsi to the detriment of the Hutu (who were however dominating the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy during the period he was in charge of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi), did not send abroad any one among the Burundian priests to get higher education. By contrast, his successor, Msgr Grauls, in his capacity of Apostolic Vicar of Urundi (1937-1949), sent a good number of Burundian priests to study abroad. However, it is still striking to realise that even Msgr Grauls did not include among the Burundian priests that he chose to be sent for higher studies abroad anyone from the Burundian priests who were ordained during the period when Msgr Gorju was in charge of the apostolic vicariate of Urundi (1922-1937). The question that one should ask is how Msgr Grauls was

considering the 16 priests ordained before 1940. This is a question which needs to be further researched.

As to the shift of pastoral focus that occurred when a new generation of Flemish missionaries came in Ruanda-Urundi after WWII, the theory developed by Helen M. Hintjens stating that the new Hutu–Tutsi relation was an immediate consequence of the inter-Belgian rivalries between Flemish and Walloons, at that time, needs to be explored in depth.

On the role played by the Burundian Catholic clergy towards independence certain aspects need further clarification. This study has pointed out that, due to different sensitivities, before 1961 Msgr Martin was opposed to other two bishops, Msgr Grauls and Msgr Ntuyahaga. While these two bishops wanted the independence of Burundi to be immediate, Msgr Martin wanted it to be delayed. What is surprising is that the foreign two bishops (Martin and Grauls) did not have the same view as far as the independence of Burundi was concerned. Some questions can be raised: Since when did this situation start and what was the cause? It seems that some other missionaries joined Msgr Martin in his view of not wanting the independence of Burundi to be immediate³³⁰, the position of the Common Front. Were there any Burundian priests who had the same view? Can one think that all the Burundian priests were on the side of Msgrs Ntuyahaga and Grauls who were supporting UPRONA? Later on, did this situation affect the unity within the Burundian Catholic Church? And how was the ethnic factor managed in this situation? Only a detailed and solid study basing on relevant documents as well as interviews can respond to these questions. This should then be an interesting area for future research.

Lastly, a systematic and comparative study between Burundi and Rwanda with regard to the training and the ordination of the local priests during the period before independence of both countries should be undertaken. This research should include amongst its objectives the identification of the ethnic group of every seminarian or priest, if possible, in order to try to understand to what extent the ethnic factor influenced the training and development of local clergy in both countries. And since both countries were colonized by the same “power(s)”, on one hand, and the people of both countries had the same configuration in terms of social structures, on the other hand, the result of the research would tell whether or not the people of these two countries reacted in the same way before the European man.

³³⁰ Perraudin points out : « Je pense que Mgr Martin et beaucoup de missionnaires, sans jamais y adhérer formellement, avaient des sympathies pour le Front Commun » See Jean Perraudin, *Chronique de l'Eglise Catholique au Burundi après l'indépendance*. Tome I, 18.

5.3. Religion and ethnicity in Burundi

To sum up this study which was interested in the ecclesiastical history of Burundi, a final assessment should be done, with regard to the key role-players who shaped the history of evangelization of Burundi in general and the development of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy in particular, as far as ethnicity was concerned. These key role-players are the colonizers and the missionaries. On the side of the colonizers, considering the general context in which the colonization was effected, what they did is not so surprising. But on the side of the missionaries, what they did is indeed surprising. The study has revealed that the missionaries were engaged, together with the colonizers, in the socio-political changes that underwent Burundi. The missionaries stressed even more than the colonizers the divisions between the Burundian people, as Linden pointed out: "The concept of ethnicity developed by the missionaries served as a basis for the German and Belgian colonial policies of indirect rule which helped to transform relatively flexible pre-colonial social categories into clearly defined ethnic groups."³³¹ In doing so, the missionaries did not act in accordance with the position of the Roman Catholic Church as some of the popes of the time expressed it. For instance, already in 1919, Pope Benedict XV had stated the following:

No, the true missionary is always aware that he is not working as an agent of his country, but as an ambassador of Christ. And his conduct is such that it is perfectly obvious to anyone watching him that he represents a Faith that is alien to no nation on earth, since it embraces all men who worship God in spirit and in truth, a Faith in which "there is no Gentile, no Jew, no circumcised, no uncircumcised, no barbarian, no Scythian, no slave, no free man, but Christ is everything in each of us (Col 3:11)³³².

In 1926, probably because of the discriminatory manner in which the missionaries were recruiting seminarians in certain areas of the world, including Ruanda-Urundi (four years after Léon-Classe and Gorju, known to have shaped the training of the local seminarians in concentrating only on Tutsi, were appointed respectively vicar apostolic of Ruanda and Urundi), Pope Pius XI warned the missionaries saying:

Before everything else, we call your attention to the importance of building up a native clergy. [...]. This policy, which has been followed in some places, We sincerely wish, nay, We command, shall be followed likewise by the Superiors of all missions, so that it cannot be said that any native youth has ever been kept out of the priesthood and the apostolate, provided, of course, he exhibits the mark of a true vocation and is a young man of genuine promise³³³.

³³¹ See Linden quoted in Timothy Longman, op. cit.

³³² Benedict XV, *Maximum Illud* (Apostolic letter on the propagation of the Faith throughout the world), (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1919), no.20.

³³³ Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae* (Encyclical letter on catholic missions), (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926), no. 24.

Given what was being said, the missionaries are definitely to be held accountable for what they had been doing. This brings certain questions: Could not the missionaries distance themselves from the colonizers and do their job more independently? The way they planned and executed the training of the Burundian indigenous clergy, was it their best they could do? And looking at the way the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy (fruit of the training of missionaries) conducted themselves during the colonial period and after the independence, one may ask whether the training they received from the missionaries has not been a determinant factor in their subsequent political attitudes? Ian Linden has no doubt: “Following independence, leaders who were trained in church schools relied extensively on ethnic ideologies to gain support, thus helping to intensify and solidify ethnic divisions.”³³⁴ But, having said this, since some missionaries could oppose the colonizers and even their colleagues (missionaries) for certain matters, such as independence, are they to be blamed generally together, on one hand, or are they the only ones to be blamed, on the other? Far from it!

In the end, the reality about the Burundian people, as far as ethnicity is concerned, was and still is a complex one. Some examples illustrate this complexity. Having come with his ideology and his problems, the European colonizer shaped the socio-political reality of Burundi and Rwanda by opposing the Hutu to the Tutsi. But it is also true that there are certain conflicts within the ethnic groups themselves, as some scholars have asserted.

“The Tutsi were not as separate or distinct as we imperial conquerors made them, but when the game had been played out for us, and had paid full dividends, they continued to play it on themselves in tragic mockery and self-destruction as we had taught them so well”³³⁵.

Allusion is made here to certain rivalries between the clans within the same ethnic group as was the case in Burundi, where the clan of the Batare and that of the Bezi – both of ganwa lineage (Tutsi) – would fight each other for power and resources, as René Lemarchand notes: “In spite of their ethnic separateness, competition among the Ganwa was a recurrent feature of Burundi politics”³³⁶. It was also the case, sometimes, within the Hutu ethnic group which used to compete for functions at the royal court. René Lemarchand alluded to this when he said: “*Neither the Hutu nor the Tutsi could claim any degree of internal cohesion. This lack of cohesion reflects the incidence of a variety of socio economic cleavages which cut across ethnic lines*”³³⁷.

This may have been happening even before the colonial time of Burundi. The same rivalries within one ethnic group may have happened in the recruitment, training, ordinations or promotions (to the

³³⁴ See Linden quoted in Timothy Longman, op. cit.

³³⁵ See Jean-Loup Amselle; Elikia M'Bokolo, op. cit. : 570-571.

³³⁶ See René Lemarchand: “*Social Change and Political Modernization in Burundi*”, 7.

³³⁷ See Ibid., 22.

rank of bishop, for instance) within the local clergy. Furthermore, within the same clergy, besides the conflicts within the same ethnic group, one ethnic group, without the intervention of the colonizers or missionaries may have imposed its point of view to the other. The Tutsi, for instance, may have imposed themselves on the Hutu or vice-versa. This is, somewhat, what the following statement is about:

The Tutsi, not surprisingly, failed to challenge the missionaries' assertions of their superiority and instead participated in the development of a mythico-history that portrayed them as natural rulers, with superior intelligence and morals³³⁸.

Another example of complexity is that the Belgian administrators together with the missionaries, with regard to the independence movement, did not manage to do the same thing in both countries, Rwanda and Burundi. For insistence, the social revolution that occurred in Rwanda around 1959 did not happen in Burundi. In Rwanda, the time of independence, the Hutu dominated all the political areas, whereas in Burundi, at the same time though, the power was still dominated by the Tutsi. These are some of the elements which show to what extent the issue of ethnicity in the area of Rwanda and Burundi was and still is, somehow, complex.

So, without knowing all the components of the power dynamics surrounding the development of the Burundian Catholic clergy as far as ethnicity was concerned, it may be unjust or even harsh to accuse the missionaries of being solely responsible for the way in which the development of the Burundian Catholic clergy was shaped. One may ask: "Were the missionaries free to decide? Were there not any other external or even internal forces beyond the control of missionaries that contributed to the way the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy has developed? As said at the beginning, this study cannot adequately respond to these questions.

Therefore, only a wider study more systematic and more elaborated around the different power dynamics that were occurring in the colonial Burundi would better scrutinize the situation and probably shed more light to the issue. This would help the members of the Burundian Catholic indigenous clergy to know better their history and conduct themselves accordingly.

³³⁸ Timothy Longman, Christian Churches and Genocide in Rwanda, (online revised paper originally prepared for conference on genocide, religion, and modernity at the United States holocaust memorial museum, May 11-13, 1997, accessed November 13, 2014, url: <http://faculty.vassar.edu/tilongma/Church&Genocide.html>.

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Appendix

(The appendix consists of 10 historical maps³⁴¹ that show the origin and the development of the Burundian Catholic Church)

³⁴¹ Except the first two maps (accessed through Internet), all the remaining 8 historical maps were found in the following document: Archidiocèse de Gitega, “Origine et développement de la mission au Burundi”, *Pastorale* n° 12, 5 avril 1962. Numéro spécial à l’occasion du jubilé épiscopal (de 25ans) de Mgr Antoine Grauls.

Figure 1: Map of the Great Lakes Region

(This map should be updated in including Kenya as part of the Great Lakes Region as well)



Source: UN Cartographic section: Burundi Map (Accessed March 02, 2015)

Figure 2: Map showing the current provinces of Burundi (March 2015)

(This map should be updated in including the province of Rural Bujumbura which was, previously, part of the province of Bujumbura).



Map No. 3753 Rev. 7 UNITED NATIONS
November 2011

Department of Field Support
Cartographic Section

Source: UN Cartographic section: Burundi Map (Accessed March 02, 2015)

Figure 3: Map of Urundi as part of Mission and Provicariate of Tanganyika



Figure 4: Map of Urundi as part of Apostolic Vicariate of Tanganyika



Figure 5: Map of Urundi as part of Apostolic Vicariate of Unyanyembe

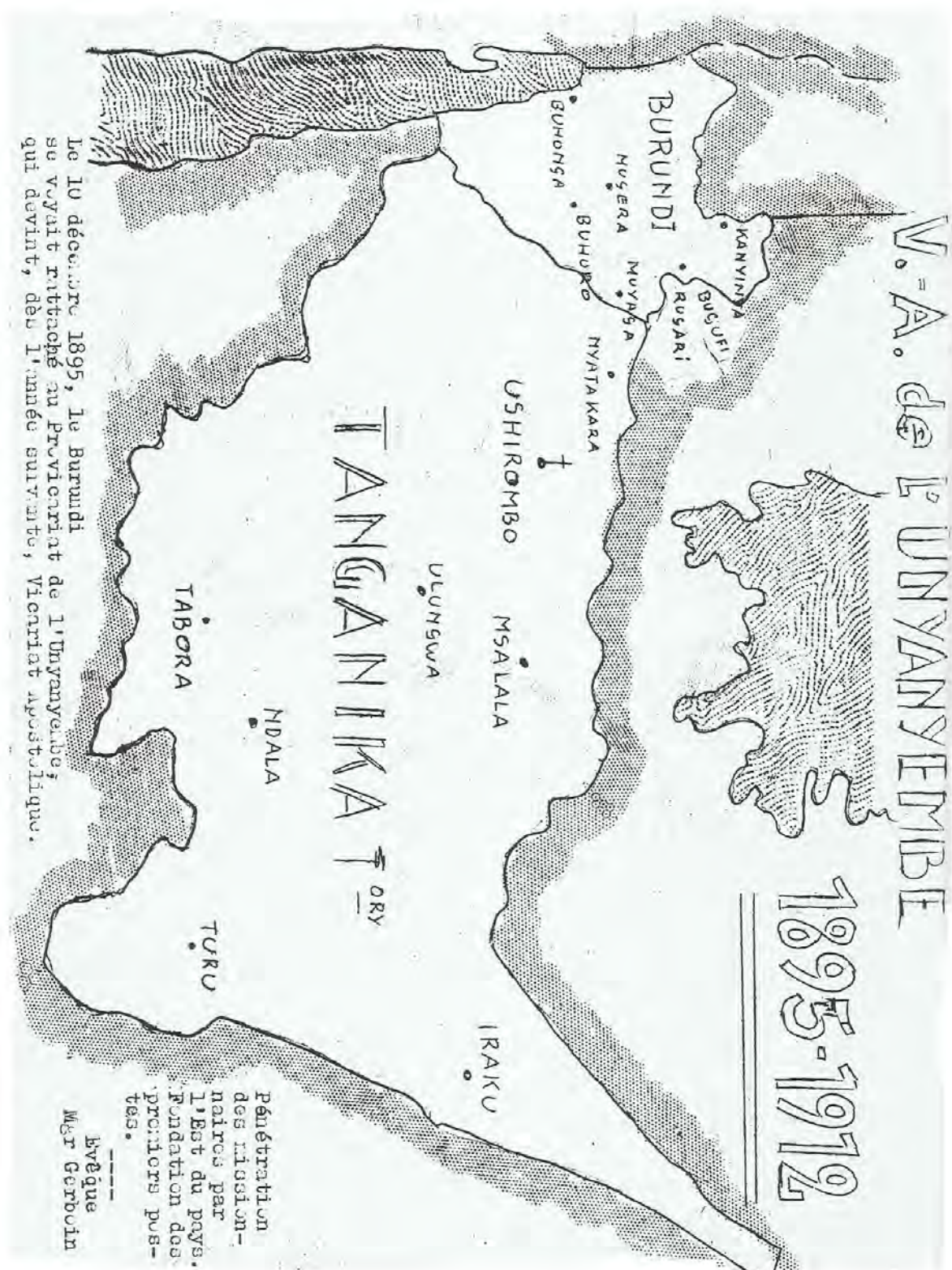


Figure 6: Map of Urundi as part of Apostolic Vicariate of Kivu

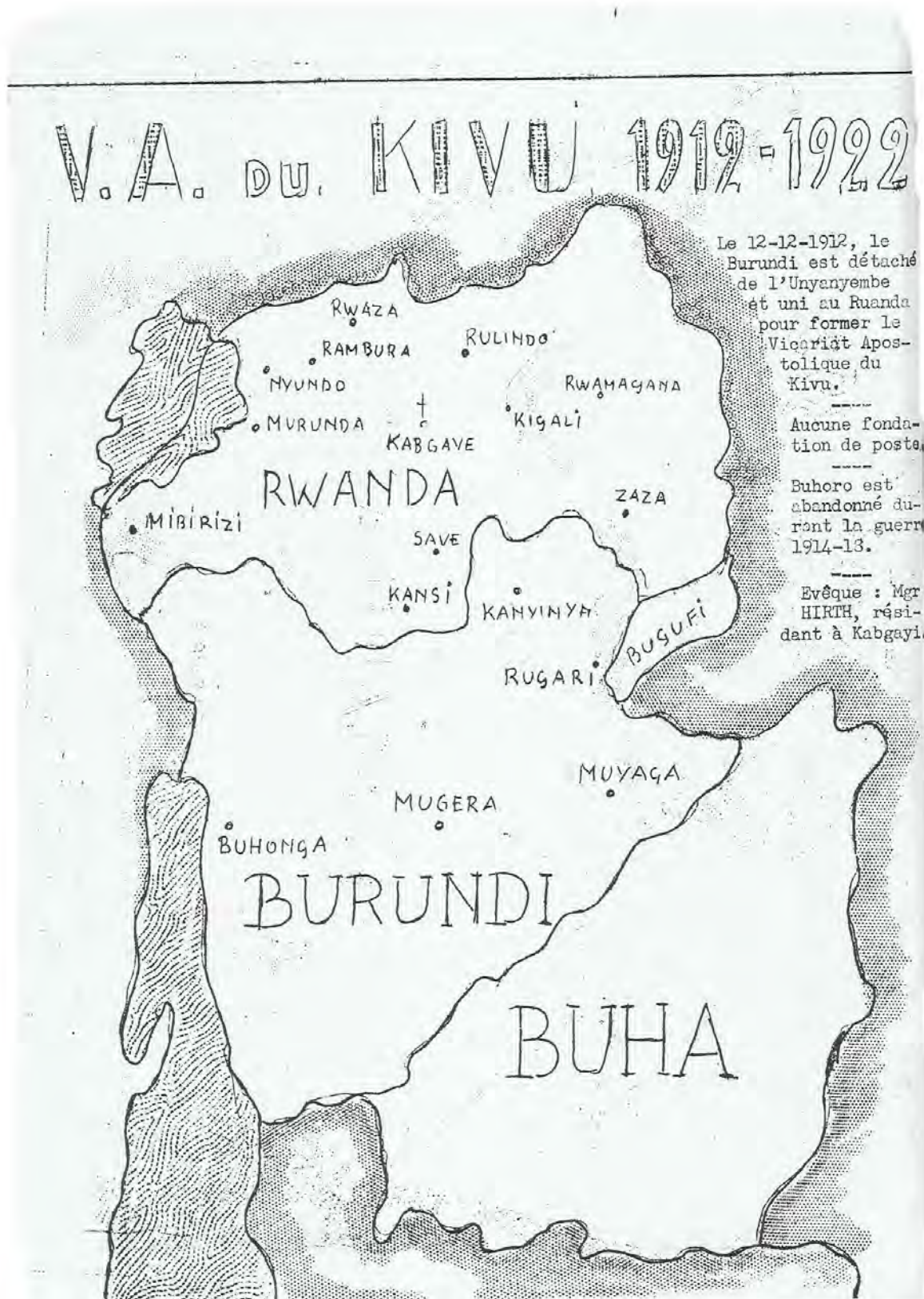


Figure 7: Map of the Apostolic Vicariate of Urundi



Figure 8: Map of the Apostolic Vicariate of Burundi split into two vicariates



Figure 9: Map of the Apostolic Vicariate of Urundi split into three dioceses



Figure 10: Map of the Apostolic Vicariate of Urundi split into four dioceses



