Innovation and its meanings

David Malangi's life spanned a particular crossroad in the recent history of Yolŋu culture. Through these times he experienced the final decades of the missionary era, where his artistic capacities were first recognised and nurtured. He was also the subject of the first instance of appropriation, transgression of copyright, and reparation.[1] Subsequently he experienced high recognition of his extraordinary artistic talent in terms which were meaningful in both his own Yolŋu world and the world outside. The key to his role in the growing appreciation of Aboriginal art since the decade of the 1970s was his extraordinary powers of adaption and innovation. In this regard, through the range and depth of his cultural authority and his capacity for the invention of new forms he is the epitome of the Aboriginal artist's new identity both within his own and the broader Australian culture.

In the past forty years the acceptance of Aboriginal art and culture within the public consciousness of non-Aboriginal Australia has transformed how we think of Australian art. Yet this should be no surprise. If the rise of Euro–American modernism — the dominant aesthetic canon of the twentieth century — seemed energised by the integration of so-called 'primitive' cultures, the consequences and effects of such interactions have also proved to be pervasive within Australia.[2]

The reception of Aboriginal art has often been represented as if it is the apotheosis of mainstream modernism, almost as if modernity itself has been rescued, reinvigorated, and spiritually validated by its Indigenous Other. Since the early 1970s the Aboriginal art of central Australia has dominated such discourses.[3] Yet the nature of the innovative character of modern Aboriginal art has by and large escaped attention, as has an examination of its historiography — that is, the study of its own history of development and change.[4] Rather, interpretation has focused on Aboriginal art's connections to prehistory and tradition, or its dependency on the effects of Australian settler culture, and its reception in the world beyond. And yet it has always been the assumption of innovation at the heart of modernism — the 'shock of the new' as the key to its progress — that has otherwise validated the dynamic of modernity as a globally relevant condition. In this essay, through the example of the Yolŋu artist David Malangi's prodigious output, I will seek to show that innovation has a social and cultural Indigenous value relatively independent of its modernist associations.

The embrace of Aboriginal art by both mainstream art institutions and the market provided the distinctive contextual change through which new interpretations have been generated and to which artists have responded in many different ways. In Australia as elsewhere, the various arguments for 'primitive' art's much-vaunted 'affinity' with twentieth-century modernism carried this association at least until the early 1980s,[5] when such conventional modernist attitudes were challenged by the initiatives of Indigenous curatorial practices and other cross-disciplinary approaches.[6]

The earliest and most detailed accounts of Australian Indigenous art derived from the work of anthropologists in the late 1950s. The discipline of anthropology, by the nature of its concern with the ethnographic present, developed methods and theories which were by their nature contextual rather than historical. And while it is a truism that all art exists in a continuum of signifying practices, it is within anthropology's synchronic methodology that the meaning and value of Aboriginal art was first read in its most comprehensive detail.

In the 1980s the art of the Western Desert and its reception in the cosmopolitan centres of the art world[7] provided Fred Myers with the means to extend anthropology's conventional frame. The differences, he has argued, between anthropology and art criticism could be 'rendered intelligible' through taking the context of reception itself as a subject for ethnographic study.

> Art theory's concern with the boundary between art and nonart ... [is] a critical part of the processes through which Aboriginal people are producing themselves in the contemporary world. Thus, the reception of the paintings raises the broader question of the capacity of Indigenous people to objectify their meanings into the discourses for their reception.[8]

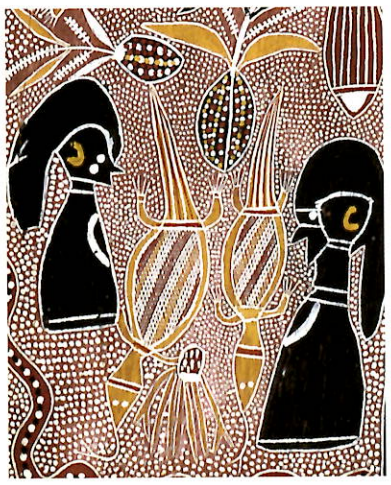


Fig. 85: (plate 20) *Mortuary feast of Gurrmirringu, the Great Ancestral Hunter* 1963 (detail) National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

Fig. 86: (plate 6) *Gurrmirringu Story* 1963 (detail) Private collection, Canberra

(opposite) A fish bark in progress c.1993
Photo: Nigel Lendon

Fig. 87: (plate 11) *The Hunter's tree — Gurrmirringu Ancestor* [1960s] (detail) Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth

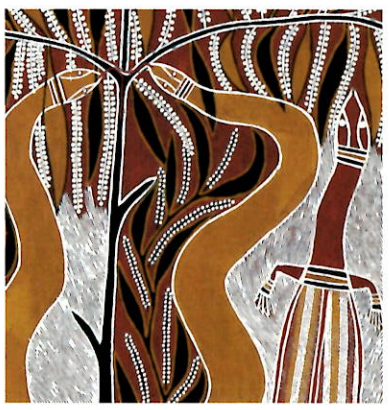


Fig. 88: (plate 9) *The snake that bit Gurrmirringu* 1992 (detail) Private collection, Canberra

Myers proposed a new mode of art theory and criticism was necessary to elucidate this new art, and that it should engage with four crucial features. The first was the vitality and compositional complexity of the paintings; the second their site-specific quality; thirdly their political message; and finally their narrative subject matter.[9]

In the case of Malangi's oeuvre it will be necessary to suggest two further factors to assist in interpreting the particular character of his distinctive contribution: the invention of new forms of representation of the ancestral narratives for which he carried the ultimate responsibility; and that these derive more from internal meanings and values than as a response to the enthusiastic interest of the outside world.

In a related study Vivien Johnson provides an interpretative account of the inventive symbology of the work of the Anmatyerre artist Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, one of the few scholarly monographs on the art of an Aboriginal artist. This she follows through the major shifts in his work and the biographical and contextual factors which have influenced these developments. Johnson traces how Clifford Possum learned 'to turn the immense aesthetic advantage of an inherited visual language into a foundation upon which to build a personal pictorial code ...'

> But he was also developing a new range of striking motifs which represented his Dreaming stories, not with their traditional designs, but with his own set of symbols.[10]... By a skillful combination of introduced and 'Indigenous' influences, Clifford Possum has generated a decisively different vision to represent his Dreaming. [11]

In general terms such observations might also apply to the work of Malangi, or any number of other Aboriginal artists. However his work was the product of a quite different set of circumstances, over a longer timeframe, and with different consequences. A comprehensive examination of Malangi's work suggests that the nature of innovation exists as a means for the creation and dissemination of knowledge, through new modes of communication and the potentiality of their meanings. His art's capacity to be understood differently in the various contexts for which the work was destined is consistent with the modes of transmission of knowledge appropriate to his cosmological authority and to the various forms of social interaction, both in Yolŋu and external cultural contexts, within which he practised as an artist.

Different meanings are created within the various cultural backgrounds in which a work of art is encountered by its various audiences. How Malangi understood such potential meanings will always remain a matter for speculation. The evidence of his art's dynamism, in the context of its Yolŋu tradition, also suggests the artist's capacity for a simultaneous engagement with these multiple worlds. How the dynamic character of his work is comprehensible within the Yolŋu cultural context of systemic ambiguity, controlled by the restriction of interpretative cues, provokes a high level of speculation and inferential visual analysis.[12]

Two things need to be recognised and then set aside for the purposes of this exploration of Malangi's oeuvre. The first is that the form of artistic production to which I am referring, bark painting, is itself the product of outside demands for a commodified form of painted representations of Yolŋu stories and beliefs, and is a comparatively recent innovation within traditional Yolŋu life in which Malangi played a crucial role. Secondly, in the world of the Yolŋu, 'tradition' is a highly fluid, interactive and contingent concept.[13] In this sense the role of the individual artist as the agent of change is a relatively new phenomenon — even though the producer may deny that formal changes within a visual language constitute any kind of challenge to the security of 'tradition'.[14]

Such a potential for demonstrating the meaning of innovation may be revealed by the example of Malangi's artistic output, spanning some forty years, by looking at two particular bodies of work. While the original set of narrative images which depict the mortuary feast

of Gurrmirriŋu is a relatively static body of work in that it changes little over time, in its formal characteristics and devices it is nevertheless emblematic of an innovative moment within the visual traditions of the region.[15] In his paintings of other themes Malangi demonstrates a capacity to create new pictorial forms concerned with aspects of dimensionality and the painted body, and thus his distinctive capacity for the invention of different modes of representation of pictorial space and perspectival relations between subject and object.

A painting of Gurrmirriŋu's mortuary feast from 1963 in the collection of the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, has been identified by Malangi as the first painting of his most familiar subject. (fig. 85; plate 20) Briefly, the story relates how Gurrmirriŋu, a great ancestral hunter, was tricked into resting at a waterhole where he was bitten and killed by a king brown snake. Malangi shows Gurrmirriŋu's painted body in preparation for the mortuary ceremony, surrounded by the food he had gathered while hunting.

Like the work of several other artists of this era, Malangi's paintings are distinctive in that he sets out to depict the elements of a narrative mode of representation which adopts pictorial structures suggesting the incorporation of Western conventions.[16] This disposition is characterised by his deployment of figures and forms in space, seen and depicted from different vantage points, and through different codes of representation within the same painting. These may range from depictions of the full figure from an aerial elevation, 'half' figures (seated) and figures in elevation with legs crossed or extended, figures in profile, food and other objects in plan, framing and foreground elements, plus the use of transparency and overlapping devices which suggest pictorial depth. (fig. 85; plate 20, fig. 86; plate 6)

It was Malangi's particular vision that enabled him to employ such spatial devices in combination with each other from the earliest phase of his practice. The early 1960s was a particularly dynamic moment in the development of the painting movement in central Arnhem Land, where painters such as Malangi and his close relatives Dawidi-2 and Dhawadanygululi were each exploring different conventions of the depiction of time and space.[17] Thus from 1963 in paintings such as the bark depicting Gurrmirriŋu and his wives (Fig. 86; plate 6) we find Malangi treating the elements of his narratives with a degree of dynamic animation that was to characterise his work from this point onwards. Such complexity, I would argue, enhances his ability to refer in the one image to the multiple events required by the narrative representation of the story.

Other early paintings of the Gurrmirriŋu mortuary feast depict the elements within a similar pictorial frame but allow for variations between the arrangements of the necessary composite parts of the narrative. (plate 21) In the years following the release of Australia's first one dollar note in 1966 (upon which the Gurrmirriŋu funeral scene was reproduced), and in response to a considerable demand for this particular image, Malangi settled into a highly stylised formula in which the range of possible variations and the potential for invention no longer emerge as the significant characteristics of the work. What is reinforced however is the 'framing' architecture of the two trees and the placement of the seated half figures in a recessive vertical space. (plate 22)

Later examples show how closely the artist maintained this mode of representation over three decades. (plates 23, 24) However the range of his other images demonstrates how Malangi continued, over time, to explore the potential of different conventions and devices. In *The Hunter's tree — Gurrmirringu Ancestor* [1960s], for example, he uses the tree to structure the pictorial space and the arrangement of plants and animals to pack the elements of the story into the foreground, where overlapping figures compete with the plant and fruit forms for the viewer's attention in a highly unconventional way. (fig. 87; plate 11) *The snake that bit Gurrmirringu*, painted in 1992, emphasises the ambiguity of its various pictorial zones through overlapping and transparent forms and representations of space, where the viewer's eye is moved from plan perspective to elevation with extraordinarily mobile shifts of scale and vantage point to become immersed, as it were, in the detail of the incident depicted. (fig. 88; plate 9)

Fig. 89: (plate 62) *The Mokuy Murayana* 1989 (detail) Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin

Fig. 90: (plate 62) *The Mokuy Murayana* 1989 (detail) Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin

Fig. 91: (plate 63) *Murayana Spirit* 1990 (detail) Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin

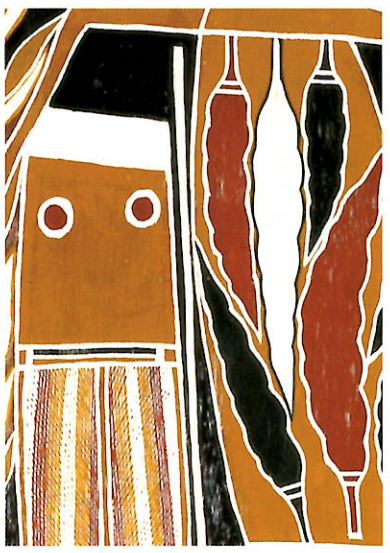


Fig. 92: (plate 61) *Murayana* 1989 (detail) Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin

In a series of later paintings Malangi has depicted the *mokuy*, the ancestral figures who inhabit the bush around Yathalamarra and the flood plains at Dhämala and Dhäbila. Murayana, the *mokuy* from Burridulpum and Yathalamarra — from which location this ancestral figure provides the narrative for a particular hollow log dance — is depicted with related plant designs of the white flowering *wäri* tree (*Atalaya variifolia*) and green oval fruits with yellow berries of the *yamany* (*Marsdenia viridifolia*).[18] (figs. 89, 90; plate 62) Again overlapping and transparent forms help locate the figure within the vertical space established by the trees on either side of the picture. While the ambiguous formal play between edge, linearity, and ways of depicting figure and ground is remarkable enough, even more so is the considerable precision used to describe a three-dimensional space (already an innovative move) with the careful location of the spearthrower within the leaves on the left side of the painting. More striking still is the reference to the painted body and the ways in which leaves painted on the surface of the body — growing as it were from the figure's left outline — seem to reach across to meet the living leaves which float in the space in front and around the figure's right hand side. The fruit sits 'on' the figure by the slightest attachment to the left shoulder; otherwise they too would float free of their 'ground' — which in this case is the surface of the body being depicted.

In this instance, however, it is not the implications of formal ambiguities through transparent and illusionistic devices to which I want to draw attention — although there is, I believe, a significant dimension of coded ambiguity at play in any transmission of knowledge within the Yolŋu system. It is the conjunction between formal innovations such as these, in the construction of the representation of space, and the conceptual structure in operation which locates the viewer in a culturally specific way. In such images it is the painted body within the painting which becomes the vantage point of the knowledgeable viewer. This therefore constitutes a conceptual system of perspective, connoting authority and insight, rather than the distancing perspective of a naturalistic visual code — which the Western viewer may anticipate as the effects of diffusion, or acculturation theory. With these observations I am suggesting this is a culturally distinctive form of perspective which assumes an internal vantage point which is only achieved through the inside knowledge gained in ritual through having been painted oneself.

In the three-dimensional carving of Murayana, (fig. 91; plate 63) the sense of the painted body of the subject is suggested even more literally. Leaves and fruit 'grow' from the shoulder line. More than being clothed in foliage, both figure and subject (via the agency of the painter) identify intimately with the plant forms and their sacred associations. In *Murayana* 1989 (shown with Djalumbu, the hollow log, at Burridulpum) (fig. 92; plate 61) the designs are *yamany*, the green oval fruit on the right, plus the *dhirmbuk* (*Vigna vexillata*), the vine with the edible tuber on the left. The leaves of the *yamany* bush envelop the figure, becoming in actuality the painting on the figure, and thus they become the referent to the ancestor. The three-dimensional figure is, at the same time, the embodiment of the *yamany*, identifying both the place and the ancestor's actions at that site, and the consequences of those actions in the present.

The cylindrical format of the depiction of Murayana painted on a hollow log coffin in *The Aboriginal Memorial* (figs. 93, 94) is an altogether non-pictorial way of perceiving the painted subject, and its relation to bark painting. The cylindrical form effects at least two further distinctions between pictorial concepts of perspective (as fixing the privileged situation of the author/viewer outside the scene) and that of the vantage point of the subject in Yolŋu art. Firstly the painting on the hollow log, like the painted body, can never be seen in its entirety at any one time. And secondly it is distinctive in that its interior space is both real (ie. not illusionistic — the hollow vertical axis of the log) and metaphorical (the space occupied by the spirit of the deceased in traditional usage).

Thus David Malangi's work is a particularly vivid opportunity for the interpretation of the role of innovation — the development of new forms, new ways of representing the stories of the ancestral figures and, in the process, powerful new ambiguities in the depiction of his stories.

By focusing on distinctive devices such as the tree as pictorial architecture, or the spatial devices of overlapping forms, of combinations of plan and elevation, and of transparency, we can chart the development of the artist's distinctive style through the apparent contradictions between static and dynamic modes of representation. Paintings such as these reveal a knowledge base within a system of representation which has itself been made visible by the limited adoption of conventions imported from the invasive culture. The adoption of new forms and conventions has enabled the artist simultaneously to maintain an existing function (the painting's didactic potential) and new social functions — the painter's capacity to demonstrate his authority and knowledge to the artist's consequential economic advantage.

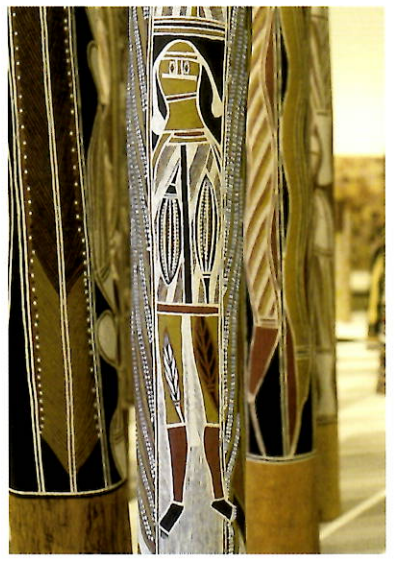
To the extent that within the artist's lifetime it became possible for the subject both to invoke knowledge acquired through ritual and to engage with the social authority and rewards which derive from the secular world of 'artistic' culture, Malangi selectively employed visual codes which asserted such authority through the capacity to invent new modes of pictorial form. Through the ambiguous representations of the embodied subject, as well as the representations of painting on and around the body's surface (Malangi's 'representations of representations'), is suggested the 'inside' vantage point of the knowledgeable viewer. Such ambiguity is a well-described strategy of social interaction in Yolŋu society, whereby secrecy and the restriction of knowledge are defended through obscurity and ellipsis in all forms of discourse, including the visual.

What is thus identified as 'innovation' and 'ambiguity' in relation to the status of visual forms and objects, and the ancestral beings represented, may in fact refer to a status beyond discourse. I have observed how, among knowledgeable viewers, the story of a painting need not be enunciated, for it can be 'sung' (by senior men such as Malangi) through non-verbal means with apparent clarity of meaning. What better mode of communication than systemic ambiguity, if the purpose is to invoke a state of existence only to be understood through references to the secret and revelatory acquisition of knowledge.

Such narratives of intellectual territory exert a powerful imaginary hold over the subject so that identification with the object of representation is synchronous. In such circumstances it is not too radical to suggest that what we may read in painterly terms as illusionism and dimensional shifts also has the potential to be powerfully suggestive and evocative for the Yolŋu viewer.

An artist of Malangi's intellectual and artistic virtuosity was therefore just as capable of inventing new, legible variations to acquired pictorial knowledge as he was capable of the repetition of fixed, known signifiers of his place in the relevant matrix of references. As Anthony Forge anticipated at the beginning of this era, such art registers the culture's capacity to adapt, incorporate and affirm its distinctive Indigenous identity as an index of its capacity for innovation and change.

Nigel Lendon



Figs. 93, 94: Malangi's Murayana design on hollow log in *The Aboriginal Memorial* (details) Photo: National Gallery of Australia

notes

1 In particular, the circumstances surrounding the Reserve Bank of Australia's incorporation of a David Malangi painting into the design of Australia's first one dollar note (1966), discussed by Djon Mundine in his essay, 'Some people are stories', this publication, pp. 33–35.

2 Characteristic is Terry Smith in his 1991 edition of Bernard Smith's *Australian Painting 1788–1990*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, where in the new chapter on Aboriginal art he suggested that the Hermannsburg School was 'predictive of the Papunya approach' through being able to be read as 'alert to modernist experimentality', (p. 501). Seven years later in 'Kngwarreye Woman Abstract Painter', in *Emily Kngwarreye Paintings*, Sydney: Craftsman House, 1998, pp. 24–42, Smith represents Kngwarreye as the heir to the modernist tradition — even though augmented 'by due recognition ... of its non-Western others' — a trajectory Smith traces through comparison, from Monet to many others great and small. This view epitomises the assumption that the dominance of modernist culture is so pervasive that, despite token acknowledgement that Indigenous art needs to be understood 'in its own terms', it remains within the modernist frame that such recent developments in Aboriginal art are best understood and evaluated.

3 '[O]ne of the most significant movements in modern Australian art' emerged at Papunya 1971, 'for it was here that ... Aboriginal artists transferred their ancestrally inherited designs and images into synthetic paints on portable surfaces which were destined to leave the local community. The wider appreciation of the richness of the art of the desert had commenced.' Wally Caruana, *Aboriginal Art*, London/New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993, p. 107.

4 Exceptions are the groundbreaking essay by Anthony Forge, 'The Abelam artist', in M. Freedman (ed.), *Social Organisation: Essays presented to Raymond Firth*, London: Frank Cass, 1967, pp. 65–84, and Luke Taylor, 'The Rainbow Serpent as visual metaphor in western Arnhem Land', *Oceania*, 60, 1990. pp. 329–344. See also Nigel Lendon 'A narrative in paint' in Wally Caruana and Nigel Lendon, (eds), *The Painters of the Wagilag Sisters Story 1937–1997*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1997, pp. 20–37.

5 In Australia the art museum clearly provided the significant context for the definition and interpretation of the Aboriginal artefact as art. In 1981 the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, mounted the exhibition *Australian Perspecta*, curated by Bernice Murphy, where a suite of large central Desert paintings by Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri and Charlie Tjapangati (the first significant exposure of the Papunya painting movement in the context of contemporary Australian art) was 'paired' with the work of the artist David Aspden, whose equally large abstract acrylic paintings, facing the Aboriginal artists across the central court of the gallery, exemplified the development of late formalist abstraction of the 1960s and 70s. Murphy's catalogue texts accounting for this conjunction exemplify the contradictions inherent in this historical moment. This Australian example predates by three years the MoMA exhibition in New York, *'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the tribal and the modern*, which proposed similar associative values. In Hal Foster's famous critique of the MoMa exhibition he concluded: 'For what do we behold here: a universality of form or an other rendered in our own image, an affinity with our own Imaginary primitive?' He continued: 'Posed against its use first as an evolutionist trophy and then as ethnographic evidence, this aestheticization is not entirely value-free, for it allows the work to be both decontextualized and commodified. It is this currency of the primitive among the moderns — its currency as sign, its circulation as commodity — that must be thought; indeed, it is this currency, this equivalence, that largely allows for the modern/tribal affinity-effect in the first place.' Hal Foster, 'The "primitive" unconscious of modern art, or white skin black masks', in *Recodings: Art, spectacle, cultural politics*, Washington: Bay Press, 1985, pp. 181–189 (pp. 186, 187).

6 Notably Djon Mundine's *Objects and Representations from Ramingining: A selection of recent art from Arnhem Land* 1984, at the Power Gallery of Contemporary Art, Sydney, in 1984, then (on a larger scale) at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, in 1996, titled *The Native Born*, which toured internationally in 2002–03. See also Fred Myers, 'Representing culture: The production of discourse(s) for Aboriginal acrylic paintings', *Cultural Anthropology*, 6:1 (February, 1991), pp. 26–62 (p. 28).

7 For a discussion of the art of desert communities in the 1980s see Howard Morphy, *Aboriginal Art*, London: Phaidon Press, 1998, pp. 299–309, 375.

8 Myers, op.cit. (1991), p. 48.

9 ibid., p. 41.

10 Vivien Johnson, *The Art of Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri*, Gordon and Bready Arts International: Craftsman House, 1994, p. 42.

11 ibid., p. 46. In relation to his study of the art of the Kunwinjku (1990), Luke Taylor concludes: '... painting is also an activity that creates new meanings and new understanding about the world. Artists are at the forefront of constructing new images, performative metaphors that articulate and galvanize... social and political identifications ...' in 'The Rainbow Serpent as visual metaphor in western Arnhem Land', *Oceania*, 60, 1990, pp. 329-344 (p. 331).

12 See Ian Keen, who observed that the 'Yolngu and their neighbours negotiated shared languages of forms of practice, but deliberately created differences to constitute and distinguish groups, and interpreted shared (and negotiated) religious forms differently ... They constantly produced new variations of old themes and innovative interpretations of old forms in response to unique circumstances. Furthermore, systematic ambiguity was one basis for the constitution of religious mystery and secret knowledge.' in *Knowledge and Secrecy in an Aboriginal Religion*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 6-7.

13 Nicholas Thomas refers to the persistence of this desire for 'traditional' forms on the part of outside audiences: 'The most regrettable stereotype concerning tribal societies is the idea that indigenous knowledge is dominated by the reproduction and perpetuation of tradition. This would deny the interpretation and innovation always present in Pacific cultures. Meanings were not simply there to be expressed in art forms; artists instead always had to use their imagination when responding to available traditions. To do so was not to express the unique personal creativity that is fetishized in Western understandings of artistic originality, but to interpret and reinvent meaning routinely. Both the continuation of existing traditions and a degree of departure from them is inherent in any cultural production. What varies is the degree to which different cultures value innovation and replication, and the consequent privileging of one aspect or other of particular works, regardless of any "actual" mix of novelty and reproduction. Hence we might overemphasize changes on the surface, neglecting a deeper conformity with traditional art that is more important in the eyes of a work's producer.': in *Oceanic Art*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1995, p. 36. See also Lendon, 'Visual evidence: Space, place and innovation in bark paintings of central Arnhem Land', *Australian Journal of Art*, 12 (1994–95), p. 72.

14 See Raymond Firth, 'Art and anthropology' in Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp.15-39 (p.34), referring to Forge (1967).

15 See Lendon, op. cit. (1994–95), pp. 63–65.

16 See ibid., pp. 62–69.

17 See Lendon, op. cit. (1997), pp. 20–37.

18 Margie West, Field notes taken at Yathalamarra and Ramingining, 1989-90. Unpublished, Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

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The exhibition was curated by Susan Jenkins, Acting Curator, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art, National Gallery of Australia

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In the essay texts in this publication a Yolŋu font character ŋ is used to denote a phonetic pronunciation of 'ng' as in 'sing'. When written in English, this is expressed as ng.

It is customary in Indigenous communities not to mention the name or reproduce images of, or associated with, the recently deceased. All such mentions and images in this book have been reproduced with the express permission of the appropriate authorities and family members, wherever it has been possible to locate them.

Front cover: *Luku* (foot) 1994 (detail) Private collection, Canberra (plate 1)

Frontispiece: Malangi with pipe and preparing hollow log for *The Aboriginal Memorial* 1987 Photo: © Jon Lewis