

ROCK ART AND YURA MALKA

A study on the relevance of archaeological rock art practices and theories from
Adnyamathanha perspectives



Jacinta Koolmatrie

Bachelor of Archaeology

Flinders University

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jacinta Koolmatrjie

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ABSTRACT

This thesis specifically examined the differences and similarities between Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka* (Aboriginal markings) and archaeological theories about symbolic communication. Malkai, a rockshelter located in Adnyamathanha Yarta (Land) has been included in this research as a case study. Theories and practices surrounding symbolic communication have demonstrated that archaeologists aim to attain an objective perspective of rock art that is achieved through the employment of quantitative and occasionally qualitative methods. Using this framework, Malkai's motifs were placed into classifications. The results of this analysis show a high percentage of geometric motifs, particularly linear. An analysis of the use of coloured pigments at Malkai identified that red ochre was favoured. Adnyamathanha understandings were explored through yarns with Adnyamathanha people. Themes from these yarns related to their experiences of being at Yura *malka* places, meanings of motifs and narratives connected to these places involving ancestors from living memory and non-living memory.

There are clear distinctions between Adnyamathanha understandings and archaeological theories and practices. Malkai shows that understanding narratives and how people connect with place can inform research to a greater extent than archaeological methods alone. The disconnection between Indigenous peoples and their heritage in research often allows for an absence of these narratives. Integrating these narratives in the research recognised that who a communicator is and who the receiver is determines what Yura *malka* is produced. Understanding how Malkai has been used in the past also explains the over representation of geometric motifs and the colour red. This thesis demonstrates that an understanding of Adnyamathanha knowledge of place is necessary for archaeological research. Solely relying on archaeological evidence has the ability to disconnect Indigenous peoples from their heritage; however, enabling Indigenous understandings to be privileged in research can ultimately maintain and enhance these connections.

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FOREWORD

ADNYAMATHANHA LANGUAGE

Throughout this thesis Adnyamathanha Ngawarla (language) has been used in place of some English words. This includes the use of key Adnyamathanha words and placenames. The importance of using these words cannot be stressed enough. The elimination of Indigenous languages is just one of the ways colonisation has attempted to erase Indigenous peoples' identities and the presence of Indigenous peoples as a whole. It is by using Indigenous languages that the true meaning of words can be expressed, in comparison to English words that often alter meanings. Additionally, using Indigenous words contributes to peoples understanding of what the place is used for and recognises the landscape as an Indigenous one. Therefore, the following words are used throughout the study and are important to understand.

Yura malka

Yura malka which directly translates to 'Aboriginal markings' is used in place of rock art. The term rock art tends to have different connotations attached to it and does not accurately represent what *Yura malka* are. *Yura malka* will be used specifically when referring to Adnyamathanha and nearby regions. When discussing rock art in a broader context, rock art will be used.

Yura

This word refers to Aboriginal people and will be used to specifically refer to Adnyamathanha people. Both the terms Yura and Adnyamathanha people have been used throughout the thesis. Yura is capitalised without italicisation as it is a self-identifying word for this region. It is similar to saying "Australian" and therefore does not require italics.

Yarta

The term Yarta refers to the same meaning that is currently attached to the word 'country'. Yarta can be used in place of words 'land' or 'country' and tends to hold more meaning than

English words. Yarta is a living entity and should be viewed as such. It is capitalised in this thesis as it is used specifically to refer to Adnyamathanha people's country. Therefore, the word Yarta will be used capitalised and without italicisation as it holds the same significance as the name of any country.

Muda

The word Muda relates to the foundations of Adnyamathanha culture. The word 'dreaming' has often tried to encapsulate the same meaning, however, it does not provide as much of an in-depth explanation for what Muda is. It has been described:

...as an account of something in the ground; something more than that which appears on the surface; or as an account of certain natural formations on the ground; or it may be an account of identifiable places.

Tunbridge (1988:xxviii)

Therefore, Muda has many meanings, all related to the land and the history of the land.

OTHER TERMINOLOGY

Where possible the names of individual groups across the continent will be used. In situations where I discuss cultural similarities or experiences across the continent, I use the term 'Aboriginal' or 'Aboriginal peoples' instead of Indigenous as the word Indigenous in an Australian context includes Torres Strait Islander peoples. The culture and history of Torres Strait Islander peoples is particularly different to the experiences of Aboriginal peoples, therefore it would not be appropriate to use both in the same context. Similarly, when discussing experiences or similarities between other Indigenous groups across the world, I use the term 'Indigenous peoples'.

It is also important to mention that Malkai has variations. 'Malkaia' is used if the people who were saying the word said it that way. A sign at the location of Malkai is labelled Malkai Awi. It is also written as 'Malkayu' in other sources.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The disciplines of archaeology and anthropology have sought to document, interpret and rewrite what Indigenous peoples across the world formed over thousands of years. These disciplines created new versions of Indigenous identities, knowledges and histories, all with the intention of informing humanity about our supposed shared past. Early research particularly contributed to a wealth of misinformation that continues to influence non-Indigenous perspectives of Indigenous peoples. These perspectives have an impact on how Indigenous heritage is viewed and studied as well as government policies. Therefore, how archaeologists research and practice archaeology directly impacts Indigenous peoples.

This study aims to interrogate archaeological practices while centring Adnyamathanha knowledge. Focusing on Malkai, a rockshelter located in Adnyamathanha Yarta, this research looks towards understanding this place from the perspective of an Adnyamathanha person. Past research on Malkai has been based on interpretations formed by non-Indigenous researchers working without the guidance of Adnyamathanha people. Although there has been some documentation by Adnyamathanha men, this thesis aims to present a holistic narrative of Malkai, incorporating the voices of multiple families in the Adnyamathanha community.

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Archaeology has the ability to alter people's perceptions about the world. Unfortunately, one of the downfalls of this is, if early research is left unquestioned, false ideas and perceptions can remain as fact. It is easy for archaeologists to state that past theories were simply representative of the time they were created. What this perspective actually represents is an inability to connect with the people whose heritage is being studied and a lack of reflection on how archaeology has direct impact on living peoples. This is the height of Western supremacy, demonstrating that researchers can study heritage without considering the implications of their research on living people.

Without reevaluating past research, Indigenous peoples often experience the repercussions of the spread of false information. Anthropology and archaeology have been the primary sources of this information, and often it is used against Indigenous peoples to justify government policies regarding Indigenous custodianship of land and people. In Australia, Aboriginal people have always been viewed as 'primitive' whether that be through a direct statement or insinuation. This is because even when ideas about something may have changed in the academic arena, it still persists in the minds of those who may not have regular access to such information. One of the aims of this research is to ensure past research about Adnyamathanha people and Yarta are deconstructed and re-interpreted in a way that is culturally appropriate and sustainable. Malkai has been mentioned in three different mediums including a book, an article and a photograph. The paper by Hale and Tindale (1925) is the main piece of information that warrants re-examination as it reflects minimal input from Adnyamathanha people. It is important for Hale and Tindale's research to be looked at more closely as they draw many conclusions about Malkai that are unsupported. The photograph by Mountford appears to be based on knowledge provided by Adnyamathanha people, while the documentation by Adnyamathanha men is a direct representation of their knowledge. Through re-examining Hale and Tindale's paper, and incorporating Mountford and the Adnyamathanha men's documentation, this thesis can be considered the most comprehensive account about Malkai to date.

Western research interests have guided archaeological research since the beginning. Although many research initiatives that occur across the continent are said to be guided by Aboriginal communities, it can be argued that there are still aspects that are obviously focused on contributing to archaeological literature. In particular, the increased interest in rock art in the north has fuelled archaeologists' interests in uncovering information about how the continent was 'colonised'. It can be argued that this type of research is primarily of interest to non-Indigenous archaeologists, mostly because Indigenous people are often more concerned with protecting their heritage and contributing to their people's knowledge rather than researching it simply to benefit academic literature and their careers.

In the south of the continent, there has been a large focus on engraved motifs due to Maynard's (1976) suggestion of a Panaramitee tradition. Although discredited (Clegg 1992; Franklin 1992; McDonald 1994; Rosenfeld 1991), the idea of an early pan-continental rock

art tradition was of great interest to archaeologists, and the majority of work in this region has revolved around the idea of early rock engravings. What this demonstrates is that rock art research in the south of the continent is generally ignored based on its inability to contribute to broader discussions about rock art. However, different approaches do exist such as the collaborative efforts between Amy Roberts with the Mannum Aboriginal Community Association Incorporated (MACAI) and the more recent work with the River Murray and Mallee Aboriginal Corporation (RMMAC) (Roberts et al. 2018; Roberts et al. 2015; Roberts et al. 2014a, 2014b). Malkai presents a new opportunity to explore a place in the south of the continent that contains paintings.

QUESTION AND AIMS

Question:

What is the relationship between Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka* and archaeological theories regarding symbolic communication?

Aims:

1. Explore how Adnyamathanha people understand and relate to Yura *malka*.
2. Develop an understanding of how Adnyamathanha people have in the past and present interacted with and understood Malkai.
3. Explore non-Indigenous research about Malkai and Adnyamathanha Yura *malka*, and contribute new archaeological data about Yura *malka*.
4. Determine whether archaeological theories are similar or dissimilar to Adnyamathanha understandings based on 1, 2. and 3.
5. Using both archaeological methods/theories and Adnyamathanha understandings, present the story of Malkai.

In Chapter 2, an Indigenous Australian Women's Standpoint is outlined and discussed in relation to the research. The literature review in Chapter 3 explores the use of Indigenous knowledge and collaborations in archaeology, examining both past and contemporary approaches. How archaeologists have approached rock art research in Australia is discussed through understanding the practices that were primarily used by archaeologists. Finally, the

two aspects are merged to understand how Indigenous knowledge has influenced rock art research. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the study area, including its geographical, historical and cultural context. Past research and documentation is also presented. In Chapter 5, the research methods are outlined. This includes the ethical standards, fieldwork methods and the yarning methods. Chapter 6 provides the results of fieldwork and yarns, while Chapter 7 provides a discussion around the role of stories in understanding places. The discussion primarily highlights the differences between archaeological theories and practices, and Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka*. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis and relates back to the initial research questions.

CHAPTER 2: INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S STANDPOINT

The practice of archaeology is often critiqued as a Western and male-dominated discipline. Hays-Gilpin (2000) has discussed this topic extensively, recognising that although women have been involved in archaeology from the beginning, there have been limitations. Upper and middle-class women were predominantly the only women who were working in archaeology (Hays-Gilpin 2000:90). White women specifically were excluded from fieldwork and left in the labs in the early years of the discipline, while mostly Black and poor women were used for labour (Claassen 1994:5). Critiques of androcentrism often focused on the inclusion of women in discussions about archaeology, which has led to a further consideration of gender (Hays-Gilpin 2007). Moreover, critiques on the Western-centred view of gender studies has led to a push for intersectional archaeology (Conkey 2005; Franklin 2001; Meskell 2002), enabling multiple perspectives to emerge to better understand history.

In academia more broadly, acknowledging one's standpoint has increasingly become more present. In 2013, Aileen Moreton-Robinson proposed an Australian Indigenous women's standpoint. This theory drew from feminist and Indigenous standpoint theories, recognising that Indigenous women are at the intersection of oppressions. The theory recognises that we are impacted by our shared social, political, historical and material conditions, while acknowledging our cultural, sexual, racialized, abled and class differences (Moreton-Robinson 2013). This position presents a unique opportunity in archaeology to consider how this standpoint influences research and, more broadly, how archaeologists should consider their place in archaeological research.

Ontology, epistemology and axiology are the three concepts in an Indigenous women's standpoint that underpin this research. Ontology relates to our way of being, which is specifically derived from our connection to country (Moreton-Robinson 2013:340).

Therefore, as an Adnyamathanha woman I am inherently connected to Adnyamathanha Yarta and all that it embodies. My research is specifically motivated by this relationship and is why this thesis is an act of sovereignty rather than a thesis on decolonisation, although it can contribute to decolonising the discipline. Indigenous women's epistemology, our way of

knowing, is informed by our ontological relation to country (Moreton-Robinson 2013:341). Furthermore, Moreton-Robinson (2013) refers to relationality, how we are connected by descent, country, place and shared experiences. As an Adnyamathanha woman I can see how Adnyamathanha women have been treated by the practices of anthropologists and archaeologists, and how our perspectives have been absent from research. Lastly, Indigenous women's axiology, our way of doing, is informed by both our ontology and epistemology (Moreton-Robinson 2013:342). This thesis is a representation of my standpoint as an Indigenous woman.

Moreton-Robinson (2013:343–345) understands that many would view such an approach as essentialist, and she explains that:

...from an Indigenous epistemology what is essentialist is the premise upon which such criticism is situated: the western definition of the self as multiple, becoming and unfixed. This conception of self, whose humanness is disconnected from the earth, values itself above every other living thing, is a form of strategic essentialism that can silence and dismiss non-Western constructions, which do not define the self in the same way. Such silencing is enabled by the power of patriarchal knowledge and its ability to be the definitive measure of what it means to be human and what does and what does not constitute knowledge. Questions about the integrity and legitimacy of Indigenous ways of knowing, and being, have more to do with who has the power to be a knower than the validity of non-western knowledges. The anti-essentialist critique is premised on a contradiction embedded within the western patriarchal construction of truth; it is applied as a universal and through its epistemological claim to being anti-essentialist reproduces a patriarchal metaphysical ontology.

An Indigenous women's standpoint situates this research in a unique place in archaeology. It questions archaeological research while enabling non-Western knowledge to exist in a discipline that formed based on the supposed superiority of Western knowledge. Women may have existed at the margins of archaeological research for a long period of time, however, Indigenous women have only ever existed as subjects of research rather than the researchers themselves.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND COLLABORATION

Archaeology's relationship with Indigenous peoples did not begin with the ethical standards that exist today. Initial research was always from the perspective of the researcher without input from the people whose heritage was being studied. Indigenous perspectives have gradually been incorporated into archaeology which has made research more respectful to descendant communities and increasingly beneficial to archaeology in general.

Archaeologists have moved closer towards recognising the influence of nationalism, colonialism and gender bias in their studies (Trigger 2006:544). Prior to this change, particularly in the early phases of archaeological thinking, research was largely motivated by race theories leading researchers to believe that Indigenous peoples were less evolved and represented what Europeans once were (Colley 2002:2). These conclusions enabled anthropologists to measure Indigenous peoples, take bodily samples, ancestral remains and interrogate them without permission. Western research methods have long been critiqued by academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Gray 2007; Langford 1983; Rigney 2001; Smith and Wobst 2004; Smith 1999), and as a result new research frameworks have been proposed to create more appropriate methods (Atalay 2012; Phillips and Allen 2010; Smith and Wobst 2004).

UNILINEAR EVOLUTIONARY FRAMEWORKS

Prior to discussing the positive influences of archaeological research, it needs to be acknowledged that the foundations of archaeology have been damaging to Indigenous peoples. Unilinear evolutionary frameworks were present amongst all researchers who were studying Indigenous peoples. This theory is best described by Scarre (2013:32) who explained that there were two notions underlying this view:

first, that each new stage was an improvement on the one that had preceded it; and second, that the pattern of progress was driven by a kind of social Darwinism, in which less efficient kinds of social organization were supplanted by more advanced social forms.

This view presented humans as progressing through various 'stages; from savagery, barbarism and then civilisation (Scarre 2013:32). Archaeologists and anthropologists determined how high a culture was on the evolutionary ladder and as a result Indigenous peoples were placed on the bottom. This was particularly relevant for Aboriginal people in Tasmania who Tylor (1894) viewed as having basic technology and represented the 'Palaeolithic Man' (Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999:343). By insinuating that Indigenous people were less civilised it enabled and justified the colonisation of Indigenous people and their land to be colonised. These perceptions continue to make acts of sovereignty difficult, which is why it is necessary for archaeological research to expand beyond the academic sphere. The language that archaeologists use is often still connected to these theories of evolution, which can influence how Indigenous peoples are viewed. Words such as 'complex', 'civilised' and even 'hunter-gatherer' can influence perceptions of Indigenous peoples. Therefore, when discussing Indigenous peoples' heritage great care must be taken as these ideas persist long after they have been disproved.

COLLABORATIVE APPROACHES

Research has come a long way from a unilinear evolutionary approach. When archaeologists began to acknowledge that archaeological sites belong to Indigenous people, more collaborative approaches were developed. Wilson (2007:321) discussed the transition of Indigenous peoples being involved in research beginning from 'informant', to 'collaborative partners' and more recently 'researchers'. Wiewel (2008:92) argued that the collaborative approach has not allowed Indigenous perspectives to be included in ways that other researchers have suggested. This is most likely due to the primary researcher being motivated by Western interests rather than genuinely seeing Indigenous archaeology as belonging to Indigenous peoples. The collaboration continuum proposed by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008), discussed further below, explains why all collaborative approaches may not be making significant impacts. Wiewel's (2008) study may have looked at collaboration, but the degree of collaboration and what it meant is not specified in a way that represents what all archaeologists consider collaboration to be.

The collaboration continuum expressed by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) is useful for archaeologists who want to engage with community members. They describe collaboration being either archaeologists informing community members about the research, or the outcomes of research being impossible without community members (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:1). Additionally, seeking funding for community members to participate in conferences and including them in co-authorship (see Roberts et al. 2014a; Roberts et al. 2014b) are ways of collaborating with Indigenous communities that is more respectful of their positions as knowledge holders (Smith and Jackson 2008:187).

ARCHAEOLOGY WITH, BY AND FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The far end of the collaboration continuum is when archaeology is done with, by and for Indigenous peoples (Nicholas and Andrews 1997). In doing so, methods of research lead to culturally appropriate behaviour. Wilson (2007,2010) has discussed the processes that he went through in order to become not only a researcher, but a learner. The people he sought approval from and who he interviewed for his research aligned directly with Ngarrindjeri cultural protocols. The respect for Elders is common within Indigenous cultures and identifies them as senior 'knowledge holders' (Wilson 2007:325). Privileging the knowledge of Elders is a common occurrence for Indigenous peoples as knowledge is not something that can be obtained easily.

Incorporating Indigenous knowledges within research is something that is not simply necessary but also required. 'De-centering' involves moving a concept from the margins and bringing it to the centre; Atalay (2010:85) expressed the importance of doing so, not to over-power one knowledge system over another, but to acknowledge that Western research practices are not in any way "superior or natural". The way Western knowledge is formulated is vastly different from Indigenous knowledges. Harris (2010:66) explained that Western science is based on reductionist methodology rather than holistic and experiential. She also referred to sources of knowledge that Indigenous peoples have used globally, these include oral history, the landscape, visual and/or poetic art or objects (Harris 2010:67–68). Indigenous knowledges are based on observing, testing and replicating results, which has

made it a legitimate science (Nicholas and Bannister 2010:102–103). These are largely ignored by researchers, meaning that a wealth of information is absent from their studies. Ideally, archaeological research should be conducted in a way that uses multiple knowledge systems. Rock art research is one of the best places to incorporate Indigenous knowledge as the only people who can inform archaeologists of any meaning is the community themselves. One of the main ways this can be done is through looking at the landscape from an Indigenous perspective. Landscape archaeology as a concept has been discussed extensively in edited books such as those compiled by David and Thomas (2008) and Ashmore and Knapp (1999). It can be used to define the terrain, an object or even an experience depending on the individual considering what the landscape is (Ashmore and Knapp 1999:166). As a result, the imposed view of landscape in Australia is vastly different to that known to Indigenous peoples. European colonisers view the landscape being filled with property owned, places mapped, and named after explorers and settlers (Strang 2008:53). Indigenous landscape views are defined by the connections between individuals and places, language groups, the songlines that travel across the land, sacred sites and ceremonial grounds where different groups meet (Taçon 1999:42). Therefore, how rock art is shaped by the landscape requires a knowledge of landscape that only an Indigenous perspective can provide.

SYMBOLIC COMMUNICATION

ART AND THE EUROCENTRIC VIEW

Terminology used for rock art has been a main concern for archaeologists. Although seemingly small, this debate caused researchers to reflect on their own biases and made them aware that it influenced their understanding of symbolic communication (Soffer and Conkey 1997:1). The term 'art' has long been associated with aesthetics making it appear as though it functions as nothing else (Soffer and Conkey 1997:2). There have been suggestions around using different terminology including Taçon and Chippendale's (2007) recommendation of using a hyphen to ensure that people do not view 'rock' and 'art'

separately. Whether or not the terminology around rock art can ever fully capture what it is, the most important aspect of the debate is that it forced archaeologists to confront how their own perceptions can influence how they discuss and understand rock art.

The main reason rock art has been associated with art is because it came about after the discovery of European rock art sites. Led by a Eurocentric view, many viewed Paleolithic art as the beginning of artistic traditions (Abadia and González 2008:533). This idea persisted as recent as 1965, where it was barely known that rock art existed outside of Europe (Leroi-Gourhan 1965:204). Sites such as Lascaux were considered the first places where art began, and traces of this kind of ideology are evident in the way these places are marketed and presented to the world. This kind of perception of Europe being the makers of art has exacerbated the unilinear evolutionary framework where Europe and Europeans are higher on the evolutionary ladder. These perceptions are beginning to change, specifically due to research that provides some of the world's earliest examples of art in Southeast Asia (Aubert et al. 2014).

AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

Rock art in Australia has not been immune to Eurocentric perceptions of art. It was initially believed that rock art in Australia could be used to infer meanings about Upper Palaeolithic cave art in Europe; however, these approaches were soon critiqued by Ucko and Rosenfeld (1967:123–130) as the meanings of rock art from one region could not be applicable to other regions of the world, nor did it take into account vast temporal scales. The recognition of the dangers in applying rock art knowledge from one culture to another has since been widely understood, and this method is rarely applied to different rock art locations (Ross and Davidson 2006:306). Since this time there has been a greater recognition of rock art in Australia holding its own place in the world.

Developing a chronology for rock art in Australia was one of the first preoccupations of archaeologists working here. This change in direction of looking at Australia as a region has led to an interest in determining a chronology for rock art across the continent. In particular, Maynard's classification combined technique, form, motif, size and character to determine the style of a motif (Maynard 1976, 1977). Using these classifications, a sequence was

adopted in which there were three periods of styles which included Panaramitee, Simple Figurative and Complex Figurative. Although the methods used by Maynard appears to cover many aspects, it assumes that the temporal sequence can be applied to Australia as a whole. This way of looking at rock art in Australia encourages the idea of the colonial concept of “Australia” which assumes there is one nation. What is known is that prior to colonisation there were over 200 different language groups and each had their own nations and regions. The idea that there would be a national chronology would only apply if there was one nation. Rock art should ultimately be looked at from the perspective of acknowledging individual nations while considering the potential relationships between multiple nations.

Despite trying to create a national chronology, there are other issues with Maynard’s classification. Placing more simple motifs at the earliest stage looks at rock art through an evolutionary lens where simple motifs were used in the beginning, and they eventually became complex. This created an issue when considering that what is labelled a simple motif may have been used recently and can be recognised by Indigenous people. Maynard’s research has been critiqued and tested numerous times in relation to the outcomes and methods of the research (Franklin 1992; McDonald 1994, 2008; Mott 1998). Franklin (1992) was able to determine that the perceived simple Panaramitee style technically had regional variation and was later reconfirmed by McDonald (1994, 2008; see also Roberts et al. 2014b:40).

Narrowing into smaller regional variations is a much more beneficial way of looking at rock art. McDonald’s (1994) research focused on the Sydney Basin region. Observing motif types and layering them over Eora group boundaries, McDonald recognised correlations between the two, demonstrating that rock art was in fact tied to historically recorded group boundaries. Regional approaches to rock art in Australia have been mirrored across the continent and shown to be impactful. Mulvaney (2015) looked at Murujuga (Dampier Archipelago), which holds one of the highest concentrations of engravings. This study focused on style variation through time and space. The results demonstrated the initial use of geometric and figurative rock art, which also goes against Maynard’s conclusions (Mulvaney 2015; Roberts et al. 2014b:40). Regional studies ultimately demonstrate that creating a narrative around rock art requires smaller studies that can recognise patterns

across the landscape and provide a better way for traditional owners to be included, rather than large scale analysis alone.

ROCK ART WITH INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES

Indigenous perspectives are important to include when discussing rock art as the sites are still relevant to Indigenous peoples today. What has become apparent in this country is that as it becomes increasingly colonised, 'authentic' Indigenous culture is often questioned and perceived to be separate from that of Indigenous peoples alive today. The idea of authenticity has been discussed as a form of structural violence, favouring specific versions of what it means to be Indigenous (Maddison 2013). However, these perceptions are often decided based on the principles of Western definitions, not those of Indigenous peoples themselves.

Authenticity becomes a major issue in cultural heritage when people are viewed as disconnected from their heritage. The opposition of traditional management practices of Wandjina paintings in recent decades demonstrated that these perceptions continue to exist in some quarters. Funding for the management of these sites was removed on the premise that the Indigenous group doing so was defacing the images (Mowaljarlai and Peck 1987). Despite never having ceded sovereignty, Traditional Owners are required to obtain permission to manage sites in ways that are culturally appropriate (Fourmile 1995). This has also occurred at places where rock art sites are acknowledged as the heritage connected to Indigenous people, archaeologists still encourage them to seek approval to manage those places (Morris and Hamm 1995). However, as Sales' (1992) study has demonstrated, re-marking was a practice done by Indigenous people pre-invasion and continued to present day. This is also demonstrated through management plans at Ezhibiigaadek asin where etchings were "rehabilitated" through re-etching (Atalay et al. 2016). Questioning whether rock art should be re-marked or not by non-Indigenous archaeologists demonstrates that rock art was never viewed by non-Indigenous people as belonging to the histories of Traditional Owners, rather that it is a part of the 'nation's heritage' and belongs to everyone.

Although many Indigenous people have not taken part in rock painting recently, rock art sites continue to be highly relevant to and often integral to Aboriginal culture. Taçon et al.'s (2008:209) Wollemi research program demonstrates that rock art is not simply about the images themselves, but how people reinforce their identities by connecting with the place and the past. The late Dr George Musgrave, a Traditional Owner, described rock art sites as "...Story Places, where the spirits and the Old People still live in their own places" (Cole 2016:196). By reinforcing the importance and acknowledging the significance of rock art sites to Traditional Owners, people will begin to understand that they are part of a living culture.

By incorporating Indigenous knowledges within archaeological studies of rock art, a greater understanding of these places can be achieved. This is demonstrated not only in Australia but other colonised regions of the world as well. Layton (2012:439–440) specifically acknowledged that he benefitted from the Indigenous instructors in the Western Desert and was also taught about Wanjina rock art in the Kimberley region. Taçon and Chippendale (1998) have referred to the usefulness of informed methods in places where there is information available, whether it be directly from people or through historical records. More specifically, the absence of Indigenous knowledge can lead to conclusions that are simply uninformed. A prime example of this is when Mountford (1929) observed the image of a 'crocodile' and made assumptions about the sea levels at Panaramitee North in South Australia. However, Berndt (1987) revealed documentation from 1944 which involved a discussion between himself and a Ngadjuri Elder who stated that the object was not a crocodile and was instead a *yarida*, which was a magic object. The inclusion of Indigenous perspectives will ultimately remove bias present and reinforce meanings that are important for Indigenous peoples.

David and Wilson (1999) have used an Indigenous landscape view to understand rock art in Djungan country. They incorporated Djungan stories in their research of Ngarrabullgan rock art. Ngarrabullgan is a mountain known to be the home of evil spirits and people rarely camped there specifically for this reason (David and Wilson 1999:169). As a result of this, the rock art on the mountain is different to that off the mountain. Those on the mountain-top are quickly made hand stencils, while those off the mountain are paintings which require more time (David and Wilson 1999:168). These observations indicate that the

incorporation of Indigenous knowledges can transform archaeological research and provide further explanations for why rock art appears different in a particular place.

The use of Indigenous perspectives as a legitimate aid to research has been critiqued. Maynard (1977, 1979) specifically argued for a quantitative approach as she believed that meaning cannot be inferred by Aboriginal people alive today. Whitley (2001:32) acknowledged that the interests of Indigenous people can go against non-Indigenous archaeologist's beliefs, however, they need to be respected regardless. Additionally, he emphasised that archaeologists have a significant role within politics as the results of their studies may not align with Indigenous beliefs, therefore causing a legitimate impact to Indigenous heritage management (Whitley 2001:31–32). Essentially, a focus entirely on Western research methods is not only lacking, but it also has profound affects for Indigenous peoples.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY AREA

This research focuses on Adnyamathanha Yuras and Yarta. Developing an understanding of the historical and cultural context of Adnyamathanha Yuras is important in addition to understanding the environmental context of the region. This chapter creates a profile of the area by examining these contexts in conjunction with past research and expeditions.



Figure 1 General location of Adnyamathanha Yarta

ADNYAMATHANHA

Adnyamathanha Yarta is located in the area known today as the Flinders Ranges (Figure 1). Adnyamathanha is the collective name for the Aboriginal groups known as Kuyani, Adnya-Kuyani, Biladapa, Wailpi and Yadliawada (Figure 2). This name derives from Matthew Flinders, an explorer who sailed to the top of the Spencer Gulf. Although Flinders did not name the ranges after himself, the use of the toponym 'Flinders Ranges' still serves to erase the connection that Adnyamathanha and other Aboriginal groups have to these places and will not be used for the remainder of this study. Instead, Adnyamathanha Yarta will be used.

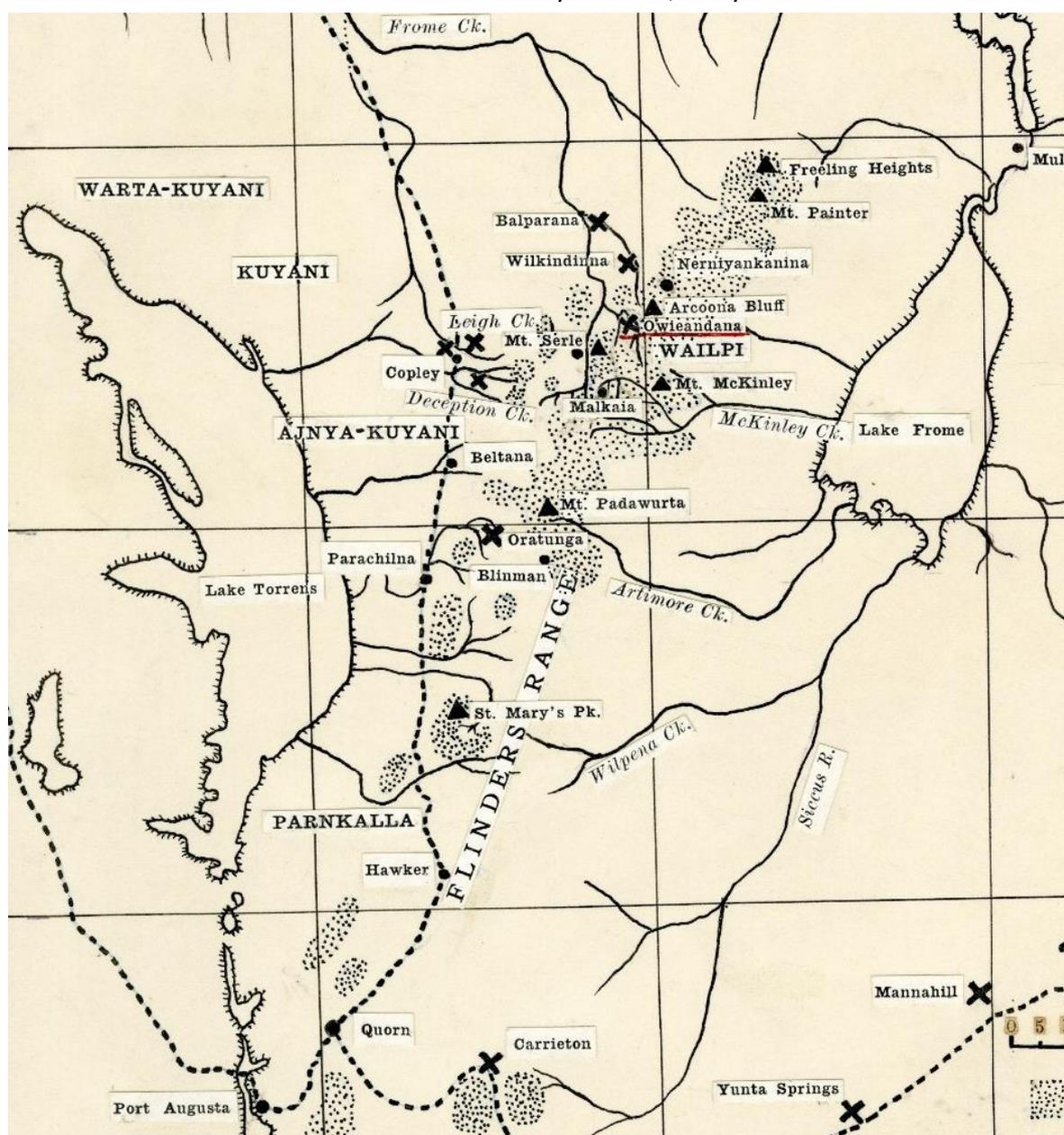


Figure 2 Map showing some Adnyamathanha groups as Tindale saw them in 1924. Image also shows general locations of places mentioned in thesis. South Australian Museum Archive Reference No. AA 338/1/3_41.

Up until the early 1900s, Adnyamathanha was a less official name for several groups connected to the hills, only after this time were they formally known as Adnyamathanha. Adnyamathanha formed as one entity as they were either forced to go to other Aboriginal groups or brought together in camps and missions, all due to the impacts of invasion. Senior man Mount Serle Bob led this unification by hitting two rocks together, pronouncing that they were now known as Adnyamathanha (as told by Ken McKenzie and Mark McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). Today, Adnyamathanha Yuras see the act of coming together as a way of strengthening their groups during a time where genocide could have been detrimental to their culture (pers. obs.). Despite identifying originally as different groups, they are all connected by ties to land, similar customs and the same language (Brock 1985).

Adnyamathanha knowledge and law derives from Muda. Muda contains spiritual knowledge of the land, people and creation (Marsh 2010:286). It connects all places through story; these stories are integral to maintaining and transferring knowledge through generations. There are stories that extend over 100 km that create placenames along the way, one of these has been recounted by Enice Marsh (pers. comm. 2017):

...two mates travelled all through the Flinders Ranges and they left landmarks everywhere, you know Valanaapa's trail is a trail for Adnyamathanha people that goes from sunrise to sundown... Valanaapa's travelled from sunrise to sundown, from north to south, east to west. On Adnyamathanha land Valanaapa's trail covered all those areas...Two mates Arraru and Mathari, and it might've been two women and it could be two men.

This story covers all of Adnyamathanha Yarta and is one of the main stories that names the land. Muda includes information about when social laws were agreed to, such as *ngapi ngapi* (moiety). The site of this agreement is symbolised by a Wida (Gum Tree) (Marsh 2010:124). *Ngapi ngapi* are based on matrilineal inheritance, where the moiety is passed from mother to child. Yuras are either assigned Mathari, which refers to the south wind, or Arraru, referring to the north wind. Laws attached to *ngapi ngapi* state that those of the same moiety cannot marry each other. For example, a Mathari can only marry an Arraru. To go against this would be taboo and continues to be practiced amongst Yuras today. *Ngapi ngapi* also extend to totemic figures, symbols and animals (Marsh 2010:286). This connects humans with the world around them.

INVASION

European invasion has devastating effects on Adnyamathanha Yuras. The first European to travel through Adnyamathanha Yarta was E.J. Eyre and a group of explorers in 1840 (Brock 1985:21). Eyre was followed by an influx of pastoralists in the 1850s who brought stock (sheep, goats and cattle), which greatly impacted the land (Brock 1985:21). This resulted in damage to the ecosystem and the loss of Adnyamathanha food sources, forcing Yuras to set up a camp near European camps, specifically Owieandana. Due to the reduction in native animals nearby, Yuras were left with only stock to hunt, leading to conflict between Europeans and Yuras. The conflict between the two groups, led to the first police station being established near Mount Serle at Angepena (Brock 1985:21).

The Stolen Generation¹ years began during the 1890s for Adnyamathanha Yuras and continued well into the living memory of Yuras alive today. This policy involved the removal of Aboriginal children in the attempt to eliminate Aboriginal people and culture. As with most Aboriginal parents, Adnyamathanha parents fought hard for their children to stay. Children were sent to missions outside of their communities where different languages were spoken and different customs were practiced, causing additional distress to the stolen families. Most Yuras eventually moved to the Nepabunna mission, which was established during the 1930s, by the United Aborigines Mission (Brock 1985:50). The influence of Christianity often resulted in conflict with traditional Adnyamathanha customs. This combination of beliefs resulted in the abandonment of particular, but not all, traditional Adnyamathanha customs, most importantly the decision to end initiation ceremonies in 1947 (Brock 1985:62).

¹ The Stolen Generation refers to the government policy which officially ran between 1910 and 1971 (McCarthy 2000:50), despite its presence long after 1971. Guided by eugenic theories, the Stolen Generation involved the removal of Aboriginal children from their families and their placement with white families or boarding homes in order to assimilate them into white culture. It was deemed that Aboriginal children who had both Aboriginal parents were more primitive and likely to die out, compared to those who had non-Aboriginal parents and were considered more capable of assimilating and therefore targeted during these policies (McCarthy 2000:50). An inquiry (Wilkie 1997) found that there were consistent patterns of physical and sexual abuse to these children, which impacted their life later on. The policy impacted the lives of many Aboriginal people and continues to do so today.

Mining has had an even greater impact than that of pastoralists and missions. For decades Adnyamathanha Yuras have been fighting for land rights, causing great conflict within the community. In 2009 and later in 2014, Adnyamathanha Yuras were formally acknowledged as having rights and interests over certain areas of the Adnyamathanha Yarta (*Adnyamathanha No. 1 Native Title Claim Group v South Australia (NO. 2) [2009] FCA 359; Coulthard v State of South Australia [2014] FCA 124*). However, the actual benefits of this has been questioned by many Adnyamathanha Yuras as land continues to be sold and negotiated about in a way that never aligned with Adnyamathanha belief systems. There are many traditional stories that specifically mention places where copper, gold, coal and uranium are mined (Marsh 2010:125). Colonists considered these as resources that could be sold, but Yuras saw them as remnants of the past. The story of Yulu's coal relates to the Leigh Creek mine and connects to Wilpena pound. In this story Yulu (Azure Kingfisher Spirit Man) was the master of ceremonies and had the role of gathering all Yuras at Wilpena Pound. He lit a fire to send smoke signals to all Yuras, however, the two Akurru (Snakes) saw these signals and also travelled to Wilpena pound to eat them. Both Yulu and the Akurru left landmarks along the way between these two places. The coal found at Leigh Creek mine specifically relates to the coals that Yulu created. During mining operations, three large rocks were pulled from the mine. These are in the shape of a firestick and two dampers, all identified as the remains of Yulu's coal (pers. obs.).

ADNYAMATHANHA YARTA AND MALKAI ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

Adnyamathanha Yarta is located in what has been termed the Adelaide Geosyncline. The land is composed of ridges, domes and basins which are due to the resistant nature of Rawnsley Quartzite (Thomson 1969:78). The ranges rise to a height of 1165 m and span 700 km from Adelaide to the Lake Eyre Basin in the north (Glignic et al. 2014:106). On either side of the ranges lie Lake Torrens to the west and Manda (Lake Frome) to the east, both large salt lakes which connect to the ranges through large plains. Rock types include small outcrops of silcrete, quartzite, sandstone, and siltstone. Limestone is the most prominent rock type in the region (Lampert and Hughes 1988:140). Sandstone of the Rawnsley Quartzite is the most prominent rock type in the region. The Rawnsley Quartzite makes

almost all the high ridges and scenery in the Flinders Ranges from Quorn to Arkaroola. The Rawnsley Quartzite is the very thickest in Vulkathunha-Gammon Ranges National Park and is almost as thick in Wilpena Pound.

The climate in Adnyamathanha Yarta is arid, with dry summers and cool to mild winters. Based on available data spanning multiple years throughout the 1900s the average rainfall varies depending on the specific region. In areas of high elevation rain averages more than 300 mm, while those of lower elevation are below 200 mm (Northern Flinders Ranges Soil Conservation Board and Soil Conservation Council 2004:8). Streams from rainfall in the ranges flow into the swamps and alluvial flats to the west in between Lake Torrens and the ranges (Bourne 1996:9). Water evaporation is far more extensive than precipitation and is believed to be a contributor to the lack of permanent water sources (Gliganic et al. 2014:106).

Native vegetation in the area mainly consists of various species of *Acacia*, *Cassia* and *Eremophila*. These are primarily found in areas with stony soils and on hills. Native Pine (*Callitris columellaris*) and sheoak (*Casuarina stricta*) are both found on the lower slopes and flats. Spinifex (*Triodia irritans*) can be found in sandy areas, while mallee (*Eucalyptus* spp.) dominates calcareous soils on sandy bases. In stony flats and along hill slopes, mostly at the northern end of the ranges and along the Manda plain, are covered in salt bush (*Atriplex* spp.) and blue bush (*Maireana* spp.) (Lampert and Hughes 1988:140).

MALKAI

Malkai is the rockshelter that will be used as a case study here. Malkai not only refers to the rockshelter where paintings are held, it also relates to nearby a camp, the gorge and a spring (pers. obs.). Malkai is located on the western side of a 10–30 m gorge in Malkaia Gorge. The rockshelter is composed of deeply jointed quartzite and is located around 10 m above the creekbed. The floor of the shelter is composed of rock with a small portion of sand on the southern and northern areas. In 1981, a report stated that the rockshelter floor was composed of sand, leaving no mention of the rock that currently exists. Currently there

are equal amounts of rock and sand, suggesting erosion has occurred since the 1981 report (Coulthard et al. 1981).



Figure 3 Image of Malkai showing surrounding landscape.

Vegetation in the gorge contains various species of plants. These include *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*, *Callitris columellami*, *Melaleuca glomerate* and *Mallee* sp. In the area directly associated with Malkai, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* and *Melaleuca glomerate* are present (Coulthard et al. 1981).

Water sources at Malkai change throughout the year. The availability of water in the creek is dependent on rain, however, there is a spring located nearby that is more likely to contain water. When coming to Malkai from the associated camp, Malkai springs is located on a separate branch of the creek. Both Malkai and the spring is approximately the same distance from the camp.



Figure 4 View from Malkai, taken during fieldwork. Pictured Emily Evans [left] and Marc Fairhead [right].

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

ADNYAMATHANHA-LED RESEARCH

In 1989, a heritage brochure was compiled by Adnyamathanha man, Vince Coulthard (1989). This brochure incorporated knowledge from a number Adnyamathanha men about Yura *malka* and significant places in Adnyamathanha Yarta. It provides a page of information about individual motifs. This information is also displayed on the information boards at Yourambulla caves located 200 km south of Malkai. Despite being displayed at Yourambulla, it also applies to other Yura *malka* places, including Malkai. The motifs that relate to Malkai that are represented in the brochure include a number of linear motifs. These motifs have different meanings depending on how they are drawn.

Described from top to bottom the motifs in Figure 5 represent the following:

- The first motif represents women, children and first-stage initiates covered by “blankets” during a section of the ceremony held for the first-stage initiation.
- The second motif represent the number of initiates at a particular ceremony. Similar thinner and longer lines shown in the third and fourth images often relate to the number of people camped at a particular place and/or the number of people who had something to do with the painting or engraving of this art site.
- During the initiation ceremony the women dance and chant in lines until paths are worn. Each line represents a different initiate.



Figure 5 Linear motifs found at various Yura malka places (Coulthard 1989).

Information related to motifs other than linear are also presented. This includes ceremonial food, a carry bag (*malaka*), a net and track motifs (Figure 6). These motifs are represented at Malkai.



Figure 6 (left to right) Netting motif, malaka and ceremonial plant pictured at Malkai.

Although this brochure does not represent the knowledge of all Adnyamathanha families, it does provide an informative overview of Yura *malka*. The majority of people who were listed as contributors have passed, making this a valuable piece of information for this project. Furthermore, the fact that this brochure has been created by an Adnyamathanha person makes it the most relevant written source for this thesis.

EARLY EXPEDITIONS

Many prior researchers who were studying geology and biology often also worked as anthropologists or amateur anthropologists. As a result their expeditions, while focussing on their own areas of expertise, also incorporated small studies involving Indigenous peoples. This type of research was detrimental to Indigenous peoples across the world as the conclusions that researchers made were often based on a unilinear evolutionary framework.

Adnyamathanha Yuras were no exception to such research. The earliest research in Adnyamathanha *Yarta* was by Herbert Basedow (1913) whose initial research was on geology, but also involved studying two burials that were of interest to him as they were a

type of burial that was previously unrecorded. The introduction of the article mourns the loss of information as 'civilisation advances' in remote areas of the country. This appears to be a large concern as he comments on how 'civilised' Yuras were at that time, a notion embedded in unilinear evolutionary theory. As a result, Basedow's mentality discredits his work as it contributes to the racist stereotype of a non-Western culture.

In 1914, Basedow wrote about rock art at Deception Creek. Specifically, he looked at Yura *malka* at Red Gorge which he considered to be of 'considerable antiquity' for multiple reasons (Basedow 1913:200). These included the level of glaze that appeared on the rocks, citing observations of the stones on several pyramids (Walther 1891). These assessments stated that a film developed on areas that were carved, which could indicate how long ago they were carved. Comparing that with the rocks in Red Gorge, he stated that they were thicker than those on the pyramid and assigns them to an even greater age. Such observations are now considered unsupported.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

More recent research has continued to focus on early occupation dates and how Yuras dealt with a changing climate. Lampert and Hughes (1988) recorded dates of 15,000 BP at Hawker Lagoon, describing it as a place of refuge during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM). Their project was followed by Walshe's (2005) research that focussed primarily on the impact of climate change from the Pleistocene through to the Holocene. They demonstrated the rerouting of trade routes in response to the LGM and then the revival of routes as conditions ameliorated. The return of trade routes indicated a strong "cognitive map" of features across the land (Walshe 2005:32). Recent research by Hamm et al. (2016) extended the region's earliest date to 49,000 BP at Waratyi rockshelter, also demonstrating evidence of megafaunal remains and early use of ochre.

Despite great interest in early occupation, Di Fazio (2000) and later Di Fazio and Roberts (2001), have researched a more recent occupation at Beltana, focussing on fringe camps and lithic analysis. The area continued to be occupied by Adnyamathanha Yuras despite invasion, however, they were mostly based in fringe camps on the outskirts of town. The

research showed that there was a wide range of raw materials present, indicating that while there were resources available nearby, trade was also occurring.

MALKAI RESEARCH

Although not a well-known rockshelter, a small number of researchers have included Malkai in their research. Hale and Tindale (1925) discussed Malkai in a paper specifically focussing on the motifs. This is the most thorough documentation of Malkai as it includes drawings, photographs and information relating to the surrounding area. Charles Mountford also visited Malkai, although there was only minimal information documented on this trip, now held in the State Library of South Australia (SLSA). Lastly, there is mention of Malkai in Dorothy Tunbridge's (1988) book of Adnyamathanha stories provides insight into Malkai from a landscape perspective. It details one story in particular and how Malkai relates to it.

HALE AND TINDALE VISIT TO MALKAI

Yura *malka* at Malkai were recorded in 1924 by Herbert Hale and Norman Tindale as a part of an expedition by the South Australian Museum. Hale and Tindale talked to several Wailpi men, who are only one group that make up Adnyamathanha. Their approach can be considered contentious by Adnyamathanha people today as multiple groups should have had the opportunity to be involved rather than consulting only Wailpi men. However, this may have been a tactic produced by the Wailpi men to protect the rest of the community and ensure information was carefully given to the anthropologists. If this was the case, it was visible in Hale and Tindale's article as they only talked about Yura *malka* from other areas to make their interpretations (Hale and Tindale 1925:52).

Hale and Tindale observed artefacts on the floor of the shelter, animal bone, and a grinding stone that had traces of ochre on it. The article draws similarities between rock carvings at several places including Owieandana, but with Malkai containing painted versions instead of carvings (Hale and Tindale 1925:49). Hand drawn illustrations and photos are included, some with theories about what they represent and connections to other places. Reference

is made to the three images in Figure 7 suggesting that they are obvious representations of boomerangs.

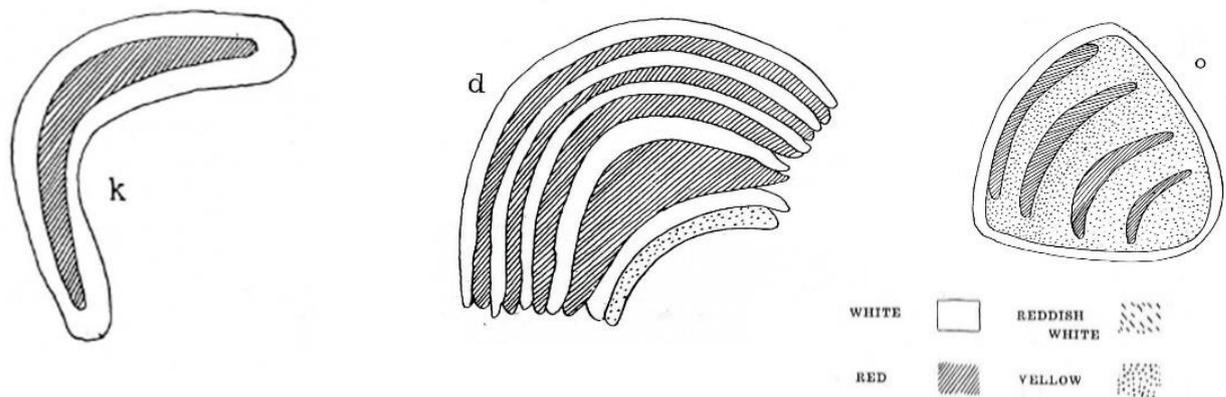


Figure 7 "Boomerang" images (Hale and Tindale 1924:50-51).

Hale and Tindale (1925:52) also suggested that there is an image of a snake (Figure 8). They do not state whether that was their interpretation or whether it came from some other source instead they say that it "apparently represents" one (Hale and Tindale 1925:52).

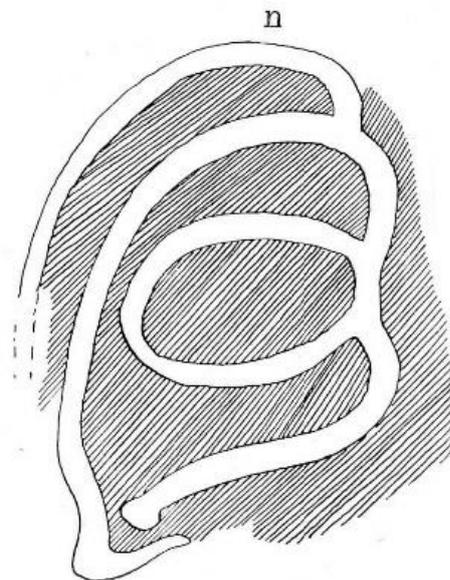


Figure 8 "Snake" image (Hale and Tindale 1924:51)

Another image is of what is meant to be a "pubic tassel" according to Hale and Tindale (Figure 9 and Figure 10). There are multiple images of this painted throughout the panel. They draw this conclusion from Basedow's (1914) research at Deception Creek. He connects the image with tassels worn by central Australian Aboriginal groups but does not indicate whether he was informed by local Aboriginal people about this conclusion or if these are his

own conclusions. In addition to Hale and Tindale's published material, Tindale also recorded the trip in his journal (see Figure 11). The entry details his discussions with Wailpi men and how to get to Malkai. These mostly surround discussions about language, with no information given about Malkai. This is extended by the fact that he was not taken to Malkai by anyone who was Adnyamathanha or Wailpi, instead by a station owner. He also produces a rough map of the area showing where Malkai is and the location of where some other major features are located.

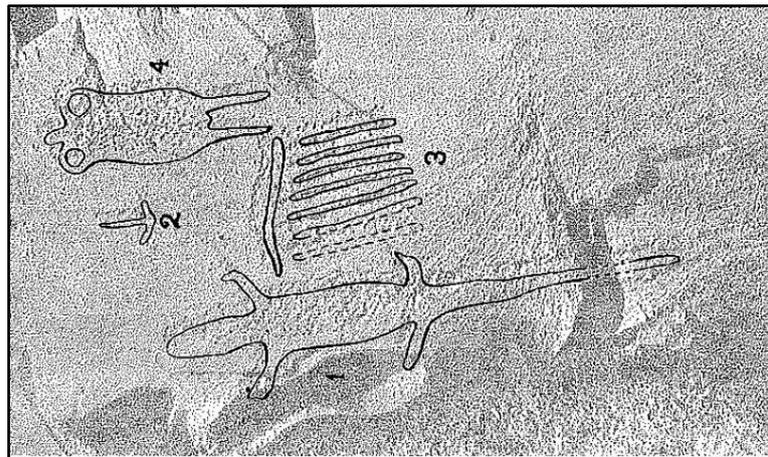


Figure 9 Basedow's (1914) recording of "pubic tassel"

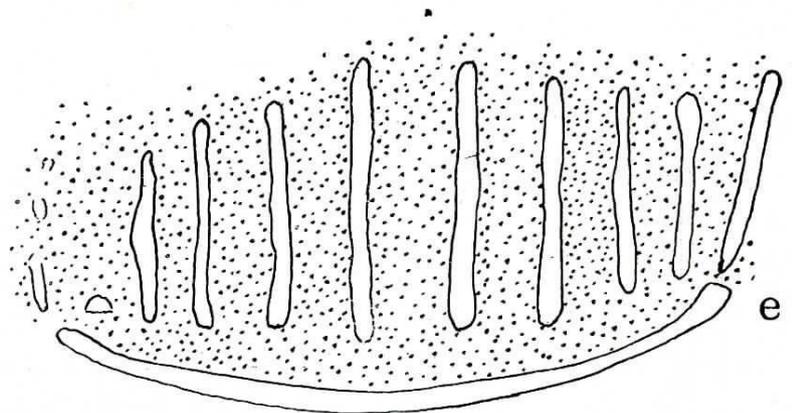


Figure 10 "Pubic Tassel" image (Hale and Tindale 1924:50)

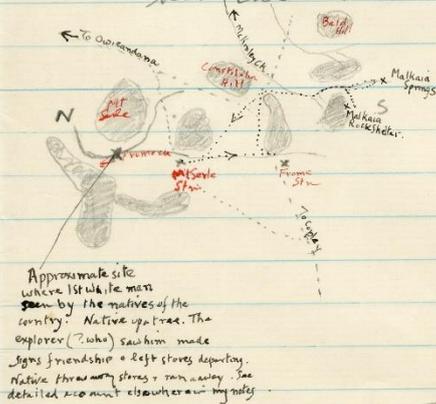
Wed 10th. Collecting all day around station. Very hot.

Thursday 11th. Collecting around the station. Had several swarms in the big tank. Weather warming but cool change coming. Found nests in birdskins & had to repack with pepper. Nests here all evaporated owing to dry heat.

Friday 12th. Collecting insects. Struck a good patch in the Fran whoose bases of gumtrees were thick with many species of wasps, beetles ants wasps etc.

Saturday 13th. Great part of day cleaning up & in packing. Also making arrangements for tomorrow's trip. Mr "Smiles" Greenwood (Bonda Greenwood) brought his hide home in the evening by car from Popley. Had a hot trip up & looks tired out.

Sunday 14th. After a false start (my boots were at fault & had to be nailed up) got away about 10 am for Malkaia which is about 5 or 6 miles S of Mt Serle. Walked to Snells. Mr Snell Buddy took us out as far as the McKinley Creek in his car & directed us. Found the rock



shelter in the a gorge on the first creek to right after passing into the Gap where McKinley ck breaks thru the range. It is a straight wall of rock unwounded by wind or water action, standing on an elevated platform of rock in the narrowest part of the gorge. The walls are flaked with the smoke fires of centuries & most of the walls

with crude painted lines circles & designs of which we have numerous photos & drawings. Some are very old & many are almost unrecognizable. On one rock we noticed

Figure 11 Page 11 'N.B. Tindale: Rough Diary of trip Northern Flinders Range, S. Australia. Nov. 14 - Dec 18th, 1924. Incorporating various notes on the Aborigines'. South Australian Museum Archive Reference No. AA 338/1/3_11

MOUNTFORD VISIT

Information related to Mountford's visit was difficult to find and some of it is likely to be held inside restricted sections of his journals now housed at the SLSA. Many anthropologists' journals have sections which are restricted to Indigenous men from those communities. It is likely that due to Malkai's association with initiation, there may be information relating to it on the same page. However, due to my position culturally I was unable to look at this material and more importantly completely unwilling. What was located was one particular photo that has been found that gives some insight into an associated story.

The card reads:

Nepabunna. Malkaia Gorge

Where evil spirit Wulgi

buried a number of men

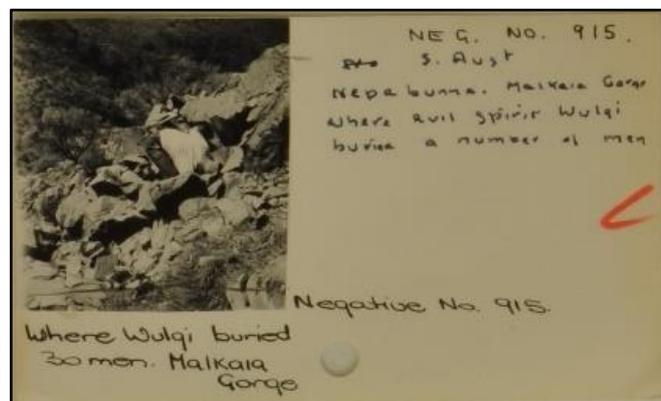


Figure 12 Mountford negative of the story of Wulgi

Where Wulgi buried 30 men.

Malkaia Gorge.

It is likely that Mountford was referring to Urngi when he was referring to Wulgi. An Urngi, is often known as a witch doctor. These people are both those who have been alive in the distant and recent past.

WARTURLIPINHA

In 1988, Dorothy Tunbridge published a book that contained a partial record of Adnyamathanha stories. The stories in this book are seen more as accounts directly from Adnyamathanha Yuras rather than Tunbridge's interpretations, specifically because she worked alongside Elders that instructed her to get multiple people's stories without relying

on just one version (Tunbridge 1988:xvi and xvii). In one of these stories Malkai is referred to when telling the story of the hill Warturlipinha and when singing the song. The story is as follows:

A long time ago a Yura mother and father were asleep at Ngardlaranha Warldu, near Warturlipinha. Yuras used to be camped at that place. On one side of that wardlu (saddle) all the creeks run into Lake Eyre, and on the other side they all run into Lake Frome. Indhidindhidi the willy wagtail woke the couple up by dancing around and talking, in the way the willy wagtails do, to give them a message.

Indhidindhidi was telling the couple that some Vaidi had gone through to *Malkalyu*, and had stopped there making marks on the rock walls. This was a warning to the couple to take care.

To understand this further, explanations of Vaidi and Malkai are provided.

The hill Warturlipinha (from warturlivipi, 'ring-necked parrot's egg') is named for its shape. It is said that the rock paintings at Malkalyu ('mark cave', these days often referred to as 'Malkai') were not made by the Flinders Ranges Yuras, but rather by vaidi. Vaidi are strangers (sometimes called 'bushrangers'), generally thought of as being able to exercise special power in a dangerous way. In this case they are understood to be 'killer Yuras' who used to come from the north. They are reported to have come up Udna Yukurru Vari (Frome Creek) and around to Malkalyu, en-route south. On their way through they would put a mark on the wall of the cave to show they had passed. They would put another to show they had returned. The second mark was looked for, because strangers passing through were always a cause of concern. This brief account, as well as being a Muda ('history' or Dreaming story), is also understood to reflect comparatively recent history, and the passing of strangers along this route is confirmed.

Indhidindhidi, the Willy Wagtail (*Rhipidure leucophrys*) is known as a bringer of news. He often brings the message of death, but his news is not always of the nature. He sometimes comes and dances around the fire, chattering and passing on his message.

Unfortunately, Tunbridge did not state who provided this story. However, it remains important for this research as it provides additional context to stories that have been provided in interviews.

CHAPTER 5: METHODS

This project is centred in the cultural knowledge and aspirations of Adnyamathanha people. As such, my primary concern was to work carefully within the protocols of my own people/community. These protocols are discussed first – followed by the ethical requirements of my university. This thesis uses Indigenous methodologies to enact sovereignty rather than trying to remove colonial aspects of archaeology to decolonise it. Centring Adnyamathanha knowledge not only informs archaeological understandings, it guides ethical research according to Adnyamathanha people. This creates the foundations of the methods used in this research as no method is unaffected by these guidelines.

As discussed earlier, my standpoint in the research influences exactly how I conduct research. This is present in how prior research has been collected as well as my obligations while completing fieldwork. Fieldwork methods involve detailed survey and site recording as well as recording the cultural context/landscape. Although seemingly familiar to archaeological research, in my work they are moulded by Adnyamathanha standards. This research also places an emphasis on how Adnyamathanha research can inform rather than just guide research therefore, one of the most important aspects of this research is the information provided during yarns.

ADNYAMATHANHA ETHICS

Prior to commencing research, two specific groups needed to be consulted. The first was Anggumathanha and the second was the Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association (ATLA), the Prescribed Body Corporate (PBC). As a requirement, the PBC was consulted as all Adnyamathanha related matters go through ATLA. Anggumathanha is a core group within ATLA, consisting of Elders from each Adnyamathanha family, thus consulting with Anggumathanha ensures that a broad representation of family knowledge is considered and that the correct protocols were followed.

APPROVALS

A presentation detailing the aims, methods and potential outcomes of the research was required for both groups prior to receiving approval from Anggumathanha and ATLA. The Anggumathanha presentation was less formal than that for ATLA. This was specifically because previous discussions were had with many of the Elders in the group to gauge an understanding of how to conduct research in the most culturally appropriate way and to learn. The presentation was given by briefly explaining what kind of question I aimed to address what I would need to do to answer it. I explained that I would work closely with them and take on any recommendations about how I would conduct my research. The committee approved the project by signing a form that included guidelines that I would follow (see Appendix 1).

Seeking approval from ATLA was also completed by giving a presentation on the project and the research methods. Protocols I would follow such as being supervised while completing fieldwork and publishing only appropriate information were raised. Finally, it was important that ATLA were aware that they could recommend changes to the project. The committee provided a verbal approval as well as a written approval (see Appendix 2).

PROTOCOLS

Earlier an Indigenous women's standpoint was discussed as a methodology that guides the research process, within this are Adnyamathanha protocols. Protocols that are followed are dependent on who the researcher is and their relationship to the people they are working with. However, there are also standard protocols that should be followed as a way of respecting the land and ancestors, whether the researcher be Adnyamathanha, Aboriginal, or non-Aboriginal.

Outside of my community I am an Indigenous woman who holds an archaeology degree, however, it does not hold the same weight within my community. Instead, I am a Mathari *yakarti*, meaning that I am of Mathari moiety, and that I am still young. To the community, having a degree simply means that I have an understanding of Western knowledge. Therefore, when working in my community the protocols I follow are dependent on my

position as an Adnyamathanha person. As a result, respect and following instructions given by Elders is the ultimate protocol I follow.

The protocols which all people are required to follow involve respecting the land and ancestors. Respecting the land is as simple as not leaving or taking anything. Respecting ancestors is more in-depth. Behaviour at these sites needs to be respectful, therefore we must introduce ourselves to our ancestors so that they know who is coming. Additionally, inappropriate behaviour, such as loud noises cannot occur. One of the most important aspects is that people cannot visit Yura *malka* and other places of great spiritual importance after 3 pm as this is referred to as *Anggular* time. *Anggular* is a sacred time of the day, respecting this time of the day involves respecting those who have passed away or past activities at these places. Therefore, all fieldwork for that day must be completed prior to that time. Without following these protocols, I would be entering these places uninvited, which result in consequences.

ETHICS

From a university standpoint, gaining ethics approval is the first step that is required when conducting research with Indigenous communities. Approval was sought from the Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) at Flinders University and involved a process that required specific details about the methods employed throughout the study. The details required are not specific to archaeology and do not take into consideration the requirements from an Indigenous viewpoint. Therefore, it is important for approval to be obtained from the Adnyamathanha community which is seen as essential to the SBREC.

Some of the main ethical requirements that are absent in the application are specifically related to working on archaeological projects with Indigenous peoples. It talks about community members as “participants”, something that places Indigenous people as science subjects. This has previously been problematic as it minimises what their role is in research and how they see the importance of what they are sharing (Wilson 2007:328). It reverts to past practices where Indigenous peoples provided information about themselves for the sole benefit of the researcher (Smith 1999).

More importantly, the ethics committee does not have a single person from the community where the project will take place. To compensate for their absence the Office of Indigenous Strategy and Engagement (OISE) are provided with a copy of applications that involve Indigenous Australians. Although this provides a good reference point for the university to seek advice from, it assumes that Indigenous people are a homogenous group and that what is considered ethical in one, is ethical in another.

Lastly, the focus of the ethics application is on research that has an impact on people. SBREC focusses on the direct impact that researchers have on people, but it does not consider the impacts of inappropriate behaviour at sites or how perceptions can change based on an archaeologist's research. Due to this, studies that involve specifically public sites could potentially bypass community consultation and write about Indigenous cultures without approval. This is dangerous as it can affect what people think about that community, but also the perception of Indigenous peoples.

Although the SBREC application does reduce unethical research in other social sciences, it may not have the same impact in archaeological research which focusses on material culture. Although archaeology may talk about people, it does not necessarily need to interact with people. This is a problem when working with Indigenous heritage and is why this thesis aims to connect with the Adnyamathanha community as much as possible. It is also why approval from the SBREC has not been the only form of approval that was asked for, rather approval from Elders is considered more important.

YURA MALKA FIELDWORK

Field recording took place after seeking guidance from my Elders and prior to the interview and yarning phase. Recording Yura *malka* played an important role when analysing each place, it was also useful when talking to Elders and other community members about Yura *malka* in situations where they were unable to physically visit the site/place due to health, age, etc.

SAMPLING

During the ethics approval process, a list of places acceptable for inclusion in this study was requested from members of ATLA and Anggumathanha. While strong support for the research was provided, no specific places were suggested, demonstrating that I would be in consultation with Elders was seen as evidence that I would not include secret places.

The Yura *malka* place known as Malkai was chosen as a case study. Malkai is the only place that is recorded according to the methods that follow. Malkai is a place that both men and women can go to. It is also a place that cannot be visited by tourists alone or the general public unless with permission or accompanied by Adnyamathanha people, and is therefore mostly unaffected by non-Aboriginal people. Malkai was chosen on the basis that it has no restrictions on sex and also because it is a painting place. Geographically it is located centrally in Adnyamathanha *Yarta* making it a place that is created by Adnyamathanha people and could not be confused as being a place in which other Aboriginal groups/individuals may have primary rights and interests.

GRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

Two-dimensional graphic documentation of motifs can be completed in multiple ways. This project uses a combination of digital images, digital enhancement and digital tracing. Photographs were recorded using a Nikon D60 camera, while two different lenses were used for photography; a standard 18-55 mm and zoom 55-200mm for general exposures and a prime lens Nikkor 50 mm for the close-up exposures. General lens was used to take photographs from mid- to long-range. This ensured that the environment surrounding Malkai was captured, while the mid-way exposure provided an isolated view of the rockshelter. Images of entire panels were also captured using this lens.

Close-up exposures were necessary for digital enhancement and digital tracing of motifs. Individual motifs were identified and documented digitally. Photos were also taken to record the entire rockshelter to produce a 3D image using photogrammetry, however, due to time constraints completing this during the thesis will not be possible and will primarily be completed for the community. DStretch was used to identify the images that may have

faded or superimposed. Using Gimp, images were traced to create drawings. This method is time consuming, however, the quick selection brush tool in Photoshop was unable to pick up the colours as they were similar to the colour of the rock. Tracing the images directly onto a separate layer was the best way to ensure accuracy for Malkai documentation.

ROCK SHELTER RECORDING

Panels

Identifying panels involves assessing the shape of the rock wall and how Yura *malka* is placed on the wall. Loendorf (2001:61) describes a panel as rock art that is oriented in the same direction. Other ways of distinguishing a panel is through the rock formation. Therefore, panels have been based on how they are orientated and the shape of the rock they are on.

Site Damage

Site damage is based on a number of attributes that can contribute to deterioration. These include natural erosion, vandalism, camping, vehicle traffic, animal, urban/rural development, foot traffic, pastoral, and mining/extractive causes. Using past reports and observing current damage, an assessment of whether any great threats to Malkai are present was conducted.

Site Map

Baseline-offsets are important for onsite illustrations. There are three different recordings that are necessary including one of the floor shape, and two cross-section drawings. The two cross-section drawings are taken from two points that represent the rockshelter's overall shape.

The surrounding area including the creek and the shape of the gully were recorded using a Leica TS06 Power 5 total station.

YURA *MALKA* RECORDING DATABASE

The classification scheme used for Malkai aims to incorporate current ways of classifying in archaeology, alongside Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka*. Both McDonald (2008) and Mulvaney (2015) present useful classifications that can be adapted to Malkai. Using the same classes and a combination of information provided in interviews, the following classification has been created (Table 1). Additionally, the additive techniques were documented, based on the descriptions in (Table 2).

Table 1 Classification scheme

Class	Group	Type
Geometric	Linear	Bar/s; Line/s; Angled; Meandering; Enclosing; Hooked line; Additional protruding bar/line; Horizontal line with vertical projected lines; Crosshatch; Expanding; Branching out; Connected
	Circular	Regular; Irregular; Internal bar/dot design; External bar; Internal colour; Added design; Group concentric circle; Spiral; clustered; Linked
	Arc	Regular; Enclosing; Irregular; Thick; Open; Variation; Crossed; Pair; Set; In-line; Cluster; Bars; Internal arc; Closed
	Triangular	Regular; Irregular; Internal bar/dot design; Internal colour; Added design; Clustered; Linked
	Unique	Dot+line elements; Elaborate; Enclosing; Curvilinear; Partitioned; Concentric; Unique shape
	Phytomorph (Plant-like)	Unknown plants
Anthropomorphic	Unique	Male; Female
Sporomorph	Human (foot)	Single; Right
	Emu	Single; pair
	Kangaroo	Single; pair
	Turkey (Walha)	Single; Additional design
Object (human related)	Mat	Single
	Malaka	Single

Table 2 Technique descriptions

Technique	Description
Drawn	Applied when dry (Burke et al. 2017:144).
Stencilled	Image is created by spraying paint over hand or other types of objects (Burke et al. 2017:144).
Painted	Applied when wet (Burke et al. 2017:144).

Subtractive methods were not recorded as there were none that existed, other than the recent name carvings. It is believed that Yura *malka* traditions at Malkai would have ended around the same time that initiation ended, therefore making the carving of names a recent form of Yura *malka* as the dates alongside the names do not coincide with initiation ceremonies. Although of interest, these names were not recorded. They were recognised at a much later stage in the recording process and they were unable to be recorded extensively for them to be included in the study.

ADNYAMATHANHA KNOWLEDGE

The centring of Adnyamathanha perspectives was completed by having discussions with Elders. To do so, prior research was required and acquiring their approval to use their knowledge in the study was highly necessary. The form of these discussions occurred in two ways, individual interviews and yarning circles.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Prior to any interview or yarning circle, each person was required to provide consent. The following forms were provided to everyone who participated.

- A Letter of Introduction
- An Information Sheet
- A Consent form for Interview/Focus Group which required signing

- And if photos were being taken, a Photographic Release Form which required signing.

The information in these forms ensured that everyone understood what the project entailed. Additionally, signing the forms meant that they were comfortable with participating. Forms can be found in Appendix 2.

YARNING AS A METHOD: THE STRUCTURE

Formal interview processes have often been inappropriate in heritage related settings. To combat this, semi-structured interview processes have been used to allow discussions to flow more like a conversation rather than a rigid interview (Minichiello 2008:51). Similarly, yarning has been discussed as a beneficial method for Indigenous people participating in research. Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) have outlined the process:

1. Social yarning: where the interviewer and interviewee can build or establish their relationship and assist with moving to the next step.

This method was used by either already having a close relationship with the person being interviewed (eg. a close Aunty or Uncle) or having another relative who I was close with begin the conversation and introduce them to me. This was most suitable in situations where a close relationship did not exist prior to the meeting. It ensured that people did not feel as though the entire purpose of the meeting was solely to gain information for the thesis, rather that a relationship was being developed.

2. Research topic yarning: this moves from talking about each other to the research topic.

If the interview began as one where I had to develop a relationship, the person with me would introduce myself and the project. I could then expand on what the research was about and explain any formalities (i.e. informed consent forms).

3. The discussion will then go towards collaborative yarning or therapeutic yarning.
 - a. Collaborative yarning allows two people to discuss the research and engage in conversation.

This process allows the conversation to flow. Although a set of questions were referred to, the conversation allowed both people to have a conversation without making the interview seem formal.

- b. Therapeutic yarning enables one person to tell something personal while the researcher listens.

Therapeutic yarning often occurs naturally when the person being interviewed is comfortable with the interviewer. As someone interviewing Elders, my position as a young person is to listen, in everyday life but also in an interview.

Yarning therefore, is viewed as an extremely beneficial method for research in general, but also as a person coming from my standpoint. Each interview was recorded using the iRiver voice recorder, a Zoom voice recorder and the recording function on a smartphone if an interviewing opportunity arises. At least two recorders were used to avoid any potential loss of information. After interviews occurred transcriptions were written.

YARNING TOPICS AND QUESTIONS

The following topics were used as a guide while yarning. The topics aimed to get the interviewee to remember going to these places as most are Elders and have not been to them for a long time. Using topics as a focus in the yarns enables a semi-structured interview to allow interviewees to discuss what they feel comfortable discussing. It was also important from my standpoint that women's voices were heard and represented in the research.

Remembering

This topic encourages interviewees to remember their first time visiting Malkai. It helps to remember what their first experience involved, what they learnt and what the nature of the visit was.

Surrounding Landscape

Understanding what Adnyamathanha people know about nearby places provides a landscape view of Malkai. The topic aims to determine what places may be connected to

Malkai, as well as work out if there are other Yura *malka* places that have similar connections to significant places.

Yura *malka*

This topic allowed interviewees to discuss Yura *malka* in general. It aims to get them to explain what they understood Yura *malka*'s purpose to be and how Yuras have used it to communicate and whether its purpose is to communicate with non-Adnyamathanha people as well. It also focussed on Yura *malka* at Malkai specifically.

Ways of Communicating

This topic aims to understand if Yura *malka* had special attributes that were used to communicate. This includes exploring the use of colour and positioning of Yura *malka*. It also aims to see if there are specific ways that Adnyamathanha people use Yura *malka* to differentiate themselves from other groups.

The Future

This topic looked towards what Adnyamathanha people want in the future in relation to Yura *malka*. What do Yuras believe is the best way to care for Yura *malka* and what research can be done through this thesis that can benefit the community.

PREVIOUSLY RECORDED KNOWLEDGE

Prior research mostly consisted of published accounts rather than looking at archival records. This was particularly due to the nature of information that has been archived. If looking at archival records the following must be taken into consideration.

- Documentation of Aboriginal people did not always involve informed consent, therefore, some of the information documented may have been done without the approval of Aboriginal people. Despite attempts made at restricting access to this information, it is almost impossible to know if something should only be known by a certain sex or person of special significance.
- Accessing sacred information should not be considered something that only women should be aware of. The possibility of sacred information only pertaining to men

ignores the ways that anthropologists study people, by observing (Bernard 2011:276). Not only should women be cautious when looking in the archives, but men should also be aware of it.

- Lastly, when looking at information recorded by anthropologists, the information is always taken from the perspective of a non-Aboriginal person. Therefore, relying solely on this information continues to place the knowledge that Aboriginal people have secondary to that of non-Aboriginal people.

These issues were taken into account when looking at any archived information.

SUMMARY

The methods discussed in this section describe specific expectations that Adnyamathanha people have of archaeological research. This chapter also explains how these can be implemented by archaeologists who may work in the community. As this thesis also explores the difference between Adnyamathanha understandings and archaeological theories the chapter also described archaeological recording techniques.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of fieldwork that was completed at the end of November 2017 and yarns/interviews that were held throughout the research process. To understand the cultural context of Malkai, interviews and yarns are discussed first, followed by the results of Malkai fieldwork.

ADNYAMATHANHA INTERVIEWS

Interviews and yarns were primarily undertaken with Adnyamathanha Elders, however, Adnyamathanha people who were privileged to learn from their Elders, to whatever extent, were also included. Themes identified in the thematic analysis are discussed below (in no particular order) as well as their sub themes through the use of direct quotes.

YURA *MALKA* THEMES

Themes about Yura *malka* were categorised to understand its relevance on a broader scale. By referring to information that is relevant to other places of importance, discussions around how they may be linked to Malkai can be raised. The themes recognised were both in relation to experiencing and understanding Yura *malka* and how it relates to Adnyamathanha Yuras.

Silence/ Listening/ Looking

The theme of being silent was a topic that emerged in most of the interviews. However, silence was never discussed singularly, it was always accompanied by the actions of listening and/or looking. This occurred during everyday visits to Malkai and was seen as highly important during initiation.

...sometimes we'd just go there and nobody would say anything. You know we'd just be looking at all the carvings we'd call it in those days. Just looking at everything that was on the rock wall but not really talking about it much.

(Enice Marsh pers. comm. 2017)

Malkai, when you went through the Madlapa, they took you to show you that. You had to stand to attention. You wasn't allowed to talk...

(Ken McKenzie pers. comm. 2018)

Not only did it seem important to accompany listening with looking, the difference between listening and hearing was explained. Mark McKenzie (pers. comm. 2018) describes this as someone hearing a story but not necessarily listening to it. When information is being given about stories and about Yura *malka* you may be hearing what is said, but listening to it requires another level of understanding. This is how he explains the transference of information. Listening is vital and in order to properly listen, one must be quiet. In the case of Yura *malka*, looking was also important because it has a visual component. Therefore, Yura *malka* requires people to be quiet, to listen and to look.

Ochre/ Colours

The topic of ochre and colours was a necessary theme specifically because Malkai contains paintings. When asked about ochre people talked about sacredness, its connection to initiation and stories.

If you got red ochre you'll be hit with a big *malkada* [club]. That's a very dangerous one. They say don't put red ochre on *yakartis* [kids], that's dangerous.

(Ken McKenzie pers. comm. 2018)

Similarly, it is known that ochre is not something that anyone can touch. Wilfred Strangways explains the process of becoming introduced to ochre.

You got law men's and they might have a corroboree night and they would put ochre on you and while you're getting older and older they'll do that. Then when you're ready for the big thing then, you know that that ochre would've accepted you then because you've already been introduced all your life...only initiated men can use it.

(Wilfred Strangways pers. comm. 2017)

Ochre from Adnyamathanha *Yarta* is also known by Yuras to have been traded widely. Pukardu is one ochre pit that is restricted primarily because of its unique rich oily base (Pauline McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). Stories that mention ochre were briefly talked about in yarns, but they were never discussed fully. However, the story around Pukardu has previously been documented by Jones (2011:351–353).

Stories

Stories featured as a particular theme in the interviews and yarns concerning their transmission were also covered. Some stories were only told to certain people based on a shared matri-moiety between the story-teller and receiver. This was particularly important in situations where adults were talking to children (Beatrice McKenzie pers. comm. 2017).

The telling of stories was also important in relation to Yura *malka*. The story of Valanaapa and Valanhaapa's trail covers the entire Flinders Ranges and left landmarks right across the country (Enice Marsh pers. comm. 2017). Yourambulla caves, which is at the southern end of Adnyamathanha Yarta is one of them (Mark McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). The caves or rockshelters themselves contain paintings and the hills near them are the tangible expression of Mathari and Arraru.

Arkaroo rock being another Yura *malka* place also has a story associated with it as it is next to Wilpena Pound.

...see they heard the Akurru [snake] was coming. See there was no Wilpena Pound, but they heard the two Akurru were coming and the kingfisher come along and tried to warn the people. All the people they were having a ceremony in the flat there...he flew over and warned the people...at night time they were having the ceremony and Akurru went right around and made Wilpena Pound and there's a little gap there, where Arkaroo Rock is, where the woman is, the Akurru woman is and—St. Mary's Peak, that's the man see.

(Mark McKenzie pers. comm. 2018)

Therefore, the rock known as Arkaroo Rock is the head of the female snake. The rock with paintings, also known as Arkaroo Rock, represents the open mouth of Akurru, the snake.

MALKAI THEMES

Themes associated with Malkai were focussed on understanding how people use the rockshelter and surrounding places. This section also aims to provide an understanding of the significant stories that are linked to Malkai. Given my standing as a young Adnyamathanha woman I will only go into detail about topics that are open for everyone, while I avoid topics that are restricted in relation to women's and men's business.

Group Visits

Everyone that was interviewed detailed relevant laws and customs that prescribed who should or should not accompany them when visiting Malkai. For some community members there were separate outings reserved for women only, and in some situations boys went there for initiation. These were considered separate by the interviewees because they were receiving information specifically for them. There are also occasions where groups of families went and for this reason Malkai is seen as an open place for any Yuras to go to.

Song

The role of song at Malkai was witnessed by Enice Marsh (pers. comm. 2017), who was a child at the time.

All they said was people came here to do this because it was a nice cool place to meet and sit and talk, you know and of course while they were doing this they'd say it in Yura ngawarla, it was done for a reason while they were doing all these paintings it was for a reason...while they were doing it each painting might be a song attached to each drawing...I can remember granny would be singing some songs...

Additionally, Ken McKenzie (pers. comm. 2018) received songs from senior men at Malkai.

They gave me everything. See one wudi. The warkala wudi. I sang it on the television, they watch it all around. It's the crow dreaming...it's all connected there.

Despite the principle site of the crow dreaming being at separate places, this song and the story would have been given to Ken McKenzie, therefore tying it to Malkai for him.

Additionally, this story expands across a wide area, Malkai situated somewhat in the centre of it.

Initiation

Initiation was talked about by a number of people. Two of the men (Mark McKenzie and Ken McKenzie pers. comm. 2018) that yarned about this cultural theme had been through the stage that involved Malkai. Malkai was used for the second stage where the boys changed from Madlapa to Vardnapa. However, that is the most that can be revealed in relation to initiation, the remainder is restricted.

Cultural Narratives

There are two main stories tied to Malkai. The first was told by Margaret Brown (pers. comm. 2018):

This is a story now [laughs] I can't think what was going there but this person was waiting for him with a spear and there was this big strong whirly wind in the gorge and we was frightened it was going to happen to us. She [Mrs Ryan] said "noooo that was long long time ago." Probably before anybody was born.

In addition to this Mark Mckenzie (pers. comm. 2018) details the story about Mount Serle Bob (Figure 13), which may be an extended version of the previous story:

...they was Vambatas. Because Mount Serle Bob went there, they was following him up and anku(home) was the other side of Malkaia, other side Yura anku is, you know? Aunty and them was all there...from that painting, either they done it or it was there before. He was a good urngi. He looked at them, three witch doctors in the front, two was strong and another one was weak. Old Mount Serle told me where he sat down on the stone to have a look at them yalkarla (transparently) X-ray you know, scanner. He sat there and he seen two, so he shut himself off so they won't put an x-ray on him and he went up, he went up and he was gon' walkin along he never look back, they was getting closer and closer and they had a Wilka attha, it's a dog tail that's the one he's a killer...like a lawyer have a thing on, a wig, thing like that. They were getting closer in the hill to the roughest parts. And when they touched him he opened the ground up...Put 'em in there, three got out...Malkaia, you'll see, not far from the painting, in the hill there you know. They heard a sound just like dynamite go off. He was burnt.

Yeah, he opened the ground up...Three come out. Must've been about 15 or 20 in there. He put em in there and they come out. He tried to put them down, but they come out...that's the story about the Malkaia...

Opening the ground up is a common story that many Yuras speak of. Elders specifically recall stories of people in the community, those in living memory, who hold specific powers (Rebecca Richards pers. comm. 2018). This story specifically links to the image (Figure 12) taken by Mountford where a Urngi (or Wulgi as written by Mountford) buried 30 men.



Figure 13 Image of Mount Serle Bob, as mentioned in the story told by Mick McKenzie. Photo held in the South Australian Museum archives. Archive reference number AA338/1/35_88.

MALKAI YURA MALKA

Many of the yarns focussed on Adnyamathanha knowledge of place while providing space to discuss what may be disclosed to the public about Malkai. The only person that was able to visit Malkai and talk about the paintings at the time was Clifford Coulthard. He pointed out several motifs to explain what he knew about them. An image depicting a man and woman is seen as an indicator of Malkai being somewhere that both men and women can attend. He also talked about paintings that depict a plant that has medicinal uses, as well as a mat that was woven (Figure 14).

Additionally, stories and maps were discussed by multiple people. At the top of all the paintings is a collection of images that are used to depict people's journey through life (Clifford Coulthard pers. comm. 2017). This image is located in panel 2 (Figure 15). This was also discussed in reference to similar motifs that can be read as maps (Geraldine Anderson pers. comm. 2018). Both understandings demonstrate that these images are representations of both literal paths that people take and their paths through life.

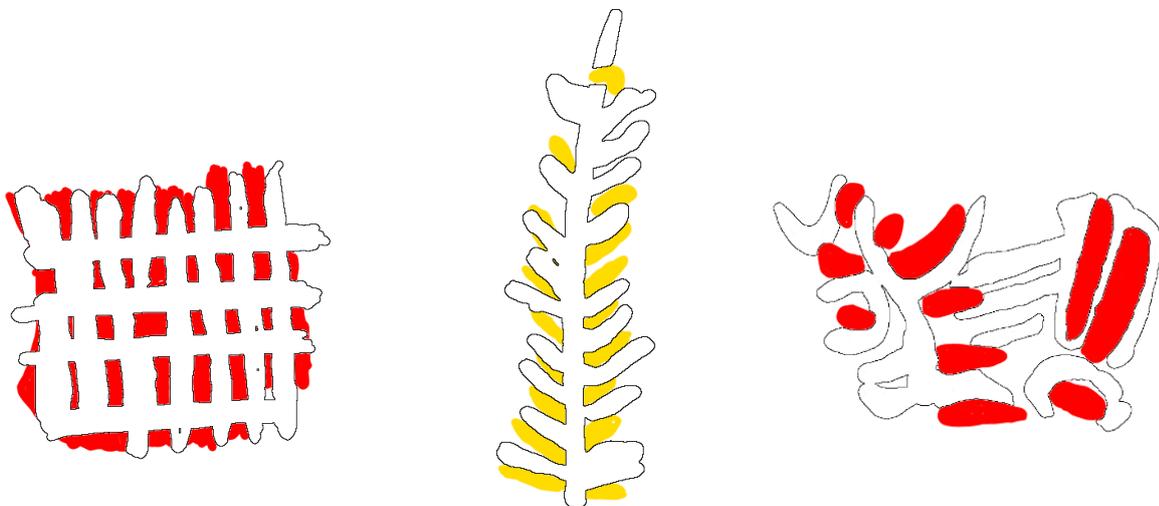


Figure 14 (left to right) Woven mat, medicinal plant, painting of man [left] and woman [right].

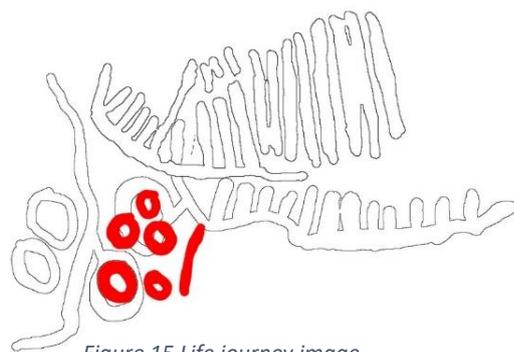


Figure 15 Life journey image

Individual lines, often referred to as 'tally marks', have also been discussed as representing people who have visited a place (Figure 17). At places such as Arkaroo Rock they are known to represent the number of boys going through initiation (Hayden Bromley pers. comm. 2017). This is highly significant because Malkai is one of the places involved in initiation. However, lines have also been used in other ways, such as panel 3's display of polychromatic motifs (Figure 16). This range of lines and colours are said to be representative of the ochre that is available for trade (Clifford Coulthard pers. comm).



Figure 16 Ochre trading

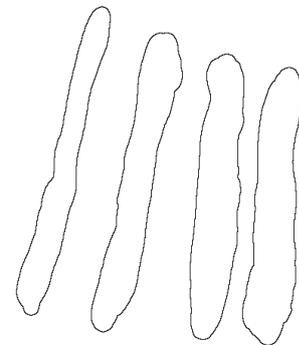


Figure 17 Example of lines being used to represent people

MALKAI RECORDING

MALKAI DETAILS

Malkai is a small quartzite rockshelter located in a gorge facing north-east. The rockshelter is 7 m long with an overhang that extends no further than 4 m (Figure 18). Most of the paintings cover a 6 m² area with the bulk of the paintings located on the north-western side. The floor of the shelter is composed half of rock and the half of sand. The area composed of

sand also contains the ashy sediments which is located on the southern side. These sediments were created in a concave section of the rockshelter resulting in most of the ash being contained to that area. Artefacts in the rockshelter were only found on the southern sand area, while some are also located on the talus slope towards the creek. These were not recorded in detail, however, they consisted primarily of small flakes.

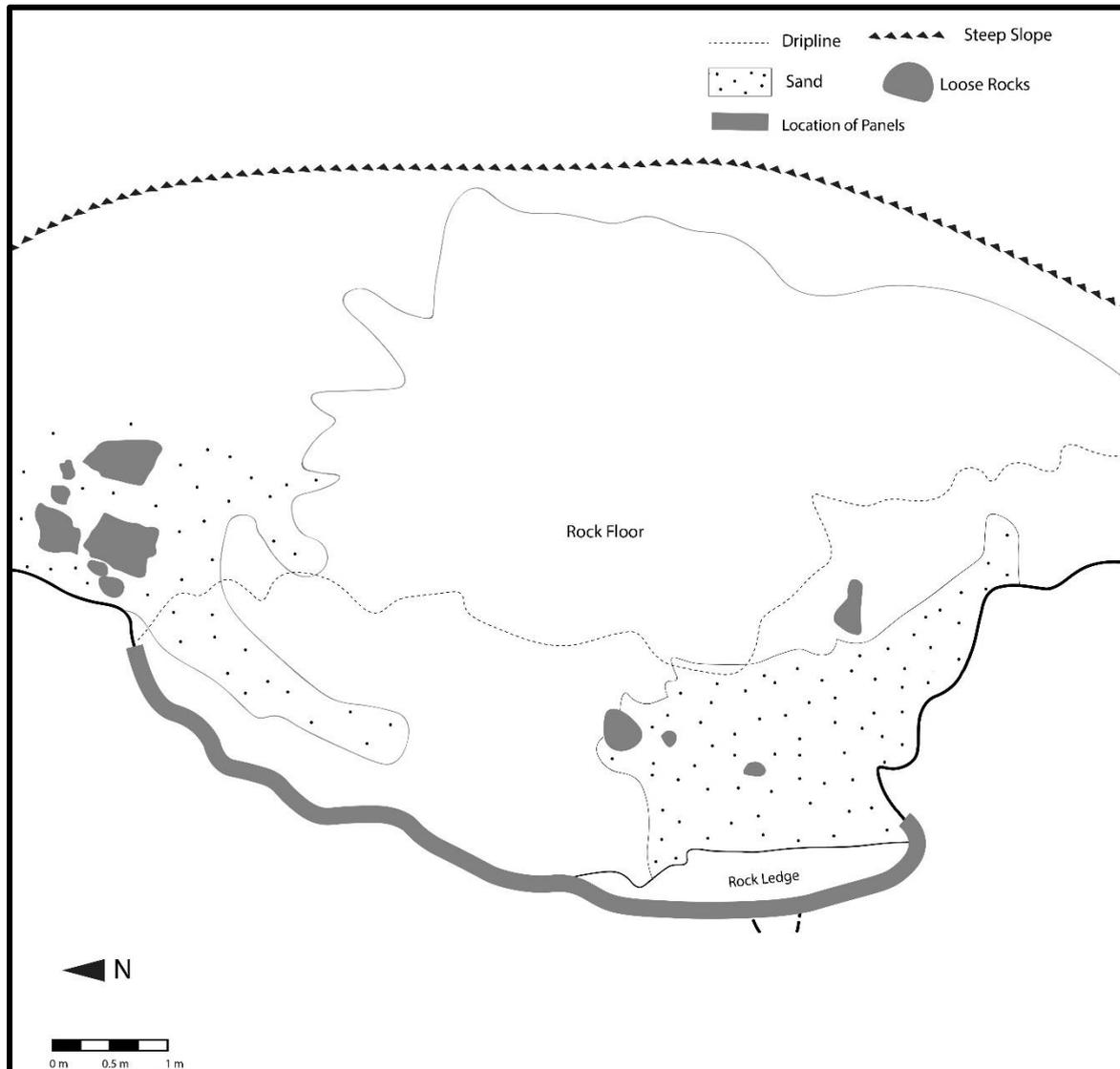


Figure 18 Malkai floorplan

Malkai is associated with a campsite area located at the northern end of the gorge on an open flat. This flat is located next to a creek with a length of approximately 150 m. There are flakes scattered throughout the whole area. Unfortunately, this was a not an area of focus in the study and an in-depth recording of the artefacts was unachievable during fieldwork.



Figure 19 Discrete scatter of artefacts at Malkai campsite (Photograph by Marc Fairhead, November 2017)

However, photos of a discrete scatter located centrally in the flat were taken as they exhibited a collection of artefacts representing an array of materials and types.

SITE CONDITION

Some areas of the rockshelter are more protected than others. The south-western side is completely sheltered and seems unaffected by rain and wind, whereas the northern side is reasonably open and, as a result, there are a number of paintings that show signs of weathering, possibly due to rain. The presence of a rock floor is likely to have become recently exposed as previous records in 1981 only document sand (Coulthard et al. 1981).

Water, wasps and kangaroos have contributed to damage in the rockshelter. Water stains have caused some images to become obscured and fade, thus DStretch was used to enhance the image and determine the impact (Figure 20). Some of the paintings near the base of the shelter are visibly faded and because they are within the space that a kangaroo can reach, it is assumed that they have caused this fading by rubbing their bodies against the rock surface (Figure 21). Additionally, there are wasp nests that have formed over several of the paintings (Figure 22). Collectively, the impacts have made identification and tracing of motifs more difficult.



Figure 20 Water stained painting and concomitant DStretch image in YBK setting.



Figure 21 Motif faded on panel 9.

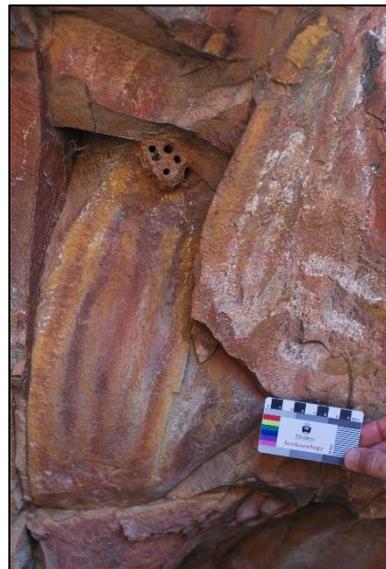


Figure 22 Wasp nest over motif.

There are multiple names that are carved into the wall. These carvings are not considered vandalism because of where the names have been carved into and the names that have been written. None of the paintings have been affected by the carvings as they are all carved directly into the rock. Additionally, all of the names are from local Adnyamathanha people, a number who have passed and some who are now Elders (Figure 23).

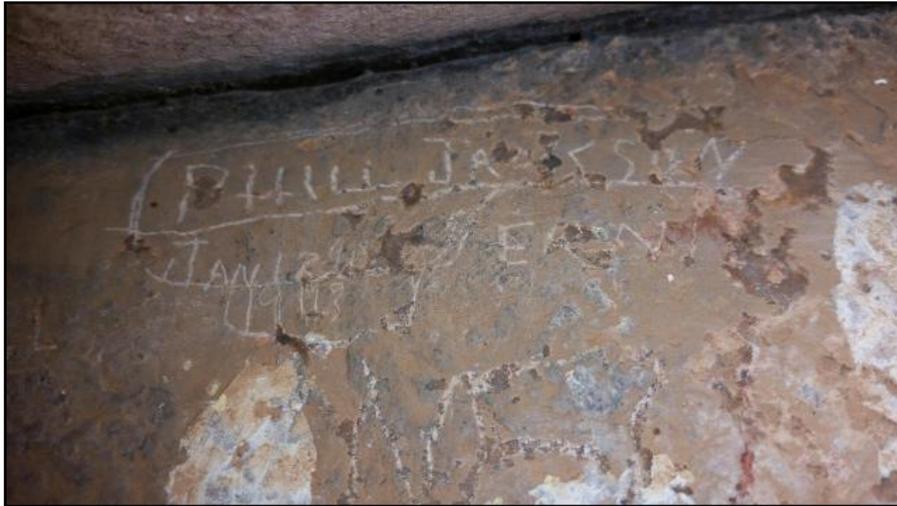


Figure 23 Adnyamathanha name carving. Reads 'Phill Jackson January 1943'.

Information recorded in a site report in 1975 suggests that there may be additional vandalism. A non-Adnyamathanha man claims that in the past Europeans had marked some of the paintings with white to take photos. The site recorder was unable to verify this and it was not mentioned by Adnyamathanha Yuras throughout the duration of this study.

YURA MALKA

The following details the results of Yura *malka* fieldwork at Malkai. There are a total of 89 motifs located in ten panels.

PANELS

Malkai, being heavily jointed, has resulted in ten panels being assigned (Figure 24). Assigning these panels is partly based on how Adnyamathanha people have talked about Malkai and partially based on the placement of motifs. The motifs all appear to be within the bounds of one rock, rarely do they cross over more than one. In addition to this, many cover the entire rock, not making it possible for more than one motif to appear.



Figure 24 Malkai Panels

Table 3 Panel details

Panel Number	Determined motif count	Description
Panel 1	2	Located on the southern side of the rockshelter. This panel contains ash from fires and only consists of the insides of the concave area.
Panel 2	14	Situated at the top of the rockshelter wall. The shape of this panel has been decided based on a fracture in the rock that extends from panels 5 to 6. Additionally, the paintings in that area appear to be contained inside those rocks and are angled so that they fit within it. Water damage has impacted several motifs and it is unknown if they make up one larger motif. In total, there are 16 motifs in this panel, however, only 14 have been determined.
Panel 3	9	Visible from the profile as a collection of rocks that are protruding outwards. The majority of these paintings cover a rock each and are definitely created to suit the shape of the rock. The majority of the motifs in this panel are known to represent ochre for trade.
Panel 4	-	Located underneath a rock overhang. These paintings have purposely been excluded from the study as they may not have been intended for public viewing.
Panel 5	19	Located in the centre of most of the rockshelter and is also the only panel that contains superimposition.
Panel 6	13	Situated next to panel 5 but it separated by a deep joint that clearly defines the two areas from each other.
Panel 7	14	Located on the top north section of the wall rockshelter. It provides an overhang that differentiates it from panels 8 and 9.
Panel 8	3	Located underneath the overhang of panel 7. It is sheltered by panel 7 as it is deeper in the wall than the rest of the panels.
Panel 9	6	Lies along the bottom of the rockshelter wall. It is also the area that is least sheltered from the elements. All of the motifs in this panel are difficult to discern as they are fairly faded. DStretch has been used to clarify the image.
Panel 10	6	Is a small rock overhang on the southern side of the rockshelter. The images in this panel are differentiated from panel 2 as the wall begins to curve and paintings are concentrated in a particular area.

APPLICATION METHOD AND USE OF COLOUR

Images were only created using additive techniques excluding the engraved names. The types of techniques used include drawing, painting, stencilling and imprinting. Those that were combined were painting and drawings with only two images using that technique.

Table 4 Technique types and count

Technique type	Count	%
Drawn	4	3.56
Drawn/Painted	2	1.78
Imprint	1	0.89
Painted	80	71.2
Stencilled	2	1.78
Total	89	

Painting was the most frequent application method used at 71% ($n=.2$) of the images solely being painted. The other techniques were used minimally, four were drawn, two stencilled and one imprinted. There was also one motif that incorporated both drawn and painted techniques.



Figure 25 Examples of application methods. From left to right they are drawing, painting, stencilling and imprinting.

There were five different colours used across the images. These included black, white, red, yellow and mauve. Of these colours, white, red and yellow were used individually. Red was the most frequent of these with 26 individual motifs containing it. White was second to this with 20 being made of it. Yellow was the least used with only five using it (Table 5).

Table 5 Colours and count

Colour	Count	%
Red	26	50.9
White	20	39.2
Yellow	5	9.8
Total	51	

There were 38 images that were polychromatic (Table 6). The red and white combination was the most frequent with 28 containing that combination, while the remaining combinations occurred less than three times.

Table 6 Colour combination totals

Combination colours	Count	%
Black and White	1	2.6
Red and Black	1	2.6
Red and White	28	73.6
Yellow and Red	1	2.6
Yellow and White	3	7.8
Black, White and Red	2	5.2
Yellow, White and Red	1	2.6
White, Yellow, Red, Mauve	1	2.6
	38	

MOTIFS

In total, there were 89 motifs at Malkai, six of which were unclassified. The first drawing does not appear to make any image and DStretch was not useful to determine the image (Figure 26).



Figure 26 Unclassified image on Panel 8.

The second was superimposed and difficult to determine an image. DStretch was somewhat successful in bringing an image forward, however, it was not possible to determine what it may be (Figure 27).



Figure 27 Image of superimposition unclassified image on Panel 5. DStretch setting LDS.

The third and fourth were of images that could not be placed in any of the categories that were provided (Figure 28). This may be due to deterioration as some of the white in the paintings appears to be chipping off. To avoid making any assumptions about what they could be they were both labelled as unclassified. This was also considered for two images that appear to be affected by water (as discussed in Site Condition and pictured in Figure 20) and are most probably apart of one whole image.



Figure 28 Unclassed images from Panel 6.

The images that were identifiable were recorded as geometric, spooromorphic, anthropomorphic and object. Geometric was the most prominent classification, with 69 images being identified (Table 7). Spooromorphic was second to this making up with nine spooromorphic images. While there were three objects and two anthropomorphic images. After placing the images in classes, they were then placed into groups. Some images are described as having two groups.

Table 7 Classification and types with totals in each category

Geometric		Sporomorph		Object		Anthropomorphic	
Group	No.	Group	No.	Group	No.	Group	No.
Arc	4	Emu	1	Mat	2	Unique	2
Circular	12	Human	1	Malaka	1	Total	2
Circular/Linear	2	Kangaroo	3	Total	3		
Unique	6	Turkey	4				
Linear	35	Total	9				
Linear/Arc	1						
Phytomorph	6						
Triangular	2						
Ungrouped	1						
Total	69						

Geometric

There were seven groups and two combined groups that were identified in the geometric classification (see Table 7). There were 34 linear images which is the group that occurred the most. The second most prominent was circular making up 12. There were six unique images and five phytomorphs following this. There were four arcs while the remainder only appear once or twice. These include Arc/Linear, Circular/Linear, Simple and Triangular. The last remaining image was unable to be grouped.

Sporomorph

Sporomorph images were grouped into four categories. These included Emu, Human, Kangaroo and Turkey. Emu and Human appeared only once. The Human foot being that of a child's right foot. Kangaroos appeared three times, both in a similar area but placed singularly. The most frequent was the Turkey which was present on four different occurrences.

Object

There were two objects that were depicted. These were both based on information gained through interviews and previous documentation. The first was a *malaka* (bag) of which there was one, while the second were of Mats which there were two.

Anthropomorphic

There were two images that were considered anthropomorphic. This was based on information provided during interviews. It consists of two images placed next to each other, one depicting a man and one depicting a woman.

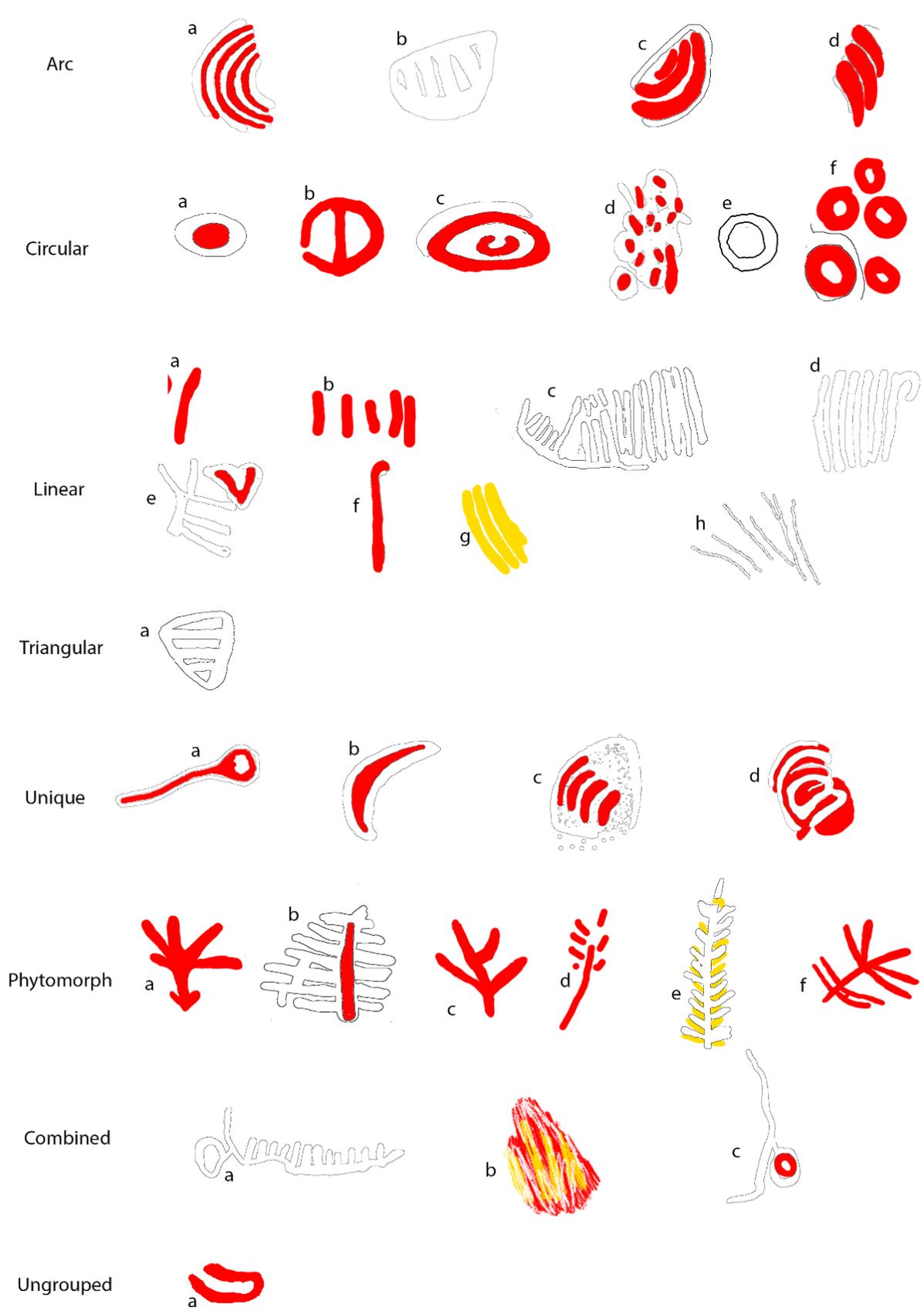


Figure 29 Arc: a) In-line b) Enclosed; bars c) internal arcs; closed d) Set. Circular: a) Internal colour b) Internal bar c) Spiral d) Irregular; internal colour; cluster e) Regular f) Regular cluster. Linear: a) Single b) Bars c) horizontal line with projecting vertical lines d) Bars; hooked line e) Bars; angled; connected f) Single g) Bars, Protruding bar h) lines. Triangular: a) Internal bars. Unique: a) Dot elements; unique b) Curvilinear c) Dot elements; unique d) Meandering lines. Phytomorph: Unknown. Combined: a) Bars; Horizontal bar; Vertical bars; Protruding circle b) Circular; irregular; internal line. c) Linear/Circular – Vertical lines; Individual; regular circle.

SUMMARY

This chapter set out to present the results from yarns and interviews about what Yura *malka* and Malkai means to Yuras while also presenting the results of the images that were recorded. The yarns indicated that Malkai was known as a place that had various uses, all holding deep spiritual and cultural significance. The restricted nature of initiation understandably limited conversations, however, knowing that Malkai was a part of that ceremony provides valuable context. Additionally, the stories about powerful people and strangers going through the gully contributes to knowledge about who was creating Yura *malka* at this specific place and what types of activities may have affected the creation of Yura *malka*.

The Yura *malka* were grouped into four different classifications. The majority fall into the geometric category which is dominated by the use of linear motifs.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

To determine whether a relationship exists between Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka* and archaeological theories regarding symbolic communication, it is necessary to determine what each are. The literature on archaeological theory is extensive, containing discussions about style variation and how the symbolic record relates to other archaeological evidence. This thesis sets out to describe an Adnyamathanha understanding of Yura *malka*. Similarly, the aim of doing so was to ensure that multiple voices in the Adnyamathanha community were represented. The literature does not necessarily talk about Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka*, making it the first and most important part of this project.

THE ROLE OF STORIES IN UNDERSTANDING A PLACE

Stories in Adnyamathanha culture are often place specific, which is why they are of focus in this research. Stories are the foundation of Adnyamathanha knowledge systems and can decide how people understand and interact with a space (Marsh 2010:123). Globally, stories have been recognised as holding historical relevance to Indigenous peoples. The incorporation of these types of historical records is becoming increasingly accepted, especially due to the perception that traditional historical and archaeological methods have their limitations (Damm 2005:74). For archaeology specifically, stories can assist with understanding how places have been used because their past and present use are often detailed inside the story of a place. Once the importance of a story is acknowledged it can then be interwoven throughout research. This is important in working with communities because it recognises Indigenous knowledge systems and ensures that archaeologists are not necessarily researching Indigenous communities, but they are working with them.

Taking into consideration the importance of stories in the understanding of place, the story of Warturlipinha needs to be examined more closely. Warturlipinha is a hill that is located approximately 6 km away from Malkai. Indhidindhidi connects these two places as he was the messenger for the two people who were camping at Warturlipinha. In this situation,

Indhidindhidi was warning the people to be careful of Vaidi passing through Malkai gorge. These Vaidi were leaving their marks on Malkai to signal that they had passed through. Doing this involved marking when they entered the area as well as marking as they left.

Vaidi passing through is not something that exists solely in the story of Warturlipinha. Elders often spoke of Vaidi passing through Malkai as a regular occurrence. It is also well-known that Mount Serle Bob was an Urngi and had fought with Vaidi in the gorge. Despite the possible conflict with Vaidi, oral traditions demonstrate a strong connection between Yuras and Malkai. Its use as a place for initiation ceremonies demonstrates that it was regularly used. Additionally, its importance is expanded further by the memories that are held by Yuras who participated in casual outings to Malkai as children and the spiritual connections that they continue to have today. This continuous connection to Malkai is demonstrated through the knowledge that Yuras have of Malkai, both as a place and one that contains *Yura malka*.

PLACE AND EXPERIENCE

In addition to having knowledge about place, how Adnyamathanha people experience place is also necessary for understanding Malkai. For some, experiencing Malkai was unattainable as Malkai was located on station land and Yuras were unable to go there (Carolynanha Johnson pers. comm. 2018). In other cases, *Yura malka* was reserved specifically for Wilyaru men and could not be visited by others. Lily Neville (pers. comm. 2018), specifically remembers her father explaining that there were places she could not go to and that the reason underlying this was because the spirits of the people who were buried at these places may remain there, making it dangerous to visit. This experience is quite common for many places in Adnyamathanha Yarta. People's parents often point to places from afar to indicate areas where they cannot go, ensuring that they are aware of this from a young age. However, Malkai has always been viewed as a place that everyone could go to, as long as they were respectful to the place and ancestors.

People avoiding places like Malkai demonstrates that there is still a strong spiritual component. This is demonstrated through avoidance as well as other behaviours at these

places to Adnyamathanha life. Fieldwork protocols created a safe environment where the spiritual significance of the place was kept in consideration. Through interviews it was also demonstrated that being quiet was something that was necessary, to allow for listening, but also as a way of respecting ancestors. Song plays into this as for many Adnyamathanha Yuras, it is an important medium for passing on information. This was discussed by Ken McKenzie and also demonstrated through his actions in the way that he participated in interviews, as his primary way of yarning was through song. Many Yuras recall their Elders singing songs at Malkai while looking at the motifs. Making Yura *malka* something that can trigger memories and song.

Lastly, it is also known that Malkai was used for initiation. The term Malkai is a shortened version of the word Malkada which is the second stage of male initiation. However, this does not mean that Malkai is exclusively a place where men only can go, it is in fact open to everyone in the community. Being used as a place of initiation largely determines what knowledge you may receive rather than deciding who can go there. As discussed by Bell (2014:102) in relation to how stories “...reveal different information to different people” so too does a place. Therefore, the experience of some members in the community at Malkai is likely to be different from the experiences of others.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORIES AND ADNYAMATHANHA UNDERSTANDINGS OF YURA MALKAI

SYMBOLIC COMMUNICATION: WESTERN METHODS

It is fair to say that archaeological methods used to analyse Yura *malka* are quite different to the way that Adnyamathanha people see and experience Yura *malka*. One of the main discussions that demonstrated this difference is the emphasis on quantitative methods and through the creation of typologies. This move from qualitative to quantitative was based on researchers wanting to analyse rock art through a scientific archaeological lens, in the same manner that stone artefact typologies have been developed (Maynard 1977:387). This would assume that bias is avoided as motifs are simplified in a way that archaeologists can

analyse objectively. This assumption is dangerous as it assumes that the way archaeologists categorise motifs and how they name them is absent from bias; however, these perceptions often represent how the researcher perceives a motif, rather than the maker's intent.

Considering the opinions of traditional owners is likely to be more useful than not including those perspectives at all. It is commonly accepted that people's memories of events have a time-depth of 500–800 years (Barber and Barber 2004). Despite this perception, Nunn and Reid (2016) demonstrate that there are numerous examples of sea-level rise in stories that are represented across the continent, dating to ~7,000 BP at minimum. In an Adnyamathanha context, there is a direct link between those who are alive today and their ancestors through the passing of these stories. Therefore, Adnyamathanha people are highly likely to hold much of the same knowledge that people did in the past. Marsh (2010:253) describes this best through Tunbridge (1988) by saying that although someone "may never have physically encountered" the events from a story, "spiritually and socially they can experience or know about something through the telling of stories by others". Similarly, the environment around Adnyamathanha people requires in-depth knowledge about the land to be passed on, in order to survive (Nunn and Reid 2016:12). Therefore, the incorporation of traditional owners' perspectives about how to group or classify 'motifs' may be a more culturally appropriate method of researching rock art.

MALKAI YURA MALKAI

The information given by Yuras demonstrates that Malkai is not a place that has one purpose or a place that is important for one person. Motifs at Malkai do not necessarily fit within one defined purpose and it mostly depends on the intended audience. This section aims to demonstrate how the audience can be determined through understanding the motifs.

Who can go to Malkai?

Malkai features important motifs that signifies whether there are any restrictions on who can visit the place (Figure 30). Consisting of two motifs grouped together, these are placed centrally in the rock shelter for everyone to view. When combined these motifs indicate that both men and women are able to be at this place as they depict a man and a woman (Clifford Coulthard pers. comm. 2017). These motifs are important, as it is known in the community that Malkai was used for initiation. Although people may assume that places connected to initiation are solely restricted to men, women were heavily involved. Margaret Brown (pers. comm. 2017) specifically remembers women dancing for days during initiation, therefore it would not be strange for this place to be open for women as well. These motifs

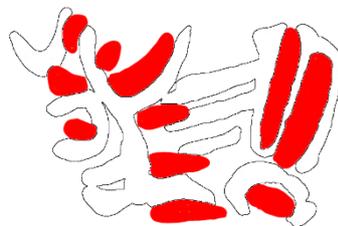


Figure 30 Male (left) and female (right) motifs

act as an important sign for those who question whether men and women can go there. Especially in terms of this research, having these motifs present at Malkai makes it a safe place to be as an Adnyamathanha woman and for me to have had non-Aboriginal male and female fieldwork volunteers.

Linear motif variation

It is well-known to Yuras that Aboriginal groups that surround Adnyamathanha Yarta have similar kinship systems and initiation ceremonies (Ken McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). This is represented in a subtle way in Yura *malka* at Malkai. Malkai features an extensive use of linear motifs to communicate multiple messages. In particular, linear motifs often represent the number of boys who are going through or have gone through initiation. They either depict their physical shape as a line or they represent the paths in the ground that were worn out by women who were dancing for each initiate (Coulthard 1989). These same lines are present at Arkaroo rock and Yourambulla caves (pers. obs). Arkaroo rock demonstrates

this through a story where boys are represented by lines that contribute to a story (Hayden Bromley pers. comm. 2017). This is also represented at Yourambulla caves in a similar way.

The reason these two places are of interest is that they are located in areas that are culturally significant to other Aboriginal groups, as well as Adnyamathanha. Although the presence of these motifs could be easily missed as they are often small and the paint has faded away, they represent an important part of these cultures. They demonstrate that these groups are connected through initiation.

Placement

In addition to how linear motifs vary, the use of the wall's natural features and their placement also has relevance. Panel 3 protrudes outwards and contains a number of motifs that are primarily linear but contain multiple colours. Although comprising different shapes, lengths and quantities, these groups of linear motifs are used to show people from outside of the region which local ochres are available for trade (Clifford Coulthard pers. comm. 2017). These motifs are only found in this part of the rockshelter making their placement an important component to their meaning. Being placed elsewhere may change their meaning, for example it could represent an initiation motif as they are both linear.

Material symbolism

Symbolism is not only exemplified in a motif through its appearance as the materials used may also hold significance. In Adnyamathanha culture, red ochre, specifically ochre that is dark red, is incredibly sacred. This type of ochre is highly likely to have originated from the ochre mine Pukardu and is related to an important story of significance to a number of groups including Diyari, Yandruwantha, Yawarrawarrka, Barngarla, as well as Adnyamathanha groups (Jones 2011:351). This type of ochre is often associated with Senior men (Ken McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). Groups from all around the region held expeditions to obtain Pukardu ochre (Jones 2011:353). At Malkai, red ochre made up 50% ($n = 9$) of the colours alongside combination colours of red and white which contributed 73% ($n = 6$) of the overall combination colours. This over-representation connects with the stories of Vaidi and also with initiation ceremonies.

Tracks

The function of animal representations in rock art has previously been discussed by researchers. These discussions have questioned the intent of the maker with some assessing whether they represented animals in the region (Bahn and Vertut 1988; Vinnicombe 1972). At locations other than Malkai, track motifs may have different functions, however, their placement at Malkai demonstrates that they are most likely informing people about what is available. This is also similar for plant motifs as they are depicted here to let people know what is available (Coulthard pers. comm. 2018). Each of these motifs are placed singularly and do not form part of a larger image. They do not contribute to a larger story, rather they act as indicators of resources available.

Identity mark

In discussions about cultures, archaeology can often forget the individual that is a part of a society. It can be assumed that each motif is created by one person, however, it may not necessarily be assumed that each motif is a representation of one individual. At Malkai there are several motifs that specifically relate to individual people, whether they created it or not. These are first represented through the initiation marks. Although grouped, each line signifies an individual person who has been there as a part of the Malkada. A child's footprint that has been printed on the wall also directly relates to one person. However, one of the largest images at Malkai presents the life of an individual. This is the image that contains multiple motifs that represent different aspects of their life. Although exactly who these individuals are were not named during the interviews, people were trying to communicate that they had been at Malkai or that there were specific people in the community that needed to be represented.

ABSENCE OF INFORMATION INFORMING RESEARCH

Across the continent, archaeologists have generally accepted that Indigenous people have knowledge about rock art. This acceptance has created closer collaborations between non-Indigenous archaeologists and Traditional Owners and an understanding of the influence that invasion has caused on Indigenous knowledge traditions. The average archaeologist is

unlikely to pressure Indigenous peoples for the answers to questions and explanations when they may not be able to provide the answers. If an Indigenous person cannot provide the answers it may lead to frustration and ultimately lead to unethical research as they are in a sense causing harm towards Traditional Owners. This frustration can be attributed to ideas of 'authenticity', as people may feel like they have lost aspects of their Indigenous identity if they are unable to provide the answers archaeologists are looking for. At Malkai there are many motifs that Adnyamathanha people are unable to provide explanations for. A lack of knowledge does not necessarily mean that Adnyamathanha people are unaware of the meaning because the information has been lost, it raises the question of whether there may be some other explanation. Malkai represents one place that provides the information to explore this question.

Early research has often assumed that lack of knowledge about motifs translates to great antiquity. In doing so, rock art has often been attributed to different societies and as a result, argued that Traditional Owners are disconnected from this heritage (Whitley 2005:88). Red Gorge is a prime example of how researchers often assume Indigenous people know nothing based on them not providing any information. Mountford (1943) claimed that the people who were with him at Red Gorge did not know about the engravings, but that they attributed them to a mythical lizard, Iti. He also discussed engravings from the MacDonnell Ranges, stating that they too did not know who made them. He combined the lack of information with weathering to indicate that they had 'considerable antiquity and are possibly due to the artistic efforts of a previous culture' (Mountford 1943:91–92). From Mountford's perspective he would have assumed that he was entitled to all information, however, the reality is that who has knowledge is dependent on that person's social standing within the community. Mountford simply was not allowed to know the truth. He is not alone in thinking from this perspective, however, it has real implications for Indigenous peoples when information is published that disconnects them from their heritage.

What is evident at Malkai is that the absence of knowledge is just as enlightening as the presence. Although, it is not necessarily an absence of knowledge all together, it is more the absence of knowledge of motifs. The explanation of this absence lies in Adnyamathanha stories, more specifically, the story of Warturlipinha. This story warns Adnyamathanha Yuras

that strangers would mark whenever they passed through Malkai. It was necessary to see if a second mark appeared, to ensure that they had returned home. These tally marks are a way of communicating to Adnyamathanha Yuras specifically, to let them know that they were passing through and later, that they would return. What is most intriguing about the story of Warturlipinha is that there are ancestors from living memory who had conflict with strangers at Malkai. Mount Serle Bob is known to be a powerful man who ran into some men who were passing through and he fought them (Mark McKenzie pers. comm. 2018). This story essentially brings to life the story of Warturlipinha demonstrating that it is not solely a story about a bird. It has real benefits and real impacts to how Adnyamathanha Yuras go about their lives, specifically in relation to Malkai.

Strangers passing through the region would have been a common occurrence. People regularly would have come through this area to reach places such as Pukartu mine and Wilpena Pound which are located further south. Located in the gorge is a spring which may have been a permanent water source. Those travelling from the north would have seen Malkai as an ideal location to visit or stay.

SUMMARY

Archaeological interests and Adnyamathanha understandings are to some extent at odds with each other. There is an important focus on the stories and how the place is used at Malkai for Adnyamathanha people, rather than the individual motifs that archaeologists tend to be interested in. Arguably, this is because archaeological research strives to place rock art research into the realm of scientific analysis. In doing so, it can disconnect people who are alive today with their heritage. However, this does not mean that all archaeological theories regarding symbolic communication are not in some way similar to Adnyamathanha understandings.

What this chapter has demonstrated is that symbolic communication at Malkai has a large connection to what the place was used for. There are multiple groups of people who act as communicators and receivers. The type of communication varies depending on the intended

audience. The table below demonstrates the association between the types of Yura *malka* and who communicates and/or receives this information.

Table 8 Communicators and receivers.

Communicators and receivers			Associated Yura <i>malka</i>
Adnyamathanha	↔	Adnyamathanha	Information that is shared between Adnyamathanha people is specific to Adnyamathanha people. Contains marks of identity, song reminders, and stories.
<i>Malkada</i> boys	→	Adnyamathanha and other groups	Communication between <i>Malkada</i> boys and the rest of the Adnyamathanha community is visible through tally marks.
Non-Adnyamathanha Aboriginal groups	↔	Adnyamathanha	Shared information between other groups and Adnyamathanha people. Consists of food and items for trade (ochre).
<i>Malkada</i> boys	↔	<i>Malkada</i> boys	Secret
Vaidi	↔	Vaidi	Unknown

Taking the above table into consideration, knowledge of place is integral to understanding how people communicate. It is even more important when considering who is communicating. The age of a motif and how it varies according to motifs from other dates often provides a sequence of motifs across time. However, this study considers a variation of motifs and attributes it to who has ties to this place and who may have been communicating to whom.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored understandings of Yura *malka* from the perspective of Adnyamathanha people, but more specifically through an Indigenous women's standpoint. My position enables me to see the absence of Adnyamathanha women's experiences and knowledge in relation to archaeology and more specifically, Yura *malka*. I aimed to include their voices wherever possible and ensured that I sought permission to complete my research through them as well.

Predominantly, the narrative around rock art across the country has been discussed through Western frameworks. These frameworks have largely served Western interests rather than considering the place of Indigenous knowledge as central to the research. This study aimed to centre Adnyamathanha knowledge while considering the role that Western frameworks can have.

In the past, narratives around Adnyamathanha Yura *malka* have specifically been generated by both Adnyamathanha men and non-Indigenous men. This has limited understandings and primarily created an Adnyamathanha men's narrative of Yura *malka* and a non-Indigenous perception of Yura *malka*. Through employing an Indigenous women's standpoint this research has incorporated multiple understandings of Yura *malka*. This is specifically due to the incorporation of prior research written by Adnyamathanha men and the original research undertaken for this thesis.

Interviews with Adnyamathanha Elders and people who have learnt from their Elders demonstrated that there was an underlying theme of the meaning of a place rather than the meaning of motifs. What a place meant to people ultimately decided what they knew and how they interacted with the place. The importance of being silent in order to listen was important, this ensured that young children would be listening and focussing on what Elders would say. However, it also allows people to respect place, to acknowledge the presence of ancestors, and to absorb the surroundings. Adnyamathanha people also have a strong respect towards the materials that are used for Yura *malka*, as demonstrated in the use of red ochre and its relation to ceremonial use. Stories were also an important aspect as they are tied to the land and decide what a place may mean. These stories may involve people

from living memory or people and animals from non-living memory. The relevance of stories therefore are vital to the practice of archaeology and the understanding of archaeology.

Malkai provided a great avenue to explore how an Indigenous standpoint can influence research. It is a place that is relatively unaffected by vandalism as it is primarily open to visitors who are guided by an Adnyamathanha person. It is also unrestricted, however, some information that is provided may be restricted to certain people within the community.

Yarns about Malkai focussed on what people remember about visiting Malkai. Everyone who spoke had various memories about their visits, some were with family groups, some were with outings with other girls and some were during initiation. People remember songs playing a role as some images often evoked a song being sung. It also was a place where songs were given, as mentioned by Ken McKenzie. Malkai also relates to a specific story connected to Mount Serle Bob. This story provides an important lens to see Malkai through.

Studying Malkai solely from a quantitative view provides minimal understanding of the place. Using quantitative data to complement the knowledge of Adnyamathanha people is the most effective way of understanding how rock art places have been used in the past and how they are important in the present. The favouring of red, as well as, the red and white combinations connects directly with cultural narratives and ceremonial use; this also applies to the intense use of linear motifs. However, the overrepresentation of specific motifs does not indicate the importance of them, rather how a motif relates to knowledge does.

MAIN OUTCOMES

Is there a relationship between Adnyamathanha understandings of Yura *malka* and archaeological understandings of rock art? This thesis has demonstrated that Adnyamathanha ways of knowing and traditional archaeological theories do not necessarily relate. Rock art is a unique form of material culture that exists across the world and people's connection to it has never been a straightforward answer. In an effort to answer questions about rock art, archaeologists have tried to remain objective, however, bias has always influenced the motives of the researcher and what they want to answer. This thesis has:

- Recognised the way that Western research frameworks can impact conclusions made about rock art and how they are primarily motivated by Western interests.
- Examined how researcher bias will always influence the outcomes of research and that an Indigenous women's standpoint ultimately provides a unique research perspective in Australia.
- Produced a broad perspective of Malkai that can be used to continue story telling traditions for Adnyamathanha people.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

One aspect of this research that should be explored further are the names that were carved into the rocks. From a glance, these names were mostly of senior men. In the future it would be useful to include these names in the narrative of Malkai. The names provide a great avenue for the younger generation to see the names of their ancestors carved into the wall.

Although this research has revolved around rock art it does not necessarily require further research in the traditional sense. Further research should instead aim to understand the implications of Western ideologies and how it has influenced not only the practice of archaeology, but the production of research. Recognising one's own experiences and how that can impact the results of your research is what is required in future research.

APPENDIX 1 ETHICS APPROVAL FORMS

Anggumathanha Camp Law Mob
Contact: Enice Marsh

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is to provide written support for Jacinta Koolmatrie to conduct research into rock art in the Flinders Ranges. Anggumathanha Camp Law Mob supports her in relation to any necessary access to archival documents and other relevant records from the South Australian Museum, State Records [e.g., SA, VIC and NSW], Libraries, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Division, consultant records/reports and other such relevant repositories to facilitate research field work and interviews with community members (providing she obtains the individual's informed consent) in relation to this project.

This letter also confirms that Jacinta Koolmatrie has the permission to apply for funding related to the project.

It is understood that Jacinta Koolmatrie will need to apply for Flinders University ethics approval.

Anggumathanha Camp Law Mob understand that the research program will incorporate the following items and research areas:

1. Funding will be applied for in order to assist with transport to and from sites and meetings including any unforeseen costs that arise.
2. Research will include:
Rock art analysis, interviews, and photographs.
3. The focus area will be all of Adnyamathanha yarta, while individual sites will be based on the approval of Adnyamathanha people.
4. Recording of each rock art site consists of photographs and measurements of the individual images.
5. This research will be written as a Master's Thesis and will therefore be made publicly available.
6. This research may be used for future publications.
7. The potential for co-authorship with Adnyamathanha people.

It is agreed that Anggumathanha will receive the following:

1. Regular updates of the project
2. Final presentation of project
3. All recorded information (interviews & rockart)
4. _____

More outcomes may arise during the project.

Yours sincerely,

Signed



Adnyamathanha Traditional Land Association RNTBC

ICN: 3734 ABN: 14 146 238 567

PO Box 4014 Port Augusta 5700



Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association

Chairperson - Damian Coulthard

Contact: 0466399789

To Whom it May Concern,

This letter is to provide written support for Jacinta Koolmatrrie to conduct research into rock art in the Flinders Ranges. The Adnyamathanha Traditional Lands Association (ATLA) supports her in relation to any necessary access to archival documents and other relevant records from the South Australian Museum, State Records [e.g., SA, VIC and NSW], Libraries, Aboriginal Affairs and Reconciliation Division, consultant records/reports and other such relevant repositories to facilitate research field work and interviews with community members (providing she obtains the individual's informed consent) in relation to this project.

This letter also confirms that Jacinta Koolmatrrie has the permission to apply for funding related to the project.

It is understood that Jacinta Koolmatrrie will need to apply for Flinders University ethics approval.

ATLA understands the research program will incorporate the following items and research areas:

1. Funding will be applied for in order to assist with transport to and from sites and meetings including any unforeseen costs that arise.
2. Research will include:
Rock art recording and analysis, interviews, and photographs.
3. The focus area will be all of Adnyamathanha yarta, while individual sites will be based on the approval of Adnyamathanha people.
4. Recording of each rock art site consists of photographs and measurements of the individual images.
5. ATLA understands that this research will be written as a Master's Thesis and will therefore be made publicly available.
6. This research may be used for future publications.
7. The potential for co-authorship with Adnyamathanha people.

ATLA agrees that the following outcomes will come as a result of the project:

- Research will include, rock art recording and analysis, interviews, and photographs, the focus area will be all of Adnyamathanha yarta, while individual sites will be based on the approval of ATLA.
- Recording of each rock art site consists of photographs and measurements of the individual images based on the approval of ATLA.
- ATLA understands that this research will be written as a Master's Thesis and will therefore be made publicly available, this research may be used for future publications with the understanding the potential for co-authorship with ATLA & Adnyamathanha people.

Yours sincerely,
Damian Coulthard

Signed



(Chairperson of Adnyamathanha Traditional Land Association)

APPENDIX 2 CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE FORMS

Letter of Introduction

(Adnyamathanha people)

Dear _____

This letter is to introduce Jacinta Koolmatrie who is a Masters student in the Department of Archaeology at Flinders University. She will produce her student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

She is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of Adnyamathanha yura malka/rock art.

She would like to invite you to assist with this project by agreeing to be involved in interviews, site visits and/or focus groups which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than 2 hours on 1 or 2 occasion(s) would be required.

Be assured that any information you provide can be altered however the ability to remain anonymous cannot be guaranteed. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since she intends to make a tape recording of the interview, she will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, and to make the recording available to other researchers on the same conditions.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to either supervisors at the below contact details.

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Assoc. Prof. Amy Roberts

Ph: 82012217

Dr. Mick Morrison

Ph: 82015906

This project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (7648). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

(by interview and focus group)

Assessment of yura malka variation and the influence of Adnyamathanha yarta perspectives

I

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the for the research project on

1. I have read the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio/video recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.

5. I understand that:

- I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
- I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.
- I do not have the option of remaining anonymous due to the scale of the project.
- I may ask that the recording/observation be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

6. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's signature.....Date.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

APPENDIX 3 YURA MALKA MOTIF DATABASE

Appendix 3 has intentionally been excluded from the public version of this thesis based on Responsibilities 19 and 23 of the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research 2018*. These responsibilities state the following:

“R19 Engage with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and respect their legal rights and local laws, customs and protocols.”

“R23 Disseminate research findings responsibly, accurately and broadly. Where necessary, take action to correct the record in a timely manner.”

By excluding this information from the public record and providing upon request, it will ensure that Adnyamathanha people have complete control over how their information is being disseminated. If you are interested in obtaining this information you will need to contact the author.

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