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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3334q5xf>

Journal

Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 28(2-3)

ISSN

0041-5715

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Publication Date

2000

DOI

10.5070/F7282-3016576

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Putting a Paw on Power: *Anioto* Leopard Men of the Eastern Uplands, Belgian Congo, 1911-1936¹

Jeremy Cyrier

Abstract: In the prime years of colonial rule during the first third of the twentieth-century, Belgian colonial administrators caught onto bands of men who disguised murders of local Congolese Africans as leopard attacks. Among the Bali of the eastern Congo, the community and area this paper concerns itself with, the leopard men were known as *Anioto*. Frequently viewed as a movement to eradicate the Congo of white civilization, research at the *Archives Africaines* in Brussels, Belgium suggests that the closed association concerned itself more so with self-preservation than in actively resisting the colonial administration. From the remote origins of the association to its activities in the colonial context of the 1920s and 1930s, a picture of multiple authorities, comprised of the Belgian authorities, elders, association members, and local chiefs, in the eastern Congo competing to maintain and gain power emerges. When the administration finally began to crack down on *Anioto* activities they gradually revealed a hierarchy of superiors and their initiates. It would not be until the late 1930s when leopard men activities eventually dissolved from the colonial record, leaving an historically durable legacy for both Belgians and Africans alike.

A closed association of leopard men called *Anioto*, active among the Bali in the Belgian Congo from, at the earliest, the eighteenth century until the middle of the 1930s, assassinated rival members of contending groups about one hundred miles east of Stanleyville in the Eastern Uplands of the Belgian Congo. Skillfully, these men mutilated their victims by mimicking a leopard's movements in the way they scratched the body of the victim with iron claws, leaving leopard foot prints around the corpse, and often dismembering the body by removing an arm or head.

It would be disingenuous to be dismissive in treating these murders merely as wild, savage, and barbaric, since the association performed vital functions that appear to have changed over time. From the early eighteenth century the association served as a weapon of war when open conflict in this part of the Congo would have devastated the productive capacity of Bali communities defending themselves from Mangbetu expansion.² Later, political rivals used their services to undermine rivals' political legitimacy. And by the first third of the twentieth century, the association continued its political function and administered local justice by righting any social imbalances, contributing to regulate human conduct.³

In this paper I will focus on the years of Belgian rule in the Eastern Uplands of the Congo and why *Anioto* committed such ferocious murders. I

suggest that the leopard men struggled to maintain and expand their power against the grain of growing imperial suzerainty, which was simultaneously trying to govern the area's population. Thus the leopard men and Belgian administrators worked to control the population, using force when necessary to accomplish their goals.

During the first third of the twentieth century, the Belgians struggled to exercise their colonial power over the population of the Congo. In so doing, the administrators and missionaries came into direct contact with the leopard men, ultimately working to rout these men. *Anioto* did not resist the colonial administration's agenda of turning the Congo into an ordered, merry colony. Rather it struggled to protect its supernatural power, secrecy, and links to Bali headmen, kin groups, and villages by forming alliances with representatives of disenfranchised groups. By establishing and maintaining these alliances, the leopard men, particularly their elders, ensured reproduction and continuity of their power.

After the First World War, Belgium began to reappraise its direct style of administration in the Congo when Louis Franck, in 1920, moved to implement the British model of indirect rule in the Congo. The government granted customary law more credibility within the colonial legal system and, with increased attention, reinstated chiefs derived from their own ethnic groups.⁴ By granting increased legitimacy to indigenous authority—though under the supervision of Belgian administrators—the colonial government sought to win the population's approval. If indirect rule would not work at gaining indigenous favor, the administration would also use force, persuasion, example, and reward when inhabitants of the colony channeled their efforts for the proper development of the Congo.⁵

The administration also prohibited organizations operating contrary to its 'civilizing' intentions because it worried that these associations and movements adopted an anti-white attitude and threatened to establish a new hierarchy that competed with that of the administrations' customary chiefs and local authorities.⁶ For the Belgians, associations like the leopard men among the Bali showed how destructive these organizations could be. For instance, many people in the eastern Congo were hesitant to work their fields because of leopard attacks. Claiming these killings inhibited economic growth, development, and agricultural production, the administration took action against the association to establish itself as a legitimate authority.

Into the 1920s and 1930s, the heyday of colonial rule, the Belgian colonial administration fought to eradicate any threat to its growing rule in the eastern Congo.⁷ They had already dealt with prophetic movements such as the Kimbangu movement of the Kasai province.⁸ How different could *Anioto* be?

The Belgian confrontation with this association, a realm where *Anioto* commanded authority over a select indigenous population until the 1930s, led to competition over the Bali for control and power. This struggle to acquire legitimacy and control resources generated friction between *Anioto*

and the Belgian colonial administration. And it was the administration's aggressive assault on the leopard men that ushered Aniot's ultimate demise.

Among the Bali of the Arumwiri River, *Mambela*, the male initiation ritual, seems to have surfaced in the eighteenth century, a time when the neighboring Mabodo community threatened their way of life.⁹ In this region, famous for its mines and iron-smelting industry, the association used initiation ceremonies to link villages together. To bond and formulate networks, young men of neighboring villages were initiated together.

In some cases these alliances provided protection against rival neighbors. The practice also helps to explain the widespread use of words associated with these connections; words that came from innovative institutions that forwarded the power certain communities held.¹⁰ The word *Anioto*, from the verb *nyoto*, which means to scratch, probably owes its origin to the Bafwasea dialect of the Bali language. It appears that Bafwasea concerns over protecting their regional monopoly of ferrous resources led to their developing a system to keep outsiders away. Since other Bali lived in the vicinity, an area known for its large leopard population, the Bafwasea fashioned iron claws by which they could disguise murders as leopard attacks and maintain control through terror.¹¹ By attacking neighboring groups, the Bafwasea could control their resources, but they also needed allies.

One tradition illustrates how local villages fulfilled this need for alliances. In 1931, an elder of the Bafwaboma explained the introduction of *Anioto* to the Bali. According to his story, in the days when the Bali did not participate in *Mambela*, the father Awende saw a group of Bandaka approaching the village. Their chief Mondiko asked for a young man to initiate into *Mambela*; but as Awende could not find one, he offered a young woman to undergo the trials of initiation. Afterwards, at the sight of her bloodied daughter, the girl's mother swore vengeance on the initiators by throwing a potion into her daughter's isolation hut to attract snakes. During the night, a young man, dressed in a leopard skin, entered the hut to take advantage of the young woman, only to fall victim to the serpent. A while later, the young woman's fiancé returned to the village and found the deceased young man in the hut dressed in the leopard skin. After killing the snake, he "... called Ayenge and told him '*Mambela* is not for women, but as your daughter endured the ceremony, I will marry her and thereafter the leopard men will be at her and her people's service.'"¹² The informant illustrates how the woman's fiancé used *Mambela*, *Anioto*, and marriage to form a nexus among Bali villages, providing access to calling on leopard men to perform requested duties. But as these Bali could forge links, they could also break them.

Another tradition describing the origins of *Anioto* tells of a husband and wife, Nyongo and Aniota, and how the leopard men served to sever their marriage. While Nyongo was hunting, Aniota slept with a stranger who left marks on her body, which developed into big spots like those of a leopard. Upon seeing his wife, Nyongo chased her from his home and alerted the other

men of her transformation, since he believed his wife had turned into the animal. Aniota's oath of vengeance against Nyongo for humiliating her led to his death and a gruesome chain of assassinations.¹³ This narrative provides a glimpse into the type of role *Anioto* played in local societies without any mention of the colonial administration. The woman, named Aniota, shamed her husband by sleeping with another man. He humiliated her and broke their marital bond, for which she had the association murder him and his peers. The informant may have given her this name to show that she introduced leopard attacks into the community. Unfortunately, no date exists for the tradition. The tradition also does not mention colonial authorities, which may mean the story came from an earlier period before the Belgians arrived, or that the Belgians were not of close proximity to village conflicts, hence not an integral part of the story for these Bali.

The first written source from 1895 helps to depict the type of environment in which this tradition may have developed. While exploring the eastern Congo at the end of the nineteenth century, the expedition leader Louis Leclercq lost one soldier in Panga to a 'leopard' attack, and further remarked that the region, particularly among the Bali, was full of the creatures. From Leclercq's comments, it appears that he marched into an area immersed in internecine conflict, where slaving had exacerbated power inequalities, and the Bali were not harvesting their fields.¹⁴ The villagers were too terrified to cultivate without weapons to defend themselves against slave raids, Leclercq's expeditionary force, and leopard attacks. In fact, after the slave threat subsided and the expeditionary forces disappeared, villagers continued to react in the same fashion into the 1930's, thereby indicating the probability that *Anioto* continued to operate in the area at that late time.¹⁵ For example, In 1934, Paul Schebesta, a German ethnographer, described his experience with *Anioto* attacks while working in the Bali region of the eastern Congo. He wrote: "With my own eyes, I saw how a man armed with a spear and knife watched over his wife while she gathered firewood along a path . . . In one village, there was a particularly overwhelming panic, since just the day before there had been an attack. At dusk, a woman sat with her son on her hut's open verandah."¹⁶

To continue inspiring terror into the 1930s, the leopard men needed young initiates to fill the ranks of the association. An uncircumcised male, between the ages ten and twenty, could join the association, particularly if he was the son of an *Anioto* member. Young men became *Udelima* (initiates) as *Monganga* (adults).¹⁷ Although almost all Bali youth passed through the ceremony, only a few would become leopard men.¹⁸ These individuals, whom the *Ishumu* (notables) and *Tata ka Mambela* (initiator teacher) selected, would enter the ranks of *Anioto* after passing various training and tests of endurance and fealty. During attack training, initiates learned to walk like a leopard, to imitate its cry, and to carry a block of wood of approximately 170 pounds to simulate the weight of a human body.¹⁹ Those *Monganga* who later joined *Anioto* proved their worth through *Anioto* style attacks on tree

stumps, animals, and humans. The initiate's first kill was usually a relative, which proved his loyalty to the association and reinforced the notables' authority.

Anioto also exerted power beyond the hierarchy of the association by helping chiefs to forge, prop, and maintain their control over local villagers.²⁰ At the same time, however, the association contested chiefly power. It would therefore seem that Belgian fears of *Anioto*'s counter-hegemonic authority were well placed.

The leopard men attacked at all hours, invoking terror through victim selection. They killed women, men, and children on the outer fringes of a village. *Anioto* also took lives by night as people slept in their huts. Unless the victim was already in a secluded area, the leopard men would abscond with the individual, because they often attacked in teams numbering from two to four to avoid problems should one of them be captured, injured, or killed. In one murder, a local missionary named R.P. Christen wrote that the assassin took a boy named Antoine who was near his father. Ostensibly, while the leopard man carried him off, he cried out that someone was taking him, not an animal but a man who wanted to kill him. The leopard man took the boy into the forest where he and his group decapitated the child, placed his head fifty meters away, and mutilated the corpse. Mutilation was common, an example of which is seen in an article published in *Illustrations Congolaises*. It contains an image of a man named Mopira, who died on January 13, 1932. In the photos, the Mopira suffered scratches across his chest and his neck and was missing an arm.²¹ Removing a body part was common for *Anioto* because they needed an identifiable piece of the corpse to prove a completed task.²²

To facilitate an assault, the attacker used specific tools not only to amputate various limbs, but also to disguise the kill. The attacker would begin by donning a leopard skin and mask to internalize the animal's power and to hide the attacker's identity. The leopard man first rendered his victim unconscious with a club so no one could hear cries of agony. The team would then move the body to a remote location for mutilation. After the kill, the leopard men would mark the ground with leopard prints made with a wooded baton or a piece of fruit sliced open and properly carved; they also left leopard hair nearby to corroborate the prints. To hide their human footprints, the attackers might wear rubber soles.

To gain a clearer picture about why the killings took place, one ought to focus attention on the *Anioto* superiors and the functions of the assassins. The process one followed to obtain the services of *Anioto* necessitated solicitation of an alliance with a notable, who would authorize attacks. For instance, records of the Tribunal of the District Kibali-Ituri narrate that a man named Bangobe presented some gifts to Mabiama, an authority.²³ During January and February of 1928, Bangobe gave Mabiama five pots of palm oil and three animal skins to 'obtain a band of assassins' to attack in those villages that refused to recognize his authority as chief. Mabiama

indicated his acceptance of the agreement by circumcising one of the boys from Bangobe's village with two others from the Bali community. He consequently promised the service of *Anioto* to complete Bangobe's request. To consolidate his end of the bargain, Bangobe gave, as the first victim, his wife Nasubi in order to avoid accusations that he had called the leopard men. Based on what her daughter Madawa reported, four men sprung on her and killed her around the month of July, 1928.²⁴ The leopard men could thereafter attack anytime they wished on Bangobe's lands; in the end trying to undermine the power of Mageama, the chief in power, through demonstrating his inability to protect his people from this terror. After eight deaths, the administration captured ten assassins and sentenced them to prison. For his role in the crimes, the administration hanged Bangobe on January 16, 1935.²⁵

Dealing with local requests and individuals soliciting the power of the leopard to eradicate their opponents and gain more influence over Bali villages reinforced the status of men like Mabiama. Such deals would also serve to further Anioto's power in domains where they could operate and where the association's notables could apply the initiation ceremony *Mambela* to reify fresh ties with disenfranchised big men. Additionally, the style of assault the leopard men employed gives some insight into the intent of the crimes; that is, to hurt a chief's authority derived from his 'wealth in people' by attacking his villages.²⁶

When one chief failed to pay tribute to his superiors, the leopard men could be called in to inflict punishment. One leopard man said, "We kill women, children, and the elderly to fight the enemy. When he sees the number of dead bodies increase on his side, he comes to us and says: "Stop killing my people. You are the most powerful. I surrender to you."²⁷ Chiefs often had to practice damage control by paying their villagers to remain silent after a family member went missing. For example, one chief gave a woman ten francs to stay quiet after *Anioto* took her child.²⁸ While the attacks served to settle power struggles between chiefs, and possibly even among chiefs and *Ishumu* and *Tata ka Mambela*, their ferocity also ensured silence, which protected Anioto identities.²⁹ Hence, if one spoke of the association, he faced the penalty of death, which also extended to his kin group.³⁰ Additionally, at initiation, members of the association swore silence, so when colonial interrogators questioned their activities, many refused to speak of the organization and its members, perhaps explaining why so many died in prison.³¹ Despite such oaths and the threats, many leopard men told of their attacks, along with who had escaped death.³²

Belgian administrators held varied views of the association's motivations concerning the *Anioto* attacks during the 1920s and the 1930s. One district commissioner wrote that no European could know the precise motives for the leopard man murders, and that anyone who tried to uncover the reasons would be in peril since he would be challenging the very secrecy that maintained *Anioto*'s power. What is more, he argued that administrative personnel placed themselves in danger because of the challenge the

administration posed to the association based the numbers of leopard men who had died in detention.³³ Such views led to citations like, "Any white man who conspires against us or tries to reveal our practices, will fall without doubt beneath our attacks."³⁴ This anonymous quotation intimates that the first administrator to come close to uncovering *Anioto* operations may have died of poisoning. Although the possibility lacks direct archival substantiation, we do know that in 1917 the Belgian exposed a cell of leopard men after he mastered their coded language. His discovery brought these men to administrative justice, and in 1920 the colonial authorities tried and punished more than twenty alleged members of *Anioto*.³⁵ While no evidence proves that any white person in the Belgian Congo died from *Anioto* attacks; this example inspires further speculation about the possibility.

European fears of *Anioto*'s threat were not limited to concerns with administrative authority or the regulation of the public order.³⁶ Missionaries, who "served the regime and aided it practically by spread of Western culture, and morally by helping to legitimize colonial rule," correspondingly perceived the association as a threat.³⁷ In the Eastern Uplands, priests of the Coeur de Jésus tried to bring the leopard men into Christianity to save them from the 'grips of Satan.' They saw *Anioto* members as resisting the grace of God, and deserving and needing the 'light' to save them from their evil ways.³⁸ By taking the men who filled the association's ranks, they believed they could cut off its human resource, as well as supplant the association's established order by inserting their own in its place. And not to mention, with urban migration to Stanleyville, just west of where the Bali lived, many young men probably moved to the city in search of work, depleting the availability of new recruits for the association's shrinking ranks.

Despite their various opinions on how to challenge the leopard men, administrators shared a simple ideology: to destroy the leopard men to bring peace, economic prosperity, and administrative justice to the Bali population.³⁹ One strategy advocated education for the population through religion and conferences to demonstrate the exploitation the *Anioto*'s elders practiced, since they appeared to prey on public fear and ignorance.⁴⁰ Administrators and missionaries also argued that the only way to eradicate these professional assassins and their superiors from the Eastern Uplands was to pass legislation forbidding its existence.

The first major legislation in the early 1920s outlawed activities involving homicide; articles 1,2,3 of the Congolese Penal Code defined and sanctioned voluntary homicide committed without premeditation as illegal.⁴¹ In 1926, the legislation outlawed and restricted indigenous associations, stipulating that no indigenous association in the Congo could convene without the authorization of the District Commissioner. If the District Commissioner authorized an association, it had to register by name, intent, conditions for admission, full background information on all members, insignias that the members wore, meeting places, and resources that the association required to

support itself. If the District Commissioner did not have complete knowledge of the association he had the right to dissolve the group.

The restrictions aimed at controlling 'secret societies' became the administration's way of coping with alternative power structures. But no matter how hard it tried, the administration would never achieve complete control and colonization of the hearts and minds of the Belgian Congo. In 1925, the government reported that it was fed up with *Anioto* and that they longed for its total dissolution.⁴² Even in the 1930s, the administration had to 'fight' against 'bandits' and leopard men it perceived to be a threat to its suzerainty and legitimacy over the Bali population.⁴³

The key issue underlying much of this legislation was legitimacy of power. The 1935 *Procès-verbal de la 2e Session du Conseil de Province de Lusambo Commission de la Politique Indigène* highlighted that "the goals these sects pursue are contrary to the customary social order and experience has shown that their propagation often conceals propaganda against European authority."⁴⁴ The struggle for legitimacy, however, also involved a population that was the object of contention between the administration and *Anioto*. The population reacted differently to the competing power structures, because some struggled to maintain the association's position, while others complained of the leopard men, considering them renegades living and acting outside the common law of their societies.⁴⁵

Legislation, criminal proceedings, and failing alliances diminished the association's power as their resources grew slimmer and their attempts to expand their domain floundered. But despite the association's waning power, its roots ran deeper than any law the administration could enact or any sentence the courts could pass. The association possessed supernatural agency, knowledge of the sacred, which allied it with the strength of its predecessors and gave it legitimacy among some of the population. The legislation did, however, become the administration's tool to battle the association by stating that those actors belonged, indeed, beneath the jurisdiction of the colonial authorities.

Despite the leopard men's possible ignorance of administrative legislation, the administrators and missionaries strove to close the society by revealing the initiation ceremony into the association to non-initiates. When the authorities discovered that *Mambela* was at the heart of entrance to *Anioto*, they conspired to expose the alleged supernatural power to the uninitiated. According to colonial thinking, if the Bali community believed in the association's elders and the power they claimed, they would forever be prisoners of the *Ishumu*'s and *Tata ka Mambela*'s exploitation. Thus, in 1936, the Commissioner of the Stanleyville District insisted that Bali women and children should witness all the regalia and practices of *Mambela*.⁴⁶ When they saw that instruments made the noises from out in the forest during the initiation ceremony, their belief in the superiors' supernatural power was shaken. What lends credibility to this claim is that after 1936 the association the end of *Mambela*. Without fearing the leopard men, women could again go

into the fields, and children could again play their village games. Men regained the spirit to work, meeting the tax requirement each year. The administrators boasted of this turn-around since they could flaunt the top workers of the colonies and the roads through their villages improved dramatically.⁴⁸

Conclusion

What contributed to the association's final end included the legislative crackdown the administration put into place, the growing number of Christians in the region, and the arrival of a new generation of leadership, which by the 1930s had grown up with colonial rule and had become accustomed to its presence. The struggle with the leopard men of the Eastern Uplands illustrates the limit of the administration's authority in endeavoring to implement indirect rule and 'civilize' and 'respect local customs'—which it in turn destroyed. The destruction of this indigenous institution led to the administration's final accomplishment of subverting local authorities. Eventually, the administration acquired the resources to support much of the power the institutions rallied around, which tied in with the general transition in the Belgian Congo from those in charge of African political systems to the colonial state.⁴⁹

As for *Anioto*, its end resembles its beginning in that it quickly comes into and fades out of the colonial record; nevertheless, within the chronological context of eastern Congolese history, *Anioto* fits into a larger current of historical change and indigenous adaptation. The Eastern Uplands was a complex region where Africans and Europeans struggled for power. The Belgians managed to thwart the leopard men's power, destroying a local institution in the process. By destroying the association, the administration rid the Eastern Uplands of the leopard terror, but introduced a Belgian brand of colonial terror in its place.⁵⁰ In short, while *Anioto* served as a mechanism to maintain and expand spheres of influence in the eastern Congo, they failed to win against the increasing judicial and administrative weight of the colonial apparatus. Despite their end, the story of the leopard men demonstrates how hotly contested the struggle for power over the Eastern Uplands was in the early twentieth century, and that in one way or another, everyone was trying to put a paw on power.

Notes

¹ Paper presented at the 4th Annual Midwestern Graduate Student Conference for African Studies September 12, 1999 East Lansing, Michigan. I wish to thank the conference organizers for the opportunity to share this research, and Tim Carmichael for his ruthless comments.

- ² Vansina, J. 1990. *Paths in the Rainforests*. London: James Currey.
- ³ I am suggesting, from Evans-Pritchard's analysis of the Azande, that *Anioto* functioned to right imbalances; though once they began terrorizing rival villages and kin groups, they also disrupted human conduct among their enemies. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1976. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ⁴ Cornevin, R. 1989. *Histoire du Zaïre*. Bruxelles: Hayez.
- ⁵ MacGaffey, W. 1986. *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ⁶ Nsanga, K. and M. Mpangande. 1981. *Mouvements Anti-Sourciers*. Bandandum République du Zaïre: Ceeba Publications.
- ⁷ An area that constituted approximately 227,480 square kilometers, with a population of roughly 643,391 inhabitants in 1938. Maes, J. 1939. *Manuel d'Ethnographie Coloniale du Congo Belge*. Brussels, Belgium: Archives Africaines (AA), D 61 3859/84.
- ⁸ As a participant of the British Baptist Mission church from the village of Nkamba, Simon Kimbangu manifested himself as a prophet by healing the sick and raising the dead. But as he became more powerful, the administration repressed his movement by imprisoning him and many of his followers and imitators. Imprisoned in 1921, he died in 1951. (MacGaffey 1986, 214-215).
- ⁹ (Vansina 1990, 175)
- ¹⁰ (Vansina 1990, 175).
- ¹¹ Bouccin, R. 1935-36, "Les Anioto." *Bulletin des Jurisdictions Indigènes du Droit Coutumier Congolais*, 252.
- ¹² (Bouccin 1935-36, 253).
- ¹³ Bergen, J. 1949. "Léopard." *Vétérans Coloniaux* 21: 256.
- ¹⁴ I would like to see more research on this region during the second half of the nineteenth century when slave raiding in this region must have been extensive. How might *Anioto* have operated during this period?
- ¹⁵ We do not know whether the soldier was locally recruited or not, nor do we know whether the attack was from a leopard man. It would be tenuous to conclude that the murder aimed to counter Belgian incursions into the area. The comments date to October 16, and October 25, 1895. Salmon, P. 1970. "Les Carnets de Campagne de Louis Leclercq. Etude de Mentalité d'un Colonial Belge." *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 22: 260. Giblin suggests the slave trade served as a significant catalyst in fortifying chiefly power in parts of East and Central Africa. See Giblin, J.L. 1992. *The Politics of Environmental Control in Northeastern Tanzania, 1840-1940*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- ¹⁶ Schebesta, P. 1934. *Vollblutneger und Halbzwerg*. Leipzig: Verlag Anton Pustet.
- ¹⁷ Christen, R.P. "Le 'Mambela' ou l'Initiation Rituelle à la Race Chez les Wabali." N.D., AA/AI 1397 II/D/17/C no.46.
- ¹⁸ Joset, P. 1955. *Les Sociétés Secrètes des Hommes Léopards en Afrique Noire*. Paris: Payot.

- ¹⁹ Christen, R.P. "La Terreur des Wabali, au Congo Belge ou 'l'Homme Léopard' (Anyoto)." N.D., AA/AI 1397 II/D/17/C no.46.
- ²⁰ (Bouccin 1935-36, 258)
- ²¹ Libois, M. 1936. "La Lutte Contre les *Anioto* au Congo Belge." *Illustrations Congolaises* 181: 6066.
- ²² (Christen, R.P. "La Terreur des Wabali au Congo Belge ou 'l'Homme Léopard' (Anyoto).") In Fabian, we read that Tshibumba Kanda Mutulu, the painter and Zairian popular historian, believes that these men physically transformed into leopards. Fabian. 1996. *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ²³ Our source does not indicate whether he was an *Ishumu* or a *Tata ka Mambela*.
- ²⁴ Vindevoghel, J. 1929. "Note Analytique." (15 January) AA/AIMO 168/6.
- ²⁵ Joset, P. 1954. "Des Sociétés Criminelles Léopards et du Kitawala au Congo Belge." AA/PJ 4.583/7.
- ²⁶ Roberts, A. 1986. "Like a Roaring Lion: Tabwa Terrorism in the Late Nineteenth-Century." In *Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa*, ed. D. Crummey, 68-69. London: James Currey.
- ²⁷ (Joset 1955, 51)
- ²⁸ 1926-27. "Les Aniotos ou Hommes-Léopards," *Revue Juridique du Congo Belge*. 118.
- ²⁹ Mackenzie, N., ed. 1967. "Introduction." *Secret Societies*. London: Alders.
- ³⁰ (Vindevoghel 1929, 14)
- ³¹ Unfortunately, the materials cited did not reveal cause of death except for suspicion of poison.
- ³² When many leopard men landed in prison, like those in 1920, they responded to their interrogators as though they had committed no crime; they openly spoke of their actions while exhibiting a lack of concern about the murders. (Joset 1954, 5).
- ³³ Absil. 1934. "Note au Sujet de l'Aniotisme à Beni." (15 Octobre) AA/AI 1397 II/D/17 no.54.
- ³⁴ *Tout blanc qui attentera à nos personnes ou démasquera nos pratiques, tombera infailliblement sous nos coups.* (Christen, "La Terreur des Wabali.")
- ³⁵ "Extrait du Rapport Politique 2e Trimèstre 1920, Province Orientale, Annexe à Lettre du Gouverneur Général n. 75 B du 18 novembre 1920." AA/AI 1397 II/D/17.
- ³⁶ The term resistance implies open and latent struggles between the binary agents of colonizer and colonized. This paper assumes the leopard men did not recognize the administration as its superior, thus questioning the term in its inherent state. In fact, as the leopard man killings illustrate, struggle ran much deeper than that opposition. The contest for power between the association and the administration places the colonial authority on the offensive and the members of *Anioto* on the defensive.
- ³⁷ Fields, K.E. 1985. *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³⁸ (Christen, "La Terreur des Wabali")

³⁹ (Christen, "La Terreur des Wabali")

⁴⁰ Landeghem, S. 1918. "Rapport sur l'Administration Générale du District du Bas Uele Premier Trimètre 1918 – Annexe à la Lettre G.G. n.70 B, du 16 août." (6 June) AA/AI 1397 II/D/17. Bossche, J.V. 1954. "Sectes et Associations Indigènes au Congo Belge." *Editions du Bulletin Militaire*. AA/AI 1397 II/D/17/C.

⁴¹ Jadot, J.M. 1934. *Le Juge et le Sorcier*. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Lesigne.

⁴² Moeller, M. 1925. "Objet: Rapport sur l'Administration Générale du District de Stanleyville Pendant le Premier Semestre 1925." (1 Septembre) AA/AIMO 168/1.

⁴³ "Extrait du Rapport Politique des 3e et 4e Trimètres 1920 du Vice-Gouvernement de la Province Orientale, Annexe à la 20 B du 18 mai 1921 du Gouverneur Général." AA/AI 1397/20.

⁴⁴ (Absil 1934)

⁴⁵ (Jadot 1934, 22)

⁴⁶ (Libois 1936, 6067)

⁴⁷ Hergé. 1946. *Tintin au Congo*. Paris: Casterman; and Hergé, 1991. *The Adventures of Tintin in the Congo*. Belgium: Casterman. (Translations by Lonsdale-Cooper, Leslie and Michael Turner). Kamongo. 1936. *Kamongo le Féticheur: Histoire d'Anioto*. Stanleyville: Imprimerie Frères Maristes. Villers, A. 1950. *La Griffé du Léopard*. Bruxelles: Ecran du Monde. Villers won the Prix Rossel, a distinguished prize for literature for his publication.

⁴⁸ (Libois 1936, 6082)

⁴⁹ Jewsiewicki, B. 1983. "Rural Society and the Belgian Colonial Economy." In *History in Central Africa*, eds. D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin, 2: 95-125. London: Longman.

⁵⁰ See some of Tshibumba's paintings in Fabian, *Remembering the Present*; notably painting 34: *Colonie Belge: Under Belgian Rule*.