USE OF THESES

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'Too Many Meanings': an analysis of the artistic system of the Yolngu of North-east Arnhem Land.

Figures and Plates

Howard Morphy
**Figure 1:** Clans Represented at Yirrkala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dhuwa moiety</th>
<th>Yirritja moiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djapu 1 (mäxi/dhuđi/bottom)</td>
<td>Gumatji 1 (gupa/top)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djapu 2 (gutharra/gupa/top)</td>
<td>Gumatji 2 (maţamaţa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rirratjingu</td>
<td>Gumatji 3 (yaďawiđi/bottom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrakulu</td>
<td>Dhaľwangu 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrakulu-Dhurrurrunga</td>
<td>Dhaľwangu 2 (gurrumuru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngayimil</td>
<td>Manggalili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gëlpu</td>
<td>Maďarrpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djambarrpuyngu</td>
<td>Munyuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djarrawark</td>
<td>Wan.guri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warramirri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number following a clan name indicates that there is more than one clan sharing that particular name. The words in brackets following a clan name are the most common modifiers applied to that name.
Figure 2: Secondary Affiliation of a Gumatj Man to the Manggalili Clan.

Manggalili

Djapu 1.

Gumatj 1.

Figure 3: Secondary Affiliation of a Munyuku Man to the Gumatj 3 Clan.

Munyuku

Marringu

Dhalwangu 1.

Ngayimil

Gumatj 2. [Watjung]
Figure 4: Genealogy of the Manggalili Clan.
Manggalili 1.

G.1

3b

3c

4(b,d,f)

5a

Manggalili 2.

2c

3h

4 l,m,n

5b

5c

Figure 5: Manggalili Mother's Mothers.

Legend:
- Gumatj 2
- Munyuku
- Wanguri
- Dhalwangu 2
- Dhalwangu 1
Figure 6: The Bestowal of Women between Two Djapu Patrilines.

A1 and A2 represent two Djapu patrilines which correspond to a potential point of fission within the clan. A2 has bestowed a wife to x, a member of A1 patriline. One of the consequences of this is that x's son y is both ZDC and classificatory SS to the members of A2 represented on the diagram.

Figure 7: The Relationship between the Three Gumatj Clans.
Figure 8: The Bestowal of Women.

Yirritja bestowing groups

Dhuwa bestowing groups

Figure 9: The Passage of Women, and the Relationship between Groups.

Patriline relationships from the perspective of patriline 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māri ngāndi ego waku gutharra</td>
<td>Y1</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Y2</td>
<td>D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māri ngāndi ego waku gutharra</td>
<td>Y1</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Y2</td>
<td>D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māri ngāndi ego waku gutharra</td>
<td>Y1</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Y2</td>
<td>D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māri ngāndi ego waku gutharra</td>
<td>Y1</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Y2</td>
<td>D2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: The Relationship between the Two Intra-moity Lines.
Figure 11: The Minimal Cycle of Exchange.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Patriline} & : 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3 \rightarrow 4 \rightarrow 5 \rightarrow 6 \\
\text{If bestowed to MMM patriline completes a six patriline cycle.}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 12: The Passage of Women between Clans: A False Cycle.
Figure 13: An Example of a Six Patriline Cycle.
Figure 14: The Genealogical Basis of the Socio-centric Clan Relationship Terms.
**Figure 15:** The Relationship between Places Connected by the Crayfish Maḏayin.
(after a drawing by Djewiny)

**Figure 16:** The Tail of the Crayfish (after a painting by Māw’).
### Figure 17: The Structure of A Maŋarrpa Burial Ceremony at Trial Bay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Main Group Owning</th>
<th>Ritual Episode</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Moving the body from place of death to hut. Initiating singing.</td>
<td>Manggalili</td>
<td>Guwak and possum songs and dances, referring to <em>burkun</em> (string) and <em>Marrwili rangga</em> (the Marrwili is a maŋayin that links Manggalili and Maŋarrpa, the dead person's clan).</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Painting the coffin.</td>
<td>Gurrumuru Dhaŋwangu</td>
<td>Painting a Dhaŋwangu clan design on the coffin (Dhaŋwangu is the dead person's märi MM clan).</td>
<td>Gâŋgaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>'Opening' up the coffin and placing the body in it.</td>
<td>(a) Yaŋawiŋi Gumati</td>
<td>(a) Yellow ochre dance</td>
<td>Gurrurrunga, Caledon Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Munyuku</td>
<td>(b) Moving coffin to body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Gumati, Manggalili, Warramirri</td>
<td>(c) Placing body in the coffin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The transfer of the coffin from the hut to the grave half a mile away.</td>
<td>(a) Gurrumuru Dhaŋwangu</td>
<td>(a) Yellow Snake</td>
<td>(a and b) Journey from Gâŋgaŋ to Blue Mud Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Munyuku</td>
<td>(b) Yellow Snake and Mangrove tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Burying the coffin.</td>
<td>Maŋarrpa</td>
<td>Crocodile eggs in nest</td>
<td>Gunmurrutjpi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 18: The Route along which the Birrimbirr Soul of the Maqarrpa Child was Guided.
Figure 19: The Wangatja.

- bunches of green leaves
- stringy-bark saplings

Figure 20: The Molk Ceremonial Ground.

Key:
- ridges of sand
- position of djuwany posts
Figure 21: Components of Yolngu Art

a) ground and boundary components
   1. ground
   2. border
   3. dividing lines
   4. feature blocks

b) area subdivisions
   5. figurative
   6. geometric
   7. clan designs

Figure 22: The Components of a Painting (after a Marrakulu Clan Painting by Mithili).

The triangular geometric figure represents the mokp ceremonial ground (see Ch. 5), and also the river at Manbalala. A water goanna (wan'kawu) is shown inside the triangle. The |||| clan design signifies fresh water. The clan design represents rocky country inland from Manbalala.

Diagram:
- Ground
- Border
- Dividing lines
- Feature blocks
- Figurative representation
- Geometric
- Clan designs
- Cross hatching

7 clan design
4 feature block
3 dividing line
4 feature block
8 cross hatching
Figure 23: A Guwak (Koel cuckoo).

(after a painting by Narritjin, Manggalili clan).

The representation includes both, bird-like and human features.

Figure 24: Two Schema for Catfish.

(after paintings by Welwi, Marrakulu-Dhurrurrunga clan).

Figure 25: A Representation of a Boat.

(after a sand drawing by Marrkarakara, Dhäpuyngu clan).
Figure 26: The Identification of Figurative Representations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Moiety</th>
<th>% Correct Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Possum</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Possum</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Possum</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Turtle sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Turtle sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Blanket lizard</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Blanket lizard</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sand goanna sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Water goanna sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Crayfish sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Stingray sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Stingray sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bandicoot</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Flying fox sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Duck sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Duck sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bird sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bird sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bird sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Cicada</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Catfish sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Catfish sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Garfish</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Whale</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Fish sp.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 27: Possum (marrngu).

(after a painting by Narritjin, Manggalili clan)

This representation was included in the test
(see Fig. 26, item 1).

Figure 28: A Dhuwa Moiety Duck.

(after a painting by Welwi, Marrakulu-Dhurrurrunga clan)
(see Fig. 26, item 16).

Figure 29:

a) A Dhuwa Moiety Water Goanna (djarrka).

(after a painting by Larrtjannnga, Ngayimil clan)
(see Fig. 26, item 9).

b) A Yirritja Moiety Sand Goanna (biyay).

(after a painting by Liyawulumu, Gumatj 1 clan)
(see Fig. 26, item 8).
Figure 30:

a) A Warrukay (fish sp.)
(after a painting by
Welwi, Marrakulu-
Dhurrurrunga clan).

b) A Djarrawark Clan
Hollow Log Coffin
(after a painting by
the same artist).

---

Figure 31: The Signifying Potential of Some Geometric Signs.

- **oval** ⊙  Rock, egg, pit
- **circle** ○  Waterhole, mat, rock, egg, nest, etc.
- **oblong** ■  Fish trap, reefs, sand bank, rock, reefs, cylindrical objects, etc.
- **stick**  Stick (digging, walking), sacred object, tree, etc.
Figure 32: A Yirritja Moiety Clan Design.

Figure 33: A Dhuwa Moiety Clan Design.

Figure 34: A Hair Brush (marwat).

Figure 35: The Use of Guidelines in the Execution of Cross Hatching.

Figure 36: A Type of Cross Hatching.
Figure 37: Dhuwa and Yirritja Moiety Clan Design Types.

**Yirritja Moiety** (for details see Fig. 39)

- a
- b
- c
- d

**Dhuwa Moiety**

- e
- f

Djapu, Djambarrupuyngu, Marrakulu

Rirratjingu, Marrakulu, Djarrawark, Ngayimil, Djapu

Rirratjingu

All clans connected to Djangkawu mythology, e.g. Rirratjingu, Djarrawark, Djapu

Ngayimil, Djapu, Gälpu
Figure 38: Variants within a Set of Dhuwa Moiety Clan Designs.

Djarrawark and Marrakulu-Dhurrurrunga

Figure 41: An Open Diamond Design Belonging to the Manggalili Clan, Signifying yoku (water-lily sp.) Leaves (black) in Running Water.
### Figure 39: Main Yirritja Moiety Design Types, and Owning Clans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design type</th>
<th>Clans owning variant of design type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /> 1. diamond</td>
<td>Dhałwangu, Gumatj 1, 2 and 3, Mađarrpa, Munyuku, (Gupapuyngu-Daygurrgrurr), (Gupapuyngu-Birrkilli), (Ritharrngu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /> 2. open diamond</td>
<td>Mađarrpa, Manggalili, Munyuku, Wan.guri, (Guyamirrilili), (Golpa), (Ritharrngu), (Wuwulkara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /> 3. triangle</td>
<td>Gumatj 1 and 2, Munyuku, Warramirri, (Gupapuyngu-Birrikili), (Lamamirri), (Mildjingi), (Golpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /> 4. pointed oval</td>
<td>Dhałwangu, Mađarrpa, Munyuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /> 5. zigzag</td>
<td>Dhałwangu, Manggalili, Munyuku, Wan.guri, (Gupapuyngu), (Ritharrngu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clans enclosed in parentheses are not resident at Yirrkala. Information on the designs was obtained from paintings in the Donald Thomson collection and from Groger-Wurm (1973).
Figure 40: Summary of Myths Concerning the Origin of Diamond Clan Designs.

Myth 1  Dhalwangu  The design represents the marks of water-weed on the back of the fresh-water turtle.

Myth 2  Munyuku  Dhalwangu  The design represents the honeycomb of the wangarr sugar bag.
     Cupapuyngu

Myth 3  Madarrpa  Yaadawiŋi  The design was formed on the back of the wangarr crocodile (hāru) by the burning stringy-bark hut which stuck to his back.
     Gumatj

Myth 4  Yaadawiŋi  The design represents the pattern made in the yellow ochre quarry at Gurrurrunga by the wangarr goanna as he dug the ochre with his stick.
     Gumatj

Myth 5  Maṭamaṭa  The design originated from the marks burnt into a wooden clapstick as the fire burnt through a ceremonial ground.
     Gumatj
     Gupa Gumatj

Myth 6  Maṭamaṭa  The design was made by the marks left on the sheets of paper-bark that a wangarr sugar bag hunter stripped from a tree and folded as he searched for honey.
     Gumatj
     Gupa Gumatj
Figure 42: Variants of the Diamond Design Type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan design</th>
<th>Owning clan</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Dhalwangu" /></td>
<td>Dhalwangu</td>
<td>Equilateral diamond, smaller than the Munyuku one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Munyuku" /></td>
<td>Munyuku</td>
<td>Equilateral diamond, larger than the Dhalwangu one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Gumatj 1 and 2" /></td>
<td>Gumatj 1 and 2</td>
<td>Elongated diamond, shorter than the Gumatj 3 one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Gumatj 3" /></td>
<td>Gumatj 3</td>
<td>Elongated diamond, longer than the Gumatj 1 and 2 one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image" alt="Madjarrpa" /></td>
<td>Madjarrpa</td>
<td>Separate strings of elongated diamonds, ending in $\Delta\Delta$.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 43: Dha'lwangu Clan Design Variants.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 44: Variants of Open Diamond: Manggalili and Munyuku.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 45: Variants of Rirratjingu Clan Design.

![Diagram](image)

+ black cross hatching = Nhulunbuy

- black cross hatching = Bremer Island
Figure 46: Designs Owned by the Munyuku Clan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Wangarr Being</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Design 1]</td>
<td>Mandjawuy</td>
<td>Birrkuça (wild honey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Design 2]</td>
<td>Mayawunydi</td>
<td>Mundukul (yellow snake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Design 3]</td>
<td>Mayawunydi</td>
<td>Salt water design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Yarrinya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Design 4]</td>
<td>Yarrinya</td>
<td>Wuymirri (whale) and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mīdi (crayfish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 47: Designs Shared by the Munyuku with other Clans at Yirrkala.

Figure 48: Marrakulu-Dhurrurrunga Clan Design.
Figure 49: Yirritja Clan Designs.

1. Mildjingi clan design
   signifying clouds and rain

2. Manggalili design
   signifying cloud

Figure 50: The Madarrpa and Gumatj Fire Pattern.

- red: fire
- red cross hatching
  on white: sparks
- white cross hatching: smoke
- black: charcoal after the fire has passed
είμαι αποσχίζω με τα τέτονα καθώς τα τετελεσμένα να αρχίζονται
(δηλ. οριστικώς) η κατάληξη της ροής των διαλειτουργιών του ζωαραθού μου δικτύου ευπρόσδεκτη για τον ανθρώπινο χάρακτης με τον άνθρωπο, για την γνώμη του, την επιλογή του, τον πολιτισμό του.

είμαι αποσχίζω με τα τέτονα καθώς τα τετελεσμένα να αρχίζονται
(δηλ. οριστικώς) η κατάληξη της ροής των διαλειτουργιών του ζωαραθού μου δικτύου ευπρόσδεκτη για τον ανθρώπινο χάρακτης με τον άνθρωπο, για την γνώμη του, την επιλογή του, τον πολιτισμό του.
Figure 51: Categories of Paintings at European Contact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Thomson's definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Wakinyu</td>
<td>non sacred, 'ordinary' designs not related to Wangarr beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Garma</td>
<td>public paintings of totemic species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Bulgu</td>
<td>roughly executed Maayinpuy paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ngärrapuy</td>
<td>restricted, paintings of totemic species. 'sacred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Likanpuy, Ranggapuy</td>
<td>the most 'sacred' paintings used on the Rangga (sacred objects), and on the bodies of male initiates and dead people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 52: Categories of Paintings at European Contact: Restrictions of Context of Occurrence and Relationships to Wangarr Beings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Wangarr Beings</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non ancestral</td>
<td>wakinyu</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not connected with the clan's Rangga</td>
<td>garma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>connected with the clan's Rangga and associated Wangarr</td>
<td>bulgu</td>
<td>intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngärrapuy</td>
<td>restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likanpuy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 53: The Componential Structure of Categories of Paintings at European Contact.
Figure 54: Categories of Paintings 1974-1976, defined by Context.

Commercial
- Public
- 'Traditional'
  - Intermediate
  - Restricted

(1) Commercial (see Fig. 55)
(2) Decorative (wakinyu)
(3) Memorial posts (likanpuy-type)
(4) Dilly bags (bulgu)
(5) Coffin paintings (likanpuy-type)
(6) Paintings on men's ground (ngarrapuy + likanpuy-type)

Figure 55: Categories of Commercial Paintings.

Clan-owned paintings
(1) Paintings that were once restricted, likanpuy-type paintings
(2) Paintings based on garma paintings
(3) Modified likanpuy-type paintings

Innovated paintings
(4) Paintings representing 'public' stories, myths
(5) Hunting stories
(6) Innovated paintings with no mythological reference
Levels of restrictions

At contact

LIKANPUY PAINTINGS

1974-76

(1) Form class

Restricted form class 1a

Unrestricted form class 1b

(2) Items within form class

All paintings in class restricted 2a

Restricted members of the class 2b

Unrestricted members of the class 2c

Modified members of the class 2d

(3) Restrictedness of context of occurrence

Restricted in all contexts 3a

Restricted in some contexts 3b

Unrestricted 3c

(4) Constraints on production

Painted by initiated males 4a

The painting of certain elements restricted to initiated males 4b

(5) Restriction on meaning

Knowledge of meaning restricted 5a

Knowledge of meaning restricted at certain levels 5b

Figure 56: LIkanpuy-type Paintings at Contact and 1974-76; the Levels at which Restrictions are Imposed.
Figure 58: The Relationships between People from whom Interpretations of Manggallili Paintings were Obtained.
Figure 59:
A Guwak Rangga
(after a carving by Narritjin).

Figure 60: The Signifying Potential of ❓.

Social group, guwak, possum, spider, spindle, sandhills, cloud, ceremonial, shade, woman.
Figure 61: Representation of Three Digging Sticks
(after a Painting by Narritjin).
Figure 62: A Template for Interpreting Paintings of Djarrakpi Belonging to the Marrawili Set.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

South

North

Figure 63: The Major Referents of the Feature Blocks of Figure 62.

Feature Block

A  Beach, Female, Nyapililngu, Sandhills, Burrkun.
B  Lake, Marrawili.
C  Bush, Male, Guwak, Sandbank, Burrkun.

Figure 64: Meanings Associated with Loci in the Manggalili Template.

1. North end of lake, gullies in the sandhills, burrkun.
4. Marrawili tree, cloud, guwak.
5. Wild plum tree grove, burrkun complex.
6. Cashew tree grove, ngarra ceremony ground, burrkun.
7. Lake, emu, spears, menstrual blood.
8. Dry lake bed, emus and spears.
Figure 65:
A Yingapungapu Sand Sculpture.

Figure 66:
Body Painting of a Cloud
(after a painting by Wuyarrin).

Figure 67:
A Cloud Design
(after a painting by Banapana, see Pl. 67).

breast girdle

anvil of cloud

breast

base of cloud
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Signifying potential</th>
<th>Main connotations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>dashed infill</td>
<td>1. maggots (+0)</td>
<td>death, decay, putrefaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>footmarks</td>
<td>2. possum (+)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. crab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. bird</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. mourners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>7. dead body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. menstrual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9. foul smelling wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>circle</td>
<td>1. turtle eggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hole</td>
<td>2. crab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. dug by emu (in sand sculpture)</td>
<td>function of Yingapungapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. campsite (of relatives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. fire place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>||</td>
<td>wavy lines</td>
<td>1. sand hills</td>
<td>body painting design of Guwak man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. tide mark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>cross</td>
<td>1. Nyapililngu - breast girdle-possum string</td>
<td>mourning for (person, Guwak, Sand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. cloud - place - spirit</td>
<td>sign of death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_</td>
<td>digging stick</td>
<td>1. stick (walking - digging - scarifying)</td>
<td>Nyapililngu, mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. fire places</td>
<td>death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. midden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. boat (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. digging stick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 69: The Relationship between Four Myths concerning Nyapililngu's Digging Stick.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element of Myth</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyapililngu had no contact with men.</td>
<td>+ - - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She was instructed by an ancestral being.</td>
<td>- + - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She created her own means of procreation.</td>
<td>- - + +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 70: Emu as Spears and Spear Thrower.
Figure 71: Nyapililngu's Digging Stick Rangga
(after a painting by Narritjin).

- surface of possum-fur string = pubic hair
- cylindrical wrap of possum-fur string = vagina
- hole through rangga = vagina
- possum-fur tassle = penis
- digging stick = penis
Figure 72: An Elaboration of the Marrawili Template.

Numbers represent loci referred to in the previous template (see Fig. 62).

- **sky**
- **death of Guwak,** rise of spirits to Milky Way
- **top = cloud**
- **breast**
- **incorporation of spirits of dead in rangga & lake**
- **lake blood**
- **procreation**
- **underground**
- **bottom = penis digging stick**
Figure 73: The Relationship between a set of Manggalili Paintings.

- Possums climbing tree. (77)
- Possum-fur string complex. (62)
- Guwak on tree. (61)
- Emu digging for water. (57)
- Woman walking on sandhills. (75)
- Animals dancing around tree. (61)
- Nyapilingul dancing. (76)
- Burial. (70)
- Crab complex. (78)
- Turtle complex. (73)
- Women mourning. (64)
PLATE 7.10: Lyäba. E section of 7.0/11.9 and part of 7.0/11.8, showing S.H. ash lens.

PLATE 7.11: Illyangwamaja 4 or the Beach of the Fight. General view looking S.


PLATE 7.15: Äningmerrunguwa Island. S.L. 4, showing construction from dark brown and pale sandstone, looking S.
PLATE 8.1: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORIES 1A AND 1B
PLATE 8.3: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORY 1C
PLATE 8.4: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORY 1c
PLATE 8.5: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORY 1c
PLATE 8.6: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORIES 2 AND 3
PLATE 8.7: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORY 4
PLATE 8.8: IMPORT WARE, CATEGORY 5
PLATE 8.9: U.S.N.M. PHOTO. NEG. NO. 42843-c.
SEE SITE 30A
PLATE 9.3: EARTHENWARE
PLATE 9.5: EARTHENWARE
PLATE 9.6: EARTHENWARE
PLATE 10.2: FISH-HOOKS AND OTHER SMALL METAL OBJECTS
PLATE 10.4: IRON OBJECTS
PLATE 10.5: CASE BOTTLE PRUNTS
PLATE 10.6: CASE BOTTLES
PLATE 11.1: Willie, whose father is said to have been a Macassan, Elcho Island, June 1967.
L  Sail
M  Anchor
N  Prau as a whole
O  Rope attaching sail to yard
P  Coiled anchor rope in the bows
Q  Two stanchions just behind the bowsprit


PLATE 11.4: Paintings of two praus in the rock shelter at Yinimalawalyamadja, Groote Eylandt.
PLATE 11.5: Bark painting by Jerry Kerinaiua, Melville Island, 1964, in the possession of Mr John Morris, Darwin (1967). The painting represents the wreck of a Macassan prau during a ceremony and the escape of the crew in canoes to the Cobourg Peninsula (on right).
PLATE 11.6: Remba's house. The occasion is the circumcision of Dande daeng Liong in 1914. The original photograph is now in the possession of Eropa Uddin, the young boy in the dark coat. Several informants, including Dande and Eropa, identified this with the building shown in plate 11.7.

PLATE 11.7: The Muslim school at Djalan Meipa 18, Kampong Bassi, Macassar, said to be the building shown in plate 11.6, but extensively altered.
LEGEND TO FIGURES AND SHEETS

Maps

Stone line. These are distinguished by numbers, where observable (and not described elsewhere), the open side of the bays is indicated by an arrow.

Pit for burying trepang

Smoke house depression. These are distinguished by letters.

Smoke house

Ash or charcoal concentration on the surface

Tamarind vegetation

Other trees and bushes

Naturally outcropping rocks

Sections

Light grey sandy deposit

Dark grey sandy deposit

Consolidated sandy deposit

Shelly deposit

Ash

Rocks in section

A thin, overlying band of windblown material is shown as clean deposit.
FIGURE 5.8

Site 13b: section through S.L. 3

FIGURE 5.9

Trench at site 14c

FIGURE 5.10
FIGURE 6.1: Environs of the Assu Bay site
FIGURE 6.2: The Anaru Bay site. Contour plan of S.H.F. before excavation. The contour interval is 2 cm; spot heights are in metres below West Survey Point. The sections marked are those on sheet 4.
FIGURE 6.3: The Anuru Bay site. Plan of excavation of S.H.F, showing area exposed to working surface, and plan of soil movement experiment as left.
FIGURE 9.1: Edge-punch card for Macassan pottery
FIGURE 9.4 Decorated earthenware
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