



Fig. 4 Basic structure of the Eastern Bororo jaguar hide paintings associated with particular clans (left) and the deviant pattern *okoge bakororo atugo* ("painting of a variety of dourado") without any known clan affiliation (right).

3. Kie (Tapirs): the *bokodori bo coreu* ("black painting of the carapace of the giant armadillo") consists of horizontal lines to which short vertical lines are attached below (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:236-238). The body and face paintings used in the ceremonial representation of both the *bokodori bo kujagureu* and the *bokodori bo coreu* correspond to the designs on the jaguar skin paintings and are owned by Bokodori Ecerae (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:141-143, 300).

4. Baadojebage Cebegiwuge (Lower Builders of the Village): Albisetti and Venturelli (1962:237-239) identify three designs as belonging to this clan, two of which they also illustrate. The *iwara arege e'dugo* ("body painting of the spirits Iwara Arege") differs from the *buregodureuge e'dugo* ("body painting of the spirits Buregodureuge") only by the fact that the rows of hourglass shapes are hatched rather than solid. The designs correspond to the body and face paintings used in the representation of these spirits in ceremonial dances, which are also owned by the Baadojebage Cebegiwuge and represented by members of the Aroroe (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:144-148, 300, 384). As a design found on penis sheaths in either red or black, the *buregodureuge e'dugo* is a privilege of the lower Baadojebage Cebegiwuge (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:198). The third design (*kogaekogae-doge e'dugo*) is said to represent the body painting of the spirits Kogaekogae-doge, but neither the design on the jaguar hide, nor the body painting of the respective spirits (owned by the upper Baadojebage Cebegiwuge) is described or illustrated (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:150). It is tempting to think that the three designs could have been associated with the three subclans. The Baadojebage Cebegiwuge is the only clan with three designs, although the three variants of the giant armadillo design now shared by the Bokodori Ecerae and Kie may in the past also have formed a similar set.

B. Tugarege moiety

5. Paiowe (Howler Monkeys): the design consists of rows of squares and is called *ato atugo* ("painting of the carapace of the tortoise") (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:236-237).

6. Apiborege (Acuri Owners): Albisetti and Venturelli identify the design shown in a drawing as *aroe eceba o-iaga atugo* ("painting of the tail feathers of the harpy eagle"). A photograph of a painted hide shows a design differing only in the number of squares attached to two vertical lines, which is identified as *kuruguwa o-iaga atugo* ("painting of the tail feathers of the yellowheaded caracara") (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:235, 237, 238; Fig. 5).

7. Aroroe (Maggots): the *aije atugo* ("painting of the wooden bullroarer") consists of two columns of squares subdivided by a cross into four small squares and is said to imitate the design found on certain bullroarers (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:234, 237). The design is also used in the body painting in representations of the *aije*, a mythical feline animal who taught the Aroroe the manufacture of wooden bullroarers, and is said to represent in a stylized manner the spotted fur of the jaguar; as a design for bullroarers it is used by the upper Baadojebage Cebegiwuge (Albisetti and Venturelli 1962:17-