Muda is bigger than the archive

Analysing Adnyamathanha use of archival photographs in communicating and negotiating Adnyamathanha Aboriginal identities

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Abstract

This thesis provides an analysis and critique of photography of the Adnyamathanha, focusing on Charles Pearcy Mountford's photographs, both within the archives and their repatriation to the Adnyamathanha community. Throughout this thesis, I weave a pathway through various Adnyamathanha interpretations of historical photographs of themselves and Country and contrast these understandings to *Udnyu* (or Western people's) understandings of these photographs.

I am an Adnyamathanha woman collaborating with my community for this research. I have based this thesis on fieldwork, including interviews, workshops, and photo-elicitation. I chose a range of photographs from the Mountford collection in the State Library of South Australia to take back to Adnyamathanha. I conducted interviews with Elders, sometimes alone or with their families. I held workshops in several schools with young people to gain artistic responses to the photographs. I also curated the *Minaaka Apinhanga: Through Many Eyes* exhibition (Richards, RG 2019f)— hereafter referred to as 'the Exhibition'— at the South Australian Museum in 2019 of photographs, objects and artworks made in response to photographs.

I predicate this thesis on knowledge and understanding of Adnyamathanha epistemology, especially about photographs, rather than an intense analysis of Euro-Western (hereafter referred to by the Adnyamathanha term of *Udnyu*) anthropological theories of Adnyamathanha society. I explain the notion of *Muda* as encompassing Adnyamathanha law, history, and Creation accounts. *Muda* underlies Adnyamathanha vision, interpretation, and discussion of many aspects of relationships. It is an overarching concept I need to address to understand how Adnyamathanha people view photographs. My aspiration herein is to fulfil, in some measure, the first aspect of Tuhiwai Smith's (1999a: xiii) call for decolonizing methodologies: to 'open up possibilities for knowing and understanding the world differently'. An Adnyamathanha-grounded theory of Adnyamathanha interpretation and uses of photography goes some way towards fulfilling this goal. These are our stories.

Across the generations, perceptions of photographs have a consistency as well as significant differences. The continuity of concepts in Adnyamathanha understandings of photographs shows the strength of the intergenerational transmission of culture. There have been over

180 years of Adnyamathanha contact with *Udnyu* people. Nevertheless, many aspects of interpretations of the photographs are culturally specific, showing the power of those interpretations for both young and old Adnyamathanha participants regardless of *Udnyu* pressures to assimilate into *Udnyu* (Western) culture. This is particularly the case with Adnyamathanha understandings of the spirit in the photograph, as shown throughout this thesis.

Analysis of Adnyamathanha understandings of the photograph also reveals historical and colonial misconceptions of the interpretation of Adnyamathanha gender relationships, which research has sometimes erroneously imputed to Adnyamathanha society today. This thesis shows how some of these misunderstandings of gender relationships have shaped contemporary understandings of kinship, relationships (relationality), and gender.

The second aspect of Tuhiwai Smith's (1999a: xiii) call is to seek solutions to problems caused by colonisation. I endeavoured to suggest ways such efforts, already begun in many areas, can be further advanced in managing archives and representing Indigenous people. To avoid misconceptions arising from some earlier representations of Adnyamathanha, and of Aboriginal people in general, I suggest a way to manage more adequate representations in conjunction with the contemporary subjects and owners of that representation.

Thesis Statement

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

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____

Rebecca G. Richards

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents and my family, who have shared their deep knowledge and wisdom with me since early childhood: to my father, his passion for his Country and his culture continues to inspire me; and to my mum, for her endless support, encouragement and sharing of her knowledge.

A note to readers

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are warned that this thesis displays names and pictures of people who have since passed away.

Unless otherwise attributed, all quotes and photographs are from my fieldwork and exhibition processes.

List of terms

Table 1. Adnyamathanha languages (Yura Ngawarla) terms

Yura Ngawarla term	**English definition**
Adlari	Sister-in-law (or different/cross-moiety cousin)
adnu	bearded dragon
adnyarlpu	native geranium
Adnyini	Mother's mothers and same moiety grandchild (reciprocal term), i.e., female self's daughters' children
Adnyini Ngaparla	Father's mother and opposite moiety grandchildren (e.g., female self's son's children) (reciprocal term) but often shortened to *Adnyini.*
Akurra	rainbow serpent
aldyanada	knob tailed gecko
Andu	yellow-footed rock wallaby
-anggu	past tense verb suffix
-apinha	many (ad fix)
Ararru	north wind moiety
Ararru-milanha	of the *Ararru* moiety
ardla wirdni	firestick
arlanda	an ordinary calling out to another person
Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha	The 'making of the spirit smoke' or 'smoking ceremony'
Arnngurla	Spirit/abandoned campsite where spirits frequent
Arnngurla Adnya	'Death Rock'
Arrawie	possibly refers to *Arra-awi,* a waterhole near Ti-tree outstation, Wertaloona Station
Arrunha Awi	a sacred waterhole
arti	blood
Arti murru	dried blood
Artimurrumurrunha	the station name Artimore derives from, and my father always referred to a creek just east of *Minerawurta* (Ram Paddock Gate).
Artuapi	Father's sisters (Aunt)
Artuna	Self's partner if self identifies as male
Artunyi	A group of women, specifically the Seven Sisters creation account
Artuwaralpanha	location of Mount Serle/Frome Creek area
atha	digging stick
Awi	Water
Iga	*Capparis mitchellii,* or native orange tree
Iga Warta	location in the Flinders Ranges
Inhaadi yuanda valnaapa	This is the two old Adnyamathanha men, *Wilyaru* men of the same generation and opposite moieties.
Inhaadinha	'This one here', said as a name.
Inhawartanha	'This one is...'
Jarieya	Percy Richards
ku	Habitual, regular tense suffix; ongoing narrative tense suffix

mai	vegetable foods, predominately female-gathered and prepared
makati	rifle
Malka	markings
Malkada	First stage law, initiation
Malkada Witina	First initiation stage trenches
Malkai	a location of rock paintings in the Flinders Ranges
Mandaawi yuku ikandawa	'Footprint is here she,' i.e., 'she footprint is here'
Mangundanha Walawalandanha	calling out ceremony
mararra	black duck
Marldapi	spirit cloud
Marni	Self's partner if self is female
Marri yarngu	dead people hidden away
Marrukurli	creature in ochre dreaming
Mathari	South wind moiety (opposite of *Ararru* moiety)
Mathari-milanha	of the *Mathari* moiety
Minaaka Apinhanga	Through Many Eyes
Mindapartinha	spirit after death
Mindi	wallaby net
Minerawurta	(also known as *Minara Wurtu/ Minara Urta*) location of a past community known as 'Ram Paddock Gate'
Miradi	spirit trickster
miru	Man ('male' considering *miru vapa* 'little boy') (Schebeck 2000: 79)
miru vapa	little boy
mita	Brother-in-law (a popular term probably borrowed from the English word 'mate')
mityi	Name
mityi wakanha	no name
Muda	Adnyamathanha law/History
Mudanghatyu	my *Muda [Mudangatyu]*
murawirri	fighting boomerang (compared to *wadna*: hunting boomerang)
Murri	spirit baby/child (Mountford, C. P. & Harvey 1941: 156). My father, *Vapi* L. Richards (1994 pers comm.), also used this term when discussing baby spirits associated with a particular conception site.
Ngai	I as a subject of a sentence, clause, or phrase with an intransitive verb, 'Me'
Ngai mityi	I name _____
Ngai Yarlpumukunha	I am the Bilby bones ('I am the bilby bones' totem)
Ngaingga	Expression of regret – I am sorry / Poor thing.
Ngamarna	Mother's brothers
Ngami	Mother
Ngaparla	Different/cross-moiety cousin
Ngarlaami	Mother's older sisters/ big mother (from *Ngarla Ngami*)
Ngathu	'I' as a subject of a sentence, clause or phrase that features a transitive verb.
Ngatyu	Or *'nghatyu'* is a singular possessive meaning 'my'
Ngawarla Wami	Location in the Flinders Ranges

Nguarli	Father's fathers / same moiety grandfather and same moiety grandchildren (reciprocal term), i.e., son's children for male self
nguri warta	*Acacia Rivalis* or Creek Wattle
Nguthuna	'dreaming' spirits or 'the great actors in the Dramas of the Dreaming' (Tunbridge 1988b: xxii). It also refers to custom or law
Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha	Name of the site where the ancestral spirit, Old Woman, made the damper (Tunbridge 1988b: 110)
Nipapanha	Or '*Nepabunna'* An Adnyamathanha community
Nunga	older brother (or same moiety male first cousin)
Pau pau	Female dancing for the ceremonial becoming of men
-ru	*-ru* is a possessive marker. e.g., 'Becky's paper' as 'Becky-*ru pipa*'. However, you cannot use *ru* in the context of the photographs as Adnyamathanha do not perceive them as possessions
Thadkithadki Yura	dead spirit in a song
thapa-thapanyina	Pepper cress or *Lepidium plant*
Ubmarli	Father's eldest brothers
Ubmarli Vapi	Father's younger brothers
Udi	Song
Udnyu	Before colonisation, this meant spirits or ghosts (Schebeck 2000: 43); after colonisation was translated as 'white/ghost people' as the white people were seen as ghostly white. *Udnyu* is increasingly used to refer to white people, not ghosts.
Udnyu Minaaka- Yura Wanggatha	White eyes- *Udnyu* Voices
Unakanha vadiku	Sung as each place is searched, and translated as '*Unakanha* was not there', conveying the sense that *Unakanha* continued to be missing despite the search.
vaidi	Strangers (Schebeck 2000: 146); also 'little people' in *Vapi* L. Richards (2002 pers comm.)
unatyirldi	diver duck or little grebe
urdlu	red kangaroo (secular term)
urli	Stick nest rat
Urngi	Clever-person or doctor
Urrakurli	Magpie
Vada Ardlanha	Paralana, Flinders Ranges
vakuvaku	Bellbird
valanpila	Or *vanpila* (short form): they (2) same generation + same moiety, e.g., brother and sister
valnaaka	they (2) different generation+ same moiety, e.g., mother and child
Valnaapa	two *mita* (mates), a *Mathari* and an *Ararru* man
valnaaparu	Possessive: their (2) (belonging to or for two *mita* (mates), a *Mathari* and an *Ararru* man
valnyini	Subject form of they (2): they (2) different generation+ opposite moiety, e.g., father and child
Valu Varndarnaku Uranyi	He Sends the Rainbow (song)
valurdupa	subject form of they (2): married couple
Vandapanha Wida	a famed gum tree under which significant meetings occurred
Vanha	third person singular: 'he', 'she'
Vapapa	Mother's father and opposite moiety grandchildren (daughter's children) (reciprocal term)

Vaparlu	Self’s and brothers’ children if self is male/ brothers’ children if self is female
Vapi	Father
vardna	goanna
Vardnapa	first stage initiate
Vardnundyaru	her his, or its possessive form
varndyaru	the short possessive form of the third person singular pronoun ‘his/her/it’
Vartiwaka	*Eremophila Longifolia*/Plum bush or Weeping Emu Bush
Vilhali	younger sisters/ brothers
Viliwarunha	a traditional women’s song
vinya	the seeking of justice or vengeance when people broke laws or caused harm
vinyi	Broombrush
Virdianha	a lullaby: birth order name meaning first born child who is a male
Virlkuthanha	The Old Woman or Women (name)/ Female Elder
Virnga/Vintya	Brother-in-law
Vudla ngami	spirit mother
Vurlka	Old man / Male Elder
Vurlkanha Vapi	Father’s older brothers (Uncle), translated as ‘old fella dad’, also known as *Ubmarli Vapi*
wadna	boomerang
Wadngami	Mother's younger sisters (little mum)
wadu	tense, meaning that the event is past and finished.
Wadunha Yura	long-time ago Aboriginal person/people
Wakarla	crow
Wakarla Adpaindanha	place of the painting of the crow
Walypi	name of Group, Blinman/ Wilpena (*Wurlpinha*) area/ [“south”; “Blinman mob”]
Walypi Milyaru/ Walypi varrpa/ Walypi wadi	South wind
walypi wadi	southwest wind (Kuyani)
Wanjulda	Sydney Ryan's name
Ward-arda	A person of the opposite moiety to self (e.g.*, Ararru*)
wari	wind (old Adnyamathanha term)
Warlda	summer
warnngapi	spirit or ‘old people’
warratyi	Emu (bird)
wartathirnka	South
Waturlipinha	a *Muda* story
wauda	black
Wida Ardupa	Two Gum Trees who are a married couple
widlya	wurley (or traditional housing)
wildu	eagle
Wildu Urngi	home of the eagle
Wilyaru	fully initiated man
Wimila	Elders’ meeting
wirri mutyatya	clubs with a knob at one end
wityarti	witchetty grub
Wurlpinha	name for Wilpena pound
Yaka	Older sisters
Yakarla	Self’s and sisters’ children if self is female/ Sisters’ children if self is male
yakarti	child

yalda wirri	throwing stone or slate rock club
yaldhatyi	red
Yandawarta	ceremonial ground
Yardli	male (Schebeck 2000: 241)
yardlu	coolamon
yarli	yelling out
yarli-inda	yelling out in pain or fear
Yarlpumukunha	the Greater Bilby Bones or Totem
Yarta	Country
yarti yarti	dead spirit
yula-yulanika!	saying 'Stretch out to go to sleep!'
Yura	Adnyamathanha people ['Aboriginal man/people' (Schebeck 2000: 79) and 'man' (Ellis, RW 2013: 30)]
Yura Ngawarla	Adnyamathanha languages
Yurlu	Red-backed kingfisher
Yurlu Ngukandanha	kingfisher creation story

Table 2. Terms used in other non-Adnyamathanha or English languages

Term	Definition	Language group
Altjira	dreaming, history, law	Central Desert Arrernte
Altyerr	traditional	Alyawarr
Altyerr-penh	from tradition	Alyawarr
Alyawarr	an Aboriginal people of Central Australia and a Central Desert language	Alyawarr
Ara Irititja	Pertaining to History (Ara: History. Iriti:a long time ago. tja: of or 'pertaining to'	Pitjantjatjara
Barngarla Ngawarla	language of the Barngarla people	Barngarla
Dhuwa	a patrilineal moiety in Arnhem Land	Yolngu-matha (Arnhem Land)
EMu	electronic museum database software	English
Galyardu	deceased person	Wajarri and Yamaji
Karn-ngurla Kadnya	Death Rock or 'Spirit Rock' in *Vapi* L Richards and *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2002 pers comm.)	Barngarla
kuka	predominately male-sourced 'fleshy food', meat or game	Yankunytjatjara
Kumanjayi/Kunmanara	deceased person	Pintubi-Luritja
mamara	'male' (Hercus 1999)	Wirangu
Miru	'Man, male' (Hercus 1992)	Nukunu
MiRu	'Man, male person (noun)' (Hercus 2006)	Kuyani
ngangkari	traditional doctors	Pitjantjara
Nyanggaa, Nhangga	'Aboriginal person' (also translated as 'man') (Hercus 1999)	Wirangu
Pukartu	major red ochre site	Barngarla
Tarndanyangga	Red kangaroo place in the Adelaide Central Business District	Kaurna
terra nullius	'no man's land' or uninhabited land	Latin
ThuRa	'Man, Aboriginal person (noun)' (Hercus 2006)	Kuyani
Thura	'Man, person', *thura paarla* 'Aboriginal woman' (Hercus 1992)	Nukunu
Thura-Yura	language family for Adnyamathanha, Barngarla, Nukunu, Kaurna and Narungga, defined by Hercus (1996), Simpson (2004) and Næssan (2015).	English
tjitji ngangkari	Child who is a traditional doctor	Pitjantjatjara
wailbi	Southwest Country	Barngarla
walytja	A possessive term that can refer to the objects associated with the person, a relative, the possessive notion of 'one's own or reflexive concepts such as 'oneself'.	Pintupi
way(i)tpi	south wind	Nukunu
Wik-Mungkana	Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal people	Wik-Mungkana
Yartapuulti	Port Adelaide	Kaurna
Yartli	'Man, husband' (Hercus 1992)	Nukunu
Yirritja	a patrilineal moiety in Arnhem Land	Yolngu-matha (Arnhem Land)
Yura	'Man, male' (Schürmann 1844)	Barngarla

Prologue

On a cool Sunday morning in August 2019, the lilting cadences of the women's songs resounded through the stately entrance halls of the South Australian Museum as a quartet of my elderly aunts sang the *Udi* (song) of women calling for their children, the *Udi* of women calming their grandchildren, of mourning their lost ones. The hills surrounding the beautiful heartland of *Nipapanha* (Nepabunna) once resonated with the *Udi* of the women of old, whose histories are celebrated in the landscape of the *Virlkuthanha*-Gammon Ranges and the Frome catchment. As my aunts sang, we were transported in spirit back to those hills and to those histories, our histories. Other visitors at the museum gallery stopped to listen to these haunting memories that have echoed through the years with their poignant reminders of the generations lost but re-captured through image, through film, and through song.

My beloved, wonderful aunts had travelled long distances to come together to convey their mourning for the lost ones of the old photos, the lost memories of the old *Udi*, the lost sounds of our language, the lost dances, but they also came to celebrate the bonds of family, the connection with Country, and with *Muda* that still permeates our Country. I had organised the trip to the Exhibition launch for my family.

Coming together for this important occasion was not without the responsibilities, the tasks that Elders in the Adnyamathanha community engage with constantly. *Artuapi* (father's sister) Linda Coulthard announced, 'We are Flinders Ranges Adnyamathanha women. We are going to sing for you'. The beautiful and moving songs of the women were part of an endeavour— their duty and their joy— to secure the spiritual safety of the *Minaaka Apinhanga: Through Many Eyes Exhibition* and to provide both traditional and modern blessings upon it and its visitors.

Adnyamathanha women Elders, *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton and *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard, *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard and *Artuapi* Mona Jackson were keen to sing. After much discussion, they chose '*Viliwarunha',* a traditional women's *Udi*, along with an Adnyamathanha Christian song written by Adnyamathanha women years ago and titled *'He Sends the Rainbow'*. The Adnyamathanha *Udi* is significant. It is derived from the time of the ancient *Muda* and was sung in that time by the two women whose actions are encapsulated in the landscape of hills,

gorges and creeks surrounding *Nipapanha*. Reflecting as I write, it is essential to realise that, with these songs, the women were incorporating the two *Muda* that are significant to them, both the traditional *Muda* of many generations and the new *Muda* of Christianity that each of them also value. I also reflect that there is no *Yura mityi* (Adnyamathanha names) for Frome Creek, as creeks were not named. Only individual waterholes and springs along a creek are named in *Yura Ngawarla* (Adnyamathanha languages) as they were the source of life, of hope for the future, as well as the repository of memories and stories and, in this case, the location of a significant photograph of Mt Serle Bob created in circa 1907 that was on display in the Exhibition. And it was at *Nipapanha* that most of the exhibited photographs were taken, with the area of its associated *Muda* also including the *Artuwaralpanha* (Mount Serle)/ Frome Creek) area.

Figure 1. Four members of Adnyamathanha women's choir singing at Exhibition Launch, photo by Carty (2019a)

Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton, the great-granddaughter of ceremonial leader Mt Serle Bob, whose photograph is shown in the Exhibition, was amongst the singers. In Adnyamathanha kinship, *Ngarlaami* Gladys is my mother's older sister, or big mother. The women also planned to sing Wayanha Udi at first, as this is the *Udi* (song) associated explicitly with *Nipapanha*. It is the hill that can be seen from *Ngarlaami* Gladys's front porch, a hill I have often seen. *Ngarlaami* did not want to sing it even though the other women did, saying she was 'tired of singing that

Udi'. The more likely reason for her resistance to this choice of song was that she did not feel comfortable singing a song of home in the urban environment of the museum. As the eldest woman of the Elders, her decision was respected.

Various politicians, museum staff, and patrons launched the Exhibition and the Director of SAM, Brian Oldman, was the host. A large group of Elders, visitors, friends, family, and academics gathered to listen respectfully to the welcoming ceremony. The launch began with Kaurna Elder, Michael O'Brien, welcoming us to the lands of the Kaurna people. Wearing a skin cloak, Michael O'Brien showed the story of some Kaurna histories using string figures that he had seen featured in the Exhibition preview to show some of the Kaurna and Adnyamathanha common bonds which they would have shared before *Tarndanyangga* (the 'red kangaroo place' or Adelaide CBD area) was taken from them.

His welcoming us to Kaurna Country was not only crucial in enabling the Adnyamathanha to publicly display their respect for the traditional custodians of the Adelaide area but also vitally important to our Elders, none of whom would have been comfortable visiting and viewing an Adnyamathanha display in Kaurna Country without the specific reassurance that they were welcome, and their contributions valued. This is an ancient and continuing etiquette that has been reinforced through many reminders, in marks or painted stripes, to show the egress of visitors passing near the sacred and special painting site of *Malkai* discussed in situ by *Vapi* L. Richards (1994 pers comm.), and *Nunga* Brenton 'Sharpie' Coulthard (2017 pers comm.).

Adnyamathanha consider that paintings at *Malkai* were 'not made' by them, 'but rather by *vaidi'* (strangers) (Tunbridge 1988b: 124). Frequent retelling of stories of retribution for those who did not observe customary protocols, such as lighting a fire for smoking purposes (*Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha*), as outlined by Robert Ellis (2014), also reinforced this respect for ceremony. We, however, did not perform an *Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha* ceremony for the launch; instead, I arranged a *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (Calling Out) and timed the Exhibition carefully to reduce spiritual dangers.

After Michael O'Brien conducted the Welcome to Country, SA Premier Steven Marshall officially opened the Exhibition. Premier Marshall discussed his excitement about his government initiative to create a Museum of Aboriginal Cultures at the old Royal Adelaide

Hospital site, which would be ‘of international significance’. My *Yaka* (big sister), Carolynanha Johnson, stood for Adnyamathanha Elders, and I also spoke at the Launch. I spoke of my goals for the Exhibition and thanked the Elders and the museum for supporting me in creating it. *Yaka* Carolyn spoke on behalf of the older Adnyamathanha Elders about what the Exhibition meant to her.[1] She spoke in *Yura Ngawarla* and then supplied a brief translation in English at the end of her speech. Older Adnyamathanha Elders who were present did not choose to give speeches but supplied input in other ways where they saw their contribution would be significant through the *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (‘calling out’ ceremony) and the songs sung at the Launch.

As the official proceedings concluded, we moved to the Exhibition space. Many were keen to begin viewing the displays at once, but instead, at the entrance to the Exhibition space, we were stopped. *Ngamarna* (mother’s brother) Roy Coulthard and his sister, my *Ngarlaami* (mother’s older sister) Gladys Wilton, had led the way to the gallery and halted us before the entrance. They took over proceedings, commencing calling out to the spirits of the Old People, whose photographs were portrayed on the walls, whose voices and faces were featured in archival film, and whose artefacts were displayed in the rooms (Figure 2 below).

Figure 2. Ngamarna Roy Coulthard, Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton, and I undertaking the “calling out” during the Exhibition opening ceremony, photo by Carty (2019b)

[1] *Yaka* Carolynanha Johnson *spoke as an* emerging Elder who is well-versed in both *Yura Ngawarla* and speaking to *Udnyu* to advocate for Aboriginal community interests, as in Johnson (2015) .

Those featured in the Exhibition included their *Adnyini Ngaparla* (opposite moiety grandmother) Alice Coulthard (née McKenzie), their *Nguarli* (paternal grandfather) Jack Coulthard and his father-in-law, and their great-grandfather Mt Serle Bob. They are also my direct ancestors, one generation further removed.

Both Elders who spoke are *Mathari,* but they are male and female. They spoke softly, respectfully, and reassuringly. There was no need to shout or use microphones. The spirits were present and could hear. Specifically, *Ngamarna* Roy told his *Nguarli* (grandfather) that he was his grandson, told him of our relationship (that my sister and I were his youngest daughter's grandchildren), that we had come from *Nipapanha* and were all there to pay respect. *Ngamarna* Roy also discussed my research project with him. *Ngarlaami* Gladys added her voice and reassurances, supplying the gender balance of input that is so important to Adnyamathanha. The two Elders finally consulted each other as to whether they had said enough to make it a safe space in which both Adnyamathanha and non-Adnyamathanha people could view the photographs of ancestors.

This ceremony was unexpected to many but not to most Adnyamathanha. We understood it could be unsafe to enter unannounced. After prior consultation with several Elders, I asked the eldest descendants of my great great-grandparent, Mt Serle Bob, if they would 'call out' and conduct a *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out ceremony) as a part of the Exhibition Launch. Three days before the Launch, *Ngarlaami* Gladys and *Ngamarna* Roy discussed it amongst themselves and other family members and readily agreed to do this, showing they understood and supported the intent. This was to bring forth but also constrain the personhood and spirit of the people in the photographs on display in the Exhibition space.

The ceremony of calling and talking to spirits preceded viewing the Exhibition of photographs and old objects on display. Their spirits are powerful, and their descendants wanted to reassure them through *Mangundanha Walawalandanha,* to let them know our identity and relationship to them, to assure them that we had come respectfully and would leave them in peace after visiting with them. Adnyamathanha Elder, *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.), advised regarding the name of the ceremony, explaining that *Mangunda* means a special 'calling out', as opposed to an ordinary calling out to another person (*arlanda*) or yelling out in pain or fear (*yarli-inda*) while *Walawalanda* means talking, in this case to the spirits,

including telling them you are leaving shortly.

That *Yura* (Aboriginal people from the Flinders Ranges) understanding of the spirit contained in the photographs was given expression at the launch is culturally meaningful and sensitive to our past, present, and future. The *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out ceremony) highlights the roles of spirit and relationships (specifically kinship and moieties) in interpreting and understanding photographs, not only in the Exhibition gallery but as held elsewhere in museum and gallery archives and private collections.

Several people present at this ceremony were perplexed. Many observers could not hear – but this was not significant. The *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* was not akin to the rest of the Launch. The Elders did not address the visible audience but the unseen occupants of the rooms we were about to enter. There was no translation into English as the ancestors had understood. Adnyamathanha community members listened and watched with understanding and with various measures of relief, knowing our Elders were acting to protect us from harm and our old people's spirits from undue disturbance. I used the Exhibition Launch 'opening ceremony' to ensure and to show that both person and spirit knew of our respectful intent and relationship, and so would not follow viewers home or cause illness. Culture and language were the cornerstones of this vital preliminary. It sets the scene for a discussion of the interpretation of Adnyamathanha photographs.

Introduction

In this thesis, I outline and offer a critique of the histories of Charles Pearcy Mountford's Adnyamathanha photographs within the archives and their return to the Adnyamathanha community.[2] These histories are an area that academics have not studied.[3] The close reading of the repatriation of photographs and the museum exhibition process from the perspective of a specific Indigenous group using the concepts and practices of that group themselves rather than through the concepts and perspectives of anthropology and museology is one of the critical contributions of this thesis. Analysis of Aboriginal conceptualisations of photographic archives and exhibitions allows for critically appraising various anthropological concepts and practices. Such anthropological understandings include the relationship between photographs, personhood, gender, moieties, photographic archives, and exhibitions. This critique is based upon Tuhiwai-Smith's (1999a: xii) call for new methodological approaches:

> Decolonizing methodologies are about forcing us to confront the Western academic canon in its entirety, in its philosophy, pedagogy, ethics, organizational practices, paradigms, methodologies and discourses and, importantly, its self-generating arrogance, its origin mythologies and the stories it tells … to reinforce its hegemony.

In this context, Tuhiwai-Smith's methodologies (1999a: xii) can be used to show how Adnyamathanha concepts and understandings help to clarify that museum exhibitions are living entities, objects have spirit, and spirit is a part of the person and relationships.

This thesis aims to engage with this approach. Contemporary Aboriginal people have used archival collections as an aid in assuming responsibility and control of the representation of

[2] I argue that the term 'return' rather than 'repatriation' or 'spiritual repatriation' is preferable to describe this movement of photographs between museums and the Adnyamathanha community later in this Introduction, within the section named Indigenous artists' uses of the concept of spirit within exhibitions.

[3] The distinction between traditional and non-traditional Aboriginal people within 'anthropology which underlie this division have largely remained unexamined' as most Australian anthropologists work in northern Australia (Cowlishaw 1988: 60). Therefore, Adnyamathanha are however a 'highly sophisticated people' (Hoskyns & Ellis 1977) whose categorisation as being either traditional or non-traditional is complex.

Aboriginal cultures through asserting Aboriginal identities and regaining cultural knowledge.[4] Aird (2003: 25) —an Aboriginal academic and curator—argues that 'Aboriginal people look past the stereotypical ways' by which Western anthropological and historical photographers have portrayed 'their relatives and ancestors', as they are just 'happy to be able to see photographs of people who play a part in their family's history'. Contemporary Aboriginal uses of photographs differ from the original purposes envisaged by anthropology and the academics who initially took, stored, or catalogued these photographs (Zeitlyn 2012).

This thesis elaborates on the processes through which the South Australian Museum (SAM), a specific South Australian Aboriginal group (the Adnyamathanha), and I collaboratively created the *Minaaka Apinhanga: Through Many Eyes Exhibition.*[5] I hereafter refer to this exhibition as 'the Exhibition' or 'my Exhibition'. I capitalise my exhibition so as not to confuse it with other exhibitions, which I discuss throughout the thesis. Curating an exhibition enabled me to create a space to explore my thesis question of 'How do Adnyamathanha people use archival photography?' in a more fluid, dynamic, and collaborative way. This enabled me to bridge the gap between community-based and archival-based work with an anthropological understanding of the Exhibition.

Collaboration with Adnyamathanha people enables me to highlight regionally specific cultural understandings of how Aboriginal people understand and use photography today. Specifically, this thesis analyses how Adnyamathanha people may access, circulate, restrict, create, interpret, and use these collections but also highlights the challenges of accessing collections despite family connections to materials in the archives.

As an Adnyamathanha woman working with the Adnyamathanha community, concepts of spirit and how I engage with them during the curation process are complex. Analyses of archives, fieldwork, and the Exhibition process show how the archive influences and shapes Adnyamathanha understandings of ourselves. These processes further influence how we represent ourselves within the Exhibition, which consequentially affects how others perceive

[4] This has been demonstrated by many researchers including Lydon (2011; 2010a), Aird (2020), Goldstein (2012) and Corn (1999).

[5] I also discussed the return of photographs during my anthropological fieldwork in many Adnyamathanha peoples' homes. The sole discussion of photography within this context is valid. However, I wished to make this a more collaborative research project than what can be facilitated through fieldwork alone. I discuss how exhibitions could achieve this in a section of this Introduction titled 'The Exhibition: an Adnyamathanha view'.

us and how we perceive ourselves. Therefore, exhibition curators and critics of the museum need to consider such concepts and show similar sensitivities in other exhibitions with other Indigenous Australians. Changes in Adnyamathanha collaborators' and museum staff's perspectives on photographs over time affected my processes of curating and creating the Exhibition.[6]

I, alongside other Adnyamathanha community members, created the Exhibition as a research method to explore Adnyamathanha photography and history. As both process and space, creating my Exhibition opened possibilities for dialogue with and between Adnyamathanha collaborators. I curated the Exhibition with the support of SAM. The Exhibition and its relationship to Aboriginal collections is also significant to current anthropological and museology debates and the Adnyamathanha community. Theoretical and conceptual approaches drawn upon throughout fieldwork, the Exhibition and thesis include positioning and reflexivity, object biographies, and distributed personhood, with such approaches drawn from anthropology assessed against and applied alongside *Muda*. *Muda* is an Adnyamathanha term for the history and law of the Adnyamathanha people. *Muda* is a predominant yardstick, epistemological resource, and explanatory framework in which I understand Adnyamathanha society. *Muda* itself is more important than the *Udnyu* (non-Aboriginal) theorisations of *Muda*.

I use the term photographs instead of images throughout this thesis to recognise the significance of the material aspects of photographs. Although 'analytical focus has been on the semiotic and iconographical in the representation of race and culture, material forms of images are integral [to understanding them as] … socially salient' (Edwards 2010: 67).[7] An

[6] Throughout my thesis, I discuss changes in how photographs are viewed. I specifically discuss changes in regard to gender and personhood in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 respectively. I discuss how I responded to and worked with changing perceptions in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Adnyamathanha literature, which infer these changing Adnyamathanha perspectives, include Coulthard and Richards (2020; 2020), and Wilton and Richards (2022). The changing perspectives of museum and archival staff involved in the Exhibition were not explicitly studied within this thesis, but these changes can be inferred through my discussions with Carty (2023 pers comm.) and Russell (2011 pers comm.). These changes can also be seen in Thomas (2014) and Russell and Chapman (2009; 2008).

[7] Edwards and Morton (2009) shows that academics— such as Bourdieu (1965) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992)— initially analysed photography semiotically or as a visual sign. She argues that the crisis of representation within anthropology emerging 'by the 1990s' was an increasing recognition of the politics of representation and a disquiet with anthropology's 'claims to authority' which then influenced a 'materialist turn' within anthropology (Morton & Edwards 2009).

understanding of the materiality of photographs, particularly notions of distributed personhood and spirit in the photographs, will become apparent as my thesis progresses.

When choosing a range of photographs, I have consciously decided not to investigate the photographs that Adnyamathanha Elders have considered unfit for distribution or public circulation. Instead, I focus on the material act of restriction itself and the photographs' relationship to gender, how it occurs rather than why. Charles Pearcy Mountford's (hereafter referred to as Mountford) work in Central Australia was disrespectful of their cultures in that he published their secret, sacred ceremonies in a popular, publicly available book. Therefore, I do not reference this book. Respecting cultural restraints, I do not explicitly discuss secret-sacred Adnyamathanha materials within my thesis or Exhibition. The emphasis on the act of restriction rather than the visual characteristics of photographs means that I can conduct my research respectfully within the Adnyamathanha community.

In this chapter, I first argue the importance of using a grounded and culturally specific approach to photographs for Adnyamathanha. I then highlight the various contributions to a contemporary understanding of photography for Aboriginal communities in Australia, as well as crucial frameworks and theories used within anthropology to discuss photography ethnographically, such as personhood and psychoanalysis. To lay the groundwork for a critical focus of this thesis, I then discuss Aboriginal understandings of the spirit in photographs, which buttresses the understanding of Adnyamathanha epistemology of photography. This introduction concludes with an overview of this thesis and its contribution to the literature.

Grounded concepts as an organising principle

This thesis and Exhibition were based on my desire to explain further and prioritise Adnyamathanha epistemology and understandings. Adnyamathanha worldviews supply alternative paradigms, often dismissed or undervalued, to those employed in historical academic discourse underpinned by a repetitively promoted biased perception of Aboriginal knowledge. The 'arrogance of colonial academia has been a factor in scholarly dismissal of so-called "native theories" as being, at best, interesting religious sideshows' (Sutton 1997: 241). Furthermore, 'university-based disciplines' diminish the 'legitimacy of the intellectual enterprise' when they do not take 'native theories' seriously as analytic 'constructions of

reality' (Sutton 1997: 241). Current ethnographies have tried to rectify this issue. Current ethnographies, through stories about landscape, reflect a greater 'alignment with the Aboriginal way of telling stories, rather than the omniscient third-person perspective of the scientific mode' (Fijn 2019: 69) found within early twentieth-century ethnographic writing.

It has been my experience that parts of anthropology that Aboriginal people most value are not grand anthropological theories and scientific hypotheses, but it is the observations, the photographs, the anecdotes— often the very aspects on which salvage anthropologists focussed their attention due to our suspicions of anthropological theories[8].

US First Nations ecologist Wall Kimmerer's (2013: 48) analyses of how European languages objectify and gender the world. Her work helps me articulate *Yura Ngawarla* compared to English and the consequences of these differing worldviews. Wall Kimmerer (2013: 48) demonstrates that European languages often assign gender to nouns, but Potawami does not divide the world into masculine and feminine. Additionally, the English language— in comparison to her US First Nations' Potawatomi language— does not recognise the animacy or personhood of plants and animals but genders and objectifies the world.[9]

Mosko (1985) conducted anthropological fieldwork with the Bush Mekeo people in Papua New Guinea. In Mosko's (1985) ethnography, the epistemologies of Bush Mekeo people perform structurally similar but distinct functions to *Muda* for Adnyamathanha. Exploring local and cultural specificity, Mosko (1985: 1) critiques ethnographic description wherein the ethnographer translates Indigenous cultural categories into their language. They then re-construct resultant misconceptions into models of a 'total culture' (as meanings of cultural elements are inseparable from the wider synchronic 'whole' or 'totality').

Mosko argues that anthropologists cannot adduce meanings within Papua New Guinean

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[8] Watego (2021)— an Aboriginal academic— describes Aboriginal suspicion of anthropological theory as stemming from how anthropology was built: 'off the backs of Blacks while claiming to know our experience better than we could ever possibly could. Here, Blackfullas get to occupy the subject position of having experience while others occupy the role of expert. We can testify but never theorise'.

[9] Upon completing a botany degree, Wall Kimmerer (2013: 48) argues that —in comparison to Indigenous languages— scientific European languages are a: 'careful observation, an intimate vocabulary that names each little part... but beneath the richness of its vocabulary and its descriptive power, something is missing... Science can be a language of distance which reduces a being to its working parts; it is a language of objects. The language scientists speak, however precise, is based on a profound error in grammar, an omission, a grave loss in translation' (Wall Kimmerer 2013: 48).

societies 'either a priori or ad hoc' from Western notions. Mosko (1985: 1) analyses Bush Mekeo epistemology by exploring 'interrelations among Indigenous categories, in their relations of difference and similarity, the underlying structure of ideas' to show how 'meaning' when understood as 'linguistic value' is systematic, logical. Mosko shows this. While not structuralist, I use the subtleties of in-depth archival research and linguistic translation throughout my thesis to explore the 'underlying structure of ideas' to avoid the misunderstandings that arise from misinterpretations of meanings and to provide a deeper understanding of Adnyamathanha cultural contexts. Research from various disciplines, including anthropology, museum studies, linguistics, history, and Indigenous studies situated within and with Indigenous research paradigms, have influenced my research and Exhibition.[10]

There is a historical prevalence of structuralism within early written ethnographies of Aboriginal Australia. Using and responding to written ethnographies within a structuralist form of anthropology is often problematic for Aboriginal scholars and communities. Clarke (2022: n. p.) argues that this is the case as engaging with linguistic and written analysis requires 'high English literacy levels'. Overly theoretical written ethnographies often do not understand the person as an active agent but a series of causes and effects in diagrams that obscure the individual and their active voice. For example, at an Aboriginal anthropology conference that Clarke (2022: n. p.) attended, while anthropologists were drawing complex diagrams of Aboriginal kinship, an Aboriginal person leaned over and said to her derisively, "is that what they do with the information we give to you?". This is important, so in planning the Exhibition, I have aimed to develop Exhibition viewers' appreciation of the importance and vibrancy of Adnyamathanha relationality and ideas of the affinities that bring together Adnyamathanha families across the generations. Interviews with Elders, sharing with families, and children's responses in conjunction with more traditional 'ethnographic methods' (Pearce 2016: 103) revealed such affinities. Within media presentations for the Exhibition, I used photographs (and Aboriginal artistic imagery and sound) to recreate and develop an appreciation of this vital aspect of Adnyamathanha life and culture.

Miyarrka Media's Paul Gurrumuruwuy and Jennifer Deger's (2019: 337) work partly inspired

[10] I discuss these works in later parts of this chapter.

my treatment of kinship within my Exhibition. By incorporating Indigenous artistic imagery, multi-screened installations and 'the colour, allure, and sheer luminosity of digital' media, they made 'kinship more alive' and to 'matter' within the exhibition space. Kinship is essential as an 'orientation to a world imbued with an ethics and aesthetics of relationality— affinities become key to generating moments of mutuality across the bounds [of] difference. Face-to-face, body-to-body, eye-to-eye, heart-to-heart. So you can feel and know (Deger & Gurrumuruwuy 2019: 337).

Recording kinship using written forms only underappreciates Aboriginal kinship and its roles in Aboriginal people's lives (Deger & Gurrumuruwuy 2019: 337). Dispassionate, alienated, and non-agentic ways that 'anthropological charts' present Aboriginal kinship do not reflect many Aboriginal people's active, agentic, and expansive living kinship relationships (Clark 2022: n. p.).

As an Aboriginal woman, I am sometimes wary of anthropology as anthropologists in the past have sometimes 'exploited Aboriginal knowledge without accepting any mutual obligation' (Cowlishaw 2015: 1). Cowlishaw (2015: 1) describes how many Indigenous Australian scholars like me see past anthropologists as '*the* enemy from the colonial past. As culpable as the murderers or mission managers, worse than the politicians and more devious than the overtly racist population' because they were 'wolves in sheep's clothing'. Aboriginal people are, therefore, often mistrustful of anthropology as it has historically formed a part of the oppression of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal activist Jackie Huggins (2022: 127) argues that 'anthropologists have made some devastating impacts on the way that "Aboriginality" has been constructed and Aboriginal people have been defined and continue to be defined'.

The role of anthropology within Aboriginal societies and the anthropologist's position within Western political, legal, and educational systems have created an ongoing 'power imbalance between anthropologists and Aboriginal people', which cannot necessarily be transcended through analysis alone (Carty 2011: iv). Carty (2011: iv) concludes that the 'best any anthropologist can do is just describe the world better' rather than be able to change these structures of power themselves. One can make an incremental difference in these power structures by reviewing and changing interactions and relationships between anthropology, archives, and specific Indigenous communities. My Exhibition is one process through which

Aboriginal people may somewhat control research participation and outcomes.

What do Aboriginal people want from anthropology? In contrast to theoretical abstractions and anthropological analyses, various Aboriginal Australians value archival collections, including photographs, created by salvage anthropologists such as Mountford (discussed further in Chapter 2). In the past, salvage anthropology intended to save ethnographic curiosities for *Udnyu* (European) enlightenment or entertainment – but now they are a source of identification and encouragement for Aboriginal people, a means of valuing and reconnecting with important views and practices of the "Old people". In both the Exhibition and thesis, it is therefore important that I consider the history and theory of salvage anthropology and have an open mind as to how such ethnographic material can function today.

Ethnography analyses variable and locally specific ways 'in which people construct and make meaning' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 1). It is therefore crucial within anthropology to refrain from arbitrarily using theory that does not work within the local context, regardless of indigeneity or otherwise of the academics, museum practitioners, or anthropologists who created these theories (Langton 1993)[11]. For research not to become another example of extracting the Aboriginal 'experience to become the ultimate knower of it' (Watego 2021:2), the researcher must be accountable to the Aboriginal communities in which we work and live.[12]

To create grounded concepts within anthropology, one should focus on locally specific meanings through inductive reasoning rather than overarching theoretical anthropological points of debate. Notably, many ethnographies have been created within Papua New Guinea that have included and highlighted the importance of locally specific grounded concepts in understanding the relationship between Papuan and *Udnyu* peoples and between people and the environment. For example, West (2006: 234) analyses debates surrounding conservation and development by reflexively musing upon the reciprocity required within her fieldwork

[11] Langton (1993: 27) argues that the idea that Aboriginality itself confers authenticity on the researcher's account is based on 'an ancient and universal feature of racism: the assumption of the undifferentiated 'other"'. Aboriginal people do 'not create "better" representations of Aboriginal people, simply by their inherent affinity' (Langton 1993: 27).

[12] Watego (2021: 2) cautions that by telling stories from where I come from, 'I am not claiming to know race or culture better than anyone else. I tell these stories to enter into a conversation' that others may engage with.

relationships. Jacka (2015) uses concepts of the depletion of the land to understand pollution resulting from the Porgera gold mining (but unfortunately, partially conflates this with a *Udnyu* conceptualisation of alchemy). This research on mining, globalisation, environmentalism, conservation, and Indigenous land rights is relevant to Adnyamathanha as uranium, copper and gold mining has greatly affected Adnyamathanha Country (Marsh, Jillian K. 2013). For example, my family has held custodianship of *Pukartu* —'one of the most important ochre sites in Australia' (Clark 2022) unbroken for the past four generations (Richards, L & Richards 2002) long before our contact with *Udnyu*[13]. Therefore, a greater understanding of Adnyamathanha mining and its relationship with grounded concepts of Country is a potentially fruitful area for future research. The end caption of the Exhibition declared that '*Muda* is bigger than the archive'. *Muda* is, therefore, the yardstick upon which I assess theories throughout this thesis. Many concepts are impossible to translate into other languages. *Muda* is the more comprehensive synchronic and diachronic whole; thus, *Muda* is larger than elements of its representation within the Exhibition or as encapsulated in various theoretical approaches. Metaphors that reflect *Muda* are needed to understand Adnyamathanha.

In the early twentieth century, 'ethnographers lived in the community up to two or three years, learning about as many aspects of community life as possible' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 4). It is, however, often no longer feasible for most researchers to spend consecutive years in a single site (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 4). To replace these twentieth-century conceptualisations of ethnographic fieldwork, anthropologists use several different methods. Applied anthropology novices and students now work in communities of varying sizes, locations, and complexity for short periods. Contemporary ethnographies focus on aspects of cultures using different ethnographic models (Fratini, Hemer & Chur-Hansen 2022: 9). Photography is but one 'methodological tool' that I use to 'patch together and access data' (Fratini, Hemer & Chur-Hansen 2022: 9). Such flexibility allows for detailed research within a variety of fieldwork contexts.

[13] Central Australian 'pilgrimages' to this ochre were one of Australia's longest and most dramatic trading routes (Howitt 1904: 713; Jercher et al. 1998: 384). My family's custodianship of this ochre is touched upon in Næssan and Zuckerman (2022: 32) and Jones (2007: 352).

Using photography within fieldwork must, however, work within visual ethics debates.[14] Visual ethics are an 'ongoing process of informed consent' that is 'particularly important for building trust in participants', especially where re-viewing photography is a form of 'ongoing re-engagement' (Pink & Morgan 2013: 359).[15] This method, a short-term project within the context of years of fieldwork, was essential to my processes during the Exhibition period and beyond.[16] The tools in data collection that I used were my ears, eyes, and 'senses' (Harris, A & Guillemin 2012: 689) over an extended period, indeed the entirety of my lifetime. Developing my analyses without the benefit of long-term exposure and study would not have been easy. Being an Adnyamathanha woman gave me a longer perspective on Adnyamathanha worldviews, history and change than facilitated through the limited formal fieldwork research process.[17]

Narrowing the focus of the research endeavour within contemporary anthropology is an unfortunate, albeit understandable, reaction to community changes and academic pressures within anthropology. This narrowing of focus has also affected the use of ethnography by anthropologists (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 4). Unfortunately, analysis of broader cultural and structural issues through an analysis of museums implies that photography is independent of Adnyamathanha society. Intense focus on the analysis of museums or photography separate from the cultural context means that the ethnographer would miss significant aspects of Adnyamathanha understandings of photography. For example, an ethnographer only interested in archives or photography without an understanding of the Adnyamathanha context, when viewing photographs with *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017) at her kitchen table, may not realise her focus was on talking about her own mob, the people from the *Mathari* moiety. Studying photographs and replying to histories demonstrates the

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[14] Visual ethics is separate from broader conceptualisations of ethics within anthropology, such as outlined by the American Anthropological Association (2014)

[15] Pink and Morgan's (2013: 359) model of intensive, multiple brief, short-term ethnographic research and ongoing fieldwork enables intense and direct engagement with participants, increasing the 'ethnographic-theoretical' dialogue in the developing research process. It produces innovative research and 'alternative ways of knowing [in which]… ethnographic research evolves' in dialogue 'with theory rather than being led or structured by theory'(Pink & Morgan 2013: 357).

[16] I recorded many Adnyamathanha Elders perspectives— such as Linda Coulthard (2015, 2022), Roy Coulthard (2017, 2018) , Terrence Coulthard (2017; 2019 pers comm.), Noel Wilton (2019; 2023 pers comm.), Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.), Judy and K Johnson (2015 pers comm.; 2017 pers comm.), Gladys Wilton and M. Coulthard (2017), and Mona and Maxine Jackson (2017; 2023 pers comm.)— over long time intervals.

[17] I discuss my Adnyamathanha identity and its influence on my research further in the beginning of Chapter 1.

strength of Adnyamathanha culture and history and the culturally specific ways in which Adnyamathanha relate to photography of Adnyamathanha people and Country. As discussed in Chapter 2, I used inductive and deductive processes to generate theoretical explanations to analyse Adnyamathanha society and photography. [18]

As a complex society, Adnyamathanha is variable and multivocal, and this variability requires recognition within anthropological research. Consistent with these views, I recognised and ensured that the research conducted for this thesis embraced many voices in various settings (exhibition spaces and home visits in significant towns and on Country) to bring forth the substantial experiential variations, interpretations, and understandings of Adnyamathanha people. In keeping with this, I have endeavoured to include variation within the Adnyamathanha community by using a variety of research methods such as participant observation, interviews, ethnography, and an exhibition created with a broad range of Adnyamathanha people from different ages, genders, and locations. A strength of this research is that it builds on the processes of various research methods.

The method of 'noticing' is also an essential part of practicing ethnography and natural history (Tsing 2015: 159). 'Noticing' closely during my fieldwork meant sitting with Elders for hours as they browsed the photographs, listening to the stories they told, and noticing aspects of relationality, spirituality, and language that are unclear unless one has learned the things to notice. For example, are the photographs they selected to look at featuring people of their own moiety, whose names are they automatically or carefully not mentioning, out of respect for their own or my relationships, and about whom are they telling the funny, cheeky stories? Moreover, what does this suggest about how they interpret and use photographs? Aside from taking notes, recordings, and photographs, I conducted what Tsing (2015: 159) calls 'noticing' using my eyes and ears or, as Geertz (1973: 15) has argued, I engaged with the 'interpretive lens' of the ethnographer. I also specifically use the 'interpretive lens' of an Adnyamathanha researcher. Hence, the Exhibition title foregrounds diverse ways *Udnyu* and Adnyamathanha

[18] Inductive reasoning is an ethnographic method that 'builds local theories' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 15) by starting with a problem and initial hypothesis, which is then investigated through a 'continued collection of data … until information confirms a stable pattern'. To avoid bias and build upon perspectives 'in the research setting', the inductive ethnographer uses 'rigorous research methods and data collection', including themselves as a 'tool of data collection'.

see and interpret these photographs: *'Minaaka-apinha-nga'* or 'Through many eyes'.

Robust dialogue, such as Chandler and Reid (2018), Friedman (2008) and Gomes (2013), has developed internationally on the concept of Indigeneity. The label 'Indigenous' can obscure differences and function to homogenise, as "Indigenous" is rarely 'the primary identity of indigenous people' (Pratt 2007: 399). Merlan (2009) and Paradies (2016) also show that "Indigenous" is a broad term that does not necessarily capture specific Aboriginal Australian identities. Indigenous identities could also be a form of structural violence regulating Aboriginal people, which the settler-colonialism state perpetuates 'through monitoring of the "authenticity" of Aboriginal people' (Maddison 2013: 288). Expanding upon this, I argue that merely equating Adnyamathanha with 'Indigenous' is homogenising, epistemological trespassing, and typifies colonialist practices. Understandings of Indigenous anthropology and its research methods do not wholly explain Adnyamathanha culturally specific practices, particularly as they relate to photographs. Hence, I focus on Adnyamathanha-specific practices and understandings while being mindful of shared colonial histories across Australia. This specificity is central to my thesis and to the arguments that follow.

De-emphasising Indigeneity as a form of analysis should not be confused with denying identity as a constructive frame of analysis. The fostering of identities within subjugated peoples is not necessarily disempowering when considered within structural racism hegemonies. One of the primary goals of racist education systems is to, as Mills (1997: 87) shows, 'annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity' and their abilities. He reasons that these systems make people perceive their past as 'wastelands of non-achievement... Racism as an ideology… [aims] at the minds of non-whites … inculcating subjugation' (Mills 1997: 87). Therefore, using identities based within Aboriginal concepts is vital for post-colonial analyses. They also help cultivate healing processes for Aboriginal people (Barker, Goodman & DeBeck 2017; Kirmayer et al. 2009; McQuaid et al. 2017).

Anthropology, Photography, and Aboriginal Australians

I now use Ennis (2007: 8) to discuss photography and Australia and then Peterson (2003: 120), with Gordon, Brown and Bell (2013: 10) examined to elaborate on this trajectory.

Photography in Australia is tied to ‘imperialist and colonialist underpinnings of modernity’ (Ennis 2007: 8). Ennis (2007: 8) notes that interactions between Indigenous people and settlers produced images of Australian culture that remain potent cultural misconceptions of Indigenous people. She argues that one category of these photographs includes ‘studio studies taken in the second half of the nineteenth century’ (Ennis 2007: 8), and a second category includes ‘anthropological photographs produced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’. Ennis’ (2007: 8) third category includes ‘highly charged works created by Aboriginal photographers from the mid-1980s onwards’. Mountford’s photographs (discussed in Chapter 2) belong squarely in the second category, as the perceptions and prejudices that prevailed at the time influenced and contributed to the perpetuation of these prejudices.

Another conceptualisation of Aboriginal photography that influences my research includes Peterson’s (2003: 120) narration of the history of Indigenous Australian photography, specifically the ‘history of image ethics’. He defines an understanding of ‘image ethics’ as an emergence of Western and Indigenous ‘concerns about the terms of the photographic contract’ and its consequences for the prevalence of certain kinds of images within photography. He characterises the first phase (from approximately the 1840s to the 1920s) as a period in which Social Darwinism, colonialism, and the ‘technological limitations of the camera’ influenced photography (Peterson 2003: 120). He distinguishes a second phase (from the 1920s to 1971) as a period in which, although camera technologies advanced, the decline of Social Darwinism and colonialism resulted in a decline in general Western and anthropological demand for photography of Indigenous Australians. The final phase (from 1971 to the present) is advanced as involving a restriction of culturally sensitive photographs of Aboriginal people. He suggests this is due to increasing Indigenous awareness of Western photographic practices and protocols and Western recognition of Indigenous peoples' political and land rights.

Peterson’s (2003: 120) phases are helpful in conceptualizing differences in how Aboriginal people today use photography differently from when *Udnyu* first created archival photographs. However, I argue that his first and second phases often arose from the same trajectory of ‘scientific expedition’ outlined by Bell, Brown, and Gordon (2013: 10), which shared similar theoretical scientific objectivist underpinnings and resulted in strikingly similar

photographic results. Gordon, Brown, and Bell (2013: 10) illustrate that image ethics had not yet changed.

Neale and Thomas (2011: 379) include many instances that demonstrate that, although Mountford's photography spanning this crucial period used different photographic technologies and techniques, his work in Arnhem Land in the *1948 Australian-American Expedition to Arnhem Land*[19] and the Flinders Ranges in the 1930s shared striking similarities in photographic ethics. This included a lack of consideration of Aboriginal peoples' rights to access and own photographs of themselves and how the reproducibility and authenticity of a photograph would affect Aboriginal people.

It is helpful to compare Mountford's photographs from Arnhem Land and the Flinders Ranges. Aboriginal people from Arnhem Land did have some agency in the creation of Mountford's anthropological records, as shown by Garde (2011: 419), McIntosh (2011: 337) and Thomas (2011: 379).[20] However, they temper this assertion with the caveat that Mountford's photographs in Arnhem Land did not necessarily include Indigenous understandings in ethical ways today. Barwick and Marett (2011: 356) described a common feature of Mountford's 1948 Arnhem Land Expedition. In their chapter title, they used the term 'snapshots' to suggest the limitations of recordings made as 'inevitably representing only one point of view or a few particular details of a more complex phenomenon'. Mountford's photographs from *Nipapanha* also share these deficiencies.

Mountford did not explicitly use his *Nipapanha* or Arnhem Land expedition photographs to merely centre on the 'biological inferiority' of Indigenous people. He set up an ongoing relationship with the people of Flinders Ranges by returning on several occasions. However, Mountford did not appear to envisage the possibility of sharing his publications and photography with the Adnyamathanha community (discussed in Chapter 2).

Controversy in the 1970s surrounding the use of photography of, and in, Warburton and other Indigenous communities influenced the crisis of representation within anthropology

[19] Mountford led this major expedition

[20] In his interviews with Thomas in 2007, Gerry Blitner provided 'by far the most substantial commentary on the workings of the Expedition from someone of Aboriginal ancestry'. Blitner told of a discussion with Elders irritated by Mountford's insistence on sacred information and of their decision, after considering fabrication, that 'it is better to tell him a bit of the truth than a lie' (Thomas 2011:379).

(Peterson 2003: 120). Social scientists working in Indigenous communities now had to contend with this history of photography and previous research as a part of their acceptance within Indigenous communities. Edwards (2012: 222) describes how the crisis of representation within anthropology resulted in a 'material turn in visual anthropology' which enabled the analysis of photography as 'materially grounded in the experience of the world as users' of photographs, not simply 'viewers of images' (Edwards 2012: 222).

Edwards (2012: 222) demonstrated that anthropologists' increasing engagement with photography with 'anthropology's history' has resulted in anthropologists increasingly bringing the 'material practices of photography… into the centre of the analysis'. Anthropology has begun to recognise that things— in social relations between humans and nonhumans— are essential and have agency and affective qualities. This 'ethnographic density' now emerging in the anthropology of photography is creating 'theoretical tools through which photography... might be understood more broadly'. It also presents opportunities for rethinking Indigenous representation and collaboration within research.

Many anthropologists are now working on the relationship between photography and Aboriginal people. Using a case study of Bundjalung Pentecostalism, Ono (2011) analyses ethnography and the production of anthropological knowledge through photography. Deger (2016: 111) extends Geertz's (1973: 3) concept of 'thick description' and applies it to her concept of 'thick photography' through ethnography of Yolngu communities in Arnhem Land. Deger (2008: 292) also shows how photography can consist of 'imprinting on the heart' within Yolngu mourning practices.

Smith (2003: 8) discusses the circulation of photographs taken in the Coen region of Cape York from the 1870s onwards, including those taken at the Batavia River goldfields in 1934 by Dr Raphael Cilento held in the State Library of Queensland (1984). Smith (2003: 8) assessed the return of many of these photographs to descendants of those portrayed. He discusses changes in meaning gleaned from photographs during these redistribution processes to argue that Aboriginal people's engagement shows variations in how people in different contexts use photographs. Smith (2003: 8) concludes that: 'whether as "social things", as objects or as distributed aspects of the agency of those taking or featuring in them, photographs are still active in their interaction with viewers' and demand a more nuanced analysis of colonial

relationships. Such analyses have been the object of my thesis, fieldwork, and Exhibition.

Lydon (2016: 9) examined the responses of Indigenous artists to photographic records, including through exhibitions such as Vernon Ah Kee's (2012) *Transforming Tindale Exhibition.* Lydon (2016: 10) argues that this exhibition was a response to the taking of photographs accompanied by the pain of humiliating racialized measurements designed to classify 'racial types.' Lydon (2016: 13) concludes that Aboriginal people can 'transmute' Australian Aboriginal photographs, as 'this is the power of photographs: to address absence, to reconnect relatives with each other' and to Country, and to heal. Artistic endeavours to map the Indigenous experience and to present Indigenous understandings counter a national story that often contests or disregards the Aboriginal experience, filling the silence of dispossession and disempowerment 'by the solidity and presence of photographs' (Lydon 2021: 275). I can draw such parallels to my family history as my Adnyamathanha great grandfather *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard had experienced this and my response to this (discussed in Chapter 5).

Photography and film have enabled the recognition of Aboriginal histories within academia. Urry (1998) and Payne and Thomas (2002) show that the unmediated nature of film and photography makes reinterpretation and repurposing possible, enabling Indigenous agencies to retell and rename the material. Urry's (1998: 202) analysis of the dissemination of the Cambridge expedition materials supplies an early demonstration of remediation processes, while dialogue between Iroquoian artist/curator Jeffrey Thomas and non-Indigenous art-historian Carol Payne shows the significance of reinterpretation of photographic archives. In this dialogue, Payne and Thomas (2002) discuss how their project is one example of a growing reconciliation of past perspectives and purposes underlying the ethnological photographic archive.

There has been a broader recognition of Aboriginal histories as shown through photography. However, anthropology has been slower in recognising and conceptualising Aboriginal experiences of photography. Lydon (2021: 272) argues that 'global intellectual hierarchies' consisting of 'supposedly "universal" measures of research excellence' continue to 'privilege Anglo-American or European scholarship and Western epistemologies.' Aboriginal experiences of photography are essential for Aboriginal people; photographs are not only 'representations' (as in the Western tradition), but they 'may assume the powers of the

ancestors, embedded within social relationships with both the living and the dead' (Lydon 2021: 273).

It has become clear to me through my fieldwork that Aboriginal epistemologies are legitimate research paradigms. Payne and Thomas (2002: 109) describe the archive as not only emblematic of Aboriginal subjugation but also as a site of cultural negotiation, from which the 'native subject [sic]', or Aboriginal Canadians, are seeking to reclaim their history. This reclamation is one possible way forward for SAM archives.

The decline in the salvage anthropological framework and the rise of Indigenous rights meant that anthropologists needed far better reasons than merely morbid curiosity to access Indigenous communities. Aboriginal people are not just the subjects of research but are active participants in research that Aboriginal people consider relevant and valuable. Understanding Indigenous rights, issues of ownership and the spirit of photographs are also necessary in discussing the repatriation of photographs and access to the archives.

One example of reclamation involving SAM archives is the digital repatriation of photographs in Aṟa Irititja's (2019) digital photograph archive.[21] Another example is a planned 2023 project in which my colleagues, collaborators, and I are setting up a community-based and managed Ngarrindjeri digital photographic archive. My current work, together with Hughes et al. (2021: 3), is exploring how we may use the Aṟa Irititja (2019) digital photograph archive as a guide to creating a digital archive of photographs for the Ngarrindjeri people (with whom we are currently working). I discuss this ongoing work briefly in Chapter 5. Work on this project is in the early stages, so I have not published it yet.[22]

The importance of Indigenous rights, issues of ownership and the spirit of photographs in discussing the repatriation of photographs and access to the archives is a vision I wish to advocate and work to achieve with my Adnyamathanha community. I hope this Exhibition and thesis will enable further research and projects to facilitate further repatriation and

[21] 'Aṟa Irititja is the longest running and largest community-based, multimedia digital archive in Australia' (Edmonds et al. 2016: 38).

[22] This project is foregrounded by in-process work from and with Ngarrindjeri understandings of photography and their relationships with museum and archival collections as articulated by my project colleagues within Hughes (2009, 2019), Hughes and Trevorrow (2014; 2019), Hughes and Smith (2018), Aird, Hughes and Trevorrow (2021), and Hughes et al. (2021).

reinterpretation of photography from museums and archives by the Adnyamathanha community.

Psychoanalysis and Aboriginal Photography

I hesitate to comment on psychoanalytical understandings of Aboriginal photography as the relationship between psychoanalysis, photography, and Aboriginal Australia is problematic. Mainstream psychology has considered Freudian psychoanalysis to be unworkable for several decades. However, as Ginsburg (2018: 73) shows, many works about Aboriginal Australia have their roots in psychoanalytic theory. Róheim (1925) established Freudian psychoanalytic analyses of Aboriginal Australian cultures at the earliest stages of anthropology in Australia. Róheim was a classical psychoanalyst within the Freudian school and worked in Central Australia in 1925.

Furthermore, as Ginsburg (2018: 73) shows, Freudian psychoanalysis is still one of the significant ways Aboriginal photography continues to be conceptualised. For example, Ginsburg (2018) and Smith (2008) interpret their works as directly originating from Freudian psychoanalysis. Specifically, Ginsburg (2018: 73) argues that in Thornton's (2015) docu-drama television episode, Romaine Moreton uses Freudian concepts of the 'uncanny'. In Thornton (2015), Moreton describes her encounters with spirits during her residency at the National Film and Sound Archive in Canberra, which is housed in the former Australian Institute of Anatomy. Ginsburg(2018: 73) notes that during her residency, Moreton learned that Colin Mackenzie had previously occupied her residence. Colin Mackenzie is known for overseeing the anatomical dissection of Aboriginal people's remains for scientific research. After her 'postcolonial haunting', Moreton discovered that the National Museum of Australia (NMA) still held these dissected remains in its collections. This experience changed the focus of her research project. She had intended to explore Indigenous cultural and intellectual property but became a project concerned with the 'rights of the dead and undead'.

Ginsburg (2018: 73) argues that Morton uses Freudian concepts of the 'uncanny'. She argues that Morton extends Freudian concepts of the uncanny (a 'settler uncanny') to create an 'Indigenous uncanny'. Ginsburg (2018: 73) postulates that Morton, an Indigenous scholar, poet, and filmmaker, narrated her experience of working with archives from an Indigenous

spiritual perspective or uncanny (an immediate, ancestral 'ghostly kinship imaginary') to create a sense of awe, 'historical relationship, and familial/historical obligation'. Drake (2022), however, argues that Aboriginal religions go beyond the Freudian sense of the uncanny.

While Smith's (2008) early ethnography refers to distributed personhood, his later analyses of Aboriginal photographs and personhood use Freudian psychoanalysis extensively. Smith (2008: 332) does not quote Freud directly. However, his theoretical outlook is Freudian, as shown in the assertion that 'intense forms of interpersonal dependence that characterise Aboriginal life recall psychoanalytical accounts of the projection of significant parts of the self into others'.

Analysis of the psychoanalytic understanding of personhood and photography is essential to distinguish these concepts from anthropological concepts of personhood. Appell-Warren and Fong (2014) show that anthropologists have rightly mistrusted psychoanalytical concepts of personhood and found them not to be compatible with anthropological understandings of personhood as these are associated with the 'Myth of the Lazy Native, the Peculiar Western Self and the Dangers of Culturally Loaded Concepts'. Nevertheless, she shows that psychoanalytic conceptualisations of personhood have influenced earlier anthropological analyses of personhood in anthropology. I have discussed psychoanalytical conceptualisations of transference and countertransference. In the following section, I outline how these conceptualisations have influenced anthropological understandings of photography and personhood.

Personhood and spirit

In this section, I discuss the significance of personhood within anthropology to evaluate its relevance to analysing Adnyamathanha photography. Personhood, as used by Appell-Warren and Fong(2014), Fowler (2004) and Smith (2012), is a concept that has a long history within anthropology. Most famously associated with the work of Strathern (1988) in Melanesia and Dumont (1980) in India, personhood has been a staple of anthropological debate for decades.

Personhood literature has raised several concepts (dividual, relational, partible, and distributed personhood) applicable to the anthropology of photography. These concepts function as differentiations from what anthropologists theorise to be a 'Western' form of

personhood. They define the Western form of personhood as a separate individual who is bounded and individuated from other-selves. In this understanding, the individual comes first, and relations are secondary. In contrast, as defined by Strathern (1988), relational personhood prioritises relations, with people constantly aware of their relationality and acting in accord with those relations.

Such ideas have been helpful for anthropologists, such as Glaskin (2012), Smith (2016) and Vaarson-Morel (2018) in understanding personhood for some Aboriginal groups. For example, Smith (2012) uses Strathern (1988) to show how partible or distributed personhood highlights how the skin does not bind the person. The person can extend into objects, body parts, footprints, and ephemeral aspects such as spirit, which are understood to be still intimately connected to the self. As discussed in Chapter 7, Adnyamathanha lexical items indicate that Adnyamathanha understanding tends towards those of distributed personhood. Distributed personhood outlined by Strathern (1988) and applied to Aboriginal contexts by Smith (2008) may be helpful to understand Adnyamathanha photographs, although I argue this is not sufficient throughout this thesis.

Unlike *Udnyu* academics, Aboriginal artists and academics do not often use theoretical concepts such as 'personhood' to describe spirit. For example, Gonzalez (a staff member at the National Film and Sound Archive) interviewed Thornton (2013) about his television series, *The Darkside.* Their discussion of spirits in response to Romaine's episode in Thornton (2015) is relevant to my discussions here. Gonzalez asks Thornton whether he grew up 'surrounded by stories of the other side?' Thornton (2013: n. p.)responded:

> Yes, I grew up with that being part of everyday life, with spirits and ancestors being around you always. It is… not specific to Indigenous people, but perhaps... more prevalent in our communities; the idea that when you go for a walk in the bush, the trees have souls and spirits, and your ancestors are watching you all the time. When you're at home, you feel the presence of your family, who have passed on and keep coming back occasionally to check in on you.

Adnyamathanha views parallel this. For example, Adnyamathanha people consider removing

nondescript rocks and stones from the landscape as dangerous as the rocks may hold the spirits of the deceased and the landscape, spirits that haunt and sicken those removing them and imprisoning them within alien environments. Hence the warning on the introductory sign at the start of the *Akurra Walking Trail* at Leigh Creek (Figure 3 below), which instructs bushwalkers not to: 'stray off the trail due to cultural safety reasons... [and not to] remove any artefacts or stones *as this hurts Adnyamathanha culture* [my emphasis added]' (Leigh Creek Community Progress Association 2022).

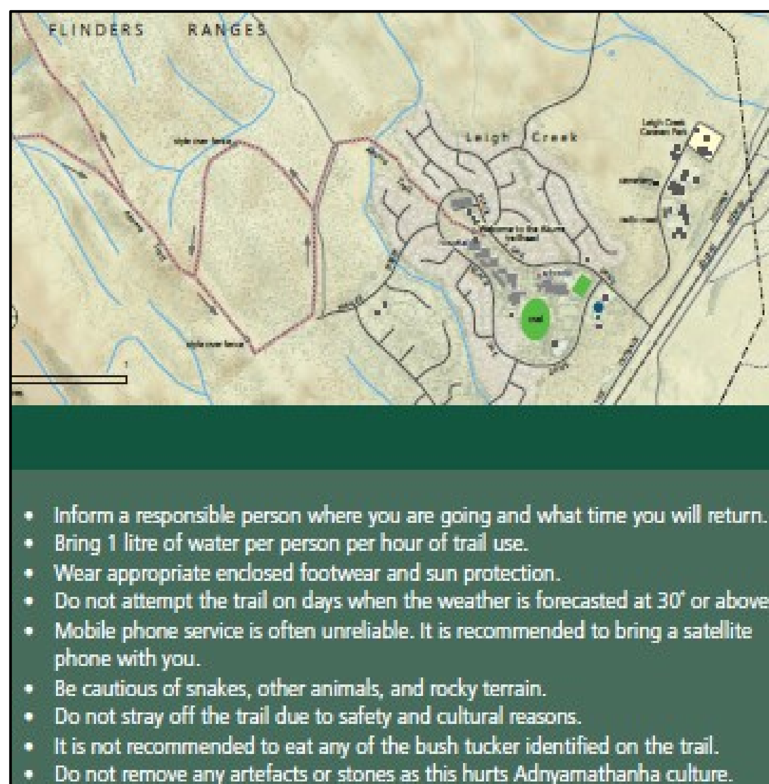

Figure 3. Section of Akurra Trail welcome sign, courtesy of Leigh Creek Area School (2022)

The *Akurra Walking Trail* sign in Figure 3 above asks visitors to observe both practical and cultural protocols whilst walking the trail.

Conceptions of personhood and spirit are crucial to understanding photographs, as I show in Chapter 7. Some anthropologists, such as Appell-Warren (2014), view the concept of personhood as neither anthropocentric nor an overly secularising reading of Aboriginal concepts. As discussed above, it would seem clear that psychoanalytical theories are problematic pathways to understanding the meanings of spirit for Adnyamathanha. Personhood is a vital way to conceptualise spirit within an anthropological framework, but I also have reservations about the concept of personhood as a replacement for the term spirit.

In the section below, I explore how Indigenous curators in museums use the term spirit in several ways.

Indigenous artists' uses of the concept of spirit within exhibitions

There are many Aboriginal artists— such as Moffatt (2013), Smith (1999) and Thompson (2013)— who are creating artworks in response to archival photography and thus speaking back to the archive (Jefferson 2019; Lundy 2018). Anthropologists— such as Ingold (2013), Schneider and Wright (2006; 2010), and Bakke and Peterson (2017)— have undertaken work with artists. While different from creating an exhibition, Ingold (2013), Schneider and Wright (2006; 2010), and Bakke and Peterson's (2017) collaborations with artists are a corresponding field of work. Their approaches provide models of ways collaboration between anthropologists and artists can facilitate the incorporation of artistic and material insight within ethnographic research to create new forms of ethnography and insights within anthropology.

For example, Lydon (2016: 9) examined the responses of Indigenous artists to photographic records, including through exhibitions such as Christian Thompson's (2013) *We Bury Our Own Exhibition*. Lydon (2016: 9) argues that Thompson's portraits 'convey a sacred process of acknowledgment of ancestral forces with great dignity and emotion'. It is interesting to note that Indigenous artists such as Thompson often use the concept of spirit, not personhood, to understand the importance of photography to themselves and their communities.

Aboriginal artists, including Brook Andrew and Christian Thompson, have extensively written about expressing these concepts in their artistic and curatorial practices. Artist Brook Andrew, together with historian Jessica Neath (2019: 217), argues that 'how artists access these archives and produce decolonial readings of the… trauma of colonial events' needs to be considered against the 'emotional, historical, and political dilemma' of an 'ideology of primitivism that has restricted the visibility of Indigenous loss'. Brook Andrew, therefore, characterises his work as expressing both spirit and its loss; Thompson (2013, 2015) is more hopeful. He sees spirit not only as a symptom of loss but as a vehicle for connection within his photographic exhibitions. He argues that his photographic exhibition *We Bury Our Own* (Thompson, C 2013) analyses photography in an Aboriginal spiritual context. These are

themes that I expand upon in the Exhibition and thesis.

Thompson's (2015: 6) conceptualisation of 'spiritual repatriation' is good, but it is only one part of repatriation and restitution to Indigenous communities. Thompson (2015: 6) describes his work as 'spiritual repatriation' that is akin to the physical repatriation of Aboriginal Australian human remains. Describing his exhibition, Thompson (2015: 6) further argues that his 'exhibition and subsequent exegesis' extends Benjamin's (1968: 219-253) concept of aura in photographs to elucidate his conceptualisation of spiritual repatriation.

Benjamin (1968: 188) shows that 'to perceive the aura of an object we look at means to invest it with the ability to look at us in return'. Thompson (2015: 175) explains that this perception of the aura effectively expresses his understanding of photography as a 'magical element in a work of art that returned the gaze of the viewer'. Thompson (2015: 6), however, cautions that an overt literal translation of Benjamin's concept of aura and its 'personification is delusional – a "chimera"' as Benjamin's concept of the aura of an artwork is a 'type of involuntary memory – as if it harbours repressed imagery'. Thompson (2015: 174) argues that photographs have secretive 'ceremonial qualities', which the concept of aura can partially be used to elucidate the spiritual repatriation of photographs. Thompson (2015: 175) argues that 'rather than emancipate the object from its aura or repressed memories, spiritual repatriation is the reverse; it aims to emancipate the repressed memories or aura from the object'. Thompson (2015: 5) also posits that:

> Spiritual repatriation relinquishes the photograph's function as an artefact of reproduction and empirical investigation and, as if in a séance, calls forth the memories and repressed spirits of its subject, thus investing the photograph with the aura it took when it "shot" its subject.

Thompson uses the process of 'spiritual repatriation' in *We Bury Our Own* (2013) as a way that living descendants can 'by-pass the hegemonic power structures of museum histories and display… [and direct] the viewer away from the physical collection and into a spiritual archive that the institution cannot contain' (Thompson, C 2015: 8). Thompson (2015: 174) defines 'spiritual repatriation' as a concept that emphasises repatriation as an 'essential quality, what might be called the aura of such collections, rather than the physical object,

moving things into the spiritual realm away from the material'.

Morton (2015: n. p.) notes that Thompson's spiritual repatriation of photographic archives differs significantly from the physical repatriation of remains. Physical repatriation results in the entire removal of the ancestors who are laid to rest, whilst photographs, although shared, remain in 'the storerooms of remote institutions.' Procter (2020: n. p.) is encouraged by Thompson's exhibition. She argues that this exhibition presented Thompson's 'artistic vision and perspective as an Indigenous person… is repatriation in the sense of returning photographs to where they belong' (Procter 2020: n. p.).

However, Procter (2020: n. p.) cautions that Thompson's 'self-portraits do not repatriate the images in a straightforward physical sense' as this exhibition 'takes place in an emotional rather than physical space'. More work is needed to physically repatriate photographs as the Pitt Rivers' Museum still holds them 'in their archives', and they are still displayed and available to researchers at the discretion of museum staff. In cases where communities seek objects, this is 'nowhere near enough', and 'it can be far too easy for an institution to bring in an artist-in-residence' and act 'as if that is all that needed to happen to fix their [the museums'] problems'. I agree that spiritual repatriation— defined emotionally— is only a 'first step' to repatriate photographs to Indigenous communities.

Proctor's (2020: 145) analysis of spiritual repatriation is an extension of anthropology and museum studies debates about whether repatriation is the correct term to use to conduct or understand the return of Indigenous photography. Bell, Christen and Turin (2013: 8) question whether repatriation is the proper term if the 'images' are not physically wholly returned. When images or copies remain in archives, is this repatriation? I also question the ownership of materials in archives, particularly in Chapter 2. However, the term repatriation is valid within Adnyamathanha understandings of photography, given its associations within the Adnyamathanha community to the return of the Old People (human remains).

My research incorporates linguistic analysis, history and spiritual ceremony through fieldwork, exhibition opening ceremony, and cross-generational relationships (through responses to photographs via interviews of Elders and children's artistic responses). In doing so, I expand the concept of spiritual repatriation beyond the artist-in-residence concept

outlined by Thompson (2015: 174) to a cultural community process. I argue that the 'repatriation of photography' can be associated with Adnyamathanha conceptualisations of the repatriation of Indigenous human remains in Chapter 7.

The Exhibition: an Adnyamathanha view

I created the Exhibition and displayed it at SAM from 4 August to 20 September 2019 for both Adnyamathanha and non-Adnyamathanha audiences. The purpose of the Exhibition was to create and display a representation of Adnyamathanha history using artworks and photography as a method of ethnography. I embedded my method of exploring photography Adnyamathanha *Muda* through collaborative encounters rooted in familial and cultural networks over a long period. The process and space of creating an Exhibition opened a dialogical space for Adnyamathanha people to collaborate with this research.

Analysis of museum exhibitions (Clifford 2004) and the museum object (Thomas, N 2010) as a site of cross-cultural interaction has been well-studied. Nevertheless, exhibitions as a form of research in anthropology is a relatively new field with excellent opportunities for ethnography. [23] By incorporating the outworking of 'image ethics'— as outlined by Peterson (2003: 120)— exhibitions and the processes of creating them can be reflexive spaces in which divergent opinions can be explored.

Exhibitions can be effective research methodologies as many are collaborative processes that provide opportunities to speak back and for people involved in creating and viewing the exhibition to share opinions and reflections. Ethical research methods— through interactive, collaborative exhibitions— can be fruitful within anthropological research (Ungprateeb Flynn 2019: 173). Collaborative curation of exhibitions with Indigenous Australian communities over the last several years—such as Ah Kee (2012), Carty (2022), Iseger-Pilkington (2017), and Thompson (2013) — demonstrate how exhibition processes can generate new research within anthropology and Indigenous Studies within Australia. My Exhibition was another example of the exhibition process as an opportunity to promote and create collaborative research.

[23] Scholars such as Bjerregaard (2020), Otto, Deger and Marcus (2021), Ungprateeb Flynn (2019) have been pioneering this research.

I was fortunate to access material from both SAM and the State Library of South Australia (SLSA), including Mountford's photographs and material objects and artworks created by Adnyamathanha people. My Exhibition drew upon these methods using materials accessed from both SAM and SLSA. I also used the RM Williams Museum collections, private and personal collections, interviews, and art workshops.[24]

Adnyamathanha people also contributed to the Exhibition. Adnyamathanha people actively took part in the Exhibition design process.[25] Their contributions were integral to the Exhibition process, reflecting my knowledge of the Adnyamathanha community and my pre-existing relationships. How so many community members participated in the Exhibition allowed me to access and develop new understandings of Adnyamathanha, photography, and exhibition processes and spaces. Such new understandings included the relationship between relationality, language, materiality and how people interact with photography. Eckert (2016: 245) defines relationality as a method that shows how 'relationalities shape our world' and how a 'presumption of given (racialized, cultural, gendered, or religious) differences' may obscure such relationalities.

I use this definition of relationality throughout this thesis to explore relationships that may otherwise be conceptualised and possibly obscured by given notions of kinship, indigeneity or ethnicity; as Hemer (2001: 15) argues, relationality is not overly restrictive in comparison to other anthropological terms which could be used, such as kinship.[26]

I named the Adnyamathanha people with whom I worked on this thesis as 'collaborators' rather than "informants" or "participants" to highlight the collaborative nature of this work. The word "informant" is familiar to Adnyamathanha people as we have engaged with anthropologists as "informants". Nevertheless, I did not use the term "informant" as the conceptualising of my collaborators as "informants" is problematic because there are 'many professionals from different disciplines …[who] are still writing with that archaic mentality: you are the informant, I am the researcher, tell me in so many words' (Rappaport 2008: 26)

[24] I illustrate how I use these methods in the Exhibition throughout Chapter 4.
[25] The Exhibition research process and how Adnyamathanha people contributed to it is discussed in the later sections of Chapter 3, especially in sections titled Reflections of Muda in Artistic Practices, Photographs and Muda and Muda and the Exhibition. In Chapter 4, I outline how the Exhibition reflected these contributions in later sections titled Adnyamathanha Artworks and Handwriting and community involvement
[26] I discuss kinship and relationality further in the beginning of Chapter 5.

which creates an othering us–them dichotomy within their research. As an Indigenous researcher, I cannot ascribe to this dichotomy.

This othering and conceptualising Indigenous people as "informants" does not respect Indigenous authorship and knowledge-holders. Emberley (2022: 1) argues that: 'In the early 20th century, ethnographic "as-told-to" narratives published in colonial white settler nations… were written by ethnologists from "data" collected from their "native informants" and presented as the self-authored life histories of Indigenous people'. This 'concealing the Indigenous informant as the source of anthropology's knowledge was integral to the constitution of its disciplinary knowledge and scientific truth' (Emberley 2022: 2). Myers (2006: 233) shows that this concealment does not reflect the nature of anthropological research and practice today.

Photographs are sometimes used in court (Biber 2007) and native title evidence (Aird 2020; 2020); however, many Aboriginal researchers, such as Taylor (1996: 22), recognise the 'subjectivity' of photography. The problematic nature of anthropological informant is known within the Adnyamathanha community. Adnyamathanha peoples' most current experience with anthropology is within the native title system.[27] Native title anthropology often situates Aboriginal people as informants or providers of information that the courts must corroborate. This evidence must stand up to cross-examination within a highly adversarial *Udnyu* legal system in which Adnyamathanha people and many other Aboriginal people appear to be victimised and powerless. Keen (1999: 104- 105) argues that this is an oversimplification of native title anthropology as:

> Native title research is in the interests of Aboriginal people and matches their aspirations…. The majority [Gunai/Kumai Aboriginal people of Gippsland] have expressed great interest in the results [of our research], especially of the archival research, and in several cases, the relationship has been more collaborative than that of informant-anthropologist.

Nevertheless, Keen's assertions do not consider native title court processes in South Australia.

[27] Adnyamathanha peoples' most current experience with native title is found in Mansfield (2015), Grant (2019: 95-96), Aboriginal Way (2010), Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association and ORS vs Rangelea holdings Pty Ltd (2021; 2023) and Ellis (2015).

We cannot speak for ourselves when giving cultural evidence within South Australia (Ward & Coe 2023: n. p.).

I also did not use the term “participant” as it conceptualises the research as primarily shaped and driven by myself as a researcher. Another reason that I did not use the term “participant” was that the Adnyamathanha people I was working with did not previously use that term to conceptualise their work. The word “collaborator” situates the Adnyamathanha community members on a more even playing field rather than the unequal relationships implied by the word “participant” or especially “informant”.

Rappaport et al. (2008: 26) argues that they ‘hoped to break down dichotomies between ethnographers and “informants”’ through collaborative research with Indigenous researchers and community members. Drawing upon this, I therefore used the term “collaborator” as it is important to me that I situated myself within the goals of my collaborators in the research project. Collaborators undertook considerable work in my research and Exhibition without reimbursement. They did this work as it aligned with their own goals and interests. Collaborators wanted to promote Adnyamathanha culture, teach me about my culture, and share our culture with other younger people. The term “collaborator” is known to Adnyamathanha people as it has been used in other work, such as *Nunga* C. Coulthard’s research with Hamm et al. (2016). Community members have collaborated with me in creating this research and Exhibition, including handwriting on the walls of the Exhibition, trips to Country (see Chapter 3), and the Exhibition Launch ceremony (see the Prologue).

The creation of the Exhibition provided collaborators, both Elders and younger people, with a greater freedom to express Adnyamathanha identity than the academic written word. Using the Exhibition as a research method helped create better communication with Adnyamathanha people about photographs and their responses. Due to time constraints, managing good fieldwork or good archival analysis within research periods was often necessary.[28] Time spent on the Exhibition nevertheless effectively contributed to gaining

[28] My time constraints were that I worked part-time in various positions in university, museum and government departments throughout my PhD. As a member of my community, I was graciously allowed to do shorter and more focused fieldwork and interviewing by utilising pre-existing relationships and community involvement. I discuss time constraints within ‘Positionality: Finding self and Adnyamathanha in the field’ in Chapter 1.

genuine responses in terms of both quality and quantity from my collaborators whilst still allowing for the archival analysis of photographs. The Exhibition deepened my analysis of responses to photographs I gained through fieldwork and workshops with young people and children in schools.[29]

Muda is everything!

I explore ways that Adnyamathanha understand photography from the Flinders Ranges held in the SAM, SLSA and Umeewarra media archives. This thesis reflects a combination of archival research and fieldwork. In Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, I discuss the process of fieldwork and archival work. There are four major themes (*Muda*, relationality, gender, and spirit) in which Adnyamathanha understandings of photography coalesce to reinforce Adnyamathanha identity.

In Chapter 1, I contextualise my role in the Adnyamathanha community to position my research in archives and during fieldwork. As a community member, I did not create my position within my community, but I did have to learn to negotiate this position to conduct fieldwork at home. I explore issues of being Adnyamathanha in the field and working with SAM and the archives, including positionality, fieldwork methodologies and dilemmas that arise in the dual roles an Indigenous person occupies within their community and research. I also outline how I conducted my fieldwork.

The archives of photographic collections of Adnyamathanha people from 1907 until the late 1970s are the focus of my analysis of Adnyamathanha photography. As my research draws on Mountford's collection, Chapter 2 analyses the archives. My analysis focuses on Mountford's photographs taken in 1935-37 and the United Aborigines Mission (UAM) photographs taken from the 1920s-1970s. I discuss the Mountford collection, including its establishment within a salvage anthropology framework, how institutions used and maintained these collections, and current debates surrounding its access, ownership and repatriation.

Muda is culturally specific to Adnyamathanha and the overarching conceptual framework for Adnyamathanha culture. In Chapter 3, I examine the crucial role of *Muda* in interpreting

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[29] I discuss this in Chapter 4.

Adnyamathanha photography from the perspective of Adnyamathanha people. This includes defining what *Muda* is and is not, looking at the relationships of photography with Country, law, restriction and avoidance, language, song, and Christianity. I examine the role of women within *Muda* and implications for gendered interpretations of photography and conclude by exploring the role of *Muda* in formulating the Exhibition. My analysis confirms that "*Muda* is everything!".

In Chapter 4, I detail the processes of creating the Exhibition. I provide an overarching description and analysis of its spaces, including key features such as the naming of the Exhibition, the provision of different viewpoints in the "White" and "Black" Rooms (including the 'Living Room'), the issue of providing a map of Country, the role of missionaries in *Nipapanha* (Nepabunna), and work on stations in photographs. The Exhibition is a visual motif and anchor to help understand complex Adnyamathanha themes and responses to photographs. The Exhibition, and hence this chapter, provides a lynchpin for the themes in the following chapters.

In Chapter 5, I situate the fieldwork and Exhibition in Adnyamathanha epistemology. This begins with a discussion of the relationship between Adnyamathanha people and the role of *Muda* in setting social relationships. I discuss the critical role that moiety plays in understanding *Muda* and the interpretation of photography. Adnyamathanha prioritise relationality within understandings of photographs. Past research has, however, ignored or misunderstood matrimoieties. Western-style genealogies and patronymic naming systems have also negatively affected matrimoieties.

I discuss the marginalisation of Aboriginal women in historical spaces (such as anthropology, museums, research, and archives) in Chapter 6. I examine how the collections and history (as a colonial space) impact contemporary Adnyamathanha conceptualisations of gender and how Adnyamathanha women are being written out of Adnyamathanha culture. To show this, I use a visual analysis of the active and passive women in Mountford's photographs combined with a statistical analysis of SAM collections databases. I also discuss the problem of access to secret sacred collections to argue for new ways to reclaim Aboriginal women's knowledge in museums.

Chapter 7 focuses on the spirit in photographs. I argue that within *Yura Ngawarla* variants, unlike in Australian English, the photograph is not merely a possession of the person but is the person itself. I use the linguistic analysis of fieldwork interviews (specifically the differential use of pronouns within Adnyamathanha) to analyse spirit in photographs from an Adnyamathanha viewpoint. I imply this in the Exhibition opening ceremony and show this through how Adnyamathanha approach photographs. This unique research shows the gendered and moiety-situated Adnyamathanha person in photography.

Incorporating specific Aboriginal people groups within the museum requires museum and academic disciplines to respect specific Aboriginal cultural contexts and knowledge. I conclude this thesis by re-examining my Prologue to demonstrate how the Exhibition opening ceremony symbolises the findings of this research endeavour. The Exhibition launch was a reincorporation of Adnyamathanha epistemologies of *Muda* through the singing out of the persons in photographs.

The significance of this research is that it respectfully recognises the knowledge and traditions of Adnyamathanha and others to fill the gaps in anthropological literature, museums, and archives by using analysis grounded in localised conceptual frameworks. By recording new knowledge of Adnyamathanha terms and using the voices of Elders and other community members, this thesis contributes to debates on the repatriation of photographs and ownership and spirit in photographs.

Chapter 1. Being Adnyamathanha in the field

In this chapter, I contextualise my fieldwork experience within the research project. I first discuss my fieldwork and research about my position as an Adnyamathanha woman within this community, followed by an outline of the fieldwork methods I used throughout this research project. I discuss issues important to me as an Adnyamathanha woman conducting fieldwork with other Adnyamathanha people, highlighting my position as both an insider and outsider within anthropology and my community. Key discussions include how photographs were fieldwork, how I locate myself as Adnyamathanha woman in the field using 'positionality', how I can go 'undercover' in the archives and museums, and 'going to' the field and interviewing with Elders using photo-elicitation.[30]

Positionality: Photographs as fieldwork

How Aboriginal communities respond to photographs is highly variable; thus, I cannot generalize it to all communities. As discussed in later chapters, analysis of specific ways that Adnyamathanha are using photographs demonstrate deeply embedded cultural knowledge and perceptions. During fieldwork, I recorded how Adnyamathanha people use photographs, including touching, sharing, looking at, and interacting with photographs. Elders reminisced in ways that reflected gender, moiety and generational relationships, aspects I could perceive from prior knowledge. They also used photographs to say specific things about themselves and their communities by ignoring or quietly refusing to interact with some photographs that others were happy to examine and discuss or through the restrictions of specific photographs and how they used, displayed, and stored photographs. Importantly, they used photographs to teach, explain, recognise and cement relationships with ancestors and between later generations by tracing connections to locations and to Country.

Through my fieldwork, exhibition and thesis, my aim has been, and remains, to specifically explore how Adnyamathanha people use photographs through the process of actively using photographs to contribute towards the Exhibition. The outcomes of the fieldwork are based

[30] This chapter also begins to situate my work—including my methods, scale and scope (including the politics of accessing) archival photographic collections. I, however, analyse this further in Chapter 2.

on my position in society.

I was a community member, anthropologist, and museum professional throughout my research. Depending on the context, I was both an insider and an outsider. I endeavoured to be an insider in the community I researched throughout my fieldwork as it is an integral part of my cultural safety and of respecting Adnyamathanha culture. For example, if an outsider female *Udnyu* anthropologist were to conduct research with the Adnyamathanha community, they may be able to work on men's ceremonial business; however, as an Adnyamathanha woman, I was not able to do so as I was already part of this community. As such, I could not be an 'honorary male' here (discussed in Chapter 6).

Shaw's (2017: 12) use of insider ethnographic field methods influenced my research. She notes that the 'traditional meaning' of ethnography is 'immersing oneself into a culture to understand the "other"' and that she 'had a true sense of immersion, but no sense of "otherness". Working at home… meant working within my cultural environment.' Peirano (1998) argues that analysis of anthropology at home is a specific form of working within anthropology. Palriwala (2005) extends this to discussing the difficulties and opportunities provided by studying within your community.

The outsider perspective of an anthropologist is to ideally, over time, 'develop close friendships in the research site that result in expectations of reciprocity, help, assistance, and participation in the social life of the community' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 13). Anthropologists often build close friendships through their interaction with the community they are working in, while in my case, these relationships pre-existed the research project. Insider understanding of community perspectives may apply in some small measure to broader Indigenous communities, but I cannot assume this, and this may not aid in my ability to perceive or portray the perspectives of other Aboriginal societies.

My position within my community as an insider, and within the constraints of my cultural position, grounds my research within Adnyamathanha knowledge and understandings. The term 'positionality' specifies this grounding throughout this thesis. Positionality is a method used within the social sciences to negotiate 'insider/outsider status' (Merriam et al. 2001: 405), to 'situate knowledge' (Rose 2016: 305), and, as England (1994: 80) argues, to 'conduct

more personal, reflexive feminist research'. Coghlan and Brydon-Miller (2014: 628) note that positionality refers to the 'stance or positioning of the researcher in relation to the social and political context of the study'. This method is beneficial for the Aboriginal 'insider' anthropologist in that, as Jacobs-Huey (2002: 799) suggests, the Indigenous researchers' discussions on 'the intersubjective nature of their fieldwork may constitute a tactic for circumventing such stigmatising characterisations.. as going native' or not being 'native enough'. Further, as far as 'discussion of positioning in the field engages key anthropological questions around the dialectics of fieldwork', Aboriginal researcher position themselves and their research within a 'rigorous analytical paradigm. [of] critical reflexivity'. Such reflectivity in both 'writing and identification as a native researcher [sic] may act to resist charges of having played the "native card" via a noncritical privileging of one's insider status' (Jacobs-Huey 2002: 799).

Discussions of intersubjectivity are also a defence mechanism for me. However, positionality and reflexivity are critical and fundamental tools that most contemporary anthropologists can use. It is when one is a member of the culture that one is studying that intersubjectivity and 'intersectionality' (Thorpe 2021: 8) becomes more complex but also more productive and 'culturally safe' within archival and anthropological research.

Many Indigenous scholars navigate their positionality as scholars; their discussions about how they know what they know have helped situate my research and museum work. Throughout my thesis, I discuss many debates of Indigeneity and scholarship by Aboriginal Australian academics.[31] Like Liboiron (2021), my Indigeneity affects how I reference knowledge and utilise footnotes.[32] In many footnotes, I reveal ways in which I know what I know. I often attribute knowledge to the Elders and other Adnyamathanha people rather than through the anonymity of scholarship and academic authorship. I attribute much to these personal

[31] These include Corn (1999), Langton (1993), Huggins (2022), Moreton-Robinson (2013), Tynan (2021), Watego (2021), and Watson (2002). This also includes some Aboriginal authors such as Trevorrow in Hughes and Trevorrow (2014; 2019), Gurrumuruwuy in Deger and Gurrumuruwuy (2019), Neale in Neale and Thomas (2011); (2011), Sumner in Sumner, Besterman and Fforde (2020), Sumner in Sumner and Koch (2020). Caruana (2003, 2013), Neale (2017b), Paradies (2016), Thorpe (2021: 8), Thompson (2015), Whyte (2006), Aird (2002, 2003, 2020), and Merlan (1988; 1997, 2007; 2009) are Aboriginal scholars who also worked in museum contexts.

[32] Other North American First Nations scholars I cite throughout my thesis include Yellowman (1996), Wall Kimmerer (2013), Tuhiwai Smith (1999b), and bell hooks (2014). I also cite Māori academics such as Asmar, Mercier, and Page (2009).

communications; this is how I know what I know. This is an Aboriginal way of knowing through hearing, seeing and experiencing over many years, visiting the sites rather than reading in a book. We impart knowledge through stories. You are expected to learn by observing.[33]

My positionality also impacts how I write my thesis. I often use first-person accounts and footnotes and attribute knowledge to those who have told me. Often, I have had the privilege of having the same or similar knowledge passed to me by several different adults. I have generally selected only one of those knowledge holders but acknowledge that many people have generously shared their insights.

In the next section, I discuss the relationships between my positionality as an insider and how these relationships influenced the research endeavour. Within the rest of this chapter, I discuss my roles within the Adnyamathanha community, and I then explore my roles within the museum and the archive. I then follow this with a discussion of my fieldwork practices.

Positionality: Finding self and Adnyamathanha in the field

I am an Aboriginal woman from this community, but I am also the author of this research and the curator of the associated Exhibition. Ethnography produces a 'picture of cultures and social groups from the perspectives of their members. Ethnographies tell the story of a group from the group's perspective as much as from the ethnographer's point of view' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 27). Anthropologists and other ethnographers, however, sometimes struggle to produce a picture of cultures and social groups from the perspectives of the people and societies they are studying.

Anthropologists working in societies where kinship is 'the prime organisational principle' (Thurston 1998: 155) find that they become incorporated within that framework. Carucci (1998: 183) notes that his 'constructed marriage' with a female research assistant opened new facets of his research field that he could study and closed others. I was born with an inalienable identity within the kinship framework. It was not constructed for fieldwork purposes (Thurston 1998: 155). This was an inescapable aspect of treating the kinship

[33] I discuss how I recognise Indigenous authorship of knowledge throughout the Exhibition and thesis in a later section of this chapter titled 'Anonymity and authorship: Naming Adnyamathanha Elders'.

structure and relationships as significant.

Thurston (1998: 155) argues that outsider researchers often create 'constructed' relationships and 'treat such families as instances of fictive kinship'. I agree with Thurston's assertation that the construction of fictive relationships 'trivialises the seriousness of the relationships created reciprocally with the people we study and… highlights the Eurocentric bias' in a Eurocentric kinship model where either birth or marriage connects supposed real kin.

Furthermore, such 'constructed' roles create a feeling of indecision or regret about whether the anthropologist has chosen the right relationships to maximise their fieldwork experience. The concept that one could choose their relationships is a sign of the privileging of Eurocentric models of kinship. This was not an option for me, and, as Thurston (1998: 155) shows, it is not a productive form of anthropology for the outsider either.

Nuanced acknowledgement of my position throughout this research reveals complexities and overlaps between anthropological and Adnyamathanha categorisations. England (1994), Merriam et al. (2001), and Rose (2016) demonstrate that insider research is a productive form of research. For example, my insider-outsider status often makes me aware of the problematic binary or unequal relationship between anthropology and Aboriginal people's knowledge and practices and the potential uses of this research within anthropology and the Adnyamathanha community.

My identity (including gender) within Adnyamathanha kinship structures influenced the depth of the information given to me by my Adnyamathanha research collaborators, as well as which persons were keen to speak at length to me and which photographs they perceived as significant or proper to discuss. The outlining of the positionality of knowledge through kinship structures is essential.

Moiety structures within the Adnyamathanha are specific to the north-east South Australian language group to which the Adnyamathanha belong (Koch, H, Hercus & Kelly 2018: 139). Næssan and Clendon (2015) and Simpson and Hercus (2004) define the north-east South Australian language group as the *Thura-Yura*. Therefore, I triangulate my research with previous linguistic analyses of Adnyamathanha and other *Thura-Yura* languages, such as

Næssan and Clendon (2015) and Simpson and Hercus (2004).

Adnyamathanha people have worked with both non-Indigenous and Indigenous researchers. The positioning of my knowledge of kinship within the Adnyamathanha community and its dynamics shows that Indigenous and non-Indigenous research is only reflexive when positioned within the space the anthropologist inhabits. My roles as a young Aboriginal woman and as an ethnographer, and how many people engage with me in universities, museums, archives, and amongst Aboriginal communities, highlight my insider and outsider status. My position highlights that one cannot do social science research, especially with Aboriginal Australian knowledge, other than from the position in which one is situated. The opportunities, constraints, and insights I negotiated in this process highlight the positionality of knowledge within Aboriginal societies and the social sciences (Asmar, Mercier & Page 2009). My relationship to photographs and to Adnyamathanha society informs the method and the process of reviewing, revising, and reformulating the knowledge practices associated with photographic material.

Another example of the positioning of knowledge includes the role of moieties in Adnyamathanha society in structuring knowledge, which may seem to hark back to a more old-fashioned form of anthropology of kinship. Moieties, however, influenced my research in a natural and embodied manner. I use Hemer (2001: 15) to address the importance of kinship in the practices and experiences of knowledge construction in my fieldwork with Adnyamathanha. Like Hemer (2001: 15), I do not seek to address kinship in a structuralist way. She argues that that her intention in her ethnography is 'not to classify the kinship "system" of Lihir' in Papua New Guinea or 'deal with marriage exchanges or clans as corporate groups', rather her approach to kinship 'is from the perspective of the nature and content of these relations'. She argues that in Lihir, one's birth did not predetermine relationships. Relationships do not consist of a:

> set of static kin categorisations and clan membership, people did not passively fill roles given by their position in a system; instead, they actively negotiated their relations with others. (Hemer 2001: 15)

Opportunities and practical barriers within the first PhD fieldwork interviews helped convince

me to extend my method to include an Exhibition. I faced many practical difficulties when trying to achieve the aims of this thesis in the original methodological format. In this format, I needed to extract in-depth information about photographs from informants. This process was overly individualistic and formal and did not recognise the multigenerational experiential or sensorial nature of Adnyamathanha knowledge.

Another complication I experienced during fieldwork was that Aboriginal people, including the Adnyamathanha, have a 'lower life expectancy than non-Indigenous Australians' (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018: n. p.). The passing of the generation of people who had lived during the time of the photographs or of many of those portrayed in the photographs was actively occurring throughout my fieldwork period. After being in the field for several months, I decided to broaden the scope of the photographs used from only those created by Mountford to include the archives from the United Aborigines' Mission (hereafter referred to as the UAM) as their photographic archives spanned from the 1920s through to the 1970s. I am careful in my analysis to indicate and separate photographs from different sources. From my primary archival research, I noted that Chapman and Russell (2008: n. p.) determined that Mountford only worked with the Adnyamathanha from the 1920s to the 1960s, with most photographs taken in 1937-1939. Most people who knew people alive in those years are now deceased.

Public versus private information

As an Adnyamathanha person and researcher, I hold profound responsibilities to my family members, Country, and Muda. My positionality highlighted a possible dichotomy between private information shared with me as a part of a family and that which was for public sharing as part of my role as a professional researcher. Indigenous scholars cannot separate academic work from their relationship with Country. They must ensure that their work does not compromise their connection to Country; this 'requires practice' (Tynan 2021: 610). An Indigenous researcher must constantly make judgment calls (Liboiron 2021: vii-viii).

Many of my interviews were relatively informal despite my endeavours to include a sense of rigour by bringing in my paraphernalia of letters of introduction, consent forms, and equipment such as cameras and recording devices. The follow-up visits to seek consent for

the public exhibition reinforced the public nature of the information. My interviewees were also able to distinguish the difference. My first professional visit to *Vurlkanha Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017: pers comm.) demonstrated this. After greeting me informally, getting me to make us both a cup of tea and setting me up at his kitchen table, he changed into his best RM Williams gear before commencing the interview.

Positionality: Archives and Museums

Before fieldwork commencement, my research was a conventional thesis utilising fieldwork interview analysis to explore how Adnyamathanha Aboriginal people perceive and use archival photographs today, in conjunction with my earlier work in archives.[34] My earlier work used archival research to explore how Indigenous people use collections to rewrite histories of portraits and photographs of Indigenous people. My later work at SAM and the planned fieldwork location were not too distant from each other, enabling both archival and fieldwork analysis of Mountford's photographs from the Flinders Ranges, thus helping with the interconnection and cross-fertilisation of ideas.

I began fieldwork for this research project in 2015 by returning a selection of archival photographs taken in the Flinders Ranges in the 1930s and 1940s back to the families (especially to the eldest descendants of people featured in the photographs) and to the contemporary communities from which the archives were derived. I had collected these photographs from the archives in 2013 and 2014.

Before my doctorate, I completed a cadetship, discussed in Paulson (2008: 17), at the National Museum of Australia (NMA).[35] During my primary cadetship placement, I worked in a small team on organising an international academic symposium entitled *Barks, Birds, and Billabongs: Exploring the 1948 Australian American Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land* at the National Museum of Australia (2009). As outlined in the conference proceedings by Thomas and Neale (2011), Mountford was the leader of this Expedition. I knew he had worked

[34] I documented my earlier archival work in my honours and master's dissertations in Rebecca Richards (2011, 2012). I discuss these further in this chapter in a section titled 'Anonymity and authorship: Naming Adnyamathanha Elders'.
[35] I have worked as an Indigenous cadet and also a Project officer on various collections —such as Spencer (1982)— and exhibitions curated by Caruana (2013), Duff (2013), Johnson (2007), Neale (2017a), Mapelli (2010) and Aigner (2017).

with the Adnyamathanha because my family used his archives for our native title cases[36].

Given my earlier knowledge of the Arnhem Land Mountford collections, my initial photographic research for this thesis focused on the work of Mountford in Arnhem Land and the Flinders Ranges. Various institutions hold these collections, including the National Library of Australia (NLA), NMA, and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (SI-NMNH) in Washington DC, such as Setzler (1948) and Mountford (1944b) in SLSA. To constrain the breadth of the research, I limited my focus on Mountford's vast anthropological photographic collections to his Flinders Ranges collection. Researchers have not previously analysed this collection in detail. My thesis contributes to the primary analysis, understanding, and knowledge of this limited portion of his collections. SLSA and SAM archives hold Mountford's photographic prints and negatives from Flinders Ranges Expeditions. Mountford told A. Wilton (1937: n. p.) that his Adnyamathanha collections are the largest collections of the Adnyamathanha cultural objects and that he intended to write a book using these materials. Unfortunately, he never published any books about the Adnyamathanha people. He only published one pamphlet in Mountford (1941) and two journal articles in Tindale and Mountford (1926) and Mountford (1939) during his many years of research with the Adnyamathanha people.

Many of Mountford's photographs in the Flinders Ranges were landscapes. SLSA deemed others to be secret sacred and therefore restricted from public view. In my research, I used all the photographs that were not landscapes and not restricted by SLSA. Taking all these photographs to all interviews with Adnyamathanha elders and school's workshops with young people, I did not preselect specific photographs for viewing for various Elders and students but let them discuss and view the photographs that most interested them.

I analysed the selected archival anthropological photography collections in two stages. The first stage was an analysis of the photographs themselves. This analysis includes exploring the photographs using questions such as: What do the photographs show? Of what materials do they consist? How many are there? Who chose to appear or who chose them to appear in the

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[36] My immediate family and I contributed towards many native title consent determinations and court cases in the North East of South Australia (Aboriginal Way 2015; Ellis, RW 2015; Mansfield 2009, 2012, 2015; Monaghan 2020; National Native Title Tribunal Research Unit 2003; Native Title Research Unit 1999; Unit. 2003; Webb & McGrath 2017)

photographs? How did these photographic subjects stand for themselves, or how were they represented? Who selected the poses, dress or props used in the photograph? What was the cultural milieu or specific context in which anthropologists created these photographs?

The second stage is the analysis of the institutional context of the photographs. My institutional analysis explores how the archive may constrain the interpretation of photographs. For example, I analyse the history of the restriction of photographs to certain people, such as researchers or specific Aboriginal people, and how this then influences how these photographs can be interpreted. Such questions included: How do institutions house these photographs? How may records from photographs and associated materials inform original photographic encounters? Who collected the photographs? Why did they collect them? How do owners of the photographs currently display and store them? How were decisions made about who to consult and who to give the power to restrict access to some photographs?

Fieldwork method and contextualising the field

During my PhD, I was an early career researcher at SAM from 2014 to 2020. The work of the SAM anthropology department during this period, as outlined by Daley (2017: n. p.) and Carty (2020: 392), influenced my research direction.[37] When I decided to include an Exhibition as part of my doctoral process, SAM was the logical place to develop it.

I was fortunate to utilise a public exhibition space without paying for the space and equipment or hiring a design team. Nevertheless, this emplacement in SAM meant that the Exhibition's location near the Aboriginal Australian Cultures Gallery (AACG) framed and contextualised the Exhibition within SAM's previous collection and exhibition policies and practices.[38] People who were my colleagues supported the process of making the Exhibition. Like many exhibition curators, I was not an outsider in this space. My position as an anthropological scholar and employee or cadet at various points within institutions that house Adnyamathanha

[37] How many of my various roles and activities at SAM, such as South Australian Museum (2013, 2020), Koolmatrie, Turner and Richards (2018b), Aboriginal Way (2019), Marsh (2019, 2021) and Richards (2019b) influenced my research will be discussed further throughout this thesis.

[38] I further discuss the Exhibition in the context of SAM in Chapter 4 and specifically address this in relation to gender in the concluding section of Chapter 6.

collections, such as the NMA and SAM, shaped this doctorate and the Exhibition. However, unlike many exhibition designers, I needed to manage relationships with family in creating the Exhibition and arranging the opening ceremony. Notions of either insider or outsider researchers did not fully explain the complex multiplicity of my positionality.

Adnyamathanha women, Sharon Cruse in Crowley and Cruse (1992: 6), argues that Aboriginal people are one of the most 'researched peoples in the world' and that this research 'often continues to be exploitative with little or no value being accrued' by Aboriginal communities. She also argues that for Aboriginal people, 'consultation, ownership, control and community involvement' within research is crucial (Crowley & Cruse 1992: 6). I therefore sought to create an Exhibition with this research through which Aboriginal people would, to some extent control research participation and outcomes. Frequently expressed outcomes most valued by Adnyamathanha participants were the opportunities to share photographs of their old people and earlier life with multiple family members and to showcase their life and community to the wider world.

Indigenous curators are often responsible for representing and working for Indigenous communities. Whyte (2006: 5) shows that the Aboriginal curator's role is:

> different from that of the non-Indigenous curator as it is highly political, involves extensive community negotiations and is … a liaison between the local Indigenous community, artists, and management.

Throughout my fieldwork, I sought to learn whether the stories attached to photographs, as exemplified in Chapter 4, remained or were there Adnyamathanha practices, perceptions and cultural values that underlay the viewing, sharing and interpretation of the photographs. I found that when I was showing photographs to the Elders, they would often gather younger family members to look at photographs whilst they explained relationships and locations detailed in the photographs.

Fieldwork method: Interviews with Elders

Discussion related to the restriction of access to photographs that are of secret-sacred objects is complex. Aboriginal and archival cultural protocols about the restriction of Mountford's

photographs have changed since they were created and archived. Such changes within the archives include how archival photographs have been digitised, catalogued, repatriated, stored, and shown. Before I shared the photographs, I found and removed 'secret-sacred' photographs. I showed all remaining photographs to respected male and female Aboriginal community Elders separately to confirm which photographs should be restricted. I then removed the restricted photographs from the sample before showing the rest of the photographs to other participating members of the community. I consulted with, sought, and gained the endorsement of the Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association (ATLA) Chairperson and Board, the Chairperson and Board of the *Nipapanha* Community Council, and the Chair of Iga Warta Aboriginal Community. Finally, at the ATLA Annual General Meeting, I consulted the broader Adnyamathanha community members about whether these photographs were suitable to show to outsiders and within any written publications or theses. The Annual ATLA General Meeting consented to and endorsed this project. I then began photo-elicitation via interviews.

I interviewed Adnyamathanha Elders in *Nipapanha*, Port Augusta, *Iga Warta,*[39] Copley, Whyalla, Hawker, Quorn and Port Pirie. Figure 4, below, locates the region within South Australia. I spent several weeks based in *Nipapanha* conducting several field trips.[40]

[39] *Iga Warta* is an Adnyamathanha-owned and operated cultural tourism centre with a small interpretive centre, camp kitchen, pool, shop, cabins, and bush camping amenities. It is a 10-minute drive from *Nipapanha*.
[40] A schedule of interviews conducted during field trips and demographic information about the interview collaborators is in
Table *19* in Appendix 3.

Figure 4. Map of the location of many communities visited during fieldwork (Parker et al. 2005)

I aimed to interview appropriately appointed Adnyamathanha Elders and other community members to gain views, feelings, and voices from a broad cross-section of the community. I interviewed Aboriginal and non-Indigenous people descended from or identifying with the Adnyamathanha people in the Flinders Ranges, Adelaide and Gammon Ranges who were in the photographs. I conducted interviews to learn who was in the photographs that had been selected for this fieldwork and to explore how people use and respond to photographs for educational, legal, cultural, and private purposes. To conduct these interviews, I first had to identify appropriate people to work with. This proved difficult as Adnyamathanha people, including Elders, often travel to various places throughout South Australia, so not everyone in the photographs was easy to identify or find.

I, therefore, had to enlist the support of Adnyamathanha and other Aboriginal community centres to source the contact details for many Adnyamathanha community Elders. To find and contact research collaborators, I collaborated with established community centres such as the ATLA, *Nipapanha* Community Council, *Iga Warta* Board, and employees and volunteers of Aboriginal-focused community health programs. I then sourced contact details from publicly available contact information such as the ATLA members' register and the Office for the Register of Indigenous Corporations (Native Title Research Unit 2014) website. This research and later discussions with various collaborators throughout the fieldwork meant that I was successful in finding various contacts and identities I was looking for, and their voices are documented throughout this thesis.

Interviews were one-on-one or up to a maximum of three people as a small group to converse with and to engage in photo-elicitation to answer research questions.[41] Upon conducting fieldwork, I found that as interviews took place in collaborators' homes and we had pre-existing relationships, these interviews needed less formality and structure than the question list implies. I used an audio recording device to record interviews for transcription. I also used a video recording device to discern which photographs the collaborator was commenting on at any given time. Collaborators were fully informed, and I openly completed the recordings.

[41] A selection of initial interview questions is outlined in Appendix 2.

Some people were uncomfortable about the video camera showing their faces but were happy to allow me to video record the photographs from above (without their faces shown) while they were holding the photograph and talking about it.

I did not overly orchestrate my interviews or advise Elders on how to respond to viewing the photograph, preferring a less formal and natural interview technique. I did not preselect photographs but allowed all interviewees to see all the photographs I used. I did not pre-determine the interview process to allow collaborators to frame their life experiences on their terms. Ethnographers, 'unlike experimenters … generally do not manipulate or create the settings or situations in which responses to interventions are solicited, obtained, or measured' (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 10). In a less formal setting, and with no restrictions on discussions, the outcome of the interviews supplied a rich source of data.

I used photo-elicitation throughout all interviews with Elders and workshops with young people. Bell (2008), McLean and Jorgensen (2017) and Curry (1986: 204) use photo-elicitation as a method for research within anthropology. Curry (1986: 204) defines photo-elicitation as 'a technique of interviewing in which photographs are used to stimulate and guide a discussion between the interviewer and the respondent'. During interviews, I asked collaborators to discuss photographs I had sourced from SLSA and Umeewarra Media. They were able to select photographs that they wished to focus on. I did ask specific questions related to the photographs. For example, I asked who was in the photographs and what were they doing? I also asked collaborators how they 'used' old photographs such as these, what they did with them, how they felt about them, and how they would like to use them. Many of the older persons interviewed had seen some but not all the photographs previously, in displays at Nipapanha School or Port Augusta in the 1980s or through the work of Aboriginal Heritage Rangers during the 1980s and 1990s. However, they appreciated the opportunity to revisit and share them with family members. Most interviews were of two to four hours duration.

The term 'used' might be understood as a very non-academic generalist word. However, this vague word gave me scope to work through Adnyamathanha concepts of these photographs throughout this thesis. The word 'used' in the context of my research generated different

responses from my collaborators.[42]

Ways those collaborators reacted to photographs varied based on whether they had already had copies of these photographs from previous repatriations of these photographs and their resultant distribution. However, outcomes varied depending on who I was talking to and who and what was in the photograph. For example, outcomes such as finding families, re-establishing family links, historical positioning, and storytelling were all outcomes of my research that I discuss throughout this thesis.

Additionally, when I was about to leave, collaborators often asked for copies of photographs that interested them and would give me copies of photographs of my deceased direct family members (for example, *Ngarlaami* Gladys gave me a copy of a photograph of my deceased father). This highlighted my situatedness within the Adnyamathanha community, the importance of photographs in connecting with family and their value encapsulated in gift exchanges.

I could explore Adnyamathanha histories within Adnyamathanha frameworks by incorporating museum artefacts with photographs. After my project conceptualisation, I discovered that Tunbridge (1991a: 12) had briefly hinted at this method as a way forward in research with Adnyamathanha. Tunbridge (1991a: 12) argues that her use of museum artefacts to elicit Adnyamathanha histories had some weaknesses and acknowledges the limitations of using mammal skins to elicit Adnyamathanha knowledge. She found that the 'displays of the skins evoked a mixed response' by Adnyamathanha people as the 'study skins' from SAM are static and 'are not lifelike in terms of shape' and are 'somewhat elongated'. She, however, recognises that the skins are 'nevertheless the skins of the actual mammal' and that 'skins had the advantage of being mostly of the right colour and texture'.

Tunbridge (1991a: 12) also acknowledges the limitations of only using photographs to elicit Adnyamathanha knowledge. She argues that 'one of the reasons we had wanted to show specimens at all was that people did not relate easily to pictures of mammals. Size, colour, and shape are not always apparent in photographs or sketches. Unlike living animals, both study skins and photographs were 'static'. Nevertheless, a combination of photographs and

[42] Further definition of 'used' is provided in 'Fieldwork method: Interviews with Elders' in Chapter 1.

skins ‘helped in some cases, and I would recommend… setting up … this kind of research’ (Tunbridge 1992: 12).

I extended Tunbridge’s (1991a: 12) mammal research methodology by incorporating artefacts and photographs. Tunbridge’s (1991a: 12) comments did not directly influence my decision to complete a photo-elicitation and exhibition combined to access Adnyamathanha knowledge, as I only discovered her paragraph upon completing my research. It is crucial, however, to recognise her work as an influential precursor to this work in the Adnyamathanha community.

I wrote my field notes on paper during interviews with collaborators, as many Elders were nervous around computers. Unfortunately, simultaneously writing field notes and holding my camera was often challenging. I, therefore, wrote my field notes on my computer at night. My notes were fieldwork observations reorganised into a more logical order, including reconstructing genealogies about the people in the photographs and personal reflections on the information I was gathering.

My key collaborators were Adnyamathanha Elders, who knew about the photographs and the history of the community and people. Everyone in the field was incredibly kind and accommodating to me. All my collaborators expressed interest in my studies and were happy to be interviewed. Without exception, all collaborators said that I had to talk to the Elders first before I could talk to the younger Adnyamathanha community members. This is consistent with the value placed on Elders within Adnyamathanha culture. As a younger Adnyamathanha person, I first had to interview the Elders to gain their permission to talk to younger Adnyamathanha people.

I found significant interest in my first fieldwork amongst younger Adnyamathanha people in larger towns such as Port Augusta. People were interested in discovering and naming their ancestors and tracing relationships with other young people who may be known to them but previously unknown as relatives. The young people were fascinated to discover the links to common ancestors and hear stories about them, their locations, and their life experiences.

I did not interview non-Adnyamathanha people who were not engaged with the Adnyamathanha community (such as the collection managers or archivists working on these

collections) as this research was explicitly about Adnyamathanha people and photography. This is also specifically about an Adnyamathanha rather than a pan-Aboriginal view.[43]

Schools Workshops

In response to the concerns expressed by many Elders regarding the lack of understanding of relationships and history amongst the youth, and partly to reciprocate the generosity shown to me by the Elders, I conducted a series of workshops in schools with over five hundred young people. The school workshops produced approximately five hundred works in response to the photographs by the, mostly Adnyamathanha, children. In the Schools' Workshops, I showed photographs of Adnyamathanha people from the archives to Adnyamathanha and other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children and asked them to discuss and create artworks based on the photographs.

These workshops provided insights into the relationship with and perceptions of the photographs amongst young Adnyamathanha. The photographs and the interpretative responses to the photographs enabled the collection of interpretative responses from four adult Adnyamathanha artists, eight teacher/Aboriginal Education Officers, and 410 responses from younger people to the photographs. The workshops with youth presented a unique opportunity to expand our knowledge from Elders' voices to include those of Adnyamathanha youth.

I included a small selection of the artworks from the Schools' Workshops in the Exhibition. The schools that took part included Flinders View Primary School (FVPS), Port Augusta Secondary School (PASS), Port Augusta West Primary School (PAWPS), Quorn Area School (QAS), Carlton Primary School (CPS), Willsden Primary School (WPS), Seymour College (SC), and Leigh Creek Area School (LCAS).[44] Haagan (1994: vii) argues that a 1985 survey of items derived from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the collections of major Australian museums highlighted the 'dearth of items associated with the lives of children' Haagan (1994: vii) also argues that some early collectors incorrectly believed that 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children did not have toys or play games'. He also notes that many

[43] I further discuss the justification for the specific focus on Adnyamathanha rather than a pan-Aboriginal view in *Reflections of Muda in Artistic Practices* in Chapter 3.

[44] Dates and details of fieldwork research in participating schools is in Table 18 and Table 19 in Appendix 1.

‘enlightened museum professionals’ are now ‘remediating this imbalance’.

My school workshops enabled a close reading of the paintings and photographs. Many children participated in the workshops. However, most of the students involved were Adnyamathanha.[45] This enables reading in terms of Adnyamathanha concepts and analysis of the role that ethnicity, especially Adnyamathanha, played a part in what students depicted in their paintings. The children’s responses were insightful in that they showed that stories and identity-building remain a feature of Adnyamathanha family life. Their photographic responses are commentaries that include text. Text and art were produced within the schools’ workshops as the mixed-media approach gave the students more freedom to express what they wanted to say.[46]

Anonymity and authorship: Naming Adnyamathanha Elders

Early anthropology tried to ‘erase or silence original Indigenous sources of anthropological “data”’ through the ‘appropriation of Indigenous cultural property, knowledge systems, and storytelling’ (Emberley 2022: 2). Mountford’s (1944b: n. p.) journals show Adnyamathanha people’s desire for named authorship within research. Mountford’s practice of attributing authorship in his fieldwork journals may have set a trend in which Adnyamathanha prefer authorship over anonymity. Nevertheless, noting authorship may also have come from specific requests by Adnyamathanha people.

My analysis of Mountford’s primary data showed that he worked intensively with specific Adnyamathanha people, such as *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton and attributed their objects (now known as artefacts) to them. An example of Adnyamathanha and Barngarla respect for custodianship of specific knowledge and sites can be found in Mountford’s (1944b: n. p.) fieldwork diaries when he outlined the need to travel to Parachilna to gain more details of the Pukartu Ochre *Muda* from my great grandfather *Jarieya* Percy Richards as the only man who could provide this information. Mountford noted that his endeavours to gain that knowledge

[45] An outline of student demographics is in Table 23 and Table 24 in Appendix 5.

[46] I discuss outcomes of school workshops throughout the thesis, especially in Chapter 5 in ‘Muda as social relationships’ and Chapter 6 in ‘A critique of women’s characteristics and contributions in the Mountford Photographs’. Raw data and statistics used in the arguments about gender and relationality in school workshops which I use in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, can be found in ‘Table 24. Frequency of gender of students who created paintings’ in Appendix 5.

from other men had been refused as the details needed to come from the person who was the custodian of that knowledge.

Mountford also predominantly featured the Adnyamathanha people he worked with in his photographs. For example, fifty-four out of 591 known non-restricted photographs, as shown in the SLSA database (which I reviewed in 2014), were of *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton. As Mountford did not publish his work with the Adnyamathanha, I do not know whether he would have continued this attention to authorship within any published works.

Comparison of Mountford's (1947, 1948b, 1954, 1956) Arnhem Land archives and his resultant publications, in Rebecca Richards (2010) and Rebecca Richards (2011), shows that Mountford was careful at times to attribute authorship to specific people in his archives, but not in his publications. Thomas and Neale (2011: 423), Thomas (1970: 20), and May (2011: 171) also support this assertion. I am therefore unable to determine whether Mountford intended to continue or to dispute this trend within anthropology within the Adnyamathanha collections, which was a part of anthropology's negation of Indigenous authorship at the time (Emberley 2022: 1).

Historical and linguistic research conducted in the 1980s by Brock (1985) and Tunbridge (1988b: vi) with Adnyamathanha also show Adnyamathanha people's desire for named authorship and custodianship within research. Brock (1985: 69) records that, unlike conventional research traditions within oral history and linguistics at the time of their writing, the Adnyamathanha people with whom they worked during their research were adamant that their real names be used and that their contributions were attributed to them specifically throughout their published works. For example, Tunbridge (1988b: vi) cites *Artuapi* Annie McKenzie throughout her publications as informants and custodians of the information they provided her. How she collaborated with Adnyamathanha people was instrumental in my choice to conduct anthropological research to ensure that I acknowledged Elders as authors and knowledge keepers. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2023) said when checking statements attributed to him in my thesis that he was glad I acknowledged that he had told me these things and that I included my Adnyamathanha relationship with him by calling him *Nunga* on each occasion. He noted with appreciation that I similarly correctly acknowledged other Adnyamathanha, expressing concern that this often did not happen when *Yura* shared knowledge.

The collaboration between *Nunga* C Coulthard and Hamm et al. (2016), as discussed in the Introduction above, shows how Adnyamathanha people's focus on named researchers has become even more prominent in collaborations and shared authorship of papers in archaeology. Attributing Indigenous authorship is part of a broader movement towards recognising Indigenous scholars, Elders and knowledge keepers within Australia and other settler societies. Indigenous peoples initiated this movement by reclaiming our voices through creative and reinterpretative work from the 1990s onwards (Emberley 2022: 2). A large part of this reclamation was the creative reinterpretation of Indigenous archives and histories.

Archival fieldwork

This section outlines the archival sources I accessed during fieldwork. I briefly discuss the Mountford collections as I cover this in detail in Chapter 4. Mountford's photographs of the Adnyamathanha are scattered throughout a range of archives, including the SLSA, which houses the Mountford-Sheard Collection, the NLA, as well as repositories overseas such as the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History (2014) ethnology and archaeology collections. It is difficult to find out how many photographs Mountford took of the Adnyamathanha, specifically creating difficulties for this fieldwork, but also more generally for Adnyamathanha in accessing his works.

In addition to the Mountford photographs, I interviewed *Ngarlaami* Rene (Irene) Mohamed née Coulthard (2018 pers comm.). She is an Adnyamathanha woman and Elder. *Ngarlaami* Rene is the photographer who took many of the photographs in the collections at Umeewarra Media that the SLSA has also archived. *Ngarlaami* Rene's photographs offer an alternative perspective in documenting the history of Adnyamathanha, though taken historically later. During the interview, she discussed how and why she took many of her photographs and who was in many of them. She said she 'enjoyed taking photographs' and wished she still had the box brownie camera used for her early photographs. Many of these were of weddings in the *Nipapanha* chapel, and she spoke fondly of these events and the people in the photographs. These photographs differed from Mountford's in that they were about the relationships between people and taken for their enjoyment rather than a representation of

Adnyamathanha (and therefore Aboriginal) people for an outside *Udnyu* audience.[47]

Community members and academics alike cannot access the United Aborigines' Mission (UAM) archives as they have restricted archival access. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (2021: n. p.) website notes that the UAM does not officially exist anymore, and their records are held privately and not by a major church organisation. On the *Find and Connect* website, McCarthy (2022: n. p.) notes that:

> Former residents of institutions run by UAM have advised the *Find and Connect* web resource that since the end of 2018, it has not been possible to access UAM records…Research and consultation by the *Find and Connect* web resource team and other stakeholders has been unable to establish the current whereabouts of the records, which were last known to be in Victoria... This is a distressing situation for former residents of UAM institutions and their family members.

Access is rumoured to be restricted due, in part, to ongoing legal action by members of the Stolen Generations and fears that the records may be used in compensation claims for institutional child abuse, given the final report and extensive media coverage of the recent *Royal Commission into Institutional Child Abuse* (2017). Koch (2020: 655) argues that due to:

> The *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* …, the rise of the land rights movement, the History Wars …and the recognition of moral rights through the Copyright Act … The status of many items has changed from items of historical interest to legal documents that can be tendered as evidence before Royal Commissions and… the Federal Court.

I accessed some of the Adnyamathanha photographs from the UAM missionaries in the Flinders Ranges held at Umeewarra Media (in Port Augusta) and at SLSA. These photographs were important to me and were found during my fieldwork in the Adnyamathanha

[47] This finding mirrors assessments of Horace Poolaw's work on photographing his own US First Nations community, as discussed in Mithlo's (2014) exhibition and accompanying exhibition catalogue.

community and archives in Canberra.

The Chairperson of ATLA at the time, *Nunga* (older brother) Vincent Coulthard, granted me access to the UAM photographs held at Umeewarra Media for this project. *Artuapi* Faith Thomas' (1988; 2007) collection of UAM photographs and Umeewarra Media's collection of UAM photographs are also important. During my interviews with *Artuapi* Faith, she showed me her extensive UAM Archives collection housed in a small spare room of her home. Filing cabinets filled the room. In them, she stored her photographs and other archival records of her time at the UAM and those of her nursing and sporting careers. *Artuapi* Faith's Thomas (2007) photographic and archival collection showing her early life at the Colebrook Home is currently held at SLSA and seen in Colebrook Home Oral Histories archived by York (2002).

I also photographed the *Iga Warta* Library and museum display at the *Iga Warta* Cultural Centre. This showed how Adnyamathanha people were using the Mountford photographs to create representations of ourselves for other Adnyamathanha people and outsiders long before I "returned" photographs to the Adnyamathanha community. I put "returned" in quotation marks because, as shown in the discussion of the return of Mountford's photographs in Chapter 2, museums, archives, and Aboriginal people have returned some of these photographs to different Adnyamathanha people at various times throughout the last three decades.

To investigate further, I travelled to Canberra and accessed the United Aborigines' Mission (1933) reports and Colebrook Home Oral Histories archived by York (2002). I also supplemented archival work focusing on the Adnyamathanha photography gathered by the UAM and Mountford-Sheard Collections, with other smaller archival sources about Adnyamathanha history and culture. Specifically, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) houses a vast collection of Adnyamathanha materials not currently accessible from South Australia.[48] Further fieldwork investigations also included NLA collections about the Flinders Ranges relevant to my research project, including the

[48] This includes Tunbridge (1990), Schebeck and Coulthard (1986), Jacobs (1988), and White's (1995) field notes, photographs, and recordings. This also includes linguistic research, field notes, photographs, and recordings by Austin found in Austin (1975), Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976), and Austin, Hercus and Jones (1988), and by Hercus found in Hercus (1989), Hercus (2006), Hercus and White (1973), and, Ellis, Ellis and Hercus (1966).

Cazneaux (1937) photographs and RM Williams letters and manuscripts to Donald Crick (1955). I used this range of archival research and sources of photographs to take some of these photographs back to community as the basis for the photo-elicitation interviews I conducted to understand the Adnyamathanha responses to this material.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on my fieldwork through the concept of positionality, particularly how I am positioned as Adnyamathanha, as female, and as an anthropological scholar and museum employee. My position is complex and cannot be easily subsumed under labels such as insider or outsider. At times, my position gave me greater access and understanding, while at other times, it was challenging. I also discussed how my fieldwork focused on anthropological photography, specifically using Mountford's photography in various locations in the Flinders Ranges, as well as other archival sources of photographs. Institutions have sometimes previously returned photographs to their Indigenous communities. Many of these communities have already discussed and viewed displays of these photographs, and I am interested in learning the effects, politics, and uses of their repatriation. My fieldwork was another occasion for repatriation of photographs and the conduct of photo-elicitation to understand the responses to and uses of these photographs. I discuss Mountford's photography within archives and museums in the following chapter.

Chapter 2. Mountford's Aboriginal photographs: archival collections and the challenges of ownership, accessibility, and repatriation

I needed to obtain a complete account of Mountford's photographs from the Flinders Ranges to conduct meaningful research. SLSA and SAM claim that the movements of photographs within and through the archives invoked a 'privacy issue'. Finding the exact meaning contained within this assertion of privacy has been problematic. As I was unsuccessful in finding a complete list of the objects and photographs that Mountford collected, it was necessary to construct an account of the photographs entirely from the Adnyamathanha community and other sources.

It is unclear how Mountford disbursed Aboriginal artworks and material collected during his university and museum expeditions. This made it challenging to learn the scale of his photographic collections of Adnyamathanha. Collections of which I am aware and that were accessible included artworks and material in NLA, AIATSIS, NMA (via the Australian Institute of Anatomy), NMNH in Washington DC, and the SLSA.

The Exhibition consultation processes were crucial in tracing movement within and outside the archives from an Adnyamathanha perspective. My interviews with community members are the only known accounts that contextualise the lives of the Adnyamathanha in the Mountford photographs outside the archives. During interviews, I received information from Adnyamathanha community members about the history of the archive that was not written into the archive itself. Adnyamathanha people's auditing of SLSA and SAM's Adnyamathanha photographic archives in the past have changed how archives have understood the cataloguing and categorisations of these photographs.

This chapter outlines the nexus between archives, Mountford, and the Adnyamathanha community. Firstly, I discuss the concept of object biographies, which scholars have used to understand the history of objects, including photographs, from their creator to how they have been stored and moved between archives. I question the value of this concept given how Adnyamathanha understand photographs. Secondly, I outline the relationship between the Mountford photographs and salvage anthropology to document the history of their

production. I show how the photographs have seen movement and how archives and the community have exchanged and disseminated these photographs prior to my research project through historical tracing provided by the etic framework of 'object' biographies. This raises issues of ownership of photographs and accessibility for community members but also the deeper issues involved for Adnyamathanha regarding photographs as 'objects' of study.

I discuss how Mountford's Adnyamathanha photographs have moved and changed in different spaces within various archives and museums. These movements include changes across time and space to digital cataloguing and repatriation, physical storage, photo repatriation, and exhibitions of these photographs. These movements create an environment that has influenced different meanings within Adnyamathanha society and the dominant society where the photographs are held. Vogel (1993) argues that objects stored or displayed in a museum provide different experiences from objects stored in an archive. The interpretation of the object in the archive creates new meanings for the object, as I show throughout this thesis.

Object Biographies

One of the ways that photographs have been conceptualised and understood is through object biographies. Object biographies are an anthropological method that can document the movement of photographs for various purposes. As shown in Appadurai (1988: 4), object biographies may function to conduct 'in-depth analyses of objects' or collections of objects over time. Peers (2010) shows that object biographies illuminate how photographs are catalogued, analysed and used within institutions over time. Object biographies may function to create stories of the various classifications of an object to explore the relationship between objects and people. Kopytoff (1986: 90) shows how object biographies map an 'uncertain world of categories whose importance alters with every minor change in context'. Banks and Vokes (2010: 339) and Morton and Edwards (2009: 10) also show how object biographies can be used to explore relationships between the object and the photograph. This creates a tool in which, as Vokes (2013: 83) argues, anthropologists can trace and then analyse the path of 'anthropologically analysed photography' within a museum context. Feldman (2006) extends the definition of object biographies as a framework in which anthropologists analyse Indigenous source communities' responses to ethnographic objects, including photography.

Object biographies may, however, function as a justification for holding photographs in archives in three ways. Firstly, Kopytoff (1986: 90) argues that object biographies may highlight the capabilities of archives to ‘generate new understandings’. Secondly, Edwards (2004: 48) argues that the object biography may privilege the museum object’s ‘institutional histories’ over other histories. Thirdly, uncertainties in photography’s valuation and identity may cause archives to have ‘dynamic social lives’ (Kopytoff 1986: 90), which can be a catalyst for rethinking the materiality of collections.

Object biographies emerged to understand how objects circulated – it is a tracing method; it is an etic framework of following the thing, allowing one to see where and when something moves. In analysing the object in context, object biographies often focus on the museum object’s institutional histories, such as in Edwards and Hart (2004: 48), and the object's function in the museum itself, such as in Peers (2010: 291). Some academics see elucidation of provenance records that show photographs were taken and the agency or otherwise of the subject in what could have been an unequal process as providing added justification for their return. Conversely, the object biography allows archives to argue for the importance of keeping ‘objects’ that their institutional histories make valuable. A ‘reverse process’ or writing the history of a photograph may be a way to create more equal object biographies; however, this can never be done without solid community input from the beginning of any conceptualisation of the ‘object’ itself.

Peers (2017; 2017) outlines the museum processes, cultures, and rituals in which repatriation often takes place. Peers (2010: 291) recognises that analyses of the cultures of museum repatriation processes do not necessarily reflect these processes from Indigenous perspectives as they are ‘strands which refuse to be braided’ (Peers 2016: 75). Peers (2016: 91) argues that Indigenous objects continue to acquire ‘layers of meaning along with each stage in their histories’ that consist of parallel histories/ experiences of ‘Indigenous and dominant societies’ which can often ‘form barriers to creating new relations’.[49]

Anthropologists can unintentionally foster further colonisation of Indigenous cultures and concepts by applying these museum concepts retrospectively to Indigenous cultures by the

[49] Peers (2016: 91) posits that these layers may ‘be brought together’ in the consultation process.

repatriation of a ‘museum object’ (and all the conceptualisations and transformations inherent in that concept) and in tracing it back unreflexively as a singular individualistic item. Contemporary Indigenous responses to objects do not necessarily align with museum and anthropological accounts of objects. Anderson (1990: 70) sums up this dilemma of conflicting pressures. Anderson (1990: 70) advocates a disavowal of the ‘very basis of museology— the primacy of the object’ and a reassessment of an oft-assumed ‘dichotomy between Aborigines as an amorphous, homogeneous group on one side and museums as white monolithic institutions on the other’ is required to begin to understand and address the ‘relationship between Aboriginal groups, museums, and the market/public’.

Hicks (2020: 33) speaks of other foci that could have seen anthropological and museum attention, advancing ‘Weber’s account of booty capitalism, or Marx’s description of primitive accumulation—not to mention the many other possible non-European intellectual points of reference’. Hicks (2020: 32) furthers the argument for change:

> Through the twin theories of object biographies and relational entanglement, the Durkheimian emphasis of both theories upon the role of objects in the construction and maintenance of social relationships…) conditioned and facilitated ongoing silences about colonial violence and questions of cultural restitution, while allowing for the persistence of increasingly ingrained historical narratives. (Hicks 2020: 33)

Hicks (2020: 33) discusses theft that was the basis of much object accumulation as it was a:

> negative act. It does not require us to trot out some upbeat, or dispassionate, or supposedly neutral life history or to reduce the museum to the venue for some ‘power-charged set of exchanges, of push pull’, but to find a way of telling and untelling the past losses and deaths that are the primary layer, the very foundations, the deepest parts of these institutions. (Hicks 2020: 33)

In addition, Hicks (2020: 35) advances a vital role for anthropological institutions 'to resist the position of entanglement and biography', 'to change the stories we tell ourselves and to take action to support communities of the Global South'.

The case for anthropologists using objects not merely as vehicles to think 'back into history and its crimes'(Hicks 2020: 36) but as impetus to take action today and tomorrow is compelling. With Hicks, I advocate the creation of a 'space of appearance' (Arendt 1958: 180) where curatorial authority is actively diminished. In a truly universal museum, Aboriginal expert knowledge of collections is 'opened up to the world' (Hicks 2020: 36).

Wall Kimmerer (2013: 60), a First Nations American botanist, points to significant differences in Indigenous perceptions of 'objects'. Wall Kimmerer (2013: 60) explained that her discussion of the animacy of plants and objects made one of her students question her, saying, 'should we call them like we do people? Isn't that making them like people? And anthropomorphising them?' Kimmerer replied, 'it is not only people who are living and have agency'; she argues that calling someone an 'it' is a profound act of disrespect, reducing them to a thing. It is her experience that indigenous people use the same words to talk about the living world as our family, as they are our family. Kimmerer asserts that English does not:

> give us many tools for incorporating respect for animacy. In English, you are either a human or a thing. Our grammar boxes us in by… reducing a non-human being to an it, or it must be gendered inappropriately as a he or she. (Wall Kimmerer 2013: 60)

Adnyamathanha pronouns similarly do not accommodate either gendering [50] or objectification[51]. This is significant in terms of an Indigenous worldview. He/she/it are all either *valu* or *vanha*, depending on agency. His/hers/its are all *Vardnundyaru* (now often abbreviated to *varndyuru*).

However, despite this, anthropological research using object biographies in conjunction with traditional art historical analyses has shown some interesting results. Photography can be a vehicle for nostalgia (Sontag 2001: 24), alienation (Sontag 1977: 174), and surveillance

[50] See Chapter 5.
[51] See Chapter 7.

(Green, D 1985; Sekula 1992; Smith, BR 1960). Sekula (1992) also shows that photographs are vestiges of a discourse, which illustrates how post-colonial institutions control current representations. Thomas, Losche and Newell (1999: 3), however, warn that characterising photography only from the photographers' viewpoint, a process which they argue is exemplified by Smith (1960), often 'implicate[s] visual media in imperialism by uncritically interpreting visual representations as if they were tools of surveillance' (Thomas, N, Losche & Newell 1999: 3).

Uncritical object biographies often find that each transfer of an object results in further accrual of information on the object. This may be true from a *Udnyu* point of view rather than an Indigenous meaning. This view does not consider the violence of dispossession and categorisation of the object. Even if object meanings are additive, museum and archival processes are 'rarely permanent, stable or cumulative' (Morton 2012: 9) and would therefore struggle to record, store and display multiple meanings. The concept of object biographies, as outlined above,[52] does not sit comfortably with Adnyamathanha concepts because within Adnyamathanha society, the photograph is not just an object. For Adnyamathanha, the concept of spirit, personhood and the photograph are intertwined (see Chapter 7).

Other methods of analysis should also be considered. Written ethnographies use rhetoric to create poetic, mediated and political representations of 'the Other' (Clifford & Marcus 1986). Nevertheless, photography may be less subject to the 'vagaries of mediation' than the written ethnography (Lydon 2010a). Object biographies can be beneficial if carefully used in limited contexts. I use object biography throughout this thesis in a focused way, including creating an in-depth analysis of the function of the photograph after it was placed in the museum, contextualising what is depicted in photographs and analysing how Aboriginal people now use these photographs, in part, to assert our identities.

The exchange of photographs, specifically the determination of who can and cannot have different photographs of different people, re-assert and reinforce relationships with the people in the photographs and within the Adnyamathanha community more generally. How

[52] The concept of object itineraries may be a concept that addresses some of the weaknesses of the object biography. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis as this may be too like the object biography and, therefore, is not a way in which Adnyamathanha concepts of these photographs can be readily extrapolated.

photographs are used, seen, and interacted with show the difference between *Udnyu* and Adnyamathanha understandings of these photographs.

I had to readjust my original fieldwork method as the overuse of object biographies may obscure Adnyamathanha understandings of photographs. Specific in-depth knowledge of the photography needed in my original formulation of the doctorate was difficult to collect as many of the collaborators are elderly. This limited the oral histories I could collect. As the photographs came from the 1930s and 1940s, those featured in the Mountford photographs were personally unknown to the collaborators with very few truly elderly people extant in the community. Many collaborators have a limited concentration span and wish to view the photographs and discuss who is in the photographs and their relationships to each other and to themselves as viewers, rather than responding to them or producing stories about those photographed. On special occasions, however, stories did flow, as with *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton and his stories of his grandfather Albert Wilton. An object biography would not encapsulate these varied responses to the photograph.

I therefore use the broader term of biography rather than object biography (as in people biographies, not object biographies) for various reasons, including issues of the spirit in the photograph as discussed in Chapter 7. In doing so, this method encompasses not only the biographies of the collectors but also Adnyamathanha families, by including the lives of the photographs' apprehender (the audience or family of the person in the photo) to whom it has become a part of their biography. This provides a richer way to discuss the differences between my theoretical approach, and the nuances of Adnyamathanha selfhood. Biographies, as they involve living people and histories, are never fully complete.

Mountford and salvage anthropology

In recognition of the significance of the Mountford-Sheard Collection, it has been inscribed on the UNESCO (2015) *Australian Memory of the World Register*. The collection inscription notes that:

> Material produced by Mountford, particularly his photography, is significant because it is both respectful and empathetic to the Aboriginal people … Mountford endeavoured to create an awareness of, and respect for,

> Aboriginal culture which was absent from mainstream Australia at that time. The details with which he recorded artistic, religious, and ceremonial life is of ongoing importance to the spiritual life of these communities.

This assertion simplifies Mountford's depictions and relationship with Adnyamathanha Aboriginal people as displayed in the Mountford Adnyamathanha photographs and collections. Mountford was very much a man of the time in which these photographs were created. In this section, I show how he took his collections and photographs of Adnyamathanha people within a salvage anthropology framework of analysis and not always 'respectful' or 'empathetic' towards Adnyamathanha people.

Mountford's (1944b, 1948b) work exemplifies the common view that *Udnyu* societies occupied the top rungs of the evolutionary ladder, continually changing, evolving, and progressing towards an ever more advanced and enlightened state while their non-Western objects of study, the 'primitive people', were timeless. I first discuss the context of this work and then its applicability to Mountford's photography in the Flinders Ranges in the final part of this chapter.

Social Darwinism, as further outlined by Clifford (1988: 231), Tuhiwai-Smith (1999a: 61) and Griffiths (1996: 24), led to a sense of urgency in recording and preserving Aboriginal Australian material culture during the early to mid-twentieth century before the people that produced them disappeared entirely or before they changed or were 'contaminated' by the influence of colonising cultures.

A comparison of Mountford's photographs with other relevant Adnyamathanha photographs revealed differences between late nineteenth century, early twentieth century, and more contemporary anthropological practice. Thomas (2011: 3) points out that Mountford's anthropological framework— couched within an older social Darwinian framework of anthropology— was rapidly losing academic support. Thomas (2011: 2) further argues that Mountford created his photography at the cusp of new museum approaches to anthropology. Many anthropologists, such as Berndt (2009: 249), began viewing Mountford's anthropological approach as a reified nostalgic representation of pre-European contact Indigenous people. Nevertheless, analysis of Mountford's oeuvre revealed that he had

changed and influenced others to change their approaches to Aboriginal art and ethnography.

Mountford initially discussed Aboriginal art ethnographically[53] within his first fieldwork and research within Adnyamathanha and other Central Australian and South Australian Aboriginal groups— including the Adnyamathanha. However, he most influentially began discussing Aboriginal Art as art in his later publications and exhibitions, focusing primarily on Arnhem Land and other Northern Australian Aboriginal groups.[54] Mountford's latter perspectives greatly influenced the art world's understanding of Aboriginal art as art. Thomas (2006: 8) asserts that 'Mountford was responsible as much as Baldwin Spencer —and as much as early-twentieth-century international avant-garde taste —for shifting the mindset of Australia's art museums'.

Trigger (1995: 141), and Murray and White (1981) examined the photographs of Baldwin Spencer and Gillen (1966) and agree that until the 1950s, many researchers, such as Spencer and Gillen (1966), worked under the assumption that the Aboriginal people they were studying were unchanging people with 'unchanging material cultures' (Trigger 1995: 141). Nevertheless, before the early 1940s, researchers such as Norman Tindale in Hale and Tindale (1925) and McCarthy (1939: 80) questioned the belief that Australian Indigenous 'culture' was singular and static before European colonisation. However, interest in cultural change and regional variation did not significantly impact Australian archaeology until the advent of radiocarbon dating in the late 1940s (McNeill 2020). Renfrew and Bahn (1996: 132) demonstrate that radiocarbon dating showed, in an idiom authoritative to researchers, that Indigenous societies were far more varied than previously assumed.

Unlike contemporary anthropologists, salvage anthropologists often used short-term

[53] Mountford (1944a) was commissioned to write a short book on Albert Namatjira in which there was 'clear affirmation that Namatjira was painting the Haast Bluff topography created by his Emu and Honey Ant ancestral beings' (Thomas, D 2006: 8).

[54] Firstly, Thomas (2006: 8) argues that: 'In the 1930s and 1940s they were rudimentary publications on Aboriginal Art' and that it was only in the 1950s and 1960s that 'handsome' full-colour books were produced 'for international distribution by mainstream publishing houses'. He states that the most notable example is Mountford's Australia: Aboriginal paintings, Arnhem Land. Secondly, Thomas (2006: 8) recounts that Mountford 'was the consultant to the Australian section of the MoMA's (d'Harnoncourt 1946) exhibition on Oceanic arts and their association with Impressionism and surrealism in Western Art. Thirdly, Mountford distributed bark paintings collected on the American–Australian expedition to Arnhem Land to all the State Galleries in Australia through which he was said to have 'hoped these gifts would encourage them to start or reactivate collecting programmes of their own' (Thomas, D 2006: 8).

interdisciplinary material-based fieldwork to collect and document Indigenous people and practices to supposedly preserve cultures before they died out. Their collecting practices were characterised by the accumulation of 'objective' data, including photographs and films, without overt anthropological interpretation. Lee (2000) and Thompson and Parezo (1989: 44) argue that evolutionary theory 'dominated' most ethnographies, including Haddon's (1890, 1893, 1899a, 1901, 1912b) fieldwork and Haddon's (1899b, 1912a) photography in the Torres Straits, until the mid-twentieth century. Neale and Thomas (2011: 425) demonstrate that Mountford still practised such fieldwork in Arnhem Land in the 1940s. This is also true of Mountford's work in the Flinders Ranges in the 1930s.

Within anthropology, collecting evidence, as Engelke (2008: 52) argues, is essential; however, he argues that this evidence is rarely interrogated in detail. Bell (2017: 243) shows that Haddon's fieldwork in the Torres Straits is characteristic of 'salvage anthropology'. Bell (2017: 243) argued that 'materials classified as ethnographic, collected either directly or through a network of intermediaries…helped give rise to the discipline'. This collection was facilitated by correspondence, such as shown in Haddon's (1890; 1898, 1899a, 1899b, 1901, 1912a, 1912b) papers, between institutions and individuals, which was premised on 'a salvage paradigm' (Bell, Joshua A. 2017: 243).

The scientific world thought Indigenous Australian societies represented the most primitive, simple systems of social organisation.[55] The 'Great Chain of Being' was one of many circular assumptions underlying these interpretations.[56] The theory of natural selection (Darwin 1871) eventually replaced the Great Chain of Being.

In the 'context of colonialism' (Griffiths 1996: 10), the theory of natural selection was 'synonymous' with the concept of 'Social Darwinism'. This has consequences for Indigenous people. Griffith (1996: 24) shows how late nineteenth and early twentieth-century academic research viewed European societies as dynamic and therefore capable of being analysed

[55] Layton (1997: 186) shows this.
[56] May (2003: 7) shows that 'Plato, Aristotle and later Plotinus developed the great chain of being' (May 2003: 7) – a rank-ordering Eurocentric classificatory framework that influenced eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. The great chain of being 'asserted its own physical and intellectual superiority' (May 2003: 7) as the level of advancement or ranking of different peoples was measured by the presence of certain types of objects (such as monuments, writing, the wheel) that were created or valued by Europeans. Lovejoy (2009) discusses the 'great chain of being' in further detail.

through formalist neoclassical economics, whereas non-Western primitive societies were perceived to be static or degenerate and therefore to be analysed through the discipline of anthropology, and, as extrapolated by Clifford (1988: 95), relegated to 'natural' history.

Tuhiwai-Smith (1999a: 25) argues that Social Darwinism, a meta-narrative developed in the modernist climate, indirectly led to classification and, in turn, to oppression of cultures, revealing the political nature of these social theories. Tuhiwai-Smith (1999b: 86) shows that Social Darwinism defines Indigenous people as stuck in a 'primitive stage of development'. Tautologically, Europeans thought that as 'nineteenth-century European society was the peak or innovative of human evolution', they alone had not stopped evolving.

The political rationality of modernist research both produced and legitimised colonialist discourse. Broadly speaking, with colonisation's destructive impact upon Indigenous societies worldwide, Darwin's (1871: 201) view that the 'civilised races would replace the savage races' soon started to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The history of ethnographic practice in anthropology is 'inseparable from histories of colonialism— including racist assumptions and exploitative interests' (Pintchman 2009: 66).

Unlike anthropology in Sydney, early anthropology in Adelaide was dominated by a salvage anthropology framework (Gray, G 2000; Gray, J 2012; Jones 2009). Salvage anthropology and its conceptualisations of Aboriginal Australian people is important to understanding the relationship between anthropology and Aboriginal people today. Philip (2004), and Herle and Rouse (1998) argue that photography's salvage anthropology framework shows the problematic relationship between reconstruction and objectivity.

'Photography helped to teach imperial geography to British schoolchildren and allowed the British to hunt with the camera' (Edwards 2000: 106), for big game, for mountains to climb, and for human cultures and remains.[57] From its earliest days, photography was associated with imperialism and the control of Indigenous peoples (Peterson 2003).

Salvage anthropology aimed at documenting people and cultures before they disappeared. This made photography a significant method within salvage anthropology (Geismar 2006:

[57] 'Many research practices (such as the collection of skeletal remains for museum collections) in the early part of the 20th century had little regard for the impact on Aboriginal Australians' (van Holst Pellekaan 2012: 3).

529). This can also be applied to Mountford (1945: n. p.) as he claimed that he was motivated to take photographs and collect Aboriginal objects as he considered that Aboriginal people were 'stone age people' whose cultures were 'soon-to-be-extinct'.

A romanticised view of Aboriginal Australians as noble savages who were dying out was common within early anthropology (Ellingson 2001). Mountford's (1945: n. p.) research application showed that he feared losing irreplaceable access to past and ancient cultures. He also portrayed Aboriginal people as an 'unchanging people with an unchanging art' (ibid) form. Mountford saw Arnhem Land Aboriginal art as an 'iterative, unchanging form in which artists were restricted to traditional motifs and a three or four-colour palette' (Linden-Jones 2011: 40). This is manifested in the lack of photographs and stories collected on his expeditions which demonstrate Aboriginal cultural adaptation such as was collected by Myers (1986) of the Pintupi, or cross-cultural communication as noted by Thomas (1991) with Pacific Islander people. Mountford positioned himself as someone who had 'saved the art of the Central Australian from extinction' (Linden-Jones 2011: 40). Linden-Jones (2011: 40) argues that this assertion 'seems apocryphal, even arrogant'— as Aboriginal people are still here, with living, changing cultures and communities and vibrant art economies.

To keep with his primitivist views, Mountford had to project a highly staged image of Aboriginal people. 'Projecting an image of Aboriginal people in keeping with Mountford's primitivist views required a certain amount of stage management in the costume department' (Garde 2011: 410-411). Garde (2011: 410-411) recounts that whilst in Oenpelli in Arnhem Land, Mountford insisted that in his videos, his anthropological informants take their trousers off but still cover themselves with loin cloths. At one Arnhem Land ceremonial performance, fellow expedition anthropologist Frederick McCarthy (1948: n. p.) recorded that 'in the beginning [of the ceremony] one man appeared in a pair of long pants and Monty made him change into a Naga loincloth. He yelled out, "Take them off, I'm paying for this"', " confirming Mountford's bias for presenting his 'primitive' salvaging ideology. In Groote Eylandt, however, the performers wore too little or no clothing during ceremonial performance, so Mountford arranged for them to wear cotton loincloths that he had prepared and dyed with ink, thus creating the illusion of nakedness while still satisfying the sensitivities of *Udnyu* audiences (Harris, Joshua 2011).

Mountford's work in Arnhem Land has similarities to his work and photographs in the Flinders Ranges. Mountford's anthropological fieldwork with Adnyamathanha people occurred almost exclusively within *Nipapanha*, which functioned to a considerable extent as a 'dormitory mission' in which Elders and school-aged children resided, along with some of the working-age population who would go there in times of seasonal lay-offs or underemployment on stations. Mountford did not venture out to seek photographs from the surrounding stations, another demonstration of his bias towards salvaging the traditional rather than portraying the contemporary reality. Station work then, and now to a lesser extent, functioned as a major pathway for younger Adnyamathanha people to relate to Country, but now often articulated through National Parks, tourism, Indigenous Protected Areas[58] and even mining.

Claims to objectivity and thereby authority, together with the act of collecting with minimal interpretation, are reasons given by analysts, including Linden-Jones (2011: 40)to explain why Aboriginal people may find salvage anthropological materials more valuable than those collected by more theoretical and literature-based anthropologists. Re-reading from a contemporary anthropological perspective may paradoxically compromise claims to objectivity and thereby challenge the very authority that makes salvage anthropology valuable to Aboriginal people. Below, I introduce several anthropological and common terms related to archival practices, which tend to obscure rather than illuminate Adnyamathanha understandings.

Ownership of photographs and archival practices

Differences between English and Adnyamathanha conceptualisations of spirit and personhood underscore issues of representation and ownership of archives.[59] Ownership is significant in understanding archival practices and repatriation. In this section, I argue for a perspective that views photographs in Adnyamathanha terms rather than solely as an exhibition or post-colonial 'representation', a perspective that evokes and embodies Adnyamathanha people and relationships.

Photographs, stories, and narrative structures are intimately connected. Michaels (1986)

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[58] Adnyamathanha instigated the first Indigenous Protected Area in Australia and the world in 1992 at Nantawarrina (Braham 2007: 9).

[59] I discuss personhood further in Chapter 7.

shows that how Indigenous Australians perceive and utilise photographs is greatly influenced by Indigenous Australian understandings of ownership or custodianship of stories. Namely, Michaels (1994) outlines how placing photographic archives online creates an illusion of democratic and universal ownership. More broadly, Banks (2015: 36) points out that 'ownership of the right to tell the stories influences how people perceive and utilise photographs' within many Indigenous communities. Anderson (2005: 4) argues that intellectual property and copyright law stipulations that one individual or entity only can legally hold a photograph is problematic for Indigenous Australian people as 'in most cases, Indigenous people are not the legal copyright owners of the material – and this means that they have very little say in how the material is used and accessed'. This restricts the photograph to notions of *Udnyu* individualism and capitalism. The owner may be the original photographer, the institution that sponsored the expedition, or the institution that holds the collection. Anderson (2005: 4) argues that greater access to and 'control over cultural material' by Australian Indigenous people are beginning to challenge library, archival and 'legal conceptions of authorship and ownership' and of who the 'public' is. As Anderson (2005: 4) says, the 'reinterpretation of archival material' by historical subjects of colonial documentation affects not only how the material 'is understood' but also to the 'extent that libraries and archives respond to Indigenous needs in terms of access, control, ownership, and future use'.

People who are subjects of photography often sign a waiver to grant permission for their likeness to be used. *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) notes that within schools, photographs of children must have parental permission, especially if they are used in any way other than private viewing. Considering different variables, for instance, if the subject is photographed in a public place such as a street as opposed to a particular function or home, this may not be legally required. Within Australian law, lawyer Fernanda Dahlstrom (2022: n. p.) asserts, 'it is not an offence to photograph or video someone' (including children) in public places without permission 'or to distribute or publish photos of someone without their permission… provided the images are not obscene'.

Even digital repatriation, which Salmond (2012: 216) has shown is often presented as returning control to Indigenous people, does not transfer ownership of the original photograph but merely provides access to a digital or hardcopy. I, therefore, agree with Bell,

Christen and Turin's (2013: 195) argument that the legal ownership of the photograph should be considered when analysing the photograph in context.

Many issues surround the ownership of Aboriginal photographs within archives, including the photograph's ability to be reproduced and the resulting issues of authenticity and control of the duplication. As with the invention of the printing press, discussed by Benjamin (1968: 214), the reproducibility of photography makes the original even more important as the quality of the digital copy is lessened for every copy of a copy created.

There are distinct differences between the ownership of photography and other objects held within museums or archives. These institutions often need original non-photographic objects for exhibitions as they are considered to be more culturally valuable due to the objects being validated by a connoisseur or expert as authentic 'ethnographic representations' (Phillips 2005: 94) or original 'artworks' (Clifford 1988: 100). Photography, however, is different. Benjamin (1968: 4) argues that a photograph's ability to be multiplied and printed again is a significant distinguishing feature of the photograph. Lindon Jones (2011) notes that the National Film and Sound Archive holds many copies of Mountford's photographs from around Australia. In addition, through my archival research for this project, I have found that the NLA, as shown in Miller (1947) and Setzler (1947), and SLSA, as shown in Mountford (1944b), also have many copies of photographs from members of Mountford's expeditions. This does not change the fact that distinct institutions hold legal ownership of the photographs, which influences how these photographs can be perceived, presented, and used.

The influence of institutional ownership on the perception of photographs can be seen through an analysis of Mountford's photographs. Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) state that 'customers rely on two factors when seeking information – the skill and good-will of the Librarian searching for them, and the quality of the information that exists' (Russell, S & Chapman 2008: n. p.). This is also shown in Fourmile (1989). MacGregor (2011) argues that institutions control photographs by controlling a photograph's capacity for reproduction, including the construction of databases and online websites and physically storing the original photographs.

Research on twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century photography often

foregrounds the photographer over the photograph's subject. This important categorisation affects the ability of Adnyamathanha to re-read new meanings into these photographs. Photographers are highlighted over the subjects in the photograph in various ways. For example, the National Museum of Australia's (2014: n. p.) online and internal collection catalogue is categorised and searchable by photographer rather than by Indigenous ethnic group or individual names. This is also true of the Flinders Ranges 'Mountford' collections held by SAM and the SLSA. Mountford's SAM, SLSA, NMNH and National Geographic Society (Mountford, Charles Pearcy 1948a) photographic catalogues are structured by the photographer rather than by the object, person, group, or Country depicted. I discuss this further in relationship to the Mountford photographs in the section below.

Accessing the Mountford-Sheard Collection

Processes that create multipliable de-located digitised items are not automatically democratising or decolonising. An analysis of the ownership of the photographs revealed how the various institutions continued to exert colonial interests in the expeditions and emphasised the photographers' role in producing the photographs. The photograph reflects a connection to its physical location, so it is a myth that the multiplied digitised item is de-located or is automatically a democratizing decolonising intervention. Pressures for centralisation also result from issues of authenticity and the control of reproduction. This is because of the multiplicity of copies with resultant opportunities for tampering, a major precautionary note from native title cases.

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) outline the history of the Mountford-Sheard Collection at the SLSA. They believe this collection results from the work of the self-taught ethnographer Mountford, from the 1930s to the 1960s. SLSA named this collection the Mountford-Sheard Collection because it was the result of work started in the late 1940s by Mountford's friend Harold Sheard in assembling Mountford's private archive, which included his expedition journals, notebooks, sound and film recordings, pictorial materials, artworks and published works. In 1957, Mountford and Sheard donated this collection to the SLSA. Mountford made later additions through further donations in 1970. Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) describe the collection as spanning 'over 120 shelf-metres' and explain that Mountford was interested in the artistic, ceremonial, and religious aspects of Aboriginal culture. Consultation to date

has shown that the level of secret-sacred content within the collection is extensive. Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) argue that:

> By recording and photographing people, places and stories in meticulous detail, Mountford created a rich resource of cultural, spiritual, and historical information that is important to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians and is still … [sought after. The collection] includes items of great cultural significance to many Aboriginal communities, most notably those in Central Australia, Arnhem Land, the Tiwi Islands, and the northern Flinders Ranges of South Australia.

As storing and exhibiting institutions, archives do not have legal control over the representation of Aboriginal people. However, they shape and have a significant role in these representations. These institutions' ownership of many photographs also influences how these photographs are perceived. As cited in the paragraph below, the abundance of research on Mountford's Arnhem Land collections is unlike the dearth of research on the Flinders Ranges Mountford collection. Therefore, the Arnhem Land Mountford collection is integral to analysing his work in the Flinders Ranges, as there are no academic anthropological works on the Flinders Ranges Mountford collections.

Mountford's *1948 Australian-American Expedition to Arnhem Land* has been extensively studied as it was amongst the 'largest scientific and cultural expeditions' (Thomas, ME 2011: 3) mounted in Australia and was arguably one of the last of the 'great expeditions' (May 2003: 2; Thomas, ME 2015). [60] Australian organisations, including the Australian Institute of Anatomy (now NMA), funded and owned the photographs created on Mountford's Arnhem Land expeditions (2008: n. p.). The Australian Institute of Anatomy's assimilationist policies exerted considerable influence upon the conduct of the research and the content of resultant publications. This influenced Mountford's (1945: n. p.) depiction of Indigenous people as 'soon-to-become-extinct' within the expedition's funding application. The NMA subsumed the Australian Institute of Anatomy into its collection in 1988. The NMA also received ownership of the photographs in this process.

[60] My research on Mountford's Arnhem Land collections can be found in Rebecca Richards (2010, 2011, 2018).

In 2008, the collections managers for SLSA Mountford-Sheard Collection, Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.), outlined their continuing work to endeavour to 'make Indigenous collections and resources more available—… to strike a balance between increasing accessibility and respecting Indigenous culture and protocols'. Access to the Mountford-Sheard Collections by Indigenous communities, however, is difficult.

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) state that issues that make it difficult to access the Mountford-Sheard Collection include that the 'original collection included a set of very idiosyncratic index cards… plus scant indexes to the huge collection of photographs'. They also argue that 'many of these only have "Aboriginal Australians" as a subject heading without any further explanation, and few, if any, have language group subject headings applied'. There are also resource and personnel limitations in libraries. Furthermore, the communities represented in the collection live a great distance from the library.

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) argue that their work so far on the Mountford-Sheard Collection made clear that often most research requests were for photographs. It is therefore commendable that Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) have:

> Recognised the need to create a useful, searchable finding-aid for these photographs and over 2-3 years, indexed about 12,000 images to a database, with the help of carefully selected volunteers and field-work students…. the resultant database reduces hours of work and frustration down to a few minutes and increases accessibility to a broader range of material due to the coverage that can be achieved with different searching capabilities.

The SLSA is undertaking improvements of their collections, including 'adding or changing subject headings to make more specific or contemporary (especially by adding headings for specific languages or language groups where known)' (Russell, S & Chapman 2008: n. p.); and adding explanatory notes or more comprehensive records where possible.

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) state that their current work on the Mountford collections points to other future improvements to the archives that they hope to achieve over the coming years. They state that, as of 2008, they had 'processed 25 series (or about one-third) of the collection' and that they started their work on parts of this collection 'with the more

contemporary materials' but acknowledged that in commencing work on items catalogued during the earlier times of card catalogues they 'have a greater number of enhancements to do' (Russell, S & Chapman 2008: n. p.).

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) also argue that the activities of SLSA have 'generated interest from communities who have indicated a desire to obtain digital copies for their own archives'. Given collection issues discussed above, as Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) argue, digital repatriation is the most viable way for the library to provide collection access to, and consult with communities. They say that they:

> Intend to advise stakeholder communities once the digitised material is ready, … [which leads] back to further description and more definitive advice on restricted and open material once they have reviewed the content and decided on its management within their own community culture.

Russell and Chapman (2008: n. p.) argue that there are many positive outcomes for increasing the libraries' knowledge of the collection and improving and standardising these collection records. They argue that confidence in 'knowing what is restricted or sensitive, and administering that when responding to requests is important to contributing to the preservation and management of these materials.' They posit that many archival viewers 'think that the restrictions [on collections] do not apply to them', and standardisation has created an opportunity to educate and enable 'remote access for researchers'. This information is still current as of 2023.

Repatriation of Photographs

Some anthropological accounts— such as Peterson (2003) and Bell (2017: 241)— have shown that the movement to return photographs to Indigenous people from museums started in the 1990s. In the mid to late twentieth century, the Warburton controversy forced anthropologists to consider representation or limited custodianship of photographic archives by select Aboriginal people. Peterson (2003: 120) recounts that the Warburton controversy was sparked by an incident in 1971 when a Ngaanyatjarra Aboriginal girl returned to the Warburton Ranges from a school excursion to Perth with Gould (1969b). Gould (1969b), who was documenting an Aboriginal group's environment, social networks, and sacred-secret

ceremonies, featured a portrait of an Aboriginal woman from Warburton on the frontispiece. *Ngami* (Mum) Rosalie Richards (2014 pers comm.) adds that the girl recognised the woman on the cover and bought the book for her family. Her father became angry because many internal photographs showed restricted secret-sacred men's ceremonial objects and activities. However, The Warburton controversy did not translate into changes in how archives owned and used photographs.

Nevertheless, Hemming, Rigney and Berg (2010), alongside others, started a push to repatriate human remains and photographs at the South Australia Museum in the 1980s. Hemming, Rigney and Berg (2010) argue that the repatriation of photographs was pioneered at SAM by an Aboriginal employee, Doreen Kartinyeri. There were also Adnyamathanha people, such as Buck McKenzie, who were employed at SAM at the time and also conducted repatriation work. This supports anecdotal evidence that shows that Adnyamathanha people started to engage with Mountford's photographs in large numbers by visiting the archives from the beginning of the repatriation movement in the early 1980s.

Specifically, *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2018a pers comm.) and *Ngami* Judy Johnson (2017 pers comm.) said that SLSA first repatriated Mountford's photographs to the Adnyamathanha in the early 1980s. An Aboriginal Education coordinator, Chris Warren (2019 pers comm.), advised me that Mountford's photographs were exhibited in the Aboriginal Social Club rooms (now Umeewarra Media rooms) in Port Augusta in the early 1980s. Former Nepabunna [*Nipapanha*] Aboriginal School Principal *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2018a pers comm.) said that the school hosted a temporary display of Mountford's photographs and other SAM items in 1984. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.) and *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2018a pers comm.) recollected that in the 1980s, parents and grandparents brought in children to point out family members and to describe their relationships, while others brought in partners specifically to 'meet' their deceased parents or grandparents. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.) believes the photographs, brought back again later, stayed in the school for some years until the school closed. Buckby (1999: 62) and Monk (1999: n. p.) note that Nepabunna Aboriginal [Adnyamathanha] School closed in 1998.

During this time, non-Indigenous helpers from churches in Whyalla and Adelaide often came to help with odd jobs around Nipapanha during school holidays. One collaborator, who wishes

not to be named about this, said that when the school closed, these visitors helped to clean out the school. The collaborator recounted that, unfortunately, the visitors threw many photographers away without knowing the value Adnyamathanha place upon these photographs. Some of these photographs were taken to people's houses in *Nipapanha,* as revealed by interviewed Elders (listed in Table 19 in Appendix 3.) in *Nipapanha* and other locations in 2016-2023. An Adnyamathanha man rescued other photographs from the bin and brought them to his home in Adelaide. His daughter used several of them to make an artwork for her year 12 South Australian Certificate of Education art class. During fieldwork, I found that glue on the photographs' backs indicates whether any of the photographs mentioned above were on any of the discarded school display boards, as featured in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5. Photographs on a display board (and helping with the dating of the shield design painting in Figure 11), taken by Unknown, United Aborigines mission (1959) collection, courtesy of Umeewarra Media

I exhibited a year 12 student's resultant artwork in the Exhibition alongside audio recordings of some of my interviews with *Nipapanha* Elders. This demonstrates how complicated photographs within Aboriginal communities can be; they span various generations, locations,

and institutions.

When Adnyamathanha people visited the Mountford archives, many added to the information already there. For example, *Adnyini* Ngaparla (cross-moiety grandmother) Gertie Johnson, when visiting the SLSA database in 1993, named many people in the photographs that Mountford (1944b) did not name in his field notes.[61] Another period of renaming and Adnyamathanha interaction with the catalogue occurred because of the process of the creation of an exhibition about Beltana called *Unsettled,* curated by Morgain (2017), which incorporated several Mountford photographs. Morgain states that Adnyamathanha viewers provided feedback that they had trouble accessing the catalogue and did not like how the archive had arranged the categories. In addition, *Ngarlaami* Enis Marsh viewed the photographs and left comments in SLSA catalogue. Such interactions changed the archive and the potential for Adnyamathanha community input.

Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that the complexities of ownership and repatriation of photographs held in institutions governs their control and prohibits a deeper understanding of the archival material from the perspective of those under study, in this instance, the Adnyamathanha of the Flinders Rangers.

The relationship between archives, Mountford's photographs held in institutions and the Adnyamathanha community, has raised concerns related to outdated perspectives of Adnyamathanha, indeed of all Indigenous communities. These concerns are linked to stereotyped biases underpinning salvage anthropology. Mountford did not explicitly use physical anthropology within his Expedition photography but was influenced by it. Accessing archival databases that list material by the photographer's name rather than the photograph's subject, their names, groups, and places, limits the capacity for deeper and more meaningful connections and relationships to the photographs. While ownership of the photographs is debated, knowledge gained during repatriation of photographs has been ignored. The movements through various archives, exhibitions, and repatriations creates new conditions

[61] Mountford also did not name many artists, such as Unknown (1948a, 1948b), who created the bark collections he collected in Arnhem Land.

in which different meanings within Adnyamathanha society and within the dominant society can be understood. To Adnyamathanha, photographs are more than black ink on white paper.

In the next chapter, I introduce the key concept of *Muda* as a central organising framework for Adnyamathanha and its influence on my research and outcomes. *Muda* is the underlying principle that culturally governs Adnyamathanha's everyday lives; its influence is everywhere.

Chapter 3. Yura Muda: Adnyamathanha law, history, and Creation accounts

Every time we passed *Muda* sites, my father would point them out. Near one site in the Flinders Ranges, he would say, and point out to us:

> Over there you can see the *adnu* [the bearded dragon] and the *aldyanada* [the knob tailed gecko] [pointing to two peaks]. In front [the low hills] are the bodies of most of the *Marrukurli* [marsupial lions] lying over there after they were killed by the *Aldyanada* man. But some of the *Marrukurli* were only injured and crawled away. Their bodies are those sandhills near Edeowie. When they were dying, they clawed at the sides of the mountains in their agony. They left those scratches down the sides. (Richards, L 2002 pers comm.)

Nearby this site were two hills and a gully that were women's sites. My father explained that when men wanted to come to the men's sites above, they had to wait for women to come first to ensure their sites were not compromised:

> I can't tell you all of that *Muda* because it's a women's *Muda*. I can't walk on those hills. It is a woman's *Muda*. If I go there, the old women there will throw rocks at me, so that I fall and break my legs. But you will be able to go there when you are older. You must look after those sites. You are their custodians. (Richards, L 2002 pers comm.)

Those old women and men are still there. The ancestors and their spirits are ever present, ever watchful, ever guarding, ever needing to be acknowledged through calling out and left there in place through smoking (*Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha*). Everywhere we went, the hills, the waterholes, the rocks, even the trees are their bodies or bodily manifestations or the spears they threw, the emu fat they discarded.

The inclusion of *Muda* in my examination of Adnyamathanha interpretation and use of a modern phenomenon, namely photography, could raise the question of relevance; however, *Muda* underlies Adnyamathanha vision, interpretation, and discussion of many aspects of

relationships, behaviours, and the respect that people show towards each other.

My *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out) ceremony draws upon Uncle Major 'Moogy' Sumner's work which he discusses in Sumner and Koch (2020), and Sumner, Bestermann and Forde (2020) on adapting Ngarrindjeri ceremonies for Ngarrindjeri people and their Old People (ancestors or human remains) who were being returned from museums back to their Country. The calling out ceremony is like Uncle Moogy's work in that it is a translation of a multimodal cultural and spiritual ceremony into a museum context to create spiritual safety.[62] *Muda* is, however, a specifically Adnyamathanha concept that underpinned the calling out and all other associated activities.

Muda supports the fascination with, and talk of, where the photographs were taken; it underpins the knowledge shared of the landscape surrounding the photograph; it is the source of the connection of the person portrayed both to the Country and the person discussing the photograph. *Muda* is an overarching concept that needs to be addressed to understand the conceptualisations of and associations with *Muda* elicited from Adnyamathanha when viewing photographs.

Muda encompasses Adnyamathanha law, history, and Creation accounts. It is the framework in which the Adnyamathanha understanding of the spirit in the photograph is encapsulated. *Muda* includes systems of thought in which those relationships and meanings (often subsumed under the language of 'spirit') are organised. I attribute the meaning of *Muda* that I use to the Adnyamathanha Elders whom I interviewed during fieldwork between 2015 and 2019 using photo-elicitation fieldwork processes and in periodic encounters since.[63]

As an Adnyamathanha woman, *Muda* is something that I take for granted as it is part of who I am and has been part of my everyday life since I was a young child. My understanding of *Muda* arose over years of seeing my father point to features of the landscape while naming and explaining *Muda*.

[62] I also draw inspiration from cultural and museum interventions within North American Indigenous communities (Chandler, MJ & Dunlop 2015; Chandler, MJ & Lalonde 2009).

[63] Details about specific interviews and yarning are shown in
Table 18 in Appendix 3. .

In this chapter, I situate *Muda* as an Adnyamathanha concept and how it links to gender, notions of history and past action, relations and then photographs and the archive. To do this, I discuss the origins of, and misconceptions involved in using, the term "Dreaming". I expand upon the difficulty of defining Adnyamathanha *Muda,* which is why the term "Dreaming" is not a sufficient description of *Muda*. I then discuss *Muda* as Adnyamathanha law (restriction and ceremony), as history and as Creation accounts. I discuss *Muda* as language, song, and tense, as Country and Relationships. I interrogate the role photographs play in connecting collaborators to *Muda*. I examine the relationship between *Muda* and Christianity and explore how the concept of *Muda* influenced me as the curator of my Exhibition.

Muda is not 'Dreaming'

Writings intended for *Udnyu* eyes, as well as Yura*,* sometimes use the term "dreaming" to support and analyse knowledge and understandings of Adnyamathanha (and other Australian Indigenous groups') culture and society. Adnyamathanha Elders were adamant that *Muda* is *not* encapsulated by the term "dreaming" because *Muda* is significantly more than that, and the Adnyamathanha concept of *Muda* is much larger and more nuanced than current literature reports about *Muda*. Examples of written discussions around concepts sometimes translated as "dreaming" in other Aboriginal groups include Carter (2021), Carty (2015), Davenport, La Fontaine and Carty (2011), Moore (2016) and Sculthorpe et al. (2015).

Spencer and Gillen (1966: 304) claimed that: 'the term [*Altjira*] is one of somewhat vague and wide import which it is difficult to define with anything like absolute precision.' Moore (2016: 85) has argued that the concept of 'Dreaming' results from a mistranslation of an analysis of a Central Australian Aboriginal law called *Altjira* by Spencer and Gillen (1966: 304). Translating *Altjira* only as "dreaming" invalidates *Altjira* as history and law. Moore (2016: 85) has demonstrated that *Altjira* means law or legal system in Central Desert (Arandic) languages. As one cannot readily translate Arandic languages into English, Moore suggests that the identical form of the noun and the verb "dream" in English may have been the source of the confusion, which began with Gillen's translation of *Altjira* to "dream". *Altjira rama* means "to dream"; therefore, Spencer and Gillen, when talking to Arrernte, mistranslated *Altjira* by equating it to dreaming. Stanner (1979: 23) viewed the Dreaming as a kind of logos or principle of order, transcending everything significant for Aboriginal people, and it could only be understood as

a 'complex of meanings'. This is not dissimilar from Adnyamathanha concepts of *Muda*.

Wolfe (2009: 198) analysed anthropology's adoption of the term 'Dreamtime'[64] and its variants as part of a framework 'in which local meanings can take on unpredictable significance in relation to oppositions or associations, whose determination is independent of local factors'. Wolfe (2009: 216) has argued that 'the cultural affinities commending the term [Dreaming] to a predominantly European imagination could hardly have appealed to … Kooris.'[65] Further, he points out that 'there is no puzzle attached to Koori's use of the word' dreaming. They were simply speaking English' (Wolfe 2009: 218). According to Wolfe (2009: 214), the affinities derived from the European understanding of 'Dreaming' underwrote the aggression of the frontier.

Many *Udnyu* at this time ignored the economic existence of the Aboriginal inhabitants. Wolfe (2009: 214) argues that the concept of 'the ritual aborigine [sic]' contributed to justifications for the exclusion of Aboriginal people 'from the dual encounter between settlers and the land'. This ignorance resulted from a view of the colonial invasion as salvaging the land from nature. According to Wolf (2009: 210):

> Reason rescues consciousness from the chaos of Dreaming … the dreamtimes evaporated with the dawning of settlement…. the Dreaming complex constituted an ideological elaboration of the doctrine of *terra nullius* [no man's land], emptying the land so that settler and landscape formed a dual interaction with the characteristic proportions of mind over matter.

Wolfe (2009: 199) points out that the viral success that 'the Dreaming complex' enjoyed in anthropology, coined in the ethnographies of Spencer and Gillen (1966), is evidence of its status as an invention of Spencer and Gillen's culture. Wolfe (2009: 199) shows that the diffusion of the term throughout anthropological writings was not accomplished through ethnographic evidence; rather, it was perceived from the affinity between the words "dream"

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[64] The term Dreamtime is now often not used (Moondani Toombadool Centre 2023), but the term dreaming is still in use within anthropology and Indigenous studies (Moondani Toombadool Centre 2023).
[65] The term 'Kooris' is often used to describe Victorian Aboriginal people, but Wolfe (2009: 218) uses this term to refer to all Aboriginal Australians.

and “Aborigine”. This affinity comes from ‘within the anthropologist’s culture rather than within that - or those – of their subjects’ (Wolfe 2009: 202). Wolfe (2009: 209) then shows that Aboriginal people increasingly understand dreaming as a term that ‘operated synecdochically’; [66] therefore, both encapsulating and contributing to the ‘historical development of the prejudices and misconceptions of settler society’. Wolfe (2009: 199) compellingly argues:

> With the term [of Dreaming] entrenched into the Australian cultural field… its diminution of Aboriginal religion, customary law, and history to that of a ‘dream’ encodes and sustains the subjugation and expropriation of the Koori [Aboriginal Australian] population.

Adnyamathanha and many other Aboriginal groups reject Spencer and Gillen’s (1966) interpretation of *Altjira* in favour of concepts based on our own understandings. In rejecting the variants of ‘Dreaming’, Adnyamathanha people, including *Artuapi* Regina McKenzie, *Artuapi* Angelina Stuart and *Ngarlaami* Enis Marsh (2015: n. p.), exclaimed that Adnyamathanha have translated *Muda* to mean ‘our lore, our Creation, our everything!’.

Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) argues that the term “myth” is problematic when trying to define *Muda* but that she must use it as *Udnyu* do not have a word that encapsulates *Muda.* She justifies her choice by arguing that:

> Although the term “myth” is widespread, referring to stories relating to a time long past while having a spiritual reality in the present, some Aboriginal people (but few Adnyamathanha people) reject it because of the connotation of fiction. Occasionally, we have used the term “mythology” in this volume because, at the time, it seemed to be the best term for communicating with the wider reading public (Tunbridge 1988b: xxii).

Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) acknowledges the differences between Adnyamathanha and *Udnyu* concepts of *Muda* but ultimately writes for an *Udnyu* audience. Her translation of *Muda* as Dreaming shows this. Tunbridge (1988b: xxvii) argued that the term ‘dreaming’, used in her

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[66] Wolfe (2009: 209) uses the word dreaming synecdochically in that he uses it as a proxy for a portion of the whole phenomenon, thereby reducing it to its smallest part.

book *Flinders Ranges Dreaming,* and the term 'mythology' have not been commonly used among Adnyamathanha people, but that these terms were used 'of common public usage'. Tunbridge concedes that when speaking English, Aboriginal Australians have often translated dreaming as history; therefore, *Muda* may more accurately be translated as history.

Some Adnyamathanha people, such as *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.), lament that only translating *Muda* as 'Dreaming' or myth invalidates the whole realm of *Muda* history and law. Adnyamathanha agree that *Muda* is not "made up stories" or lore arising from the imagination, as the term dreaming suggests; instead, *Muda* is the foundation of Adnyamathanha identity. The assumptions of anthropologists, historians, and other scholars in allowing the translation of *Muda* as "dreaming" or "myth" have affected how non-Adnyamathanha people interpret Adnyamathanha ceremonies and practices.

An Adnyamathanha Muda

As Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) states, defining Muda is challenging. I explicitly discuss Adnyamathanha concepts of *Muda* in regard to Creation accounts in the Exhibition label (Figure 6 below). In the Exhibition text panel heading, I translated the word '*Muda*' (history and law) as 'Adnyamathanha dreaming or history'. It is the responsibility of curators to be aware of the translations of words used in exhibitions and the implications for the audience that their translations evoke. Incorrect translations can have unintended consequences, as was the case with the translation of the term "*Muda*" featured in my Exhibition.

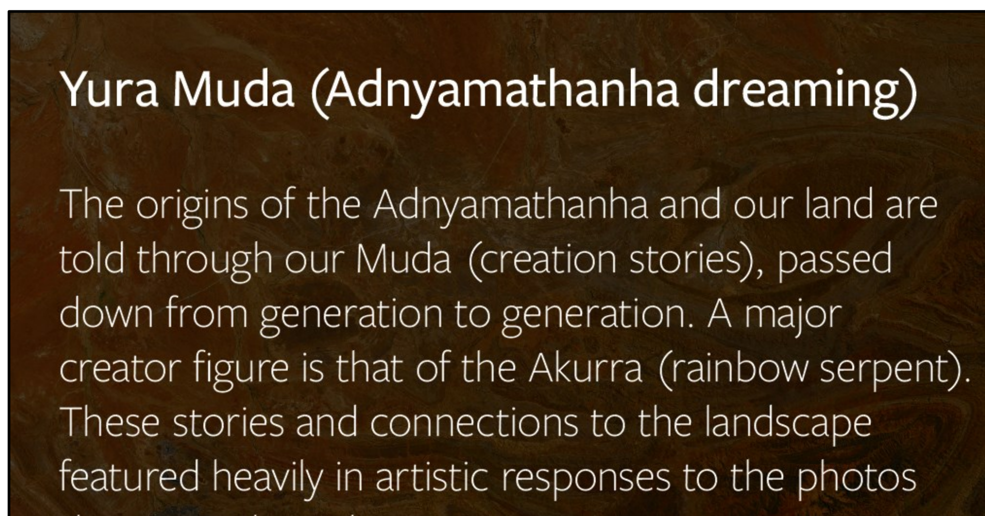

Figure 6. Yura Muda Exhibition text panel, the Exhibition, 2019, courtesy of SAM

When viewing my Exhibition at the Exhibition opening and preview, some Adnyamathanha people said they did not think I should have referred to *Muda* as "Dreaming". My choice stems from a conundrum arising from differences between English and *Yura* understandings of the term. This conundrum has emerged as scholars and non-academic writers, such as Barty (2022), have reinforced the term "Dreaming". Sutton and Jones (1986: 25) argue, about the Lake Eyre Aboriginal people, that many creation 'stories have a dreamlike fictional quality, although their believers would have accepted them as literal truths– as history' and that it is therefore 'no accident' that people speaking Aboriginal English translate the 'dreamings [sic] of the Lake Eyre region' as 'histories'.

Adnyamathanha people have sometimes included the term "dreaming" within their writings about *Muda* to non-Indigenous people, but this is within a wider frame of reference. For example, Adnyamathanha Elders, Terrence and Josephine Coulthard (2020: 243) define *Muda* as 'sacred law and dreaming, traditional or customary law, ceremony, corroboree'. They expand their definition of *Muda* as a 'system of stories, teachings and beliefs that inform the people of how to live in harmony— spiritually and physically— with the land' (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 72). In Coulthard and Coulthard's (2020: 72-119) chapter which includes twenty of the 'stories', they are careful not to use that word, referring to it throughout as *Yura Muda*, apart from in one introductory statement. Further, Adnyamathanha Elder, *Ngarlaami* Lily Neville (2020: 91) defined '*Muda-ru* [as] the law' and '*Mudanghatyu* [my *Muda*], as dreaming or … our cultural ideology/law'.

It is also necessary to consider that Adnyamathanha is an agglutinative language. This affects the nuances of the meanings of *Muda*. Neville's (2020: 91) inclusion of '*nghatyu*' (also spelt *Ngatyu*, meaning 'my') at the end of *Muda* specifies that she is talking about 'my *Muda*' using Adnyamathanha possessive pronouns.[67] These Elders define *Muda* in their own words and with their cultural understandings of what *Muda* is to them and its significance to

[67] I explore Adnyamathanha possessive and non-possessive pronouns in relation to photography in Chapter 7.

Adnyamathanha culture and social cohesion.[68] *Yaka* Jillian Marsh (2013: 176-177) notes that:

> *Muda* provides Adnyamathanha with a map of how the land was created, our place within this complex environment and our role as custodians... *Muda* also provides us with a means of transmitting knowledge to each other and outsiders, such as mining proponents. The challenge in today's colonial setting is to forge a central place for *Muda* in land use regulation that is both empowering for Adnyamathanha and meaningful within engagement with commercial enterprise.

It is my experience that most Adnyamathanha translate *Muda* as history and law. Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) found that 'older Adnyamathanha people use the English word "history"- as a translation of *Muda*'. In the imprimatur to Tunbridge (1988b: vii), a senior Adnyamathanha *Wilyaru* (fully initiated) Elder, *Vapapa* Claude Demell, asserted that 'This book is our history. It's about our country, our *Yarta* [Country]'. *Vapapa* Claude Demell had the authority to express this view as he was a senior Adnyamathanha Elder who was well-versed in Adnyamathanha Creation accounts, and by saying this in the foreword of Tunbridge's book, he was supporting the veracity of Tunbridge's work from an Adnyamathanha perspective. Nevertheless, Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) uses the term 'Creation stories' rather than 'histories' as a concession to the non-Aboriginal reader. Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) explains that:

> The term "history" is avoided here [in my book] for the most part, since non-Aboriginal English speakers generally do not recognise a spiritual dimension to the term— a dimension which is paramount to the Adnyamathanha usage…While [the term 'stories'] has some drawbacks, it is a more neutral term, with the note that, by it, nothing is implied concerning the historicity of the accounts, nor their cultural or ritual status.

[68] Adnyamathanha writers and academics who are discussed throughout this thesis include Champion (2014), Koolmatrie (2016a, 2016b, 2018, 2019a, 2019b), Jillian Marsh (2010; 2013; 2020), Buck McKenzie (2009) and Terrence and Josephine Coulthard (2020). This also includes some authors in select publications such as Linda Coulthard and Noel Wilton in Coulthard, Richards and Wilton (2020); Linda Coulthard in Coulthard and Richards (2020); Noel Wilton in Wilton and Richards (2022); L. Richards in Richards and Richards (2002); Cruse in Crowley and Cruse (1992); Annie Coulthard in Coulthard and Tunbridge (1985); Carol Wilton, Annie Coulthard, and Michelle Coulthard in Wilton, Coulthard, Coulthard and Tunbridge (1985); and, Gillian Weiss, Pearl McKenzie and Pauline Coulthard in Weiss, McKenzie, Sound, Coulthard, and Tree (2000).

Tunbridge's (1988b: xxii) translation of *Muda* as Adnyamathanha 'Creation stories' is not precisely the interpretation Elders such as *Vapapa* Claude Demell portray about *Muda.* Some Creation accounts such as the *Akurra* Creation account and the *Wakarla, Urrakurli and wildu* (Crow, Magpie, and Eagle) Creation account in Tunbridge (1988b: xxii), were similarly referred to as 'stories' by collaborators during my fieldwork and used in my Exhibition. Tunbridge does not use the term 'stories' to imply fictional narratives; she does not doubt their accuracy. Tunbridge sees these 'stories' as correct accounts of the landscape's history and parabolic teachings about the environment, relationships and behaviour. Nevertheless, I prefer using the term "accounts" rather than stories to refer to Muda in English. Creation accounts are part of *Muda*. Tunbridge's (1988b: xxx) work is all about *Muda.* There must be recognition of the rich tradition of understandings that underly *Muda,* as Tunbridge (1988b: xxx) argues, the:

> Spiritual life was an ongoing experience set in the context of day-to-day living in the physical and social environment. This is the context in which these stories have meaning.

It is *Muda* that encapsulates Adnyamathanha understandings that connect us to our Country and each other, including those captured in photographs. My research confirms that these accounts *are* Adnyamathanha people's history and beliefs.

Muda, photographs, and Country

The Country of the Adnyamathanha is different to many parts of the continent. Tunbridge (1991a: 30) argues that:

> The Flinders Ranges region belongs to a distinct 'country' in the Aboriginal sense. Its environment is in many respects unique, and the sort of hunting methods that suit the desert, for instance, do not suit the rocky ranges, and vice versa.

Muda and *Yura Ngawarla* express this environmental specificity in many ways (Morris 1991: 37). For example, Tunbridge (1991a: 21) notes that:

> There is no evidence of any significant role played by Aboriginal fire regimes in the Flinders Ranges, such as has been claimed for other parts of Australia.

> Nor was fire commonly used for hunting, as it did not suit much of the terrain.

Therefore, there are no known creation accounts about firestick farming in the Flinders Ranges, even though there are many accounts of the other uses of fire and frequent references to fire itself in *Muda*.[69] Hunting accounts do not include the use of fire, nor is there any reference that I have seen or heard of the need to burn *Yarta* as a form of firestick farming.

Significantly, every *Muda* account is located at specific sites, with this essential association evidenced during discussions of photographs, particularly by Elders. *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) discussed the places where specific accounts were told to her by some of those portrayed in the photographs shown. She discussed how the *Virdianha Muda* was told to her at Mt Lyndhurst and that it was at Nilpena that she would be told *Muda* of the Woman who murdered her daughter. *Artuapi* Linda explained *Waturlipinha Muda* as a "favourite bedtime story that our mothers and aunties would sing to their babies when they were putting them to sleep" near the hill of that name. My father used to sing that *Udi* to console us as we drove past that hill on our departure from *Nipapanha* after a visit.

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[69] Fire references include the *Old Woman making a fire to cook damper to lure her lost children back to camp* (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 106; Tunbridge 1988b: 110-114); *wildu* (Eagle) using fire in the *Wakarla Adpaindanha* cave entrance as a punishment for disrespectful nephews (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 24-30; Tunbridge 1988b: 24-29); *Yurlu* (kingfisher) making fire to send smoke signals to announce his intention to lead important ceremonies (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 100; Tunbridge 1988b: 141-145); the *Valnaapa* (two *mita* or mates, a *Mathari* and an Ararru man) use of *ardla wirdni* (firestick) to make the bad water of *Vada Ardlanha* (Paralana) hot (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 74; Tunbridge 1988b: 93-95); to keep flies away from emu meat by the two brothers (*valanpila*) in the *Muda Awi Hunters* (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 106; Tunbridge 1988b: 110-114)and burning of spinifex grass to travel in the smoke up into the sky (Coulthard, T & Coulthard 2020: 77).

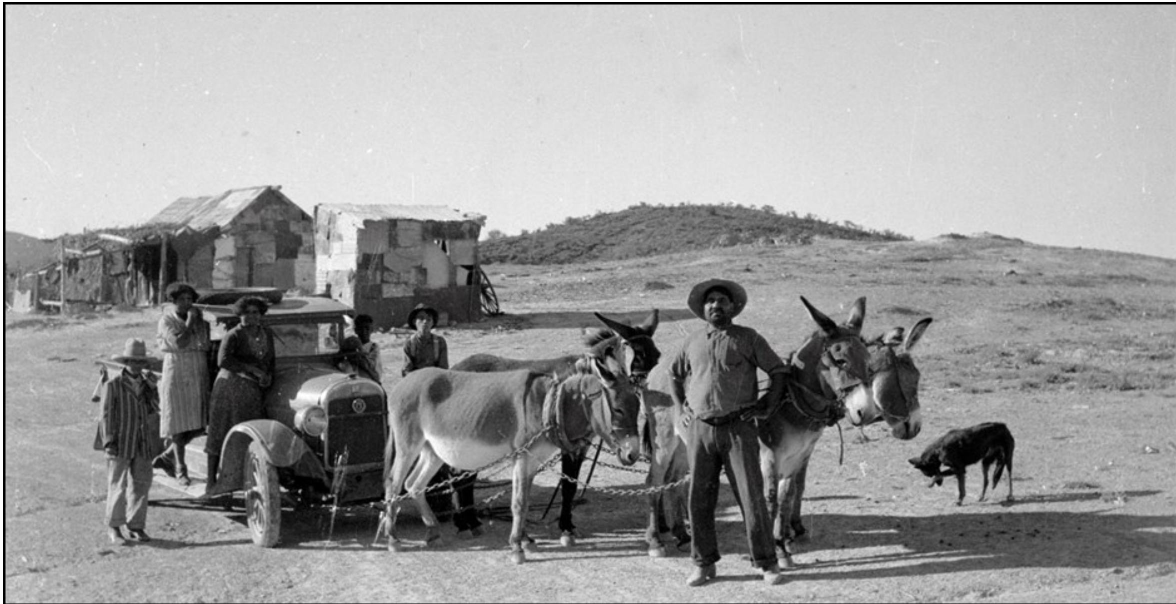

Figure 7. Working with Donkeys by Mountford (1937f), Mountford-Sheard collection, courtesy of SLSA

Other photographs, for example, the donkey buggies (Figure 7 above), prompted explanations of being told other accounts. *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) described how:

> As we travelled near *Artuwaralpanha*[Mount Serle] in the donkey buggy, we were afraid of that story [The *Wildu*]. Mum and Auntie Mavis and Mona's parents told us that it [the Spirit Eagle] would take us up the mountain to its nest in *Wakarla Adpaindanha* [the big cave]'. The story reminded small children not to stray from the camp and older children to watch them carefully.

Other photographs prompted Linda Coulthard to describe how accounts of *Muda* elicited explanations of the origins of behaviours: 'We always cover over the ashes of our cooking fires because the *Artunyi* [the Seven Sisters] are looking down and would harm you if you didn't.' These accounts relate only to sites where *Muda* is frequently told – and the distance from sites given as a reason for decreasing knowledge amongst the youth, particularly amongst those living outside of Adnyamathanha Country.

However, concepts of Muda and Country are not confined to historical accounts of the Adnyamathanha people. In the Schools' Workshops, based on photographic displays,

Adnyamathanha children also expressed a strong concept of *Muda* and Spirit, as shown through their paintings displayed in the Exhibition. Children's connection to *Muda* and their interpretation of photographs included their predilection towards painting representations of *Muda* or of Country they associated with the person shown in the photograph rather than recreating the physical person. It was also interesting to note how the children chose to paint, purposefully not using dots or red paint. These activities showed the children's knowledge of the cultural preferences of *Muda* and their understanding of and wish to respect the spirits in the photographs.

Reflections of Muda in Artistic Practices

This section discusses how *Muda* shapes and is reflected through artistic practices expressed in responses to photographs. There is an active debate within the community about what is appropriate as Adnyamathanha artistic practice. This includes discussion regarding art, including the use of dots, the preference for depictions of landscapes over persons, and restrictions on the use of red colour. These debates and considerations fed into my Exhibition and were reflected in students' choices in the Schools' Workshops.

My inclusion of dot paintings in the Exhibition illuminated Adnyamathanha understandings of art. [70] Responses to the photographs in the workshops and Exhibition feedback from Adnyamathanha respondents showed that a perception of dot paintings as expressing our identity is problematic. Many Adnyamathanha people do not regard dot painting as a part of contemporary Adnyamathanha views of cultural tradition. Including several dot paintings in the Exhibition may have aligned it with a pan-Aboriginal perspective when much of the feedback from Adnyamathanha Elders was saying that Adnyamathanha people historically did not do dot paintings. This may be related to understandings that Adnyamathanha perhaps did not use ceremonial ground art, or at the very least, did not publicly do so. Dot paintings, therefore, may be seen to contravene ideas about appropriate paintings currently held by Adnyamathanha Elders and younger people alike.

[70] Even in situations where dot paintings thrive, this art form transforms and reconfigures earlier forms of ground and body art onto canvas for vastly different purposes (Dussart 1997: 187 & 194). Dots are not the only form of Aboriginal traditional art, as bark paintings using cross-hatching and figures are also significant in the canon of Aboriginal art (Dussart 1997: 187 & 194).

Adult Adnyamathanha artists' use of dots perhaps highlights the expectations of Aboriginal art extant amongst many non-Indigenous people and the broader Australian Aboriginal community. Disparities between these views and Adnyamathanha views on art were indicated when one exhibition viewer of Adnyamathanha descent called me and complained about a painting, asking, "how do they know that these are ceremony paintings? Also, Adnyamathanha don't do dots". I explained that it appeared that sometimes we did include dots in the past and could point to some in the museum collection. I also said that some of those who used dots also had ancestry in Aboriginal groups who were "well-known for doing dots". The questioner appeared appeased by that answer.[71] Adult artists have often also incorporated Adnyamathanha symbolism, such as the ceremonial meeting ground symbol featured in the rock art of the Flinders (Koolmatrie, J, Turner & Richards 2018b) and thence on the Adnyamathanha flag (Gage 2011) in Figure 8 below.

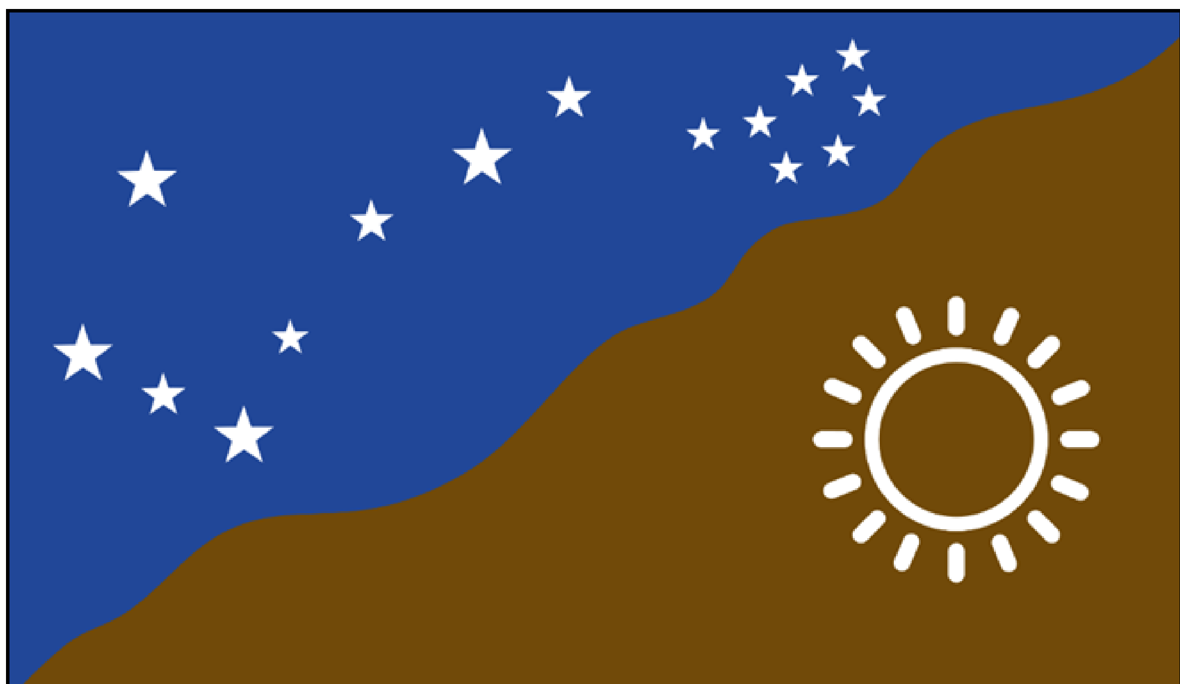

Figure 8. Flag of the Adnyamathanha people (Vwanweb 2018)

Mountford (1937a, 1937b, 1938a; 1939) 'collected' drawings of body and ceremonial ground art designs among Aboriginal men from various Central Australian and Arnhem Land groups. He also curated a small exhibition (Mountford, Charles Pearcy 1966b) and catalogue

[71] Family conflict over land, cultural knowledge and native title rights could have influenced this concern, as they did not mention another adult artist's dot painting. This may have reflected that he was a male artist or did not mention ceremony or his different moiety or kinship network links.

(Mountford, Charles Pearcy 1966a) of photographs of Central Australian people. Carty (2011) has analysed some ground art held at SAM, created at a similar time to Mountford's ground drawings. Carty (2011) has analysed some of these ground art drawings, which Ronald Berndt (1983: 34) commissioned[72] in 1944-45, now held at SAM. However, to the best of my knowledge, analysis of Mountford's ground art drawings has not been conducted, and he did not collect such ceremonial designs at *Nipapanha* or with the Adnyamathanha.[73] The presence of ceremonial ground art and its influence upon dot paintings in the Flinders Ranges is, therefore, unknown and unaddressed.

The lack of knowledge of ground art in the Flinders Ranges may be due to the missionaries who prohibited all ceremonial practices at *Nipapanha*.[74] The last second stage of men's ceremonies was held in approximately 1935, and the last first stage of ceremonies was held in 1948 when all evidence of ceremonial art was banned with punitive mission enforcement.

The photographs of Adnyamathanha women taken by Mountford at the time do not show them doodling on the ground or displaying any tendency to create women's art designs (at least on camera). However, string figures appear to have avoided similar condemnation.[75] Whilst viewing the Mountford photographs of Elders demonstrating complex string figures, older women, including *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2015 pers comm.), *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) and *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017 pers comm.) recalled drawing in the sand as girls, making patterns and using leaves to depict different camps with companions guessing to whom they belonged. The absence of such photographs makes one question the perceived acceptability and the impact of Mission prohibitions on simple depictions of

[72] Berndt (1983: 34) described that: 'When I was very short of film, Aborigines offered to reproduce— again with lumber crayons on brown paper— all aspects of their ritual and everyday life which I was seeing and recording but was unable to photograph to any extent'. Carty (2011: 105) argues that the idea that Berndt (1983: 34): ' "commissioned" …these drawings at Birrundudu is perhaps slightly misleading. Berndt did commission such drawings extensively … However, Berndt's notes about the Birrundudu drawings suggest [that the Birrundudu] men actively sought to use drawing' to communicate and exchange (Carty 2011: 105).
[73] However, Mountford collected non-ground art drawings by senior Adnyamathanha men outlining details of different Creation accounts he photographed and images that SLSA now holds.
[74] Tunbridge (1988a: 68) states that some Adnyamathanha assert that the 'ceremonies did not stop because of mission interference' and that the Elders decided based on other factors.
[75] Historian Robyn McKenzie (2009) argues that Mountford collected string figures as he, like many anthropologists at the time, was interested in the universal aspects of human societies and debates around their 'dissemination' (Boas 1887: 485). Some string figures depicted by Mountford may reflect secret-sacred practices; therefore, I do not go into any more detail or insert references detailing their location.

everyday camp life.

Several older women respondents also recalled string figures during their childhood. The photographs inspired *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) to demonstrate several string designs. I included my film of this in the Exhibition (see Figure 16 in Chapter 4). Occasionally Adnyamathanha children asked for string to try patterns learnt from their families. At Leigh Creek, older students were stimulated by the photographs to lead string game workshops for younger students (Figure 9 below).

Figure 9. Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton, with Nunga Noel Wilton helping her great grandson learn how to make a widlya (wurley) string figure after seeing Mountford's (1937c) photograph of string figures, taken by Ngami Rosalie Richards, 2018.

In the Schools' Workshops, the only Adnyamathanha children to use dots in response to the photographs were children of dual Adnyamathanha and Pitjantjatjara ancestry and living at Pipalyatjara in the Anangu Lands. The children from Pipalyatjara blended their Anangu and their Adnyamathanha heritage in the use of dot paintings (such as in Figure 10 below).

Figure 10. Ms Spicer is holding her painting in response to the photograph of her great grandfather, Mt Serle Bob, and portraying him through his goanna totem known to frequent his grave. I included this photo taken by Ngami Rosalie Richards (2018b) and painting in the Exhibition

Nevertheless, the children's use of landscape paintings as a response to the photographs, in preference to dot paintings, is an expression of cultural continuity as compared to adult artists who are sometimes now using dots in response to the considerable interest in and expectation of, this popular Central Australian style.[76] While not seen as an Adnyamathanha style today, some evidence points to the dot painting style having been previously 'done' in the region.

Dots can be seen in a painting from my *Nguarli* (grandfather) Andrew Richards (Figure 11 below).[77] The dot patterns in this painting appear quite different from the Namatjira landscapes that had so much influence at the time. The painting in Figure 11 below exemplifies the significance of totems and the use of dots in Flinders Ranges Aboriginal

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[76] Many respectable guides to Aboriginal art define dot painting as a technique 'first popularised by the Papunya Tula School of Painters', which 'uses dots to abstract and disguise sacred designs in paintings' (Bremer 2022: 12).

[77] *Ngarlaami* Geraldine Johnson (2015 pers comm.) said she collected this painting. *Ngarlaami* is recorded giving it to me during filming for an Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2011) documentary. In this documentary, she said she salvaged the painting from the rubbish heap following the demolition of the 'Rainbow Cottages' at *Nipapanha*. She said the painting was on a piece of plywood fastened onto the window frame to keep the rain and cold winds out.

societies. This painting is significant in that *Nguarli* almost certainly completed it in the early 1960s and some years before he died in 1972. It was thus not an imitation of the later popular dot painting movement.[78] This innovative precursor came from the Flinders Ranges (and the husband of an Adnyamathanha woman) rather than from a later transfer of 'traditional' art designs onto commercial paintings.[79]

Figure 11. Painting with shield designs of kangaroos, emu, and goannas created by Nguarli Andrew Richards (1950) and on public display in Nipapanha through the 1960s and 1970s [repeated in Chapter 7 in Figure 108]

Form affects and is intrinsic to a representation of 'them' and 'us' and how we think of our cultural traditions. Adnyamathanha landscape paintings may reflect the popularity of Central Australian landscapes of Central Australian , particularly Namatjira's watercolours, and the

[78] The cottages were built in the late 1950s and opened in June 1959. *Nguarli* Andrew died in 1972 and, after being banned from living in or visiting *Nipapanha* by the missionaries in the early 1960s, had been living in Blinman, Parachilna, Port Augusta and finally Copley for some years. My father was a primary school child at *Nipapanha*, first attending the Mission School and then helping the move to the new *Nipapanha* Education Department School in 1962. He went on to attend primary school in Blinman, Parachilna and finally Carlton Primary School. *Nguarli* Andrew therefore must have created this painting sometime in the late 1950s or early 1960s.

[79] *Nguarli* Andrew Richards was a Northern Barngarla and Arabana/Dieri man who married and lived most of his adult life in the northern Flinders Ranges.

encouragement of this painting style by mission staff. Landscapes, often incorporating animals, are now regarded as characteristic Adnyamathanha art. The use of landscape paintings in preference to human likenesses, a tendency also clearly shown by Adnyamathanha students in my Schools' Workshops, may also reflect beliefs about the spirit. Some respondents tended to sketch a drawing of a person to be not exactly like the subject; otherwise, if something happened to that picture, it could have a detrimental impact on the person depicted or their family. Regardless of the reasons, this style has become characteristic of Adnyamathanha art and a form of identification and affiliation. The reluctance to draw a person's likeness from a 2D horizontal perspective from the drawers' eyeline could be argued to be a reticence to create representational or figurative portraiture. Representational or figurative portraiture (and their opposites) are Udnyu concepts that do not translate into Aboriginal cultural works or Adnyamathanha *Malka* (markings).

This is also clear in the effective prohibition on the use of the colour red in Adnyamathanha art. Like many other groups, Adnyamathanha avoid anything to do with red due to its associations. However, meanings and expressions of the word 'red' are contextually dependent; it is not my place to talk about sensitive associations within other Aboriginal groups. For Adnyamathanha, red is the colour associated with blood and ceremony. The word for blood (*arti*) is in several freely used placenames. For example, the station name Artimore derives from *Arti murru* (dried blood), and my father always referred to a creek just east of *Minerawurta* (Ram Paddock Gate) as *Artimurrumurrunha*. Schebeck (2000: 233), however, lists an Adnyamathanha word *yaldhatyi* that specifically means 'red', and as stated by *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.), this is the word that LCAS use in their translation of the Aboriginal Flag song.

Even young students did not use red in their paintings made in response to the photographs, apart from its liberal use in the paintings that featured the Aboriginal flag. Some Adnyamathanha staff members or other community members involved in Schools' Workshops either specified that they did not want the students using red or did not offer red paint. Students sometimes voiced that they did not want to use red, but at other times, their choices and behaviours made this clear. The students abided by this norm, but I do not go into further discussion of any of this as it relates to secret sacred matters.

Muda as restriction, ceremony, and avoidance practices

Some Adnyamathanha people translate *Muda* as a legal system (akin to law courts) that provides guidance and restrictions on behaviour. One example was that during our first photo elicitation interview, *Ubmarli Vapi* M McKenzie (2017 pers comm.) talked with me about *Muda* as a courtroom. Specifically, when I showed him a photograph of Adnyamathanha people sitting under a tree during my interview, he remarked that the Elders would often sit underneath a tree in a *Wimila* to 'decide things' and that the '*Muda* is like the law court'. Similarly, *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.) was prompted by seeing the photo of Mt Serle Bob to then talk about a significant *Wimila* (Elder's meeting) wherein Elders decided to combine the remnants of the Ranges groups into one people— the Adnyamathanha— and that this noteworthy meeting probably took place beneath a significant and named gumtree, the *Vandapanha Wida*.

Adnyamathanha concepts of *Muda* are inextricably tied to ceremonial rites. Like Tunbridge, I do not detail initiation rites in Adnyamathanha society, as many are not considered proper for public distribution. Nevertheless, unlike other Aboriginal groups, some aspects of initiation rites are not taboo. Tunbridge (1988b: xxvii) has shown that:

> Some aspects of Adnyamathanha initiation ceremonies are not taboo. (Indeed, other people sometimes have difficulty with Adnyamathanha openness.) This is perhaps due to the large degree of participation in ceremonies by all members of the community (men, women, and children). On the other hand, however, Adnyamathanha elders were (and are) very strict in relation to other aspects of ceremony and to their sacred mythology.

It is important to note that many exciting and significant parts of Adnyamathanha society are not sacred secret. Tunbridge (1988b: xxvii) argues that:

> Mythology is a form of cultural and religious expression… These stories underlie the fact that quite apart from secret 'history', Adnyamathanha people had an enormously rich culture and religion represented by a vast body of oral history.

I discuss the role of women in terms of knowledge and transmission of a large body of *Muda* in detail in Chapter 6, where I show the importance of women's knowledge and participation in most aspects of the sacred and religious life, a participation that was shown in many of the photo-elicitation interviews. This rich history and expression underpin the examination and feelings expressed concerning the photographs. Tunbridge (1988b: xxxviii) argues that Creation stories or *Muda* provide a framework for relationships between people in that:

> They account for the origins of social institutions and customs, such as marriage laws, food taboos, and burial customs, thereby providing strong sanctions for their continued observance.

One example of ceremonial restriction encountered during my fieldwork occurred when I showed photographs to Adnyamathanha women, especially Elder *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2015 pers comm.). During our photo elicitation interviews, *Artuapi* Linda expressed concerns about several audio recordings she held at home. These were interviews with *Wilyaru* (initiated) men, including her father, given to her by anthropologist Luise Hercus. *Artuapi* Linda wanted me to contact Hercus to clarify the contents of the recordings because she was adamant that, as a woman, she was forbidden to listen to them, and nor could her adult children, including her sons. Her reasoning for this was that she felt uneasy, even though the tapes were out of sight in her home, and she did not want her youngest family members to either accidentally destroy the tapes or listen to them. Illness, retribution, possibly from senior men to her but particularly to other groups, and the sowing of discord and distrust amongst her wider family were all possible consequences that she did not wish to befall herself or other members of her family or community. Significantly, her distress appeared to arise from her desire not to cause offence or harm to any other Adnyamathanha. As the tapes did not belong where they were, and with the possibility that they included *Wilyaru Muda*, including songs, which restricted her from keeping them, she asked that SAM or SLSA safely store them for posterity.[80] *Artuapi* Linda's experience aligns with ceremonial restrictions as aspects of *Muda*.

The role of *Muda* as ceremony, and the relationship with photography was revealed in the

[80] SAM Archives agreed to take *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard's recordings into their care in 2020. This illustrates the critical role that museums and archives can and do play in protecting Adnyamathanha history.

interviews during my fieldwork with *Ngami* Judy Johnson and *Ubmarli* K. Johnson (2015 pers comm.). *Ubmarli* instigated an appropriately conducted visit to my great-grandfather's grave whilst we viewed Mountford's photographs of my great-grandfather together. The visit included ceremonially alerting the spirits to our relationship when approaching and leaving his grave and with smoking ceremonies (*Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha*) after visiting his grave. Similar calling out and smoking precedes and follows incursions into the vicinity of other graves or significant *Muda* sites.[81] Despite the inclusion of great-great-grandfather Mt Serle Bob's photograph in my Exhibition and interviews, there was no similar enthusiasm for a visit to his grave, where many Adnyamathanha people practice avoidance of the dead person's particularly potent spirit.[82] Mt Serle Bob's grave is powerful because he was an important and authoritative ceremonial leader, an *Urngi* (clever person), and culturally influential. These practices are strictly adhered to, as my father would not take us near his grave.

Another example of restriction in ceremony are Adnyamathanha naming avoidance practices. *Vapi* L. Richards (1993 pers comm.) was also circumspect in mentioning Mt Serle Bob's name even in circumlocutory ways.[83] Because of the generational naming structure, an opposite moiety great-grandfather becomes *Vapi* or father. This was so for my father with Mt Serle Bob. In both English and *Yura Ngawarla*, Adnyamathanha do not use the name of someone who is your *Vapi* (father) often as it is considered disrespectful, and it is forbidden once that person is deceased. Therefore, the inclusion of Mt Serle Bob's photograph in the Exhibition mandated the *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* ceremony at the Launch and caution in using his first name.

The role of *Muda* as ceremony was also revealed in my interviews and fieldwork with *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton and *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard (2017 pers comm.). As the partner of my *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton, I refer to *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard as my *Vapi* (or my Big Dad). I cannot say his name now that he has passed away. This restriction is current and

[81] I discuss *Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha* (smoking ceremonies) in Chapter 7.
[82] I discuss Mt Serle Bob further in Chapter 4.
[83] For example, *Vapi* L Richards (1993 pers comm.) told us a story in Glossop, far from Adnyamathanha Country, about his great grandfather, Mt Serle Bob, and mentioned his name. Suddenly, there was a series of loud bangs on the roof. My father at once apologised to our ancestor and explained to us, 'that happened before when I said his name. I should not say it too much, especially at night, or he will let me know.'

ongoing.

Naming avoidance within contemporary Adnyamathanha mourning practices impacted my research and Exhibition. As *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard's health was in decline, he could not attend the Exhibition Launch and passed away in March 2020. Due to the uncertain nature of his health, I respectfully did not include his interview words or voice in presentations that could have been difficult to alter late in the preparations as there was the potential for deep hurt and offence should he have passed away prior to or during the Exhibition. Furthermore, in keeping with Adnyamathanha views on naming recently deceased persons and particularly the long-term, ongoing prohibition on naming a 'father' (a close person of the opposite moiety to oneself), I do not mention M McKenzie (2017 pers comm.) by name within my thesis. These practices are similar to avoidance practices in other Aboriginal groups, as discussed by Merlan (1997: 95), Meggitt (1964), Munn (1970), and mourning rituals such as Brown (2014: 169), Morphy and Morphy (2008: 10-11). Tunbridge (1988b: xxvii) and Ellis (1975) outline specific Adnyamathanha mourning practices.

When viewing and discussing photographs, Adnyamathanha adults followed avoidance practices. This included not talking about or looking at specific photographs, referring to certain people in ways that did not include naming them and having frequent discussions and reminders about going to their graves only at certain times and in specific ways. Adnyamathanha people display respect for *Muda* as law through everyday practices interwoven into and constituted as layers of meaning that underlie the viewing of the photographs. Avoidance is an integral part of ceremony, which includes engaging actively and refraining from certain activities. The functions of ceremony are to uphold *Muda* and to maintain relationships that support this.

In summary, *Muda*'s significance cannot be underestimated in terms of Adnyamathanha identity, knowledge of Country and social relationships as evidenced in the viewing and responses to photographs. I now turn my attention to understanding the relationship between *Muda* and gender.

Adnyamathanha Women, Muda, and implications for photography

Mountford's work graphically illustrated a focus on male culture and law. In the 1930s, Mountford collected information about specific *Muda* almost exclusively from the men of *Nipapanha*. This is ironic, as *Nipapanha* is at the centre of important women's *Muda* accounts and sites that women regulate, maintain, and hold custodianship of. However, as with much of the Men's *Muda*, access to this area does not entirely exclude men. The dearth of documentation of Adnyamathanha women's *Muda* within anthropological literature, especially in Mountford's research, is significant.

Mountford's omissions reflected beliefs that women's *Muda* and women's voices were inconsequential in understanding Adnyamathanha society. It was only in the 1980s, when linguist Tunbridge (1988b) worked with Elders *Adnyini* Annie Coulthard, *Adnyini* Gertie Johnson, and others (predominantly women of *Nipapanha*) that the women's *Muda* came to be widely recognised and recorded. Their work partially revealed to the wider world some of the significance of this intricate women's landscape. In my research, I have not found any similar written commentary that noted or remarked upon the role of Adnyamathanha women in the knowledge and understanding of the sacred landscape, the laws of interaction, and the environment.

Tunbridge (1988b) included the sources for sixty-seven *Muda* accounts. I requested gender specificity of these accounts from male and female Elders from both *Mathari* and *Ararru* moieties. The Elders I consulted named nine accounts as primarily Women's *Muda*, seven as primarily men's *Muda,* and the remaining fifty-one as general or non-gender specific *Muda*. The Elders insisted that all the accounts included common knowledge known by both women and men and a significant amount known by children. Both genders indicated knowing and having heard these accounts from their Elders, both men and women, though women, particularly grandmothers and aunts, appeared to predominate in the inter-generational transmission of *Muda*.

The Elders knew of further *Muda* accounts that Tunbridge's research did not include.[84] Elders also shared with me that some of *Muda* named as either men's or women's *Muda* have more detail known only by or restricted to either men or women, as appropriate, but that the general information is open to all. For example, one of the last *Wilyaru* men, *Vapapa* Claude Demell, verified in the imprimatur in Tunbridge (1988b: iii) that all accounts provided in Tunbridge's book were open to all. Assumptions that women do not know *Muda* and cannot speak about ceremony are false (see Appendix 4.).

Mountford's photographs include many views of our Country, including specific *Muda* sites. Many of these photographs are regarded as having general significance, but many also relate mainly to the activities of one gender or the other. Mountford's photographs of Country (including landscapes) include several locations particularly associated with activities of the ancestral men but also include one of *Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha* (The Ancestral Spirits making Damper; Figure 12), which he labelled as the 'Cooking place of two mythical women', with 'mythical' later corrected in another hand, believed to be Adnyamathanha, to 'ancestral'.[85] Mountford's photographs also included drawings of some of *Muda* accounts; these drawings relate primarily to 'general *Muda*'.

[84] An example could be the *Andu* (yellow-footed rock wallaby) that can only be prepared for cooking by *Wilyaru* men (as dictated by *Muda* and functioning to help preserve the *Andu* from over-exploitation). The Adelaide Zoo wished to share this *Muda* in an installation with Leigh Creek Area School, but the latter advised that the school and its children could not be involved in this aspect because of the restricted nature of knowledge of this *Muda*.

[85] *Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha* is the site where the Old Woman made the damper. *Nguthuna* is spirit, and -*nga* on the end denotes that the spirit is the agent doing the action.

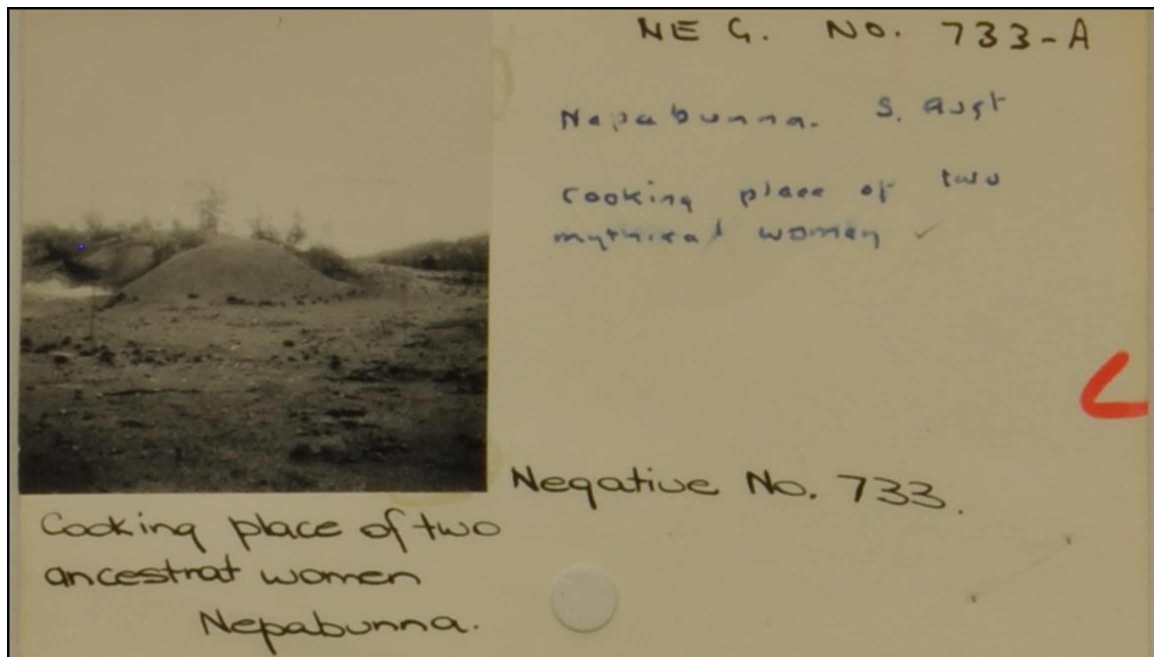


Figure 12. Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha (The Ancestral Spirits making Damper), Mountford c. 1939, Negative 732B, Mountford-Sheard collection, courtesy of SLSA

On occasion, Tunbridge (1988b) notes that information came from Mountford. Unfortunately, he was not as precise in supplying the names of his informants. He names the informant on the two occasions when it was a female informant, Susie Wilton née Noble, the wife of one of his chief informants. I featured Susie Wilton's (née Noble) photograph on the posters and fliers for the Exhibition to recognise her contribution (Richards, RG 2019e). From readings of his journal, Mountford's other information came from men. On some occasions, it is possible to deduce the identity of his informant. For example, Mountford noted in his 1944 Journal that he specially travelled to Parachilna to glean more details of the *Marrukurli Pukartu* ochre *Muda* from the man who had previously given him this information (but who had been unnamed in 1937). This was a men's *Muda* and very sacred, but with associated nearby women's *Muda* requiring women's clearance for men to pass by on their way to the ochre as told by *Vapi* L. Richards and *Vapi* R. Richards (2002) and *Artuapi* Angelina Stuart (2005 pers comm.).

Within most *Muda* accounts told to Tunbridge, the shared role in passing on the information about each of these *Muda* showed that both genders held significant knowledge and were free to pass that knowledge on for general *Muda* and for both men's and women's *Muda*. This occurred with the *Marrukurli Muda* with Annie Coulthard, whom Tunbridge lists as supplying clarification on several points, adding to the information on the *Marrukurli Muda*.

Artuapi Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) explained that she had heard of this *Muda* and recognised the names of the creatures featured in it, even this sacred Men's *Muda*.

Several of Mountford's photographs have been withdrawn from public availability due to their ceremonial sacredness. This is proper. I have never seen them, and never will, as I know these photographs relate to men's higher stage ceremonial life. It is strictly in this area— an area that has been discontinued but that is still sacred— that women do not speak or seek to influence. Similarly, men should not seek knowledge or speak of women's law– a law researchers did not record or recognise in detail. These practices are also now discontinued generally, though some beliefs and practices concerning childbirth (Mountford, Charles Pearcy 1981) are sometimes evident (Ellis, RW & Tur 1973). It is *Muda* that continues and is ever present in the landscape that Mountford enthusiastically photographed.

In fieldwork, many Adnyamathanha women, such as *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017 pers comm.), reiterated to me that they thought that historically Adnyamathanha people were much more open or less focused on the exclusivity of male and female knowledge than other groups. There were also fewer restrictions to women's participation in and knowledge of ceremonial life, and we aim to maintain this openness in the face of opposition from other groups and even from some Adnyamathanha men's attempts to influence change. Adnyamathanha women were, and older women still are, confident in bringing the voices of Adnyamathanha women to the table in wide-ranging matters that do not relate to the men's ceremonial life. It remains to be seen if younger generations will be as free to share or discuss their knowledge of *Muda*, regardless of gender. It is my view that endeavours to limit women are contrary to past Adnyamathanha practices and should be resisted.

Muda as language, song, and continuity

The 'everywhen' or 'the dreaming' has its own trajectory and expression of time (Gilchrist 2016). This can also be seen in *Muda*. It has its own tense usage. This tense is alluded to in the structure of language within Adnyamathanha *Udi* (songs) and written records of *Muda*. Richards and Wilton (2022) have shown that *Yura Ngawarla* has a specific tense designated by the suffix -*ku* that reaches beyond its translatability into English. This also occurs in some other Aboriginal groups around Australia that feature a particular narrative tense as outlined

by Pitjantjara grammar in Eckert and Hudson (1988). Adnyamathanha use the tense suffix *-ku* in common every day habitual, repeated events such as 'In summer, the children go swimming in the waterhole' (*Warldanga, yakarti-apinha marnggiku Awi urtunga*). It is heard in traditional songs (*Udi*) as in the lyrics *Viliwarunha manyinga, Vildarri ikanyanggataku* (In the red sand at *Viliwarunha*, her footprints lie) in Table 3 below, and in the *Valu vandyanaku uranyi Udi* (He sends the rainbow) in Table 4 below.

Table 3. Lyrics for Viliwarunha Udi [A song for the girl sung three times with last line repeated] at Exhibition Launch

Adnyamathanha	**English translation**
Viliwarunha manyinga	In the red sand at *Viliwarunha*
Vildarri ikanyanggaku[86]	Her footprints lie.
Urnda valdha wawarri.	Her wallaby skin rug is long, long.

Table 4. Lyrics for Udi (song) 'He Sends the Rainbow' sung at Exhibition Launch

Adnyamathanha	**English translation**
Valu varndanaku uranyi warndu uranyi	He sends the rainbow, the lovely rainbow
Valu varndanaku uranyi awi wamba	He sends the rainbow with the rain
Valu varndarnaku yurndunha vithiku awala	He sends the sunshine upon the shadow,
Valu varndarnaku uranyi awi wamba.	He sends the rainbow with the rain.

The singing of songs while viewing the photographs underscore Adnyamathanha multisensorial cultural understandings of, and engagements with, photographs. The Adnyamathanha women's choir members sang both songs at the Exhibition Launch to transform the Exhibition space to include recognition of the spirits and *Muda*. The older women weaved *Muda*, and Adnyamathanha and Christian concepts into a seamless whole. Concepts of time within Aboriginal 'dreaming' are not straightforward or linear. Ellis (1976: 231) argues that for 'Aboriginal man' the 'myths of the Dreamtime are… records of history…

[86] *Vildarri ikanyanggaku* is sometimes sung and written as *Vildarri ikandhaliku*. The *-li* suffix denotes sorrow over the situation, while *the nda/ndha* suffix denotes present continuous tense and *-ku* ongoing or simple present.

but the time to which they refer partakes in the nature of dreaming because…past, present and future, are… co-existent'.[87]

Adnyamathanha understanding of *Muda* show some aspects of this conceptualisation of dreaming and time. Analysis of *Yura Ngawarla* show some aspects of Adnyamathanha concepts of time and *Muda*. For example, many *Muda Udi* feature the -*ku* tense, which is also included in songs written in *Yura Ngawarla* by Adnyamathanha before the 1970s. The line "Follow, follow, I will follow Jesus" is sung in *Yura Ngawarla* as "*Urapaku, urapaku, Ngathu urupaku Jesus*" where the -*ku* is the continuous form, applied within an Adnyamathanha syncretic Christian '*Muda*'.

Muda narration similarly often uses this suffix where the action is seen as ongoing. In her retelling of the *Ngawarla Wami Muda*, Annie Coulthard in Tunbridge (1985: n. p.) repeats '*Unakanha vadiku*' as each place is searched, and translated as '*Unakanha* was not there', but conveying the sense that *Unakanha* continues to be missing despite the frantic searching. In her recent series of Adnyamathanha *Muda* books, *Ngarlaami* Lily Neville (2020) often uses the -ku tense ending in the retelling of a range of stories. Tunbridge (1988b: xlv) discussed verb forms used in story noting that:

> One verb structure is non-specific as to when the action took place and may even carry the notion that all the implications of the action are yet unrealised. Another common form in storytelling allows several interpretations: the event is future; it is not confirmed as having happened yet; or it is a customary action. A third form has much the same implication as *wadu*– that the event is past and finished.

Ngami Rosalie Richards and *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022: n. p.) portray these verb suffixes in order, as *–ndyu/-ndya, -ku* and *anggu* with *-ndyu* being indeterminate and *–ku* containing a sense of continuity and incompletion.

The frequent response of singing traditional songs of *Muda* whilst viewing the photographs

[87] There is a wealth of literature that further substantiate the ways in which photo elicitation connects people to deceased and distant kin (Edwards 2012), to memories and multisensorial remembering (Harris, A & Guillemin 2012; Powell 2010; Urry 1998; Young 2001) which I allude to within my thesis elsewhere.

of the Elders was indicative of the inextricable connection between the song, the narrative tense of ongoing connection to *Muda* with photography. An example of this connection between the song, narrative tense, *Muda,* and photography was revealed during my interview with *Artuapi* Mona Jackson. *Artuapi* Mona Jackson (2017 pers comm.) sang many traditional Adnyamathanha *Udi* in *Yura Ngawarla* in response to my showing her the photographs. One of these was an Adnyamathanha lullaby from *Muda* that my father would sing to me as a child. Others were *Viliwarunha manyinga* and other songs sung by women in the telling of the women's *Muda* from the *Nipapanha* area (some lyrics for *Wayanha Udi* in Table 5 and *Wayanha Virngarringa Udi* in Table 6, below). She continued this singing through the viewing of the many photographs. Her daughter, Maxine Jackson, was also there and requested a copy of her mother singing these songs as a family record and keepsake for her children.

Table 5. Lyrics for Udi (song) Wayanha [song the mother sang as she cut steps for Yanmarri Apinha- Sing three times]

Yura Ngawarla	**English translation**
Wayanha yanarunga	In the shadow of Wayanha
vakuvaku winmirimanda.	The bellbird is whistling.

There were many other songs that *Artuapi* Mona Jackson (2017 pers comm.) sung whilst viewing the photographs. Here I portray the lullaby (*Wayanha Virngarringa Udi*) in Table 6 below, which is sung when a mother wanted the *vakuvaku* bird to help her put the children to sleep as this lullaby has this sense of the continuity of *Muda*.

Table 6. Lyrics for Udi (song) Wayanha Virngarringa

Yura Ngawarla	**English translation**
Wayanha Virngarringa	At the junction at Wayanha
vakuvaku winmirimaku.	The *vakuvaku* bird is whistling.
yula-yulanika!	Stretch out to go to sleep!
vakuvaku winmirimaku.	The *vakuvaku* bird is whistling.

Ngaparla Owen Brady (2017 pers comm.) is an Adnyamathanha man and Elder from the

Ararru moiety. While many songs continue to be sung in *Yura Ngawarla*, I was surprised and caught unawares when *Ngaparla* Owen insisted on being interviewed solely in *Yura Ngawarla*. I am rusty and only a beginner in *Yura Ngawarla,* but he talked about the photographs in *Yura Ngawarla* and showed his children the photographs while telling them many accounts that included history, country, places, activities, and connections. By choosing to speak to me in Yura Ngawarla, I understood that he was undertaking responsibility as an Elder by reminding me of my language and providing me, as a younger person, with an opportunity to brush up on my language skills. He used the Adnyamathanha tense -*ku, which is most associated with Muda*- throughout this interview in *Yura Ngawarla*.

Traditional songs often use the -*ku* tense. I define traditional songs as songs sung in Yura Ngawarla, featuring Creation accounts and using Aboriginal musical cadences. Adnyamathanha musical cadences differ significantly from Western ones (Ellis, CJ 1966). As a musician and an Adnyamathanha person, I can hear distinct differences in the 'traditional' Adnyamathanha songs, contemporary music, and gospel songs; however, that does not mean that more contemporary songs do not reflect Adnyamathanha history and *Muda*.

Yaka Jillian Marsh (2013: 177) argues that contemporary Adnyamathanha music in Buck McKenzie's (2009) songbook 'exemplifies his strong and enduring connection to Country' (Marsh, Jillian K. 2013: 177). I also experienced this during fieldwork. Specifically, When *Ubmarli Vapi* K. McKenzie (2018 pers comm.) viewed the photographs, he sang many songs in *Yura Ngawarla*. He sang both traditional Adnyamathanha songs of *Muda* and contemporary gospel songs that he had written in *Yura Ngawarla*. Also, *Ubmarli Vapi* K. McKenzie played guitar and sang several songs that he had written in *Yura Ngawarla* about Jesus, God, Country, and Culture. He sang to me and his daughter, who was present at the interview. He also talked at length about (King) Bob of Mount Serle.

Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) argues that "dreaming" is difficult to define as it refers to 'accounts relating to a time long past while having a spiritual reality in the present'. Tunbridge (1988b: xlv) also argues that:

> Most stories begin with *wadu*, which is generally rendered "a long time ago" … This is not to say, however, that the Dreaming is conceived of only

> as something which all happened a long time ago and has no relevance to or manifestation in the present.

The frequent response by Elders to photographs of singing traditional songs of *Muda* and of relating the photographs to *Muda* showed the inextricable connections between song, narrative tense and *Muda* that viewing of photography elucidated.

Muda and Christianity

Christianity has greatly influenced Aboriginal lives (Ackerman 2010; Brock 2002), including those of the Adnyamathanha people (Brock 1993b, 2022; Brock & Gara 2017). Some Adnyamathanha Elders remember positive associations with the missions and missionaries. *Artuapi* Faith Thomas (née Coulthard) is an Adnyamathanha woman and Elder. She recounts that her experiences with the missions and missionaries were positive. *Artuapi* Faith Thomas's recollections highlight Adnyamathanha views of syncretism in Adnyamathanha understandings of *Muda* and Christianity. As outlined in Jackson (2016: n. p.), *Artuapi* Faith was one of the first Aboriginal nurses in Australia and the first Aboriginal person to represent Australia in test cricket. She was also the first Aboriginal person to be selected to represent Australia in an international sporting tour.

In her interviews, *Artuapi* Faith Thomas (2017 pers comm.) discussed how she was a part of the Stolen Generations. She recounts that *Udnyu* missionaries took her and raised her at UAM Colebrook Home and taught her to see her Aboriginality as something that should be overcome. Her life at the Mission was steeped within a Westernised type of evangelical Christianity. *Artuapi* Faith Thomas (1990: n. p.) recounted in her interview with the NLA that:

> I was born in *Nipapanha* in 1933. I was taken from *Nipapanha* when I was two months old… I always had contact with my mother… I started to become curious about my Aboriginal heritage when I was nursing in Aboriginal communities. Hang on, things are coming back, during the War [WWII], when I was still at school two of my uncles' [Sandy Coulthard and Steve Coulthard], who were in army uniform, came to visit me at the Colebrook home in Quorn when I was a little kid. They were my only contact with my relations except for my mother. I felt special as I was the only child at Quorn

> to have visitors, and I felt rich [and so was curious about my Aboriginality and had no qualms going back to *Nipapanha*].

Artuapi Faith Thomas (2017 pers comm.) spent significant time at the UAM Colebrook Homes at Quorn and in the Adelaide Hills as a child and had fond memories of her time there. She attributes her successes as stemming from the self-belief inculcated amongst the girls by the two Missionary Sisters who undertook their primary care.

The SLSA's (2007: n. p.) catalogue summary of Faith's records notes allegedly that 'contrary to the views of some, [Faith] always considered that hers was not the "stolen generation", but rather the "chosen generation"'. *Artuapi* Faith sees her Christian upbringing at Colebrook Home as the main conceptual framework in which she identifies herself. How her Christian beliefs fit with her concepts and beliefs concerning *Muda* are unknown[88].

Through their connections with the UAM, Adnyamathanha have mostly been exposed to a general Protestant evangelical Christianity. I, therefore, refer to this form of Christianity when discussing Christianity from the missionaries or an *Udnyu* context. McCarthy (2022: n. p.) notes that the UAM was an 'interdenominational mission organisation' founded in New South Wales in 1895 and established in South Australia in Oodnadatta in 1924. He points out that:

> In 1927, the United Aborigines' Mission established Colebrook Home in Quorn in the Flinders Ranges, residents of which included the residents and matron of the former Oodnadatta Children's Home and children from the Adnyamathanha community.

Udnyu historian Peggy Brock (2017: 245) records how UAM also built a dormitory at *Nipapanha*, which housed several local children (as well as some from further afield) but kept them within the community, which allowed them to interact with family and community members. *Udnyu* historian Longworth, on the *Find and Connect* website created by McCarthy (2022: n. p.), argues that the UAM 'understood [its] mission as the conversion to Christianity of Aboriginal people'. Nevertheless, like numerous Aboriginal groups, many older Adnyamathanha people have adopted a syncretic approach to the incorporation of

[88] Faith, nevertheless, expressed a great desire to learn *Yura Ngawarla* (Adnyamathanha language) (Tunbridge 1991b: 6).

Christianity into *Muda*, as heard in the *Udi* chosen by the women to sing at the *Minaaka-Apinhanga* Exhibition Launch.[89]

An Adnyamathanha person who reported positive associations with Christianity within a syncretic approach was *Ubmarli Vapi* M McKenzie (2017 pers comm.). When looking at the photographs during the interviews in his home, he sang many songs in *Yura Ngawarla,* both traditional Adnyamathanha songs and gospel songs. He also talked about Adnyamathanha law at length. *Ubmarli Vapi* was a devoted Christian, but as is common amongst older Adnyamathanha Christians, he showed no feeling of conflict between *Muda* and Christianity, interweaving them both as expressions of sacred truth. The way he related *Muda* to the Bible showed this.

Ubmarli Vapi M McKenzie supplied a strong example of Adnyamathanha people translating *Muda* as moral tenets in a manner like the Bible. For example, during our first photo elicitation interview, *Ubmarli Vapi* M McKenzie (2017 pers comm.) talked with me about *Muda* as being like "the Bible" and, specifically, when I showed him a photograph of Adnyamathanha people next to the *Nipapanha* church, he remarked that '*Muda* is being "like" the Bible and the law court'. Further examples of the syncretic approach were clear in interviews with other Adnyamathanha Elders and their use of variable tenses in discussing history and *Muda*. Some also expressed regret that the later missionaries at *Nipapanha* had been very repressive, overseeing their actions and banning many Adnyamathanha spiritual customs.

Many people in the Adnyamathanha community have reservations about the influence of Christianity and how it has affected Adnyamathanha society. During my fieldwork, most collaborators and community members did not want me to name them when discussing the UAM and its role but were happy for me to reference them anonymously. This may be because of the ongoing connections with Christianity within Adnyamathanha society today and respect for the views of Elders who are Christians. For example, the last UAM missionaries in the North Flinders were a much-respected Adnyamathanha couple and the first ordained

[89] Tunbridge (1988a: 67) argues that many older Adnyamathanha: 'Do not regard Christianity as a replacement of the old order... … As Pearl McKenzie has said, "Our law was given too, you know. We didn't make it up, but it came down to us". Aboriginal Christians, despite all the messages they have received to the contrary, … have continued to believe' in their worth and the validity of their view of the world and regard Christianity instead as a continuation of the old order.

female Aboriginal minister of any Christian denomination in South Australia— *Adlari* Denise Champion (2014)— is Adnyamathanha (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2015: n. p.). In addition, Adnyamathanha *Yura Ngawarla* gospel songs and hymns are still being written by Adnyamathanha Elder, *Ngarlaami* Lily Neville (2020) and sung in the Copley Church in the Flinders Ranges. *Adlari* Denise Champion (2014: 19) says that for her *Muda* and Christianity are not in conflict. She declares that:

> I love being able to talk about our *Muda* (our worldview) …. We always talk about our mother, which fits very closely with the story of Genesis of the Lord God forming humankind from the clay… whenever I preach, I would rather tell a *Muda* first and then draw off the biblical understandings of it.

I was also able to interview *Nunga* Vincent Coulthard (2017 pers comm.), an Adnyamathanha man who was the ATLA Chairperson at the time of his interview. I also discussed the research and Exhibition with *Nunga* Vincent Coulthard's brother, *Nunga* Terry Coulthard. *Nunga* Terry Coulthard is the founder and CEO of *Iga Warta*. I showed *Nunga* Terry Coulthard (2019 pers comm.) around the Exhibition as a part of a pre-launch Exhibition preview.

Both *Nunga* Terry and *Nunga* Vincent spoke of the deleterious impact of mission repression upon *Yura Ngawarla,* culture and identity, including recounting the time their mother was banned from purchasing items, including food, from the local Mission Store because one of her children was heard to address their mother as *Ngami* (Mother). Fortunately, their strong Adnyamathanha family connections ensured they did not go hungry. While launching his book in *Wurlpinha* (Wilpena Pound) in 2020, *Nunga* Terry recounted the same story of his mother speaking *Yura Ngawarla*. Unsurprisingly, *Nunga* Vincent Coulthard and his brother, *Nunga* Terry Coulthard, recounted that their experience of missionary interventions harmed their lives and views of Christian belief systems. Christianity does not have as prominent a role in their understanding of *Muda* as it does for many other older Adnyamathanha people. They also lament the damage inflicted upon the retention of their language.

Another collaborator spoke of his grandmother being forced to spend the rest of the day underneath the school building with the spiders because she had spoken Adnyamathanha in school. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.) also explained the damage done to *Yura*

Ngawarla by missionaries prohibiting them from speaking their language and inculcating a belief that the language was inferior, even evil. *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2018a pers comm.) told of a respected Adnyamathanha educator who said to her, on being told early in 1983 that Nepabunna [*Nipapanha*] School wanted to introduce a *Yura Ngawarla* program: "You can't do that. We have squashed our language because it is a rubbish language".[90] This was an Adnyamathanha leader who later became a staunch supporter of the *Yura Ngawarla* program. Tunbridge (1992: 19) has discussed similar comments.

There are aspects of Protestant Christianity that Adnyamathanha were exposed to through the UAM that have merged with *Muda* over time. Some parts of both systems, however, remain separate. This Christianity is about faith and belief; *Muda* is inextricably linked to ongoing practice. Elkin (1976: 231-233) notes that: 'conservatism and the maintenance of continuity with the past play an important part in the life of all societies and can never be ignored, except temporarily. This is also true of the Aborigines [sic]'. This is also true of Christianity. However, one way that Christianity and *Muda* differ is in their concept of time. Concepts of time within *Muda* are not as straightforward or linear as those found within Christianity or Western society. As Ellis (1976: 231-233) argues:

> The dreaming… was manifested in the past through the ancestral and cult heroes; it is manifested in the present through the initiated (especially in sacred ceremonies); and it will be manifested in the future provided that the links with it are not broken.

Protestant Christianity has a history of events that happened in the past. Protestant Christianity uses these events as a base for their moral teachings. According to the Lord's Prayer (translated in both English and *Yura Ngawarla*) by *Adlari* Denise Champion (2014), Protestant Christians must individually affirm that they believe in these events and act according to these moral teachings. *Muda* comprises events that happened in the past and continue to evolve and change through the telling and enacting of repeated ceremonial and cultural practices and 'Creation stories' (Tunbridge 1988b: xxii). These practices sustain

[90] *Ngami* Rosalie said that, because of respect for the person, she would never reveal the identity of that speaker.

community well-being for individuals as well as the whole community.

Muda and Christianity now work together for many Adnyamathanha. Older Adnyamathanha Christians pray to the Christian God now for rain. They also take water to cemeteries to pour a drink onto the Elders' graves whilst asking these deceased relatives to send rain. They worry about the fossilised *ardla wirdni* (firestick) or ancient *widla wirti* (drought stick) exposed through mining and want it reburied as it causes droughts. They still identify trees with scarring where past Adnyamathanha hit them with stones to bring rain. Elders see no inconsistencies in these beliefs and practices as each are viewed by many as essential and efficacious. These viewpoints position Christianity alongside or incorporated into *Muda.*

Photographs and Muda

Photo-elicitation during fieldwork demonstrated that *Muda* was central to how people responded to the photographs. *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.) is an Adnyamathanha Elder from the *Ararru* moiety. I interviewed *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert multiple times in 2017 and 2018. He recorded many stories about his grandfather, Albert Wilton, who is featured in many of Mountford's photographs and audio recordings, including accounts of being shown his wallaby pit trap on a wallaby pad on Mount Serle. As discussed in Chapter 5, *Ubmarli Vapi* could talk freely and at length about his *Nguarli* as he was of the same moiety, gender, and kin group. Seeing the photographs of his grandfather making a *Mindi* (wallaby net) stimulated *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert to talk about seeing the use of the net and then to sing an important *Udi* (song) that I was most privileged to be able to record. [91] I found later that this was a *Muda* song sung by the *Wilyaru* men before and during a group hunt for kangaroos or other large animals, as mentioned by Tunbridge (1991a: 30-34).[92] During my research for the Exhibition, I discovered that his grandfather, A. Wilton (1937), recorded the same song with Mountford in 1937. Tunbridge (1991a: 30) argues that 'women and even quite small children were not excluded from… a hunt' as it was desirable for many people 'to be involved

[91] Adnyamathanha 'rarely used the spear but used trapping such as the *Mindi* [small net] to hunt' (Tunbridge 1991a: 32-33).

[92] Tunbridge argues that a kangaroo and euro hunting account provided to Mountford is 'reminiscent of one of the dreaming [*Muda*] stories. The Wilyaru [initiated men] would sing a song before a mob went out to catch these mammals. After a day's chase, the animal's paw would bleed. The people would keep following it and continue singing… This account calls to mind the dreaming [*Muda*] story of *Virdianha*… chasing the mammal until it was thoroughly exhausted' (Tunbridge 1991a: 30).

in blocking off… larger animals'. It was, therefore, an honour to listen to this song sung to me by his grandson in response to a single photograph of his grandfather making a wallaby net.

Tunbridge (1991a: 32-33) records that *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton created and gave a *Mindi* to Mountford around 1939-40 and notes that: 'this same net is now in the South Australian Museum'. It was no longer used regularly by this time and 'must have been one of the last such nets ever made. They were, in fact, hardly used this century, and very few people the author has known have seen them in use'.

Figure 13. Mindi (net) [created by Albert Wilton] collected by Charles Mountford c. 1937, held at SAM, A68064

I found this *Mindi* at SAM, together with photographs of *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton making this trap and his recording of songs of these traps. He did not make this net from traditional net strings made of kangaroo sinews but commercially produced fibre string.[93] This may be because Adnyamathanha consider how kangaroos are processed to be sacred secret. During his interview, I showed copies of these photographs of Vurlkanha Vapi Albert Wilton to his

[93] Aboriginal artists are not confined to using 'traditional' mediums to create their designs (Bremer 2022). This is also the case for the Adnyamathanha.

grandson, *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton. *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.) said that he had 'not thought about that song or remembered it for many years', yet it reconnected him to *Muda* via the photograph during the fieldwork interviews.

There were many similar accounts voicing connection to family, country and *Muda*. As *Artuapi* Mona Jackson (2017 pers comm.) looked at the photographs, she sang the songs she remembered those people seen in the photographs singing. She retold the stories they had told her and spoke of the places she visited with them. *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017 pers comm.) was stirred when viewing the photographs to tell of dancing as a young girl for the last ceremonial events at *Nipapanha* in 1948 and of hearing about the search for water as her Elders were forced to leave the halcyon days of *Minerawurta* (Ram Paddock Gate) to find an alternative campsite. *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2015 pers comm.) told of visits with her Elders to *Arrunha Awi* and the importance of that sacred waterhole. The photographs prompted her to take me to where the damper stones from the *Yurlu Ngukandanha Muda* are now to be found and told of her concern for their proper relocation. *Artuapi* Linda furthered reciprocation by showing my mother where her family had camped and hunted in the *Arrunha Awi* area when she was a child and spoke of her joy in contributing to my *Ngami*'s work of installing signs that paid tribute to the Adnyamathanha heritage of that particular area.

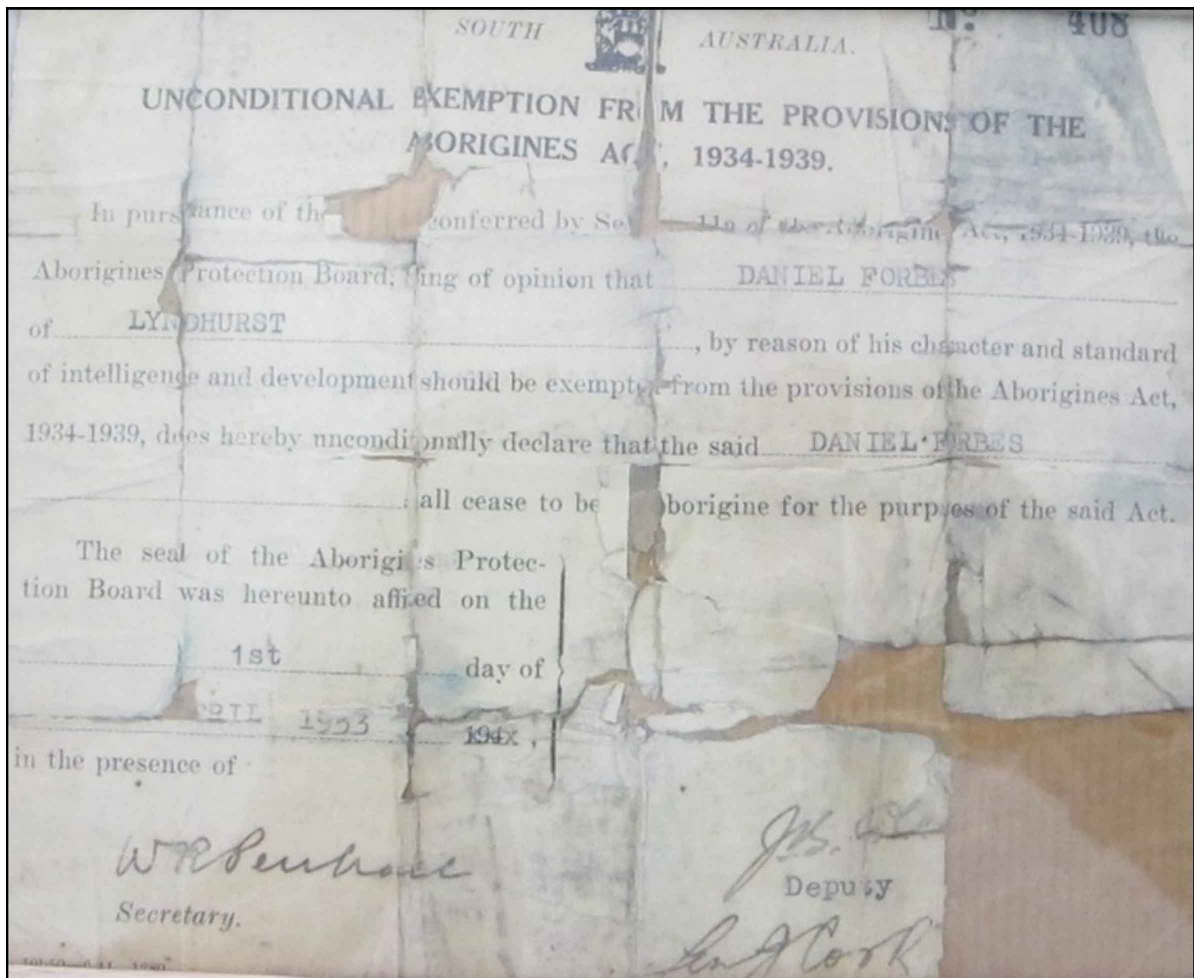
Deger (2016: 127-128) has argued that photographs have a universal tendency to evoke connections from family members who are not there. I further add that amongst the Adnyamathanha, family members are from amongst many people within the community rather than confined to small nuclear family groups. For example, *Artuapi* B. Johnson (2017 pers comm.) (now deceased) was an Adnyamathanha woman who was profoundly hearing impaired. She did not say anything at all; she did not need to. Her reaction was overwhelming and had a significant impact on me emotionally. She quietly and slowly looked at each photograph in the diverse collection provided before handing them back to me with tears in her eyes. Those tears spoke to me more than words can ever convey; her visual cues and body language were evidence of deep relationships and the connection to the many absent loved ones and other memories and connections that words could not express.

The photographs take the viewers to a place where they were young. Photo-elicitation and the discussion of *Muda* also bring up sadness for some Adnyamathanha who could not grow

up with as much community knowledge as they wished. One example of this was the sorrow expressed by *Ubmarli Vapi* Daniel Forbes (2018 pers comm.), an Adnyamathanha man and Elder, during his interview. *Ubmarli Vapi* Daniel is the son of Joyce (née Coulthard) and Jack Forbes. *Ngamarna* John Coulthard was present during this interview but not separately interviewed. *Ubmarli* Daniel Forbes (2018 pers comm.) discussed people (both in and out of the photographs), including the three Coulthard brothers who were his biological and classificatory grandfathers and my great grandfathers: Dick, Jack and Ted Coulthard. Ted's daughter Joyce married the son of *wityarti* (Jack Forbes) and Englishwoman Rebecca Castledine, the first non-Aboriginal woman to marry an Adnyamathanha man.[94]

When viewing the photographs, *Ubmarli Vapi* Daniel showed me the Aboriginal permit or exemption card (Figure 14 below) —colloquially known as a "dog tag" (Aberdeen et al. 2021: 1) — which the South Australian Government had made him carry with him, and discussed the impact of this on his life.

[94] Rebecca Forbes née Castledine married Adnyamathanha man, Jack Forbes, on '17 January 1914, according to both Adnyamathanha and Western tradition' (Algie 2019: n. p.). Rebecca lived within the community for the rest of her life and was buried at Nipapanha.



SOUTH AUSTRALIA. No. 408

UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION FR M THE PROVISIONS OF THE ABORIGINES AC , 1934-1939.

In pursuance of th conferred by Se 11a of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, the Aborigines Protection Board, being of opinion that DANIEL FORBES of LYNDHURST, by reason of his character and standard of intelligence and development should be exempt from the provisions of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, does hereby unconditionally declare that the said DANIEL FORBES shall cease to be borigine for the purposes of the said Act.

The seal of the Aborigines Protection Board was hereunto affixed on the 1st day of PRIL 1953 194x, in the presence of

Secretary.

Deputy

Figure 14. Photo of Ubmarli Vapi Daniel Forbes' (2018) exemption card, which I photographed during his interview

The statement in the certificate shows that the cardholder ceased to be an 'Aborigine for the purposes of the Act' in that he was not subject to the draconian laws regulating the life of Aboriginal people in South Australia as outlined in the *Aborigines* Act (South Australian Government 1934: n. p.).[95] *Ubmarli Vapi* said the exemption card prohibited him from staying overnight in *Nipapanha*. He discussed the implications of his permit: losing contact with family and the absence of language and culture. Although *Ubmarli* Daniel's exemption card does not have a photograph attached to it, exemption cards often contain a photographic portrait to identify the bearer (Hughes, Karen & Trevorrow 2019: 258). These portraits often had a 'similar style [as] well-known visual identification data collected by anthropologists Norman Tindale and Joseph Birdsell in the 1930s to survey and classify Aboriginal peoples' (Hughes, Karen & Trevorrow 2019: 258). Several photographs of *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard (Figure 58

[95] South Australian Aboriginal people were required to carry exemption cards 'to obtain employment and live off the missions and reserves and move about with relative freedom' (Hughes, Karen & Trevorrow 2019: 258).

and Figure 59) in Tindale (1937a) in Chapter 5 also show this style of photography.

My photo-elicitation interviews show that photographs serve as a vehicle for the connection of my collaborators to the past, their culture, their family, and their *Muda*. They supplied a means to confront and address feelings of disconnection from these vital aspects of *Yura* life. Early in my fieldwork, it became clear that the photographs elicited connections to deceased family members, and through these connections to the traditional *Muda* songs and stories, allowing them to remember the various ancestors singing to them. At other times, the stories that tumbled forth were of country, places visited with those Elders, and the stories and activities associated with those voiced and shared memories.

Muda and the Exhibition

In the final label in the Exhibition (Figure 15 below), I was going to write, in handwriting on a blank label, that 'the original archive is the dreaming where our knowledge is held forever.' However, I thought this was not a strong enough statement when writing my Exhibition panel. Instead, I wrote that '*Muda* is greater than the archive' as *Muda* is much bigger than the concepts of history, archive or 'dreaming' given by an *Udnyu* framework. *Muda* was a large part of the Exhibition, and made a significant contribution to this research endeavour. *Muda* is a crucial conceptual framework for Adnyamathanha through which readers and exhibition audiences could begin understanding Adnyamathanha society. In the final Exhibition caption, I asserted that:

> The [*Muda*] is the original archive. It is the system in which our knowledge is held and passed on. Working with museum archives is an extension of this cultural practice– what my ancestors would have done.

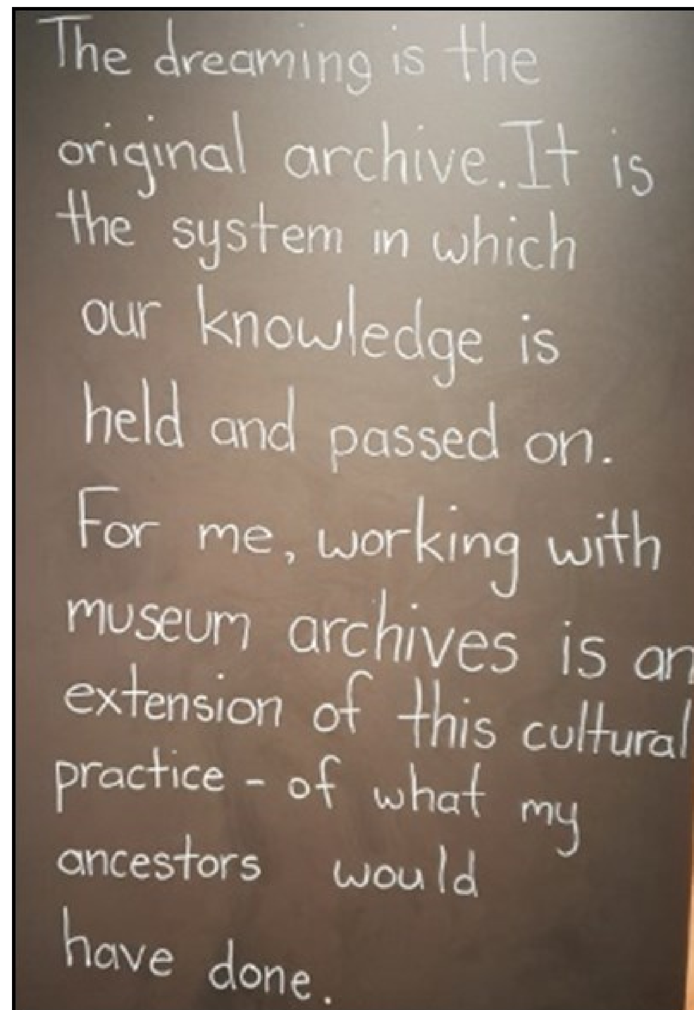


Figure 15. My handwritten captions on the Exhibition walls, photographed by Hemer (2019)

Artuapi Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) is an Adnyamathanha woman and Elder. I interviewed her in conjunction with Adnyamathanha woman and Elder *Ngarlaami* Margaret Brown. For Margaret Brown and *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.), the photographs stimulated a lengthy discussion of Adnyamathanha kinship systems. *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) also demonstrated the making of several string figures in the photographs. In the Exhibition, I filmed and used the resultant footage of her making string figures (Figure 16 below) next to Mountford's photographs. Many of the figures created in the string 'games', as recorded and photographed by Mountford, are related to figures and actions featured in *Muda*. This is a further example of the interconnectedness of *Muda* with all aspects of life, including an area that may appear quite disconnected, even trivial. *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) said that young people reported joy in seeing these figures recreated and that some young people in LCAS have been learning how to make them.

Figure 16. Screenshot from interview film of Artuapi Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) making string figures, in response to photographs shown by myself and Naomi Offler (2017)

I also conducted informal interviews and received Exhibition feedback from *Yaka* Carolynanha Johnson (2019 pers comm.) as a part of a pre-launch Exhibition preview. She asked that I swap a boomerang with another to enable a better representation of a specific family group in the Exhibition. I discuss this request further in Chapter 4. Fortunately, SAM designers and collections managers were able to accommodate this request. The seriousness of this request further highlights the significant role of carving within Adnyamathanha society and its ability to represent kinship ties.

Adnyamathanha artist and master/expert carver *Ngamarna* Roy Coulthard's (2017 pers comm.) interviews and work submitted for the Exhibition further highlight how *Muda* is practiced. I conducted informal interviews with *Ngamarna* Roy while he carved the artefacts for which he is renowned. It was an honour to feature his carvings in my Exhibition. *Ngamarna* Roy did not mention anything that I could use to specifically connect his carvings to *Muda* apart from noting the importance of some trees, such as birth trees or trees associated with *Muda*, which must not be used for carving and telling the *Muda* of the *Akurra* at *Yaki* whilst

carving a huge snake. Tunbridge (1988b: 45) refers to the sacredness of trees when she discusses the alarm caused when two significant gumtrees, formerly regarded as *Wida Ardupa* (a married couple), were separated by having a road between them. My father also pointed out that these trees now stand sadly single on either side of the road to Yankaninna, reporting that they 'were a couple travelling together in *Muda*' before this insensitive desecration.

Other Aboriginal groups also assert that carving relates to their histories. Moore (2022 pers comm.) is a linguist who works extensively with the Alyawarr people of Central Australia. Moore identifies carving as one of the many practices from *Altjira*, like other aspects of life, broadly described as law and tradition. In the Alyawarr language, *Altyerr-penh* means 'from tradition' or 'traditional'. In the film *Crook Hat and Camphoo* (Tranter 2005), Donald Thompson Kemarr argues that they carve 'because of *Altyerr*' and that the carvings 'come from *Altyerr*'. However, I do not know of any literature linking *Muda* with carving specifically.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed *Muda* as Adnyamathanha history, law, restrictions, moral guidance, art and song, language, Country, and relationships, as expressed by my Adnyamathanha collaborators. I have shown that *Muda* is not 'Dreaming'; instead it is a complex worldview and body of knowledge that underpins Adnyamathanha culture and society.

I have shown that *Muda* is not an academic epistemology or paradigm. A profoundly emotional web of connections binds Adnyamathanha to our cultural beliefs, kinship systems, and Country. During interviews, my collaborators reacted in diverse ways, collectively expressing their connection to *Muda*. During these discussions, expressions of happiness, anger, grief, pride, loss and reconnections to *Muda* were made clear; all these reactions were and are inextricably linked to *Muda*. I have grounded my research in *Muda,* and its influence appears throughout this body of research. It is the lens through which photographs are viewed, interpreted, and understood. For Adnyamathanha people, *Muda* encompasses "everything". In the next chapter, I discuss the Exhibition and its use as a research method to engage collaborators.

Chapter 4. Creating the Exhibition

My Exhibition explored how the museum and the community have tried to overcome historical tensions between Adnyamathanha and SAM's understandings of exhibitions. These tensions relate to the way salvage anthropology created and used the photographs of Adnyamathanha people in ways that differ from Adnyamathanha perceptions and usage of these same photographs. The Exhibition was a rich source of data contributing to the knowledge of how these tensions were partly alleviated. Reactions from Exhibition viewers have influenced my analysis throughout this thesis.

I could not readily separate the processes of choosing the concepts, content, and design of the Exhibition space into three neat processes or categorisations, as these considerations were enmeshed in several ways. I was aware of the significance of the decisions made at all stages: the biases and predispositions that helped guide the final views through selectively showing and not showing, of sharing and not sharing and of deciding who can comment on these photographs and who cannot, within academia and Aboriginal communities. I created content for display through community collaboration with Adnyamathanha and archival research. Staff at SAM then helped me to design the display of the selected content through the chosen modes of exhibition. I describe the Exhibition in this chapter, including its physical layout and critical themes.

SAM staff design most exhibitions for clockwise (or left to right) movement. Robinson (1933: 126)[96] and Procter (2020: n. p.) argue that this movement through the Exhibition spaces enable *Udnyu* viewers to 'read' an exhibition. This movement from left to right is not universal. In several exhibition spaces within countries that read from right to left (i.e., Arabic or Hebrew script) instead of left to right, as favoured in European and English-speaking countries, exhibition spaces are created from right to left. This is also how attendees within Hindu temples in India and the Taj Mahal are encouraged to walk within counter-clockwise

[96] Robinson (1933: 126) argues that within museums: 'about 75 per cent of the visitors bear to the right and about 25 per cent to the left… This tendency has shown itself to be remarkably similar in different museums and even in different cities.… There was [also] a persistent tendency … of curators to lay out exhibits in direct opposition to this habitual line of march. Working from blueprints, the eyes moved to the left and then around the building as they would read a line of print'. However, the visitors continued walking first to the right and then to the left.

viewing circuits. I was unable to ascertain whether Adnyamathanha traditionally used clockwise or counter-clockwise movement or, indeed, if they used circular as opposed to the linear motions that `were used in dance, with evidence left in the form of linear *Malkada* (initiation) dance trenches created by the dancing of women and girls. I have seen clockwise movement by contemporary Adnyamathanha groups circling smoking fires (Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha), so I used this pattern in my Exhibition design.[97] I reproduce this design in a 'walkthrough' in this chapter for the reader, as the descriptions and outlines are data sources used throughout this thesis. Using wide-angle images of the rooms, I describe their appearance and discuss the juxtapositions of the rooms and their relationship to the exhibits.

The Museum gallery spaces

The Aboriginal Australian Cultures Galleries (AACG) on the ground floor of SAM includes the temporary exhibition space allocated by the museum curators to display the Exhibition.

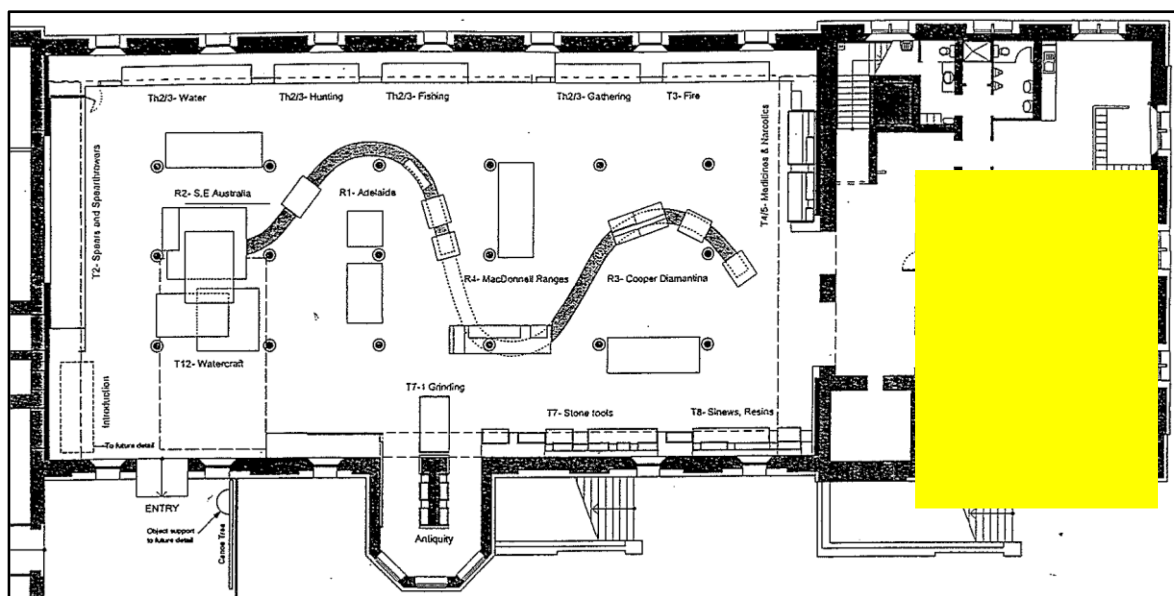


Figure 17. Temporary exhibition space provided for the Exhibition on AACG ground floor (highlighted in yellow) by Green (2022), courtesy of SAM, 2022

The space that SAM staff supplied had two primary areas of display (Figure 17 above) within

[97] This clockwise movement did not respond to the clock and linear conceptions of time, as shown in bell hooks (2014: 130). bell hooks (2014: 130) argues that 'deconstructivist film practices' can be used to 'undermine existing grand cinematic narratives even as they retheorise subjectivity' in the visual realm. She states that 'without providing "realistic" positive representations that emerge in response to the totalising nature of existing narratives, they offer points of radical departure… [to] imagine new transgressive possibilities for the formulation of identity'.

the AACG temporary exhibition space. To maximise this space, I designed the Exhibition to reflect the broad history of the Adnyamathanha people in the Flinders Ranges. It consisted of archival photographs, various museum objects, and paintings and sculptures by Adnyamathanha people. There were five main themes throughout the Exhibition: *History, Family, Work*, *Muda* and *Yarta* (Country). According to South Australian Museum (2019: n. p.) visitor counters, approximately 8,253 individual viewers visited the Exhibition within the seven weeks that the Exhibition was on display, from the 4th of August to the 22nd of September 2019.

First, I begin by discussing the choice of the name for the Exhibition and the language used in the Exhibition Launch. Second, I explore how differences between Adnyamathanha and *Udnyu* understandings of photographs informed the design and naming of the groups and people in the Exhibition displays and the juxtaposition of the black and white rooms. Third, I outline the selection of the white walls' content, including the photograph of Mount Serle (King) Bob, the use of light boxes, and my choice not to include a bounded map of Adnyamathanha Country that relates to the conceptualisation of the Adnyamathanha nation. Fourth, I explore the 'Black room', including the use of RM Williams boots and photography of Albert Wilton in understanding Adnyamathanha station work, the Ted and Winnie Coulthard photograph/painting and the role of women in photography, and analysis of the 'Living Room'. Finally, I discuss the differences between handwritten and printed text panels, including the reflexivity of handwritten responses.

Choosing the name of the Exhibition

There are significant differences between *Yura Ngawarla* and English language constructs. These issues influenced my choices about language and translation in the Exhibition design. Translating unreflexively constitutes a form of cultural appropriation. Thus, the naming of the Exhibition and translating it from *Yura Ngawarla* needed great thought. Exploring the process also supplies a window into the differences between English and *Yura Ngawarla* concepts. Earlier names I pondered but dismissed included:

- Photographs telling more than a thousand words: how Adnyamathanha Aboriginal people use photographic collections today (June 2018).

- Flinders Ranges 'Homeland and Outback': How Adnyamathanha Aboriginal people use photographic collections today (August 2018).
- *Udnyu Minaaka- Yura Wanggatha* 'White Eyes- Black voices' (June 2019); and
- Where Mountford saw sites, we see stories (June 2019).

The name '*Udnyu Minaaka- Yura Wanggatha* (White eyes- Black voices)' was my preference up until 2nd July 2019; however, I changed this at the last minute as some people were already inadvertently shortening the Exhibition to '*Udnyu Minaaka*' which means 'White Eyes' which I felt would privilege *Udnyu* people's interpretations of the Exhibition. This title also did not convey the full meaning of the different perspectives expressed in the Exhibition. I changed the Exhibition name to *Minaaka Apinhanga: Through Many Eyes*. In English, "through many eyes" signifies multiple perspectives. In Adnyamathanha, it at least means the English equivalent of seeing "with many eyes".

Yura Ngawarla— like many Aboriginal Australian languages— is agglutinative.[98] Agglutination can be defined as a term 'employed in the typological classification of languages' and a 'grammatical process in which words are composed of a sequence of morphemes (meaningful word elements), each of which represents not more than a single grammatical category' (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2009: n. p.). As in other agglutinative languages,[99] adding affixes in *Yura Ngawarla* makes words appear extremely long to English speakers. *Apinhanga,* therefore, appears as a separate word in the title, even though in Adnyamathanha, the single word title would be *Minaaka-apinha-nga*. (Stem with suffixes: 'Eyes'– 'many'– locative/instrumental, i.e., 'through', 'with' or 'in', with dashes placed here to isolate and illuminate the morphemes).

The change was due to an accidental misreading of the word and then writing it as two separate words. I had changed the title so late in the Exhibition process, so I decided not to change it again as the graphics had already been designed. An unfortunate outcome was that *Minaaka-apinha-nga* presented as two words, *Minaaka Apinhanga*, confused several Elders

[98] The Encyclopaedia Britannica (2009: n. p.) defines agglutinating languages in contrast with 'inflecting languages, in which one-word element may represent several grammatical categories, and also with isolating languages, in which each word consists of only one word element'. Most languages are mixtures of all three types. Isolating languages, such as English or Spanish, are very different, with grammatical meanings realised through word order.

[99] Turkish and Finnish are noteworthy agglutinative languages (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2009: n. p.).

at the Exhibition Launch. They were discussing this informally while in the audience waiting in the lead-up to the Exhibition Launch. This confusion meant that I gave impromptu comments in my Exhibition Launch speech about the Exhibition name and what it meant in relation to multiple views and perspectives. I said, "My father would add '*apinha'* to the ends of words to signify many of them, such as many kangaroos (*urdlu*) are specified as '*urdlu-apinha'"*. The Elders in attendance nodded, showing that they were satisfied with this explanation. Some non-Indigenous audience members were not sure of the purpose of this segment of my Exhibition Launch speech.

Another issue I had to work through was the place of the Exhibition on Kaurna Country. The relationship between the Kaurna Welcome to Country and the use of *Yura Ngawarla* was essential to the Exhibition Launch. I remembered that my father would try to use the language of the Country he was in, if it were known to him. Schürmann (1879: 209-210) recounts an episode of groups of Aboriginal people meeting at Port Lincoln, with each using their own language and being understood by the other Aboriginal people from a different group. I discussed this with Kaurna Elders, who were cognisant of this custom and sanctioned its practice. They were pleased to have the Welcome conducted in Kaurna and English by a Kaurna Elder.

Adnyamathanha and Kaurna languages are within the same language family. Simpson and Hercus (2004) defined this language family as the Thura-*Yura* language family. This assertion was further established by Næssan and Clendon (2015: 7) and Amery (2016: 131). Further, Schürmann's (1879: 209-210) example above suggests that both Kaurna and Adnyamathanha people may have understood Adnyamathanha and Kaurna languages. Adnyamathanha and Kaurna are now even more closely related languages as, given that Adnyamathanha is the only language within the *Thura-Yura* family that is still spoken, Amery (2016: 131) used neighbouring language records and recorded contemporary usage, in conjunction with the Kaurna dictionary by Schürmann (1879: 209-210), to reconstruct the Kaurna language. This relates to the phonology (the patterns of sounds used), the lexicon (the actual words used) and the grammatical constructs. Amery (2016: 131) points out that:

> Modern linguistic studies have also been conducted in Adnyamathanha, spoken further to the north of Kaurna, by Schebeck (1974), Tunbridge

> (1988b, 1991a; 1985) and McEntee and McKenzie (1992). Whilst Adnyamathanha is more distantly related [than Nukunu], it does provide essential insights into Kaurna phonology.

Instead of directly borrowing words from Adnyamathanha, Amery (2016: 155) argues that 'historical/comparative linguistics can be used to incorporate a word into the language in a form in which we would expect it to have occurred, should the particular word have existed in Kaurna.' Amery (2016: 138) surmises that:

> Narungga, Ngadjuri and Nukunu sources are even more limited than the Kaurna sources. So other South Australian languages such as Adnyamathanha and Pitjantjatjara might become lexical resources, taking care to assimilate borrowings into the Kaurna sound system.

This led to an issue that needed to be considered in planning the Exhibition, with many Adnyamathanha people sensitive to the possibility of unauthorised and unacknowledged borrowing of *Yura Ngawarla* items. I hear it referred to as "stealing our language". This sensitivity relates to the close connection of language to land and the feeling that language used in an area should remain the language of that land. The difficulties this presented were, on balance, outweighed by the importance of Adnyamathanha people being welcomed by the Kaurna onto their land and the reassurance this provided, particularly to the Adnyamathanha Elders.

Naming people and groups using Adnyamathanha names

An issue I had to contend with in the Exhibition was the variable naming and recording of Aboriginal groups and individuals within the archival record. Tindale's (1912: n. p.) captioning of a photograph in Figure 18 below as 'King Bob, king of the Wailpi' creates more questions than it answers. I argue that there is a lack of clarity about what Wailpi means and there is debate whether it is a term being used in the right context.

Figure 18. Photo 'King Bobby Mount Serle PAC 1097', inserted into Tindale's diary and titled 'Looking out from the Gap of… Owienagin [sic] pound', also discussed in Hale and Tindale (1925: 89), courtesy of SAM Archives, 2022

Many researchers have debated which group this term signifies. For example, Ellis (2015: n. p.) incorrectly argued in native title discussions that *Wailpi* signifies the Kuyani Aboriginal group, whom I understand as belonging to the northwest and west of the Adnyamathanha and as possibly subsumed into that group through an important *Wimila* (Elder's meeting). *Vapi* L. Richards (2002) and *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.) state that this *Wimila* was held at Mount Serle, allegedly under the shade of a famed gum tree, *Vandapanha Wida*; however, they do not mention any Aboriginal groups specifically. Coulthard (2020: 9) makes

a broader claim, that ‘the Adnyamathanha Nation is made up of different clans: Wailpi, Kuyani, Yadliaura, Vanggarla [Barngarla] and Biladapa’.

Hale and Tindale (1925) write about *Wailpi* marriage classes, rock paintings at *Malkai*, rock carvings at *Owieandana,* and a ‘short vocabulary of *Wailpi* [sic]’. *Wailpi* is sometimes referred to as a once-separate group which amalgamated into the Adnyamathanha; as the Northern Barngarla, of which Jarieya or Percy Richards was a member; and/or a language term meaning any people in the south or southwest. Adnyamathanha refer to the south wind as ‘*Walypi Milyaru* or as *Walypi varrpa/ walypi wadi’* (Schebeck 2000: 191). The photograph of Mt Serle Bob was named in Tindale’s caption as being in *Owieanagan* [sic], now often misnamed as Hannigan’s Gap, located on Moolooloo Station northwest of Blinman.[100]

The designation of Mt Serle Bob as Wailpi, a southerner or Blinman *Yura*, seems at odds with his *Udnyu* name of “Mt Serle Bob”. It is also seems to be at odds with the account, passed down through several generations of his descendants and retold by both my father and Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.), that he told of first seeing *Udnyu* explorers— believed to be Edward John Eyre (1845) and his party in 1840— whilst collecting *wityarti* (witchetty) as a young lad in a gumtree between Mt Serle and Angepena. Current Adnyamathanha understandings may cause the seeming discrepancy, with probable post-Native Title increased rigidity of terminology and geographical location.

Many terms in Aboriginal languages are directional and relative rather than specific. My assessment of linguistic data, shown in Table 7 below, favours the view that Wailpi is probably a relational deictic directional term meaning either south or southwest or a general term used to refer to the people who are southwest by Adnyamathanha and related language groups rather than an endonym signifying a specific Aboriginal group. In other words, Wailpi appears likely to be a directional term based on where you are, rather than a location on a map. Based on the data in Table 7, Wailpi is likely to signify people from the south if you are talking to an Adnyamathanha person. However, if you are talking to a Kimba/Gawler Ranges person (a

[100] [100] *Vapi* L Richards took my family and me to the waterhole at this Gap in 1998 and pointed out that this was where his Adnyamathanha grandparents, Jack and Alice Coulthard, camped on their way south to attend the law ceremonies of his paternal grandfather Jarieya Percy Richards. I provide this on-Country story as an example of the importance of Country and of the way *Yura* continually refer to past events when referring to or visiting a site of significance to the family – a practice that was evidenced in this fieldwork and throughout my life.

Barngarla subgroup) it could also signify a Wirangu person. Ted Coulthard in Mountford (1937e: 75) listed the *Wailpi* 'tribal areas' as *Wurlpinha* (Wilpena Pound), Willapa, Old Tooths Nob, Martins Well, Artipena, Arrawie[101], and Lake Frome, while Hale and Tindale (1925: 45) equated the Wailpi with the Adnyamathanha, asserting that:

> the territory of the Wailpi tribe at one time extended from Nerniyankanina [Yankaninna] to Blinman (the native name of which is Angurichina [Angorichina]) and included part of the eastern slope of the ranges almost to Lake Frome. The members of the tribe speak of themselves as Anyimatana [Adnyamathanha].

Table 7. Definitions of Wailpi/Walypi

***Yura Ngawarla* Word**	**English Translation**	**Group**	**Reference**
Walypi	name of Group, Blinman– Wilpena (*Wurlpinha*) area *(Wailpi)/Wailpi* ["south"; "Blinman mob"]	Adnyamathanha	(Schebeck 2000: 114)
walypi wari	'Southwest wind'	Adnyamathanha	(McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 116)
Wari	'Wind (old word)	Adnyamathanha	(McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 114)
wartathirnka	'south'	Adnyamathanha	(McEntee & McKenzie 1992: 108)
walypi wadi	southwest wind	Kuyani	(Hercus 2006)
Wailbi	Southwest Country	Barngarla	(Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 5)
way(i)tpi	south wind	Nukunu	(Hercus & Austin 1991: 31)

Accurately naming people and groups using Adnyamathanha names is essential. Archival records are not always correct or dependable. Drawing on earlier scholars' work, combined

[101] I think that Arrawie refers to *Arrunha Awinha* (High Water), a waterhole near Ti-tree outstation on Wertaloona Station, as shown to me by my father.

with my collaborators' experiences and histories, I have shown that naming the locations and Aboriginal groups associated with the Adnyamathanha is a delicate negotiation, revealing moving political affiliations and social structures within Adnyamathanha society.

The Exhibition Space

As discussed earlier, the Exhibition space design included two principal areas with five main themes (History, family, work, *Muda* and *Yarta*) throughout those areas. White walls and a black room delineated these two areas. The distinction between the black and white rooms resulted from creative problem-solving to use the limitations of the Exhibition space advantageously. As shown in the room map in Figure 19 below, the exhibition space had some unique features that I incorporated into my design.

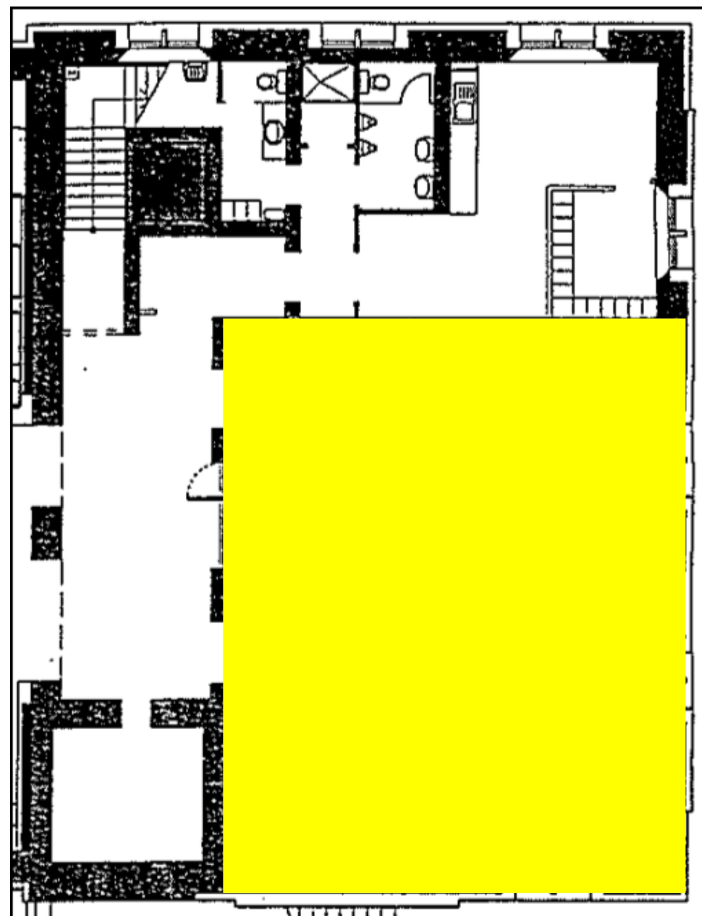


Figure 19. Map of temporary exhibition space/Exhibition area (highlighted in yellow) within AACG by Green (2022), courtesy of SAM, 2022

Vogel visually demonstrates how objects can transcend social categories in the design of her seminal *Art/Artefact* exhibition (Vogel 1988), in which she presented African nets, baskets,

and masks in an art style in one exhibition gallery room (Figure 20 below) and in an ethnological style in another room (Figure 21 below).

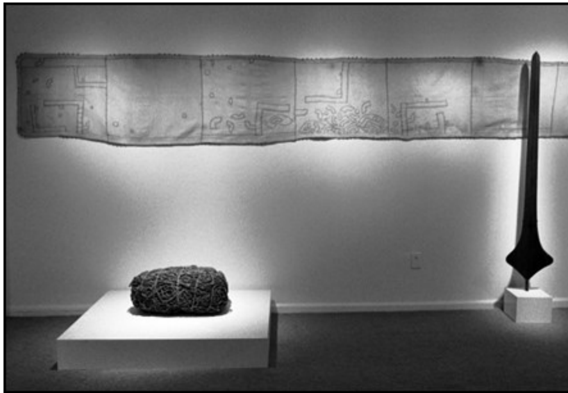


Figure 20. Art style: A Kuba [African] woman's wrapper, a Zande hunting net, and metal currency from the Kasai from Art/Artefact exhibition by Vogel (1993). Photo by Thompson (1988) in Jasper (2017: 196)

Figure 21. Ethnographic style: "Curiosity Room", installation photograph from Art/Artefact exhibition by Vogel (1993). Photo by Thompson (1988) in Jasper (2017: 197)

Curator Vogel (1993) states she shows through her *Art/Artefact* exhibition that museum objects can have multiple interpretations based on how they are contextualised, and that how an object is presented influences how museum audiences can perceive other cultures within the museum space. Corresponding academic writings, such as Thompson (2015: 8) and Vogel (1993), guided my decision to use contrasting black and white walls as a feature in the Exhibition.

Specifically, Vogel (1993) argues that many conventional exhibition spaces are white, featureless, cavernous, double-height rooms. *Minaaka Apinhanga* space was single-height and, most significantly, had a supporting wall in the middle. SAM's design team and I incorporated the supporting wall into the Exhibition design by painting one side of the Exhibition space white and the other black. This distinction created two rooms within the Exhibition space that I used as a rhetorical device highlighting the duality of interpretations between *Udnyu* traditional museum interpretations of Adnyamathanha histories and Adnyamathanha interpretations of Adnyamathanha histories.

Aboriginal artist Christian Thompson's (2015: 8) exhibition design and doctoral thesis also

influenced my Exhibition and thesis.[102] Specifically, I take from his approach that in my Exhibition, the multiple juxtapositions within the two rooms signify the distinctions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories of the Flinders Ranges and interactions with photographs. During my presentation for the anthropology seminar at the University of Adelaide, I gave the attendees a worksheet asking for their feelings regarding the significance of the differences between the two sides of the Exhibition. The results of their perceptions matched my intentions in most respects, indicating the general success of the use of two spaces divided into black and white in an academic anthropological context.

I also gleaned Indigenous perceptions from responses to the question that I would often ask at the commencement of my Exhibition tours: 'what do the black and white walls mean?' An Aboriginal person on one of these tours casually remarked they also perceived the underlying gender differential with the dominance of male representation in the more formal white room and the more balanced gender representation in the black room, an underlying theme within my presentation of Adnyamathanha viewpoints. Comments were frequently made regarding the "Don't touch" sign prominently displayed in the white room as opposed to the "hands-on" lived experience encouraged in the black room. The informality of the Family Room space, with its television showing home movies and photographs on the mantelpiece, was similarly appreciated.

In summary, I broadly divided the Exhibition space into two main sections: white walls on the first-encountered right side and black walls on the left side. The black and white walls effectively used the space available because they created an atmosphere where visitors and participants could be reflective and reflexive and think in diverse ways.

Description of content within white walls of the Exhibition

I now describe the content within the white walled section, beginning with a series of three photographs (Figure 22 below) that capture the process of photo-elicitation. The first was a photograph of *Artuapi* Stella and Vinette Stubbs from the UAM photograph collection. The

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[102] Thompson (2015: 8) points out that visual artist Renée Green, whilst addressing colonial and post-colonial subjectivities: 'makes installations within the context of the gallery that present a conflicted, non-didactic version of history that often focuses on the coloniser and the colonised, black, and white, and male and female perspectives'.

following two photographs show Stella Stubbs (2018 pers comm.) viewing photographs of herself, and then joyously naming relatives, sharing connections with family in Port Pirie.

Figure 22. Photographs featured in the White room of the Exhibition of Artuapi Stella Stubbs and Adlari Vinette (UAM collection) and of her family looking at and naming relatives in archival photographs, 2019

I included these photographs in the white room to show the post-colonial loss of knowledge and Adnyamathanha use of photographs to reclaim history. The white room then incorporated a range of photographs of significant people and historical events, with many of these photographs taken by Mountford. I now turn to my other photographs on the white walls of the Exhibition.

Photographs of Mt Serle (King) Bob

Consideration of photographs of significant individuals influenced how I designed the Exhibition, as shown in the inclusion of photographs of King Bob, Albert Wilton, Susie Noble, and Alice Coulthard née McKenzie, my great-grandmother and ancestor of many current Adnyamathanha people. Albert and Susie featured in many of Mountford's photographs, with both showing string games and figures, including men's matters by Albert, his use of wallaby traps and other aspects of traditional life.[103]

At SAM, a copy of a 1907 photograph of "Mt Serle Bob/King Bob" is within Tindale's diaries found in Hale and Tindale (1925). I enlarged this photograph to feature it prominently in the

[103] I discuss the significance of these people in this section below.

white room of the Exhibition (Figure 23 below) as a reflection of his status in the post-invasion history of the Adnyamathanha.

Figure 23. 3D representation of the white side of the Exhibition by Green (2019), courtesy of SAM

While viewing the enlarged photograph of Mt Serle Bob, *Ngamarna* Roy commented to Premier Marshall, ‘Big photo – big man!’ (Figure 24 below). Aboriginal photography often appropriated Aboriginal persons by the ‘miniaturization, realism, and personalization and framing’ of Aboriginal bodies and the strategic arrangement of ‘artefacts and people’. These processes ‘simultaneously drew the viewer toward and distanced her or him from what it depicted (Lydon 2005).[104] Therefore, I enlarged his photograph to fit with his character and to disrupt this presentation of Aboriginal people.

[104] Lydon (2005: 202) argues that this objectification was completed by implying: ‘an intimate relationship with the body—the hands that grasp, angle, hold closer or away, then pocket this slim portable object; their size allows them to be enveloped by the viewer’s body, transforming exterior into interior. The image’s indexical status brings the subject closer as an ‘apparent fragment of the real, making us think that we know the world [and what] it represents’ (Lydon 2005: 202). These photographs, therefore, create a: ‘voyeuristic, transcendent gaze that objectifies and distances, constructing an outsider's viewpoint. We peer into the square frame of the embodied photograph as if into another world—a vignette that situates the viewer as a spectator of a performance, outside the event’ (Lydon 2005: 202).

Figure 24. Mt Serle Bob's photograph in the Exhibition within the white room with Ngamarna Roy Coulthard, Premier Steven Marshall, and myself, taken by Carty (2019)

During my research, I thought I had discovered Mt Serle Bob's Aboriginal name, but further work with my Adnyamathanha collaborators showed that this was incorrect. I had felt a deep sense of achievement to re-unite him with his rightful Adnyamathanha name after only hearing throughout my lifetime the English diminutive and locative name, together with the colonial view of leadership as encapsulated in the title 'King'. A Master's thesis by Tracey Spencer (2011)— an *Udnyu* theologian— features his stories. It appears that she incorrectly calls Mt Serle Bob '*Wanjulda*' as she mistook two photographs of two different Adnyamathanha men, *Wanjulda* and Mt Serle Bob, as being the same person. This appears not as a single mistake as this naming description was used further throughout Spencer's (2011) thesis.

The photograph (Figure 25 below) is of Sydney Ryan (who is *Wanjulda)*. However, Tracey Spencer's (2011: 19) descriptive text identified *Wanjulda* as Mt Serle Bob.

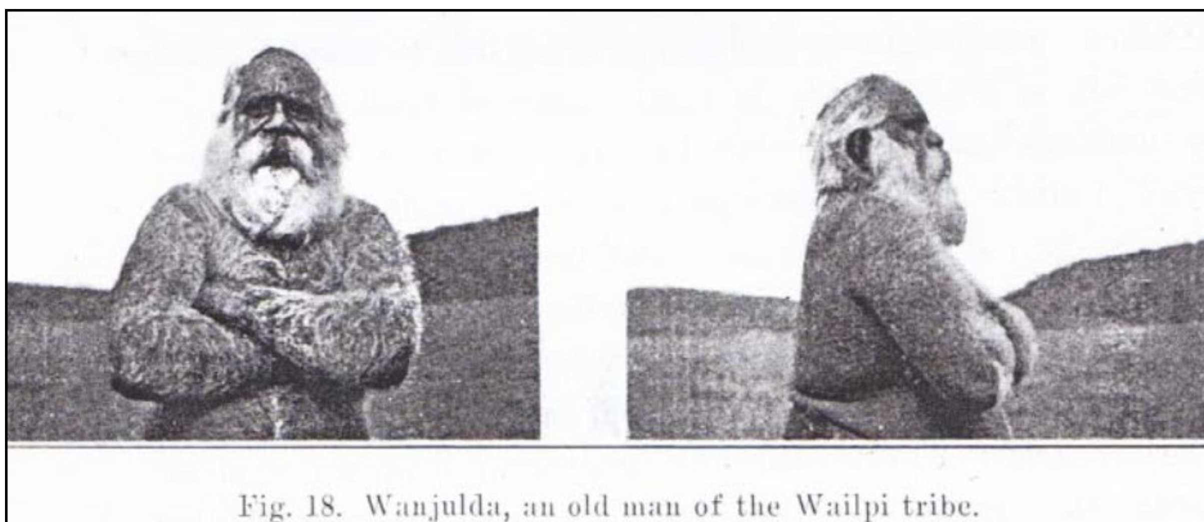
Fig. 18. Wanjulda, an old man of the Wailpi tribe.

Figure 25. 'Wanjulda, an old man of the Wailpi tribe' and identified as Sydney Ryan by Hale and Tindale (1925: 45) but designated and published as Mt Serle Bob by T Spencer (2011: 19)

Taking the photograph (Figure 25 above) from Hale and Tindale (1925: 45), Spencer (2011: 19) described *Wanjulda* thus:

> In 1925, he [*Wanjulda*] is heavier, and hairier, with his arms crossed as he faces Norman Tindale's camera, grinning at the man who has learnt to call him 'Mt Serle Bob', as he takes note of Mt Serle Bob's stories of the 'early days'. Bob saw them all come …. Bob had seen the past: some said Bob could see the future, and watches still.

Heavier is possible, but hairier is unlikely. My collaborators expressed incredulity when presented with Spencer's (2011: 19) caption and interpretation of the photograph (Figure 25 above), questioning its accuracy as they had never heard him referred to by that name. They added that Mt Serle Bob had already died before 1924 when this photograph was taken. They pointed out he had died in 1919, prior to the community's expulsion from Mt Serle station and resettlement to the south-west at *Minara Wurtu* (Ram Paddock Gate) in 1923[105] and that his burial site is on Mt Serle Station to the north of the homestead area. Fortunately, I did not include the *Wanjulda* name in my Exhibition, as I did not have community or archival references to support its inclusion.

Upon further research, I found that Spencer (2011: 19) reproduced this photograph from Hale

[105] The exact resettlement date is uncertain, but the government camel depot at Mt Serle station closed in 1923, and the ration depot closed soon afterwards (Brock 2022: 280).

and Tindale (1925: 45). An informant identified as *Munaya,* and also *Widulda* [*Wanjulda*], is reported by Hale and Tindale (1925: 47) as stating that his mother's father [106] was *Windawapala* who was the first Adnyamathanha person to see *Udnyu* and that he was scared and hid up in the tree where he was hunting possums, but with some details in recent accounts having varied over the years (see contemporary accounts attributing first contact to Mt Serle Bob below). Hale and Tindale (1925: 47) note that *Munaya* is of the *Wara*, an *Ararru* totem, and so his mother's father would therefore be *Mathari*, which all Adnyamathanha know was the moiety of Mt Serle Bob. Therefore, it would seem probable, but not absolute, that *Munaya* was naming *Windawapala* as Mt Serle Bob.

This issue of mistaken identity shows difficulties inherent in relying on interpretations of Adnyamathanha photography from outsiders. Although Mt Serle Bob's first-found name was incorrect, I was later able to discover a probable name, along with the Aboriginal names of many other Adnyamathanha people in the photographs and their moiety associations from Mountford's diaries. [107] Returning their Adnyamathanha names and knowledge of their totems has brought joy to descendants who had only known the English names their ancestors had been obliged to adopt: evidence of an unanticipated value residing in these archives.

Ngami Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) created a study unit and camp for students at LCAS to engage students in the history of the Flinders Ranges and Mt Serle Bob. She supplied a lower primary school student's story titled *First Contact,* which read:

> *Udnyu miru yanaanggu Yura Yartaru wadu. Yura mambarna wida wityaanggu wityatiru. Valu nakuanggu Udnyu miru nandhunga.* [Translation: Non-Aboriginal men came to *Yura* Country a long time ago. A *Yura* boy had climbed a gum tree for witchetty grubs. He saw the white men on horses.]

[106] As Hale and Tindale (1925: 47) perceived *Munaya* as an older man in 1925, Mt Serle Bob was likely his classificatory mother's father rather than biological. Another possibility could be a direct grandson (e.g., Horace Ranger), but his photograph taken by Mountford in 1937 that portrays a middle-aged man makes this unlikely.

[107] I outline historic Elder's names featured in Mountford's photographs in Table 8 in Chapter 5. I outline the names of the contemporary Elders' relationships in Table 19 in Appendix 3.

Ngami Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) explains that this above passage is a story that is 'well known amongst *Yura*' and that my father, *Vapi* L. Richards (2002), also learnt this story from his uncles who were alive and in their mid to late teen years when Mt Serle Bob was alive. His story differed only in that he named possums as the desired food source sought. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.) passed on the following account to the students at LCAS as recorded by the teacher present in class, *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.).

Young boy was Mt Serle Bob or King Bob as he was known by *Udnyu*. He was up in a gum tree in the Frome Creek looking for *wityarti* (witchetty) when he saw white men come on strange creatures. He stayed up in the tree all night, fearfully watching them camp there before they packed up and left in the morning. Mt Serle Bob found a piece of broken glass at their campsite and, after cutting his hand, realised its usefulness for cutting kangaroos. He then ran back home and showed his family. Mt Serle Bob died in Mt Serle in 1919 after telling this story to his children and grandchildren. The explorers are believed to have been Edward John Eyre and his party in 1840.

Older Adnyamathanha at once recognise Mt Serle Bob as a *Mathari* moiety traditional ceremonial leader and Elder as well as Grandfather or Great grandfather. In English, he is my great-great-grandfather but known to me as *Nguarli* or same moiety grandfather because of the binary generational relational naming system. All the Elders just know this – it is obvious to them. It is as if they carry a computer around in their heads for over a thousand people of who is what moiety and who calls who by what relational term.[108]

During fieldwork, I recorded Elders' stories about Mt Serle Bob, including those of *Ubmarli Vapi* (Uncle) K McKenzie (2018pers comm.) in Quorn. These accounts revealed current views of Mt Serle Bob's pivotal role in the formation of the amalgamated Adnyamathanha as a nation, although it is possible that his role could have become inflated in recent times. Earlier accounts with other Elders show that the decision to amalgamate the remnants of the decimated small groups into one group, known as Adnyamathanha, involved a collective decision-making process through a collaborative circle, a *Wimila* (Elders' meeting). Other older contemporary Adnyamathanha such as *Ubmarli* M. McKenzie (2018 pers comm.) also

[108] I discuss moieties further in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

revered Mt Serle Bob as a leader, so his role was more evident to me than that of other Elders' roles in this process. I therefore featured him in the Exhibition. It does appear that I can assert with some confidence that Mt Serle Bob was significant in the formation of the current understanding of who the Adnyamathanha are, but I do fear that the role of all Elders, men and women, are downplayed in the *Udnyu* process of focusing on and photographing individual heroes rather than collective leadership.

By storing, cataloguing, and displaying Mt Serle Bob's photograph along with his throwing stone, SAM collection processes reflect and possibly facilitate a more comprehensive knowledge of some aspects of Adnyamathanha history. The Exhibition display of his throwing stone (Figure 26 below) stirred memories for families. During a visit to the Exhibition, an *Udnyu* whose family had previously owned a station in the Flinders Ranges, Andrew Jamieson (2019 pers comm.), said that it was his ancestors who witnessed Mt Serle Bob killing a bullock with a single throw of the throwing stone. Jamieson (2019 pers comm.) argues that it was this feat which led to the preservation of that stone and its story.

Figure 26. Mt Serle Bob's throwing stone held at SAM, A41723

The photograph of Mt Serle Bob (Figure 24 above) from circa 1907 is the earliest known named and dated photograph of any Adnyamathanha person. It is a copy of a lantern-slide with the words (P.A.C 1907) written on it. How Mt Serle Bob featured in the photograph and the circumstances around that photograph being taken, stored, and accessed are not known, and the location of the original photograph is unknown. By viewing identical labelling (P.A.C. 1907) on other photographs with identical handwriting and writing format in Tindale (1937a)

(shown in Figure 58 in Chapter 5) plus visits on Country and interviews, I was able to ascertain the likely location where this was taken and under what circumstances.

Vapi L Richards talked to my sister and me about the associated group photograph, which he believed to have been taken near Angorichina Springs on Angorichina Station just northeast of Blinman in ceremonies that featured his paternal grandfather Jarieya (Percy Richards). *Vapi* L Richards and *Vurlkanha Vapi* R Richards (2000) took my sister and me to what they believed was the approximate site of that photograph in October 2000.[109] They said that their grandfather's *Yandawarta* or *Wilyaru* (ceremonial) ground was nearby. On the same occasion, they found, recorded, photographed, and showed us the earlier *Malkada Witina* of their grandfather *Jarieya*, known through visits with their father Andrew Richards, and located directly to the east of the current Blinman town. My father also talked of an Adnyamathanha group, which included his grandmother Alice, her husband Jack and their infant eldest son Sam, walking from Mt Serle area via the misnamed Hannigan's Gap, camping at the springs there on their way down to share ceremonies near Blinman that involved his paternal grandfather *Jarieya*. These 2000 trips were recorded within the South Australian Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation's (1991) site cards.[110] I remember that Dad showed us the spring and walking route on a separate occasion when we camped at Blinman Hut on Moolooloo Station (circa 1998/1999). The photograph also served another Adnyamathanha function, as seen on several occasions, namely to remind and stimulate discussion of cultural affiliations and obligations during photo-elicitation interviews. *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton, *Ngarlaami* Margaret Brown and *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard all spoke of the consequential marriage arrangement between two as yet unborn children, Jareiya's son (my *Nguarli* Andrew Richards) and Jack and Alice's youngest daughter (my *Adnyini Ngaparla* Grace Coulthard), as a part of the reciprocal relationship established through the ceremonial roles undertaken.[111]

My decision to include Mt Serle Bob's photograph, in the light of the significance placed upon him by Adnyamathanha collaborators, altered the original intent of the Exhibition to focus

[109] *Vapi* L and *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2002) and Jones (2007: 348-352) recorded this trip.
[110] I accessed these site cards using their standard protocols from the Aboriginal Heritage Units' Central Archive (Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation 2020).
[111] I chose not to go into any more detail regarding the photographs that were 'traditional' or 'ceremonial' as I did not want to show such photographs by Mountford as many of his photographs of ceremony are culturally restricted and are also restricted within SLSA's archive.

only on photographs taken by Mountford. The 1907 photograph (Figure 24 above) named him as “Bobby”, which can be seen as child-like or infantilising. The photo portrays an ‘otherness’, the salvaging anthropological view (as discussed in Chapter 2), with the ochre and ceremonial dress, but also its significance for Adnyamathanha. Its inclusion in the Exhibition generated new understanding and interpretations as it highlights colonial conceptions of leadership, of gender delineation of Adnyamathanha society at that time and the inappropriate renaming of Aboriginal people – but it was not possible or desirable even in the white room to avoid the Adnyamathanha gaze, the Adnyamathanha perspective of highlighted cultural obligations and responsibilities.

Other photographs on the first wall of the white room concentrated on colonialism, including one that focussed on searching for a new location for safe family life following pastoralists’ refusal to allow the Adnyamathanha to remain upon ‘their’ station properties. Adnyamathanha Elders identified the photograph as showing endeavours, supported by missionaries James Page and Fred Eaton, to locate a suitable water source by digging wells, endeavours that were unsuccessful at Boundary Creek, depicted in the first two photographs shown but successful at *Nipapanha* (with the new community shown in the third photograph) (Figure 27 below).

Figure 27. Early photos at Boundary Creek, in the white room of the Exhibition. Photographer unknown, courtesy of SAM Archives, sama1083-9-1756 and sama1083-9-1762.

Figure 28 Nepabunna, c 1937, photo by Mountford, courtesy of SLSA, PRG1218/34/654A

Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton gave this information in fieldwork interviews. I saw her proudly and happily showing the photographs to grandchildren (Figure 29 below), pointing out and naming their relatives depicted during the Exhibition's first viewing post-Launch.

Figure 29. Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton showing photos to her grandchildren during the Exhibition opening.

The Light Boxes

With the support of SAM's Design team, I mounted photographs of string games and a throwing stone in four light boxes as archival pieces, allowing audiences of the Exhibition to view the photographs of intricate patterns and traditional tools as an undertaking that involved archival research.

The light boxes were positioned within the white room as the white room emphasised an archival or historiographic viewpoint of Adnyamathanha history. Two of these exhibition light boxes (Figure 30 below) were designed to simulate or evoke the processes of researchers looking through lights to view glass lantern and film photographs. These were often used within archives (as shown in Figure 31 below). The light boxes were also designed to emulate the type of ethnological interest shown in Aboriginal photographs at the time of their original capture— as curiosities— photographed as a record within boxes predominantly for *Udnyu* viewing and for 'salvage' purposes.

Figure 30. Yakarla Ngarapanha Richards and I at the opening of the Exhibition, photo by Vilhali Amanda Richards (2019)

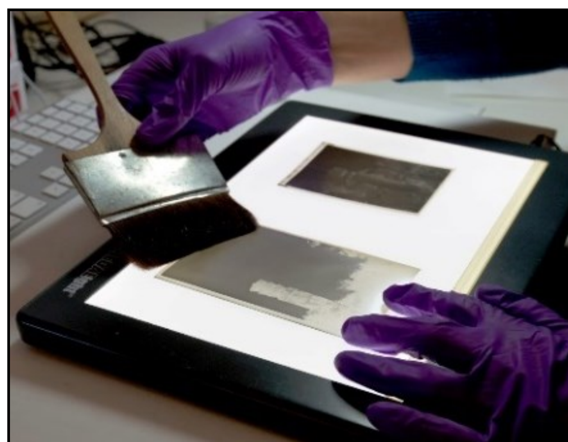

Figure 31. Cleaning negatives on a light box before scanning. By Chris Morton, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, in J Harris (2013)

I used the four lightboxes to display various photographs by Mountford of *Nipapanha* to highlight the relationship between conceptualisations of traditional Aboriginal society and *Udnyu* modernism, which featured heavily in Mountford's work and theoretical approaches. The lightboxes included Mountford's photographs of a Christmas tree in *Nipapanha* (Figure 32 below) and a donkey cart (Figure 33 below) in one light box each.

Figure 32. Mountford's photographs of a Christmas tree in Nipapanha, at the Exhibition, SLSA, PRG1218/34/724H

Figure 33. Mountford's photograph of a donkey cart, at the Exhibition, SLSA, PRG1218/34/834B

The Christmas tree is obviously not a 'traditional' or restricted Adnyamathanha ceremony but a part of Christianity imported through the missionaries that many in the *Nipapanha* community embraced. Mountford did not only photograph 'traditional' Adnyamathanha society and people. In his newspaper article, Mountford (1938b: 9) used this photograph to highlight the incoming "loss of Aboriginal society". He is therefore using a photograph of the 'new' and 'Christian' to highlight its disjuncture from the 'old' and 'traditional' to accentuate his idea of the rapid decline of Aboriginal Australian cultures. Conversely, Adnyamathanha people looking at these photographs, such as the photograph of a donkey cart, interpret these photographs as examples of Adnyamathanha ingenuity, syncretism, and pragmatism in the face of colonialism.

The use of light and lightboxes attracted audiences to the Exhibition as, compared to the Australian Aboriginal Cultures Gallery, the Exhibition (within the white room) was bright. Due to the large amount of organic material on permanent display, AACG must be kept dark, like many other ethnology collections.[112] As my Exhibition used copies of photographs and less fragile, old or organic materials, I could light my Exhibition brightly without fear of damaging

[112] NMA conservator Kerryn Hetherington in Hetherington et al. (2013: n. p.) argued that environmental factors contribute to the deterioration of photographs 'when displaying your pictures', including 'light, relative humidity and temperature, and biological pests'. Wagg in Hetherington et al. (2013: n. p.) argued that 'if you are going to display your pictures, it's often good to use copies or at least put them in places' where you do not have much light shining directly on them.

any objects or photographs.

I used the photographs of string figures in the lightboxes in the white room as a contrast with the string figures in the Black room. In the black room, I used an audio-visual film that showed *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) demonstrating string games. I displayed *Artuapi* Fanny's string games on a television in front of a couch to simulate a family activity and open possibilities for visitors to sit and learn, to undertake this as a cultural activity. I contrasted this with the display of string games in the white room, where they were a part of the more static academic anthropological analysis of Indigenous societies across the globe in which Mountford was involved.[113] The lightboxes also featured *Ngarlaami* Susie Noble and her husband *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton, two of Mountford's main photographic subjects and cultural teachers, as shown in Figure 34 and Figure 35 below.

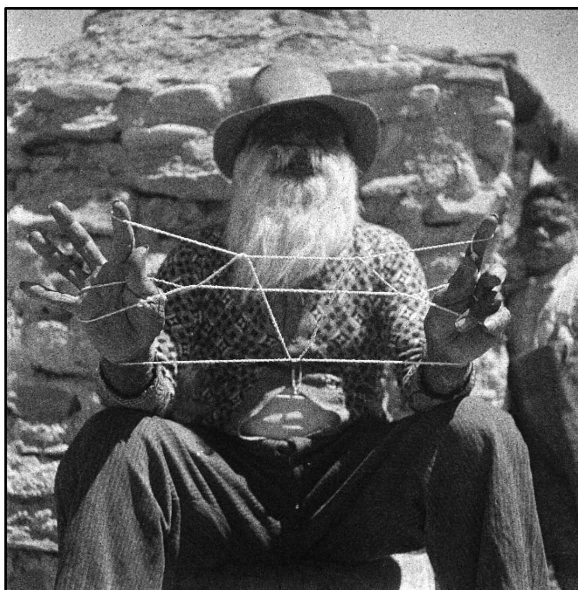

Figure 34. Albert Wilton within one of the four light boxes in the Exhibition, SLSA, PRG1218/34/993R

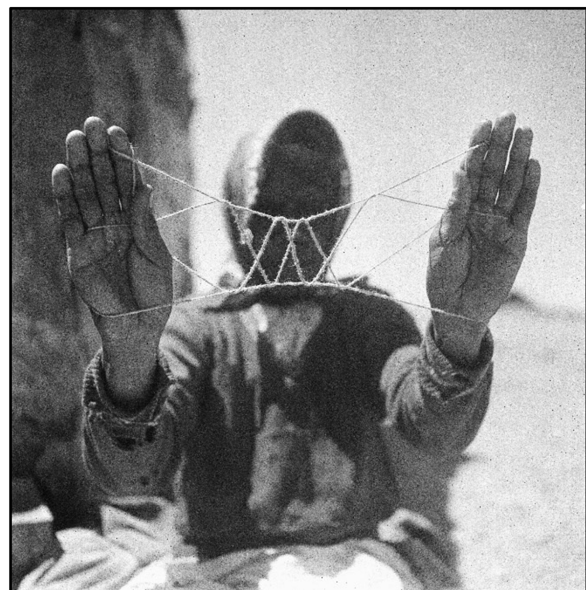

Figure 35. Susie Noble within one of the four light boxes in the Exhibition, SLSA PRG1218/34/993F

Due to space constraints, I could not display a stone axe (Figure 36 below) collected by Mountford in 1937, which SAM holds. The stone axe was a popular choice to draw amongst Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal boys taking part in the Schools' Workshops. I was, however, able to display a small photograph of *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton making the stone axe

[113] Many of Mountford's string figures remained available on display on the second floor of AACG at SAM for viewing in association with the Exhibition.

within the lightboxes. During my research, I discovered that it was, in fact, *Vurlkanha Vapi* Albert Wilton who made this particular axe, as evidenced by a photograph of him making it, held at SLSA (Figure 37 below). Albert Wilton's name is not credited in the archaeological archives as, unfortunately, it is not common archaeological practice to ascribe a named Aboriginal maker to any archaeological collections. In fact, the *yalda wirri* by Mt Serle Bob, in Figure 26 above, is the only archaeological collection object at SAM with a maker's name attributed to it, as far as I could ascertain during extensive research.

Figure 36. Stone axe head collected by Mountford in 1937, held by SAM A26935, 2019

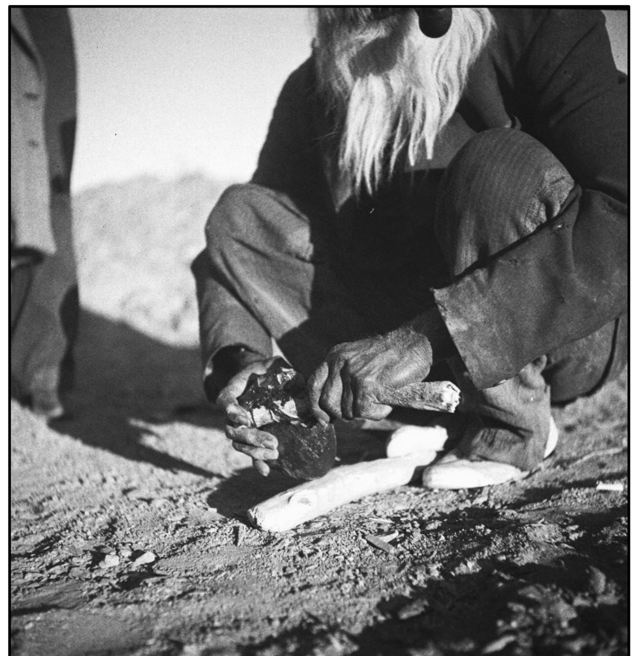

Figure 37. Photograph of Albert Wilton making stone axe that SAM holds, photographed by Mountford, courtesy of SLSA, PRG1218/34/671C

The issues of a 'Map'

I placed a 'map' (Figure 38 below) outlining the boundaries of Adnyamathanha Country on the dividing/supporting wall between the two black and white rooms within the Exhibition. It faced the white side of the Exhibition.

Figure 38. Topography and McKenzie's (2018) artwork at the Exhibition opening, photo by Carty (2019a)

An issue with maps is the incorporation of *Udnyu* understandings of space and place within Adnyamathanha frameworks. One of the principles of exhibition-making is the creation of frames in which people experience a story. Curators often use timelines to locate events in time, just as curators use maps to locate events and people in place. Identifying location proved complex in this Exhibition because *Yura Ngawarla* terms do not easily translate into English terms for, or concepts of, Country.

Brittain (2018) argues that Tindale's (1912) maps (Figure 39 below) of Aboriginal Australia are positive in that they were created, at least in part, to dispel stereotypes that Aboriginal people were hunter-gatherers roaming around without land, with associated conceptualisations of *terra nullius* (no-one's land). Tindale (1937b: 152) once wrote about Ngadjuri Aboriginal people: 'We are not dealing with a migrating people'. Tindale's continual focus on 'tribal'

distribution and boundaries was, however, influenced by the nascent concept of the nation-state. Anderson (1991: 163) shows that many stylistic maps and boundaries are based on European assumptions of defined and surveyed line-based boundaries. *Udnyu* boundaries are often untranslatable into Adnyamathanha, as Adnyamathanha notions of Country are based on storylines through Country, including land formations and water locations such as McKenzie (2016).

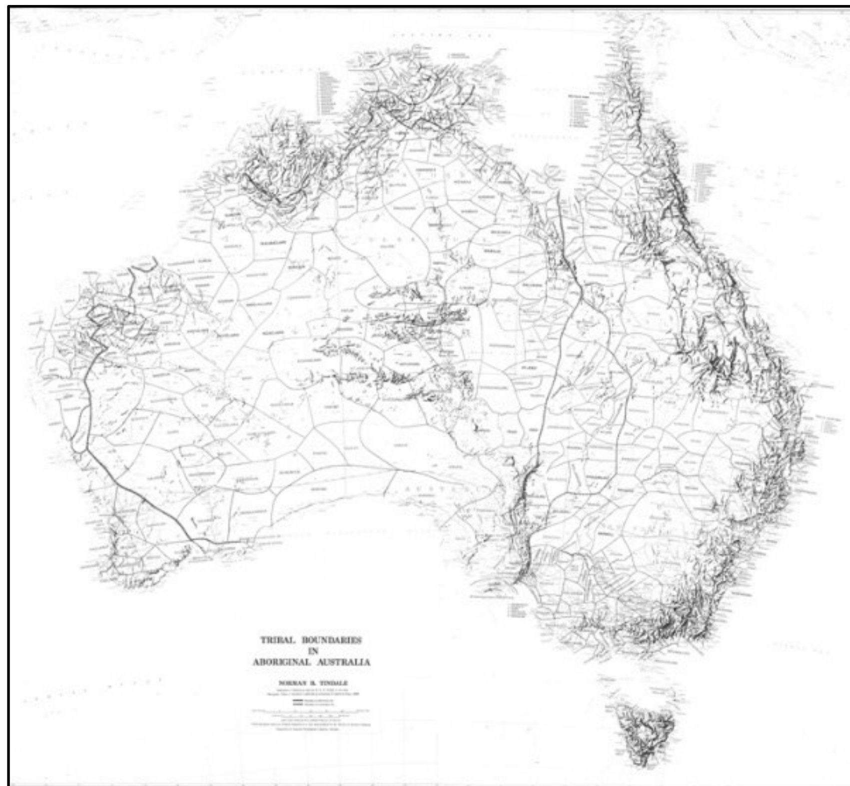

Figure 39. Tindale's (1912) map of Aboriginal Australia, SAM Aboriginal Australian Cultures Gallery, 2019

To reconcile these notions, I replaced the concept of an *Udnyu* map outlining the boundaries of Adnyamathanha Country on the dividing/supporting wall between the two black and white rooms within the Exhibition. Instead of using a map of Adnyamathanha Country, as per Tindale's map (Figure 39 above), I used a topographic photograph of the general area of the Country and used a spotlight to indicate the general area of Adnyamathanha Country. This adaptation (Figure 38 above) effectively negated issues that a traditional hard-lined map (Figure 39 above) would promote for both Adnyamathanha and neighbouring Aboriginal groups.

The map was placed on the wall between the two sections but on the white-walled side to

demonstrate the vast challenges of using a *Udnyu* fixation with maps and boundaries as opposed to traditional fluidity of categories and emphasis on *Muda*, *Yarta* (Country) and *Awi* (water) in delineating ownership; contrasts that have led to enormous difficulties and disputes in native title processes. To further illustrate the transition towards the black room, I placed Adnyamathanha artist *Ngaparla* (cousin) Juanella McKenzie's (2018) painting of *Yarta* (Country) on this wall alongside the opening into the Black Room. The way Adnyamathanha Country is conceptualised within a map is fraught with meanings that need to be assessed and negotiated throughout the research and exhibition process.

Description of content within black walls of the Exhibition

I now discuss the design choices and the relationship between objects and photographs exhibited in the "Black Room", or the section of the Exhibition that featured black walls (Figure 40 below). This includes the importance of station work for Adnyamathanha, the inclusion of men dressed for station work, the RM Williams boots and factory work, and the role of women in photographs before moving to discuss the living room.

Figure 40. 3D representation of the Black Room in the Exhibition by Green (2019), courtesy of SAM

Photographs at Nipapanha versus station work.

The inclusion in the Exhibition of separately sourced photographs and artefacts of station workers and station work was a deliberate decision to highlight the importance of the Adnyamathanha role on the stations that Mountford had not addressed.[114] The black room presented an opportunity to recognise and display Adnyamathanha station life at that time in history. Mountford took photographs of Adnyamathanha almost exclusively within *Nipapanha*. He did not go out to seek photographs from the surrounding stations.

Mountford's reasoning for focusing on *Nipapanha* may have been salvaging the traditional rather than portraying the contemporary reality. His focus on *Nipapanha* during this period ensured that he photographed and worked primarily with the elderly who could no longer manage the rigours of station work and was in keeping with his seeking of the traditional. His focus thus obscured the importance of work within Adnyamathanha society as a form of independence at a time of great oppression of Adnyamathanha people and their culture.

Many Aboriginal Australians at the time were highly controlled by the government and other organisations. Brock (2022: 277) argues that:

> Missionaries were not the Aborigines' [sic] first contact with Europeans, but they were among the earliest Europeans with whom they had sustained contact. There are, of course, exceptions to these generalisations. The Adnyamathanha … are one of these exceptions. They were in continual contact with Europeans for about eighty years before missionaries… joined the community in 1929.

Adnyamathanha have a history and sense of community at Mt Serle, *Minara Wurtu,* many stations, springs and waterholes (including *Nipapanha*) which pre-dated the UAM missionaries. Nevertheless, at the time when Mountford came to *Nipapanha,* the community was highly controlled by government, police, welfare, and missionary organisations. The UAM

[114] There were, however, many photographic collections of Adnyamathanha people on stations that were taken by *Udnyu* station workers such as Tregove (1910a, 1910b, 1910c), Walpole (1930), Warren (1891) and Shaw. However, these collections, which are often still held by their descendants, including Jamieson (2019) or Diane Shaw, are challenging to quantify and are out of the scope of this thesis.

missionaries who came to *Nipapanha* introduced Adnyamathanha to the 'preaching of Christianity, basic European schooling and authoritarian control' (Brock 2022: 284).

Brock (1993a: 158) shows that *Nipapanha* functioned to a considerable extent as a dormitory mission station in which the elderly and the school-aged children resided, along with some of the working-age population who would go there in times of seasonal lay-offs or underemployment on stations. Brock (2022: 279) argues that Adnyamathanha people have been able to maintain a relatively independent identity as a group compared to many other Aboriginal people in other regions with large numbers of non-Indigenous people for a variety of reasons, including that the Adnyamathanha promoted and participated in the 'full employment for able-bodied Aboriginal men in the local pastoral industry, except in times of extreme drought or economic depression'.

In contrast to the photographs taken by Mountford that did not include active participation in station life, Adnyamathanha contribution to station life was significant. Station dress was the chosen style of many of his subjects with Adnyamathanha people valuing work on Country highly. Adnyamathanha people, as shown in Brock (1993a: 158), saw station work as a way to continue to work and live in our Country and to have independence from oppressive mission and government control. Station life formed a large part of what constituted Adnyamathanha identity and connection to Country. Much historical documentation of the stations of the North Flinders, such as Ragless and Ragless (1986), has sadly overlooked or ignored this contribution.

Endeavours to acknowledge and to address the continuing neglect of active Adnyamathanha agency underlay the choice of photographs displayed in the Black Room, with the inclusion of some of Mountford's photographs (Figure 41 below) of Adnyamathanha men in their Akubra hats and in their work clothes. The complementary inclusion of a pair of RM Williams boots, the Akubra hat, and photographs of the RM Williams workshop (Figure 44 below) is discussed below. This range of portrayals of Adnyamathanha is clearly highlighted through the comparison between alternating portrayals of Albert Wilton (Figure 42 and Figure 43. below) discussed in the next section.

Figure 41. Unnamed Adnyamathanha men [which I have re-identified through Elders as Richard 'Rambler' Coulthard and Joe Elliot] and Albert Wilton, photographed by Mountford, 1937, displayed at the Exhibition, 2019

It was also when Mountford requested specific stories about specific locations that the people at *Nipapanha* asserted their autonomy and continuing sense of identity in their refusal to betray traditional tenets. They refused to provide knowledge when he sought out knowledge held by Adnyamathanha and Barngarla site custodians who were not present at *Nipapanha* at that time. This may be because Adnyamathanha, like many Aboriginal people, do not use a system of authoritarian leadership. Adnyamathanha individuals do not 'speak' for Country that they are not a direct custodian of within the Flinders Ranges. They, therefore, refused to provide any information to Mountford about sites of which they were not custodians (Richards, L & Richards 2002). [115] Understanding the structure of custodianship of knowledge leads into discussion of Albert Wilton and Mountford's portrayal of him as a traditional Aboriginal person.

[115] For example, *Vapi* L Richards and R Richards (2002) note that in 1944, when Mountford sought to find out more about the Pukartu ochre story, he had to travel to Parachilna from Blinman especially to interview Jarieya Percy Richards. When Mountford first recorded this story at *Nipapanha* in 1937, he was at pains to point out he could only hear this story from him as other men could not tell it as it belonged to him. In 1944, Mountford was able to hear more of the story from Jarieya, accompanied by his cousin, 'Dick Richards'.

Albert Wilton and RM Williams: Adnyamathanha as 'traditional Aborigine' and as 'stockman'

Figure 41 above also shows two photographs of Albert Wilton, who was a major informant for Charles Mountford. SLSA holds most of the records of this work. Mountford recorded at least four oral interviews with Albert Wilton (1937) and took at least 54 photographs of Albert out of his 127 publicly available photographs of men. No other man rated more than 6 (those six were also of an old man, *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard). I used two contrasting photographs to highlight the construal of a traditional Aboriginal by Mountford.

The first photograph (Figure 42 below) showed Albert Wilton semi-naked, an example of the influence upon Mountford's photography of the dominant ideology of the 'noble savage' unpolluted by *Udnyu* influence, as expressed by salvage anthropology. The second photograph by Mountford (Figure 43 below) shows Albert Wilton dressed in stockman's attire and Akubra hat. Adnyamathanha people often wanted to appear in photographs as station workers, but Mountford wanted people to look more "traditional" or to photograph them in an ethnographic style, as shown in the first photograph of Albert Wilton. Mountford's other photographs, with their emphasis on string games, stone axes, and wallaby traps, contribute to current misunderstandings of the "noble savage" within Aboriginal histories including Adnyamathanha, and effectively obscure their working role in pastoral Australia.

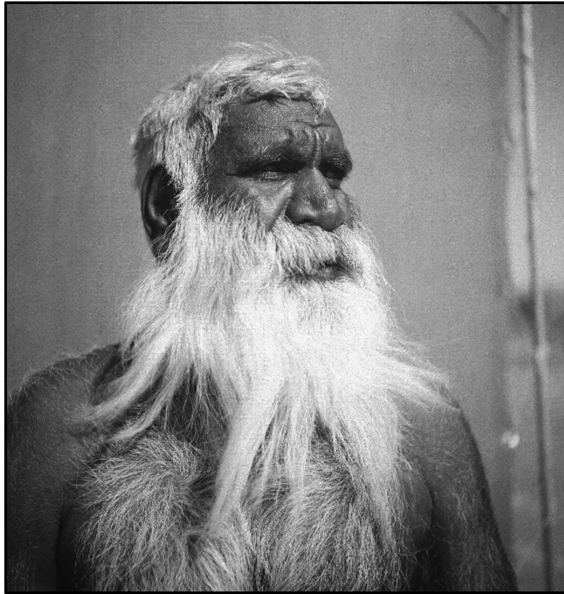

Figure 42. Albert Wilton, photo by Mountford, 1937, as semi-naked, displayed in Black room of the Exhibition, courtesy of SLSA, PRG1218/34/673D

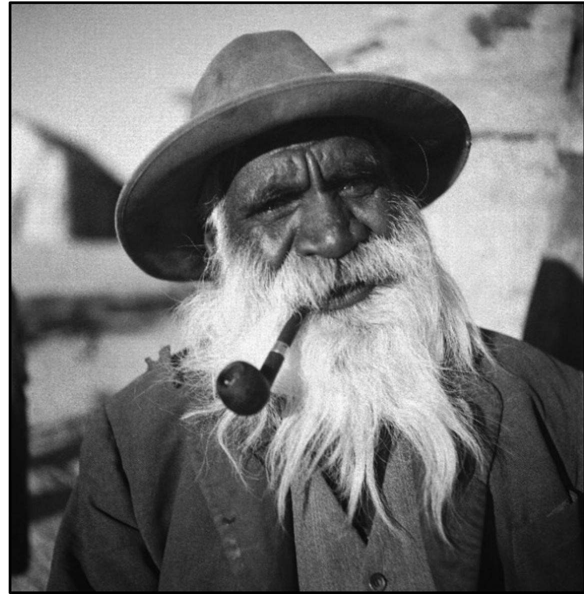

Figure 43. Albert Wilton, photo by Mountford, 1937, as a stockman, displayed in Black room of the Exhibition, courtesy of SLSA, PRG1218/34/673C

Reginald M. Williams' (RM Williams) boots are objects that transcend categories of the ethnographic, commodity and the everyday.[116] I selected them for inclusion with other objects in the black room though RM Williams boots may seem quintessentially *Udnyu*. Walter Marsh (2021: n. p.) shows that stockman Michael George Smith (Dollar Mick):

> shared his knowledge of leatherwork, and through trial and error, the pair developed the "one piece of leather" design – a variation on the Chelsea boot – that would become the foundation of Williams' bush-outfitting empire. Williams, who died in 2003, was open about Smith's singular role in its Creation.

RM Williams in Williams and Ruhen (1984: 56) stated that the basic ideas the pair conceived 'never changed…My success began the night Dollar came in his mule buggy and asked to stay'.

Walter Marsh (2021: n. p.) is unsure of the ethnicity of Dollar Mick; however, RM Williams in

[116] Myers (2001: 3) argues that 'traditional opposition between "gift and commodity" has been displaced' within emerging scholarship. This thesis is situated within this scholarship using 'approaches emphasising the materiality of exchange valuables rather than their social function in reciprocity of their purely symbolic meanings'.

Williams and Ruhen (1984: 55) says that he is Aboriginal. Also, *Vapi* L. Richards (1994 pers comm.) argued that ‘Dollar Mick was mixed *Yura* from toward Queensland way who was married to *Adnyini Ngaparla* Lorna Smith [née Elliot, an Adnyamathanha woman]. He was the father of their two sons, *Vapi* M and A Smith.[117] This identification is probable as non-Indigenous men at that time were not allowed to have open relationships with Aboriginal women living at *Nipapanha* as per missionary rules and South Australian government (1934) regulations.

Figure 44. RM Williams boots and photographs, and my father’s Akubra, displayed at the Exhibition, 2019, courtesy of SAM

[117] Dollar Mick’s grandson and partner stayed with us and helped my Dad care for me when my sister was born – more evidence of the interconnectedness of Adnyamathanha families.

The boots on display (Figure 44 above) were not made in *Nipapanha* but were kindly lent by the RM Williams' Museum as an example of the earliest boots they had available. They agreed that the boots could be touched during their display in the Black Room. Adnyamathanha people immediately associate RM Williams products with the history of their first production, in Adnyamathanha land, by Adnyamathanha people, in a workshop in *Nipapanha* and then at Italowie Gorge.

Prized family possessions, RM Williams' boots and clothes are intimately associated with years of productive and valued work on the stations of the Flinders; I included my father's Akubra for the same reason. The "Don't Touch" sign initially placed next to his hat was replaced, at my request, with the sign "This is my dad's hat". The display (Figure 44 above) featured my Dad's hat, early RM Williams boots, photographs of Dollar Mick and of *Nguarli* Rufus Wilton at a sewing machine making boots, the early workshop with unknown people, and an assortment of products they made.

Adnyamathanha Artworks

Also in the black room, professional Adnyamathanha artist *Nunga* Damien Coulthard's (2018) painting, *Akurra* (giant snake), was chosen as a feature representing the importance for Adnyamathanha of *Muda* (Figure 45). His painting incorporated the infusion of white non-restricted ochre from the Flinders Ranges. This painting refers to a significant Adnyamathanha concept, the spirit in the object or photograph, the primary focus of Chapter 7. I positioned an interpretive panel telling the significance of *Muda* (Figure 46 below) directly opposite *Nunga* Damien Coulthard's painting.

Figure 45. Damien Coulthard's (2018) Akurra, the Creator and Keeper of the Flinders Ranges, in the Exhibition, 2019

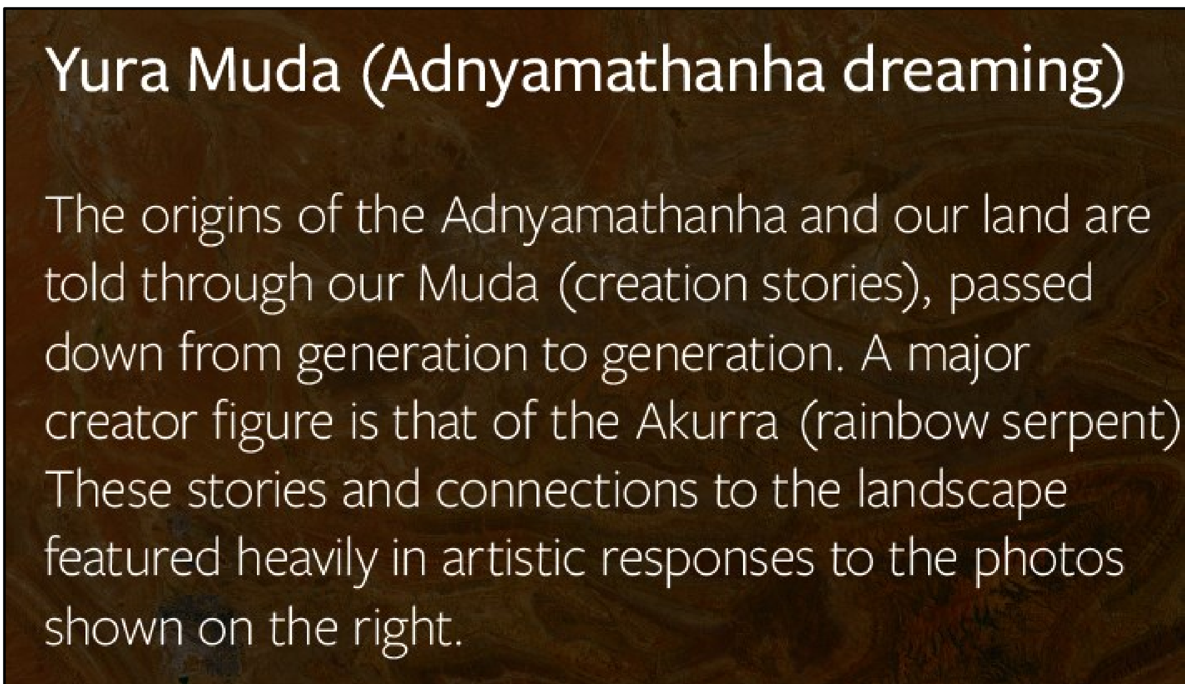

Figure 46. Section of Interpretive panel about Muda in the Exhibition, 2019

I accompanied this panel with paintings that young Adnyamathanha people created as unique but culturally relevant responses to a simple Mountford photograph of a *Wakarla Adpaindanha* – a cave that Adnyamathanha children readily identified as belonging to *Muda*

of the *Wakarla, Urrakurli and wildu* (i.e., Crow, Magpie, and Eagle).[118] One of these pictures (Figure 47 below) was created by a student in the Schools' Workshops. It depicted *Urrakurli*, while other students painted the names of the main protagonists represented in *Muda* (including *Akurra*). These paintings provided points of transition between the Exhibition as a formal space and the Living Room.

Figure 47. Kahli Strangways (2019), Urrakurli (Magpie), in the Exhibition, 2019, courtesy of LCAS

The Living Room

During my fieldwork I had taken a photograph of an Elder (since recently deceased) showing me photographs of archival photographs mingled with contemporary photographs on the mantelpiece in his lounge room. This was the inspiration behind the creation of the Living Room space, including a mantelpiece (Figure 47 below) that exhibited similarly composed photographs. My intention was the creation of a personal space facilitating relaxed discussion, observation, and touch as a reflection of Adnyamathanha teaching pedagogies.

[118] Because of gallery space constraints, I could not display a large papier-mâché and wire sculpture of the landscape of this *Muda* in the Exhibition. This sculpture was created in response to Mountford's *Muda* site photograph by predominantly Adnyamathanha students at LCAS.

Figure 48. Me sitting in a chair next to the mantelpiece and television in the lounge room area in the Black room in the Exhibition, photo by Carty, 2019

The creation of a smaller Living Room corner was influenced by Iseger-Pilkington's (2017) *Ngurra: Home in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands* exhibition. My Living room was different from *Ngurra* in that I wanted to incorporate less literalism into my living room area. For example, unlike the *Ngurra* exhibition (Figure 49 below), I did not use faux breeze/cinder blocks.[119] I did not want to create a living room itself but to imply the living room to show the importance of family and kin in Adnyamathanha identity.

[119] Breeze blocks are patterned concrete blocks commonly covering many social, community, and Aboriginal low-income housing areas in South and Central Australia (Thurman 2022: 25).

Figure 49. Two chairs in the lounge room area in Ngurra: Home in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands Exhibition, SAM 2017

The black room's overall design foregrounded contemporary use of archival photographs of Adnyamathanha people. The Living Room included a couch, carpet square, children's paintings informally pegged on a string, a mantelpiece displaying old family photographs (my great grandparents) and a television showing a range of Adnyamathanha video clips, both recent and from SAM archives. The creation of a small Living Room corner created personal space and relaxed discussion, observation, and touch as a reflection of Adnyamathanha teaching pedagogies. I also used this area to highlight family and the centrality of extended family and kin connections amongst Adnyamathanha.

I found a *Mindi (large wallaby net)* at SAM together with Mountford's film and photographs of Albert Wilton making this trap and his recording of songs of these traps. Unfortunately, because of its fragility and size, I could not include the actual wallaby net crafted back in 1937 in the Exhibition. I was able to include the wallaby trap-making video filmed by Mountford[120]

[120] These films can be found both in the SLSA and SAM (Paul et al. 2005) archives.

as a loose layering of varied materials (photography, film, audio, objects, and song) within the Exhibition, together with my film of *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.) talking about his *Nguarli* (grandfather's) net in this section of the Exhibition space. The wallaby trap demonstrates the power of 'multi-modal representations' (Battaglia 2014: 1; Westmoreland 2022: 173). It was also pleasant to be able to sit down in the room.

I used the mantelpiece to highlight family and the centrality of extended family connections amongst Adnyamathanha. It featured Mountford's photographs of my great grandparents, *Adnyini* Alice McKenzie Coulthard and *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard, along with a snapshot of myself as a child.

Figure 50. The mantelpiece features my great grandmother Artuapi Alice McKenzie Coulthard, my great grandfather, Ngamarna Jack Coulthard, and a snapshot of myself as a 6-year-old riding a horse, photo by Ngami Rosalie Richards, 1993.

Pegs and string holding children's artworks from the schools' workshops made the Living Room a family space spanning the generations. The large, symbolic painting of an *Iga*, which is the native orange or *Capparis mitchellii* as in Ellis (2013), painted by eight-year-old *Yakarla* (daughter) Ngarapanha Richards (2018) (Figure 52 below), represented the Adnyamathanha people, our Country (*Yarta*) and our *Muda*. The relationship between *Iga* and *Yarta* is described by Tunbridge (1988b: 47-51) and by the words of *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard and *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton encapsulated in the *Akurra Walking Trail Warlda* (summer) sign erected in 2020 (Figure 51 below). Hence the Living Room was the culmination of the

exhibition, moving from the white room to black and highlighting central aspects of Adnyamathanha life.

Figure 52. Ngarapanha Richards (2018) in front of her painting of an Iga in the Exhibition, 2019

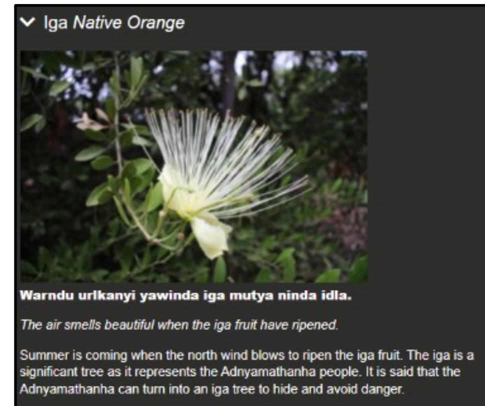

Figure 51. Summer Season sign content explaining the significance of Iga, from the Akurra Trail (Leigh Creek Community Progress Association 2021)

I included a caption in the Exhibition touching upon the role of women in making carvings in order to address the omission of women in previous exhibitions of Adnyamathanha art and history such as in the *Yurtu Ardla* (Thomas, J 2019) and *Unsettled* (Morgain & Cooke 2017) exhibitions. I, therefore added the label (Figure 53 below) to the Exhibition.

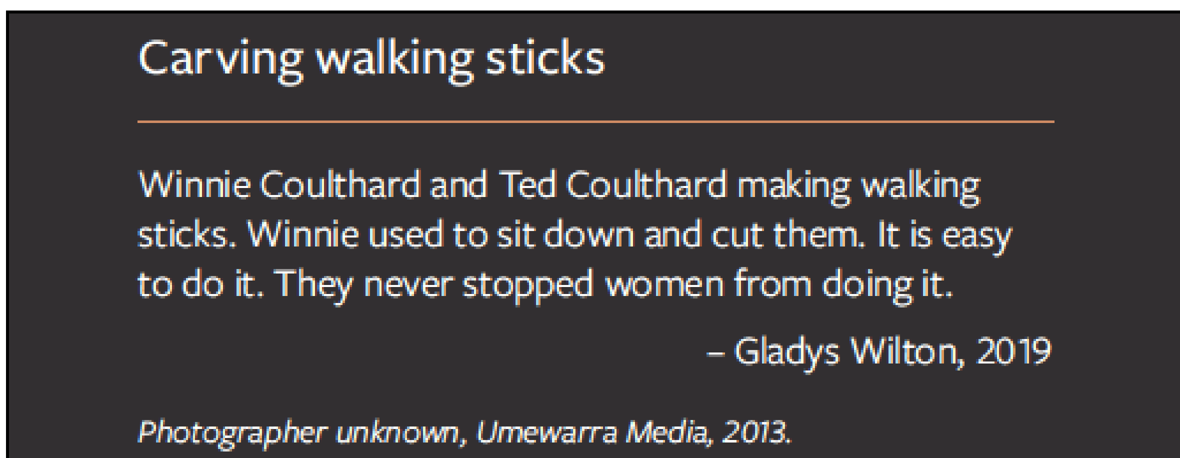

Figure 53. Exhibition label about carving by Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton in the Exhibition, 2019

The separation of genders is not supported within Adnyamathanha society and has harmed Adnyamathanha society. The Exhibition's black and white wall contrasts were not intended to contrast male and female perspectives, as this would represent a polarising approach discussed in Chapter 6 and is at odds with Adnyamathanha society. However, it did subtly

indicate the lesser representation of women in the white ethnographic section and a gender-balanced and inclusive black room representation.

Handwriting and community involvement

I used a handwriting sign in the Exhibition (Figure 54 below) as a point of difference from the printed texts used in the Exhibition. The transition into handwriting whilst moving from the white to black rooms was designed to reinforce the differences between the rooms and their meanings. The use of handwriting personalised the final exhibition caption as a statement from the heart:

> The [*Muda*] is the original archive. It is the system in which our knowledge is held and passed on. For me, working with museum archives is an extension of this cultural practice– of what my ancestors would have done.

Figure 54. I am handwriting captions on the Exhibition walls. Photo by Carty, 2019

The purpose of the creation of the Black Room was to locate the archival photographs within a greater context, namely the Adnyamathanha *Muda*. *Muda* is a multi-modal and

multisensory knowledge system. Some parts of *Muda*'s multimodality can be experienced through the Exhibition, while other parts can only be shown through being on *Yarta* (Country) (Harris, A & Guillemin 2012; Powell 2010). I endeavoured to begin to sign-post this in the Black Room and during the Exhibition Launch, using maps (Carty 2019c) and references to Country.

From the preliminary stages of the Exhibition development, I set up a system through which Adnyamathanha community members and others coming into the Exhibition could write and display captions with a commentary on the Exhibition itself because I wanted to blur the line between the commentary on the Exhibition and the Exhibition itself, as well as decentre myself as Exhibition creator with a passive public.

Further blurring of the lines between the Exhibition and collaborators was created by the Exhibition pre-tours, conducted for visitors by pre-arrangement. Several pre-tours of the Exhibition were arranged for members of the Adnyamathanha community who were visiting or living in Adelaide before the Exhibition Launch. These early visitors influenced the final exhibition design by supplying an opportunity to comment on the Exhibition prior to its opening to the public. Feedback from these tours highlighted the importance of family identity for collaborators. Comments by one Adnyamathanha family revealed concerns that their own family was under-represented in the photographs on display. My explanation that they were not included amongst the photographs taken by Mountford at the time, as perhaps they were away working, proved unconvincing. To be as inclusive as possible, I asked the Senior Collection Manager of the Humanities Collections and the Lead exhibition Designer at SAM if I could swap one of the *wadna* (boomerangs) to enable some representation of that family in the Exhibition. Thankfully, they were able to do this. They swapped the original *wadna* (Figure 55 below) for another *wadna* on the morning of the Exhibition opening.

Figure 55. A wadna (boomerang). Unknown maker, Depot Springs, Flinders Ranges, A61412, courtesy of SAM

The representative *wadna* (Figure 55 above) selected first for the Exhibition was very old and featured motifs portraying Adnyamathanha violent post-contact history as it 'depicts early conflict with Europeans which occurred during the 1860s and 1870s' (Richards, RG 2019d). This *wadna* (Figure 55 above) was swapped for the later selected *wadna* (Figure 56 below) the evening before the Launch in answer to concerns about the omission of one of the signature families (the Johnson family) from the display. We then included Ted Johnsons' boomerang, which also showed historical violence. This request, and SAM's accommodation of this request, highlights the role of carving within Adnyamathanha society, its ability to represent kinship, and the impact of patronymic classification of families on the Exhibition process.

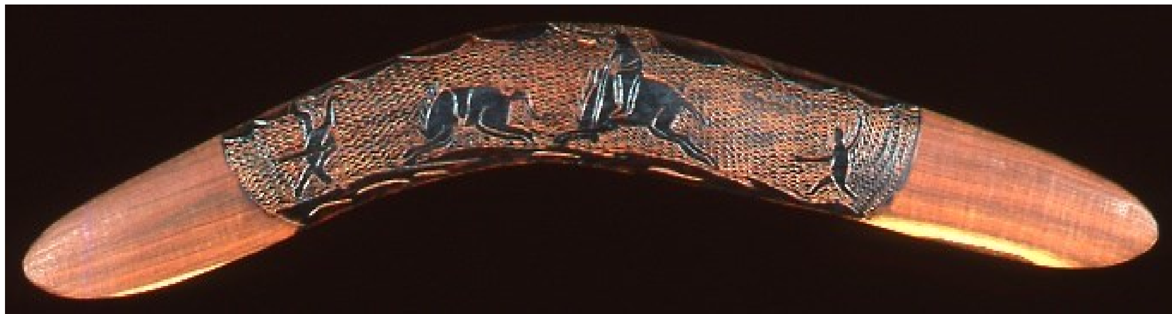

Figure 56. A wadna (boomerang) by Ted Johnson, collected by Robert W Ellis in 1971, A62284, courtesy of SAM

This later selected *wadna* (Figure 56 above) illustrates how collaboration can influence museum practice and is an example of accommodation and shifting practices that can be made to create exhibits and museums more attuned to Aboriginal wishes and desires.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has described the Exhibition, including the key themes it aimed to address. The remaining chapters in this thesis further develop these themes, including gender, relationality, and the vital concept of spirit.

Creating an exhibition allowed me to develop a range of new skills but also allowed discussion and debate about emerging themes found through my fieldwork. The Exhibition provided a space to make my work available to community members in a way not available through traditional ethnographic fieldwork.

My understanding and thinking changed through this process of curating, designing and launching an Exhibition, and I was able to reflect on the choices that I made in the design process. At points, I have regretted some of my choices, such as referring to *Muda* as 'dreaming' in one of the Exhibition captions. The Exhibition also allowed me to explore relationality, gender, and spirit more insightfully. It became clear through fieldwork and the Exhibition itself that relationality is core to understanding Adnyamathanha sociality and society, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5. Relationality

Figure 57. Boundary camp circa 1931, displayed at the Exhibition, photographer unknown, from UAM collection, courtesy of Umeewarra Media

> *Inhaadi yuanda valnaapa*. (Here stand two brothers-in-law). This is the two old Adnyamathanha men, *Wilyaru* men. That's where they had their camp while they were walking around everywhere looking for *Awi* so they could move their settlement. *Inhaadi*, here is Uncle Bill Coulthard and *Inhaadinha*, I am not allowed to call his *mityi* because he is my *Vapi,* my father, in *Yura's* way; this is Robert's father. They are brothers-in-law anyway, Uncle Bindi married *Vapi's,* Dad's, sister. (Coulthard, L 2015 pers comm.)

The passage above was spoken by *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2015) when looking at and discussing the photo of the two *Yura* men standing to the right of the tents at Boundary camp (Figure 57 above). She explains the relationship between the men and how she can refer to them and pinpoints the identity of one man she could not name. *Valnaapa* is the term that designates two men of opposite moiety but the same generation, who would, by virtue of that relationship, call each other *Virnga/Vintya* (brother-in-law) or in contemporary

Adnyamathanha, *mita* (mate), a term encapsulating the traditional relationship.

This chapter focuses on the concept of relationality and its importance in understanding Adnyamathanha society and how we understand and interact with photographs. I am choosing the term relationality rather than kinship because of the conceptual baggage and limitations of the latter term. Relationality is broader and focuses on practices rather than reified notions of static kinship. 'Relationality is the web that connects humans to a system of lore/law and knowledge that can never be human-centric. Aboriginal relationality is a practice defined by 'responsibility to kin and country' (Tynan 2021: 537). This relationality is a reality in which all entities —not just humans— are related (Tynan 2021: 537).

Relationality includes others that are not human; it underlies the worldview that saw my father call the King Brown snake his older sister and his grief when a neighbour killed the snake he had been watching and quietly protecting on our property for two years. He said at the time, 'I could have killed it a hundred times, but how could I kill my sister'. It was relationality that guided him to point out the features of the landscape not as representational but as **being** the *Muda*: 'There are the *Marrukurli* (marsupial lions)'. 'See that *adnu* (bearded dragon). It is calling out for the Marrukurli'. He made these statements whilst indicating towards what may appear to be a sandhill or rocky peak. Some recent studies, such as Haraway and TallBear (2019), have shown that Indigenous notions of kin-making are expansive and are broadening more traditional kinship models. However, I have found those limitations remain restrictive constructs in the minds of some Indigenous scholars, readers and hearers and so prefer the less encumbered terminology of relationality.

Strathern (2020: 1), recently focusing on relations, argues that 'relations are ubiquitous in the accounts people give of their world' and explains that anthropologists find that 'people … are drawn into relations with the things, beings, and entities' from their environment. Persons have the fundamental capacity to relate to one another, and 'social life is what goes on between them' (Strathern 2020: 4).

Relationality links to concepts like relatedness, which have been used by anthropologists such as Myers (1986, 1991), Glaskin (2012), and Merlan (2007) to talk about other Aboriginal societies and the relationships between people and their environment. First Nations ecologist

Wall Kimmerer's analysis of how European languages objectify and gender the world provides valuable parallels with and elaboration of my comparison of *Yura Ngawarla* with English and the consequences of their differing underpinning worldviews. Wall Kimmerer (2013: 48) demonstrates that European languages— compared to her US First Nations' Potawatomi language— often assign gender to nouns. Potawami does not divide the world into masculine and feminine. *Yura Ngawarla* nouns are also not gendered, and the pronouns do not divide the world into male and female but into a complex system of moiety relationships.[121] Even more telling is the inclusion of 'things' (animals, rocks, trees) `within the same pronouns as humans. English constructs regard animacy differently than *Yura Ngawarla*.[122]

I document many critical aspects of Adnyamathanha society in this chapter, some of which have been overlooked or misunderstood by outsiders, including Mountford, but are crucial to understanding how we relate to photographs. These include matrimoieties and a matrilineal genealogical system. These forms of relationality are shaped and arise out of *Muda*. A preferential focus on patrilineality has obscured this matrilineal form of descent and, in the contemporary era, continues to be challenged by practices such as patrilineal naming systems and genealogies for native title processes.

Matrimoieties

Moieties 'work as a superstructure above kinship' and are a valuable tool for 'assigning groups to people' Dousset (Dousset 2011: 95). They also make identifying kin categories' more straightforward and help to facilitate 'relationships and exchanges' among diverse groups. 'They are a significant factor in shaping relationality. In the notes section for the catalogue for the British Museum's major Australia exhibition, *Indigenous Australia: Enduring Civilisation*, Carty and Morphy (2015: 256) noted that moiety is:

> the division of a society into two halves. Many Australian Aboriginal societies are divided into two moieties based on descent through the father. A person belongs to his or her father's moiety and has to marry a person belonging to the opposite moiety. Often, the whole world is divided on the

[121] I discuss gender further in Chapter 6.
[122] I discuss animacy in more detail in Chapter 7.

> basis of moiety, with land, animals and the spirit world being associated with one moiety or the other… Moiety underpins people's understanding of the nature of the world.

Carty and Morphy's (2015: 256) definition of moieties references descent mainly through the father. It builds upon a note referencing the *Dhuwa* and *Yirritja* moieties in Arnhem Land, which may be correct about specific Arnhem Land Aboriginal moiety systems; however, this patrilineal moiety system is incorrect for the Adnyamathanha. Furthermore, Peterson (1970: 16) has argued that:

> The formal pattern of land ownership divides the continent into estates owned by patrilineal clans… It would seem reasonable, therefore, to expect that the men of the clan would be found living on their own estate in a patrilocal band. However, such residential groups have not existed recently and probably never did.

Peterson's (1970: 16) comment regarding the assumptions of fixed groups and land versus the more flexible reality resonates with me. My father felt a stronger affiliation or kinship with his mother's people with whom he had primarily grown up and many of whom he regarded as his mothers and fathers, his brothers and sisters, but his link to his father's land was taken very seriously; for example, his patrilineal custodial responsibilities at *Pukartu* ochre mine [123]and for *Muda* and songs of that significant site. Dual identity, or some evidence of cognatic relationality, is consistent with my experience in that my father would use Adnyamathanha when in his mother's land or Barngarla when in his father's land – unless speaking there with a group of Adnyamathanha. This is an experiential rather than a structural functionalist way of understanding the Aboriginal worldview and relatedness in the Flinders Ranges. This ego-centric relationality is commonly seen across Aboriginal groups.

Moiety is structurally significant to the understanding of Adnyamathanha society. There are two moieties: *Mathari* and *Ararru.* In Adnyamathanha society, a person's moiety is determined through inheritance from their mother. Despite their significance, early outside

[123] Further discussions on *Pukartu* ochre mines is found in 'Matrimoieties' in Chapter 5 and also in other literature, including Jones (2007: 352), Howitt (1904: 713); Jercher et al. (1998: 384), Clark (2022) Næssan and Zuckerman (2022: 32) and Richards, L and Richards (2002).

observers of Adnyamathanha society often overlooked or misunderstood matrimoieties. The lack of explicit mention or research on matrimoieties is astonishing given the fundamental significance of moieties for the organisation of Flinders Ranges Aboriginal societies. This significance is evident in the descriptions of their role in ceremonial life, marriage, and funerals and how people relate and refer to each other daily. Moiety is even evident in the modern organisation of Adnyamathanha cultural and sports events, such as the teams in Rounders innings. It can cause family schisms when funerals are being organised as traditionally same-moiety family members should decide its location and organisation and undertake the role of pallbearers (Ellis, RW 1975: 3-10).[124] Moiety has been and still is a fundamental organisational principle in life in the Flinders. Most Adnyamathanha still marry according to our exogamous matri-moiety system today (Brock 1991: 260).

I have not been told of, and cannot find, words meaning 'same moiety' in *Yura Ngawarla,* but Schebeck (2000: 196) lists two words for people of the opposite moiety. He defines people or members of opposite moiety as both *wardawarda* or *Ward-arda*[125] (Schebeck 2000: 196) and as *Yarunyi-yarunyi* or *yaruny-arunyi* (Schebeck 2000: 238). A similar inability to find a term for moiety or same moiety group was also elucidated by Schebeck (1973:24): 'I have never found a term denoting the concept of "moiety" itself'. He also however, did say that a 'cycle' pair of same moiety people could be referred to as *valanalpu* (for Ego's moiety). One can refer to oneself or others as being of the *Mathari-milanha* (*Mathari* moiety) or the *Ararru-milanha* (*Ararru* moiety), with the frequently heard equivalent being "south-wind" or "north-wind" people. This lack of a definitive word for moiety does not mean it is unimportant. This also may signify its importance as a superstructural, or taken for granted, part of Adnyamathanha society.

As I described in my thesis Prologue, in *'Mangundanha Walawalandanha'* (calling out on Country), Adnyamathanha can trace a form of relationship to all other Adnyamathanha. However, although we are all somehow related, I found that not everyone looks at or speaks

[124] In May 2023, LCAS' Adnyamathanha Language and Culture Committee endorsed the selection of the two Adnyamathanha students to speak at the *Light Creatures* SA Zoos (2023) presentation on *Andu* (Zoos South Australia, Leigh Creek Area School & Modelbox Design 2023), with an estimated audience of 150,000 people. Adnyamathanha Language and Culture Committee saw their selection as appropriately inclusive as they were a female and a male and were a *Mathari* and an *Arraru* person.

[125] A variation of this term, *warlda warlda* is still used today by *Ngarlaami* Gladys (Wilton, N 2023 pers comm.).

about all photographs. The matrilineal moiety system plays a role in deciding who are considered the closest family members and how one can speak about certain photographs. The choice of photographs and their relationship to the person being interviewed and to the person in the photograph can help determine the appropriate person to speak on behalf of a photograph (such as in the discussion of the 'Johnson' boomerang at the end of Chapter 4). It was essential, for example, to try to include a balance of moieties and major family groups within the Exhibition.

Adnyamathanha society is matrilineal. *Udnyu* societies primarily construct relationships using a patrilineal and patriarchal nuclear family structure. A failure to grasp Adnyamathanha matrilineality has affected researchers' capacity to understand Adnyamathanha society. Differences between Western patrilineal and Adnyamathanha matrilineal readings of these photographs show how misunderstandings of the family have affected how *Udnyu* have represented Adnyamathanha in photographs and how contemporary *Udnyu* and Aboriginal peoples conceptualise Adnyamathanha society and history.

Moiety and avoidance

In Adnyamathanha society, there is a general avoidance of and respectful relationship with people from the opposite moiety and a closer relationship with people in the same moiety. First, I show how Adnyamathanha have historically conceptualised these processes. For example, certain cross-moiety people after ceremony were to avoid each other. This can be seen in the example provided by *Ngami* Rosalie Richards in her evidence to Mansfield (2015)[126], parts of which can be found in Grant (2019: 95-96).

This relationship to moiety influenced how the photo-elicitation processes occurred. For example, *Ubmarli Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.) freely talked about one of his ancestors (Albert Wilton) in a teasing way. He asserted that he could tease his *Nguarli-apinha* (his father's fathers) because 'they are of the same moiety as me'. I put photographs of Jack

[126] *Ngami* Rosalie Richards, in her evidence to Mansfield (2015), stated that after ceremony opposite moiety ceremony participants, Jack Coulthard and Jarieya Percy Richards were unable to: 'speak for a long time after that because of the avoidance issues ... Not until the whole thing had been finished for quite some time could they speak to each other. ... You had to avoid certain people in terms of traditional law, that, you know, you couldn't necessarily speak to them... if they had a part in your… law'.

and Alice on the mantelpiece to highlight this in the Exhibition. Jack was my *Ararru* father's *Vapapa* (opposite moiety grandfather) and so is *Mathari* like me. Therefore, I can freely speak of him and show his photograph.[127]

Moiety relationships meant that people would not speak freely about or name their fathers (biological or classificatory) whilst viewing the photographs. They are opposite moiety people and so should be shown proper respect. People interviewed would often not say the names of those featured in photographs if they were in a father relationship to themselves or anyone else present. Some would not look at these photographs, or they might whisper his name to let others know who was in the photo but would be more likely to refer to them by naming living relatives, for example, 'X's father' or 'Y's older brother'. People still do not use my father's name when talking to me or my sister, 19 years after his passing. My *Nunga* Terry Coulthard came to visit us with his family, and on first entry into our house, he turned the framed photograph of my father (who was his *Ubmarli Vapi* or 'Little father') to the wall so that he would not have to see his photo again whilst there.

This is less significant for female grandmothers, who my interviewees often saw as having a more nurturing role, whether they were *Adnyini* (same moiety grandmother) *or Adnyini Ngaparla* (opposite moiety grandmother). The stories told were likely to be more open and include fewer flattering nuances when speaking of same moiety relatives. It was also noticeable that stories told by men of a *Nguarli* seen in a photograph often included his interesting foibles. Relationships to those whose spirit was in the photograph strongly influenced how interviewees saw and used their photographs.

Interrogating the archives: Designating moieties

There were issues with the recorded names of people in the photographs which I found at SLSA. Archives privilege, repeat errors and overlook omissions about Adnyamathanha culture created by anthropologists, including Mountford. They privilege *Udnyu* conceptualisations of

[127] *Vapi* L Richards spoke of how excited he was when, at 23, he finally became a *Nguarli* via an Ararru niece's baby. He remarked on several occasions that the child was special as she was the first to make him and his brother a Nguarli finally. They had already become a *Vapapa* several times, but this highlighted the different roles and responsibilities that had now been established. Because of our extensive family network, these roles are not necessarily related to age: my sister was an *Adnyini* (Nanna) before birth.

genealogies over the oral histories and the genealogies of descendants (especially women). Thus, without cautious historical contextualisation, inaccuracies primarily derived from the analysis of archival and photographic data may detrimentally influence the accuracy of academic and Adnyamathanha views of our culture.

Fine-grained photo-elicitation and analysis of collections and archives revealed the value that archives can possess despite the many errors and omissions. Some information of great interest to me was discovered in my research into the archives whilst preparing for the Exhibition. Highlighting differences between photographs, collections and statistics and their written records is a way of Adnyamathanha 'talking back' to archives in a format that academia can perceive as valid. Analysis of Mountford's list of photographic subjects found in SLSA archives shows an interesting aspect of Adnyamathanha views of moiety and gender worthy of further investigation.

Table 8 below shows that my great-grandfather *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard and great-grandmother Alice McKenzie had *Yura* names recorded. Table 8 also shows that Jack and Susie Noble/Wilton both have the same name, *Muyili*. Both Susie and Jack were *Mathari*. This table shows that gender was less significant in determining appropriate names than their moieties. This possibility is worth further exploration. However, many traditional Adnyamathanha names have been challenging to find. The lack of further evidence to confirm their names meant I could not use their traditional names in my Exhibition.

Moieties are vital as it is a formative structure of our *Muda*; they are essential to understanding location, totem, and naming praxis (such as name avoidance). My archival analyses highlighted the need for care, cross-checking and seeking confirmation, where possible, from the Elders as mistakes can occur, as shown in Chapter 4 regarding naming Mt Serle Bob.

Mountford also did not document birth order names. However, Tunbridge (1985), Davis and McKenzie (1985: 6), Richards and Coulthard (2020: n. p.). have outlined these names. Birth order names further highlight the mothers' roles and the complexity of naming systems within Adnyamathanha, which are culturally specific. Children's names depend on their order in terms of the mother's children, not the father's. The birth order names include miscarriages

and still births, showing again recognition of the significance and difficulties of the woman's role and connections to spirit with each conception incorporating the infusion of a *Murri* (spirit child). Birth order names did vary, generally only slightly, according to gender (e.g., *Warrianha* is a second-born male child while *Warrikanha* is a female second-born child).

Table 8. Aboriginal names from Mountford's notes [my amendments are in square brackets]

English name	Aboriginal name recorded in Mountford	Position/moiety	Adnyamathanha Birth order names (Davis & McKenzie 1985)	SLSA negative no.
Chris Ryan	Nururundana [Nururundanha]	[*Ararru* moiety]	*Unaanha* (third-born) (Davis and McKenzie 1985: 44)	726D
Jack Coulthard Snr	Muyili	leader of the *Mathuri* Moity [*Mathari* moiety]	*Warrianha* (second-born) (ibid: 53)	726J
Fred McKenzie	Marinduna	Goes back to first born [*Ararru* moiety] at 10	11th born (ibid: 5)	726R
Susie Wilton	Muyili; wife of Albert Wilton and brother (Bert Noble?) [`Susie's brother is Bert Noble]	[*Mathari* moiety]	*Arranyinha* (first-born) (ibid: 25)	726YG
Alice Coulthard	Mariandana [Marindunha]; wife of Jack Coulthard	[*Ararru* moiety]	*Murnakanha* (fifth born) (ibid: 2)	825
Albert Wilton	Malada [Maladanha]	the leader of the *Arada* Moity [*Ararru* moiety]	*Warrianha* (second born) (ibid: 113)	673D

The Adnyamathanha genealogy by Davis and McKenzie (1985) is exceptionally well-researched. However, it has a problem in that it does not list miscarriages and only some stillbirths, again showing a preferencing of *Udnyu* norms of the era over the Adnyamathanha value of all children, born living or not. It has a further issue in that it assumed patrilineal descent. It is this issue of the patrilineal focus of genealogies to which I now turn.

Matrilineal relationality and genealogies

Earlier genealogies of the Adnyamathanha tended to assume patrilineal descent patterns. This is likely to be due to several reasons. They were not simply impartial documentation of

information. Norman Tindale (1912), Mountford (1944b), and Davis and McKenzie (1985) did not record matrilineal descent lines for different reasons. *Udnyu* constructions of Adnyamathanha genealogies as patriarchal and patronymic is an assumption that underlies both Norman Tindale (1912) and Mountford's (1944b) works.

The genealogies of Mountford and Tindale were only a partial census of genealogy focusing on their male informants as the 'ego' and their patri-clan only. This speaks to the limitation of male fieldworkers' access to women and their assumptions that men held the most valuable information. A potential reason for this lack of a comprehensive genealogy of Adnyamathanha society is that, given that Tindale (1912) and Mountford (1944b) documented the genealogies in 1937 and 1944, they were hand-written and lacked the technology available today to be able to record complex kinship systems in the time they had available. Figure 58 and Figure 59 below provide an example of a handwritten genealogy record card, that of my great grandfather *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard, from SAM archives.

No. M 4 Native name Jack Coultard (Coulthard) Other names Naria Tribe Ongamatana
Sex ♂ Age known/estim. 50 [55] Date 25. 5. 37. Subclass matari Totem jalpo ri galku
Loc. ? Where born Mr Smith's Frome Well Territory claimed Frome Well - Ordnajukuru

Father Don't like to call it my heart not like it. No. Name Tribe Scl.
Totem Wh. born Terr. Living / Dead at
Mother " / No. Name Tribe Scl.
Totem Wh. born Terr. Living / Dead at

F.Bro. / No. Name Tr. Wh.b. Scl. Tot.
F.Sis. / No. " " " " "
M.Bro. / No. " " " " "
M.Sis. / No. " " " " "
Bro. Dick / No. " " " " "
Ted.
Sis. nil. Father mother's sister daughter who died. No. " " " " "
~~Husb.~~/Wife Alice McKenzie No. Name Jaranda Tribe Anjamatana Scl. arara
Totem wara. Wh.born Terr. Living / Dead at
Son 1. Sam 3. Richard 2. Walter 4 Norman No. Name Tr. Wh.b. Scl. Tot.
Daught. 1. Dotsy / 3 Betty 2. Maggie 4 Gracie No. Name Tr. Wh.b. Scl. Tot.

Photogr. Casts Phy.Meas. Anth.Notes Derm. Hair Samples Drawings Specimens P.T.O.

Figure 58. Part 1 of 2: Physical anthropology card of Ngamarna Jack Coulthard from Mountford's 1937 Expedition to Nepabunna, created by Norman Tindale (1937a), courtesy of SAM Archives

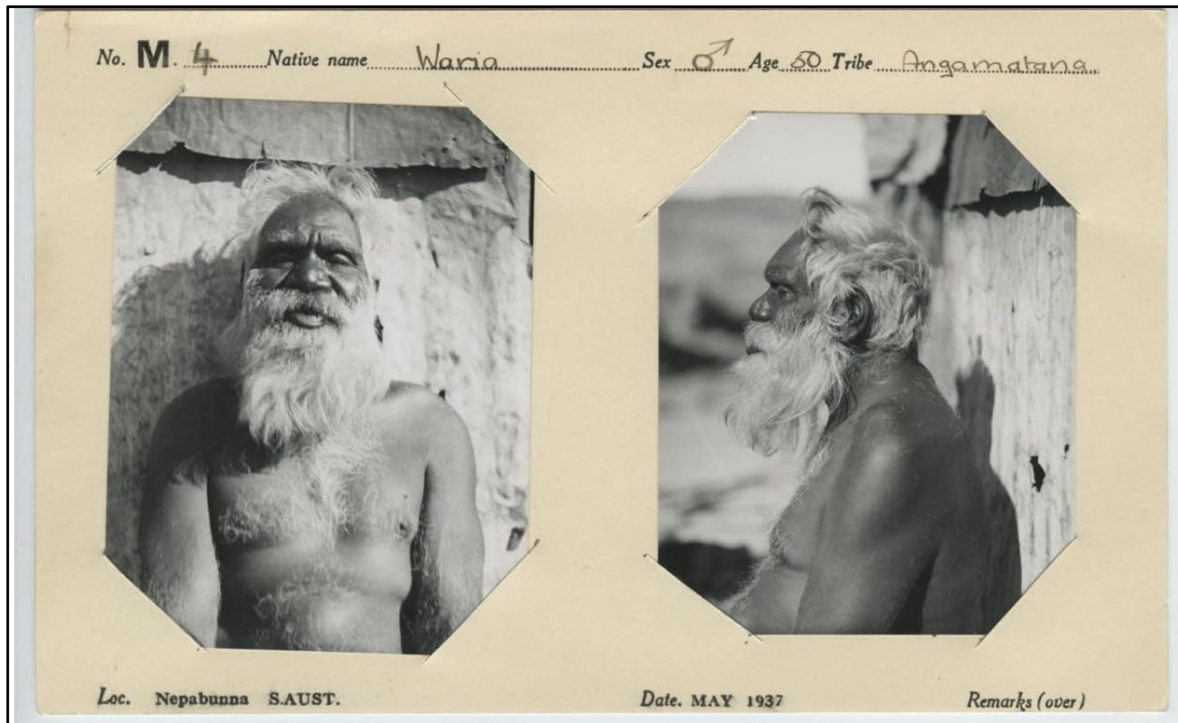

Figure 59. Part 2 of 2: Physical anthropology card of Ngamarna Jack (Warrianha) Coulthard from Mountford's 1937 Expedition to Nepabunna, created by Norman Tindale(1937a), courtesy of SAM Archives

Davis and McKenzie (1985) did not draw their renderings of genealogies by hand; however, it is not unreasonable to assume that they would have created at least some of their earlier representations by hand. As computers were becoming available at the time, Davis and McKenzie (1985) documented their work using computers to create their extensive genealogical record of 1042 Adnyamathanha people and partners. Unfortunately, early *Udnyu* computer systems were inadequate for recording a large group of people with a complex kinship system. Issues inherent in computer systems with which Davis and McKenzie (1985) created their more comprehensive genealogical record of the Adnyamathanha people in 1985 produced a similar result to that of the earlier work of Tindale and Mountford. Despite the wonderful and irreplaceable information presented therein, the structure of the genealogy has resulted in an information system that both encapsulates and inculcates a Euro-centric and male-gendered reading of kinship.

Digital software and research databases often constrain objects and their information in a way as to be Eurocentric or male-centric (Salmond 2012: 216). One example shows how the Adnyamathanha genealogies were, and continue to be, structured using software. Specifically, in an Adnyamathanha context, Brock (2019 pers comm) informed me that she,

Davis and McKenzie (1985):

> had no choice but to use a patriarchal genealogical system to record the official genealogies of the Adnyamathanha people due to the limitations of the genealogical software that was available at the time. (Brock 2019 pers comm.)

Filer (2019: 11) explains that most early genealogical software was structured similarly. Filer (2019: 11) goes into more depth on the issue of gender in regards to genealogical records software usage in a discussion of John Burton's fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in the 1990s. Burton (1992: 133) noted that an earlier genealogical record of the Porgera area by Gibbs, although good, suffered from the 'extraordinary defect of not considering women— including living wives— other than those whom living male landowners can trace their descent'. Seeking to remedy this, Filer (2019: 11) argues that Burton had to develop his own software in 1990 to create matrilineal and patrilineal genealogies. Filer (2019: 11) argues that Burton:

> Aimed to compile a definitive set of genealogies for roughly 9,500 people then living in ten rural census units around the [Porgera] mine site and to make this information legible through a *purpose-built* [my emphasis added] computer program called the *Village Population System.*

There is still no widely known way to design matrilineal rather than patrilineal genealogies using genealogical software such as *Roots Magic, Family Tree Maker,* or *Master Genealogist.* This makes it difficult for researchers to show complete matrilineal lines.

Filer (2019: 11) demonstrates that the recognition of matri-linearity using genealogical software is only in its infancy, as much earlier genealogical software used to create matrilineal systems had to be designed by hand by anthropologists themselves. Furthermore, the only example of Aboriginal Australian matri-moiety structures within academic literature that I can find (Figure 60 below) further reinforces Filer's (2019: 11) argument that by using standard genealogical software, matrilineal moieties are only able to be recorded through first determination using a patrilineal family structure.[128]

[128] Further discussion of the history of handwritten genealogies in detail is beyond the scope of this thesis.

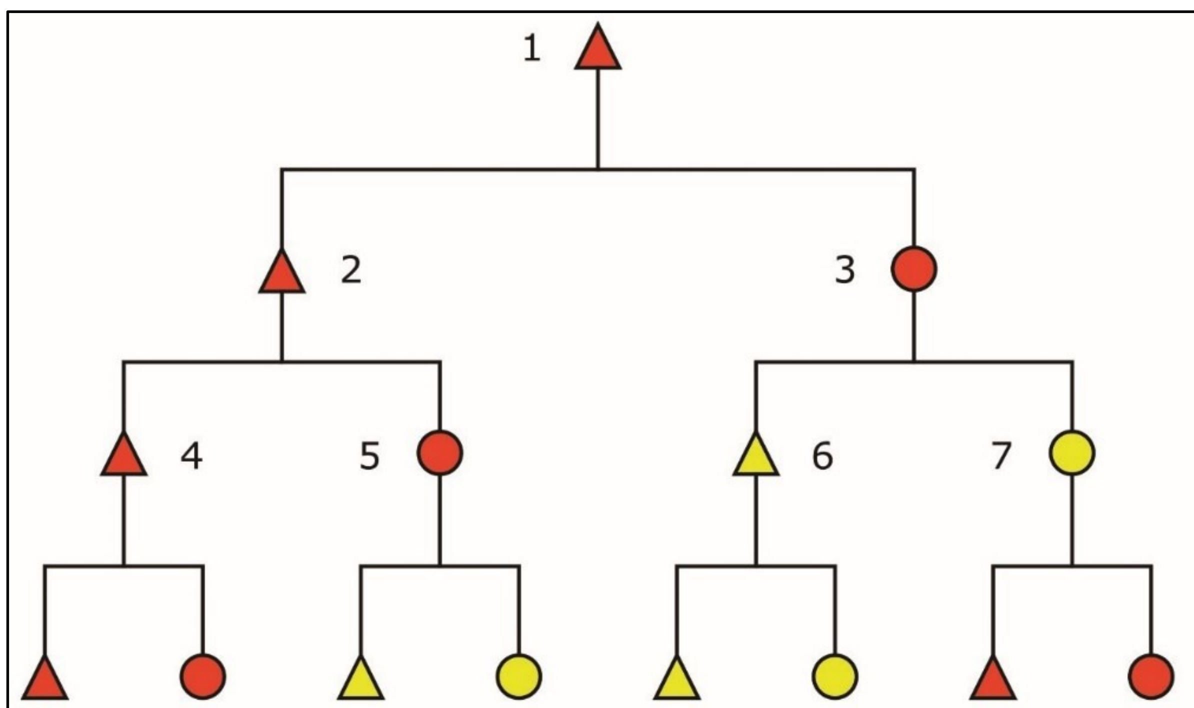

Figure 60. Example of matrilineal moieties using a patrilineal family structure (Dousset 2011)

In this example, the clear line of descent through the circles (such as the female line) shows the continuation of the yellow moiety affiliation that flows unbroken through the female line of descent. The male figure at the top (red moiety) would have had a female yellow circle partner, and the daughters of daughters of daughters would continue the yellow circles. Davis and McKenzie's (1985) genealogies list families through their fathers, with a woman's children appearing under their father's family unless he is/was not Adnyamathanha. For example, my great-grandmother Alice's family in Davis and McKenzie (1985: 79) is separated from her sister Emily's family, who is listed under the Demell family in Davis and McKenzie (1985: 35), as is also her brother Fred McKenzie's family which immediately follows his parents in Davis and McKenzie (1985: 4-23). Davis and McKenzie's (1985) genealogy splits Alice's descendants into many family groups rather than having the female line staying together.

This contrasts with my great grandfather J. Coulthard's and his brothers' families. Davis and McKenzie's (1985: 53-111) genealogies listed the three brothers together and then the genealogies keep their sons' families together, consecutively, as the Coulthard family. The daughters' families only appear with those of their other siblings if their partner was non-Adnyamathanha. In this way, my grandmother, Grace, has her family listed with those of her brothers (Davis & McKenzie 1985: 94), as her partner was not viewed as Adnyamathanha, but

her sisters' families are dispersed amongst their husbands' families.

This male kinship system contrasts with how Adnyamathanha describe kinship and moiety connections. Under Adnyamathanha kinship systems, the female line should stay together in the genealogy. According to the Adnyamathanha moiety system, our mother's sisters are our mothers. My father called each of his mother's sisters *Ngarlaami* (big mothers). Her sisters' children he regarded and called his close brothers and sisters, indicated by phrases such as "We grew up in one bed".

The names that we call the next generation of children also reflect this. A woman's children and her sisters' children are all called *Yakarla* by her, reflecting that they are of the same moiety as herself and her siblings. A man, therefore, also calls his sisters' children *Yakarla*. We use this term regardless of the child's gender, reflecting the greater responsibility held towards those children. However, a man calls his own and his brother's children *Vaparlu*. His sisters also call his children *Vaparlu* as they are of the opposite moiety to themselves. Of the 25 Adnyamathanha kinship terms commonly used to address others, these are amongst the few non-reciprocal terms heard.

The naming used with a cross-generational marriage also shows the priority afforded to the female position in the kinship system. An example is my kinship term of reference for *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard. As the son of my classificatory great grandfather, *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard's brother Dick Coulthard, he was my great uncle (in English definition). However, as the son of my grandmother's classificatory female cousin, I refer to him as my *Vurlkanha Vapi* (or my Big Dad). The female connection takes precedence in Adnyamathanha relationship and generational designation. Also, the word *Artuapi* (who is your father's sister) is a combination of the words *artu* (female) and *Vapi* (father) so that *Artuapi* means "female father". This relates to relationality because they relate to you via your father. Your cross-moiety family nurtures rather than instructs and is held less accountable for your actions (like your father) than your same-moiety aunties and uncles.

The almost inevitable imposition on Adnyamathanha society of a Western family naming system with its male orientation functioning in opposition to Adnyamathanha concepts of kinship has been influenced by Davis and McKenzie's (1985) genealogies. The male

orientation of such naming and the genealogical software systems available influence contemporary Adnyamathanha worldviews. This contributes to changing Adnyamathanha perceptions of gender and kinship relationships and in changing how people regard and interpret photographs.

During my fieldwork, Elders— regardless of gender or moiety— consistently approached and described photographs according to their relationships with the person or persons in the photograph. They used moieties and complex personal pronouns consistent with the structure of a society based on the matrilineal distribution of moiety and relationships. It was obvious that person and gender were, and are, valuable tools in understanding photographs of Adnyamathanha community members and in understanding the influence of genealogies on the increasing use of groupings based on patrilineal-derived *Udnyu* last names within the Adnyamathanha community.

Udnyu conceptualisations of Adnyamathanha genealogies are in use for the claiming of native title and the distribution of funeral funds and mining royalties.[129] For the future representation of the Adnyamathanha native title rights, the new Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association Special Administration (2021) (of whom all are *Udnyu*) have proposed that Adnyamathanha be grouped by patrilineal descent. In other words, they proposed that Adnyamathanha people's representation in ATLA be structured according to the individual's descent from particular 'apical ancestors' traced through patrilineal lines. Despite advice provided to the contrary, brothers' children are planned to be included in the same grouping while sisters and their children are scattered into the various husbands' families. This is not how Adnyamathanha traditionally classified close connections.

The perpetual misrepresentations of Adnyamathanha matrilineality have serious implications for Adnyamathanha gender, culture, heritage, and language, with the language used to describe relationships and used in pronouns dependent on the recognition of moiety and matrilineal kinship terms. Interestingly, Adnyamathanha families often choose to accommodate both European and Adnyamathanha family naming systems, with some

[129] 'Constraining Indigenous tradition and Law' to accord with Western legal requirements is common but problematic (Altman & Martin 2009: 10). Anthropological literature such as Glaskin (2012) also highlights the difficult relationship between Indigeneity and Western political systems.

siblings given the mother's and some the father's family name.

Archival systems are now beginning to incorporate matrilineality. Upon inspection of the *A<u>r</u>a Irititja* (2019) digital photograph archive, this software has the capability for the inclusion of matrilineality. My research shows that SAM's *A<u>r</u>a Irititja* genealogical software can trace both matrilineal and patrilineal descent. Nevertheless, this software function is only available for use by various senior Pitjantjatjara Elders within the Central Desert. The data in *A<u>r</u>a Irititja* has also not been entered in ways to facilitate this analysis. In my current project, my colleagues, collaborators and I are setting up a community-based and managed Ngarrindjeri photographic digital archive using *A<u>r</u>a Irititja* (2019) software as a guide to create a digital archive of photographs for the Ngarrindjeri peoples which incorporates matrilineality.

Muda as social relationships

As shown above, Muda, moiety and matrilineality are central to Adnyamathanha relationality. For Adnyamathanha people, *Muda* is not only about relationships to history that connect to the past but to the future as well. Tunbridge (1988b: xxxviii) summarises thirteen functions of 'dreaming' and *Muda,* most of which are based on the connection between social relationships and land. Points to note for this discussion are outlined by Tunbridge (1988b: xxxviii), who argues that Creation stories or *Muda* provide a framework for relationships between people:

> They account for the origins of social institutions and customs, … provide a blueprint for special rituals …. [and] embody warnings for those who contravene the rules, from the community or elsewhere.

In the Schools' Workshops, Adnyamathanha staff pointed out on several occasions the role of *Muda* in setting guidelines for social interactions. It was clear throughout my fieldwork that perceptions of photographs arise from many layers of meaning. The teachers and Adnyamathanha Aboriginal Community Education Workers (ACEO) who are Adnyamathanha or part of the Adnyamathanha community were crucial in drawing out the intricate linkages between *Muda*, genealogies, and relatedness amongst the children and with those portrayed in the photographs. It is important to consider this aspect of *Muda* as relationships are closely interconnected with moiety and with the origins of relationships arising from *Muda*.

Many of the Creation *Muda* specify the moieties of the participants and set guidelines for the behaviour between those in different relationships. These are the basis of expectations of ways in which Adnyamathanha people should interact with each other. The *Muda* also details the consequences of breaches of moiety and relationship etiquette. One example is the respect and generosity Adnyamathanha men are mandated to show towards their real or possible brothers-in-law, who are men of the opposite moiety. The *Muda* of the *unatyirldi* (diver or little grebe) and the *mararra* (black duck) includes behaviours that breach this relationship rule and describes possible consequences of that breach. The *unatyirldi* in the *Muda* actively conceals his knowledge of a water supply from his brother-in-law during a time of drought and has to keep on diving deep into that water to avoid the *murawirri* (fighting boomerangs) thrown at him by *mararra* when his deception is discovered. Even the pronoun used to describe the two (*Valnaapa*) carries fundamental assumptions of respect and generosity. Contemporary older Adnyamathanha people understand the relationship and moiety expectations that underlie the recount of this and other *Muda* and the consequences of breaching this protocol. It is a feature of Adnyamathanha *Muda* that learning about relationships and behaviour is a focus and almost universally underlined by the narrator. Yura also often recall and repeat these expectations when they see *unatyirldi* diving deeply down into the water. Tunbridge (1988b: 21) explains that:

> The “mate” [or *mita*] relationship that which existed between two young men of the same generation and opposite moiety, who may have become Vadnaapa [first stage initiate] together was socially significant. The betrayal of that relationship in the story not surprisingly evokes bewilderment on the part of the young man betrayed.

Another of my favourite *Muda*, featuring the mistletoe bird, outlines the responsibility of fathers to listen to their partners, to share the responsibilities of caring for children’s wellbeing and the need to subordinate personal desires to the general good. The *Urdlu Mandyalypila Muda* (N, RJ & L 2023) focuses on harmonious relationships, resolving disputes peacefully, and the requirement to share.

Muda and understanding its guidelines regarding the complex appropriate behaviours towards the various generations and moieties underlie how people, particularly older people,

perceive, react to, and discuss the photographs as they view them today. Significantly, it is through *Muda* that feelings of proper interactions and behaviours are expressed. *Muda* guides relationships and sets protocols of behaviour between family members. Tunbridge (1988b: xxxviii) argues that Creation accounts, or *Muda*, provide a framework for relationships between people in that they provide 'guidelines for living' that:

> focus on social relationships and propound certain social and moral values on a wide range of issues, such as those touched upon in the institution which was an integral part of training for adult life.

Moreover, consequences of inappropriate behaviour towards people in various relationships are a common theme, often graphically portrayed; 'punishment for unacceptable behaviour is a theme of several [Creation] stories' (Tunbridge 1988b: xxxviii).

Aspects of relationality were often a feature of the Schools' Workshops where students responded to the photographs. This was a striking feature of the Port Augusta Secondary School workshops where ACEO *Yaka* Kathy Brown (2018 pers comm.) spent considerable time with secondary Adnyamathanha students. She advised me that the students were fascinated and interested in the photographs as they explored their relationships with those featured in the photos and discovered close connections to each other that were previously unknown to many. *Yaka* Kathy Brown (2018 pers comm.) also sat with the students and together mapped out the relationship between the students and between the people in the photographs. The School Principal visited the workshop and commented on the depth of students' engagement with the photographs, the relational information and the hand-drawn genealogies generated. The students did not want to leave for recess, and many listened, talked, drew and painted straight through breaks.

Nunga Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.) ACEO at LCAS told me that, during the workshops, he explained to each child how he or she was related to those in the photographs, the terms of reference to therefore be used by each child, often including their consequential relationships and appropriate behaviours toward each other and towards those featured in the photographs. He said he shared information such as "He is your Nguarli. He is like a big brother to you so you can joke with him". Alternatively, "This is your *Ngamarna.* You must show him

respect and do what he tells you". *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.) said that he also emphasized to students common experiences of post-contact history, including telling children oral historical accounts of first contact as experienced by our mutual great-great-grandfather Mt Serle Bob. These accounts have been told through later generations in his family and in mine.

Many family trees were generated in response to the school workshops. Adnyamathanha children and school staff created handwritten genealogies that linked all the Adnyamathanha children at the school together. To be able to write a whole school genealogy by hand within a lesson period is no small feat.[130] Adnyamathanha concepts of relatedness did not just engage Elders but were highly engaging among high school students. Students could link these photographs not only to their past but also to their relationships with other students in the schoolyard. Furthermore, they wrote their genealogies both matrilineally and patrilineally. The students (with help from the Aboriginal studies teachers and ACEOs) were creating "both ways" or matrilineal and patrilineal genealogies, which differed from the academically recorded patrilineal-only genealogies, without any difficulties.

Tunbridge (1988b: xxxix) describes *Muda* as supplying a focal point of community identity. These stories distinguish our people, within this social framework, on this stretch of land, from the rest. In the Flinders Ranges region, they traditionally bound together in social units, many different camps of people whose language was mutually intelligible. And, analogously, so do the photographs, as I will show in the next section.

Photographs and relationality

The reception or viewing of photographs during fieldwork and associated discussions showed that they emphasize and embody what makes my people one. This is most obviously the case with their representation of post-contact historical experiences and relationships encapsulated in the Elders' photographs and the representations of *Minara Wurtu, Nipapanha* and station life, yet also occurs in more subtle ways as people share stories provoked by the photographs, as the following examples taken from my interviews during

[130] I have not shown a copy of these genealogies as I have not confirmed with all living people in the genealogies whether they were happy to be included in my thesis.

fieldwork confirm.

Adnyamathanha Elder *Ngaparla* Garnett Brady (2017 pers comm.) discussed the photographs on his back veranda. For *Nunga* Garnett, the photographs elicited discussions in *Yura Ngawarla* and English as he shared with his wife and his adult daughter's information about their relationships with the people in the photographs. They sat and talked for many hours with me about the photographs, which provided *Ngaparla* Garnett with the means to open discussions with his children about their family connections and history.

I interviewed *Artuapi* Stella Stubbs (2018 pers comm.) in Port Pirie. *Artuapi* Stella is featured in some of the photographs that I showed her. While I interviewed on her veranda, she pointed out and talked about her parents and other relatives in the photographs. Her grandsons were in the house, so she called to them to come and listen. She also phoned her son to come to the house to view and learn about the photographs. She used the photographs to connect family members to those portrayed in the photographs and to other kin descended from the photographs, using Adnyamathanha kinship names to describe the relationships between the viewers and the people featured. Photographs I took of her and her grandsons pouring over the photographic collection were featured in the Exhibition, showing the significance of photographs to supporting relationships and identity.

Ngarlaami Margaret Brown is an Adnyamathanha woman and Elder from the *Mathari* moiety. I interviewed her with *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard using the photographs as a starting point. *Ngarlaami* Margaret Brown and *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard (2017) used these to discuss Adnyamathanha kinship systems at length. They said that Adnyamathanha kinship systems are an essential part of Adnyamathanha culture. They then discussed the Adnyamathanha marriage rules in detail with me. They confirmed many of the intricacies of the moiety rules and generational levels affecting marriage.

Another example of relationality and teaching includes my two-hour informal interview with *Artuapi* Lorraine Briscoe (2017 pers comm.) with her two daughters and one of her sons on her daughter's front veranda. She showed the photographs to her daughters and one of her sons (present that day) and talked about their specific relationships to the people in the photographs. The presence of photographs and her children and niece (me) provoked this

discussion and teaching opportunity on the crucial subject of relational links.

My fieldwork interviews with *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017 pers comm.) revealed the association of *Muda* with social relationships. I featured excerpts of *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton's interviews (made in conjunction with her partner *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard) throughout the Exhibition texts. Further, whilst I was undertaking my interviews, *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton and her partner were putting together care packages for Adnyamathanha children who had to be away from Country for several reasons. These care packages included photographs of their country and family. Care packages, including photographs, are often created by Elders when children need to be away from their families or Country, such as being in foster care, juvenile detention, or away for school or medical treatment. This shows the importance of Country and that being away from it is seen as difficult, and how this can be partially mitigated through support from family and photographs.

After my interview with *Ngarlaami* Gladys, she sought me out and gave me a photograph of my family members that she had found (Figure 61 below) whilst I was going to interview her brother *Ngamarna* Roy Coulthard (2017 pers comm.). *Ngarlaami* Gladys was teaching me about the photographs as an anthropologist and a family member. She was teaching me as an example of reciprocal giving. Grandmother *Adnyini* Ngaparla Grace Richards died before I was born, and I had never seen a photograph of her. The photograph also included my grandmother's older sister Dulcie, her *Adlari* (sister-in-law), Helen (*Ngarlaami* Gladys's mother), and her first cousin/sister May (whose mother was my great-grandmother Alice's sister). The photograph also featured *Ngarlaami* Gladys's own mother-in-law Eva, who was married to my great-great-grandfather Mt Serle Bob's sister Myra's daughter's son. *Ngarlaami* Gladys, in her role as my 'big mother'[131], was teaching me about my grandmother and my intricate connections to our other family members.

[131] *Ngarlaami* means *Ngarla Ngami* or 'big mother' in *Yura Ngawarla.*

Figure 61. My family photograph as found by, and given to me, during fieldwork by Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton [original was a photocopy]

Frequent requests made during or after lengthy interviews for photographs of ancestors were also consistent with the concept of reciprocity, a concept supported in many of *Muda* accounts through their enshrining of moral values. An example of another form of reciprocity occurred when, at the conclusion of *Ubmarli Vapi* K. McKenzie's interviews, he gave me a painting, both in recognition of our relationship (he was married to my Dad's first cousin, daughter of his father's sister, and is the grandson of my Dad's grandmother Alice's brother) and in return for the time and interest given in showing and discussing the photographs with him. He also asked me to leave him some canvas so he could do another painting, which I did. Reciprocity is central to building and supporting relationality for Adnyamathanha.

In summary, photographs and interviews with *Artuapi* Lorraine Briscoe, *Artuapi* Stella Stubbs, *Ngarlaami* Margaret Brown, *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton, *Artuapi* Fanny Coulthard, *Ngami* Rosalie Richards, ACEO *Nunga* Noel Wilton, ACEO *Yaka* Kathy Brown, *Ngaparla* Garnett Brady, *Ngaparla* Owen Brady and *Vurlkanha Vapi* K. McKenzie provided opportunities to bring the generations together to discuss history as well as providing the impetus for Elders to be able to teach their children about Adnyamathanha history, *Muda,* language and relationships. Never were these aspects treated alone; together, they provided the locus of Adnyamathanha identity and interpretation of photographs.

Every Elder interviewed, including some of those who had not grown up on Country or in community, had a deep understanding of the relationships between themselves and the

people in each photograph. They each knew how the old people were related to each other. They each knew how today's young people are related to each other and to the people in the photographs. They each knew how every person needed to refer to, or name, everyone else and how they needed to relate to them. They each knew what the young people should call each other and themselves and how they would need to interact, though occasionally, after asking a couple of questions first to identify their lineage. The Elders knew or quickly could show the moiety of each person in the community in the photographs, in the workshops and then teach the young people the correct Adnyamathanha kinship terms. This was despite our community numbering approximately 1,500 people and our location in many scattered locations. Elders universally saw the photographs and interviews as a tool for Elders to bring the generations together to discuss and pass on this history and relationship knowledge, a space to be able to instruct children of their family and the broader community about Adnyamathanha history, culture, and identity.

Person, gender, and relationality

Understanding relationality for Adnyamathanha is predicated upon notions of the person, or *Yura*. *Yura* (like *Muda*) is a cultural core lexical item or a productive high-frequency word that needs to be understood as many other concepts rely upon its correct interpretation. Linguistic dictionaries and anthropological articles variously define *Yura* as a language group, an Aboriginal man, a person, people who share the same moiety system, and people who are Adnyamathanha. Each definition has its relative strengths and weaknesses in encapsulating the Adnyamathanha understanding of *Yura.*

I translate *Yura* as 'person' throughout this thesis and during the Exhibition Launch. However, previously, academics, as I show below, have translated much *Yura Ngawarla* in ways that favour a patri-focal understanding of Adnyamathanha society when, in fact, much Adnyamathanha terminology (including personal pronouns in *Yura Ngawarla*) does not privilege males.[132] *Yura* is a genderless term for a person. Yet, as with the patrilineal bias in research and genealogies, there has also been a bias in understanding persons as inherently

[132] Richards and Coulthard (2020) define Adnyamathanha third-person singular pronouns as consisting of subject with an intransitive verb: *Vanha* (he/she/it); subject with a transitive verb: valu (he/she/ it); object: *Vanha* (him/her/it), and possessive: *Vardnundyaru* (his/her/its).

gendered and males as more central in earlier research with Adnyamathanha.

Berndt (1974: 78) compared the gender dichotomies in Western and Aboriginal societies. She argued that, unlike in Western societies, the two-sex model of a dual contrast between male and female genders in Aboriginal societies does not deny the 'basic' humanity of the person. She argues that there was an attempt to incorporate basic humanity by signifying a third gender (akin to what English speakers call 'they'). Aboriginal English 'go get "him"' could refer to going to get a man or a woman. It does not mean that Aboriginal language speakers do not know the difference. It results from the translation from Aboriginal languages that have universal pronouns into English that only has binary male/female pronouns. In Aboriginal societies, there is an alternative model:

> The unisex model… [has] interpreted as an assertion that a person is fundamentally and primarily a human being, regardless of sex.... Recognition of this 'basic human' identity has not been universal in human societies— although Australian Aborigines… have taken it for granted (Berndt, CH 1974: 78).

Berndt (1974: 78) notes that Western societies beyond the domestic level have struggled to recognise a unisex gender model as it 'poses a different interpretation of the vexed issue of how to measure equality except through similarity'. Aboriginal nations have answered this differently from *Udnyu* societies. As Berndt (1974: 78) argues, equality is not shown 'through achieving and being regarded as the same but equally human, of having different spheres of influence and work, of contribution and recognition, but that difference does not mean inequality'. Mukhopadhyay et al. (2023: n. p.) assert that:

> men are not always clearly ranked over women as they typically are in stratified large-scale centralized societies with "patriarchal" systems. Instead, the two genders… [are] complementary, equally valued and both recognized as necessary to society. Different need not mean unequal.

'Complementary gender roles' in Lahu society are made evident in Du's (1999) *Chopsticks Only Work in Pairs:* 'A single chopstick is not very useful; neither is a single person, man or woman, in a dual-focused society' (Mukhopadhyay et al. 2023).

The language of *Yura Ngawarla* indicates a unisex model of joint humanity. While Adnyamathanha people structure knowledge according to gender with separate spheres of "men's" and "women's" "business", there are also layers of shared knowledge that underpin both spheres. The interplay between shared and gendered knowledge adds complexity that written genealogies of Adnyamathanha have, so far, struggled to encapsulate.

Languages 'differ considerably in the extent to which sex differences are lexicalized' (Trudgill 1995: 61). How these sex differences are 'signalled grammatically' varies throughout the world (Trudgill 1995: 61). Trudgill (1995: 62) shows that 'one obvious way [languages differ] is through pronouns'. Until recently, English and many other Western European languages considered the male pronoun and nouns as the default positions (Trudgill 1995: 62). However, 'some languages, like Hungarian and Finnish, have no sex marking on pronouns at all' (Trudgill 1995: 62). This is also true of *Yura Ngawarla*. In *Yura Ngawarla*, no pronouns indicate gender. Neither do verbs, adjectives, or essentially non-existent articles, which are other ways languages may differentiate genders. Instead, pronouns and systems of address of or referring to other Adnyamathanha persons show relationships. These relationships are based on moiety and generation inherited directly from mothers.

Unlike in English, in *Yura Ngawarla* "man" is not a default gender. The definition *Yura* as "man" was a function of the bias within *Udnyu* society at the beginning of recordings of *Yura Ngawarla*. Academic anthropology and museology have often taken these recordings, listed in Table 9 below, for granted and unreflexively reproduced them within their work. These errors have consequences for the interpretation of Adnyamathanha society.

Ellis (2013: 30) argues that *Yura* explicitly refers to a man. However, other scholars, such as Simpson and Hercus (2004) and Hercus (1999), disagree. Within Hercus' (1999) Wirangu grammar, she provides information on the matrilineal moieties in the Flinders Ranges. She says that Kuyani, Adnyamathanha, Nukunu and Ngadjuri languages all have Thura/*Yura* as a person. She also argues that although data on two different concepts for 'person' and 'male' is lacking regarding Kaurna[133] and Barngarla,[134] there can be little doubt that there was a terminological distinction between the two concepts across 'Thura-*Yura*' languages.

[133] Schürmann and Teichelmann (1840) and Clarke (1997) imply that, in Kaurna, *Yura* is an ancestral male.
[134] In Barngarla, Schürmann (1844) only recorded *Yura* as 'man, male'.

Therefore, academic definitions of Yura as man appear not to find support from within the community itself, though this also seems to be changing under the weight of English language norms- just as endeavours are growing to redefine the latter.

Table 9. Definitions of Yura: person versus male terminology

Word	English Translation	Group	Reference
Yura	'Man, male'	Barngarla	Schürmann (1844)
Yura	'Aboriginal man/people'	Adnyamathanha	Schebeck (2000: 79)
Yura	'man'	Adnyamathanha	Ellis (2013: 30)
miru	'man' ('male' considering *miru vapa* 'little boy')	Adnyamathanha	Schebeck (2000: 79)
ThuRa	'Man, Aboriginal person (n)'	Kuyani	Hercus (2006)
MiRu	'Man, male person (n)'	Kuyani	Hercus (2006)
Thura	'Man, person', *thura paarla* 'Aboriginal woman'	Nukunu	Hercus (1992)
Miru	'Man, male'	Nukunu	Hercus (1992)
Yartli	'Man, husband'	Nukunu	Hercus (1992)
Nyanggaa, Nhangga	'Aboriginal person' (also translated as 'man')	Wirangu	Hercus (1999)
mamara	'male'	Wirangu	Hercus (1999)
Yardli	male	Adnyamathanha	Schebeck (2000: 241)

One reason for the confusion between man and person is that *Yura* can mean either man or woman, depending on the context. One example of the contextually dependent meaning of *Yura* is, "look at that *Yura* over there; she thinks she's so flash". In this context, *Yura* means woman. Conversely, one can say, "Watch out! If you walk around there at night, those *Yura* will get you!", in this case, the term *Yura* mostly means man. Conceptual distinctions between the ceremonial status name of man, such as *Vardnapa*, and the generic word for man, *miru*, also suggest that *Yura* is not the general name for a man. Another reason for the confusion between man and person is that the word *Yura* is not in and of itself gender specific; it is polysemous. For example, Schebeck (2000: 249) refers to old man as *Yura Vurlka* and old woman as either *Yura vurlkatha* or *Yura virlkutha*. This demonstrates the same usage of the word for both genders in the same Schebeck (2000: 249) dictionary—also, the plural of *Yura*, which has been sometimes written as *Yuraapinha*, is not gender specific.

The term *Yura Urngi* (*Yura* Doctor) is not gender specific, but English translations have gendered it. This is one outcome of this mistranslation of the word *Yura*. Many healing and health-related terms in English have historically been gendered (e.g., male nurse signified that

the concept of nurse is female). *Yura Urngi* should not be translated as a gender-specific 'clever man', as there were women who were *Yura Urngi*. This error has consequences in the interpretation of Adnyamathanha culture. Academia has often highlighted men's role as traditional healers; however, both women and men fulfil these roles.

When describing Mt Serle Bob, Adnyamathanha scholars Davis and McKenzie (1985: 1) point out Judy's similar status: 'He was also a witch doctor. He had two wives, the other was Judy, an aunt of Albert Wilton. She was also a witch doctor'. My *Vapi* (father) referred to his great-grandmother, Jarieya Percy Richards' mother, as an esteemed *Yura Urngi* with supernatural powers. He always translated *Yura Urngi* with the non-gendered term '*Yura* doctor'. Adnyamathanha people sometimes translate *Yura Urngi* as a witch doctor even though, in English, the term is now considered offensive. Næssan (2009: 243) states that similar doctors are known to Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara people as *ngangkar̲i,* and these could be men, women and— in some instances— children (*tjitji ngangkar̲i*).

Looking at the word *Yura* on its own is also problematic. Suffixes added to *Yura Ngawarla* change word usage. If I were privileging the correct *Yura Ngawarla* in the Exhibition, I should use terms for *Yura* persons (Table 10 below) throughout the Exhibition rather than *Yura*s; or used *Yuraru* for *Yura's* (singular or plural).

Table 10. Some terms for Yura (Adnyamathanha) person or group in Yura Ngawarla

Yura Ngawarla Word	**English definition**
Yuraya	If speaking directly and wanting to use the term *Yura* as a name, as is done quite often, I should use *Yuraya* (the 'vocative' ending used when speaking directly to someone).
Yuranha	I should use *Yuranha* when talking about someone in the nominative form or as the object of an action. Adding *-nha* on the end of *Yura* makes the word a proper noun (i.e., 'The *Yura*').
Yuralu	Adding a *-lu* on the end of *Yura* makes the word ergative in that it signifies the identified *Yura* is doing something to something/someone else.
Yuraru	Adding *-ru* is the possessive form or directional, i.e., means to, or for, the *Yura*.
Yura yakarti	The term for an individual *Yura* child (any gender) is *Yura yakarti* (singular)
Yura-mathanha/Yura-munga/Yura-apinha	A group of *Yura* of unspecified gender. *–mathanha* generally refers to a group with some commonality, e.g., Adnyamathanha
Yurartu (Yura woman)	*Yurartu* (a syllable reduction of *Yura-artu*) refers to *Yura* women.
Yura miru	*Yura* man.
Yura yakarti-apinha	a group of *Yura* children is *Yura yakarti-apinha* (plural) (i.e., many *Yura* children).

The usage of '*Yuras*' or '*Yura*' as umbrella terms for all the grammatically correct permutations of *Yura* was a compromise that, given hindsight, I should not have incorporated into the Exhibition. Using the word Yura in an English language exhibition meant I felt obligated to simplify the term to benefit viewers. Nevertheless, I did not compromise on the Exhibition title, *Minaaka Apinhanga*, but used the correct pluralisation. Historical translations for *Yura* are problematic as they create a patri-focal understanding of Adnyamathanha society.

Furthermore, within *Yura Ngawarla* there are secret sacred terms and taboos on using gender-specific words gained through learning acquired in stages of maturity and the accompanying rites. Such words were gender-specific lexical items. The extent of a separate secret language amongst the Adnyamathanha is not information I could gain, but my father did refer to words that he, though a grown man who had learned them through secret conversations with older men, could not himself say. The right to use such language could only be gained by acquiring appropriate learning from the elder men or women through

education processes and perhaps also ‘rites of passage’ (Van Gennep 1960).

The gendering of language has played a significant role in the marginalisation and de-emphasising of the importance of women’s knowledge and women’s roles in Aboriginal peoples’ history, culture, and community (Kesler, Crey & Hanson 2009). This includes the marginalization of Adnyamathanha women. Historically, inaccurate translations have underestimated the value of women in Adnyamathanha society and will continue to do so until records are re-examined and corrected.

Conclusion

Relationality is central to the ways that Adnyamathanha approach and respond to photographs. It shapes how people understand the photographs themselves and the people or Country depicted therein, as well as how we share that understanding with others by calling people to view the photographs or teaching about history and family. This relationality is underpinned by the structuring of relationships through *Muda*. *Yura*, or people, are linked to or distinguished from others by their moiety, which is matrilineally traced. This moulds relationships of closeness, respect, and avoidance; it influences how people may be referred to or which names should be avoided.

This chapter has shown how *Udnyu* researchers— due to restrictive research agendas and methodologies and through biases originating from their societies’ approaches to gender and kin relationships— have misunderstood or glossed over this relationality. The next chapter continues and deepens this theme by exploring how anthropologists, including Mountford and museum collections, understood gender and how this has shaped contemporary Adnyamathanha gender relationships.

Chapter 6. Gender, photography, and the marginalisation of Adnyamathanha women

Figure 62. Ted Coulthard [and Winnie] 'carving boomerangs [and walking sticks]', United Aborigines Mission photograph courtesy of Umeewarra Media, photographer unknown.

Leigh Creek Area School students enjoy woodcarving workshops with esteemed Elder *Ngamarna* Roy Coulthard when he conducts his biannual sojourns there to teach woodcarving skills. Younger girls and boys peacefully and industriously work together, sitting around a central campfire, carving and smoothing wooden clap sticks and *wadna* (boomerangs) and listening to Poppa Roy's stories. Older students enjoy the intricacies of carving wooden *yardlu* (carrying dishes) and *wirri mutyatya* (clubs with a knob at one end). All are happily filmed and photographed (such as in Figure 63 below) whilst working diligently on these tasks, with not a hint that these are proper only for males or females.

Figure 63. Adnyamathanha young woman working on a wadna (boomerang) at carving workshops with Ngamarna Roy Coulthard held at LCAS in 2019, photo by Ngami Rosalie Richards

The school's Adnyamathanha Language and Culture Committee, comprised of Elders, parents, caregivers and other Adnyamathanha community members, has resoundingly endorsed gender-inclusive student engagement in this activity.

Yurtu Adla (Thomas, J 2019) was a Nukunu carving project and Exhibition supported and instructed by Adnyamathanha Elders. Several times, *Ngamarna* Roy invited me and my sister to join this woodcarving workshop at Mambray Creek, with no sign that this might be inappropriate. When younger Nukunu men dismissed his invitation for women and girls to attend by telling him that woodcarving was a "men's activity" only, *Ngamarna* Roy was surprised and distressed. He argued that Adnyamathanha women have always carved, naming various women whom he had seen woodcarving, and asserted that there was 'no reason' I could not go and learn to carve there. This invitation to my sister and me to attend the *Yurtu Adla* Exhibition workshops was rescinded by someone. This act annoyed *Ngamarna* Roy, coming as it did from an Elder and chief instructor. There seemed to be differences of opinion between older and younger men about women's roles in this situation.

How can we explain that an Adnyamathanha child in 2018, when responding to Mountford's photograph in Figure 63 above, omitted Winnie Coulthard from a woodcarving scene? Was she considered incidental to the scene because she was not actively engaged in woodcarving at that moment, or was she considered irrelevant to the scene because she was a woman?

How can we explain the reality that, despite my photographs for school workshops including a carefully selected equal gender representation, sixty-three of the children's paintings included male figures whilst only twenty-four featured females? This was despite the number of female students submitting paintings from the workshops outnumbering male students 185 to 151 (though with an additional eighty-two students' gender non-designated).

In this chapter, I explore how gender conceptualisations shaped the photographs Mountford took. Moreover, I explore the gender interpretations that underlie how people view, use, and respond to these photographs. To achieve this, I first conduct a gendered analysis of the Mountford photographs in some depth, including who and what he took photographs of and in what contexts. I show how these were quite limited. I then contextualise Mountford's work in the broader context of anthropological analyses and representations of Aboriginal women and gender. Next, I discuss the interrelations of museum collections and assumptions about gender, which influence how museums have developed, categorised, and displayed their collections. I consider how these forms of research and collections have changed contemporary understandings by and about Adnyamathanha women. Finally, I discuss contemporary efforts to reclaim and reassert women's knowledge within museums and archives.

Gender and the Mountford Photographs

As institutions, both the discipline of anthropology and museums have reflected many assumptions of their surrounding societies, yet both have also changed from when Mountford undertook his photographic and collecting work with Adnyamathanha people.

Mountford depicted women often in his photographs, though not equally with men. I found that 127 of his publicly available photographs featured Adnyamathanha men, with many more of those redacted by SLSA likely to be of males. Seventy-nine of the public photographs show males engaged in active participation in a variety of roles, including sharing or taking part in culture, such as hunting kangaroos (Figure 64), making wallaby traps (Figure 65 and Figure 66) and nets (Figure 68), demonstrating string figures (Figure 67) and games (Figure 69), driving (Figure 70), working with donkeys (Figure 71), and participating in sports (Figure 74). Another forty-four showed inactive men, but in hats, with all but the oldest wearing

cowboy hats, providing impressions of active participation in or association with the pastoral industry. A further ten photos featured men in ceremonial headwear or displaying indications of participating in cultural activities. Several other photographs featured a person’s arm only, where gender cannot be confirmed, showing scraping kangaroo skins, extracting sinews (Figure 73), and even showing edible *Arta* (yacca or grasstree) shoots (Figure 72). These are also likely to be male.

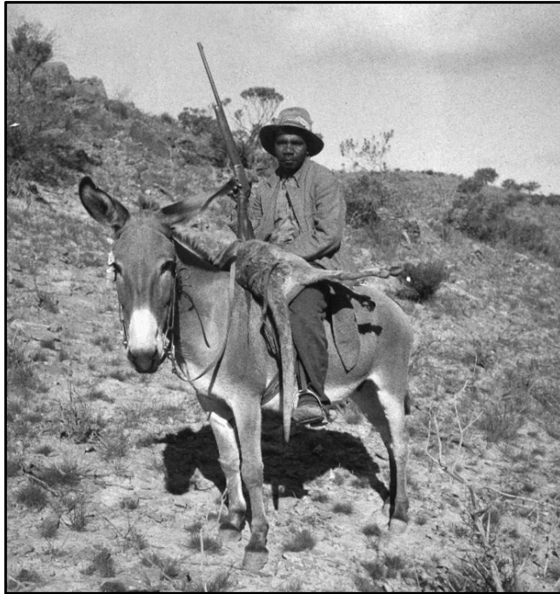

Figure 64. Hunting kangaroo on donkey, SLSA, PRG1218/34/758

Figure 65. Demonstrating wallaby traps, SLSA, PRG1218/34/804C

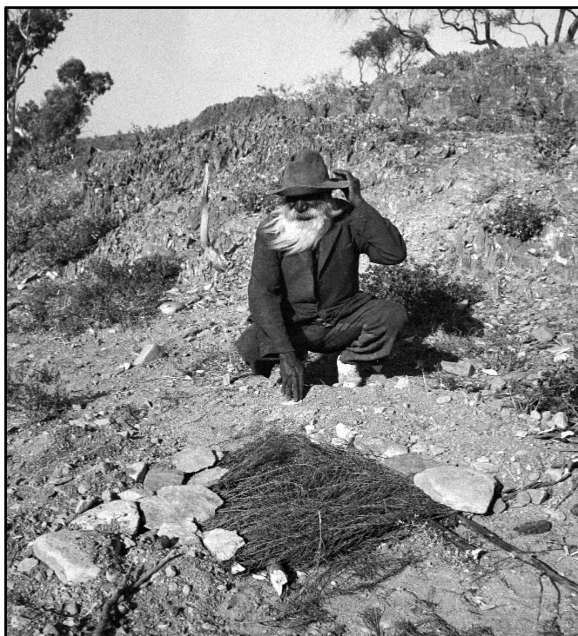

Figure 66. Making wallaby trap/net, SLSA, PRG1218/34/698B

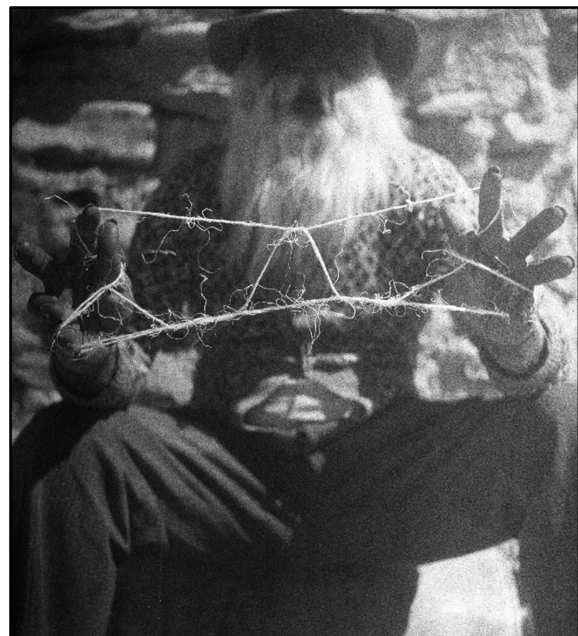

Figure 67. Demonstrating string games, SLSA, PRG1218/34/507J

Figure 68. Making wallaby net, SLSA, PRG1218/34/653

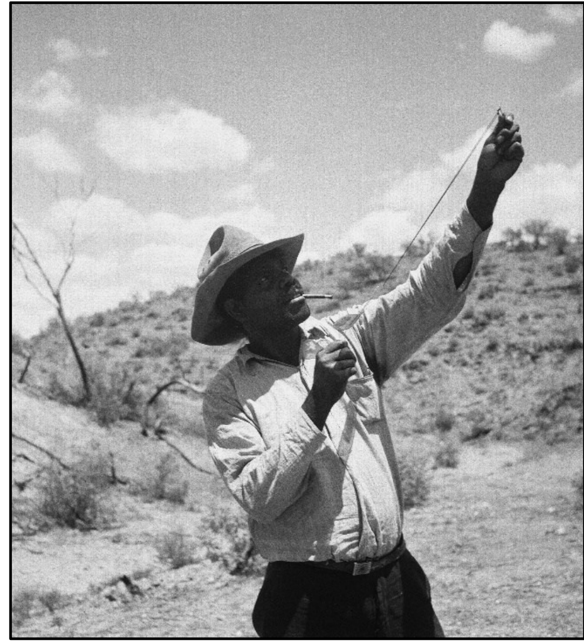

Figure 69. Demonstrating slingshot, SLSA, PRG1218/34/744

Figure 70. Driving car, SLSA, PRG1218/34/803

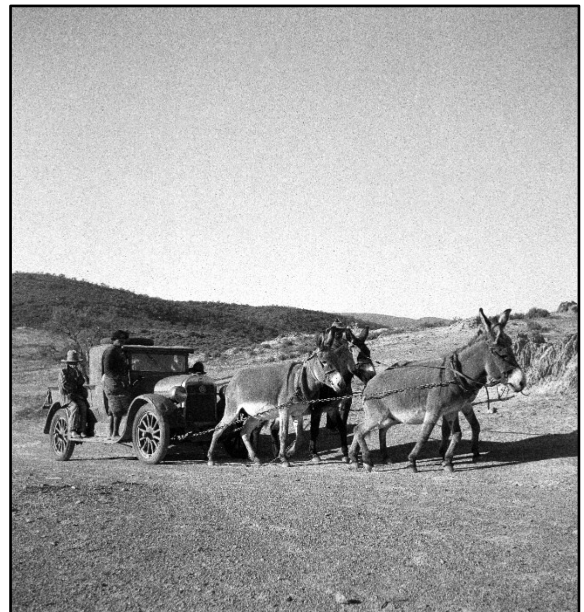

Figure 71. Working with donkeys, SLSA, PRG1218/34/834B

Figure 72. Processing Yaka plant, PRG1218/34/680

Figure 73. Making stone axe, SLSA, PRG1218/34/671D

Figure 74. Participating in sports, SLSA, PRG1218/34/817b

Women are the exclusive subject of just fifty-one of Mountford's publicly available photographs. In twenty-two photographs, women are portrayed as active participants in life and culture, mainly through modelling methods of carrying infants (Figure 75) and demonstrating string figure games (Figure 76). A further twenty-nine feature portrayals of inactive women, often wearing headscarves or, in some instances, hats.

Figure 75. Carrying baby, SLSA, PRG1218/34/748C

Figure 76. Suzie Noble/Wilton showing string figures, SLSA, PRG1218/34/993K

Children are not a focus of Mountford's portrayals, with boys and girls each featured in only four photographs, particularly in Mountford's Christmas collection (of which there are only 12). Mountford did not record children's names in his SLSA photographs or fieldnotes. The identity of the girl looking pensively into the future (Joan Wilton) has since been added. *Vurlkanha Vapi* Robert Wilton (2017 pers comm.) asserted his belief that the boy in Figure 78 is his late brother, *Vurlkanha Vapi* L. Wilton, being given a Christmas present from missionaries and presented to him by *Vapapa* Sam Coulthard.

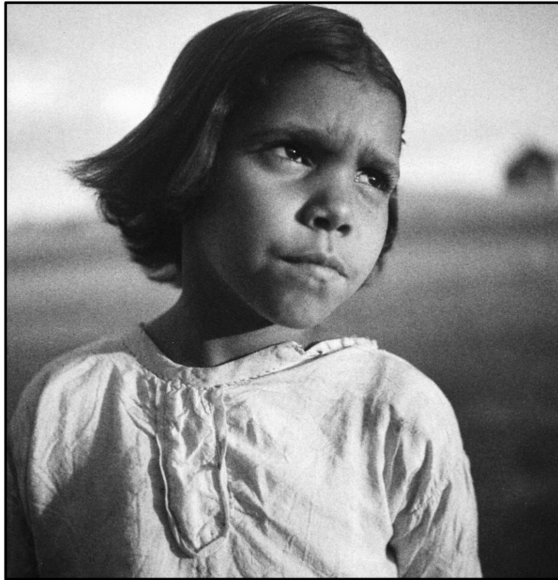

Figure 77. Joan Wilton, SLSA, PRG1218/34/726W

Figure 78. Boy [likely Vurlkanha Vapi L. Wilton as told by Ubmarli Robert Wilton (2017)] being given a Christmas gift, SLSA, PRG1218/34/724d

Another peculiarity in Mountford's photography is that women and men are rarely shown in the same photographs together even when they are married or close relatives. Astonishingly, only sixteen of his publicly available photographs included both men and women; in those, they are passively standing next to each other. Mountford's photographs give the impression that women and men lived separately. Despite Mountford's inclusion of women in his photographs, how he perceived them is unclear.

Overall, there is a lack of documentation in Mountford's body of work (including his journal records and photographic notations) of those women and how they contributed to Adnyamathanha society. By comparison, newer ethnographies of Adnyamathanha, such as Tunbridge (1988b), have recorded and documented the stories and accounts of women from these communities. Photographic archives created in the 1930s undervalue the role of women; however, Adnyamathanha women of the 1930s were not hesitant to be portrayed as proud participants in their community. The existence and reception of the photographs, despite their limitations, provide evidence that the status of Aboriginal women was not always inferior to that of Aboriginal men.

My analyses of collections of Adnyamathanha objects and the representations of Adnyamathanha people within the museum show gendered discrepancies. This begs the

question, why did Mountford photograph the women if their contributions are to be ignored or marginalised? To begin answering these questions, I now explore Mountford's work within the context of the broader history of anthropology and how it depicted Aboriginal women.

A critique of women's characteristics and contributions in the Mountford Photographs

Despite many accounts[135] of Adnyamathanha women playing a significant role in the work on stations, in kitchens and gardens preparing and cooking for other station workers, including station owners, and to some extent in caring for sheep, there were very few photographs of them on stations or in active roles working on these stations. Where Mountford's photographic lens focused on active Mission and station life, these were of the men, as documented by the significant number of his photographs that depict Adnyamathanha men doing activities such as riding donkeys, leading donkey carts and wagons as used to transport goods to and from stations, and working leather (Figure 79, and Figure 80 below).

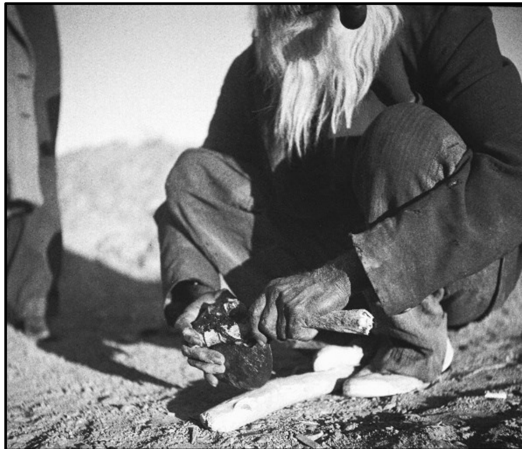

Figure 79. Albert Wilton making stone axe, photographed by Mountford, 1937, at the Exhibition, SLSA, PRG1218/34/671C

Figure 80. Cobber and saddlery, c. 1930s, Nepabunna. Photographer unknown, at the SAM Archives, SAMA1083/9/1776

Men appear actively engaged in station work in illustrations on artefacts, as in the carved boomerang, which shows a sequence of breaking in a horse, which I chose to display in the Exhibition (Figure 81 below).

[135] Such accounts discussed in this section include Tunbridge (1991a: 30), Maxine Jackson (2023 pers comm.), Weiss (2000: 60), and Irwin, Rogers and Wan (1999: 206)

Figure 81. Boomerang depicts a sequence of a Yura breaking in a horse. By Davy Ryan c. 1930s, made from mulga wood at Depot Springs, donated by Mrs RM Whyte, A61411, courtesy of the SAM, 2022

Figure 82. Ethel Wilton. Photographed by Mountford 1937 in Nepabunna, in the Exhibition, SLSA, PRG 1218/34/673F

Figure 83. Pearl McKenzie née Wilton. Photographed by Mountford 1937, SLSA, PRG1218/34/757B

Women, however, mainly were photographed sitting or standing still and generally not actively engaged in occupations or activities (as in a portrait of Ethel Wilton Figure 82 above). Adnyamathanha understandings of women and work sometimes differ from *Udnyu* conceptions of women and work. Work on stations was often undertaken as part of a family endeavour in which the man was paid, but the women and children played a vital role in the work. My father told stories of my great-great-grandmother and her role as a shepherd. He told of going with a cousin/sister and her husband whilst he was a boy as they travelled together by donkey cart along station fences, camping out and jointly checking and repairing the fences. The significant point was the shared work of fencing. My Dad also helped to set up camps by cooking, fencing, looking after the donkeys, and hitching them to carts. He

showed us the fence line they followed and some of the campsites. For Adnyamathanha, family members often shared and contributed to the work of the person the station owner paid.

My grandmother also worked on stations such as Mount Lyndhurst station and Moolawatana station in their kitchens, at fencing and wool picking, as did many other Adnyamathanha women. Others worked at mustering sheep and cattle, a tradition still followed by some of my female cousins, nieces, and male relatives today. Since the advent of the *makati* (rifle), women and men have gone out shooting kangaroos. My mother tells of many such trips, particularly with that same female cousin of my dad whom he had accompanied when fencing and who was acknowledged as a fine shot. Tunbridge (1991a: 30) confirms that within the 'system of dividing labour' in Adnyamathanha society, hunting bigger animals was undertaken chiefly, '*but not only*, by the men, while women were occupied with gathering plant food and small game'. [My emphasis added]

Not only did Adnyamathanha women undertake work on stations, SAM collection and other collections, but also Adnyamathanha oral histories and stories of women carving, such as *Adlari* Maxine Jackson (2023 pers comm.), show that Adnyamathanha women carved and continue to carve in many different forms, such as wooden tools and implements including boomerangs, dishes, waddies and emu eggs. Adnyamathanha women were known to have been prolific carvers of Adnyamathanha-designed emu eggs and wood implements (Weiss et al. 2000: 60). Adnyamathanha Elder, *Ngarlaami* Molly Wilton carved boomerangs and emu eggs, and the Adnyamathanha community held her work in high regard (Irwin, Rogers & Wan 1999: 206). *Artuapi* Pearl McKenzie (1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1984a, 1984b) has several wooden artefacts attributed to her in SAM's collection. Weiss (2000: 64) records *Artuapi* Pearl McKenzie discussing how, after making a carving, they would 'take it down to White's at Burr Well'— Mrs White was the wife of the owner of Burr Well Station— and she would 'exchange it for ration' as she was the 'one that sort of kept us going' and not starving to death. Also, Mountford photographed *Artuapi* Pearl (Figure 83 above) in a passive pose. However, Mountford has no photographs of her or other women carving.

It also becomes apparent when examining Mountford's photographs that he photographed all women in *Nipapanha* over the approximate age of forty wearing a scarf or head covering.

Berndt (1974: 83) alludes to change arising from the impact of English societal views and practices, including those of Aboriginal missions and their teachings on the role of women. Such teaching was often embedded in the more fundamentalist ends of Christian practices and views of the 1930s (drawn from Victorian England's doctrines). These views were particularly influential amongst the United Aborigines Mission's emissaries sent to the Adnyamathanha from the 1930s onwards.[136]

It was widespread practice at the time that women had to cover their heads in Church as a sign of submission to the authority of men (as God's representative in the family). Notably, anthropologists often did not take mission-imposed and European-led change into account when assessing the differences between pre-colonial Aboriginal societies and the situations in which Aboriginal people found themselves on Aboriginal missions. It should not be assumed from these photographs that head scarves meant that Adnyamathanha women were subservient to men. They can be understood as a necessary accommodation to the expectations placed upon them by mission doctrine.

When photographs of women or their contributions are available, they provide an opportunity through which Aboriginal people can address misinterpretations of women's roles and thus speak back to the archives to correct the records and fill gaps in knowledge. Oral histories can and should be used to address women's roles when frequent absences in the photographic record mean that photographic evidence cannot be relied upon in this situation. Photography from other sources can also be used to speak back to archives.

I had previously heard via Facebook that photographs were taken by an unnamed Adnyamathanha young person in the 1950s, using a box camera. It was a delight to realise their source and to discuss her photographs with *Ngarlaami* Rene (Irene) Mohamed (née Coulthard) (2018 pers comm.). *Ngarlaami* Rene is an Adnyamathanha woman, Elder, and photographer who took many of the photographs in the Umeewarra collections archived in

[136] The Nepabunna Mission teachings stemmed from an authoritarian and biased reading of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 in the King James Bible (2022) as meaning that men were given authority over women. A more modern interpretation is that this verse must be read within the cultural context of first-century Greece in which St Paul wrote this, with women wearing head coverings were being seen as showing they were not freely available for men's pleasure and service, whilst prostitutes and slaves, the property of men and having no authority, were forbidden to cover their heads. In this context, the instruction that all women should cover their heads can be seen as the very opposite of the missionaries' reading – namely, that all women have authority over their own bodies.

SLSA. I included these photographs in my fieldwork interviews and school workshops.[137] Her photography offers alternative perspectives in documenting the history of Adnyamathanha, albeit later than Mountford's work. During our interview, she discussed how and why she took the photographs and who was in many of them. She said she 'enjoyed taking photographs' (Mohamed 2018 pers comm.) and felt no trepidation in seeking photographic opportunities. She expressed her wish that she still had the box brownie camera.

Many of her photographs were of weddings in the *Nipapanha* UAM church, including that of *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton and her husband, *Vapi* C. Wilton, in 1957 (Figure 84). *Ngarlaami* Gladys confirmed that she recalled her *Vilhali* (young 'sister') Rene taking the photograph. One young student in a primary school workshop was fascinated to see his first photograph of his grandfather, one of *Ngarlaami*'s younger brothers, in that photo and requested several copies for family members. *Ngarlaami* Rene Mohamed (2018 pers comm.) spoke fondly of all these events, including the people in the photographs.

[137] I am also working with Umeewarra photo archives— such as McKenzie (1970) on my other work on the Ngarrindjeri Keeping Place Archive (Aird, Hughes & Trevorrow 2021; Hughes, Karen 2019; Hughes, Karen et al. 2021; Hughes, Karen & Trevorrow 2014; Hughes, Karen & Trevorrow 2019).

Figure 84. Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton and Vurlkanha Vapi C. Wilton's wedding on the 27th of July 1957, photographed by Rene Mohammed (née Coulthard), held at Umeewarra Media

Many of her photographs featured the women and girls of the community. These photographs differed from Mountford's in that they were about the relationships between people and taken for their enjoyment rather than a representation of Adnyamathanha (and therefore Aboriginal) people for an outside *Udnyu* audience.

Though I have not seen the complete collection of *Ngarlaami* Rene's (2018 pers comm.) photographs, it was clear that most featured family life. Her group photographs recognised the importance of relationships in the community in contrast to the individual portraits that were the focus of Mountford's photographs, as only thirty-five of Mountford's photographs featured groups of two or more people. Specifically, one hundred and fifty-two of Mountford's publicly available photographs featuring people showed individuals (either whole or in part, with sometimes just legs or arms visible), while only thirty-five of Mountford's photographs featured groups of two or more people. Despite the value of such a collection, I have been unable to find many photographs that depict the active contribution of Adnyamathanha women to economic and ceremonial life.

Anthropology and Aboriginal Women

To better understand Mountford's Adnyamathanha photographs and their implications for the present, it is necessary to position his work in his time's historical and disciplinary context. He was a 'self-proclaimed' (Thomas 2011:379) 'amateur' ethnologist (Jones 2009) and initially a 'not-quite professional anthropologist and assistant ethnologist' (Thomas, D 2006: 8). He later fully qualified in anthropology through study at the University of Cambridge and the University of Adelaide. He contributed to and led major expeditions, which collected a broad range of data and objects associated with many Aboriginal societies throughout Australia.

Merlan (1988: 17) argues that, historically, the early anthropologists who were collecting from and recording Aboriginal people were almost entirely, though not exclusively, non-Aboriginal men with a highly androcentric focus. I concur with Merlan (1988: 17) and Gale (1974: 1) as my view is that the pervading *Udnyu* representation of Aboriginal gender inequality arose, in part, from patriarchal notions and practices within the colonising society.

The lack of female access to university education and anthropological research career opportunities in the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century contributed to this limited vision, enabling primarily male researchers' graduation opportunities. This contributed to an unequal representation of gender in Aboriginal societies, resulting in the development and perpetuation of *Udnyu* perceptions of Aboriginal gender inequality and the marginalisation of the significant role of Aboriginal women in society. This marginalisation continues to have detrimental and ongoing effects.

A contributing factor to anthropologists' views was a lack of access by males to information held by women for women. As previously discussed, separate Adnyamathanha knowledge for men and women does not imply a hierarchical relationship like that in Western society. By ignoring women, the perception of an imbalance between the roles and status of male and female genders in Adnyamathanha society was formed and promulgated. Indeed, such ignoring of women meant that even knowledge that women held jointly with men, such as their vast knowledge of the shared *Muda*, received little notice or attention from researchers.

If women's voices are excluded from the discussion of histories, then women's stories are not told. In researching anthropologists in Australia prior to 1900, I was unable to find studies undertaken by female anthropologists.[138] Standish (2014: n. p.) argues that although women have been involved informally with anthropology since the mid-nineteenth century, 'women began to engage with anthropology in Australia in a more deliberate manner' in the twentieth century. Standish (2014: n. p.) argues that Daisy Bates was an early pioneer in Aboriginal anthropology.[139] She also asserts that Phyllis Kaberry,[140] Olive Pink and Ursula McConnel also conducted significant anthropological research in Australia over the following two decades.

Women started professionally conducting anthropological work in Australia between the 1910s and 1960s. Cheater (1998) also comments on this to conclude that being a female

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[138] Some female naturalists, like Amalie Dietrich, collected Aboriginal objects from the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Sumner, R 1993: 2).

[139] Daisy Bates was 'one of the first women to seek a career as an anthropologist'(Standish 2014: n. p.). Bates' ethnographic work began in circa 1900 after her return to Australia in 1899. Bates worked from 1905 to 1911 as Honorary Protector of the Aborigines and as Chief Investigator of the Culture and Rituals of the Western Australian people. She is reputed to have had the 'intention of publishing a full-length anthropological study' (Standish 2014: n. p.)

[140] 'Phyllis Kaberry was the first Australian woman to be recognised as a fully trained and qualified anthropologist' (Standish 2014: n. p.).

anthropologist did not mean the researcher would automatically highlight the contributions of women in Aboriginal society. Many female anthropologists working in an environment that focused on prioritising and valuing Aboriginal men's knowledge above those of women often adopted male anthropological misconceptions of the role of women in Aboriginal Australian societies.

Cheater (1998: 20) argued that of the female anthropologists working in the field, namely Ursula McConnel, Olive Pink, Phyllis Kaberry (1936), Catherine Berndt (1951), Alison Harvey (1941), Ruth Fink and Marie Reay, it was 'only Phyllis Kaberry who felt no resentment at being coerced into studying women'.[141] Cheater (1998: 20) also found that many early female anthropologists did not record women's activities as 'men were thought to be the creators of culture' and that anthropology concentrated 'on male social institutions'. Gale (1974: 1) pointed out that 'the role of women in any society has seldom been considered a respectable topic for academic research'. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that students of Aboriginal communities have largely ignored the role of women in Aboriginal society. Gale (1974: 1) argues that 'those few female anthropologists who have studied this academically unacceptable topic have faced many difficulties and contradictions. For these reasons, the role of women in Aboriginal society has never been clearly stated' (Gale 1974: 1).

Mellor (2000: 113) shows that 'to take their place in the western public world' of academic research, women must 'present themselves as autonomous individuals, "honorary men", avoiding domestic obligations, undertaking them in their "free" time, or paying someone else to carry out that work'.

Historically, anthropologists assumed women's role in the cultures they studied to be associated with the home and childbearing. Anthropologists and other students of Aboriginal society recorded Aboriginal cultures whilst looking through the lens of pre-World War I British gender norms. Male anthropologists, coming from such cultural paradigms, were able to

[141] Each of these women anthropologists 'were pressured to study women's business, a pressure that Marie Reay claimed amounted to a form of sexual harassment… Olive Pink dismissed women's business as 'mere gossip'; Ursula McConnel pretended her material came from male informants; Marie Reay switched to working in New Guinea to escape the pressure' (Cheater 1998: 20). Catherine Berndt 'did not come into anthropology as a militant feminist,… [but] was brought up with the idea of the basic equality of both sexes… [and] did not think that equality should be defined by similarities' (Cheater 1998: 20). Berndt also 'complained that she had escaped her own kitchen only to study that of someone else' (Cheater 1998: 20).

remain completely oblivious of a whole sphere of Aboriginal women's lore, sacred ceremonies, and *Muda*. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that under the patriarchal structures within *Udnyu* society, academics overlooked Aboriginal women's ceremonies, medicine, ancient traditional knowledge, and economic contributions.

Historically, many studies of Aboriginal Australian cultures have under-represented women's roles in the production of culture. Bell (2002) has shown that anthropological research, predominantly conducted by male anthropologists in the twentieth century using a salvage anthropological framework, often ignored or deemed Aboriginal women's roles and cultural knowledge to be lesser than that of Aboriginal men.

Aboriginal men and men's activities were the core focus of male anthropologists, and male anthropologists were generally allowed access to male culture and law. Male anthropologists had little access to or awareness of a whole realm of Aboriginal women's culture that existed alongside, but separate from, men's culture and law. They were generally unaware of their exclusion from the sacred and often secret world of women's law and knowledge, which was not shared with men because of the Aboriginal separation and delineation of responsibilities for women and men, as Bell (1984) argued.

Many female commentators were 'so concerned with attempts to gain access to elaborate and secret male ceremonies they virtually ignored the less ornate but still important female rituals' (Gale 1974: 1). Thus, many of the 'early female commentators failed to notice' Aboriginal women's ceremonial and economic contributions (Gale 1974: 1).

Early female anthropologists who worked in South Australian Aboriginal communities, such as Nancy Munn, were often regarded as 'honorary men' (Young 2001: 59). Bartlett (1999: 11) argues that concerning Indigenous people, 'white women … were usually "in the men's room" and that 'white women were often positioned as honorary men, called "Sir" or "boss"'.

I further argue that the Aboriginal experience of anthropologists was that they only wanted

and valued Aboriginal men's knowledge.[142] These perceptions influenced Aboriginal conceptualisations of *Udnyu* societies and anthropologists working in their communities, influencing how these anthropologists would go about their fieldwork and how and what information informants would provide to female anthropologists.

Aboriginal people saw that many of the early female anthropologists acted in a way that appeared different from other non-Indigenous women interacting with Aboriginal people, such as the missionary women (Cheater 1998). Indigenous women perceived female anthropologists as acting "like a man" instead of following the gender norms of colonial *Udnyu* society. Many Indigenous communities internationally saw women as honorary men as they dressed and conversed with men in what appeared to be a manly fashion, following European norms of behaviour. For example, the female anthropologists often wore trousers, travelled independently, engaged in study, and communicated alone with men without a chaperone.

Evidence of gender stereotypes occurred in research of the Adnyamathanha when Mountford teamed up with anthropologist Alison Harvey in Harvey and Mountford (1941) to write an article titled *Women of the Adnjamatana* [sic] *Tribe of the Northern Flinders Ranges, South Australia*. Cheater (1998: 20) states that Alison Harvey did joint field work with Mountford while Catherine Berndt worked with her husband. As the team's female half, Harvey and Berndt concentrated on women's business. I found that the sub-headings in Harvey and Mountford's (1941) article are, in their entirety, Conception, Pregnancy and Birth, Care of children, Puberty Ceremonies, Menstruation, and Marriage. These sub-headings present a very restricted and bio-centric vision of women's roles that are limited to reproduction and child care. This is a narrow view of women and their contributions to the structure of Adnyamathanha society.

I do not know any female anthropologists or researchers who had worked with the Adnyamathanha, besides Alison Harvey in Harvey and Mountford (1941), until cultural

[142] Moreton-Robinson (2013), Watson (2002), and Huggins (2022) analyse the Aboriginal woman's intersectional gaze on the *Udnyu* representations of Aboriginal women. Nevertheless, the black female 'gaze' on white portrayals of black people has often been under-researched and disregarded as 'the prolonged silence of black women as spectators was in response to negation' (bell hooks 2014: 118). Therefore, I do not know of any research explicitly addressing this assertion.

geographer Fay Gale (1990) in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1970-72, linguist Luise Hercus (1973, 1986, 1989, 2006; 1986; 1973) worked with Adnyamathanha women recording pronouns but primarily worked with Aboriginal men (Hercus & Sutton 1986). Linguist Dorothy Tunbridge (1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1987, 1988b, 1990, 1991a; 1985) worked with Adnyamathanha regarding language and the environment in the 1970s and 1980s, with both men and women. However, her acknowledged primary informants, Annie Coulthard, Gertie Johnson and others, were primarily women. [143]

Women's contributions were noticed in later anthropology from the 1950s onwards but not used to challenge existing male-dominated frameworks of understanding Aboriginal society. From the 1970s and 1980s, academics such as Gould (1971) and Peterson(1970) had to actively work against and with these assumptions in anthropology to help create new paradigms of interpretation. Gould (1969a) and Peterson (1970) are significant examples of this re-interpretative movement, adding women's economic contributions to the discussions and paving the way for other researchers.

As a female researcher working in Western Desert communities, Gale (1974) outlines a broader analysis of related issues of gender in South Australian Aboriginal societies, especially regarding the politics of land rights. She argues that the land rights movement, assuming the inferior status of women in Aboriginal societies, sidelined South Australian Aboriginal women. Poirier (1992) and Bell (1984) have built on Gale (1974) in regards to gender and Aboriginal societies in that Bell's (1984) ethnography *Daughters of the Dreaming* is a seminal work on Aboriginal women in Central Australia[144] and Poirier (1992) dedicated her ethnography to the ritual life of Central Australian Aboriginal women.

Gale (1974: 1) argued that 'only in recent years have students of Aboriginal society come to realise the existence of women's ceremonies and to acknowledge the significant place held by Aboriginal women in the economic sphere'. The lack of female anthropologists, *Udnyu* gender norms and the undervaluing of women's contributions to society have important

[143] Tunbridge (1988b: vi) dedicated *Flinders Ranges Dreaming* to *Artuapi* Annie Coulthard, as she: 'laboured unstintingly to her last days so that these stories of the land could be made accessible to the generations of Adnyamathanha who would succeed her, knowing that she may have been the only person who knew them in-depth, and believing that they were something infinitely worth preserving for all time'.

[144] Allen (1990, 1994) created a photographic exhibition and catalogue of Koori Women of Southeast Australia titled *Daughters of a Dreaming* in partial response to this book.

implications for the anthropological and photographic record of Aboriginal societies, including the Adnyamathanha. The undervaluing of women is then reflected in the collections in museums and archives, which I will discuss in more detail in my next section to supply a context for the character of Mountford's collections.

Women's objects within the South Australian Museum collections

The nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, as pointed out by Miller (1994), was when significant museum collections were created. During this period, research into and consequent representation of women within museums and archives cannot be considered proportionate to their contributions to society. Though patterns developed differently within different fields, the picture of under-representation was, and subsequently remains, almost universal.

I therefore now discuss the interrelations of museum collections and assumptions about gender, which shape the way collections have been developed, categorised, and displayed. This specifically includes the role of SAM collections and their lack of (itemised) women's objects within their databases in the misrepresentation of women in Adnyamathanha society, as well as secret sacred objects and how the historical conflation of the concept of secret sacred as only being men's objects has affected the representation of Aboriginal women within SAM collections.

The under-researching of women's culture by anthropology has had consequences for women's objects within museums and collections, as museum representations of Aboriginal society have systemically underrepresented women. Congruent with Anderson (1991: 34-36) and the previous *South Australian Museum Collections Policy and Procedure 2015 – 2019 (South Australian Museum Board 2015)*, my analysis of SAM collections (including the Australian Aboriginal Cultures Gallery; AACG) demonstrates that galleries and archives are dominated by photographs of men and objects that are related to men (such as Figure 85, Figure 86 and Figure 87 below).

Figure 85. Man gathering food, AACG display, courtesy of SAM

Figure 86. Man making fire, Men gathering food, AACG, courtesy of SAM

Figure 87. Man and boy spinning yarn, AACG display, courtesy of SAM

Considering the historical misrepresentation of Aboriginal women in society, SAM Aboriginal staff members— Jacinta Koolmatrie, Jade Turner and I— completed an analysis of SAM collections as part of the National Aboriginal and Islander Cultural Observance Day Committee (NAIDOC) week exhibition tours within AACG at SAM as shown in Koolmatrie, Richards and Turner (2018a)[145]. Principal Curator for the development of the AACG, Dr Phillip Clarke (2014:

[145] The AACG is a permanent gallery at SAM that was opened in 2000.

2), argues that his role was to:

> supervise the provision of ethnographic data to the project team and direct the development of the content. A major function was ensuring that the stakeholders, including the Museum Board, Steering Committee, Aboriginal Advisory Group, and representatives of peak Aboriginal organisations, were informed of the team's progress. (Clarke 2014: 2)

Statistical analyses of the *EMu* (electronic Museum) database and objects on display in AACG created for Koolmatrie, Richards and Turner's (2018a) exhibition tours demonstrate the unequal representation of Aboriginal women in SAM collections. SAM collections mirror historical misrepresentations of Aboriginal women in society, with the number of SAM's Australian ethnology items in EMu and those on display in AACG from men far outweighing the number from women. To anyone viewing the gallery, this imbalance of objects is obvious.

The South Australian Museum (2022: n. p.) website states that 'there are approximately 3000 objects on display across two floors of the Aboriginal Australian Cultures Gallery [AACG]'. To ascertain if women are under-represented in the collection, I first commenced a survey of gender in the collections by auditing the AACG database.[146] To do this, I counted the references to gender within the EMu database "legacy tab"[147] and "description" tab.[148] My data for the "descriptions" and "legacy" tabs shows that men are over-represented in the Aboriginal Australian collections. This survey did not include Aboriginal Australian ancestral remains or secret-sacred objects.[149]

My survey of the whole anthropology collection storage area (including AACG) EMu database revealed approximately 31,225 objects held by SAM, with 27,000 objects in the storage area. Due to the lack of *EMu* data, it is impossible to supply exact numbers on each gender as many

[146] To survey the broader Aboriginal Australian collections at SAM, I audited the entire Australian ethnology collections EMu database (including both AACG and storage areas).
[147] Searching for the words (women, woman, female) the 'legacy' tab for the EMu database of the Aboriginal Australian ethnology collections revealed a total 661 mentions of women generally. The survey consisted of women (262), woman (209), female (190). Searching for the words (men, man, male) totaled 1001 mentions of men generally. Specifically, this survey consisted of the words: men (217), man (284) and male (500).
[148] Searching the EMu 'descriptions' tab of the Aboriginal Australian ethnology collections revealed 370 women's objects and 425 men's objects.
[149] Anderson (1991: 34) argues that there are more than '3000 objects within the secret-sacred collections from Central Australia' alone.

items have incomplete records. I was not able to go through the whole collection as the EMu database supplies limited helpful data about gender due to a lack of a standardised protocol for the inputting of gender indicators for objects. There were only 1662 object records for which either male/man/men or female/woman/women were associated, with 1001 for men and 661 for women. This was out of a collection of items numbering over 30,000. These remaining items cannot be determined as they could be categorised in several ways, such as non-gendered, awaiting adequate description, or belonging to a secret-sacred designation.[150]

As a counter-example to the overall androcentric bias of the collections, the collections by Ursula McConnel held in SAM provide a point of differentiation. McConnel was an early female anthropologist and collector, though not of the Adnyamathanha or other groups within South Australia. Cheater (1998) noted that the collections of Ursula McConnel provided an accurate representation of women in Aboriginal Australian societies. Cheater (1998) argues that McConnel collected far more women's cultural items and information during fieldwork amongst the Wik-Mungkana (Aboriginal people on Cape York Peninsula) from 1927 to 1934, in comparison with the collections of male anthropologists, such as Mountford (1944b) and Norman Tindale(1912), who contributed most items found in the South Australian collection.

As I completed the Exhibition, I did not just focus on the photographs of Mountford. I also surveyed the broader Adnyamathanha collections and collectors at SAM. Norman Tindale collected most of the Adnyamathanha assemblages relevant to my Exhibition and thesis. Couper Black's (Couper Black 1937a, 1937b, 1937c) notes and photographs and Harvey Johnston (1937) also helped create significant Adnyamathanha collections at SAM. These collections include archives (photographs and documents) and material collections (anthropology, archaeology, and biological anthropology).

There were also other collections deposited into SAM archives in 2007. Brock et al. (2019)

[150] The small number of objects in my survey, compared to the size of the collection, shows that the EMu database is incomplete. To complete a systematic audit of all the Aboriginal Australian collections at SAM would require seeing and cataloguing every object (approximately 30,000 items) individually. To achieve this, museums and archives urgently require adequate funding for resources to catalogue and update the database. This would, I believe, highlight and commence remediation of the inadequate representation of Aboriginal women in the collections and preserve secret-sacred items from accidentally being mishandled due to lack of proper documentation.

determined that these collections were created through transfer from the South Australian Government, principally Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Department, including the Aboriginal Heritage Unit. Aboriginal Heritage staff (including Adnyamathanha rangers) more recently created these collections. Most of these photographs were taken in the 1970s and 1980s. In the transfer to SAM, some provenance information may have been lost or is now awaiting cataloguing.

I determined that the Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Department collection also includes undocumented copies of some of Mountford's and other Flinders Ranges photographs held by the SLSA, including the photograph "Aborigines with donkey team in Flinders Ranges" (1930). I have commenced an analysis of the parts of these collections associated with Adnyamathanha and the Flinders Ranges with Rene Mahomed (2018 pers comm.), Brock (2019) and Walter Marsh (2021).

The transferred photographic collections number approximately 1600 items, including photography of people and rock art. The photographs taken by Mountford, however, are in SLSA and include many redacted photographs. UAM admission registers and photographic collection relating to Colebrook Homes and Tanderra Hostel have recently been transferred to SLSA (with consultations beginning in February 2023). Umeewarra Media in Port Augusta also hold a collection of photographs made available to me.

In creating my Exhibition, I included physical materials such as Mt Serle Bob's *yalda wirri,* the only item in SAM's Archaeology collection attributed to a named user. I could have included Albert Wilton's wallaby net trap if it had not been so fragile. It was challenging to include historical women's items within my Exhibition as available items were limited because of the historical value of men's collections over women's. Of the 209 items in SAM's Adnyamathanha Anthropology collection, only six are specifically attributed to having been created by a woman and of these six, one was already on display in the AACG.

My analysis of SAM collections builds upon Cheater's (1998) previous work on McConnel's (2011) collections, which are unique in that they specifically highlight objects made, used, and collected by women from the Wik-Mungkana culture. I am left to ponder just how different the Adnyamathanha collections and representations might have been had early researchers

been female anthropologists or had they paid more attention to women. In the next section, I discuss the limitations and restrictions for women accessing these extant collections.

Restriction of women's access to collections: marginalisation in museum secret-sacred collections

My access to Mountford's collections, regardless of which institution holds them, was restricted based on a combination of two centuries of *Udnyu* government, media, and anthropological misconceptions of Adnyamathanha society as patriarchal, with women as passive dependents without significant cultural knowledge or authority. This meant that certain photographs, as I discuss in more detail later in this chapter, were unavailable to me for viewing. In addition, gender biases have shaped what was collected historically.

A considerable proportion of SAM's collection of Adnyamathanha photographs came from the South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Unit. Their 1970s and 1980s collections form most of the archival collection of Adnyamathanha photographs held at the SAM. When major cultural institutions, such as the Southern Lands Council and South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Unit, were established, Adnyamathanha women hesitated to participate as they felt that 'the large influence of Pitjantjatjara… whose male dominance has been publicised, would lead to a demise in their status' (Gale 1985: 86) within their society.

Jacobs (1983) and Gale (1985: 86) show that historical anthropological mis-conceptualisations of the role of women in Adnyamathanha society affected the understanding of Adnyamathanha women by *Udnyu* government and native title in South Australia. Specifically, incorrect *Udnyu* interpretations of gender relations amongst Aboriginal Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara societies in land rights negotiations in the 1970s affected *Udnyu* understandings of gender within Adnyamathanha society. Male *Udnyu* lawyers, anthropologists, journalists,[151] public servants, and politicians[152] excluded Pitjantjatjara

[151] Media 'ignored the presence of the women so that few outsiders even realised that the women were there, let alone knew how they felt'(Gale 1985: 86). Journalists promoted an impression of male superiority in Pitjantjatjara Land Rights negotiations with frequent photographs about the 'all male' team.

[152] The Premier and his advisors 'talked only with the men'(Gale 1985: 86).

women from land rights negotiations without their consent.[153] Pitjantjatjara women and men wanted Pitjantjatjara women to be involved in the negotiations, but were ignored. Adnyamathanha women (and other Aboriginal women in Port Augusta [154] saw this marginalisation by *Udnyu* and deduced that women had little influence within *Udnyu* (and Pitjantjatjara) land rights negotiations. Jacobs (1983) and Gale (1985: 86) then show that the mis-conceptualisations of Adnyamathanha women's roles in native title and land rights affected the work of the South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Unit in the 1970s and 1980s.

The marginalisation of women as culture keepers in museum secret-sacred collections also restricted my access to collections as an Adnyamathanha woman. There are issues with the categorisation of secret-sacred objects and the problems that arise in analysing and identifying gender within SAM collections that need to be addressed. Issues raised about secret-sacred objects, gender, and the museum are also relevant to Aboriginal photographs in the archives and elsewhere.

As I have noted many times, SAM's collection has objects that are designated as secret sacred. Not all sacred objects are secret or restricted, but the categories often overlap. By their assigned status, these secret-sacred objects are almost exclusively male objects.[155] Only men (both Adnyamathanha and *Udnyu*) can access this collection in person at SAM or on SAM's database.[156] Overall, the provenance of male secret-sacred object collections in Australia appears well documented. Such records of male secret-sacred objects contrast starkly with the fact that women's secret-sacred objects in the collections are barely documented at all.

There are 5,087 objects listed as secret-sacred within the Aboriginal ethnology collections held at SAM. I could not find out whether all these secret-sacred objects are male objects as detailed data related to the provenance of these is available on a need-to-know basis, and as

[153] Pitjantjatjara women and men hired their own buses for Pitjantjatjara women 'to bring them to Adelaide when their male relatives came south for negotiations to ensure that they were not entirely neglected'(Gale 1985: 86).

[154] Port Augusta, a large regional South Australian city, has large Pitjantjatjara or Adnyamathanha communities and was used as a base for land rights negotiations in the 1970s.

[155] Gibson (2019: 3) notes that many 'objects are defined as being "secret-sacred" or "restricted" due to their origin in closed, often male-only, traditional rituals and ceremonies'.

[156] Complete comparison with collections from male collectors, such as Norman Tindale (1912) and Mountford (1944b), was impossible as their collections are extensive, and entry of their information to the South Australian Museum EMu database has not yet been completed.

a woman, access is prohibited to me even though this was essential data for my research. Anderson(1991: 34), a previous SAM curator, argued that there are (or were) more than 3000 objects within the secret-sacred collections from Central Australia alone; however, he provided no information about the gender breakdown of these objects. It is conceivable that at least some, if few, of the objects in these collections are secret-sacred *to women* but out of the reach of women who can confirm this.

Pickering (2015: 432) argues that 'there are occasionally women's restricted sacred objects, but these are very poorly represented in museum collections, usually because predominantly male collectors ignored them or were kept unaware of them'. Pickering's statement, while accurate, is at odds with the actual lack of documentation held at the museum so how would the male collectors know if women's secret-sacred objects, including photographs, are poorly represented in the collections? My experience is that allocating gender to items in the museum is a difficult and time-consuming process. Given the gendered nature of Aboriginal secret-sacred items, an overview of both male and female secret-sacred objects would currently not be possible without the researcher's significant violation of Aboriginal ceremonial life.

Within SAM Australian ethnology collections, women's business was categorised as a subsection within, men's business that is named as secret sacred. Anderson (1991: 34-36) notes that SAM's secret-sacred collections were rearranged as a part of a redevelopment of the museum's anthropology collection storage in 1983, and were rearranged so that a 'special large secret/sacred storeroom was installed'. In 1984, a special curatorship was initiated to deal with the sacred secret collection and initiate discussions 'with senior Aboriginal men' [especially Pintupi, Luritja, and Pitjantjatjara men]. SAM also initiated this rearrangement to enable it to:

> retain its role as trustee of the secret-sacred or restricted Aboriginal collection. As part of this trusteeship, access to the collection is restricted solely to Aboriginal men (we have no restricted women's material to my knowledge) … there are many objects in the collection which there is virtually no associated documentation… until objects are claimed; we [the museum] have an obligation to retain custodianship.

Anderson's (1991: 34-36) description of the current structure of categories at SAM for restricted secret-sacred objects at that time mirrors the Federal Government's (2015) methodologies for surveying Aboriginal 'culturally sensitive' materials. Astonishingly, through this structure, men (mostly *Udnyu*) control access to women's sacred items.

The South Australian Museum's (2015: 2) Aboriginal cultures collections policy, which was in use from 2014 to 2019, noted that the museum's deficiency in acquiring Aboriginal women's collections was 'in part due to past collecting practices and Aboriginal women typically working with fewer objects compared to Aboriginal men'.

The museum's new collections policy created in April 2020 has removed the statement that implied that women produce and use fewer objects. It states that 'the Head of Humanities (male) and Senior Collection Manager Humanities and World Cultures (female) respectively are responsible for approving access to secret sacred objects and the relevant restricted store'(South Australian Museum Board 2020a: 4). This collections policy has now been changed to be more inclusive of Aboriginal women's collections and cultures; nevertheless, staff at the South Australian Museum (2020a: 4) acknowledge that the changing of the collections from now onwards does not erase the gendered biases in the collections that are currently held at the museum. Affirmative action has also begun by collecting and acknowledging women's collections and contributions to Aboriginal societies within museums and archives. I proposed an alternative structure for museum secret-sacred collections categorisation (Table 11 below) that does not subsume women's secret sacred under the category of men.

Table 11. Proposed new categories at the museum for restricted secret-sacred objects

Men's	**Women's**	**Both women's and men's**
Secret	Secret	Secret
Sacred/secret	Sacred/secret	Sacred/secret

In my proposed structure, archives, museums, and their respective databases would separate men's and women's secret-sacred objects to enable correct data recording and access to the objects. SAM Head of Humanities, John Carty (2023 pers comm.), states that with female

Aboriginal staff input in planning and research for this thesis and Exhibition, along with the 2018 *Ivaritji Trail* (Koolmatrie, J, Turner & Richards 2018a) Exhibition, SAM began and continues active research into the secret-sacred women's collections to try to identify materials that should not be in the men's area. As of 2023, the museum is building a new area to house these materials.

Historical under-representation of Adnyamathanha women in SAM collections influenced what material I could access and how I, an Adnyamathanha woman curator, could depict Adnyamathanha society in my Exhibition. As discussed above, SAM collections' policy (2015) was changed in 2020; nevertheless, the unequal representation of Aboriginal women and historical imbalance in collections in SAM continues to reinforce incorrect understandings of women's knowledge. Until recently, researchers have overlooked the lack of collections by and of women and the lack of women's portrayal in other collections.

Haagan (1994), utilising data from other institutions across Australia, has also shown that there is a lack of collections by and of, women more broadly. Haagan's (1994: vii) inventory, conducted in 1985, of items derived from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures in the collections of major Australian museums showed that 'by far the highest number were those associated with men's lives'. He assessed that the inventory consisted mainly of weapons. This cycle of negating women's contributions to their culture has created a feedback loop into historical anthropological research, museum practices and, most concerningly, into contemporary Aboriginal communities, with the consequence of undervaluing the role that women play in our own cultures. The undervaluing of the role of women is given clarity in the diagram (Figure 88 below) I created that visually shows this cycle of negation in the production and representation of women in collections and exhibitions.

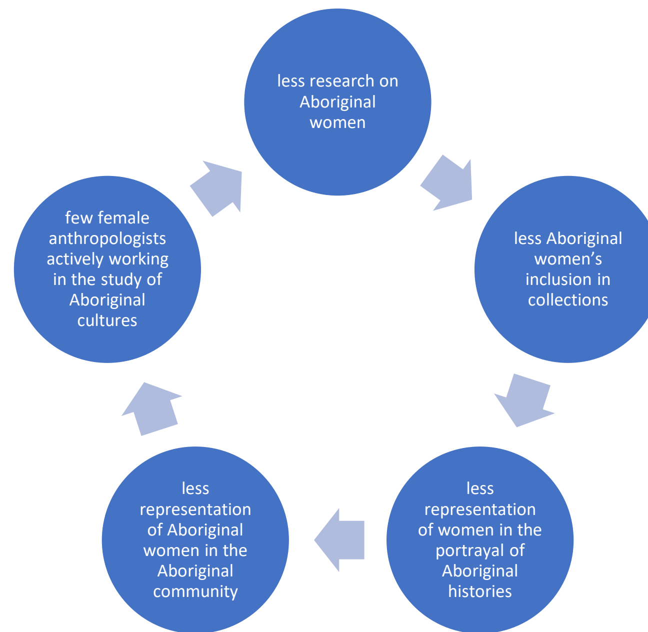

Figure 88. Cyclic representation of how researchers of Aboriginal Australian cultures have historically overlooked women's roles in the production of Aboriginal culture

Archival photographs: reading gender implications against the grain

The under-representation of Aboriginal Australian women in anthropological research and findings may all seem to have occurred a long time ago, but academics and Aboriginal people are still experiencing the impact of these biases. I see major problems in historical and contemporary interpretations of women's' roles as stemming from the lack of in-depth, female-focussed study of women's contributions and positions in earlier anthropological studies. As with Berndt (1974: 81), I lament a persistent focus on excluding women from certain ceremonies and aspects of Aboriginal cultural and religious life but further deprecate the complete lack of focus on the exclusion of men from women's cultural life. The lack of female-focused research and collections may even affect contemporary Aboriginal views as both women and men may accept the male bias as the reality, as with the wood-carving workshop mentioned earlier in this thesis. Berndt (1974: 81) found that this bias has:

> been especially unfortunate in that it has provided supposedly authentic backing for moves to activate ('sustain') such a contrast, in the process of trying to restore traditional Aboriginal values.

Fifty years later, in interviews conducted and in general conversations, I have heard both acceptance of the views of the unequal status of women, as well as concerns related to the

frequent acceptance of this narrative.

In my experience, Aboriginal women sometimes see presentations of their inferior status as confirming their own negative experiences as the norm or 'be led to assume that their own regional culture is exceptional, or deviant, in the light of what is alleged to be the "normal" situation for most of the continent' (Berndt, CH 1974: 81). However, photographs can shed a different light on some of these matters when their content and position is carefully analysed.

In 1937, when Mountford (1937d) was taking his *Nipapanha* photographs, Adnyamathanha were continuing our language, totems, moieties, both men's and women's land and law and the matrilineal kinship structure. Adnyamathanha society was nevertheless also undergoing profound change. This was a time of approaching threat to the continuation of language and of the imminent destruction of the fullest aspects of men's law with the last *Wilyaru* (second stage of the men's law) having taken place in the mid to late 1930s. Mountford may have witnessed and photographed aspects of this last ceremony, including the publicly available photograph with two labels (Figure 89 below). This is questionable, though, as the pencil label "Mother greeting initiates after ceremony" is possibly the more accurate of the two, as several Elders have suggested that the last *Wilyaru* ceremonies were held several years earlier than the given date of 1939.

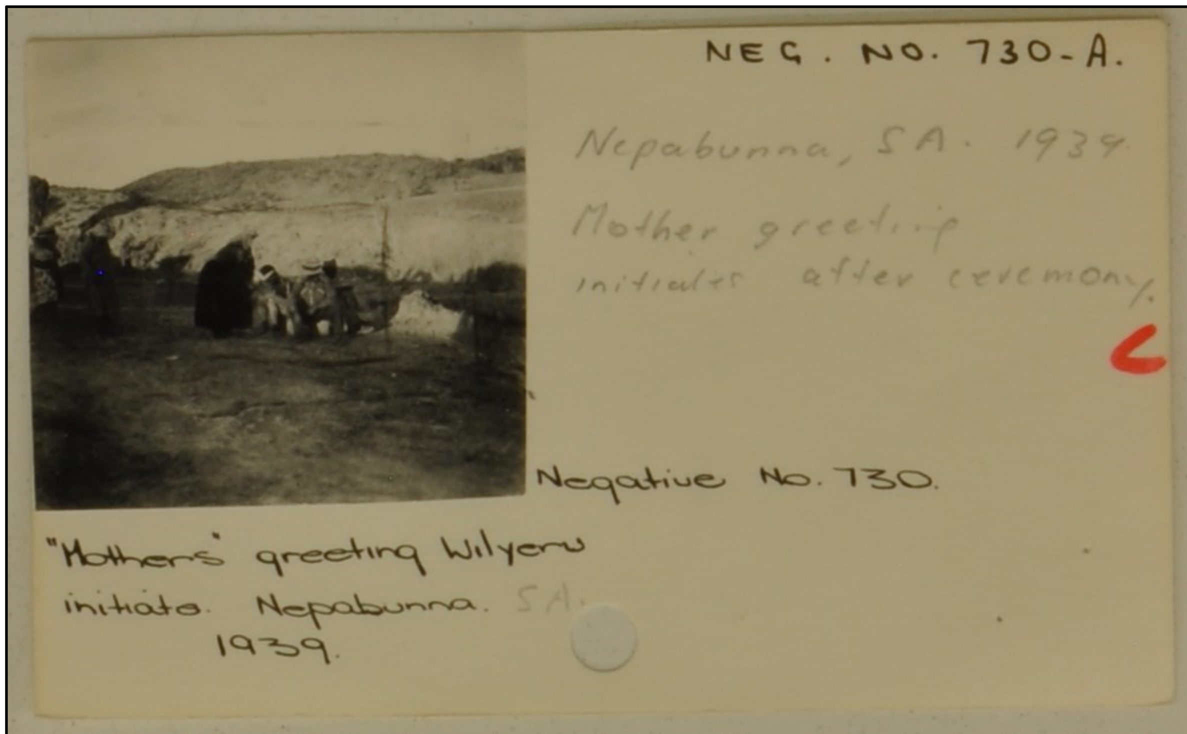

Figure 89. "Mothers" greeting Wilyeru [sic] initiate [after ceremony], by Mountford 1939, negative 730A, courtesy of SLSA

The last *Vardnapa*, or first stage of men's law, took place in 1948. Women played a significant role in *Vardnapa* law and had to be present for important aspects. This was in addition to women's law in Adnyamathanha society. Women held a tremendous knowledge of the landscape, of its *Muda*, its songs and its maintenance and care. Contrarily, in endeavours to 'restore traditional Aboriginal values' (Berndt, CH 1974: 81), the exclusion and limitation of women has become evident in recent years with the attempted limitation of the contributions of Adnyamathanha women's voices. This limitation flies in the face of the experience of the older women. Tunbridge and Coulthard (1985: 7) have argued that 'Adnyamathanha ceremonies were more public than other groups', as 'Adnyamathanha women were very much involved in them [ceremonies], perhaps much more than women of other groups were (or are) involved in their ceremonies'.

This is borne out by the testimony of Mountford's photographs of ceremonies, as listed in the State Library of South Australia's (2006) catalogue. Only three of the fifty-seven ceremonial photographs Mountford took have been noted in SLSA's catalogue as having been cleared for general viewing. These are all I have seen. The other fifty-four are listed by name, with the titles approved and publicly available. Of these, twelve specifically include the presence of

women, girls or children in the title, yet they are not available for women to view. This seems contradictory: why can women be in attendance in the photographs and yet now be prohibited from viewing them?

My *Vapi* L. Richards took my sister and me in 2000 to the site of their grandfather's *Malkada* ceremonies near Blinman to show us the site, with the *Malkada Witina* (dancing trenches made by the women and girls dancing) and the ochre grindstone still visible after more than one hundred years (Figure 90 below). Always careful to protect us from harm, he saw no need for caution, instead enthusiastically teaching us to be proud of the site's history. Tunbridge (1985: 16) also refers to the *Malkada Witina,* describing 'the trench where the women ran during the *Vardnapa* ceremony' as being initially dug by the *atha* (digging stick).

Figure 90. My father showing my sister and me a grindstone used to grind yellow ochre at the Malkada Witina of my great grandfather Jarieya Percy Richards at Blinman. Site recorded by Vapi L Richards and Vurlkanha Vapi R Richards (2000) on visit with Dr Colin Pardoe, Dr Phillip Jones and Dr Philip Manning. Oct 2000. Photo by Ngami Rosalie Richards.

During my fieldwork, older women expressed their views that women were active participants in various ceremonies, including ceremonies related to men. During the photo elicitation interviews, *Ngarlaami* Gladys Wilton (2017 pers comm.) described her involvement as a girl of about thirteen in dancing at her future brother-in-law's *Malkada* at Nepabunna in

1948. Her son, *Nunga* Noel, took a mixed-gender group of Adnyamathanha and non-Aboriginal school children and staff to the site in 2022 and pointed out the now-fenced dancing trench on the ground (Rosalie Richards 2022 pers comm.). When describing a *Malkada Witina* (initiation ground) from a ceremony in 1947, Ross (1981: 19) recounted that 'Annie Coulthard accompanied us to this site and described the women's dances which she had led for this ceremony'. Ross (1981: 15) described another *Malkada Witina* located near *Minerawurta* (Ram Paddock Gate) as:

> Located on the fringe of the main camp area as close as one hundred metres to the nearest camp. The men and boys involved in the ceremony stayed in a hut built specifically for this purpose while the women danced and prepared the ground.

The relationship between initiation ceremony and women can also be seen in the example provided by *Ngami* Rosalie Richards in her native title evidence to Mansfield (2015), parts of which can be found in Grant (2019: 95-96). *Ngami* Rosalie Richards gave evidence that the *Malkada* is the first stage initiation ground. She stated that women created long and narrow trenches at these sites by dancing 'in a line by shuffling their feet'. She recounts that her husband, my *Vapi:*

> has taken me to the site where his grandfather's *malkara* [sic] was. ... People … came from Nepabunna for that ceremony. … One of those was his [maternal] grandfather, Jack Coulthard, and his wife, …Alice McKenzie … [Jack Coulthard] had an important role in the ceremony.… Alice McKenzie… [also] had to play a part in that ceremony, and I'm not quite sure in what relationship, but women certainly had a part in the ceremonies.

The removal from public viewing of the twelve *Malkada* photographs taken by Mountford featuring the presence and participation of women and children (girls and boys) at some parts of *Malkada* ceremonies were decisions made by Adnyamathanha men, perhaps under pressure and perhaps contributed to by non-Aboriginal anthropologists. The true worth of such photographs is only now being realised.

Both male *and* female Elders need to re-assess these photographs as they may provide

valuable evidence to counter the pressures, from other groups and from past limitations of anthropological studies, to restrict the open-ness and more significant role of women that we know applied to aspects of Adnyamathanha Malkada in the past. This recognition could help counter the biased notions of Aboriginal women's servitude and degradation.

Contemporary influences of historical gender biases

A recent example of the effect of changes to perceptions of women's roles in ceremonial practices was the refusal of permission for Adnyamathanha women to visit a site *of Malkada Witina* whilst attending an Adnyamathanha Women's Camp in 2005. Women's camps, started by women, are opportunities for Adnyamathanha women to share cultural knowledge and care for the land.

Adnyamathanha and Barngarla Elder *Artuapi* Lorraine Briscoe (2017 pers comm.), together with *Ngami* Rosalie Richards, state that the Adnyamathanha Women's Camp in 2005 was constrained from going to visit the *Malkada Witina* (initiation ground) of my great grandfather near Blinman where there is a trench that women and girls created, the result of their *Pau pau* dancing for the ceremonial becoming of men of their cousins. Sadly, Aboriginal men are, at times, leading such limitations. Astonishingly, in this case, Adnyamathanha women were instituting these limitations. Berndt (1974: 81) has speculated that increasing English literacy amongst Aboriginal women may be limiting views of women's roles and autonomy. Such limitations may occur as women are exposed to findings and views of earlier male anthropologists and from learning about other Aboriginal groups' taboos, actual or arising from inadequate perceptions. My experience is that the resultant dichotomous views of women's roles are becoming a source of controversy amongst Aboriginal women. I look forward to the increasing realisation of the harmful and damaging effects of male-gendered biased anthropological discourses of the past and their amelioration through more recent research and writings.

These effects also have implications for the youngest Adnyamathanha, as I found when I led workshops with school children during fieldwork. Despite the strong representation of women in the Mountford photographs, particularly those I took to schools, the overwhelming proportion of representations drawn by students were of males. What are we to make of this

skewing of gender in artistic responses? The photographs shown to the children included equal numbers of three categories: men, women, and landscapes/trees/buildings/tools. Hence, what children were shown did not shape this bias. Most of the children focused on photographs of male ancestors such as *Ngamarna* Jack Coulthard, Albert Wilton, and Ted Coulthard, as did a Year 12 Adnyamathanha student in her choice of photography for her installation shown in the Exhibition.

It could be that the hats and clothing of the men appear more interesting than the women's. It could be how the photographs are taken, with the men in more active stances, in cowboy hats, slingshots, or axes, or carving walking sticks while the women are mainly sitting or standing passively. It could be that men are subconsciously or consciously considered more interesting, more vital than women. It could also be because the official and resulting unofficial genealogies of Adnyamathanha have all been written from a patrilineal and patronymic perspective, as I discussed previously. It could also result from children's identification with their last names, which are generally traced through the male line.

Adnyamathanha children now, unlike Elders, tend to trace their ancestry through their fathers; therefore, these representations are preferred. Children's use of the photographs shows a changing landscape in terms of gender in Adnyamathanha life. I conclude that the combination of all the factors and forces discussed in this chapter have resulted in a lack of representation of women in the hundreds of paintings done by the children of today in workshops for this project.

The interplay between internalised gender norms in Adnyamathanha and *Udnyu* societies are complex. Despite Mountford's inclusion of women in his photographs, the use of these photographs is part of an *Udnyu* hierarchical understanding of Adnyamathanha life. The children's perception of these photographs is a part of a changing landscape in terms of gender in Adnyamathanha life.

There were 418 paintings created from the schools' workshops. These do not include the approximately ten paintings shortlisted for the Exhibition. All schools (except Seymour College and St Marks Primary School) had a high Aboriginal or Adnyamathanha student population. To understand certain choice patterns, I statistically analysed the paintings'

breakdown.[157] The gender of the schools' painters was balanced; however, the subject matter depicted (such as tools, gender of the subjects in the paintings) were not equally distributed. Males were featured in 63 (15.1%) of the children's paintings, and females in 24 (5.7%) of their paintings (see Appendix 5). Girls were more likely to depict women, and boys were more likely to depict men in their paintings, but the overall preponderance of males featured was evident. Regarding other subject choices, more boys were doing paintings of 'tools' than girls. Other categories of paintings, such as landscapes and people, were equally distributed regardless of the painter's gender.

I now discuss two cases in more detail below: Dollar Mick and Lorna Smith and Ted and Winnie Coulthard. These case studies outlined in the Exhibition highlight two aspects of my argument. One argument is that gender underrepresentation may be shown even in the presence of a woman. Sometimes, even a painting of a woman may have been indicative of gender imbalance. Secondly, gender representation is a major theme when analysing responses to and interpretations of the photographs.

Omissions: Dollar Mick and Lorna Smith

A Leigh Creek student remembered and discussed the origin of RM Williams boots, well-known and admired amongst the Adnyamathanha. Owning these boots was a prized goal amongst several generations of station workers, including my father. The student had been shown the location of the RM Williams' workshop near the windmill now in Italowie Gorge. He asked for and expressed disappointment that there was no photograph of Dollar Mick amongst the collection of photographs displayed in schools. On being told that Dollar Mick's Adnyamathanha wife was amongst those photographed, he decided to paint her instead (Figure 91 below). Even though he chose to paint her, this continues to show gender imbalance because if the man's photograph were available at the time, he would have preferred to have painted Dollar Mick instead of Lorna Smith, Mick's wife. [158]

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[157] Using the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15*, I evaluated specific hypotheses using Chi-Square analysis in SPSS. Calculations using SPSS are found in the Appendix 5 below. It became clear that the relationship between the gender of the painter and the gender of the person depicted is statistically significant ($p < .01$), and the relationship between the gender of the painter and the depiction of 'tools' in the painting is statistically significant ($p < .01$).

[158] I found photographs of Dollar Mick in SAM Archives much later such as in the collections of Doreen Wilton (1942) and Molly Wilton (1930).

Figure 91. Adnyamathanha student's painting of Dollar Mick's wife, Lorna Smith

Omissions: Ted and Winnie Coulthard

Figure 92. Ted Coulthard and Winnie Coulthard carving boomerangs, United Aborigines Mission photograph courtesy of Umeewarra Media, photographer unknown. [repeated in Figure 62 at the beginning of this chapter]

In my fieldwork, I included a photograph of Ted and Winnie Coulthard. This photograph (Figure 92 above) was provided to me by *Nunga* Vincent Coulthard (2017 pers comm.) at Umeewarra Media and, therefore, presumably is from the UAM collection of photographs.

The photograph shows a couple, Winnie and Ted Coulthard, and their daughter, with the husband shown carving a walking stick. As I found at Umeewarra Media, the photograph was captioned *Ted making sticks and boomerangs*. There is no mention of Winnie or her daughter, shown clearly in the photograph beside Ted. Hence, Winnie was erased from the captioning of the photograph. In the School workshops, Winnie was erased further. Her complete omission from the otherwise beautiful and accurate child's artistic representation of this photograph shown in the Exhibition (Figure 93 below) is an example of the omission of women in representations by contemporary Adnyamathanha people.

Figure 93. Child's painting of Ted and walking stick carving, Flinders View Primary School, 2018

There are few, if any, photographs of Adnyamathanha women carving, even though we know they did this. The omission of women from most of the photographs of carving is notable and reflects *Udnyu* perspectives on woodwork as typically male, rather than *Yura* praxis. Mountford's omission in photography was also noted by *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2019 pers comm.). He talked about Winnie's substantial role in the family carving enterprise. Her role in woodcarving was also remembered amongst older Adnyamathanha collaborators and was mentioned in several interviews undertaken for this thesis, such as in *Ngarlaami* Gladys

Wilton and *Ubmarli Vapi* M Coulthard (2017 pers comm.). I, therefore, directed viewers' attention to women's carving in relation to the photograph of Ted and Winnie Coulthard, adding the label in Figure 94 below to the Exhibition.

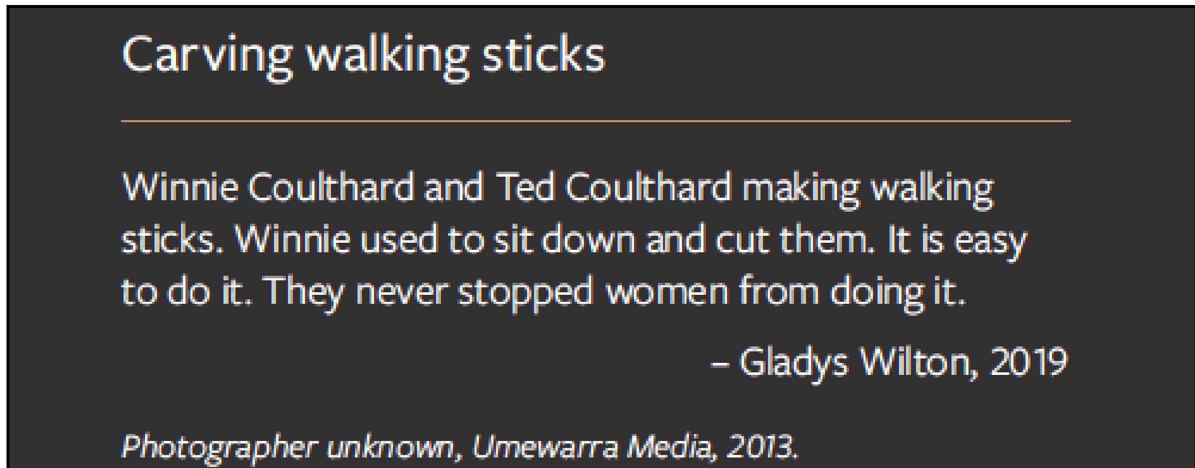

Figure 94. Exhibition label about woodcarvings by Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton in the Exhibition, 2019

Since the completion of the Exhibition, a photograph (Figure 95 below) from the UAM collection has been made available in SLSA, confirming that Winnie and Ted Coulthard carved together.

Figure 95. [Ted and Winnie Coulthard] carving boomerangs at Nepabunna, B48966, courtesy of SLSA United Aborigines Mission's collection (1936)

Mountford's collection did at least feature women in a third of his human photographs, but other collections of Adnyamathanha life on stations and missions did not reach even a fraction of this. [159] I could not find alternative sources of photographs that enabled the portrayal of the significant economic and social role women played. The underrepresentation of women in Adnyamathanha society within various archives is concerning. With scant photographic evidence available, I selected photographs that could signify the contributions of women in the Adnyamathanha community in meaningful ways.

Gender roles and contemporary uses of film, photographs, and carving

During the past 180 years, the position and contribution of women in Adnyamathanha society has been largely ignored or bypassed. This contributes to an imbalanced view of gender roles within Adnyamathanha culture and history that continues to this day. Adnyamathanha people, including myself, are gradually addressing this imbalance through making and re-purposing of film and photographs.

My fieldwork revealed that it was Adnyamathanha women such as my Grannies, *Adnyini Ngaparla* Gertie Johnson and *Adnyini* Annie Coulthard, who were filmed preparing and using an *ilda* (ground oven) to cook, with hot stones and steam, edible plants such as native spinach and *adnyarlpu* (geranium), they had found and gathered on school bush excursions. They were also filmed making plant-based medicines (though mixed with oils such as emu fat) at Nepabunna [*Nipapanha*] Aboriginal School between 1983 and 1985. These films were alluded to by several collaborators in the photo elicitation interviews. They were filmed by Nepabunna Aboriginal School Principal, *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) at fires in the school grounds as part of cultural learning from the Elders and were left for future use in the School Library. It appears they were lost during the closure of the school in 1998. Despite their loss, which is deeply regretted, their production shows that many Adnyamathanha, especially women, are using film to preserve cultural knowledge.

I recall *Adnyini Ngaparla* (cross-moiety Grandmother) Gertie Johnson becoming excited to

[159] Mountford had a significantly higher representation of women in photographs than other photographers of Aboriginal people, such as Tindale (1912: n. p.). However, an in-depth analysis of Tindale's (1912: n. p.) and Mountford's (1944b) collections was not possible as their collections and archives were not fully accessible for reasons already discussed.

find endangered *thapa-thapanyina* (Pepper cress or *Lepidium*) plants on the Wooltana Plains on a trip with my family. She exclaimed, 'This is the plant I have been telling you about; I have been looking for it for a long time. We used to find it a lot when I was young'. The photograph my mother took of her holding a piece of this plant was featured on the front of her Eulogy by my aunts and uncles to pay tribute to their mother's knowledge. Once again, photographs are important to preserving knowledge and linking to Country.

Adnyini Ngaparla Gertie also donated medicinal plants containing healing properties to SAM, which are currently on loan and display at the Santos Museum of Economic Botany (Figure 96 below). [160]

Figure 96. Ngandyu (narrow-leaved fuchsia bush, Eremophila alternifolia), raw foliage collected to make infusion, collected by Granny Gertie Johnson and Vincent Buckskin, Nepabunna, Flinders Ranges, South Australia, 1991, SAM A69533, at the Museum of Economic Botany, 2018

In Pitjantjatjara communities, the same Eremophila alternifolia plant, named *Irmangka-irmangka* is also a traditional medicinal plant harvested and prepared by female ngangkari (traditional Pitjantjatjara doctors) and other women across the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara lands region. The *ngandyu/Irmangka-irmangka* ointment can be used for the relief of numerous ailments, including colds, bites, minor skin issues, bruises, colds, rashes, joint inflammation, headaches, rheumatism, arthritis, and muscle pain. It is mystifying that SAM curators have displayed these plants and plant medicines within AACG alongside a photograph of a man (Figure 97 below).

[160] The Santos Museum of Economic Botany is on the grounds of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens, Adelaide.

Figure 97. Irmangka-irmangka (Eremophila alternifolia) displayed with a photo of a man, SAM AACG, 2018

Historically, it was Adnyamathanha women who were the leading purveyors of knowledge of plants; it was women who most widely used these to treat a range of ailments and make items for their community. My analysis suggests that the display marginalises women's contributions and perpetuates the reshaping of women's knowledge to conform to historical structures within museums that continue to privilege the contributions of men.

In addition to using photographs and film to document traditional knowledge, carving is central to Adnyamathanha identity and has been a focus of workshops and exhibitions. The quality and distinctive form of Adnyamathanha carvings are well-known by collectors and museums of Aboriginal art (Taçon, South & Hooper 2014). Wood carving and associated materials form significant parts of both SLSA's and SAM's Adnyamathanha collections. Wood carving has also featured prominently in recent exhibitions of Adnyamathanha objects such as *Yurtu Adla* by Thomas (2019) and Mountford's photographs in Morgain and Cook's (2019) Exhibition *Unsettled*. To understand Mountford's Adnyamathanha photographs collections from an Adnyamathanha perspective, I must therefore consider these photographs' relationship with wood carving.

A central feature of the Black Room in my Exhibition was a Year 12 student's (2018) creative and stylish installation titled *Ngankini Wiriwiri Warndu Ikandha Yartanga or 'Survival'* (Figure 98 below). Women often carved and used *yardlu* (coolamons) to winnow seeds and to carry

babies, food, and water. The student, a knowledgeable young person taking for granted Adnyamathanha women's participation in this artform, carved two of the three *yardlu* used as key features of her display. She took recent photographs of living relatives, male and female, as an indication of continuity and as a reflection upon photographs taken by Mountford of her direct ancestors. However, I noted that all the ancestors included in the Mountford photographs shown in her installation were male, though female ancestors' photographs were available.

Figure 98. Ngankini Wiriwiri Warndu Ikandha Yartanga 'Survival' (2018), in the Exhibition, 2019

In various ways, contemporary Adnyamathanha use historical photographs or create new films, photographs and exhibitions to record and reclaim Adnyamathanha knowledge and practices. Greater realisation of equity will enhance such uses and presentations in the future.

Reclaiming women's cultural knowledge within museums

Given the ongoing historical bias and unequal valuing of men's and women's contributions, Adnyamathanha and SAM are undertaking various contemporary actions to redress this.

Examples of reclaiming women’s histories within SAM were the exhibition tours I undertook at SAM for National Aboriginal and Islander Observance Day Committee (NAIDOC) week in 2017. During the NAIDOC week exhibition tours, I drew attention to a specific significant display cabinet in the Australian Aboriginal Cultures Gallery (AACG) that holds a diversity of basketry from across Australia. SAM groups baskets (Figure 99 below) in the AACG from left to right to correspond to a range from Northern to Southern Australia. Women from Central Australia predominately made baskets, especially dilly bags. Mountford also collected baskets from Arnhem Land (Hamby 2009). Nevertheless, the permanent SAM text panels do not note the contributions of and importance to women of these baskets. Koolmatrie, Turner and I (2018b) highlighted this display in our exhibition talks as an example of women’s importance in making Aboriginal objects.

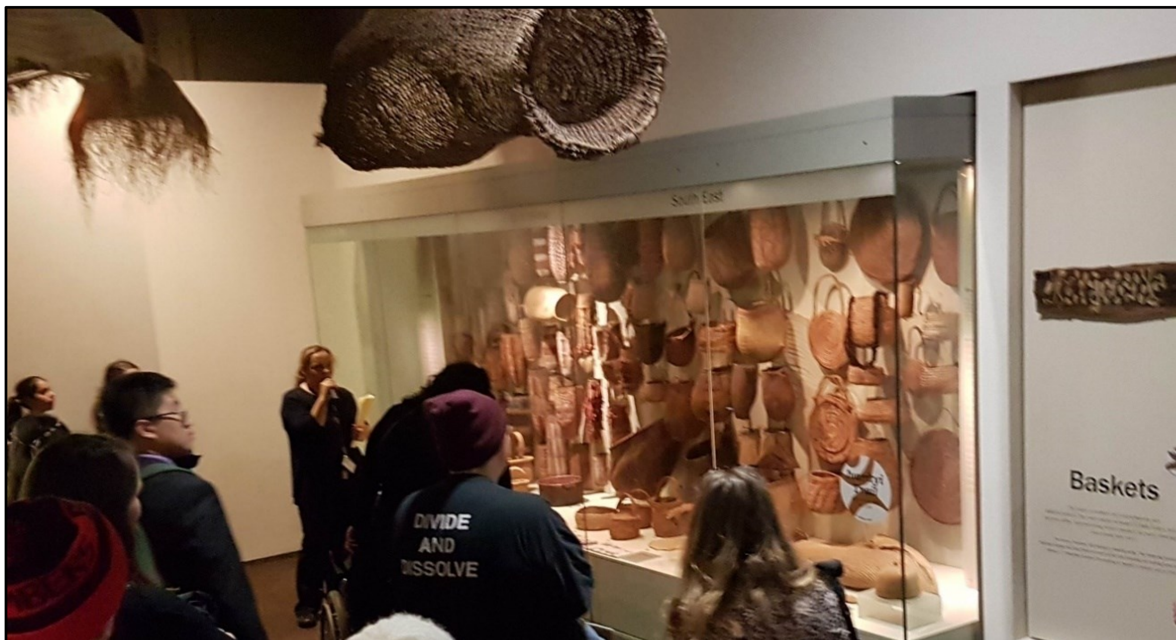

Figure 99. Myself speaking at Ivaritji Trail (Koolmatrie, J, Turner & Richards 2018b) Launch talking about AACG basket display at SAM, 2018

Many Aboriginal women continue drawing inspiration from SAM’s diverse basket collections to inform their contemporary work. *Aeroplane*, made by Janet Watson of the ‘Moandik’ people in Kingston in South Australia in the 1930s, inspired Yvonne Koolmatrie (1991) to make *Monoplane* (Figure 100 below).

Figure 100. Mono-plane: a sculpture of a single propeller aeroplane by Yvonne Koolmatrie (1991), held at the NMA

Another example is the weaving of the significant ancestral whale *Kondoli: The Keeper of the Fire* (Figure 101 below) by Ellen Trevorrow and Ngarrindjeri Eco Arts Weavers (2019; Turner, M 2019).[161] Ellen Trevorrow, a Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal Australian woman from the Coorong, was inspired by SAM's Ngarrindjeri basket collections. Displayed in SAM's foyer in 2020, *Kondoli* provides a clear example of women's contributions being displayed centrally in SAM in recent years (Turner, M 2019).

[161] Ngarrindjeri men and women have a vibrant and continuing practice of weaving using rushes as shown in a photograph donated to the Ngarrindjeri photography project by (Unknown 1934).

Figure 101. Kondoli (Trevorrow & Ngarrindjeri Eco Arts Weavers 2019) in SAM foyer, 2020, courtesy of Ellen Trevorrow

Figure 102. Ellen Trevorrow with a basket at SAM, reproduced with permission from Ellen Trevorrow

One example of the ongoing power of a photograph concerns Ivarityi wearing a wallaby-skin cloak (Figure 103 below). This photograph, taken by Tindale (1928), is displayed in AACG at SAM. Gara (1990: 65) notes that Ivarityi was a Kaurna woman whose knowledge of her culture was recorded by anthropologists from the museum. Such cloaks feature in Adnyamathanha women's songs, including *Viliwarunha Udi* sung at the Exhibition launch. Kaurna Elder Michael O'Brien wore a similar cloak whilst providing a Welcome to Country for the Exhibition Launch (Figure 104 below). In his Welcome to Country, he also demonstrated string figures from Kaurna Country at the Launch in response to his preview of photographs in the Exhibition.

Figure 103. Ivarityi wearing a wallaby skin cloak, photo in SAM's AACG, photo from Koolmatrie, Richards and Turner (2018a)

Figure 104. Kaurna Elder Uncle Michael O'Brien demonstrating string figures and wearing cloak whilst providing a Welcome to Country for the Exhibition Launch, 2019

Ivarityi (or Amelia Savage) was born in *Yarta*puulti (Port Adelaide) during the 1840s, a time

that marks the beginning of the invasion of Kaurna land. She also lived in Raukkan and Point Pearce in South Australia. This rare focus on women was prompted by the fact that many *Udnyu* at the time believed that she was the 'last of her tribe' (Bottrill 1930: 72). This was not a sign of *valuing* women's knowledge and roles. Instead, it was an indicator of the belief that Aboriginal culture was disappearing. Europeans' belated recognition of women's custodianship of knowledge was an indicator of belief in the 'cultural disintegration' (Cheater 1998: 23) of Aboriginal societies rather than recognition of Aboriginal women's independent role in knowledge custodianship (see also Kaberry 1936).

Ivarityi filled a similar role within the Western imagination to that which Truganini played in her role as the 'last of the Tasmanians' (Hobart). This was a mistaken assumption as neither Truganini nor Ivarityi was the last of their people, nor were these women consumed by 'helplessness' (McGrath 2020: 43).[162]

In the places where Ivarityi lived, she would have seen disease and mistreatment of her people. She was an outspoken and knowledgeable Kaurna woman. In April 1928, Herbert Hale gave a short talk on Ivarityi at the monthly meeting of the Anthropological Society of South Australia (Gara 1990: 95). A few months later, the society paid Ivarityi's fare and other costs for a short visit to Adelaide where Tindale and several other members of the society interviewed her. Tindale questioned her about aspects of Kaurna culture, tribal boundaries and resource exploitation and published some of the information he obtained from her in various papers over the years. Tindale remembered her as 'surprisingly vigorous' (Gara 1990: 95) for her age; however, she was not permitted to attend the media launch at SAM.

McGrath (2020: 43) used historical records to argue that the image of Truganini as a deprived and helpless victim and associated concept of the 'last Tasmanian' influenced, and was influenced by, the burgeoning idea of a national Australian identity. To Aboriginal people, Ivarityi is a notable example of the resilience of Aboriginal women and culture. We, Koolmatrie, Richards and Turner (2018a), therefore titled our NAIDOC Week exhibition tour trail about women's contributions to SAM after Ivarityi.[163] Koolmatrie (2016b: n. p.) also

[162] Many other 'half caste' Tasmanian women— like Mary Seymour and Fanny Cochrane Smith— were also characterised as 'relics of the lost Tasmanian race' (Basedow 1914: 161).
[163] We were inspired by exhibitions of Aboriginal Australian peoples curated by Aboriginal women such as Perkins (1991).

outlines how Tindale misnames another Barngarla woman as the ‘last of her tribe’.[164]

The 2018 NAIDOC theme was ‘Because of her, we can!’ and the work of female SAM Aboriginal researchers came together to inspire a new focus on the role of women in Aboriginal societies within South Australian Aboriginal communities. Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association (ATLA) (2018) produced our own NAIDOC Week poster entitled ‘Because of her, we can’ featuring photographic portraits of over one hundred Adnyamathanha women. In the poster caption, ATLA proclaimed that they celebrate the:

> Contribution all Adnyamathanha women, past and present, make in our society and our cultural survival. We have great leaders, mothers, language teachers, cultural advisors, mentors, and women who nurture our future generations.

Figure 105. Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association (2018) Because of her, we can! NAIDOC Week poster

As outlined above, SAM was inspired to ask three Aboriginal female employees to develop and lead the cultural tour we titled the *Ivarityi Trail* (Koolmatrie, J, Turner & Richards 2018a).

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[164] Koolmatrie (2016a, 2016b) also created a catalogue of Barngarla Aboriginal Australia collections held at the South Australian Museum.

SAM, Sparkke Inc. and I then developed and commissioned a photographic exhibition *Women's Work* (Figure 106 below), with Indigenous photographer Wayne Quilliam (2019). [165] *Women's Work* featured ten Aboriginal current and emerging leaders and their views on changing the date of Australia Day. The South Australian Museum (2020: n. p.) has now permanently accessioned this exhibition into their collections, a positive move in Indigenous female representation.

Figure 106. Women's Work exhibition by Wayne Quilliam curated by self, SAM 2020

I was featured in SAM's *Her Story: Inspiring Women in Science* Exhibition (Figure 107 below), curated by Julie Lemessurier (2020) and the SAM Design Team. I helped develop this exhibition, including female Aboriginal contributors to science.[166]

[165] Quilliam and Roberts (2021) also discuss the *Women's Work* exhibition.
[166] I am featured in a video for the *Her Story: Inspiring Women in Science* Exhibition held in the South Australian Museum (2019)

Figure 107. 'Her story: Inspiring Women in Science', was curated by Julie Lemessurier (2020) and SAM Design Team with support provided by me, SAM 2020

These examples show that museum practices are gradually changing through both internal and external interventions. My Exhibition was part of this process. The museum is rewriting its policies after recognition of the ways that gendered assumptions had skewed former museum practices.[167] Moreover, Aboriginal women working in museums are challenging and changing museum representations.

Conclusion

Gendered assumptions shaped the photographic collections of Mountford, which meant that more men were photographed than women, and women were portrayed with heads covered and in passive roles rather than showing their valued contributions to society. These gendered assumptions arise from patriarchal *Udnyu* perspectives, including a lack of female anthropologists. Male anthropologists of the past did not adequately document women's roles and contributions, often inferring that women's contributions to society were not as

[167] The South Australian Museum has updated many older policies and procedures, such as South Australian Museum Board (2015); in favour of newer, less gendered iterations, such as South Australian Museum Board (2018) and South Australian Museum Board (2021). Some of these policies, such as South Australian Museum Board (2020b), also allow for greater opportunities for repatriation to Indigenous communities.

significant as men’s contributions.

In this chapter, I have argued that gendered bias and inadequate research have skewed understandings of Adnyamathanha society because researchers have transferred *their* understanding of gender from within *Udnyu* society to Adnyamathanha society by ignoring women's voices. Examples of the impact of the marginalisation of women in Adnyamathanha society by *Udnyu,* and its influence on Adnyamathanha today can be seen in debates about women’s appropriate access to particular places or photographs, the lack of documentation of their former roles in carving, ceremony and *Muda*, and the depictions of women made in the school workshops for the Exhibition*.* However, many Aboriginal groups do not consider men to be superior to women; there are shared understandings and gender-specific knowledge that both men and women have regarding their people and their land. These understandings create a balance between what Berndt (1974: 83) calls the different but ‘complementary roles’ of both women and men.

Despite my criticisms of Mountford’s practices and research, it is crucial to situate my criticisms of Mountford sensitively. His photographs portray Adnyamathanha women relatively positively compared to other photographs of the time, such as the collections of Couper Black (1937c), who took anthropometric photographs on expeditions to the Flinders Ranges with Mountford (and whose collections SAM holds). In Mountford’s photographs, women were proudly and unselfconsciously presenting. They knew they held a prominent place in society.

Current archival databases are inadequate to document gendered objects, including photographs. Several Adnyamathanha women are now working to counter this trend by insisting that both genders are included in most site surveys (with only the limited number of gendered *Muda* and sacred sites being subject to gender-specific surveys). We seek to have women’s sacred objects and knowledge classified separately and subject not to the authority of male Elders but to that of women. We are working to ensure that museums and other collections restrict access to photographs only in the limited number of specific instances of photographs or of activities that would not have been seen by women or children – or in other cases not seen by men.

To me, as an Adnyamathanha woman, it is a great sorrow to see the reduction of the influence and status of our women, our exclusion and marginalisation in many aspects of our culture and law. The role of women in the past within Adnyamathanha society was unquestioned, with a solid and positive impact on our society. The old women of the Adnyamathanha were secure in understanding the value of their knowledge, and their role and status was, and still is, held in high regard. May this be returned to our young women as we reassert our knowledge and contributions as Adnyamathanha women.

In summary, I have assessed the underrepresentation of women in research and museums and the underlying causes and impact of that under- and misrepresentation. I have discussed the impact of this issue upon Adnyamathanha experiences and portrayals of gender today. In the following chapter, I turn my attention to a discussion related to spirit and photographs.

Chapter 7. Spirit and the photographs

The person in the photograph and their relationship to the person viewing the photographs is essential in understanding the taking, storing, repatriating, photo-elicitation, and exhibition of photographs. The *Yura* view of inalienability embraces many aspects of a person that are alienable in an *Udnyu* worldview. This is significant for the archival storage of photographs and was necessary for the Exhibition as it is at the heart of the *Yura* view of photographs, film, and the use of names. I show this in terms not only of names and photographs, but also in conjunction with hair, footprints, and totemic animals that may frequent a place where a person is buried or lived. Each of these aspects of the person is inseparable from the essence of the person, and each has their spirit. They are powerful conduits for their spirit that require special consideration and careful treatment.

Some months after my father died, his nephew and niece who spent much time visiting us at our Riverland home and who enjoyed helping my father with the apricot harvest, were enjoying a barbeque by the river frontage of our home. Suddenly, we spied a lace monitor calmly watching from the trunk of the River Red Gum next to the barbecue. It stayed there throughout the afternoon. *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022) commented that my father loved seeing them in the nearby sandhill and creek area.[168] The visitors remarked that this was their uncle welcoming them back.

Similarly, when my father took us to *Pukartu*, he stopped the car to wait for others near the junction with the barely discernible track. While waiting, he spotted the exceedingly rare and well-preserved remains of an ancient *urli* (stick nest rat) nest.[169] He said this was a totem of his site-custodian *Ararru* grandfather, Jarieya Percy Richards, and its appearance right next to us was a sign that he was welcoming us.[170] Similarly, he rejoiced on hearing the call and sighting the rare ochre bird flying to the site.

Figure 108 below (also discussed in Chapter 3) demonstrates the significance of totems to

[168] This was the only time in 30 years that my mother had seen a lace monitor on our property or in all the years of her growing up on the next-door riverside property.
[169] McCarthy (1996: 205) notes that the *urli* (stick nest rat) is believed to be extinct in the Flinders Ranges for the last one hundred years.
[170] A large King Brown snake (*Udkari* of the *Ararru-mukunha*) frequented my family property for years, and my father refused to allow it to be killed, stating it was his *Yaka* (older sister).

Flinders Ranges Aboriginal societies.

Figure 108. Me holding a painting with shield designs of kangaroos, emu, and goannas created by Nguarli Andrew Richards (1950) [repeat of painting in Chapter 3 in Figure 11]

Featured are the *warratyi* (emu) and the *vardna* (goanna), along with the *urdlu* (red kangaroo). Tunbridge (1988b) records *warratyi* and *vardna* as being *Mathari* moiety animals. Significantly, *Nguarli* Andrew was *Mathari-milanha* (of the *Mathari* moiety). There may be snakes represented enclosing the edges which are likely to be symbolic of the *Akurra* enclosing *Wurlpinha* (Wilpena Pound), a significant part of *Nguarli* Andrew's specific country affiliation and the birthplace of *Nguarli* Andrew's father (Jarieya Percy Richards). The goanna, as recorded in Tunbridge (1988b), plays a significant role in *Yura Muda*. Each animal features in both Adnyamathanha and Barngarla *Muda* (Creation histories) and shield designs in Koolmatrie (2018). The possible dots on the shield (Figure 109 below) contrast with the animal designs featured on boomerangs produced by others in the 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 109. Midla (spear thrower). Anthropological expedition May 1937. Mountford writes, 'Nepabunna, in possession of local natives for some years found at corner of Kocynie [sic] and Fraser Road', A26233, SAM

This is possibly an early example of 'dot' paintings which have totemic significance. *Yaka* Jillian Marsh (2010: 286) notes that *Ngapi Ngapi,* the 'moiety ruling comprised of two sub-groups' in Adnyamathanha, also includes 'totemic figures or symbols'. Her use of the word 'ngapi-ngapi', otherwise unknown to me, is interesting because it appears to incorporate aspects of the word *warnngapi* (spirit). *Ngarlaami* Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) and *Vapi* L Richards (1994 pers comm.) said the *warnngapi* (spirit of a dead person) are the departed who can follow you away from a grave or that when you were having trouble with a child (e.g., sickness), 'the *warnngapi* are troubling the child' (Coulthard, L 2022 pers comm.).

Adnyamathanha do not kill animals who behave in unusual ways, especially near an old camp or grave site. My mother tells of a time Dad had been hunting for *urdlu* (kangaroo), walking from their overnight campsite near a creek at Mt Freeling. On his unsuccessful return, saying he had not seen a single *urdlu*, my mother pointed to one less than 10 metres from him standing nearby, watching her for the last 20 minutes. My father asserted that the *urdlu* had

been invisible to him until that moment of revelation and that it was the spirit of a *Yura* whom he knew was buried nearby. That *urdlu* was left to continue to watch them in peace, and my father was careful to speak to it, to keep a fire burning overnight and to use it for a 'smoking' prior to their departure. Similarly, he told us of his great grandfather's spirit residing now in a *vardna* (*goanna*) that is to be constantly found near, and consistently left alone at, Mt Serle Bob's *Mathari* grave on Mt Serle – a grave that is pointed to from afar and rarely visited because of the inherent dangers, even in the morning.[171] My father would not take us near it, as it is too dangerous for children.

An Adnyamathanha student at Leigh Creek painted the following picture (Figure 110 below) in response to seeing the photograph of Mt Serle Bob. He represented the man in the photo as a goanna with a partially erased drawing of the man beneath it, standing for his spirit. Mt Serle Bob's face was concealed by a tree bearing the goanna. The student also included, on a nearby tree, the goanna that is reputed to frequent his gravesite now.

Figure 110. An Adnyamathanha student's painting of Mt Serle Bob, LCAS, 2019

[171] *Vapi* L Richards (2002, pers comm.) said that the connection between Mt Serle Bob and *vardna* is well known amongst *Yura* in the North Flinders.

These examples and others provided later in this chapter, point to the significance of distributed personhood, as outlined by Strathern (1988), Gell (1992) and Morphy(2009), and of connections to spirit that need to be taken into consideration in discussing *Yura* views and use of photography and particularly in the planning and presentation of my Exhibition. I explore this theme more broadly in this chapter.

The Exhibition and significant aspects of the opening ceremony were about spirit. I am using the term spirit, as used by Adnyamathanha, within this chapter and thesis as a core way of understanding photographs and the resultant Exhibition. Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) argues that Adnyamathanha used the term spirit or 'old people' and occasionally *warnngapi* or *Arnngurla*, when discussing people who are deceased in the photographs during the photo-elicitation interviews.

Adnyamathanha concepts of spirit differ from European English or even 'Pan-Aboriginal English' as defined by Butcher (2008: 636). Australian Aboriginal English is not 'an uneducated or corrupted form of Standard Australian English, rather than as a different dialect of English that is just as efficient a medium of communication' (Butcher 2008: 636). Differing Aboriginal groups use English in ways that relate to key aspects of their cultures, which are required to maintain the 'continuing vitality and social and spiritual importance' of specific parts of their cultures 'through this variety of English, even where the traditional Indigenous language is no longer spoken' (Butcher 2008: 636). Adnyamathanha, therefore speak English in Adnyamathanha ways (as shown in my fieldwork interviews, which we completed in a mixture of English and *Yura Ngawarla*).

The commencement of this chapter foregrounded *Yura* views, but I now shift my focus to discuss academic concepts that appear allied to spirit and which may be helpful to tease out Adnyamathanha understandings of spirit. These include the boundary between living and dead as liminal by Van Gennep (1960), Turner (1987), Marett (2010: 256), and Douglas (1966); the spirit as distributed personhood as explored by Strathern (1988), Gell (1992), and Morphy (2009); and the relationship between concepts of inalienability and spirit in Mauss (1969), Weiner (2009), Morphy (1991), Coleman (2010: 83), Glaskin (2012), and Chappell and McGregor (1996: 56).

These arguments help reflect on concepts of the person and spirit for Adnyamathanha, including personal pronouns and how the person extends into aspects such as footprints, hair, or photographs. I discuss *Yura* understandings of spirit and the various terms that convey these concepts, followed by examining Adnyamathanha personal pronouns and how they relate to personhood and the inalienability of the object (footprints, body, and photograph). I discuss the significance this has in repatriation. Analysis of the association between spirit, body and photographs show that Adnyamathanha understandings of photographs as not inanimate, alienable objects; rather, they are receptacles for the spirit of the person.

Udnyu personhood and anthropological understandings of spirit

Differences between academic and Adnyamathanha concepts of the term spirit, whilst initially highly problematic, are fruitful to analysing cross-cultural communication within the arena of photographs. There are some issues with the term 'spirit' as used in academia. A general *Udnyu* public concept of spirit is quite generic and functions as a broad, undefined umbrella term. Nevertheless, different academic disciplines and approaches narrowly define the term spirit in several ways.

Anthropology often does not use spirit as an overarching conceptual term. Spirit is often defined in specific ethnographic contexts as particular beings which may or may not be an aspect of humans. In an ethnographic context, there may be a range of spirit beings, each with their own characteristics. This limits the usefulness of the term "spirit" in an Adnyamathanha context where the term is used in precise ways that cannot be entirely captured by either the broad *Udnyu* general ideas or the narrow specific academic understandings of spirit.

Many *Udnyu* often understand spirits as related to the boundary between life and death or the seen and unseen. This evokes the concept of liminality. Van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1987) state that a liminal space is a space between the living and the dead. Liminality may, therefore, be helpful in illuminating spirit. Marett (2010: 256) argues that Mountford's films in Arnhem Land 'create a liminal space where the worlds of the living and dead interpenetrate'. This is demonstrated when 'living song

men' sing songs that their 'ancestral dead (who in many cases are their own deceased fathers)' impart to them in dreams.

Original formulations of the term liminality— such as Van Gennep (1960) and Turner (1987)— position anthropological interpretations of spirituality within a secular psychosocial explanatory framework. In my extension of Van Gennep's (1960) and Turner's (1987) terminology, photographs are reanimated through talking to photographs within the fieldwork processes, Exhibition Launch, and responses to the Exhibition. Douglas' (1966) conceptualisation of purity and danger can be used to suggest that this reanimation is deemed safe using ceremony and protocols to overcome the danger of liminality. However, liminality alone is not a definitive explanation of *Yura* worldviews, and the use of photographs within this framework does not account for the power of the spirit in an Adnyamathanha specific context. Photographs are not just a site of liminality but are mediators of meaning and relationship for *Yura-apinha*.

Benjamin (1968) focuses on the concept of reproducibility in regard to the authenticity of the museum object. He argues that the uncritical reproduction of the photograph within an age of mechanical reproduction— compared to art or portraiture analyses— diminishes the spirit within the photograph. Nevertheless, photographs' unfettered reproduction and circulation is culturally and contextually specific. In Adnyamathanha society, reproduction and circulation is not unfettered or uncritical. Structures of relationships that are invisible to people outside the society govern the distribution of photographs. Policies of archives that keep photographs also partially shape these distributions (discussed in Chapter 2). For these reasons, Benjamin (1968) is of limited value in understanding spirit in the photograph in this context.

As discussed in the Introduction and elsewhere in this thesis, personhood is a conceptual frame within anthropology. Distributed personhood, as introduced by Strathern (1988) and Gell (1992), is an alternative definition of personhood that partially explains Adnyamathanha relationship to photographs. The disjuncture between Indigenous and non-Indigenous understandings of photography can be explored by distributed personhood. Gell (1992) extends Strathern's (1988) concept of distributed personhood by arguing that artwork and technology enchant people because of their magical ability to slip between categories of the

object, its function, and its representation. Gell (1998) builds upon this to state that artworks could be defined by their ability to slip between object and representation. This definition is a productive concept through which to think about photographs in Adnyamathanha society. However, Morphy (2009) argues that Gell's (1998) concept of distributed personhood is Western-centric and should not be applied to Aboriginal Australian societies. As discussed below, aspects of distributed or partible personhood are allied to how Adnyamathanha understand persons and photographs. Glaskin's (2012) exploration of how the person can extend into items usually understood as mere objects may be helpful in the understanding of personhood and also inalienability.

I now move from an anthropological framing and understanding to broad discussions about what is inalienable in Adnyamathanha society using linguistic analyses. However, I use Weiner (2009) and other linguistic approaches to look at how things moved and did not move to make these linguistic analyses more culturally appropriate and context-specific.

Mauss (1969) is useful for my argument because Mauss uses personhood to explore how forms change, but personhood is retained within the objects in the Kula ring (such as *hau* or *taonga*) in Pacific Island communities.[172] Morphy (1991) argues that this view of exchange is not particularly relevant for the analysis of Aboriginal Australian artworks, as the view that people are individuals who own objects that they can give away is problematic in Aboriginal Australia. Morphy's (1991) argument regarding the cross-cultural invalidity of Mauss (1969) may also extend to the analysis of Aboriginal photography.

In broad terms, Weiner's (2009) elaboration of Mauss (1969) is of greater utility to my argument. Weiner (2009) extended Mauss' (1969) discussion of the inalienability of wealth in her argument that some objects can be alienated, and some cannot. She shows the personhood of objects by discussing how Hawaiian cloaks take on the owner's shape and become the owner's semblance or imprint. People who exchange cloaks can then use them to prevent war, as their personhood is inalienably linked to their cloaks. Weiner's (2009) analysis departs from Mauss' (1969) more traditional anthropological analyses of exchange

[172] Personhood is understood to adhere to shells in the *Kula* ring through the concept of fame, *taonga* refers to the Māori conception of a valuable, and *hau* is the term for the "spirit" of the gift. These are distinct but similar phenomena.

by focusing on the importance of wealth objects deliberately kept out of circulation by their owners. They still hold personhood regardless of whether they are in circulation or not.[173]

In Western societies, the person and the object are distinguished by indirect means in that 'when I talk about my head, I do not intend to say that it belongs to me, but that it is me'(Chappell & McGregor 1996: 55). Alienability is therefore commonly implied in Western languages rather than explicitly discussed, whereas, in Melanesia, it is more direct. Concepts are implied in English, and the object holds the spirit even if it is not said directly. Chappell and McGregor (1996: 4) note that there are 'many similar grammatical constructions in widely diverse languages'. In cases with possessive modification, the 'object acquires a personality of its own, detached from the individual of which it forms a part' (Chappell & McGregor 1996: 56).

Inalienable possession is 'an indissoluble connection between two entities- a permanent and inherent association between the possessor and the possessed'(Chappell & McGregor 1996: 4). Chappell and McGregor (1996: 4) argue that 'linguistic analysis can show alienability and inalienability' as they say that Levy-Bruhl was able to show how Melanesian languages conceptualised alienability using linguistic analysis. I determined that Levy-Bruhl (1914: 98) was able to show that there were 'two classes of nouns distinguished by the method to mark possession'. One class included 'suffix-taking nouns' naming 'part of the body, kin spatial relations, objects strongly associated with the person such as weapons and fishing nets and inanimate' fragments. The second class included 'all other nouns', which were 'represented by a free possessive morpheme'. Levy-Bruhl (1914: 98) described this difference as between alienable and inalienable possession.

Variations between alienable and inalienable possession have been linguistically analysed for over a century (Coleman 2010: 83). Coleman (2010: 83) argues that Myers' (1979, 2001) understanding of *walytja* points to the 'Pintupi [Aboriginal Australian] concept of inalienable possession, which includes kin as well as experience, clearly connects the ideas of possession and identity' (Coleman 2010: 83). Myers (2001: 109) suggests that the key symbol for Pintupi for their understanding of self in the world is the concept of *walytja* as it 'recognises the

[173] Alienable and inalienable do not define clear-cut boundaries between Indigenous and non-Indigenous societies but are historical and culturally located ideas that have been complicated by capitalism.

relationship of self to various others'. He argues that unlike the 'bounded, integrated' self within Western societies, the Pintupi have 'a shared identity' and that:

> Walytja is rooted in the givenness of the individual, extending outwards from a spirit derived from the Dreaming. The concept asserts a relationship between oneself and persons, objects, or places; it recognises as fundamental in Pintupi life the identity extended to persons and things beyond the physical. (Myers, FR 2001: 109)

Walytja is a construction of property which can refer to the objects associated with the person, a relative, the possessive notion of 'one's own such as 'my own camp' or 'my own father' or to the reflexive concepts such as 'oneself', as in, 'I saw it myself'.

These contrasts between alienable and inalienable possessions are key conceptual differences distinguishing *Udnyu* and Aboriginal societies. Indigenous people, however, also recognise some objects as alienable. Coleman (2010: 83) argues that Canadian First Nations, for example, initially grew wealthy from trade with settlers before being ravaged by smallpox and culturally suppressed within mission settlements, showing their understanding and use of alienable objects.

Keane (2001: 73) shows that small societies without a market economy recognise and support a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession by varying levels of formality. Significant objects require many prescribed formal behaviours, while behaviours surrounding less utility-defined objects are less prescribed. Moreover, *Udnyu* societies also implicitly recognise this distinction. Miller (2001: 95) shows that inalienability may be created within a capitalist society through 'the power of consumption to obstruct items from the market and make them social or personal'. Miller (2001: 95) argues this is possible because the person 'lies at the core of any local conceptualisation of the inalienable'.

Indigenous community concepts of personhood and spirit are different to non-Indigenous notions. Wall Kimmerer (2013: 48) demonstrates that the English language— in comparison to her US First Nations' Potawatomi language—objectifies the world and reserves animacy or

personhood to humans alone.[174] She asserts that although Indigenous languages may seem to have 'way too many variations on a single word' (Wall Kimmerer 2013: 54), this complexity more sensitively conceptualises relationality between human and non-human beings.[175] Wall Kimmerer (2013: 54) defines English as a 'noun-based language, somehow appropriate to a [European] culture so obsessed with things. Only 30 percent of English words are verbs, but in Potawami, that proportion is 70 percent' (Wall Kimmerer 2013: 54).

More than seventy percent of Potawami words require conjugation, and over seventy percent of Potawami words have different tenses and cases. Both nouns and verbs are animate and inanimate, and the world's animacy is a primary distinction within Potawami. It is also similar within *Yura Ngawarla*. Specifically, Adnyamathanha people view that bones, tissue samples, hair, footprints, and photographs all hold indivisible aspects of personhood. This is important in analysing ownership and representation of photographs within larger debates about the issues of repatriation of human remains, particularly in the light of Adnyamathanha paradigms. Negotiation around the repatriation of human remains between Indigenous people and museums is continuing. These debates regarding the repatriation of human remains to Indigenous people from museums cannot be examined in-depth in this thesis; however, they have been extensively explored by many academics such as Aird (2002), Flynn and Hull-Walski (2001), Korff (2014), Peers (2016), Solomon and Thorpe (2012), Thornton (2002), Yellowman (1996) and Reinius (2017).

Several concepts discussed above provide helpful frameworks to draw on, including how a person is understood to be distributed beyond the boundaries of self as understood by *Udnyu*, and that these aspects are inalienable. I use these theories eclectically and partially to explain

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[174] Upon completing a botany degree, Wall Kimmerer (2013: 48) argues that —in comparison to Indigenous languages— scientific European languages are a: 'careful observation, an intimate vocabulary that names each little part... but beneath the richness of its vocabulary and its descriptive power, something is missing... Science can be a language of distance, which reduces a being to its working parts; it is a language of objects'.

[175] Wall Kimmerer (2013: 54) evocatively describes that within Ojibwe/Anishinabemowin language: 'all kinds of things seemed to be verbs: "to be a hill," "to be red," "to be a long sandy stretch of beach," … "to be a bay."' She recounts that, at that moment, she could smell the bay's water and 'watch it rock against the shore and hear it sift onto the sand. A bay is a noun only if the water is dead. When bay is a noun, it is defined by humans, trapped between its shores and contained by a word. But the verb *wiikwegamaa*– to be a bay – releases the water from bondage and lets it live. "To be a bay" holds the wonder that, for this moment, the living water has decided to shelter itself between these shores, conversing with cedar roots and a flock of baby mergansers. … To be a hill, a sandy beach, a Saturday, all are possible verbs in a world where everything is alive... the language [is] a mirror for seeing the animacy of the world, the life that pulses through all things' (Wall Kimmerer 2013: 54).

Adnyamathanha photography and its relationship to spirit and personhood, which is closely tied to *Yura Muda*. I now turn to Adnyamathanha concepts of spirit to explicate this concept further.

Adnyamathanha understandings of Spirit

Spirit was a constant reference when discussing the person depicted in photographs. For example, while I was showing the photographs, *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2015 pers comm.) felt moved to take me out on Country and show me significant objects found during the mining of coal, the damper rocks that are part of the *Yurlu*'s Journey *Muda* (*Yurlu Ngukandanha*) that included the creation of the coal at Leigh Creek. She implied that I was to tell the mining company to rebury them, since they have been displaced from their rightful place. The Leigh Creek Coal Mine closed in 2015; therefore, *Artuapi* Linda thought it was safe to return the damper rocks to their rightful place amongst the coals of the ancestral fire.

I, therefore, adapt literature on Adnyamathanha cultural knowledge in other areas to expand the context of photography in this thesis. Adnyamathanha cultural knowledge transmission includes information on how to act in gendered and age-specific social roles, express and represent self— such as in secular and sacred rituals, art, and stories, and engage with the broader environment, including how to access and use landscape resources. This incorporates knowledge that many consider cultural, such as art, stories, language, and Muda, along with other forms of knowledge called environmental (landscape, resources, and species biodiversity). For example, Tunbridge (1988b) illustrated the connection when analysing Adnyamathanha *Muda* linguistically to understand biodiversity and species loss in the Flinders Ranges since the introduction of widespread grazing in the 1920s, thus drawing on cultural knowledge to access 'environmental knowledge'.

As a member of the society I am studying, I see spirit in relation to many other things. Explanations of characteristics of the interaction between various phenomena provides an understanding of spirit through the interrelationships spirit creates. Interestingly, Adnyamathanha people's use of digital technologies and social media enhances the concept

of spirit and the recognition of social relationships.[176] As demonstrated throughout this thesis, photographs are used constantly to revitalise memories and kinship and Country connections. People are referred to without naming them because of spiritual associations.

Most Adnyamathanha people I interviewed did not give me any specific definitions of the spirit or a Yura Ngawarla concept to define their thinking about these photographs. However, Adnyamathanha are using the term spirit in specifically Adnyamathanha ways, defined by Adnyamathanha in several ways depending on the context. There is no one generic, all-encompassing word for spirit in *Yura Ngawarla*: there are at least twenty words, as listed in Schebeck (1987), which signify aspects of the term spirit. The variety of these words show the complex nature of spirit within Adnyamathanha society.

Tunbridge (1988b: xxii) refers to the 'dreaming' spirits as *Nguthuna.* She also defines these spirits as the 'great actors in the Dramas of the Dreaming' who had many forms and powers equal to and greater than humans. *Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha* (Damper Hill) means 'the ancient creator spirit cooking damper' (Tunbridge 1988b: 110) because it is where the Old Woman made the damper to try to entice her two children back. *Nguthuna* is spirit, and *nga* on the end denotes that the spirit is the agent doing the action in a sentence with a transitive verb where something is being made.

My father also used the word spirit in relation to 'Death Rock' at Kanyaka, which he said meant Spirit Rock. My father referred to Death Rock as *Arnngurla Adnya* in *Yura Ngawarla.* Or *Karnngurla Kadnya* when speaking Barngarla *Ngawarla* (language) as was proper in this place he regarded as part of his father's Country. Schebeck (1987) defines *Arnngurla* as 'deserted campsites'— a place where spirits abound. *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) explained that in her childhood at *Nipapanha*, children would be warned to stay away from *Arnngurla* found where someone had died, as the spirits would make them sick. *Arnngurla* can, therefore, be translated as a place where spirits roam, especially if abandoned by living people because of death. My father said that when they could no longer travel, old Barngarla people would go to the waterhole with a carer and be looked after in a place of

[176] Deger (2013, 2017), and Deger, Gurrumuruwuy and Guruŋulmiwuy et al. (2019) explore how Yolngu Aboriginal people's use of digital technologies and social media enhances concepts of spirit and recognition of social relationships. This is similar to the ways Adnyamathanha people use digital technologies. Further analysis in future publications could provide some valuable comparisons with Adnyamathanha technology use.

good water and food. He said it was reserved for such times. After the recent devastating drought, I surmise that refuge was also used during drought (*widlya-widlanga*). After our morning visit there, my father lit a fire to smoke us for safety.

Schebeck (2000: 143) has suggested that spirit could also be seen to approximate the Adnyamathanha word *Udnyu* which can refer to spirits or ghosts. The term *Udnyu* was used to refer to the dead or a spirit person in the translation undertaken by older Adnyamathanha people (now deceased) of the Christian song 'He is Lord' where the line 'He is risen from the dead' is rendered '*Vanha Udnyu-ngurni anngirangu'* (He/she dead-from has risen). Numerous terms for spirit in *Yura Ngawarla* are cited in Schebeck (1987), McEntee and McKenzie (1992), Tunbridge (1988b), and Coulthard and Coulthard (2020). I outline some in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Terms for spirit

Yura Ngawarla	English language
Arnngurla	deserted campsites (where spirits abound) (Schebeck 1987). Term used on occasions when talking about the spirits of the deceased.
Arnngurla Adnya	My father translated this as 'Spirit Rock' rather than using the *Udnyu* name 'Death Rock'. Also named *Karnngurla Kadnya* when speaking Barngarla Ngawarla.
Ipa	spirit (lives in a bank of dirt) (Schebeck 2000: 46)
Irra Yura	dead spirit person *
Marldapi	spirit cloud
Marri yarngu	dead people hidden away
Mindapartinha	spirit after death *
Miradi	spirit trickster
Murri	spirit baby /child: Harvey and Mountford (1941: 156) describe 'spirit children' as *muri*. A term used by my father when speaking of baby spirits associated with a particular conception site
Nguthuna	'dreaming' spirits or 'the great actors in the Dramas of the Dreaming. They have many forms, but with the powers of human beings, and greater'(Tunbridge 1988b: xxii).
Nguthunanga Mai Ambatanha	(Damper Hill) site of the 'ancient creator spirit cooking damper' (Tunbridge 1988b: 110)
Thadkithadki Yura	dead spirit in a song *
Vudla ngami	spirit mother
Wadunha Yura	long-time ago Aboriginal person/people
warnngapi	Spirit of a dead person (a term my father used when talking about spirits of the deceased). Linda Coulthard (2015 pers comm.) also verified this term for the spirits of the departed who could follow you away from a grave or that, when you were having trouble with a child (e.g., sickness), people would say that the *warnngapi* were troubling the child. Lorraine Briscoe (2017 pers comm.) reported that *Yura* would then get the *Yura Urngi* (doctor) to get the sickness out and make the *yakarti* (child) better and 'back on their feet'.
Udnyu	Before colonisation, this meant 'spirits or ghosts' (Schebeck 2000: 143). However, after colonisation, '*Udnyu*' was translated as meaning 'white people' as, when Adnyamathanha first saw the invading white-skinned people, they were described as ghosts as they were white like ghosts. *Udnyu* is now increasingly used to refer to white people, not ghosts.
yarti yarti	dead spirit*

*Explanatory note: although many terms for spirit (like those asterisks above) seem to carry similar meaning, they have different meanings in contexts in ways that are too complicated to explain in a brief English glossary.

After colonisation, '*Udnyu*' was translated as 'Western (or white) people' because when Adnyamathanha first saw the strange intruders, the white-skinned invaders were described as ghosts because they perceived white as "like ghosts".[177] The term *Udnyu*, although historically seen to fit one aspect of the terminology of spirit, is no longer used with spiritual connotations, as it now means 'Western or non-Indigenous "fulla" (person)'; therefore, to use it to refer to 'spirit' does not have real world or 'face validity'. *Yura* never use the word 'white fulla' – we see the use of colour as an insult and do not want to be insulting people and so we use our language term. We also do not use the term 'black' to refer to Aboriginal people. Adnyamathanha do not use colours to refer to people as either *wauda* (black) nor *upa* (white).

Language, Pronouns, and inalienability

Fundamental to understanding the processes underpinning the photo-elicitation interviews, Exhibition, and Launch is the recognition that a person's name, photographs, voice, and spirit are inseparably connected to them. This connection is shown within *Yura Ngawarla* and can be seen in *Yura Ngawarla* used in the photo-elicitation interviews. Personal pronouns are windows through which both the inalienability of spirit, gender and personhood in the photographs can be highlighted. In this chapter, I discuss this using linguistic data collected from photo-elicitation interviews. I then explore these concepts in relation to the Exhibition and Launch.

In Adnyamathanha of my grandparents' generation, one did not refer to the photograph of oneself as 'my' photograph or a photograph of myself. The word for 'my' is *Ngatyu*. Instead, you refer to the photograph of yourself as 'I', which is *Ngai*. This is a form of inalienable possession. In English, we may say of a photo – 'This is *XX*!' but we are also likely to say, 'This is *XX*'s photo'. I found that older Adnyamathanha I interviewed would say the former ('*Inhawartanha-XX-nha*') but not the latter.

In the *Yura Ngawarla* of my grandparent's generation, one does not say 'my photograph' or

[177] Aboriginal Australians have often conceptualised Western people as ghosts. For example, Ginsburg (2018: 69) argued that Moffatt's *Frame with Ghost Stills (2016)* and *Spirit Landscapes (2013)* were created in response to and to evoke the 'belief of Indigenous Australians after first contact that the pale-skinned European invaders were in fact "white ghosts" and the haunting imaginary of Aboriginal ancestors who witnessed this world-changing moment… An… encounter projected onto a hyperreal imaginary of an Indigenous point of view'(Ginsburg 2018: 69).

'my name' or 'my hand'; instead, they say, 'I photograph', 'I name[178]', ' I voice' or 'I hand'. This applies to all pronouns referring to the actual personhood of an individual as embodied in their voice, spirit, body, name, totem, or photograph (Table 13 below). These are not seen as objects owned by a person but as integral parts of the person.

Table 13. List of inalienable phenomena in Yura Ngawarla compared to English

Alienable	**Inalienable**
Tools	Photography
Objects (car, house)	Totems
Clothing	Name of persons
Footwear	Body parts (including bone and hair)
Pets	Spirits
	Voices
	Footprints

The grammar is changing amongst younger generations influenced by English; however, the inalienability is still recognised through avoidance of deceased people's photographs, names, and voice recordings for a long time, often many years or for the rest of a lifetime amongst many Adnyamathanha.

The relationship between nominal terms is not signified by possessive markings when inalienable, as they are a part-whole relationship where a possessive is absent. The absence of possessives here is not 'broken English/Adnyamathanha' but a formal structure that signifies that part-whole relationship. Specific nouns such as law, spirit and one's body parts or footprint are inalienable within Aboriginal societies, including Adnyamathanha; however, other nouns name items that are alienable (i.e., they use possessive markers), such as implements. I added many of these— throwing stone, hat and *wadna* (boomerang)— into the Exhibition. Ownership and commodification of such alienable objects may be possible, but this is not always the case, as discussed below with regards to my father's hat. Ownership and commodification of inalienable phenomena such as those found in Table 13 above is impossible.

The traditional way to ask someone their name (if unable to acquire it in other indirect and

[178] Names are alienable as *Vanha mityi …. nha* means 'His/her/its name is'; however, it literally means: He/she/It name. Also, *Nganhanha mityi nhina?* could be translated as 'What's your name'; however, it literally means 'Who are you name?'

preferred ways) is to ask, *'Nganhanha mityi nhina?*' (literally 'Who name you?') rather than '*Nhaardanha nhunggu mityi*?" (What is your name?). My father was insistent upon this usage and laughed at the inappropriateness of the latter modern alteration he sometimes heard, commenting, 'They are talking English now'. The traditional question form remains the usually heard usage, providing another pointer to the inalienability and, hence, avoidance of names.

Yura Ngawarla terminology relates to spirit in the same way as it relates to a photograph or a name. Spirits are, therefore, to be looked after, treated with respect, and even appeased – they are indivisible from the person. This is referred to even when the spirit takes the shape of an *urdlu* or other animal, as was commonly represented with Adnyamathanha youth when artistically portraying the photograph of Mt Serle Bob, painting a goanna, or Adnyamathanha people in general through painting an *Iga* as discussed in Chapter 4.

As I grew up, I listened to my father referring to me as *Yarlpumukunha* or the Greater Bilby Bones or Totem. He taught me to say *Ngai Yarlpumukunha* (I am the bilby bones) rather than *Ngatyu Yarlpumukunha* (My bilby bones totem). In the past, and within my own immediate family today, *Yura* conceptualisation of a person's totem is inalienable, but referring to totem in the *Yura* conceptualisation of self has declined and now rarely occurs.[179]

Avoidance of names and photographs is a recognition of and a way of being cautious of the cultural powers inherent in the body, voice, name, footprint, and photograph of the deceased within Adnyamathanha society. This is still strong despite the evidence that Adnyamathanha are tending to break the inalienable nexus between the person and the name, abandoning '*Ngai* Rebecca*nha*' (I name Rebecca) and adopting the English form of possession inherent in '*Ngatyu mityi* Rebecca-*nha*', or 'my name is Rebecca' (Table 14 below).

[179] Interestingly, my father talked of a person's ideas as inalienable and explained that doubting or questioning a person's views can be regarded as insulting that person's very being. This could help explain the heat with which differing views can sometimes be debated.

Table 14. Pronoun English-Yura Ngawarla differences

***Yura Nga-warla* term**	**English term**	**use in specific phenomena**	**Example used in *Yura Ngawarla* sentence**	**English rough translation**
-ru	's or s' (possession)	Paper, clothing, house but not photograph, hand, spirit	Not : *Artuapi* Lorraine-*aru photographanha.* Yes : *Artuapi* Lorraine*anha* photographanha. Yes : *Vanha* photographanha. Not : Becky *vipa (paper).* Yes: Becky-*ru vipa*	Not: Aunty Lorraine's photograph. Yes: Aunty Lorraine photograph. Yes, She /he photograph. Not: Becky paper Yes: Becky's paper.
Ngai	I	used when I am the subject of a sentence with an intransitive verb, i.e., a sentence with no object.	Not: *Ngatyu mityi* Rebecca-*nha.* Yes: *Ngai mityi* Rebecca-nha. Yes: *Inhawartanha Ngai* photograph. Yes: *Ngai ngukanda.*	Not: My name is Rebecca Yes: I name Rebecca. Yes: This is I photograph. Yes: I am going.
Ngai	Me	when someone is doing something to me (Object in a sentence with a transitive verb)	Amanda-lu *Ngai anpanguanggu*	Amanda starved me.
Ngatyu	My	car, dog, house (*wardli*)	*Ngatyu mutuka, Ngatyu wilka, Ngatyu wardli, Ngatyu valdha*.	My car, my dog, my house, my clothes
Ngathu	I	I as subject or agent in a sentence with a transitive verb- i.e., ergative. Such sentences have an object- stated or implicit.	*Ngathu urdlu varlu ngalkuntya.* *Ngathu Awi yapanda*.	'I will eat kangaroo meat'. I am drinking water.

The lack of the possessive 'my' as in the English phrase 'my photograph' (which, if it were, it would be '*Ngatyu*' or proper name plus '*ru*' or '*aru'* in Adnyamathanha) signifies that the photograph is not your photograph but *is* you. Adnyamathanha couple the term 'I' (or *Ngai*) with what the English language regards as an 'object' in certain specific contexts (such as a person's body parts or spirit), one of which includes photographs. The English speaker expects

the term '*my* photograph' because a photograph is regarded as belonging to you rather than being part of yourself. The term 'I' or *Ngai* (which is first person) can also be extended to specifically relate to second or third-person pronouns such as his, her, he, or she or them, as found in the example of *Vanha photographanha* in Table 14 above.

Artuapi Linda Coulthard and *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2020) have demonstrated that in *Yura Ngawarla,* one does not refer to the photograph with a third person possessive. Specifically, they argue that a photograph is not *Vardnundyaru* (his or her or its photo) but a third person singular *Vanha* (or 'he', 'she'). The inalienability of photographs in language and beliefs means that one cannot state that 'this is a photo of my grandparent'; rather, it *is* my grandmother.

Similarly, the fact that you cannot own photographs is shown in that it is not correct to have '*ru*' indicating personal ownership of the phenomenon being discussed (Table 14 above). *Ru* is a possessive marker. The following example of 'Becky's paper' as 'Becky-*ru vipa*' shows this. However, you cannot use *ru* in the context of the photographs. The example of 'Aunty Lorraine's photograph' ('*Artuapi* Lorraine-*aru photographanha*') is not correct. The example of 'Aunty Lorraine photograph' or '*Artuapi Lorraineanha photographanha'* is correct. This, therefore, shows that the difference between Ngatyu and Ngai is not just about representation; it also signifies ownership. The Exhibition itself triggered warnings and name avoidance. This understanding influences how Adnyamathanha use photographs. This also influences Adnyamathanha understandings of and concerns with *Udnyu* practices of commodification, storage, and repatriation of photographs within the museum.

Coleman (2010: 84) posits that the 'special, identity relationship in the concept of inalienable possession is a moral justification for repatriation and presents the idea that there are people' who should have rights to possess and control things 'because they are of special significance to them. How strong a moral justification is it?' This is an interesting question to ask about repatriation. Does the inalienability of the photograph make the claims to repatriation less justifiable? I would think not, as it is the people in the photograph whose wishes need to be respected. This is a valid or even more powerful argument for repatriating photographs than repatriating owned objects to descendants.

Language and relationality

Language reveals relationships, divulging a greater awareness of the relationship between people in *Yura Ngawarla*. How older Adnyamathanha people perceive and refer to those portrayed in the photographs and the respect they used to talk about them is proof of this. In most cases, when interviewing Elders, they did not use personal names at all; they used relational referents instead (Table 15 below).

Aboriginal people from the A<u>n</u>angu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Lands often use the term *Kunmanara* (and *Kumanjayi*) used in the Pintubi-Luritja dialect or *Galyardu*, which appears in a mid-western Australia Wajarri dictionary by Mackman, Irra Warra Language Centre and Yamaji Language Aboriginal Corporation (2012) to refer to a deceased person. Coulthard and Richards (2020) have shown that this form of address is rare in Adnyamathanha. The Adnyamathanha do not commonly use standard avoidance terms to refer to the deceased's name. No name' or *mityi wakanha* can sometimes mean that you cannot say a name because of name avoidance protocols. *Nunga* Noel uses a variation, *Wayakanha,* when talking to or about a colleague at Leigh Creek Area School with the same name as a close classificatory deceased *Vapi*. Adnyamathanha, however, mostly use the person's familial name, relationship referents (Table 15 below) or birth name (such as within Table 8 in Chapter 2) to signify name avoidance of a deceased person.

Table 15. Terms for dual 'we' in Yura Ngawarla (Adnyamathanha language)

English	***Yura Ngawarla***
Subject form: we (2)	*Ngadli* same generation + opposite moiety (e.g., sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, married couple, a grandmother with son's child)
we (2)	*Ngarlpu* same generation + same moiety (e.g., two sisters or classificatory sisters such as grandmother and grandchild who is a daughter's child)
we (2)	*Ngadlaka* diff generation + same moiety (e.g., mother and child)
we (2)	*Ngarrinyi* diff generation + opposite moiety (e.g., father and child)
Object form: us (2)	same as above categories with –*nha* added
Possessive: our (2)	same as above categories with –*ru* added (for all generations and moiety relationships)

Older Adnyamathanha use these terms to refer to themselves with the person in a photograph. They— and many younger persons— also use kinship names to refer to people in the photographs. It is worth reiterating in this context that in referring to a person in a photograph, many viewers would refer to the person as *Adnyini* or Grandmother or *Nguarli* or *Vapapa* (Grandfathers of same and opposite moiety) and would sometimes whisper the given name if they suspected I was not sure which grandmother in particular whom they were referring to. Many times, references to living kin were used to designate a person's identity in preference to using the deceased person's name, for example, 'Robert's father' or even 'Nickname's father'. The everyday use of these pronouns or relational terms also demonstrated reluctance to use the given names even of living people who are older and in an opposite gender sister/brother relationship to oneself. In Port Augusta, I heard Elder *Ngamarna* Roy tell my *Ngami* Rosalie Richards (2022) after she greeted him publicly as *Nunga* that he liked how she always called him that, never using his name.

Ngami Rosalie Richards (2022 pers comm.) also recounts an experience early in her

relationship with my father. She was videoing historical campsites together with him and two of his cousins. Knowing an uncle had lived there, she asked him to tell her who used to live there. He joked, circled her, and continued questioning as she tried to film a historical record. Only after the trip as she reviewed the video with him and his cousins, did she realise her faux pas. They all laughed as they came to that segment, and my father said, "This is where she was trying to make me say my *Vapi*'s (classificatory father's) name" (ibid).

The use of 'our' and 'we' highlights the reflexivity and positionality of Adnyamathanha within the museum space. Avoiding personal names and using the trigger warning within the Exhibition Launch also highlights this. Non-Indigenous people often refer to Aboriginal people as 'their', 'them' and 'they'. However, throughout this thesis and in Exhibition panels/labels, I refer to Adnyamathanha as 'we' and 'us' and/or 'our' history. 'We' is a strong word. It signifies that I am speaking for others in my community. I use the word 'we' to signify that I belong to this group rather than to *Udnyu* society alone. Using pronouns in *Yura Ngawarla* is also vital in understanding personhood and photographs in Adnyamathanha society.

English pronouns also do not define relationships between those involved in actions in the same manner as do pronouns in *Yura Ngawarla*. Pronouns in *Yura Ngawarla* are predicated on intricate knowledge of the interlocking binary of moieties and generations. This applies also to the Exhibition. As an Aboriginal person, there are often disjunctions between talking as 'us', 'them' and 'they' when reading actual labels.

The use of impersonal pronouns is a default position within the museum space. I decided not to use the third-person voice or what O'Neill and Wilson (2015: 17) call a 'confident, surveying voice of the somewhat detached observer' in my exhibition writing and captions. Instead, I used the 'close-questioning tone of the activist engagé'. For the Exhibition panels, I used the concept of 'we', 'our' and 'us' to refer to us as Adnyamathanha people rather than us as non-Indigenous people, although even this use does not reflect the complexity of Adnyamathanha understandings. Pronouns used traditionally ipso facto reflect the relationship between the persons involved, their moiety and generational status.

Older viewers of the photographs automatically perceive a different and complex array of relationships and notions of kinship, which I could not incorporate into brief labels in English.

For example, Coulthard and Richards (2022) list terms for the pronoun 'we' as I show in Table 15 above. Younger Adnyamathanha viewers perceive at least the moiety differentials within the use of English pronouns such as 'us' and 'we'. While seeing the Adnyamathanha as a group, as in photographs, they also see the complex 'we' as inextricably bound with moiety and family affiliations and with areas of land.

The third-person dual plurals in Coulthard and Richards (2020), as found in Table 16 below, provide an example of how *Yura Ngawarla* is more specific than English in how people relate to each other. Such pronouns express proper ways to behave towards each other and respect established cultural rules when discussing photography or memories.

Table 16. Third-person dual plurals in Yura Ngawarla (Adnyamathanha language) from Coulthard and Richards (2020)

	English	***Yura Ngawarla***
Subject forms if they (2)	same generation + opposite moiety	*Valnaapa*
	they (2) same generation + same moiety, e.g., brother and sister	*valanpila / vanpila* (short form)
	they (2) different generation+ same moiety, e.g., mother and child	*valnaaka*
	they (2) different generation+ opposite moiety, e.g., father and child	*valnyini*
	married couple	*valurdupa*
Object forms of them (2)	For each category above	subject form *+ nha*
Possessive: their (2)	For each category above	Subject form *+ru*

Schebeck's (1973) list of ten different terms for the third person plural illustrates the complexity of how Adnyamathanha perceive photographs of kin. Schebeck (1973: 4-5) argues that 'this pronominal system is made up of several parallel series, the application of which implies a classing of all kin in a remarkable way'. My fieldwork shows that these complex relationships impact Adnyamathanha relationships to photographs even when some collaborators may not remember the complex terms of the pronominal system.

Further, the importance of relationships shown by Coulthard and Richards (2020) in Table 16, above, is strengthened by the relational terms by which Adnyamathanha address each other and refer to others, as listed in Table 17 below. For example, Adnyamathanha Elders instruct boys early to respect their *Ngamarna*, their mother's brothers. These men are of the same moiety as themselves and enforce discipline and the law, ensuring that shame or reprisals are not brought upon their moiety members. *Ubmarli Vapi*, fathers and father's brothers are of the opposite moiety to self, are nurturers, the ones to run to for defence and consolation. It is their names that Adnyamathanha never utter after death.

Table 17. Relationships between Adnyamathanha people groups used in the naming of photographs by Coulthard, Richards and Wilton (2020)

Generation	The moiety of the individual or the Ego/self (e.g., *Mathari*) who is talking	***Wardarda***- Opposite moiety to self (e.g., *Ararru*)
Opposite generation	*Ngami*- Mother *Ngarlaami*- Mother's older sisters *Wadngami*- Mother's younger sisters *Ngamarna*- Mother's brothers *Yakarla*- Self's and sisters' children if self is female/ Sisters' children if self is male *Yarru*- Father-in-law	*Vapi*- Father *Vurlkanha Vapi*- Father's older brothers *Ubmarli Vapi*- Father's younger brothers *Artuapi*- Father's sisters *Vaparlu*- Brothers' children if self is female /Self's and brothers' children if self is male (*vananyi* may also be used as the term of address by males) *Arraka/Vayara*- Mother-in-law
Same generation as self (*Ngai*)	*Ngai*-Me *Adnyini*- Mother's mothers and same moiety grandchild (reciprocal term), i.e., female self's daughters' children *Nguarli*- Father's fathers / same moiety grandchildren (reciprocal term), i.e., son's children for male self *Yaka*- Older sisters *Nunga*-Older brothers *Vilhali*- Younger sisters/ brothers	*Adynini Ngaparla*- Father's mother and opposite moiety grandchildren (female self's son's children) (reciprocal term) *Vapapa*- Mother's father and opposite moiety grandchildren (daughter's children) (reciprocal term) *Ngaparla*- different moiety cousin *Adlari*- Sister-in-law *Virnga/Vintya*- Brother-in-law *Marni*- Self's partner if self is female. *Artuna*- Self's partner if self is male

Similarly, *Vapapa* (mother's father) is the opposite moiety and is loving and adored. *Nguarli*, father's fathers, are, in the binary generational system, like own generation brothers and are of the same moiety. A teasing relationship exists between them, but also one in which *Nguarli* supplies children with strict discipline. Children respect mothers (including mother's sisters

who are of the same moiety) as the ones who nurture and care for life, earning respect and love. *Artuapi*, fathers' sisters, are caring but often more remote.

Language plays a central part in expressing and reinforcing aspects of the complex relationships Adnyamathanha have with each other; these relationships extend to interactions with photographs of people. All persons in the same section can be referred to and addressed by the same kinship term. For example, all females in *Ngai's* section are sisters or *Adnyini.* Partners can be cross-generational if they are of opposite moiety and appropriate age. In such a case, children are referenced by the mother's generation. Third-generation persons are referred to as being of the opposite generation. For example, great-great-grandmother of same moiety is *Ngarlaami,* great-grandchildren are *Vaparlu* and *Yakarla*. This is becoming superseded by English terms such as "old Nanna".

The complex categorisation, naming and avoidance practices used within Adnyamathanha society highlight the underlying structure of intertwining material self, relational self, and spirit. In the rest of the chapter, I first explore the body's inalienability (footprints and various locks of hair in combs). I then explore the inalienability of an Adnyamathanha object (an Adnyamathanha Akubra hat used in the Exhibition) and its relationship to spirit, before moving on to reflect on the Exhibition opening and *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out) on Country.

Body, Spirit, and inalienability

Another example of the inalienability of aspects of a person is that of footprints. For many *Udnyu,* footprints, though often recognised as individual, do not constitute an integral aspect of a person's being. Nevertheless, to an Adnyamathanha, they are an existential part of a person, their identity, and their being. Adnyamathanha traditionally use footprints to track a person, to trace journeys, to find who had been where – and to be disguised when looking to be anonymous, as in times of *vinya* (the seekers of justice or vengeance when laws were broken, or harm caused). Footprints are a part of the person which, ideally, upon their death, rain should remove.

Adnyamathanha look for rain after a funeral, particularly that of an Elder, and will comment that the Elder has sent the rain to wipe their footprints from the face of the earth. My father

talked about how people would sweep the ground around a deceased person's camp with a *nguri warta* (*acacia rivalis* or Creek Wattle) or a *vinyi* (Broombush) branch before leaving the camp. Sometimes, a dust storm was seen as sent to undertake a similar task.

Coulthard and Coulthard (2020: 202) referred to the importance of removing the footprints so that the spirit was not forced to retrace their earthly tracks but to rest and float free in search of their next journey. I wondered for years why removing footprints through rain, dust or sweeping was so desirable, even essential, but I have realised that footprints are a part of the person, just as their body, hair, photograph, and name are. These 'extensions of the person' (Glaskin 2012: 303) have been noted around Australia, including by Keen (2006) and Smith (2008), and from neighbouring Melanesia by Hemer (2013), McIntyre (2003) and Strathern (1988).

In the *Ngawarla Wami Muda* (Creation account) in Tunbridge (1985: n. p.), *Adnyini* Annie Coulthard recorded that the mother cried '*Mandaawi yuku ikandawa*'. This cry is translated as 'Footprint is here she,' i.e., 'she footprint is here', with the suffix *wa* for he/she/it rather than the possessive form of the third person singular pronoun 'her' (*Vardnundyaru* or abbreviated to *varndyaru*). Footprints were often used to find visitors or to track individual movement. It is interesting to note that fingerprints do not seem to be of a similar concern. This may be attributed to their existence formerly as unclear or identifiable aspects of the person, as they lived in a world without glass, ink or microscopes.

Vapi L. Richards (1994 pers comm.) and *Artuapi* Linda Coulthard (2022 pers comm.) said that Adnyamathanha people used *Vartiwaka* (*Eremophila Longifolia*/Plum bush or Weeping Emu Bush) to cover or wrap a person's body after death, prior to being covered with dirt, to encourage the spirit to leave the body. This practice continues today with *Vartiwaka* branches or twigs often thrown onto the lowering casket during a burial. Then, three days later, relatives begin and then continue to check that there is a hole above the grave with shreds of *Vartiwaka* leaves and twigs coming from it. *Nunga* Noel Wilton (2022 pers comm.) states that this is the sign that the spirit has left the body. Previously, *Yura wou*ld keep a fire continuously burning between the grave and any campsites or houses to protect the living from incursions from the departing spirit.

At *Nipapanha* this practice has been changed in recent years to a fire in the late afternoon and evening after a burial rather than the earlier three days and nights. This protective fire seems to point to the grave danger inherent in the liminal stage of transition from life to death. A lack of a sign that the spirit has left the body is a source of anxiety and will cause the checking of the house or place of death for similar signs. This happened after my father's burial when *Vartiwaka* branches were placed over his coffin. When the signs did not appear, young adult family members were sent to drive the 1300km return trip to check, successfully, for the correct indicative signs at our home in the form of a spiralling spiderweb.

Gravesites cannot ever be approached haphazardly and without due process, including visiting only in the morning and mid-day, and with calling out or speaking, even after the spirit is regarded as having left the body. It is still in the environment and still has active agency. Smoking (*Arnngula Vundu Nguthandanha*) is also often practised particularly if a grave is accidentally approached later in the day. This further supports the need for precautions around photographic displays which, similarly, are imbued with spiritual connotations.

While cautious, indeed sceptical, of pan-Aboriginality, I mention an interesting aside featured in Wilmot's (1979: 92) novel portraying the historical Aboriginal resistance hero, Pemulwuy. Wilmot (1979: 92) reports that Pemulwuy, alongside an Irish escaped convict supporter, discussed Eora beliefs about the fusion of spiritual and mortal parts in living human personality at length. This fusion was sundered at death, as the spirit persisted beyond death, but it did not contain the personality of the deceased person (Wilmot 1979: 92). This could help explain Adnyamathanha caution around approaching the grave of even the kindliest of relatives; even one of whom, at the right hour, you can request intervention in the form of rain by pouring water onto their grave. This practice is common and continuing. The 17-year-old son of my cousin supplied a very recent, unsolicited account of visiting my dad's and his brother's graves to ask, through pouring of water accompanied by verbal entreaty, that his two *Nguarli* intercede to bring rain.

Adnyamathanha repatriation and inalienability: Akubra hat, combs, and hair

An interesting observation at the Exhibition was the interpretation and reinterpretation of objects used in the Exhibition as photographs. One such object was my deceased father's

Akubra hat, which was displayed amongst the photographs portraying Adnyamathanha people's role in station life. Adnyamathanha viewers immediately recognised and identified with this hat and responded with many a "*Ngaingga*!" (Expression of regret).

My sister asked for the immediate return of the hat after the closure of the Exhibition so that she could use it to stand for her father at her wedding. Not only did she ask that we place this on a chair in the front row during the ceremony, but she also stressed to the photographer that she needed to photograph it both there and afterwards, with her holding it in the latter photograph (Figure 111 below). She also included this in the wedding video constructed from photographs.

All Adnyamathanha at once understood the meaning of this photograph and its inclusion, including when posted on social media. It received several '*Ngaingga*' comments. Our father's actual photograph was not present as Adnyamathanha people are reluctant to show photographs of close deceased relatives, often removing portraits or turning them to face the wall during a period of mourning, sometimes for years.

Figure 111. Facebook post of the hat on a front row chair, photo by Ngami Rosalie Richards (2019)

The connection between photograph and spirit and responses to photographs have possibly

changed from the 1930s to now, although with basic restrictions still practiced. Rebecca Forbes' comments below show that Adnyamathanha cultural practices around photography were similar but even more restrictive in the 1930s. Rebecca Forbes (née Castledine) lived in the community and adopted many Adnyamathanha cultural approaches.[180] Ellinghaus (2006: 52) argues that one cultural approach was that she kept no photograph of her husband Jack as 'we never keep belongings of the dead, and always shift camp, away from the haunt of their spirit'.

The hat and the photographs both have aspects of spiritual life that Adnyamathanha at once recognise, similarly, with clothes. My mother gave many of my father's clothes away, with his cowboy boots and shirts eagerly sought by his nephews; however, the clothes in which he died were immediately burnt upon their return from the coroner by his sister, my *Artuapi* (or aunt), as dangerous containers of his spirit which had been disturbed. Similarly, his comb, which was left with a few hairs upon it in a relatives' house during a visit to attend a funeral just days prior to his heart attack, was appropriately returned to the family, carefully wrapped in opaque plastic, and handed over quietly, cautiously and without identification but with pre-warning of the danger.

About 18 years ago, my father and I visited SAM. I remember that my dad did not like that his aunt's spindle, donated by Dr Tunbridge, had been disturbed. *Adnyini* Annie Coulthard was his *Artuapi.* When donated, the spindle had her hair in it, which was of significance to Adnyamathanha; however, when displayed, it did not have her hair in it. This is distressing for Adnyamathanha people as the hair must be protected or burnt in a wood fire. He did wonder where they had put her hair and whether they either kept or disposed of it in a manner proper for Adnyamathanha. I was able to find it many years later.[181] The EMu database account of *Adnyini* Annie Coulthard's (2019c: n. p.) hair and spindle confirmed what I had remembered

[180] Algie (2019: n. p.) notes that: 'after Jack died, [Rebecca] lived at Beltana Station but was asked to leave by the chief protector of Aborigines in Adelaide. She declined as she had children to educate, and living was expensive, especially if she had to pay rent'

[181] In 2016, I remembered that incident with the spindle mentioned above. Prof John Carty and I then visited SAM's Pacific Cultures gallery on 8 June 2016. I could not find the hair spindle from Annie Coulthard in the Pacific Cultures gallery that day, but I could do so at SAM in 2019 while working there by searching the *EMu* database.

my father saying about it more than fifteen years before.[182]

Personhood in the photograph can be seen in my family relationships. Describing the act of viewing a photograph as 'meeting' the person is a further pointer towards the personhood of the photograph. My own father especially came to visit to request that my mother accompany him to meet her future grandparents-in-law in this manner during an earlier photographic display.

The examples of the hat, photographs, clothes, and hair show the extension of the person in diverse ways, which are understood through the concept of spirit. Spirit is present within and extends to these items which *Udnyu* consider to be simple inanimate objects. The Exhibition launch was shaped by these understandings and is discussed in the following section.

Dangerous spirits

Once the Exhibition Launch ceremony, as discussed in the Prologue, was completed, we could enter the Exhibition as the spirits quietened. We were then able to enter the Exhibition freely, and as we did, we passed the Exhibition warning sign, Figure 112 below.

Figure 112. Exhibition warning label (Richards, RG 2019a)

The warning in this is a common statement in many contexts. Lydon (2021: 274) argues that

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[182] The hair spindle EMu database entry notes that it is 'human hair to be used with spindle' from Annie Coulthard and from the Flinders Ranges. Robin Young donated it through the Dorothy Tunbridge Collection. It is held in SAM's Australian Aboriginal Ethnology Store.

warnings such as those shown above demonstrate that 'representations such as names and images remain essentially connected to what is shown' in many Aboriginal cultures in a range of practices. The 'custom of "warning" has become rote', often 'taking the place of direct engagement with Aboriginal communities and Indigenous decision-making' as even where such photographs stand for 'people who passed away beyond living memory, this warning has become a gesture of respect and acknowledgement' (Lydon 2021: 274).

My specific analysis of the Adnyamathanha context for this phenomenon illuminates and extends understanding of the complexity of the avoidance relationship between the person and their name and photograph. More broadly, this warning at the start of the Exhibition signposts that Adnyamathanha have a different relationship to the photograph than that of the non-Indigenous viewer. For Aboriginal people, the spiritual danger of museums and archives is 'real' (Pickering 2020: 13).

Analysis of the specific context of photographs within the Adnyamathanha community reveals that this warning label (also included at the commencement of my thesis) is inadequate to explain how Adnyamathanha feel about or relate to these photographs. Nor does it mitigate the ongoing dangers of such photographs. The ceremonial clearance at the Exhibition launch would not last into the late afternoon when the spirit of the Elders is more active. Even though trigger warnings are in Australia are ubiquitous, their use is not tokenistic when appropriately culturally contextualised.

Mangundanha Walawalandanha (calling out) on Country

The *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* ('calling out' ceremony) discussed in the Prologue is not without precedent. It was an extension and adaptation of the customary ritual undertaken by Adnyamathanha before visiting a grave or *Muda* (History) site.[183] This is calling out on Country. Whenever we visit special sites or an old grave— or even a recent one— we need to speak out to the spirits of the land and the people, to name ourselves, to let them know we come in peace and respect and will leave them undisturbed.

The Exhibition launch ceremony was adapted for a museum context, although using the same

[183] I argue that this is not 'invention' as conceptualised by Hanson (2009) and Hobsbawm (2012: 14).

protocols as when approaching graves. It was important to connect with and reassure the Elders who were captured on film, or through objects they had made or used.

Specific cultural protocols for going to a grave site were revealed during my photo-elicitation stage of this research when I showed *Ubmarli Vapi* (Uncle) K. Johnson a photograph of his grandfather (my great-grandfather), Jack Coulthard. This occurred one morning in his kitchen. He decided that, instead of just talking about the photograph, this would be a good opportunity and culturally proper timing to see his grandfather at his grave in his old *Mathari* moiety-specific burial ground, a 5-minute drive outside of *Nipapanha*.

Thus, viewing my great-grandfather's photograph was the catalyst for us all, including *Ubmarli Vapi* K. Johnson, *Vilhali* Amanda Richards, *Ngami* Rosalie Richards, my niece, and a cousin's granddaughter, to visit his grave (Figure 113 below). Photographs of our graveside visit show how archival photographs can be used to continue the identification of ancestors and culture into the next generations, with Elders connecting landscape, people, and photographs.

Figure 113. Viewing my great grandfather's photo was a catalyst for Ubmarli Vapi K. Johnson, Amanda Richards (my sister), my niece, cousin's granddaughter, and me to go to his grave. Photo by Ngami Rosalie Richards, 2017

Our visits to gravesites illustrate that an Adnyamathanha person does not go to a gravesite from mid-afternoon onwards (i.e., past around 2 pm, depending on the season) as that place

is dangerous in the later afternoon, at dusk and after dark. It would have been helpful to collect data on the timing of Adnyamathanha people's visits to the Exhibition as it is likely that many people, particularly Elders, would not have been comfortable approaching the photographs from mid, even early, afternoon. This reluctance to discuss deceased persons later in the day also significantly impacted how I could conduct my research. My decision to have the Exhibition Launch as a morning rather than an afternoon or evening event was based on this consideration. It was my observation, and that of others, that Adnyamathanha participants at the Exhibition Launch did not re-enter the Exhibition space after lunch.

Lydon (2010b: 173) demonstrates that restrictions in Aboriginal communities on showing the photographs of the recently deceased are well known, as is a restriction on saying the name of the recently deceased. These two restrictions are intertwined within the process of creating and understanding the Exhibition and the spirit.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have drawn on various anthropological conceptual theories to reflect on how photographs are understood. Drawing on a range of theoretical perspectives (such as liminality, inalienability, and distributed personhood), I have shown the relationships between language construction and the self and how cultural knowledge is shared, re-enacted, and confirmed in Adnyamathanha. My analysis of language revealed how Adnyamathanha people acknowledge the person. My analysis also demonstrates that *Udnyu* conceptualisations of spirit are insufficient to explain Adnyamathanha cultural beliefs. Cultural beliefs embedded in our language show Adnyamathanha understandings of the significance of spirit. Spirit shapes how people use and refer to photographs. Using an Adnyamathanha cultural framework, photographs are not inanimate objects that can be 'owned' by archives but must be treated with proper respect. For Adnyamathanha, photographs are powerful conduits for the spirits of the people in the photographs, and for those viewing the photographs. As such, photographs must be managed with proper care and respect. Museums must consider not only their holdings of human remains, but also images and former belongings, which are poignant and potent aspects of the person. Adnyamathanha perspectives can help guide museums in rethinking their role.

Thesis Conclusion

The lilting cadences of the Adnyamathanha Women's Choir at the beginning of the Exhibition opening were not just emotional, nor were they purely decorative. The Exhibition opening was a collaboration with Elders to incorporate Adnyamathanha concepts and belief systems into a previously deeply non-Adnyamathanha space.

The Exhibition launch ceremonies, grounded in Adnyamathanha cultural beliefs, were and remain unique to Adnyamathanha. Using *Udi* (singing) at the Launch and *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out), I organised spiritual safety and reconnection to Country and family. It was also important for presenting Adnyamathanha culture. Adnyamathanha Elders sang the *Wayanha Udi* to illustrate Country and *Muda*, while their choice of the Gospel *Udi* (He sends the rainbow) illustrated the syncretism of Adnyamathanha spirituality and Christianity.

The launch ceremony was and is still unique to Adnyamathanha, firmly grounded in Adnyamathanha concepts of *Muda*. I deliberately connected the Exhibition opening to *Muda* to highlight that *Muda* influences how Adnyamathanha relate to the world, including the archives.

The respecting of *Muda* within the Exhibition was influential in shaping the Exhibition as a safe space for Adnyamathanha to come together to share knowledge, history, and connections. My grounded analyses using the term *Muda* does not assume a Pan-indigeneity. There is no English translation for *Muda*; it encompasses Adnyamathanha people's worldview, identity, laws, behaviour, and history. As an Aboriginal woman, working in a museum, which is at least partially a legacy of colonial collection practices, was difficult. Being an insider to the society I studied nevertheless worked in my favour in that I could use concepts from Adnyamathanha society as an explanatory framework from the beginning of my research.

My description of the exhibition launch in the Prologue— centring around the *Mangundanha Walawalandanha* (calling out ceremony)— was both a way of introducing Adnyamathanha protocols and an introduction to the research project. The Prologue also served as an initial protocol of Welcome and encounter for the reader as they explore Adnyamathanha culture

and history.

Chapter 1 examines my positionality as an Adnyamathanha woman as the basis for analysis and fieldwork. I provided an in-depth overview of my positionality in this research: as an Adnyamathanha woman, anthropologist, and museum staff professional. My positionality was key to the depth of knowledge I could access and was also challenging as I struggled to navigate between different understandings of my role and my research. This chapter also describes my study methodology, including fieldwork, interviews, workshops with schools and an Exhibition.

In Chapter 2, I explain the nature of the archival materials for the research, focused upon Mountford's Aboriginal photographs and archives, and their ownership. I do this by providing an analysis of Mountford's photographic work situated in histories of salvage anthropology and issues of ownership, access, and repatriation of photographs. I analyse aspects of Mountford's early work in the Flinders Ranges in-depth. The Warburton controversy, Mountford's expeditions and other episodes around the same time (such as Moffitt 1978) provide revealing examples of the history of Indigenous photography. Analysis of these situations in their historical contexts displayed that Indigenous photography shows great continuity and similarities across time in elements such as the photographer, photographic subject and ownership of the photographs. However, using the concept of photographic ethics to analyse the dissemination and interpretation of these photographs enables the challenging of these previously stable categories.

By reconfiguring the contemporary contextualisation of the photograph using photographic ethics, the owners and the photographic subject shift. Therefore, the ethical stance that the researcher takes influences their ability to use exhibitions to understand the photographs and their history. Peterson's (2003: 120) categorisations or schema help comprehend the ethics of photography with Indigenous people. Analyses of photography need to consider photographs' historical context and their role in a cluster of relationships and identities. Mountford took his photographs in a salvage anthropology framework. These photographs, therefore, reflect these concerns. This chapter also discussed the archival storage and ownership of photographs taken by Mountford and others. Using photo-elicitation as a research method gave me explicit access to Adnyamathanha knowledge that archives did not

have and provides a broader or more detailed history of these photographs and their movement or use over time.

In ‘Chapter 3, *Yura Muda*’, I present an analysis that reveals how the *Muda* is an important Adnyamathanha framework that encompasses everything and is a lens through which photographs are viewed, interpreted, and understood. This chapter presents how the concept of *Muda* (within Adnyamathanha epistemology) influenced, shaped, and contributed to my thesis outcomes/findings. I have shown how ‘*Muda* is everything’, a primary conceptual framework encompassing Adnyamathanha law, history, and Creation accounts. *Muda* is also conceptualised through language, song, and continuity. My research shows that one cannot fully comprehend *Muda* merely by thinking of it as “Dreaming”. *Muda* clarifies the relationship between photographs and Country. Using *Muda*, I have shown the relationship between photographic collections held in museums and archives and Adnyamathanha concepts including gender, Christianity, restriction, ceremony, and avoidance practices, and the Exhibition.

In Chapter 4, I took the reader through an extended description and analysis of the Exhibition. The analysis of my development of the Exhibition presented in Chapter 4 provides an account that combines practical considerations with conceptual reasoning. As well as explaining how the Exhibition came into being, I weave together Adnyamathanha and *Udnyu*/ Western knowledge while defining what is distinctive about each. Using analyses of the differences between Adnyamathanha and SAM understandings of creating and representing my Exhibition, I have explored how museums and Indigenous communities have tried to overcome historical differences in knowledge paradigms.

Self-reflexivity and openness about how my decisions and direction evolved during the Exhibition process was crucial in analysing insights and revelations that emerged throughout the Exhibition process. Firstly, such as the archival research and family observations enabled me to attribute a stone axe head held in SAM’s collection to its maker, Albert Wilton, c. 1937. This most uncommon attribution of a maker for archaeological artefacts suggests further avenues for this kind of identification and analysis.

Secondly, my technique of spot-lighting an aerial photograph to show the focus but not the rigid borders of Adnyamathanha Country offer a culturally appropriate way to conceive of the fluidity of categories in delineating ownership/custodianship. Finally, the 'Living Room', which foregrounded the contemporary use of archival photos by Adnyamathanha people, suggests the domestic and familial practices around photography and effectively highlights the centrality of extended family and kin connections amongst Adnyamathanha. Through this series of techniques, I created a dialogical space that explored and revealed photography's importance to Adnyamathanha.

From my reasoning about the exhibition's title, finally *Minaaka Apinhanga: Through Many Eyes*, to the spatial organisation, conceptual arrangement and content of the exhibition, I offer a model of collaborative and culturally sensitive curation. This analysis would be helpful for many other First Nations people seeking to develop such installations and research.

Through undertaking photo-elicitation during fieldwork and the Exhibition process, it became clear that relationality was central to how people responded to photographs. The Exhibition was an active process of distribution that brought those processes to the forefront, which I then studied. The Exhibition and thesis highlight the representation of women in Adnyamathanha society, the relationship between the spirit of the phenomenon and the photograph of it, and how Adnyamathanha people are using the archive. This chapter leads into the final three substantive chapters of the thesis on relationality, gender, and spirit.

Throughout the thesis, I endeavour to utilise relevant anthropological scholarship while consistently centring an Adnyamathanha worldview. I aim to engage with relevant disciplinary debates while maintaining the specificity of *Muda* as history, law, and culture, which underlies Adnyamathanha responses to and treatment of photography. In doing so, I endeavour to reveal new aspects of Adnyamathanha culture and redress key misconceptions in earlier accounts.

Key misconceptions in previous accounts – such as overlooking the importance of matrimoieties and a matrilineal genealogical system and the broader significance of gender and women's cultural knowledge and agency are alluded to throughout the thesis— but discussed explicitly in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. I assemble an array of evidence to

demonstrate how Adnyamathanha women were (and older women still are) confident in contributing to many matters (that do not relate to the men's ceremonial life). I also point toward burgeoning threats to this tradition as it 'remains to be seen if younger generations will be as free to share or discuss their knowledge of *Muda*, regardless of gender. Endeavours to limit contributions by and representations of women conflict with past Adnyamathanha practice, and we should resist these endeavours.

Specifically, Chapter 5 discusses core aspects of relationality. Previous analyses of Adnyamathanha have missed the importance of moieties and have largely conceptualised genealogies patrilineally due to biases derived from *Udnyu* society. Previous research has also understood *Yura* as a gendered term (i.e., masculine) rather than simply referring to 'person'. This chapter aims to be corrective, but more than that, it highlights the centrality of relationships in all that Adnyamathanha do. More than just 'kinship' as a reified understanding of relationships, relationality shapes everyday practices, including how people responded to me and to photographs.

Specifically, Chapter 6 examines *Udnyu* perspectives on gender influence how museums and archives use or perceive gender. Analysis of Mountford's photographs in detail regarding gender reveals his taken-for-granted assumptions about Adnyamathanha men and women. His photographs overall are sympathetic to Adnyamathanha people. However, men feature more than women; men are in more active poses; men and women rarely appear together. When I showed photographs to school children, there was a tendency to paint more men than women or to leave women out, demonstrating that gender biases are transferring through the generations. Despite this, the photographic archive can be re-read to find ways that women are depicted by alternative photographers or the ways that traditional knowledge and practices of women are being captured on film, in photographs and through carving. I have shown that in Adnyamathanha society, male and female roles overlap and are often shared. I strongly argue that attempts to limit the access and role of women to photographs or in traditional practices need to be carefully examined and resisted where necessary.

There are many implications of my work on gender and the marginalisation of women through analysis of the ways that gendered assumptions of colonial societies have influenced analyses

of Aboriginal societies. Collection practices have implications for the analysis of gender and the marginalisation of women, including access to museum collections, accurate representation of women in anthropology and museums, and limited access to archival material. Having Elders of all genders and moieties involved in the Exhibition and Exhibition launch showed ‘respect’ from an Adnyamathanha perspective. From an Adnyamathanha perspective, respect within the museum involves acknowledging both men and women.

Respect in a specific Adnyamathanha context involves inventively handling, storing, cataloguing, and sometimes repatriating Aboriginal objects and photographs. It also involves allowing access for Aboriginal people to our collections and acknowledging Aboriginal authorship and Indigenous intellectual property. The Exhibition and fieldwork have shown that the representations by museums and early anthropological researchers of women in Adnyamathanha society is inadequate and has marginalised the contributions and role of women.

Chapter 7 builds on the relationality I witnessed during fieldwork and the Exhibition launch. People responded to photographs as spirit-imbued, not as objects. Through an in-depth analysis of language use, photographs are found not to be objects that can be owned but are referred to in the same way as persons are. This links to other aspects of the person, such as totems, footprints, and hair, all of which retain an intimate connection with the person.

Spirit is the term used to describe these links, as it holds greater resonance with Adnyamathanha conceptual frames than alternative anthropological terms such as partible or distributed personhood. Repatriation of photographs is important given issues of the spirit in the photograph: a photograph is not an inanimate object. The concepts shaped the Exhibition in general and the Launch in particular. I used and contrasted anthropological and linguistic understandings of the concepts of spirit in Aboriginal societies to explore and exemplify spirit within Adnyamathanha society.

Working collaboratively with Adnyamathanha to record accounts and interactions with photographs and objects created a platform to hear and elucidate Adnyamathanha perspectives so a fuller, deeper, and more comprehensive understanding of Adnyamathanha culture, belief systems, history and connections to Country becomes clear. Adnyamathanha

inextricably link beliefs, laws, histories, and Country to *Muda.* These links must not be dismissed or marginalised. These accounts add to a body of knowledge that further research can build upon to gain a meaningful and comprehensive understanding of Adnyamathanha that is respectful and reflects an accurate account of Adnyamathanha of the Flinders Rangers.

New bodies of work are emerging (Brock 2019: 52; Kingston 2019: 11-12; Marsh, W 2019, 2021; Minchin 2023; Richards, RG 2019d: 10) that address these issues, including the power of photographs as historical documents, as representations and as artworks. Essential to this endeavour for future work to be comprehensive and representational is the release of material (photographs and objects) held in archives that relate to women, especially Adnyamathanha women. Specifically, media reviews such as Walter Marsh (2019), and in works such as Walter Marsh (2021), Brock (2019: 52) and an Australian Broadcasting Corporation documentary, '*The Way We Wore'* (Minchin 2023) about Adnyamathanha roles in the creation of RM Williams and the aesthetic of the Australian bush and station work in Australian culture were created as a direct result of the Exhibition. Reviews and debates within the South Australian Aboriginal community, such as Kingston (2019: 11-12) and Rebecca Richards (2019d: 10), also resulted from this fieldwork and Exhibition. Such debates included the power of photographs as historical documents, representations, and artworks.

Issues discussed and analysed in this research include the repatriation of museum collections, gender and the marginalisation of women, spirit, access to secret sacred materials and misinterpretations of *Yura Ngawarla*. Other implications include ensuring that archival collections are accessible to their subjects in online and hardcopy format and that museums manage the display of the photographs and the representation of Aboriginal identity collaboratively with and by Aboriginal people themselves. This research has created pathways in which anthropologists can conduct further research. This thesis is but a starting point for future research in understanding the future of the archives and their access, ownership, and repatriation. As shown in my thesis, this future must also include the voices and contributions of women. This Exhibition was also a catalyst for other projects. For example, finding and displaying the RM Williams photographs within my Exhibition was an important first step in recognising a part of Adnyamathanha history that had not been universally known before my discovery of these photographs.

Colonial academic researchers' presentations of Aboriginal Australians have misinterpreted and perpetuated untruths related to Indigenous societies within Australia and elsewhere. This is particularly disturbing for the Adnyamathanha of the Flinders Ranges in South Australia. Using the creation of the Exhibition to focus on photographic archival material and Adnyamathanha contributions, I present an alternative understanding of Adnyamathanha culture, history, and relationships using voices, experiences, and knowledge of the Adnyamathanha people.

Elders' voices, experiences, and shared knowledge in approaching the photographs showed Adnyamathanha worldviews, their understanding of culture and beliefs, and systems of understanding that anthropology and the wider Australian society have previously ignored or marginalised. The structure of the archives is not conducive to research with, by, or for Adnyamathanha.

It was out on Adnyamathanha Country, that *Ubmarli Vapi* K. Johnson solemnly and carefully approached his (and Dad's) grandfather's grave after I had shown the old man's photograph in *Ubmarli Vapiru* and Mum Judy's home. *Ubmarli Vapi* called out in *Yura Ngawarla* to our ancestor, using correct protocols for approaching an Elders' grave and especially that of a *Yura Urngi* (Aboriginal clever-person or doctor). *Ubmarli Vapi* continued speaking to him as he drew nearer, informing the occupant of that gravesite that he was his grandson, that we were his youngest daughter's grandchildren and that we were all there to pay our respects. Even the children were serious, grave even, respectfully speaking in whispers as they solemnly shuffled nearer. Motionless and silent, a wild goat watched over us, standing in observation from the hillside behind.

A significant omission from the recording of that visit to the grave is any mention of its occupant's first name. None of us dared such disrespect there in his presence. His name was recorded, quietly and once only, in another interview inside their home - with Ubmarli K. and Judy Johnson (2017 pers comm.).

With his consent, I recorded *Ubmarli Vapi* outlining my research project, seeking our ancestor's blessing upon our visit and our project. Each adult then spoke quietly to the old man, following the rigorously observed prohibition upon using an Elder's or particularly a Yura

Urngi's name, within the deceased person's earshot or anywhere after dark.

As we left the grave site, *Ubmarli Vapi* lingered behind, speaking once again to my great-grandfather, calming the spirit that we had disturbed through holding and viewing his photograph and visiting his grave. *Ubmarli* told his grandfather we were leaving and asked him to stay safely there. Standing quietly by the fire afterwards helped to continue the healing for us and to provide me with a catalyst for petitions for change through this final touching just the surface of Adnyamathanha understandings of photography and spirit.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Schools' workshops schedule

Table 18. Schools' workshops schedule, March- June 2018 and acronyms

School	Acronym	Meeting types	Dates
Flinders View Primary School	Flinders View	preparatory meeting	02/05/2018
		Workshops	5 & 7/6/2018
Port Augusta Secondary School	PASS	preparatory meeting	02/5/2018
		Workshops	10-11/5/2018
Port Augusta West Primary School	PAWPS	Workshops	3/5/2018
Quorn Area School	QAS	Workshops	7/5/2018
Carlton Street Aboriginal School	Carlton	Workshops	8/5/2018
Willsden Primary school	Willsden	preparatory meeting	9/5/2018
		Workshops	4 & 8/6/2018
Seymour college	Seymour	Workshops	30/5/2018
		Follow up consult and tour of museum	13/6/2018
Leigh Creek Area School	LCAS	workshops	9-15/8/2018
St Marks Primary School	St Marks	workshops	
Pipalyatjara Anangu School	Pipalyatjara	workshops	

Appendix 2. Initial questions asked during fieldwork

I analysed the selected archival anthropological photography. Initial questions asked during fieldwork included:

- What do the photographs show? What materials do they consist of? How many are there?
- Who chose to appear or who chose them to appear in the photographs? How did these photographic subjects stand for themselves or were represented? Who selected the poses, dress or props used in the photograph?
- What was the cultural milieu or specific context in which these photographs were created?
- Who collected the photographs?
- Why did they collect them?
- Do you already have a copy of these photographs?
- How do owners of the photographs currently display and store them?
- How are decisions made about whom to consult and who to give the power to restrict access to some photographs?

Appendix 3. Moiety and descent relationships of exhibited artists interviewed Elders, and photographic subjects

Table 19. Moiety and descent relationships of interviewed Elders including Schedule of interviews for 2016- 2019. Ages are provided as at time of interview

Name	**Elder Roles (F= female; M= male)**	**Date/Place**	**Other information**
Artuapi Linda Coulthard	F, 73, *Ararru*	17 and 26 June 2017, Copley, 2 hrs (x2), numerous short yarns	Linda is the daughter of my Great aunt Mavis Patterson (née Coulthard) and Percy Patterson (Kuyani relative). Also, she had some audio recordings of *Wilyaru* (initiated) men (including her father), which anthropologist Luise Hercus gave her. She wanted me to contact Luise to ask her what was on it, and she was too scared to listen to it. If it was *Wilyaru Udi*, then she wanted me to put them in SAM or SLSA for posterity.
Ngamarna Roy Coulthard	M, 76 *Mathari*	9-15 August 2018, Sept 2019	Exhibition artist/master carver and Adnyamathanha Elder- informal interviews at Leigh Creek and Hawker
Ngami Judy Johnson	F, 63, *Mathari*	9 and 13 June 2017, *Nipapanha*, 3 hrs(x2)	Judy Johnson (née Coulthard) is one of my father's 'promised wives'. She did not marry him, but I still call her 'Mum Judy' out of respect and as my father taught me from infancy. She married *Ubmarli Vapi* K. Johnson. She was a daughter of Tim Coulthard and Jean (née Clarke)
Ngarlaami Gladys Wilton	F, 80, *Mathari*	28 and 30 June 2017 *Nipapanha*, 3 hrs (x2)	Gladys Wilton is my auntie, daughter of Walter Coulthard, my Granny Grace Coulthard's brother. I also interviewed her partner, M Coulthard (Dec.)
Nunga Vincent Coulthard	M, 62, *Mathari*, Ex-Chair ATLA	2017; 31 May 2018 Pt Augusta, 1 hr	Vincent is the grandson of my Grandmother Grace Coulthard's brother and was Chairperson of ATLA at the time of the interview.
Ubmarli Vapi Robert Wilton	M, 75, *Ararru*	16 Nov. 2017, Port Augusta, 3 hrs (x3)	Interviewed multiple times. He recorded many stories about his grandfather Albert Wilton (featured in many of Mountford's photographs and audio recordings), including accounts of being shown his wallaby pit trap on a wallaby pad on Mt Serle.
Ngami Rosalie Richards	F, 69, *Mathari* *Udnyu* teacher	*Udnyu* Teacher working with Adnyamathanha	My mother a teacher at LCAS (90% Adnyamathanha school), helped Adnyamathanha children to complete paintings for this Exhibition. Although my Mum is *Udnyu*, I thought it was important to include her in my interviews as she was married to my Adnyamathanha dad, has Adnyamathanha children, and has worked with Adnyamathanha adults, children, and language for 45 years.
Artuapi Faith Thomas	F, 84, *Ararru*	30 May, Port Augusta, 2 hrs, and Nov 14, 2017, 2 hrs + 2018	She was one of the first Aboriginal nurses in Australia and was the first Aboriginal person to represent Australia in cricket. She has now passed.
Ubmarli Vapi K Johnson	M, 67, *Ararru*, Chair *Nipapanha* Community Council	9 and 13 June 2017, 2018, *Nipapanha*, 4 hrs (x2)	K Johnson was married to Mum Judy. My father called him younger brother as he was the son of Granny Grace's next older sister, Gertie Johnson née Coulthard. He has now passed.

Name	Elder Roles (F= female; M= male)	Date/Place	Other information
Ngarlaami G Johnson	F, 68, *Udnyu* nurse, wife, & resident	14 and 29 June 2017, *Nipapanha*, 5 hrs (x2)	Although from Wales, I thought it was important to include *Ngarlaami* in my interviews as she was married to an Adnyamathanha man (my Uncle G Johnson, Uncle Roger's older brother), had Adnyamathanha children, and had lived in *Nipapanha* for 45 years. She gave to me a painting made by my *Nguarli* A. Richards. She has now passed.
Ubmarli Vapi M Coulthard	M, 74, *Ararru*	28 and 30 June 2017, *Nipapanha*, 2 hrs (x2)	My uncle (the son of my Great grandfather Jack Coulthard's brother Dick but because his mother was my Dad's Auntie, he is my *Vapi* or Uncle). I also interviewed his partner, Gladys Wilton. He passed in 2020.
Artuapi B. Johnson	M, 67, *Ararru*	27 June 2017, 1 hr, *Nipapanha*.	Uncle Kelvin Johnson's sister. She was profoundly hearing impaired. She has now passed.
Artuapi Mona Jackson	F, 73, *Ararru*	Nov 14, 2018, 3 hrs, Port Augusta	Gladys' husband's sister —sang many traditional *Udi* in response to the photographs. Her daughter, Maxine Jackson, was also there.
Adlari Maxine Jackson	F, 53, *Ararru* ACEO	Nov 14, 3 hrs, Port Augusta	Mona's daughter, Maxine Jackson, was also present. She was not interviewed per se, but contributed. An Adnyamathanha ACEO, she helped Adnyamathanha children to complete paintings for this Exhibition.
Artuapi Fanny Coulthard	F, 71, *Ararru*	(1)2017, 3 hrs. (2) Nov 15, 2018, 3 hrs(x2), Quorn	Interviewed in conjunction with Margaret Brown. They discussed Adnyamathanha kinship systems at length. Fanny also showed the string figures in the photographs.
Ngarlaami Margaret Brown	F, 78, *Mathari*	Nov 15, 2018,3 hrs, Quorn	Interviewed in conjunction with Fanny Coulthard. They discussed Adnyamathanha kinship systems at length.
Ubmarli Vapi K. McKenzie	M, 80, *Ararru*	Nov 15, 2018, 3 hrs, Quorn	He sang both traditional Adnyamathanha *Udi* and other gospel songs that he wrote in *Yura Ngawarla*. He also talked about Mt Serle Bob (King Bob) at length. He also gave me a painting and asked me to leave some canvas so he could do a painting. He did not send a new painting. He has passed.
Vurlkanha Vapi *M McKenzie*	M, 84, *Ararru*	Nov 17, 2018, 3 hrs, Whyalla	He sang both traditional Adnyamathanha *Udi* and other gospel songs in *Yura Ngawarla*. He also talked about Adnyamathanha law at length.
Artuapi Lorraine Briscoe	F, 64, *Ararru*	Nov 16, 2018, Port Augusta, 1 hr + informal	Informal interview with her daughters and one of her sons.
Ngarlaami Rene (Irene) Mohamed (Coulthard)	F, 79, *Mathari*	Nov 16, 2018, 4 hrs, Port Augusta	Dick's granddaughter and Andrew Coulthard's daughter- she took a lot of the photographs in the collections at Umeewarra Media and SLSA, which Mountford did not take. She discussed how and why she took many of the photographs and who was in them.
Ngaparla Garnett Brady	M, 65, *Ararru*	Nov 14, 2018, 3 hrs, Port Augusta	Interviewed- he talked about the photographs in *Yura Ngawarla* and showed his children and wife the photographs and told them the stories as well.
Ngaparla Owen Brady	M, 63, *Ararru*	Nov 15, 3 hrs, Port Augusta	He was interviewed solely in *Yura Ngawarla* only. My *Yura Ngawarla* was rusty, but he talked about the photographs in Yura Ngawarla and showed his children the photographs and told them the stories.

Name	Elder Roles (F= female; M= male)	Date/Place	Other information
Ubmarli Vapi Daniel Forbes	M, 75, *Ararru*	14 Nov 2018, 2 hrs, Port Augusta	Son of Joyce (née Coulthard) and Jack Forbes. Grandson of Rebecca (née Castledine) and Jack Wityarti Forbes. He discussed three brothers: Dick (Fanny's dad), Jack (my great-grandfather) and Ted Coulthard (his grandfather, whose daughter Joyce (above) married son of Rebecca and *Wityarti* /Jack Forbes). He discussed permits and showed me his exemption card.
Ubmarli Vapi John Coulthard	M, 74, *Ararru*	14 Nov 2018, 2 hrs, Port Augusta	Uncle John Coulthard (parents Sandy Coulthard and Ethel Pondi— my dad's aunt) was present during the interview with *Ubmarli Vapi* Daniel Forbes but not separately interviewed.
Artuapi S Stubbs	F, 83, *Ararru*	Dec 2018, Port Pirie	Featured in some of the photographs. In the photos, she pointed out and talked about her parents and other relatives. Her grandsons were there, and she called to them to come and listen. Her son was phoned and came to see the photos. We took photographs of her and her grandsons with the photographs, including one which was featured in the Exhibition.
Nunga Vincent Coulthard	M, 61, *Mathari*	2017-2018	Talked about the project on the phone with him as the Chairperson of ATLA at the time and then in person at Umeewarra Media on two occasions. He also supplied additional photographs from the UAM collection.
Nunga Terry Coulthard	M, *Mathari* , 65.	2017 -2019	Discussions at Iga Warta and pre-Launch exhibition preview and feedback.
Yaka C Johnson	F, *Mathari,* 58	2017 - 2019	Informal interviews and Pre-Launch exhibition preview and feedback
Nunga Noel Wilton	M, *Mathari*, 62	2018 - 2019	Numerous informal interviews and telephone conversations.
Yaka Kathleen Brown	F, *Mathari*, Elder, 62, Pt Augusta Secondary School ACEO	May 2018	Margaret Brown's daughter- not interviewed. She is an Adnyamathanha ACEO who helped Adnyamathanha children to complete paintings for this Exhibition and hand-drawn genealogies.
Yaka Kaelene McMillan	F, *Mathari* , 61, language instructor	May 2018	Margaret Brown's daughter- not interviewed. She is a *Yura Ngawarla* instructor at local schools who helped Adnyamathanha children to draw hand-drawn genealogies and with kinship terms
Yakarla Owena Brady	F, *Mathari* ACEO		Owen's daughter- not interviewed per se- she is an Adnyamathanha ACEO who helped Adnyamathanha children to complete paintings for this Exhibition.
Nunga Damien Coulthard	M, *Mathari*		He is an exhibition artist and was not interviewed.
Ngaparla Juanella McKenzie	F, [*Ararru*] exhibit artist		Regina's daughter- she is an exhibition artist and was not interviewed.
Ngaparla Wayne Bright	M, *Ararru*, exhibit artist		An exhibition artist so he was not interviewed. He unfortunately passed away before he was able to do a painting for this Exhibition.

Table 20. Moiety and descent relationships of exhibited artists conducted during field trips, 2016–2019

Name	**(F=female; M=male)**	**Roles**
Nunga Damien Coulthard	M, *Mathari*	exhibition artist
Yakarla Ngarapanha Richards	F, 10, *Mathari* exhibition artist	exhibition artist
Adlari (sister-in-law/ opposite moiety cousin, Juanella McKenzie	F, *Ararru* exhibition artist	exhibition artist— Regina's McKenzie's daughter
Yaka Kayleen Brown	F, *Mathari* ACEO	Margaret Brown's daughter is an Adnyamathanha ACEO who helped Adnyamathanha children complete paintings for this Exhibition.
Ngaparla W Bright (opposite moiety cousin, too close for marriage	M, *Ararru* artist	Exhibition artist- He unfortunately passed away before he was able to do a painting for this Exhibition.
Adlari (opposite moiety cousin) Maxine Jackson	F, *Ararru* ACEO	Mona's daughter— her mother, Mona Jackson, sang many traditional *Udi* in response to the photographs. Maxine Jackson was also there. She is an Adnyamathanha ACEO who helped the children complete paintings for this Exhibition.
Yakarla Owena Brady	F, *Mathari* ACEO	Owen's daughter— She is an Adnyamathanha ACEO who helped Adnyamathanha children to complete paintings for this Exhibition.

Appendix 4. Muda and Gender tables

Table 21. Classifications and sources of sixty-seven Muda accounts by Tunbridge (1988).
WARNING: All collaborators have since passed away apart from Nunga Terry Coulthard. All translations from Yura Ngawarla by Dorothy Tunbridge, edited by Annie Coulthard & Gertie Johnson unless otherwise indicated.

Muda Title	**Female Collaborators**	**Male collaborators**	**Mountford Records**	***Muda* name***
Adambara & Artapudapuda	Annie Coulthard	Terry Coulthard		General
Akurra the Dreamtime serpent	Annie Coulthard			General
Akurra at Yaki	Annie Coulthard			General
Akurra at Karldinha		Geoffrey Coulthard		General
Akurra at Widapa Awi	Annie Coulthard, Gertie Johnson			General
Akurra at the Talc Mines 1	Annie Coulthard			General
Akurra at the Talc Mines2		Lynch Ryan		General
Artapudapuda & his nephews			Mountford	General
Artawaralpanha		Les Wilton		General
Artunyi the 7 Sisters	Molly Wilton		Mountford	Women's
Awi Irtanha the Mistletoe Eater	Pearl McKenzie			General
How Boning Began		Lynch Ryan		General
The Cannibalistic Father	Molly Wilton		Mountford note: Susie Wilton was told this story	General
The Diver & the Duck	Martha Wilton	Monty Wilton		General
The Dove's Grinding Stones			Mountford	General
Eagle & the Crow	Annie Coulthard. TR: Annie Coulthard & Gertie Johnson	Some additions by Rufus Wilton	Mountford minor additions – from Rufus Wilton	General
The Emu & the Rat	Rhoda Ryan	Lynch Ryan	Mountford	General
The Emu & the Turkey	May Wilton. Transcribed with Violet Gilbert		Reference to Mountford's version	General
The Euro & the Kangaroo	Elsie Jackson & Annie Coulthard. Transcribed by Gertie J		Minor additions from Mountford	General
The Goanna & the Native Cat	Molly Wilton, Annie Coulthard notes		Mountford	General
The Grinding Stones at Parachilna		Lynch Ryan		General
Gum Trees	Annie Coulthard, Gertie Johnson			General
Iga Tree 1	Annie Coulthard, Tr: Annie C & Gertie Johnson			General
Iga Tree 2	Eileen McKenzie, Myra McKenzie & Molly Wilton			General

Muda Title	Female Collaborators	Male collaborators	Mountford Records	*Muda* name*
Iga Tree 3		Les Wilton		General
Kakarlpunha	Annie Coulthard, Tr by Annie Coulthard & Gertie Johnson	Confirmation by Les Wilton and Claude Demell	Annie used Mountford's version to edit her story	General
The Thumping Kangaroo	Myra McKenzie, Minor Additions: Pearl McKenzie	Minor Additions: Sid Jackson	Minor Additions: Mountford	General
The Lizards Alda & Vikarri 1			Mountford	Men's/ General
The Lizards Alda & Vikarri 2			Mountford	General
The Lizards Murrandyarli & Murnga	Transcribed Molly Wilton	Wally Coulthard		General
Marrkandyi/ Madkandyi		Les Wilton (from Albert Wilton)		General
Marnbi's Journey		Lynch Ryan/Les Wilton		General
Marrukurli	Clarification of points/ info: Annie Coulthard	Claude Demell		Men's
How the Moon got the mark on his belly	Elsie Jackson, Annie Coulthard. Tr: Gertie Johnson Tr. of Wally Coulthard, Molly Wilton	Lynch Ryan. Additions: Wally Coulthard	Location from Mountford	General
How the Moon got in the sky	Translated by Molly Wilton. Annie Coulthard comment on steps	Wally Coulthard	Mountford from Retaking Uncle's wives	General
Mother's Helper			Mountford	General
Muda Awi Hunters			Mountford and Roberts	General
Ngawarla Wami	Annie Coulthard		Tunbridge (1985: n. p.)	Women's
The Old Man & Two Wives	Pearl McKenzie			General
The Opal at Mindapa	Annie Coulthard			General
The Sparkling Opals	Molly Wilton (from Wally Coulthard)			General
The Snakes: Murdlu & Vinhadu	Annie Coulthard			General
The Snakes: Mithindi			Adapted from Mountford	General
The Snakes: Wiparu & Udkari			Adapted from Mountford	General
Valnaapa of Ngarnga Wami		Les Wilton		Men's
Valnaapa the Two Mates	Annie Coulthard			Men's
Valnaapa Wartalunya & Yanggunha			Mountford – 1 source was Fred McKenzie	Men's
Vapapa		Les Wilton		General

Muda Title	Female Collaborators	Male collaborators	Mountford Records	*Muda* name*
Virdianha	Myra McKenzie (told by her father who included the lullaby)	Les Wilton	Told to Mountford by Susie Wilton (Noble)	General
Virlkuthalypila: the two old women – start of the Journey		Les Wilton		Women's
Virlkuthalypila: The old woman who chased the wallaby	Pearl McKenzie. Songs clarified with Annie C., Molly Wilton, Myra McKenzie	Songs clarified by Clem Coulthard	Mountford story and *Udi*	Women's
Virlkuthalypila: The Old Woman and her Lost Children	Annie Coulthard	Clem Coulthard		Women's
Virlkuthalypila: Tyakatya Wirnga	Annie Coulthard			Women's
Virlkuthalypila: The Old Woman at Wildya Vari	Locations & further details from Annie Coulthard	Further details from Les Wilton	Basic story: Mountford	Women's
Virlkuthalypila: Journey's End		Valnaapa and wives - Les Wilton		Women's
wadna Yaldha Vambata – Mt Chambers	Annie Coulthard		Some commentary from Mountford	General
Warta Vurdli – Morning Star		Les Wilton	Account also in Mountford	Men's
Waturlipinha	Gertie Johnson. Part of *Udi* from Annie Coulthard. Comments Gertie J and Annie C			General
Wildu the Spirit Eagle	Gertie Johnson. Added info: Annie Coulthard	Added info: Claude Demell		General
The Woman who murdered her daughter	Verification: Myra McKenzie	Les Wilton (told by Grandmother Susie Wilton)	Told to Mountford by Susie Wilton	Women's
Yamuti: 1	Intro Info from Annie Coulthard, Molly Wilton	Intro info from Morris Johnson	Mountford	General
Yamuti: 2	Intro Info from Annie Coulthard, Molly Wilton	Intro info from Morris Johnson	Mountford	General
Yamuti: 3	Intro Info from Annie Coulthard, Molly Wilton	Intro info from Morris Johnson	Mountford	General
Yamuti: 4	Intro Info from Annie Coulthard, Molly Wilton	Story told by Leroy. Richards		General
Yuralypila	Added info: Myra McKenzie	Added info: Leroy. Richards, and Angas McKenzie via Fred Teague	Mountford: Main events	General
Yudnhumatanha	Transcribed: Molly Wilton	Wally Coulthard		General
Yurlu Ngukandanha (The Track to Wilpena Pound)	Annie Coulthard: segments. Contributions from: Molly Wilton, Myra McKenzie, Pearl McKenzie	Put together with Claude Demell from segments. Contributions: Lynch Ryan	Mountford: segments	Men's

Table 22. Analysis of Muda Source Table

***Muda* designation**	**Female sources only**		**Male sources only**	**Both Female and Male sources**	**Mountford unknown source**	**TOTAL**
Women's Muda	3		2	4	0	9
Men's Muda	1		3	2	1	7
General Muda	20		9	15	7	51
TOTAL	24		14	21	8	67

- Sixty-seven different *Muda* accounts are included with all accounts comprising common knowledge known by both men and women and much by children (with further *Muda* accounts known to exist). Some of *Muda* designated as either Men's or women's *Muda* have additional information known by or restricted to either men or women.

- *Ararru* and *Mathari* male and female Elders provided by designations with both genders knowing and having heard these accounts from their Elders and with almost complete consistency in designation separately and independently given. Where Elders held differing views, I include both; but I only use the first listed in the calculations.

- Twenty-one *Muda* were told by or added to by both genders, and this included 6 *Muda* accounts seen particularly as either Women's *Muda* (4) and Men's *Muda* (2)

- One gender only told thirty-eight *Muda*— 20 by women only and 14 by men only. Of these, collaborators designated only nine specifically as Women's *Muda* (5) or Men's *Muda* (4) and in both situations a person of the opposite gender provided at least one account. One Men's *Muda* was provided only by a woman, and 2 Women's *Muda* were provided only by male Elders.

- TR= Translated. Tr = transcribed

Appendix 5. Gender data statistics

Table 23. Frequency of paintings by school

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	PAWPS	15	3.6	3.7
	QAS	43	10.3	10.5
	Carlton	24	5.7	5.9
	Willsden	108	25.8	26.5
	LCAS	85	20.3	20.8
	Seymour	17	4.1	4.2
	Flinders View	80	19.1	19.6
	PASS	31	7.4	7.6
	St Marks	3	.7	.7
	Pipalyatjara	2	.5	.5
	Total	408	97.6	100.0
Missing	System	10	2.4	
Total		418	100.0	

Table 24. Frequency of gender of students who created paintings

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	female	185	44.3	55.1
	male	151	36.1	44.9
	Total	336	80.4	100.0
Missing	System	82	19.6	
Total		418	100.0	

Male in the painting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	349	83.5	83.7	83.7
	yes	63	15.1	15.1	98.8
	2	3	.7	.7	99.5
	8	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	417	99.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.2		
Total		418	100.0		

Female in the painting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	388	92.8	92.8	92.8
	yes	24	5.7	5.7	98.6
	2	3	.7	.7	99.3
	3	2	.5	.5	99.8
	4	1	.2	.2	100.0
	Total	418	100.0	100.0	

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