

ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

A preliminary account

by

Kathleen Stuart Strehlow

**A thesis submitted in partial conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Masters
Department of Anthropology
University of Toronto**

© Copyright by Kathleen Stuart Strehlow 2000



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**385 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**385, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-50372-0

Canada

ABSTRACT

ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA A preliminary account

Kathleen Stuart Strehlow

**Masters Degree
Department of Anthropology
University of Toronto**

This thesis sets down principles of traditional aboriginal land ownership in Central Australia because political events demonstrate little is known of it. Thus the tabular data has been inserted giving background material from which sites owned by aboriginals are extracted.

The problem is to demonstrate that aboriginal women – through the conception sites and their totems – are born equal with men. Three sites have been chosen from these records: Emalkña, Urumuna and Tuña. The latter is selected because the introduction of European blood shows that part-white children also inherited land ownership from the aboriginal side of their heritage.

The thesis is preliminary study, since when I began this work thirty years ago, I envisaged doing the whole of the Central Australian aboriginal land ownership, both men and women. Due to official opposition it was not to be. This thesis survives as a small yet vital fragment from which generalisations can be made.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to the following for their assistance and support in the preparation of this thesis:

Pauline and Richard Aucoin

Wanda Barrett - University of Toronto, Department of Anthropology

Bruce Chatwin - author

Dawn Darwent – word processing operator

Professor Evert van Beek – Sheridan College

Professor Kalmar – University of Toronto, Department of Anthropology

Professor Michael Lambek

Roxanne Leunig – proof reader

Professor Nagata – University of Toronto, Department of Anthropology

Rodney Needham

Professor J.S. and Mrs Gillian Oxford

Mrs Elvira Stewart

Professor Donald Stranks

Donald R Stuart – author

Professor David H Turner

Wallis Rockhole "aboriginal mob"

People (both aboriginal and white) of Hermannsburg

Members of the Strehlow Research Foundation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF MAPS	vi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
THE RESEARCH AREA	2
BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND	3
C.F.T. Strehlow	3
T.G.H. Strehlow	6
Songs of Central Australia	7
CULTURE CONTACT AND DEATH OF A CULTURE	7
CHAPTER 2 ABORIGINALS AND LAND IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA	9
ABORIGINALS AND LAND	9
NOW AND EVER SHALL BE	10
LOVE OF NATIVE SOIL	11
PRINCIPLES GOVERNING LAND OWNERSHIP	14
"TRIBES", "SECTIONS", AND "SUBSECTIONS"	16
PART ABORIGINALS	19
"ANKEILTA" OR "GUESTS"	20
THE HERMANNSBURG PHENOMENON	20

	Page
WOMEN AND LAND	21
WHAT CONSTITUTES ABORIGINAL OWNERSHIP IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA	24
CHAPTER 3 ABORIGINAL WOMEN	28
WOMEN IN THEORY	28
Sacred and Profane	28
Warner on Social Inequality	29
Aboriginal Women in the Wider Literature	30
Women in Other Societies	32
WOMEN IN ABORIGINAL SOCIETY	33
Women in Aboriginal Mythology	33
Women and the Men's Ceremonies	35
Blood Avengers and the Role of Women	41
Women, Tjuruṇa and Magic	46
Some Comments	49
CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSIONS	55
NOTES	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	61
APPENDIX A TABULAR DATA	65

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Aranda Kinship and Marriage (from David H. Turner)	18
2. Family Tree (from T.G.H. Strehlow, genealogies, I,6)	23

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
1. Aboriginal Central Australia (from K.S. & T.G.H. Strehlow), <i>in Songs of Central Australia</i>	4
2. The Western Aranda Njinaja Section (from T.G.H. Strehlow), 1965	15

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of aboriginal women's ownership of the land in Central Australia, and to evaluate the realities of their status in their community, and their participation in its ritual. My analysis takes account of cross-cultural contact in Central Australia and examines the importance of the land to the aboriginals as members of a land-based kin-group social system. In writing this thesis, I have drawn comprehensively on the work of C.F.T. Strehlow and of T.G.H. Strehlow to complement my own field work.

The thesis gives biographical background of C.F.T. Strehlow, missionary to the Aranda-speaking people for 28 years and who first began his work in Central Australia amongst the Dieri people in 1892; it also gives biographical details about my late husband, T.G.H. Strehlow, my teacher and mentor in aboriginal matters and sketches a brief biographical background about myself. The thesis discusses *Songs of Australia* (1971), a seminal work that Bruce Chatwin claims, together with Dr E.H. Medlin of the University of Adelaide, is "one of the great works of the century".

Chapter 2 deals with aboriginals and land in Central Australia, discussing their relationship with it, the principles of eternity, principles governing land ownership and considerations of "guests" occupying the land. Reference is made to the Hermannsburg situation.

Chapter 3 considers women in theory where the influence of French structuralism is discussed along with Warner on social inequality, aboriginal women in the wider literature and women and their status in other societies. The section on women in aboriginal society covers their role in aboriginal mythology, women and the men's ceremonies, blood avengers and the role of women, tjurunga and magic.

The thesis arrives at certain conclusions with respect to information regarding women's rights and land ownership in Central Australia, including the influence of the strong character of older women.

THE RESEARCH AREA

This thesis concerns the people of the Aranda-speaking area of aboriginal Central Australia. Their area is defined by Norman B. Tindale (1974, 220-221) in the following terms:

Aranda

Loc.: At Mount Goss, Mount Zeil, and Mount Heughlin; on the Finke River to Idracowra, Blood Creek, Macumba, Mount Dare, and Andado, and some distance east into the sandhills of the Arunta (Simpson) Desert; northeast to Intea on the lower Hale River, thence north to Ilbala on Plenty River; west to Inilja and Hart Range, Mount Swan, Gillen Creek, Connor Well, and Narwietooma; in Central MacDonnell, James and Ooraminna Ranges . . . The relative areas occupied by the six groups of Aranda are approximately as follows: (in square miles)

Eastern Aranda	16,000
Northern Aranda	5,700
Western Aranda	4,600
Central Aranda	3,200
Upper Southern Aranda	8,200
Lower Southern Aranda	<u>9,300</u>
	47,000

Coord: 134° 45'E x 24° 40 'S

Area: 47,000 sq m (122,200 sq km)

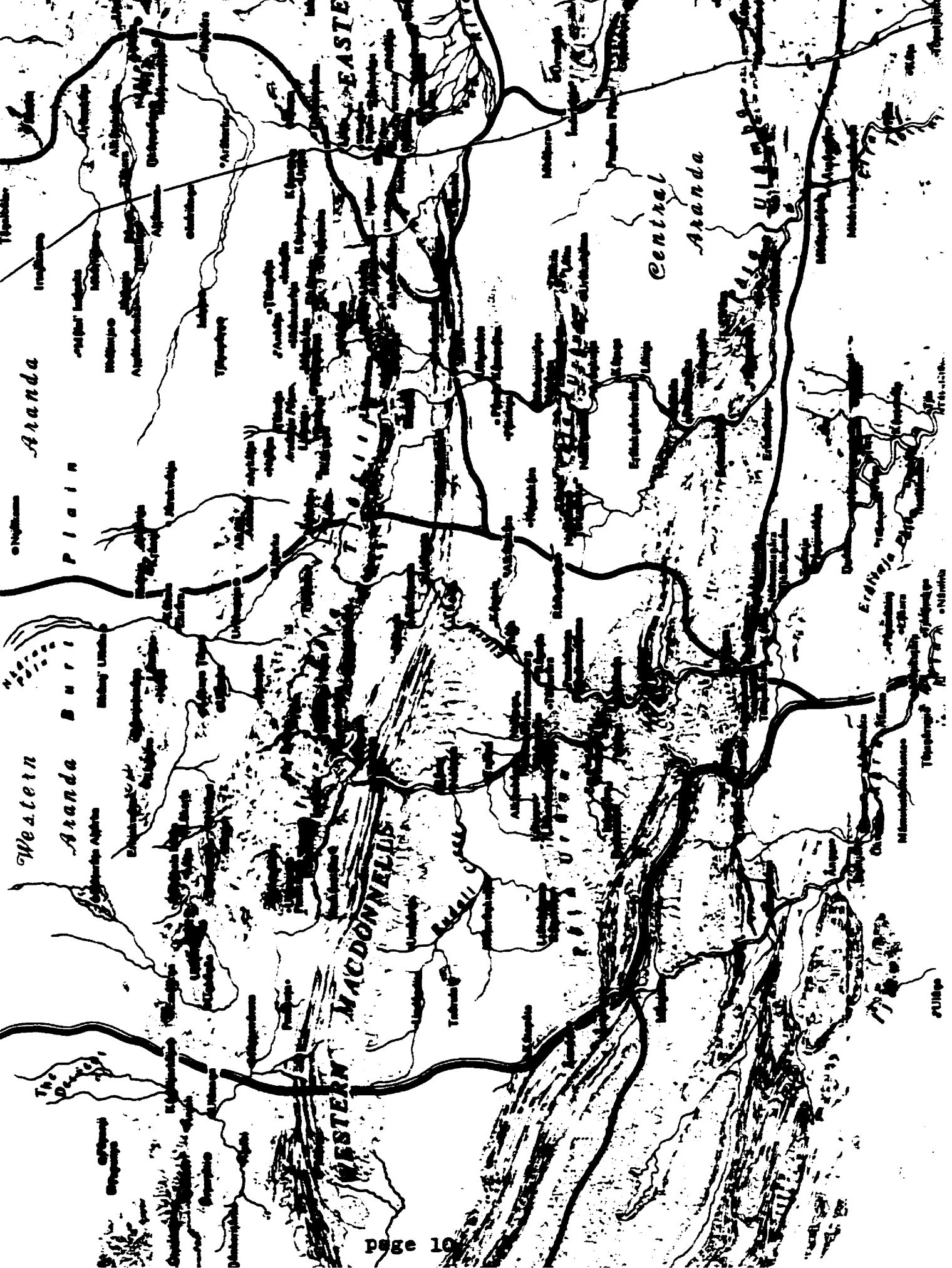
This area is located on map 1, a copy of the map in *Songs of Central Australia* (1971), by Strehlow and Strehlow, where actual totemic sites have been plotted to enable linguistic boundaries to be more accurately delineated.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

C.F.T. Strehlow

Upon his arrival at Hermannsburg in 1894 Carl Fiederich Theodor Strehlow found an Aranda service book (Galtjintana – Pepa Kristianirberaka Mbontala), a handwritten German-Aranda dictionary by the Reverend H. Kempe, and a printed 'A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language spoken by the Aborigines of the MacDonnell Ranges, South Australia', also by Kempe. From this base he began his studies of the languages of (Western) Aranda and of Loritja (better called Kukatja), one of the Western Desert languages, and prepared grammars and word lists for both these languages.

By 1904 he had printed a new Aranda Catechism service book, and hymn book (Galtjindinjamea-Pepa) and was busy on an Aranda-German-Loritja Dictionary, listing thousands of Aranda and Loritja words, one of the first dictionaries of any aboriginal Australian language. Strehlow also spent years translating the New Testament into Aranda. Of this translation, only the Four Gospels (Ewangelia Taramatara) were



printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1928. Strehlow's *Galtjindijamea-Pepa* was re-printed in 1924 after a Loritja Supplement produced by Mr A. Heinrich and Mr Moses Tjalkabota had been added to it.

He also found time to write his major ethnographic work on the myths, songs and social organisation of the (Western) Aranda and Loritja in Central Australia during his first busy years at Hermannsburg. This was a prestige publication by the German 'Stätisches Volker-Museum' Frankfurt am Main in the years 1907 to 1920.

Strehlow's *Die Aranda-und Loritja Stämme in Zentral Australien* (1907-1920) was immediately recognised in Europe as one of the major works of Australian anthropology. Central Australia had become world-renowned, mainly for the records of aboriginal ceremonies through Spencer and Gillen's book *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899). But its authors had not been able to converse with their informants in their own languages; Strehlow, however, was fluent in Aranda, and had a good grasp of Loritja as well. His success in translating the Aranda and Loritja sacred songs (hitherto thought untranslatable) was a major achievement. So too was his description of the social organisation and his setting down of the kin group terminology of the people among whom he had worked. This was done from genealogies which went back to the limits of the memory of his informants: to about the year 1800 – seven decades before white settlement began in Central Australia.

Strehlow busied himself on the welfare and the needs of the black population at Hermannsburg, which he built up into an imposing village settlement. Most of the stone buildings still standing at Hermannsburg date from his time, when the black population voluntarily at Hermannsburg numbered up to 200 people. He died in 1922.

This welfare work was supported by the results of cattle and horse breeding, and by donations of Lutheran Church members, with little help from the government.

Hermannsburg came to be regarded with pride as a refuge by the black population of Central Australia. Most of the rare white visitors were enthusiastic about its achievements.

But for Strehlow's policies and work at Hermannsburg from 1894 to 1922, the (Western) Aranda would almost certainly have become extinct like the two great Southern Arandas. Instead, the Western Aranda are today the most numerous people in the area, and their dialect is now dominant.

T.G.H. Strehlow

T.G.H Strehlow was born at Hermannsburg, Central Australia on 6 June 1908, the son of C.F.T. Strehlow the Lutheran Missionary. Until the age of 14, the younger Strehlow was to grow up entirely with aboriginal playmates and he learned to speak Western Aranda as one of his three mother tongues. After receiving an education in Adelaide in Classics and English Language and Literature, Strehlow returned to Central Australia to study aboriginal languages and to develop his enduring relationships with the *kjaribata* (old wise men).

Strehlow's collected aboriginal material includes about 5000 song verses and more than 100 Aranda and Loritja myths and traditions. He orthographised an aboriginal language. His sound recordings have a playing time of about 80 hours, and photographic and film records exist of over 900 secret totemic acts. A review of this material indicates that Australian aboriginal languages are highly developed media of communication, with rich vocabularies, and a capacity to express religious and social concepts. Aboriginal songs

are rhythmically varied, with excellent metres. The social concepts which supported the old tribal organisations were of a very high order: the Australian tribes had solved many of the difficulties of communal living.

Songs of Central Australia

Songs of Central Australia contains some of the fruits of Strehlow's relationships with the *kjaribata*. It is a comprehensive account of the poetic heritage of the aboriginal people of Central Australia. Strehlow analysed aboriginal songs as oral literature and evaluated them as authoritative statements in aboriginal religion. He believed that "when the strong web of future Australian verse comes to be woven, probably some of its strands will be found to be poetic threads spun on the Stone Age hair-spindles of Central Australia." (*Songs of Central Australia*, p. 729.)

CULTURE CONTACT AND DEATH OF A CULTURE

The old tribal organisation and the old social structure of many local groups in the Aranda-speaking area had received a severe blow in the eighteen-eighties, but religious festivals continued to be held in those parts of the Aranda territory where the sacred waters had not yet been closed to the tribesmen by the cattle-owners.

After 1910, depopulation and disbelief among the young generation, portended the end of the old religion. The end came with the influenza epidemic of 1919-20 which wiped out the bulk of the ageing, chronically undernourished population of the Southern and Central Aranda areas, and made serious inroads elsewhere. After 1920, full-scale ceremonial festivals were rarely held either in these parts, or among the Eastern Aranda, who had suffered almost as cruelly. Mission influences had already ended ceremonial

performances in the Western Aranda district. The last blow was struck by the completion of the railway line from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs in 1929. This brought most of the younger non-missionised Aranda folk to Alice Springs and to southern railway sidings. Aranda religion and tradition disintegrated in the utter and cynical disillusionment which followed.

Until his death in 1978, Strehlow continued to rescue the myths and songs; now virtually all that remains of them exists in his tape recordings, his notebooks and his films of those years.

CHAPTER 2

ABORIGINALS AND LAND IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

ABORIGINALS AND LAND

Man's love of his native land has inspired warriors and poets throughout history.

Breathes there a man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land

wrote Sir Walter Scott in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*; Rupert Brooke, with foreboding of dying in an alien land, left behind him this poetic plea in *The Soldier*:

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.

And whose heart has not been moved by empathy on hearing Wagner's *Pilgrim's Chorus* from *Tannhäuser*, even in translation:

I joy, dear land, once more to behold thee,
In gladness greet the loved vales that enfold thee!

Australian aboriginals in Central Australia were certainly not exempt from such feelings. Their "totemic ancestors" moved about on the earth and created the Central Australian landscape. All its features were associated with an episode in sacred myth or with a verse in sacred song. Indeed the myths and songs were regarded as compositions of the supernatural beings. Ritual in which totemic ancestors were revealed in later times by their human reincarnations was believed to have been instituted by the supernatural

personages honoured in them. Hence all sacred ritual (including songs and body patterns worn by the actors impersonating the totemic ancestors) was eternal and unalterable, guarded by threat of the death penalty. In addition to creating the landscape certain "culture heroes" liberated the semi-embryonic masses of humanity into the fullness of life, teaching how to fashion spears and shields, how to make fire, how to cook, and so on. Every aspect of life had been supernaturally instituted.

From the nature of its religion, Central Australia had no priestly class. Men had the nature of supernatural beings from whom they had been reincarnated. They did not need mediators; when they impersonated these ancestors in ritual, they actually became those supernatural beings, akin to the Christian Eucharist.

NOW AND EVER SHALL BE

Most Aranda have an overwhelming affection for their ancestral territory: mountains, creeks, springs and waterholes are the work of their ancestors. The lives and the deeds of the immortal beings whom they revere are recorded in the landscape; they believe they may take on human shape again, and may even be kinsfolk. The whole countryside is their living, age-old family tree.

They cling to the native soil, and lament when their ancestral home site is desecrated.

LOVE OF NATIVE SOIL

In 1934 Strehlow wrote in what was to be published in 1947 and 1968 in *Aranda Traditions* (Melbourne University Press and Johnson Reprint Corporation, New York "Landmarks in Anthropology") the following:

"The foregoing account explains in some measure the overwhelming affection felt by a native for his ancestral territory. Mountains and creeks and springs and water-holes are, to him, not merely interesting or beautiful scenic features in which his eyes may take a passing delight; they are the handiwork of ancestors from whom he himself has descended. He sees recorded in the surrounding landscape the ancient story of the lives and the deeds of the immortal beings whom he reveres; beings, who for a brief space may take on human shape once more; beings, many of whom he has known in his own experience as his fathers and grandfathers and brothers, and as his mothers and sisters(sic). The whole countryside his living, age-old family tree. The story of his own totemic ancestor is to the native the account of his own doings at the beginning of time, at the dim dawn of life, when the world as he knows it now was being shaped and moulded by all-powerful hands. He himself has played a part in that first glorious adventure, a part smaller or greater according to the original rank of the ancestor of whom he is the present reincarnated form.

"Hence, the Northern Aranda clings to his native soil with every fibre of his being. He will always speak of his own 'birth-place' with love and reverence. Today, tears will come into his eyes when he mentions an ancestral home site which has been, sometimes unwittingly, desecrated by the white usurpers of his group territory. As Gurra said to me:

The Ilbalintja soak has been defiled by the hands of white men. Two white men came here to sink a well. They put down into the sacred soaks plugs of gelignite, to blast an opening through the hard rock at the bottom. But the rock was too hard for them. They had to leave without having been able to shatter it; they took ill soon afterwards and died.

And now the soak has almost gone dry. No longer do men pluck up the grass and the weeds and sweep the ground clean around it; no longer do they care for the resting place of Karora. Bushes have grown up on the very edge of the soak, and there is no one to uproot them. The bandicoots have vanished from the tall grass in the mulga thicket. Our young men no longer care for the traditions of their fathers; and their women bear no children. Soon the men of Ilbalintja will be no more; we shall all sleep in our graves as our forefathers do now.

There is little here for strangers to see; there is no mountain cave here, only a storehouse in a mulga tree. But though the soak has been forsaken by almost all our people, a few of us old men still care for it. It still holds me fast; and I shall tend it while I can: while I live, I shall love to gaze on this ancient soil.

“Love of home, longing for home, these are dominating motives which constantly re-appear also in the myths of the totemic ancestors. A group of honey-ant men leaves its old home at Ljaba and goes on a long journey west to Popanja, another honey-ant totemic centre, situated in Kukatja territory. For a time they march along the edge of the foothills fringing the Western MacDonnells. Finally they have come to a curve in the low flanking range, and they know that Ljaba will hereafter be hidden from their view. So they halt for a moment, and glance back towards Ljaba. They see the pale purple peaks which surround it gleaming dim through the fast-gathering haze. Like a pall of smoke the haze enfolds the hills; and the men grieve for the home which none of them expects to see again. Tears fall from their eyes, and their last chant goes up:

Enfolded by plains lies Ljaba;
Beyond the far horizon lies Ljaba.

Enfolded by plains lies Ljaba,
Dimmed by the enveloping mists.

“And then they move on. And to this day, wherever Northern Aranda men perform the honey-ant ceremonies of Ljaba, tears come into their eyes as their low chant trembles on into the hushed pulse of the night:

**Enfolded by plains lies Ljaba;
Beyond the far horizon lies Ljaba.**

**Enfolded by plains lies Ljaba,
Dimmed by the enveloping mists.**

“Longing for home – this is the motive which leads most of the weary ancestors of legend back to the place whence they originated. the euro brothers, Ntjikantja and Kwanaraka, return to their old home at Kaput’ Urbula when their toil of instructing men in the use of the spear has been ended. The head of Ankotarinja rolls back to the little sandy rill at Ankota where he had first emerged from his long sleep. The death-sick Ulamba chief slowly plods on over the many weary miles that separate him from his mountain home; he must journey thither to lay his head down for his final sleep:

The fatal combat is done; he wishes to return:

**High in the heavens shines the afternoon sun:
His heart is filled with yearning to turn home.**

His body gleams in the waning sunlight; he is painted with the device of the blood-avengers. He sees his old home in the distance:

**My own home, my dear home , -
O Ulamba, rugged, chasm-cleft.**

He hears the familiar twittering of birds in the vicinity of the mountain:

**The birds are speaking with many voices
At Ulamba, chasm-cleft Ulamba.**

He sees his old camping ground. He sees the hollow where he used to sleep covered with the marks of birds' feet: their scratching feet have disfigured it; no one has tended it in his absence:

My own home, my dear home, -
Whose feet have disfigured it?

The mulga parrots have disfigured it;
Their feet have scratched the deserted hollow.

He sinks down; and sleep shuts his eyelids for ever."

pp. 30-33 (copyright K.S. Strehlow)

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING LAND OWNERSHIP

The land ownership of Central Australian aboriginals is highly complex – see my paper "Aboriginal Man in Central Australia: his Land and his Language" in *Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder* (1984). However, before the principles governing aboriginal women owning land can be discussed, it is necessary to understand what is meant by land ownership.

All Aboriginals were born into – or, more correctly, conceived into – a *njinana* section or, as translated, a local group area of people in father/children relationships (both blood relationships and classificatory relationships). They receive their land rights and all their secret ceremonial rights and sacred objects from their conception sites which have a *kjanintja*, that is a totemic symbol, usually a plant or an animal.

There are 10 *njinana* section areas to be found in the Western Aranda-speaking region as Map 2 shows (Strehlow, 1965). Each *njinana* section area contains 2 father son couples

of sections which “sit over “ the land and people and which regulate marriage (Turner 1974, 99-100; 1980, 57-62). *Njinana* section couples with the same name in different areas are totemically linked while retaining their separate identities. These reduce to 4 couples in all.

“TRIBES”, “SECTIONS”, “SUBSECTIONS”

There has always been some difficulty in Australia of defining exactly what is meant by “tribe”. D.H. Turner discusses these difficulties in his chapter “The Concept of the Tribe” (Turner 1980, 119-128). Academics have not agreed on a nomenclature for the parts of the intricate aboriginal social system; “tribes” are variously divided into “moieties”, “sections”, “subsections” and “classes”.

Radcliffe Brown sought to systematise the subject in his 1930-31 papers in *Oceania* (see Kuper, 1977 ed. 131;173). He defines the “horde” as the basic unit, and the “tribe” as consisting of an aggregation of “hordes”, the “tribe” being the linguistic unit and the “horde” being “a small group of persons owning a certain area of territory”.

Radcliffe Brown divides the “tribe” into “sections” (i.e. 4 parts, *ibid.*, 152) called by him “the Kariara type” or “subsections” (8 part) called by him “the Aranda type”, (*ibid.*, 154). The “horde” would correspond with T.G.H. Strehlow’s “*njinana* section areas” or “local groups” of the Aranda-speaking area. It is on this point that Radcliffe Brown differs from Strehlow.

Strehlow had delivered a paper in 1950 to one of Raymond Firth’s seminars in the University of London entitled “Aranda Regular and Irregular Marriages” in which he

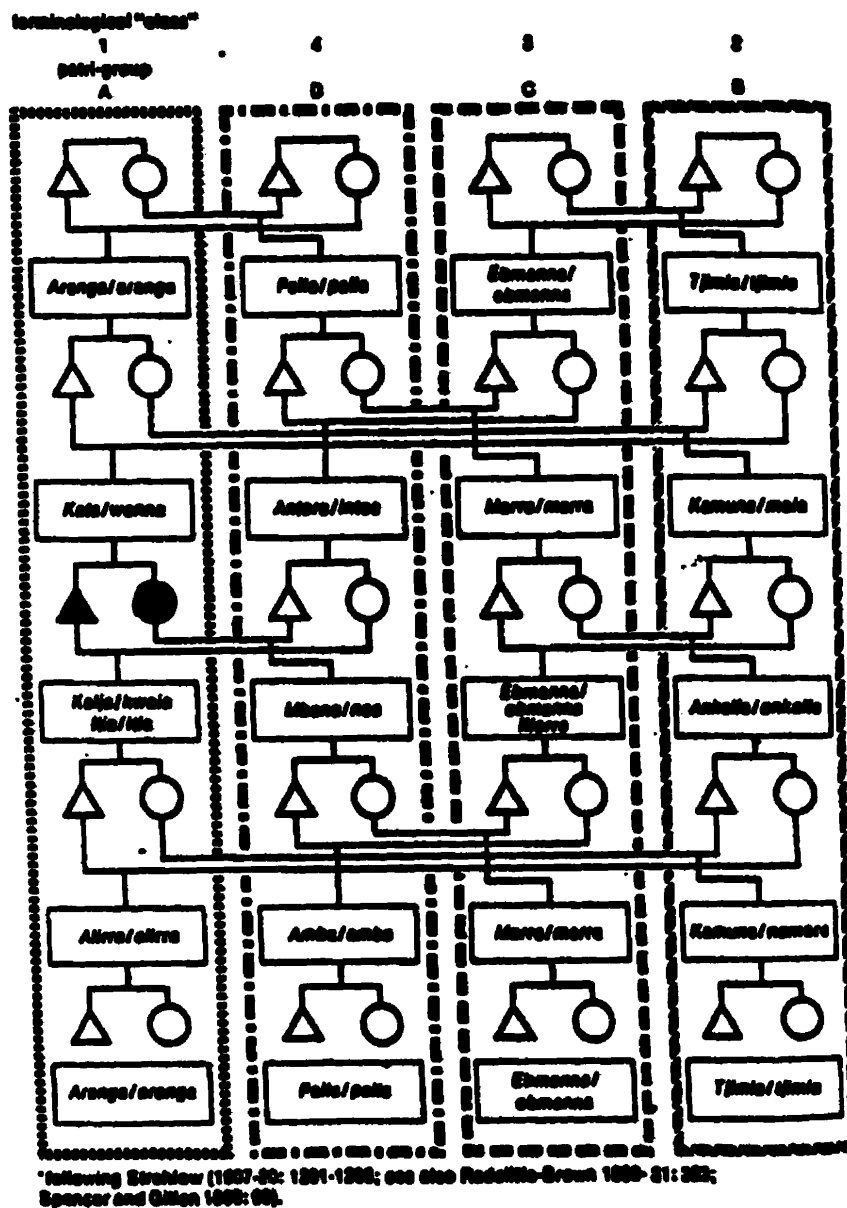
outlined his views on the social system of the Aranda-speaking area and illustrated his points from actual genealogies collected by his father, C.F.T. Strehlow, and published in *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stämme in Central Australien* (1907-1920). The essence of this 1950 paper is contained in Strehlow's "Culture, Social Structure, and Environment in Aboriginal Central Australia" (Strehlow 1965, 136; note 14). Strehlow used the term *class* instead of *subsection*. His term *njinan̄a section*

denotes a group of men (and women) belonging to 2 classes standing in a father-son (or father-child) relationship to one another *and* living in their appropriate local group area. Such a group forms a localised part or section *of the total number of men and women in Central Australia* who belong to these 2 classes.

Strehlow's terms suggest the Aranda social concepts of *anbanerintja* (= class) and *njinan̄a* (= *njinan̄a section*). There is no word for "tribe" in Aranda or the other Central Australian languages. Strehlow defined the "tribe" as a "linguistic unit". Turner writes (1980, 125):

Strehlow rightly objects to the use of the concept 'tribe' in an Aranda context, pointing out the most one could say is that a number of patri-groups (*nyinanga section* areas) in a relatively stable intermarrying relationship may eventually develop into a linguistic unit (*ibid.*, 135, 141). As the Aranda are generally considered to best illustrate the conventional 'tribe' in Australia (see Elkin 1938-40, 203; 1964, 58), use of the concept in other areas must be considered suspect in the light of Strehlow's remarks.

Figure 1 (Turner 1980: 61) shows how Aranda kinship terminology articulates with local desert group affiliation. To understand how the Section system works merely take column A and combine alternate generations into one father/son section couple, say Kamara/Purula. Ego, then, is Kamara. A Kamara man marries a Paltara woman (patri group D) and the children are Purula. Column D, then, is composed of the F/S couple Paltara-Kjuarea.



PART ABORIGINALS

Part-aboriginals were accepted in aboriginal societies, if they lived and had been brought up in the aboriginal way of life. They could gain their rights in that society through their aboriginal mothers.

Women in Central Australia had their ceremonies, their conception sites, their totems, and their personal tjurunga and acts. But they were not allowed to carry or see their sacred objects, and their ceremonies could only be carried out on their behalf by their brothers and their fathers, although women could also have additional acts which they performed themselves. Sons could only act as ceremonial assistants, or kutunjula, to their mothers' fathers and their mothers' brothers. Take, for instance, a man whose mother came from Emalkña: he could never have been an Inkata (or ceremonial chief) of Emalkña, but he could have acted in these ceremonies; his rights were limited. A man could be a very important Kutunjula, and a very knowledgeable Kutunjula if he worked very hard in acquiring knowledge of the sacred traditions but he could never achieve full and complete knowledge.

If part-aboriginals married back into the aboriginal side of their heritage naturally their position was strengthened. When part-aboriginals married towards their white² side the proportion of rights to which they were entitled was attenuated until that aspect which could be conceivably classed as "aboriginal", had disappeared.

It is cogent to point out that the part-aboriginal children of full-blood mothers and white fathers (and more especially the boys) were usually brought up in the aboriginal way of life and were therefore initiated and trained in that way of life.

"ANKEILTA" OR "GUESTS"

In the old days the conception site of all children would normally lie within the local group area of their aboriginal fathers from whom they derived and inherited their land and totemic "rights" or, more accurately, their privileges. Exceptional circumstances would constitute, for instance, long droughts when only the great permanent waterholes remained viable sources of food and water such as are found in the gorges of the MacDonnell Ranges. Consequently people in less fortunately endowed areas were forced to seek shelter in the country of their neighbours as *ankeilta* or "guests" (see Strehlow 1965, 1970).

The advent of European occupation meant this land-based kin-group system would break down with the shifting of the people from their land. Thus it is now virtually impossible – and certainly impractical, except through the genealogies such as were collected and annotated by T.G.H. Strehlow – to trace any land ownership (as it was conceived at the point of contact) of the present Central Australian aboriginal population under the age of, say, 40 to 50 years. Their conception sites could not follow the age-old pattern but obviously tended to cluster around European settlements of some kind.

THE HERMANNSBURG SITUATION

Hermannsburg itself is an interesting phenomenon. Once the system of land-based classificatory kinship breaks down it cannot be resurrected in its original form, nor can it work in its original form because the displaced ones are then living in the *njinana* area of another local group. This elementary problem has not always been addressed in the

parcelling out of land – particularly along the Ellery Creek – to groups of people whose legal aboriginal land ownership lies elsewhere.

Hermannsburg special purpose lease has been an area in Central Australia that the aboriginal people have been able to call home, only because of the European presence. The lease once encompassed about twelve local groups. There are now up to twenty “family” groups according to *Hermannsburg: a Vision and a Mission* (F.W. Albrecht, L.H. Leske and M. Lohe, 1977, 115), many in the Ellery Creek area.

Such a “mob” does not have traditional rights in this land. They could become an economically viable unit and function under contemporary conditions. However, even if they did it would still not validate their traditional claims to this area: the groups now living along Ellery Creek are still, in aboriginal eyes, merely *ankeilta* or “guests”.

WOMEN AND LAND

The excerpt below reproduces part of a local group of some three generations dating back probably to about 1800. The family is now extinct. Had any members survived, two more generations could now be added to this local group. This local group (and the genealogy from which it derived) represents the present generation’s grandparents, its great-grandparents, and its great-great-grandparents:

EMALKDA (1) = Mt Heughlin

Ab. C.A. H 12

Totem: imora or antana (= possum)

Totemic site and the main pmara kutata of a Western Australia Purula-Kamara *Njinanya* section area.

From Family Trees:
Pmara Kjanintja of:

Associated Sites:
 Karkiljarkilja

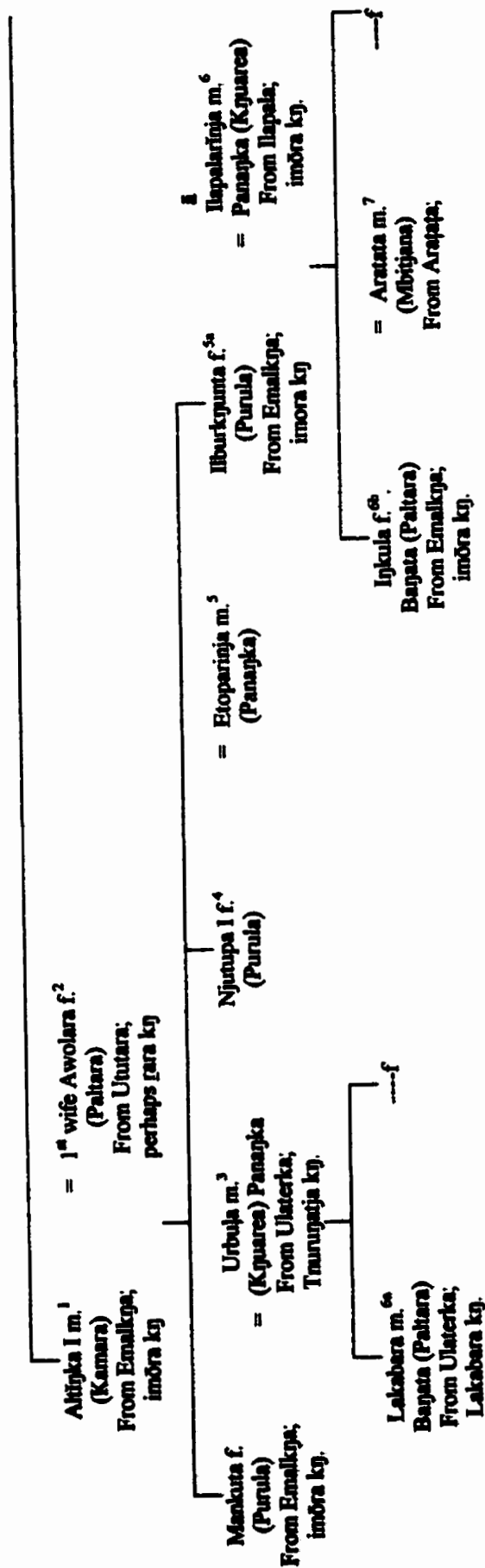
1. Altinja I m. (Kamara) imora knj. I,6 p.1
2. Mankuta f. (Purula) imora knj. I,6 p.1
3. Ilburknunta f. (Purula) imora knj. I,6 p.1
4. Inkula f. (Paltara) imora knj. I,6, p.1
5. Altiraka m. (Kamara) antana knj. I,6, p.3
6. Emalkjarinja m. (Purula) antana knj. I,6 p.6
7. Njutupa II f. (Paltara) imora knj. I,6 p.6
8. Jabanaka II f. (Purula) imora knj. I,6 p.6
9. Altinja II m. (Kamara) imora knj. I,6 p.7
10. Toby II m (child of an irregular marriage, but follows the father, a Kamara, therefore he is a Purula). I,6 p.7
11. Teralta m. (Purula) imora knj. I,6, p.8
12. Ilbunkulana m. (Kamara-Mbitjana: denoted a 'class shift' – see Note 52). Imora knj. I,6 p.8
13. Urbumania m. (Kjuarea) antanakj I,6 p.8

knj = kjanintja = totem

Figure 2 is the first sheet of a 14 page genealogy of Teralta (= “coward” in Aranda), showing names, gender, conception sites, classes, and all remembered information and cross references to other genealogies. It is from the family tree of Teralta that the excerpt has been extracted. If further research were done on it, it would be possible to deduce numbers and to trace the wanderings of the people to some extent. But this is merely the beginning. From such records a complicated series of rights could be determined, based on the knowledge of the myths and songs attached to the sites.

Using the key in Appendix A (see documentation (iii) Emalkja = Mt Heughlin) it can readily be seen (where “f” = “female” and “m” = “male”) that all women have been recorded as sharing the land ownership of the local group, that is, of their fathers and their paternal grandfathers, and their sons and grandsons and daughters.

= halfcaste



- (1) From Emalkpa; antipa and tala totom. (F.T. 16)
 (2) Also known as Wila. Upatara is Ilseraga kila. (this F.T.) Perhaps form Emalkpa or Upatara; Awolara married also Irbilika (see Note 78) antipa (?) (later in this F.T.)
 (3) From Ulsterka; ijaus kj. He married I. Japaramaka, 2. Kilita, 3. Mankuta (F.T. 17)
 (4) From Emalkpa; antipa kj. First wife of Etoparinja. (F.T. 12)
 (5) From the Utoma District, Kwajaleinaga kipa; ilia kj. He married I. Njutupa I, 2. Lajkarka, 3. Irtupuljika I. (F.T. 12)
 (5a) She is given as a Purula by C.S., but Unakata (in 1953) claimed she was a Dala. TGHHS Note: Dala seems like a normalization of her marriage with Ilpalarinja, who was a Kguaree. (F.T. 27)
 (6) From Ilpala, Emalkmana ilioa. He married I. Ibukryunta, 2. Lajarinja II. (F.T. 27)
 (6a) From Kijana; lakabara kj. (F.T. 17)
 (6b) Also known as Ijaitu (na). From Ulsterka; naktoda kj. (F.T. 17). From Ilpala, Emalkpaga ilioa; antipa kj. (F.T. ?). She married I. Aratata, 2. Ilkaingika. (F.T. 27)

STREHLLOW, K.S. 1978. "Aboriginals and Land" in The Australian Nurses Journal (edited by Edna Davis), September.

Figure 2. Family Tree of Teralta

There were scores of wandering totemic groups centered on the various *pmara kutata* of Central Australia in traditional times. The local group(s) of the Waterhouse Range area have been dealt with as fully as possible in the writer's paper in *Linguistica et Philologica, Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder* (pp.517-529), all women are listed in these groups, hence their land ownership. I have extrapolated this work to other sites chosen to demonstrate the operation of the local groups with particular reference to their female ownership. They are taken from the family tree of Kwalba, others, and Altin̄ka I, or , more correctly, Teralta. They concern respectively chiefly the sites of Henbury (or Tun̄a), Urum̄uṇa, and Emalk̄ṇa; male examples were included to show that the data were recorded without bias as to sex.

Appendix A contains data on 73 people, 43 women and 30 men. The data include their immediate families and all knowledge extant about them. This information is exhaustive and it demonstrates conclusively that men and women had equal rights in land in Central Australia.

WHAT CONSTITUTES ABORIGINAL OWNERSHIP (INCLUDING THAT OF LAND) IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

Before continuing it is imperative, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that an attempt be made to define what we are talking about in terms of ownership.

In the sense in which we are looking at it, the Oxford English Dictionary defines "own" as "being possessed by" or "belonging to", in reference to one's property, possessions, goods, kinsfolk, friends and so on. Ownership implies obligations, rights and responsibilities towards that which is possessed. It implies exclusivity. These rights and

responsibilities are legal, economic and emotional. In white western society one must have pieces of universally recognized paper proving one's ownership such as receipts or deeds. One acquires property by seizure, winning it, gaining it, inheriting it or by purchasing it. An owner is one who owns or holds something or who has a rightful claim to a title or thing. Ownership is the fact or state of being an owner.

What applies to our modern English-speaking society that the O.E.D. is talking about applies equally to Australian aboriginal society in Central Australia. Once it was thought they all they possessed were a few hunting weapons and perhaps simple carrying dishes for their food and/or offspring, things such as pitjis, spears, boomerangs and spearthrowers. It was only with the advent of Spencer and Gillen and the Strehlows that it was realized that among the possessions of these people were such treasures of the mind whose wealth can only be guessed at – possessions of song, mime, art, dance, myth, poetry and ritual objects associated with these things. Indeed, even white society places high value on them, and things such as sacred objects exchange hands at very high prices in the marketplace. Incised stone slabs can sell for \$6,000 or more depending on their size and the information attached to them (and such information in the form of a "name verse") in aboriginal eyes provides conclusive proof of ownership. These objects were privately owned and not, as previously popularly thought, the communal property of a group, although group ownership was known to exist by common conception site and totem. Ownership implied certain rights, and these were to perform the sacred ceremonies and to sing the sacred verses and to recount the sacred myths. Indeed in the old days ownership was strictly guarded by the death penalty itself for breaches of ownership such as using without his permission the sacred body patterns of another person or totemic group.

The individual owner also had the right to pass on his information and possessions to his heirs or to dispose of them as he wished. In turn, the recipients of these gifts exchanged for them *tjāuerilja* or gift offerings of meat. The owner could make bequests.

In addition each person in Central Australia possessed a totem and conception site which gave him all his land ownership rights and economic rights over that land to use it for hunting, gathering and/or ceremony. He had an inalienable right to live on this land and exploit and conserve its resources economically. And all ceremonies and objects were attached to these sites. He had the right to expel intruders and/or to invite guests. Similarly he had the right to disinherit heirs should they prove unworthy.

My own role in ownership in Central Australia is no less complex. Because of the records of ownership left behind by my husband it is not an uncommon occurrence for aboriginals and even legal personnel or governments or civil servants to come to me with a commission to supply them, for instance, with the heirs to certain sites in Central Australia. I give here the sites of Owen Springs, Urumūpa, Amoonguna, the Waterhouse Range, and, more recently the courts of the Land Commission commissioned me to deal with the land out west around Lake Amadeus. Again, it is my principles governing land ownership (coming as it does originally from the aboriginals themselves) that have been accepted everywhere by aboriginals and enquirers (including mineral companies) as the law in aboriginal eyes. Even full-blood and almost full-blood people, such as Joylene Abbott, have come to me for their "title deeds", i.e. copies of the genealogies that detail their land ownership and which appear elsewhere in this paper. I was the original mapper of sacred sites and my work was hailed by UNESCO as the blueprint for the mapping of all original nomenclature all over the globe. Unfortunately Bruce Chatwin in his book

The Songlines fails to mention this point and all credit is given to a mythical personage called *Arcady*. My maps have been made from my husband's notebooks recording his travels over the totemic landscape. For the definitive explanations of aboriginal ownership one should consult T.G.H. Strehlow's *Aranda Traditions*, Part 3, and also my own unpublished journal compiled largely in 1982 for presentation in a court of law of proofs of aboriginal tjūrūna ownership, giving names, dates and places which is, after all, what this question finally boils down to. As with the men, women also have a right to pass their possessions on to others. This is the great practical use of such rules and ownership – in the modern world of mining exploration by Australian law the traditional owners have still got certain rights in their land, and one of those rights is to receive royalty payment. In this regard I am grateful for the privilege of helping these people achieve what is theirs by right of the conception site. Of course we must rely on Strehlow because aboriginals come from a non-literate society.

CHAPTER 3

ABORIGINAL WOMEN

WOMEN IN THEORY

Sacred and Profane

The study of the situation of women in Central Australia has been confused by some observers, notably Durkheim and Warner, when they have reported the simple dichotomies of sacred and profane, divine and diabolic, clean masculinity and unclean femininity, superordination and subordination, the rainy male and the dry female – with women always in the lesser part. W.E.H. Stanner redressed this imbalance observing that the “aboriginal universe is not divided in fact, and therefore should not be divided in theory, into two classes” (quoted by Lukes 1973, 478). Aboriginal man in Central Australia was not man and gods, but rather man reincarnated from the same *nāntja* or life cells or eternal life spirit; man embodied this life spirit in his latter-day human form and how this came about is set down on pages 87 and 88 of Strehlow’s *Aranda Traditions*:

[When the mother first realizes that she is pregnant.] If the physical object nearest to the mother on this occasion was a tree or a rock already famous in legend, the ancestor whose body is represented by this tree or rock, is thought to have passed into her body, desiring to be reincarnated. If no well authenticated physical object is near at hand, the theory is advanced that the ancestor whose legendary wanderings once led him closest to this spot lost here one of his *tjuruṇa*. This may have been a small bull-roarer, or a minor article of personal apparel, or a tuft of down from the ceremonial patterns with which his body was decorated. This *tjuruṇa* passed into the ground, and has of course become invisible; but it was instinct with life-giving properties which it had absorbed as if by some process of magnetization from the hands or the body of the ancestor in question. From the *tjuruṇa* lost by a *tjilpa* [or

native cat] ancestor only *tjilpa*-men can come into being: the bull-roarers and the feather-down and the arm-bands and all personal belongings, weapons, and ornaments in possession of the original ancestor were filled with *tjilpa* 'life-cells' (*nāntja*). Any of these objects can enter into a passing woman and grow into human beings, just as readily as the ancestor himself is able to enter, from the rock or the tree representing his final changed form, into the body of a woman whom he wishes to have as his human mother.

Warner on Social Inequality

Warner is quite dogmatic about the inferior status of women in aboriginal society but it is doubtful if he had sufficient information for this conclusion. He was probably influenced by Emile Durkheim; his work is a reflection of his times, and he would have interviewed only men who gave him this stereotyped picture. Warner believes that women continue in the ordinary (profane) world with little knowledge of men's mysteries, that the (Warner 1969, 6) "processes she uses are comparatively simple" such as in basket-making, and that even little eight-year-old boys are considered her superior. Yet Warner blames women for all the "warfare" that goes on – eternal blood feuds that cost the lives of many young men just to keep the old men in their polygamous habits. Polygamy he concludes, is possible only under conditions of warfare continually stimulated by its resultant scarcity of women. (Warner 1958.) Warner accepts a male/female dichotomy and equates it with Durkheim's sacred/profane dichotomy. (Durkheim 1947, 278).

But T.G.H. Strehlow (1971b, 618) points out that there was in Australia no real dichotomy between the work of everyday activities and the sacred sphere. Even mundane human tasks like lighting fires, cooking and hunting and making weapons, had all been instituted by "culture heroes" at the beginning of time. Thus the euro brothers, Ntjikantja and Kwaneraka from the euro site of Kaput' Urbula had travelled the countryside teaching men how to make and use the spear and spearthrower (Strehlow 1968, 22). Their earthly

reincarnations merely repeated their actions as part of their every day living. Women, too, were culture heroes (that is , these culture heroes were of both sexes) such as the termite ancestresses of Iloata (Strehlow 1968, 27, 28), the alkjarintja women (Strehlow 1971b, 734) and the ntjułamba ancestresses of Urumūpa. See also the myth of Winbarku where the two Napanangka women, one called Urijili, the other Ekunka who carried off Kantowara, a Tapulula man “who was a magnificent and desirable man” whom they carried off as their prize to their northern home; this myth in translation is written up in The Strehlow Research Foundation’s *Pamphlet* No. 3, Vol. 11, July 1988. They were once powerful figures in Aranda legends.

Aboriginal Women in the Wider Literature

Aboriginal women seem to have fared somewhat better in general literature than they have in the anthropological literature. I mention three books about aboriginal women:

Coonardoo: the Well in the Shadow, (1929) by Katherine Susannah Prichard³, *Keep Him my Country* by Mary Durack (1955), and *Yarialie* by Donald R. Stuart (1962).

T.G.H. Strehlow believed that too little is known of the women’s secret rites and that only skilled female investigators, who have gained the confidence of the older aboriginal female guardians, could hope to be admitted to the fullness of their secrets (Strehlow 1971a, 624).

Only a few women have fulfilled these modest requirements. Elkin writes in 1939 in his Introduction to Phyllis Kaberry’s *Aboriginal Women* of our ignorance regarding women in aboriginal life. He regretted that almost all writers and observers have been males who sought information from men⁴.

Phyllis Kaberry's contacts were unfortunately terminated after about only twelve months in the northwest of Western Australia⁵ and this has limited her writing. However, she hoped there would be further research into her conviction that in profane activities the women enjoy a large measure of independence and make an important contribution to the economy. She wrote that until "a systematic study of women's ceremonies and attitudes has been made, we have no grounds for assuming on the data now available that the men represent the sacred element in the community and the women the profane element." (Kaberry 1975, xi-xii).

But Phyllis Kaberry had also read Warner's then recently published *A Black Civilization*, and she takes him to task for considering that women merely represented "the profane section of the community" (Kaberry 1973, 219).

Since 1939 there has been the work of Catherine Berndt who has spent many years in the field. In her monograph "Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia"⁶, Berndt gives some fifteen pages of verses and literal translation.

More recently Diane Bell's book *Daughters of the Dreaming*⁷ (1984) has appeared. The book purports to forward the cause of women in Central Australian society against the claims of anthropologists that they were second-class citizens in their own society. Though the reviews on the book cover speak highly of it, the book itself contains no documentation of women's land ownership and there are no proper myth translations other than that given on pages 131-132.

Of Strehlow's work she says, "Strehlow's interest in tjuringa ownership leaves women as the cooks and keepers of the fires". (1983, 226). I shall come back to this later.

Women In Other Societies

The situation of women in any society is not simple, certainly not as uncomplicated as some contemporary feminists would have us believe. In Biblical symbolism, for instance, women are not independent, but interdependent: God drew Eve from Adam's rib; man was fated to be "born of woman"; and woman needed man to help conceive her child. Their roles and status might differ from society to society and even from individual relationship to individual relationship, but the basic fact of interdependence is given.

Eleanor Burke Leacock, former Professor of Anthropology, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, in her Introduction to Engels' *The Origin Of The Family, Private Property and the State*, under the heading "The Emergence of Monogamy and the Subjugation of Women" gives an interesting account of this phenomenon and points out the paucity of writings on the status and role of women "in primitive societies" (Engels 1981, 30). She praises Phyllis Kaberry's *Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane* (1973) as "An unusually detailed study of women" who "emerge as autonomous participants in the affairs of their people, acting with assurance upon their rights and responsibilities, a view reinforced by a newly published study of Tiwi women by Jane Goodale (1971)."

A.R. Radcliffe Brown (1922, 85-86) writes that women in the Andaman Islands conducted all peace negotiations in group feuding.

Malinowski (1984, 41) writes that among the Dobuans, where the system of kinship is matrilineal, women hold a very good position and wield great influence. In the Trobrian Islands Malinowski found a remarkable form of ceremonial licence in which women are the initiators, and who seize male strangers and treat them ignominiously (*ibid.*, 53-54).

Reo Fortune (1932: 267) found that in Dobu a man might prefer his dog to his woman indicating that they occupied an inferior position in society. He writes that cases of a man spearing his wife out of affection for his dog, which she had treated shabbily over food, have come before the white courts. But women nevertheless exerted considerable power, for the same reasons Malinowski gives:

... it will be apparent that the man-dog relationship is socially important. In one aspect it has the point of helping the man to maintain his social value against woman's power in a matrilineal society. Women do not own dogs. The unfortunate animals have become involved in marital disagreements. In quarrels the man may break his wife's cooking pots; she may be unkind to his dog. (Fortune 1932, 267).

WOMEN IN ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

Women in Aboriginal Mythology

When the totemic ancestor is reincarnated and born as a boy, the old men will later on initiate him and introduce him into the ancient ceremonies which he himself had instituted in his previous existence. But if the ancestor is reborn to female form, she gets no such enlightenment. Women are ignorant of sacred myth and they are excluded from traditional chants. A woman, by reason of her conception site may be entitled to a position of supreme authority in her own community, she may be the owner of the most sacred *tjurunga* treasured by her clan, but knowledge of this is carefully hidden away from her.

The *tjurunga*-slab is carefully tended by the men of her totemic clan, whereas the living person who is the actual reincarnated ancestor is often badly treated⁸. This is all the more paradoxical considering that the female ancestors are free, dignified and awe-inspiring figures frequently more powerful than their male associates, carrying *tjurunga* and

instituting sacred ceremonies. Today chants are still sung in their honour by men who regard themselves as the natural “trustees” of all the sacred *tjurunga* pertaining to the women of their group. They are the fathers or the brothers of the women whose sex precludes them from sharing in the religious life of the community. In spite of being proud of the legendary feminine characters, Aranda men look with contempt on their own women. (See Strehlow 1968, 94.)

I cite one myth from Central Australia in which female ancestresses are celebrated in Aranda myth, that of the termite women or *alkjarintja* (= mythical women) of Iloata, one of the boldest mountain forms in the rugged cluster of peaks constituting the main range of the Central MacDonnell system situated in Northern Aranda territory.

The myth tells the various fortunes of these women, how the women might quiver violently with erotic passion and the mountain would tremble out of kindred sympathy.

Iloata is connected mythologically to the site of Urumūpa, in the southern Eastern Aranda territory, and *Songs of Central Australia* publishes the surviving record of their relationship.

The sympathy and the emotions here ascribed to the women ancestresses of this district were undoubtedly first felt by the native poet himself as he looked from Iloata⁹ towards Alkneutjata¹⁰ and Urumūpa – mountains twenty and fifty miles away. They were born of feelings of isolation and loneliness that rarely fail to descend upon anyone who gazes from one of the lofty mountain crests of the interior over the untouched silent vastness of the Central Australian landscape.

The ancestress of Alkneutjata eventually rose into the sky to become the Evening Star. The low hill where she once sat can still be seen to this day eleven miles along the road from Alice Springs to Jay Creek. And the ancestresses of Urumŭpa were *arugutja untjuimba kutatarinja* – two mythical honeysuckle juice women¹¹ who have lived there “ever from the beginning”.

Warner, too, is in the curious situation, when he is dealing with the great Northern Australia creation myths, of having to deal with mythological women who, while they are the great Creator Sisters, nevertheless fall from their high status through their actions in the myths. They are the Myth of the Wawilak Women and the Djungguan Sister Myth Cycle and Ceremony, contained chiefly in the pages 244-271 of *A Black Civilization* (1958). There also seems to be no evidence that Warner ever spoke to female aboriginal informants (see below for my criticisms of Durkheim on the same lines).

Women and the Men's Ceremonies

Durkheim on page 380 of *The Elementary Forms* writes that “The characteristic feature of the properly religious ceremonies is that they must be celebrated on a consecrated ground, from which women and non-initiated persons are excluded.” In a footnote on the same page, however, he adds that “there are some sacred ceremonies from which women are not wholly excluded . . .”

I am, of course, not the first or only person to have criticized Durkheim, for Rodney Needham voiced similar sentiments to me during my visit to him in Oxford on Tuesday 12th July 1988: “I don't think Durkheim got anything right,” he said. The main criticism of people like Needham and myself is that Durkheim, who was relying on material from Central Australia to write *The Elementary Forms* had never visited Central Australia and

spoken to the aboriginal people personally. He was in fact relying on Spencer and Gillen (who did not know the language) and on C. Strehlow (who had never seen these ceremonies performed since his position as missionary precluded sanctioning "pagan rites" by his presence at them). Furthermore I do not think that Durkheim had met or spoken with any of these men.

Indeed in Central Australia there are occasions when the presence of women is mandatory (or were in the old days) (see *Pamphlets of The Strehlow Research Foundation*, Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1982 – Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1984; "The Operation of Fear in Traditional Aboriginal Society in Central Australia", to appear in *Festschrift for Joseph Papin*; and also *Songs of Central Australia*, pages 395-417 which deals with the theme of initiation in connection with the sacred songs.

"Among the Aranda the male initiation ceremonies were five in number" (excluding tooth evulsion): they are in order *alkiraka iwuma* (= to toss up to the sky), circumcision, head-beating, head-smoking, and initiation into the sacred traditions of the *injura* (= ceremonial) ground. In some groups a sixth ceremony involved the tearing out of fingernails from mature men in order to "make them fit to fashion new *tjurunga* objects" (Strehlow 1971b, 395).

"The *alkiraka iwuma* ceremony marks a definite break in the native boy's life. It is carried out as he approaches puberty and warns him that his childhood days, spent mainly in the company of girls and women, are almost over". He is taken apart and told to avoid females in future. Stripes are painted on his chest and back by certain relatives while the old men chant the verse:

To the very vault of the sky let him reach;
 Into the very vault of the sky let him penetrate!

The boy is tossed into the air several times by the men and he is hit whilst in the air on the breast and the back, sometimes till he begins to bleed from nose and mouth. The role of women in this rite is that "meanwhile they perform a special dance" (Strehlow 1907-1920, 12-13).

A few years later comes the rite of circumcision (on the *pula* ground). This ceremony had been instituted by the fierce *lakabara* hawk-men who flew from their mountain home from Atnetarkua in southern eastern Aranda territory to Mount Urtera in the MacDonnell Ranges north of Alice Springs. Here on the nearby *pula* ground they seized all uncircumcised boys – according to the legend – and dealt with them furiously and mercilessly. The *lakabara* hawk-men flew up into the air; a male dog below them on the ground put quails to flight so that the *lakabara* men seized and broke off their heads. When still up in the air the *lakabara* heard a shield sounding while the women were doing their *ndaperama* dance, upon which they flew down and seized their stone knives. They then painted themselves. They killed a woman who came in covered in smoke ready with burning bark to burn off the boys' prepuces. They then dealt with the boys, letting them go and freeing them from their ban of silence. To this day out of sight of the *pula* ground – but nearby – the women perform their *ndaperama* dances as part of the rites of circumcision.

While the fierce *lakabara* hawks have left Central Australia, this form of initiation still continues, but now according to the rites of the Pitja-pitja people.

That women are present at physical initiation we know from C. Strehlow (1907-1920, 19ff.) (where he claims that the mother of the boy carries a shield in one hand and a spearthrower in the other, this being the sole occasion on which women are permitted to carry men's weapons) and from Spencer and Gillen (1927, Vol. I, 179ff.). Quoted in abbreviated form on pages 625 and 626 of *Songs of Central Australia* is the Spencer and Gillen eye-witness account:

Once on the [pūla] ground, and in the presence of all the men and women, the boy made no further resistance . . . He was taken to the men and sat down amongst them, while the women, who had been awaiting his arrival, at once began to dance, carrying shields in their hands. The reason assigned for this is that in the Alchera certain women called *Unthippa* (T.G.H. Strehlow = Ndapa) carried with them a number of young boys who were just being initiated. As they travelled along, dancing the whole way, they also carried shields; and therefore it is that, at the present day, the initiation ceremony must commence with an imitation of the *Unthippa* dance of the Alchera. Except in connection with this ceremony, women may never carry shields [cf. the C. Strehlow account of the Western Aranda whilst Spencer and Gillen are talking about the ritual as performed at the Southern Aranda site of Inteera (= Spencer and Gillen's *Undiara*)] Which are exclusively the property of the men . . . While the women were dancing, the men sang of the marching of the *Unthippa* women across the country . . . Three men, who were respectively *Mura*, *Gammona* and *Chinmia*, were told off to take the boy away and paint him . . . They first of all went away and built a second brake of bushes . . . When this had been made, the three men returned and led the boy through the dancing women to this brake, where . . . they rubbed him all over with grease, and then decorated his body with pinkish-white clay and bird's down . . . After painting him, the *Uwilia* (i.e. the three men mentioned) told the boy he was now no longer an *Ulpmerka*, but a *Wurtja*, that during the proceedings about to follow he must render implicit obedience, and no account must he ever tell any woman or boy anything of what he was about to see . . . Until daylight dawned the dancing and singing went on with astonishing vigour. Then one of the *Kullia* went and brought back the *Wurtja*, walking with him, as before through the middle of the dancing women, who opened out to allow them to pass through, and placed him sitting on the lap of the *Urinthantima* man.

Strehlow adds that "the verses to which the women dance are chanted by the men only, since they have been taken from the sacred songs celebrating certain totemic ancestresses whom myths credit with having instituted these pre-circumcision feminine dances".

(Strehlow, *Songs of Central Australia*, p. 626.) He also gives examples of verses sung on these occasions, quoted from the Ellery Creek portion of the Western Aranda area:

Yonder women from Arēl̄tjara
Come dancing along, in glistening lines.

The little youthful maidens
Are tripping away, tossing their feet.

Girls and maidens, young and mature,
Are tripping away, tossing their feet.

Each holding her stick before her,
They are tripping away, tossing their feet.

The girls move in a pair of rows, -
One row to the left and one to the right.

Leave in your tracks lines of hills!
Leave in your tracks parallel ridges!

The legs of the girls are moving ceaselessly;
The heads of the girls are waving with the tailtips.

Strehlow, 1971b, pp. 626-627

In Note 19, I explain that Gustav Pmālbuṅka, last reincarnation of the mighty sire after whom he is named, of L̄ṭālaṭ̄ūma “where they pluck out the fur” (a reference to the fact that it was here that Pmālbuṅka and his sons once plucked the fur from countless slaughtered wallabies) could remember his grandmother once getting painted up for ceremonies and these would likely have been ṇdāpa or ṭāta dances (folk songs sung at folk dances by men, women, and children) (personal communication, winter of 1982). Gustav was born 11th February 1909.

The dances I have seen have been confined to those filmed by T.G.H Strehlow in 1950 (e.g. “The Honey Ant Ceremonies of Ljāba”) and a couple of short ceremonies at

Hermannsburg on Saturday 11th June 1977 performed for the centenary celebrations and which must have lasted all of ten minutes each.

D. Bell (1983, 191-250) speaks highly of this occasion, saying it “lasted for over a week” (p.192) and calls it a *yungkurru* which she glosses as a Walbiri word meaning “name of ceremony in which men and women participate” (p. 285) and refers us to page 227 where she equates *yungkurru* as the Aranda *inḱūra*. Since Strehlow (1971b, 784) glosses it as meaning “a ceremonial festival held at a *pmāra kūtaṭa*, during which the complete local ceremonial cycle is enacted” it is clear that D. Bell and Strehlow are mutually exclusive. I have searched also carefully to see in what language Bell’s ceremony was conducted (she refers to “songs which were sung” (*op. cit.*, 199, 201)) and can find no direct answer. I can only conclude that either she forgot to mention it or she did not know. She does give a description of the dance on page 201 and a few explanations of the verses: ‘Listen for the dancing feet’, ‘Watch for the parting of the leaves’ although there seem to be no transcriptions of the native words and or translations of them. There are no descriptions of the steps.

Strehlow has this to say of Bell’s incomparable ceremony:

11th June, Saturday: This afternoon Gary [= the superintendent of Hermannsburg Mission] drove us [Strehlow and myself] out to a special “dancing ground” east of the station, where Gus Williams [the ‘ex Hermannsburg man “ (Bell 1983, 192) whom Bell for some reason coyly refuses to name, perhaps, one must suspect because his consort is a white woman who seemingly wears the pants in that alliance] had established a sort of open air theatre for his troupe, brought down from Warrabri. Some Walbiri women sang what seemed to be *ṭāta* verses and sometimes did what looked like *ndāpa* steps before four [Bell gives six] large decorated wooden objects shaped like huge, broad *tjurungas*, stuck into the ground. No explanations were offered either by Gus Williams or anyone else.

We returned to the station for dinner with the Christians, Ivan and Monica, and thence back to the dancing ground:

We were able to leave [our young son] Carl with [the Christians'] son Luke in the care of Monica for the evening, while Garry [sic] came and took us back to the "dancing ground", where a "very special dance" from the Devil's Marbles area (in Warama country) was being performed by a decorated male dancer attended by some clad female dancers (the female dancers of the afternoon had been stripped to the waist, so that the decoration on their upper torsos could be clearly visible). Some males and females sang one monotonous verse over and over again. The male dancer arrived wearing a headgear, but removed this and stuck this into the ground along the other [sic] tjurunga-like objects, probably so as not to be inhibited too much in his movements. He also wore gum leaves attached to his calves. Again no explanations of any kind were offered. Lots of black men, women, and children were present as spectators, and also most of the white staff members and visitors. But these black people to whom I spoke regarded all this as something (tribally) foreign, for the Walbiri and Warama had no ties with the Aranda or *Loritja* in the old days. In any case, few people had come from Popanji or from Arejona: a group of Pitjantjara "red ochre" men is travelling through those areas, and is allegedly threatening to kill men who come across their route inadvertently. – It was all quite interesting, but for me very frustrating: I should have preferred to set down the verses, and learn about the symbolism of the dances. (Strehlow, Personal Diary, 135-136).^{11a}

Ndāpa steps are danced "with the usual high knee action, stamping vigorously on the ground, as, alternately they advanced towards and receded from the audience" (Spencer & Gillen 1927, 561).

Blood Avengers and the Role of Women

Women played the same role in the sending out of avengers in Central Australia as they *tneŋka* (= large parties) or *leltja* (= single blood avengers). D.R. Stuart gives an account from the northwest of Western Australia in *Yandy* (1959, 23). The role of women is thus described: "All his (i.e. Manapoortja's) days had been leading to this day. Every lesson his mother had taught . . .". Stuart does not say exactly what these lessons consisted of, but they probably relate to tracking skills equal or superior to those of men if only because

the women's role in hunting game consisted of hunting down minor creatures whose tracks might be reasonably assumed to be less apparent than those of large game such as emus and kangaroos.

Before the blood avengers departed, a special dance is performed with women present and with "mounting tension . . . each woman steals out to him, posturing, gesturing, offering, using the words women must not use, until all have capered for him, and the one of his choice fades with him into the night. No matter that she is a forbidden woman for him . . . When she creeps back to the fire they know he is gone, and they are silent, heavy with dread, the night air chilling them" (*ibid.*).

The semi-sacred nature of the *tnenka* verses is confirmed by Strehlow in *Songs of Central Australia* (1971b, 622):

These were men's songs, associated with a number of the sacred totems, which were sung in the hearing of the women and children; the women and children, however, were permitted merely to listen: on no account were they allowed to take part in the actual singing.

Couplets were sung on the occasions when avengers or warriors were preparing to set out on murderous errands.

Having killed their enemies and devoured some of their kidney fat, the men then cleaned their spears with water; and some of this blood-mingled water was drunk by the young warriors "in order to increase their strength", a practice to imbue the eater with the qualities of the dead, a custom in many parts of the world (see J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1929). Some verses were chanted freely by the Western Aranda men in the presence of a selected group of "wise women" (or *arugutja inanjala*). The latter were permitted to dance around the fire with the men; for it was claimed that their presence

helped to make the warriors magically immune to the spears and weapons of their enemies. Western Aranda informants – Rauwiraka, Utnadata, and Namatjira – all agreed that the presence of women enhanced the magic.

During the chanting and dancing the “wise women” render the men proof against weapons by wetting them with milk squeezed from their breasts. In this ritual the milk of the “wise women” resembles the water with which Germanic thanes were once besprinkled before a battle. (Strehlow, 1971b, pp. 622-625.)

Spencer and Gillen in *The Arunta* (1927), Chapters XVIII [Atninga (= *tneŋka* or *atneŋka*) or Avenging Party] and XIX (The Customs of Kurdaitcha and Illapurinja) give an account (pp. 447-53) of blood-avenging expeditions which makes clear the care taken to ensure that the condemned are so paralysed with fear that they offer little resistance to their murderers. The appearance of the avenger in his charcoal with white stripes would probably be sufficient to bring about cardiac arrest. (“His body gleams in the waning sunlight; he is painted with the device of the blood-avengers”, says *Aranda Traditions*, 1947, 32). For the victims knew the ritual and knew what was to come. Remarkable indeed would have been a man who kept his wits and his confidence when confronted by his executioner. Spencer and Gillen insist that these rituals were “out of sight of the main camp and the women and children” (cf. the Strehlow and Stuart accounts).

In a note on page 452, Spencer and Gillen point out: “The widow of a dead man has to paint her body white, so that the spirit of the dead man can see that she is properly mourning for him.” It is this statement that leads us to believe that she is the “old woman who, being in mourning, was bedaubed from head to foot with white pipeclay” who met the avenging party on its return to camp. “With a fighting club in her hand (she) went

through a series of grotesque dancing movements in front of them. As she did so they stood still in perfect silence. But after a minute or two danced on and then came to a final halt in the bed of the creek. Once more the old woman pranced about expostulating with them" and addressing remarks to them. "When this was over, without speaking a word the . . . men who have actually taken part in the killing (as opposed to mere onlookers) came forward and stood in the front line, each man with his spear resting on the ground and his shield held with its convex side outwards. The old woman and a younger one struck each of them in turn with a fighting club" in a ceremony called *alkuta tuma* (*alkuta* = shield; *tuma* = to hit or strike) which was "of considerable importance" since "the spirit of the dead man is supposed to be following up the party in the form of a little bird . . . which is waiting its opportunity to injure the men by evil magic". For those whose shields gave out a hollow sound were not destined to live long.

This chapter concludes with the observation (*ibid.*, p.453) that "(t)here is a somewhat strange custom sometimes followed in connection with avenging the death of a man. If the special *Gammona* (= *Kamuna*; actually mother's brother; here it is given as "brother") whose duty it is to organise the avenging party does not do so, the widow of the dead man goes to perhaps two or three other *Gammonas*, and . . . invites them to have marital relations with her" while at the same time advising them to "walk and kill the man". They say something to the effect that "this is the wrong woman for us to take, but we will go and kill him."¹² They are supposed to be obliged to comply with her request, and must afterwards go out and kill the man.

Details of Spencer and Gillen's account of the *leltja* (or *kurdaitcha*), particularly concerning the concealment of the fatal wound, temporary revival of the victim and loss

of memory to preempt identification of the murderer and hence reprisals, the divination of the culprit and use of *tjurunga* as magical weapons, coincide with those given by Stuart and the Strehlows. The passages on the use of feather boots, tracking abilities, and the dislocation of little toes (*op. cit.*, 455-59) are excellent reading. They also mention the magical chants (*ibid.*, 458), although, unlike the Strehlows, give no hint of their meaning and content. "(T)he fear of the Kurdaitcha man lurking around is always present with the native" (*ibid.*, 458), they conclude, and "that the fear of the magic power of the dreaded Kurdaitcha causes him, if he catches sight of such a track, to avoid as much as possible the spot where he has seen it, in just the same way in which an ordinary European peasant will avoid the spot haunted by a ghost." To our eyes tracking itself is magic.

Of interest in this context is, however, "The Custom of Illapurinja", or "the changed one", a sort of female Kurdaitcha "whom we may regard", advise Spencer and Gillen (*ibid.*, 461) "at all events at the present day, as being entirely a mythical personage whose existence in the mind of the native is concerned mainly with the observance of certain customs in connection with mourning for dead relatives."

According to Spencer and Gillen, this female avenger is sent out at her own request by her husband, at night time, without any consultation with the old men, to avenge some wrong (real or imagined), after he has decorated her with grease, red ochre and white down. Carrying a large wooden stick – treated as a *churinga* for such occasions, she hurls it into the back of the neck of her victim either to kill her (in the case of an elderly victim) or to injure him or her in such a way that only a medicine man can bring about a cure.

The Illapurinja woman belief is almost surely an instance of what Stanner terms "brilliant improvisation" (*Oceania*, Vol. XXXI: No. 4, June 1961, 237). "In that case [if she is

entirely mythical],” writes a cynical von Leonhardi in his Preface to *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, Part 3, pages V-VII, “it is difficult to understand what relevance is to be given to an exact description of the alleged custom, still less to a picture of this [female] avenger.”

Women, Tjurunga and Magic

Native etiquette – and plain straight out embarrassment – precludes the interrogation of males by females (and vice versa) about their sacred *tjurunga* although within the writer’s experience this etiquette does not preclude the exchange of information on a voluntary basis. Above all, however, the virtues of silence and mutual respect in all matters are prized – and rewarded. I believe there were two types of female *tjurunga* ownership: that passed on by the men of which the women stood – overtly at least – in complete ignorance (see the section on Ljabarinja above), and that passed on by women of which the men stood in overt ignorance.

Songs of Central Australia is less uncompromising on the question of female *tjurunga* ownership than *Aranda Traditions*, and in various sections it deals with practices mutually carried out by men and women such as the rites carried out to promote the development of a young girl’s breasts, for among the chief beauty attributes of the girls were well-formed legs and shapely breasts (*op. cit.*, 469-73):

Come, let the girlish breasts ever swell and ripen!
Come, let the rounded breasts ever swell and ripen!

The rounded breasts are swelling and ripening,
The girlish breasts are swelling and ripening.

Thighs, be round and shapely!
Knees, be round and shapely!

At the very fork let them be round and sturdy!
Like desert oaks let them be round and sturdy!

Knees, be round and shapely!
Spear bushes, be round and shapely!

Out west on the border of the Western Aranda and Kukatja areas the rite associated with these verses was carried out thus:

The old men met secretly, well out of the hearing of women and made a *kanta* (a thick ring of hairstring) which they anointed with fat and red ochre. They then gathered in a circle, put their heads closely together and chanted the following charm verses while the *kanta* lay in the middle of them on an underspread of leaves:

Quickly the nipples are appearing;
On the breasts the nipples are appearing.

The breasts are young and undeveloped;
The breasts are beginning to form.

On the twin breasts the nipples are budding forth, -
Swelling with milk they are budding forth.

On the twin breasts the nipples are standing out firmly, -
Swelling with milk they are standing out firmly.

The inmate of the women's camp avoids the company of men;
The inmate of the women's camp is sitting apart.

'The twisted thick headband -
My elder sister places the band upon my head.'

In rounded curves her bosom is standing out;
On her downward sweeping breasts the nipples are quickly standing out.

In rounded curves her bosom is standing out, -
Sweeping downward, her breasts are standing out.

When this had been done several times, the girl herself was anointed with fat and red ochre and then an elder brother or mother's brother took this *kanta*, all glistening with fat

and red ochre, to the women's camp and put it on the head of the young girl. He told her not to remove it until her breasts were fully developed. The girl wore this *kanta* day and night and as her body grew so her breasts developed. The charmed ring "passed into her chest" and caused her figure to ripen into maturity lest she have grown up "flat chested like a boy". Other beauty practices related to the carving of cicatrices (body scarification) and nose-boring.

Other themes likely to relate to the possession of women's *tjurunga* would have been love charms (*ilpintja*) or the charming of men so that they would become their husbands against love rivals (such as *tjimbarkja* plait verses), childbirth, initiation, and contraception and menstruation.

C.F.T. Strehlow has recorded an interesting women's ceremony in *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien* (IV,II: 35) carried out by a "wronged" wife who wished to punish her rival. Normally the two women would fight it out with clubs or sticks. Otherwise, one may have recourse to magic, generally with the assistance of her friends. The following account of the procedure used for this purpose has been taken in a condensed form from C.F.T. Strehlow's book.

The two women fashion two long digging sticks. They cut off their own locks and pubic hair and work it into plaits, at the tips of which they fasten some kangaroo leg bones and teeth by means of porcupine resin. The plaits are tied to two neckbands, and these are fastened to the two digging sticks. These now represent mythical plait women (*tjimbarkja*). A large fire is then lit. The sticks representing the plait women are pushed into the ground close to the fire; and the two women execute the women's dance *ndaperama*, around these around these crude images. The image-sticks are pulled up,

moved up and down, and put back on the ground. They are then rubbed with lime. The outlines of a snake are drawn to the intonation of the following verses of execration:

The *tjimbarkŋa* plaits are lying there.¹³
She is continually wasting away without hope.

With bleaching teeth she is lying there,
With (shrivelling) brain she is lying there

Her eyeballs are projecting from their sockets:
Her head has grown too large for her.¹⁴

The plait woman keeps on crying and crying;
In her loneliness she keeps on crying and crying

The *tjimbarkŋa* plaits are breaking her life;
The avenging woman is breaking her life.

Should the wronged wife seek her satisfaction merely on the illness of her rival, she will now rub the imagesticks with fat and red ochre, immerse them briefly in water, and then hide them in a secure spot. Should she seek the death of the other woman she will burn the imagesticks. This is believed to result in the death of her rival.

There is an interesting variation of women's active participation in the exclusively male sacred ceremonies described in Book XXVI, *Field Diary* (Strehlow 1960, Part 2, 47): (an *utnuruŋatja* or green caterpillar ceremony of Alice Springs), where the ritual is shared by the men and women.

Some Comments

In Strehlow's time – as in that of his father – the urgency had been to record as much as possible of the languages, customs, literary traditions and so on before they died out completely with the last old men who knew them. Towards the end of his fieldwork career (in winter 1974), a depressed Strehlow confided that he had known over eighty

informants but now all but half a dozen or so had taken their knowledge with them into oblivion. It was a theme that had presented itself continuously to him throughout his years in Central Australia: each ceremonial festival is being conducted for the last time, as the quotation from his diary on the evening of 30th July 1953 at the close of the ceremonial festival at Taka shows.

On 1st September 1982, however, I was invited to “go bush” with two of my aboriginal women friends (and the husband of one of them): Joylene Abbott (and Gordon Abbott) and Jean Armstrong.¹⁵ This trip taught me many things, but above all it put me in the position where I can now make some enlightened guesses on things that have, until now, been a mystery to male investigators, and it confirmed other things that I had suspected (as had Strehlow) but on which no one could be sure.

The first shock I received was when the vehicle became stuck for the first of many times in the powder-fine sand of the Finke with Gordon driving and all three women pushing. The two aboriginal women panted as the vehicle began to move again and cried “Kukukukukukukukuku!”. For I remembered where I had first come across this phrase – it was the chorus of a sacred ceremony urging the acts to “keep on going, keep on going”. The second point was that the women knew the names of the sacred sites, but as they were also reading from *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, a copy of which Jean had brought with her and held in her hand to refer to, I could not be sure whether they knew them from their own experience (almost certainly the case) or whether they had (most unlikely) learned them from the book. Next, they knew the site of the old sacred cave, although they refused to say the word, merely saying to me “you know what it is called.”¹⁶ They also knew the plain of Arabara. This caused the hair to prickle on my neck – for a full

explanation of the significance of this plain one has to go to the dreaded secret *leltja* verses cited in my paper on the operation of fear in traditional aboriginal society in Central Australia (p. 41, ff.):

Arabara grass tussocks; come, draw the deep gash together!
Come, draw the deep gash together!
You spider, now lifting your trapdoor! Come, draw the deep gash together!

These verses are sung by the two *leltja* or blood avengers of Kotitja as they close up magically in aboriginal fashion the wound of their victim, a wound they have made with their *ntjala* (or death-pointing bones) to let the juices of putrefaction escape so that he can return to his camp before dying again, for after spearing their victim the *leltja* have brought the dead man back to life.¹⁷ The Wallis Rockhole group – of which Joylene is the leader^{17a} – lives in the shadow of Kotitja, a mountain that lies brooding, at the western tip of the Waterhouse Range. To this day when they drive past it they motion with their hands to keep its ancient memories placated; for it was from here that the two *leltja* set out on their journey south across the “bare windswept waste” of Arabara Plain to Ungwatja, and right to Mutikutara itself.

I was also able to read to them for hours at Irbmankara from Strehlow’s diary without giving any offence; indeed they requested that I read to them and I had brought the relevant diary as well as *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*.¹⁸ Yet these two women claimed no special aboriginal knowledge pertaining to “the old days”, merely disclaiming that they were only “young fellows” of “the know-nothing mob”. All this information, they explained, had gone with their grandmothers and great-grandmothers.¹⁹ In short, from what I could ascertain from my own rather vague knowledge of the men’s mythology, these women had a fair outline of the myths and sound knowledge of the totemic

geography in their own territory - that of Henbury. Joylene asked me directly to write up their Family Tree, and she asked if I could find out anything at all about the *ulbolbuna* (or brown bats) of Imanda. I promised to think about it.²⁰ I do not believe that young women have knowledge of these matters, but this is the first clear proof that older women even of the "younger" generation, know much more than anyone had previously realised, and who felt free to discuss these matters with the one person who must be careful always in the presence of aboriginal men not to mention any words (gleaned as they are from the male vocabulary) that would embarrass us all.

It is clear, however, in my conversations with aboriginal men that have taken place at their request that they not only realise the extent of such knowledge, but they insist that I do know. "You know . . ." they say with some impatience. And if I look rather vague they further insist that I "can look it up in the book" (i.e. Strehlow's diaries), or point out that I have the "tapes". What it does tell us, however, is that older women, as Strehlow and others had long suspected, are privy to men's secrets; the thing is that no one boasts about it openly (on pain of death in the old days). It seems to me, in examining the punishments meted out in those days, that these came about when breaches of the law were so flagrant that no alternative was left. It was a responsibility to avenge insults against the supernatural beings²¹ such as the breaking of *tjurunga*. But that no women's secrets remain in the Aranda-speaking area I am as certain as I can be. No *arugutja inankala*" remain: Mickey Gura's sisters seem to have taken their knowledge with them into the eternal silence.

The more I have thought about it over the years, the more I have been convinced that the real powers wielded by women in Central Australia – apart from the obvious ones such as

being economic assets – lie in their conception beliefs, and these differ on a vital point from those reported by Warner in Arnhem Land.

And the “conception site” – that is, the site at which a woman first realises beyond doubt that she is pregnant – was determined by the women. In the Western Aranda-speaking area, a married women moving about in her daily search for food, feels the first symptoms of incipient pregnancy such as morning sickness; she consults her husband who consults with other old leading men, and they search their legendary records of the group to discover the original totemic ancestor who either dwelt in this locality or who visited it on one of his wanderings. This ancestor desiring reincarnation caused the pregnancy by entering the woman’s body himself or by hurling a small bull-roarer at her hips. The child will be born into the totem of this ancestor.

Similar beliefs are held in the Northern Aranda area where conception is often attributed to the eating of vegetable food by the younger married women of the group. If the child is the reincarnation of, say a *tjilpa* or native cat ancestor, some of his “life-cells” or *nantja* enter the woman, and the child will belong to the *tjilpa* totem. (See page 25 above.)

The Southern Aranda version differs slightly in that the woman is supposed to have had a vision and to have seen a child “crying” for her (i.e. to enter her body to become reincarnated).

These traditions are of great practical value to a native community since they serve to fix the conception site of every man, woman and child in the “tribe” beyond doubt and dispute. It settles the totem of a child and determines the rank which the child will enjoy

amongst the initiated members of the group after reaching the years of maturity.

(Strehlow, 1968, pp. 87-91.)

Warner's account of this happening is somewhat different in the Arnhem Land area.

There it is the father who has the dream, although he often keeps silent about his dream until his wife is certain of her pregnancy, so that he can check on the veracity of this dream. Here the child starts life as a little fish in his father's totemic well that swims up inside his mother to be born as a human being.

As for the importance of women in men's ceremonies: in Central Australia two of the most sacred ritual emblems – the *rala ilbantera* and the *waniṇa* were the female symbols in aboriginal men's ceremonies.²²

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis is intended to be neither exhaustive nor an historical account of aboriginal male-female relations in Central Australia. I have written of women's rights in land in Central Australia and their role in life and religious beliefs based largely on Strehlow's researches in Central Australia.

With respect to Strehlow's work itself, certainly there is no truth to Diane Bell's assertion that – "Strehlow saw aboriginal women as 'cooks and keepers of the home fires'" (1983: 226). What he in fact said, anticipating Bell's thoughts on the question of the women's role was this (*Songs of Central Australia*, pp. 647-649):

No male white investigator has ever been able to get more than a faint hint of the women's mysteries in Central Australia. In other parts of Australia Dr Phyllis Kaberry and Dr Catherine Berndt have shown admirably that women live not merely a 'profane' but also a 'sacred' life . . . In the fire ceremonies of Urubuntja the women again saw real wooden tjurunga on the heads of the actors: the latter wore the down-patterns normally used in the sacred kangaroo utnitjia act of this region; and some of the women even assisted in the ceremony itself.

Secondly, as I have indicated earlier, the women were conscious of the connection between the totems and special sacred sites. Since the personal totem of the child depended on the mother's story of its conception-site, the native women were inevitably aware of all the landscape features associated with the various totems located in their area of residence . . .

The third point is an even more vital one. This is the undoubted existence of a body of unknown dimensions of special women's lore, which used to be kept jealously secret from the men. This body of feminine secret lore may not have been bound to the local sacred totemic sites as closely as were the traditions of the men. Because of the twin factors of exogamy and patrilocal marriage, the women in any area were

normally living outside the territory of their own njinana sections and away from their own conception sites. The area where their husbands lived and where their children were born was not often their own home territory. And yet the women had apparently both andata acts and sacred songs of their own.

I have also shown the influence of Durkheim on Warner and on aspects of aboriginal studies. The sacred/profane dichotomy, for example, seems to owe more to Durkheim's own preconceptions than to aboriginal reality.

Warner's book *A Black Civilization* was praised by Elkin and it has gone through several editions. However, had Warner learned the language and admitted his deficient knowledge on the aboriginal women's side of things, he would have contributed much to our understanding of the situation at a time when the society had not undergone irrevocable social change.

The overall picture, though, still remains unclear and even mysterious. Undoubtedly men and women did differ in their degree of ritual power. My own feeling is that men have frankly envied the role of child-bearing which they cannot duplicate. Men have therefore sought to duplicate the Female Principle through mime and symbolism in their sacred ceremonies which, to save embarrassment, were secret in Central Australia.

Strong character, advancing years, experience and knowledge play their parts in the role and status of aboriginal women just as they do for the men.²³ It is possibly too late to investigate these matters in detail. Time and men's arrogance and insufficiency, have done their work too well.

NOTES

1. The diacritics used in the text are those originated by T.G.H. Strehlow and are explained in *Aranda Phonetics and Grammar* (1944) and *Songs of Central Australia* (1971b: xlvii-liv).
2. The terms "white" and "black" are not in fact meant to be emotive European terms, but are direct translations of the terms the aboriginals themselves used: *urbula* = black ; *lintera* = white man.
3. Katherine Susannah Prichard spent some three weeks on Turee Creek Station in the northwest of Western Australia gathering background material for this book.
4. Elkin cites Mrs K. Langloh Parker's portrayal of Euahlayai life, Miss U. McConnel's reports from Cape York Peninsula, and Dr Roheim's "Women and their Life in Central Australia", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* Vol. 63, 1933, 207-265.
5. As to her period in the field, the dates given in the Foreword (1973, 1x) are at first rather vague: "in 1934 and in 1935 to 1936", but totaling up the figures she gives on page ix, *op. cit.*, it was altogether more than 13 months.
6. Musée de l'Homme, Paris, 1950; see also "Women and the 'Secret Life'" in *Aboriginal Man in Australia*, 1965.
7. "Dreaming", is essentially a white man's concept based on the Spencerian mistranslation of an Aranda word, *altjira*.
8. However, *tjauerilja* or gift offerings (of meat and so on) had to be paid to the female owners. I met Lottie Pmalbungka at Hermannsburg who had witnessed the "huge" gifts made by T.G.H. Strehlow (at Ajura) to women owners of ceremonies performed by the men on their behalf at ceremonial festivals held there in 1960 and 1962.
9. = Mt Conway, a distinctive mountain 28 miles directly west of Alice Springs. Grid references: Aboriginal Central Australia M.14; National Mapping R502, Series 671039.
10. A small hill 11 miles directly west of Alice Springs. Grid references: *op. cit.*, N.13; *op. cit.*, 145043.
11. = *alknarintja*; "arugutja" = "women"; "untjuiamba" = "honeysuckle (juice)"; "kutatarinja" = "having always lived there", i.e. a locally born person (or ancestor) or in this case ancestress.
- 11a. It is unfortunate to observe the word "dreaming", essentially a white man's concept, copping up in what purports to be a serious anthropological work. It is based on the Spencerian mistranslation of an Aranda word, *altjira*, and Strehlow devotes no fewer than fifteen pages to a discussion of this mistranslation in a major unpublished linguistic paper entitled "Man and his Language" (see also Strehlow

1971b:604:614-15:694). Her title should read "Daughters of the Land of Eternity" or "Daughters of the Eternal land", and for the word "dreaming" throughout should be substituted 'totem' which is a correct translation of "tjukurpa", spelt by her as "jukurpa". Actually it is difficult to assess a work on Central Australian religion that gives not one sacred text of that religion.

12. If these are indeed the original victims' "Brothers" (either by blood or by classification), then they should be "straight" for his widow; in other words, a man and his brothers stand in the same relationship to a woman who is marriageable for him. There therefore seems something wrong with Spencer and Gillen's account.
13. It was believed that after the ceremony the plaits would wind themselves around the spirit or "life" of the rival woman, tightening their hold on her till she wasted away and died.
14. Because her body has been wasted by the mysterious disease.
15. Both these women are too "young" – although they are well into middle age – to feature personally on the Central Australian genealogies although Joylene's parents do (Family Tree II:2:6); Jean's husband, Fogarty Armstrong, also features on the same Family Tree, and Gordon is the son of Joe Alkuljalkulja and Doris (=Winnie, halfcaste), on Family Tree V: 8:10: note 11); "Joylene" is here given as "Julienne".
16. In Strehlow's *Field Diary* (part 1, 1960: 65a, passim).
17. This was the only type of resurrection believed possible in Central Australia, the temporary revival of a man brought low by the blood avenger; vide also Warner: 1969: 185.
- 17a Since this observation of mine has prompted a query, I feel bound to qualify it further. Probably the authority by which the character and personality of Joylene Abbott dominates and rules the little community of some 60-70 souls at Wallis Räckaläja is best summed up by my son Carl who, when he used to attend the school there during my absences abroad, christened her "Mrs Wallis Rockhole". Her authority derives from several sources: from her family background, from her knowledge of the white man's ways and her ability to administer the settlement thereby, and from her strong character and personality combined with advancing years. Her mother was Māūwi or Māūi (= Pauline II), her father was Johnson Breaden and her husband is Gordon Abbott. All of them have white blood flowing in their veins, Joylene herself being a halfcaste daughter of a three-quarter dark mother and a three-quarter white father. The white blood of both her father and her mother comes from two prominent Finke River pioneers Walter Parke (see Strehlow 1978b: 72-73, founder of Henbury Station "[who] had belonged to the English gentry [who] had come to Australia for the sake of colonial adventure"), and Allan Breaden (Strehlow 1978b, 74, 101-102), one of the founders of Henbury and Idracowra Stations who, at the time of C. Strehlow's death at Horseshoe Bend in 1922, was the manager of Idracowra Station.

However, since to detail the genealogy of Joylene would undoubtedly make for one of the longest footnotes in history, it is only meant to summarize it briefly here and to refer readers to the relevant documents, some of which have been published.

Māūwi, later christened Pauline II (see F.T. II,2, page 6) is a three-quarter dark ṅala woman from the conception site of Mbōntuma (or Idracowra Station) of the kwātja or rain totem. Her father had been the famous Kwālba, an Mbitjana man from Intēera of the ṅara or red kangaroo totem "ēra māļterāka Inteera ntjāberaka" [who] "became the ceremonial chief of the whole of Intēera. Otherwise known as Policeman Jack Kwālba (Strehlow, 1978b, 46-49), he became one of Spencer and Gillen's informants. Her mother was Kwālba's second wife, the halfcaste Paltara Kitty Benham, daughter of the white man Charlie Benham. (The halfcaste Leisha from Tūṅa of the tjōnba or giant goanna totem is her half-sister [see Strehlow 1978b, 111].) For a full account of this genealogy whose apical ancestor is Nākinkāka, a ṅala man from Imāṇda of the ulbōlbuna or brown bat totem, see The Strehlow Research Foundation's *Newsletters* No.1, Vol. 6, January 1983; No. 2, Vol. 6, April 1983; No. 4, Vol. 6, October 1983; No. 1, Vol. 7, January 1984; No. 2, Vol. 7, April 1984.

Johnson Breaden had been an outstanding horseman in Central Australia. He was the Panangka three-quarter white son of Jessie Parke (later christened Grace) and Allen Breaden (F.T. 11, 9, p. 11, note 51). Although he married Tāṅawa, he fathered Joylene (or Tjūlīn) while he was still single. Allan Breaden's history has already been cited above. Jessie Parke's story of her difficult "marital situations" is also told in *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* (Strehlow 1978b, 72, 110-111). Suffice to quote here that: "throughout her difficult life Jessie had managed to preserve to the full her great natural charm. Nor had she lost her impressive air of quiet womanly dignity in any of her difficult marital situations. An air of almost aristocratic aloofness often seemed to surround her" (*op. cit.*, 110-111). She has almost certainly passed along her qualities to her halfcaste grand-daughter Joylene (or Julienne III), the Baṅata woman whose conception site is Idracowra Station.

As for Joylene's husband, Gordon (F.T. II:9:11), his family history has been set down by the writer in *Linguistica et Philologica*, pages 505-507 (K. Strehlow, 1984). Gordon, the Mbitjana son of Joe Arūljalkūla and Winnie (= Doris, halfcaste), received his surname during the war when he was in the army workforce. He is called for his "uncle" (actually his second cousin) Theodore Abbott. (My paper had originally been prepared for court hearings on land ownership of the Waterhouse Range area.) Gordon and Joylene have five five-eighths dark children whose names are not recorded.

When Joylene speaks, she expects to be obeyed. I once heard her instruct one of her aboriginal servants to pick up a broom and "sweep until the sun goes down". Although I did not wait around to see whether this was carried out, I cannot imagine that the girl would have dared stop until her task had been completed. Also, although she does not actually drive the four-wheel drive vehicle, husband Gordon does that, she issues the instructions which he carries out, and she changes the gears.

18. For a brief account of this trip see "The Operation of Fear" paper (in press, 61 typescript), also The Strehlow Research Foundation *Newsletter*, Vol. 5, No. 4, October 1982 from which this is quoted.
19. Gustav Pmalbungka, the oldest survivor at Hermannsburg who, during a conversation I had with him the same year (1982), claimed that I must now (with my husband's death) be "the biggest tjurunga man in the world", also told me that his grandmother knew these dances: he could just remember her painted up (for ceremonies) when he was a little boy.
20. The Family Tree of Kwalba, her ancestor, has been written up for the Foundation *Newsletters* (for the reference see Note 17a above).
21. As recently as the early 1960s Billy Button's wife was put to death at Jay Creek for "bad-mouthing men"; sand was thrust into her mouth, her eyes and her ears.
22. *Rala Ilbantera* = "ground painting"; *waniŋa* = "thread (or double thread) cross"; these are two items of ritual paraphernalia used in certain areas and in certain ceremonies in Central Australia.
23. For an interesting account of the role and status of women see "The Equality of the Sexes in the Seychelles", Burton Benedict, in *Social Organisation: Essays Presented to Raymond Firth* (editor Maurice Freedman), Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., London, 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albrecht, F.W., Leske, L.H., and Lohe, M. 1977. *Hermannsburg A Vision and a Mission*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.
- Bell, Diane 1983. *Daughters of the Dreaming*, George Allen and Unwin.
- Berndt, Catherine H. 1950. *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, Musée de l'Homme, Paris.
- Durack, Mary. 1995. *Keep Him My Country*. Constable & Company Limited, London.
- Durkheim, Émile. 1947. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, The Free Press, Illinois.
- Elkin, A.P. 1937. Review, *A Black Civilization*, in *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.
- Fortune, R.F. 1932. *Sorcerers of Dobu*, George Routledge and Sons Ltd, London.
- Frazer, J.G. 1929. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged edition, Macmillan Press, London.
- Kaberry, P. 1973. *Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane*, Gordon Press, New York.
- Leacock, E.B. 1981. Introduction to *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (by Frederick Engels), International Publishers, New York.
- Leske, Editor, *Hermannsburg: A Vision and a Mission*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.
- Lukes, S. 1973. *Émile Durkheim: His Life and Work*, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.
- Malinowski, B. 1984. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Waveland Press, Inc., Illinois.
- Prichard, K.S. 1956. *Coonardoo: The Well in the Shadow*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Radcliffe Brown, A.R. 1922. *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge University Press.

Roheim, G. 1933. "Women and Their Life in Central Australia" in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* LXIII.

Spencer, B. and Gillen, F.J. 1899. *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Macmillan and Co. Limited, London.

— 1927, *The Arunta*, Macmillan and Co. Limited, London.

Stanner, W.E.H. 1961. *Oceania*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4.

Strehlow, C.F.T. Strehlow. 1907-1920. *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien*, Joseph Baer, Frankfurt.

Strehlow, K.S. & Strehlow, T.G.H. 1971. "Aboriginal Central Australia", in *Songs of Central Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

Strehlow, K.S. (N.D.) "The Operation of Fear in Traditional Aboriginal Society in Central Australia" in *Festschrift for Joseph Papin* (Joseph Armenti editor).

— 1984 "Aboriginal Man in Central Australia: His Land and his Language" in *Linguistica et Philologica: Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder (1894-1983)* Wilhelm Braumüller, Vienna.

Strehlow, T.G.H. 1932. *Book I*. (Field Diary) (unpublished).

— 1944. *Aranda Phonetics and Grammar*, Oceania Monograph No. 7, The Australian National Research Council, Sydney.

— 1950. *An Australian Viewpoint*, The Hawthorn Press.

— 1933-1936. *Book IV*. (Field Diary) (unpublished).

— 1953. *Book XVII*. (Field Diary) (unpublished).

Book XVIII (Field Diary) (unpublished).

- 1965. "Culture, Social Structure, and Environment in Aboriginal Central Australia" in *Aboriginal Man in Australia: Essays in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.P. Elkin* (edited by R.M. and C.H. Berndt), Angus and Robertson, Sydney.
- 1968. *Aranda Traditions*, in Series "Landmarks in Anthropology", Johnson Reprint Corporation Co. Limited, New York.
- (N.D.) *Handbook to Genealogies*, abbreviated to *Handbook*
- 1969. *Book XL*. (Field Diary) (unpublished).
- 1970. "Geography and the Totemic Landscape in Central Australia: A Functional Study" in *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (edited by R.N. Berndt), University of Western Australian Press.
- 1971a. "Religions of Illiterate People: Australia" in *Historia Religionum: Handbook for the History of Religions*, Vol. II, "Religions of the Present" (edited by C.J. Blecker and C. Widengren), E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- 1971b. *Songs of Central Australia*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.
- 1978b. *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide.
- n.d. "Aranda Regular and Irregular Marriages" (unpublished).
- n.d. "Central Australian Genealogies" (unpublished).
- 1960. *Field Diary*, Part 1, Book XXV (unpublished).
- 1960. *Field Diary*, Part 2, Book XXVI (unpublished).
- 1962. *Field Diary*, Part 1, Book XXVIII (unpublished).
- Strehlow Research Foundation Inc., The. 1977. *Newsletters and Pamphlets*, Adelaide.
- Stuart, D.R. 1959. *Yandy*, Georgian House, Melbourne.
- 1962. *Yaralie*, Georgian House, Melbourne.

Tindale, N.B. 1974. *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Turner, D.H. 1974. "Levels of Organization and Communication in Aboriginal Australia" in *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia* (edited by N. Peterson) in *Social Anthropology Series*, No. 10, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Turner, D.H. 1980. *Australian Aboriginal Social Organization*, Humanities Press, New York.

Warner, W.L. 1958. *A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe*, Harper and Brothers, New York.

— 1969. *A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe*, Peter Smith, Massachusetts.

APPENDIX A

TABULAR DATA

Key To The Central Australian Genealogies

- I Western Aranda**
- II Upper Southern Aranda (Henbury, Maryvale, Horseshoe Bend)**
- III Lower Southern Aranda (Crown Point, Andado, Charlotte Waters)**
- IV Northern Aranda**
- V 1-6 Eastern Aranda South**
- VI Haast's Bluff (Pintubi) (originally classless)**
- VII Petermann Range (originally classless). For maps of Petermann Range country see T.G.H. Strehlow's Diary for July, 1939, pages 10a-16a**
- VIII Southern "Loritja"**
- IX Unmatjera**
- X From Alkutura (Eastern Aranda) (in 1958)**
- XI Wanjanuru**
- XII Walbiri**

The Central Aranda are spread throughout neighboring areas' Family trees.

The following F.T.'s are supplementary family trees:

- 1 Ipitarinja**
- 1a Teralta = Joana I (= I,6)**
- 2 Loatjira II**
- 2a Balupa = Artjila; Tjapalta = Ntalpa**

- 3 Nuaperaka
- 3a Tatuka = Koputa
- 4 Ernkaraka
- 4a Lantinja = Ntjuleaka

WESTERN ARANDA FAMILY TREES

Group Prefix I

- I,6 Teralta
- I,7 Kurubila
- I,8 Pmalkara
- I,9 Nalatanea
- I,10 Ltjabakurka
- I,11 Tjikunna
- I,12 Tjilpa I
- I,13 Tjapalta
- I,14 Kutakwa
- I,15 Tapatataka
- I,16 Balupa
- I,17 Rata
- I,18 Aratiwuka
- I,19 Lantjinja
- I,20 Kwatjakirbana
- I,21 Lutintja
- I,22 Tatuka

I,23	Runkuna
I,24	Naiameraia
I,25	Alknantjika I
I,26	Walruma
I,27	Tjinajuja I
I,28	Untutari
I,29	Tjintujurkna
I,30	Nditerka
I,31	Inunana
I,32	Njutukanjuta
I,33	Mbakalarinja
I,34	Urbumania
I,35	Ititjakunjambarinja
I,36	Itinteraka (has been added as addendum to IV, 8) and changed to Topatjitjika or Topatataka
I, 37	Jean Kumia

UPPER SOUTERN ARANDA
(HENBURY, MARYVALE, HORSHOE BEND)

Group Prefix II

II,1	Tnukutowaka
II,2	Nakinkala
II,3	Linta (f)
II,4	Ultutjiaka

II,5	Katabatapa
II,6	Malbunka
II,7	Kaminna
II,8	Nakinkaka

The 8-class system seems to have been adopted into the Southern Aranda area generally in the 1920s following the grave depopulation caused by the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1919 (note by T.G.H. Strehlow).

II,9	Inkinbora
II,10	Tjitjakuma
II,11	Tamba
II,12	Inkelapa
II,13	Ururulindaka

NORTHERN ARANDA

Group Prefix IV

IV,1	Ilbmarinja
IV,2	Alkea
IV,3	Erenentarinja
IV,4	Ndulputarinja or Krantjirinja I
IV,5	Kararinja
IV,6	Makatia
IV,7	Krantjirinja II

IV,8	Inintja
IV,9	Alkeja
IV,10	Utnatjauna
IV,11	Ungunakalca
IV,12	Ultalindamarinja
IV,13	Atara
IV,14	Utnuaraulbura
IV,15	Ltirkabanta
IV,16	Unumatja
IV,17	Tjilkarauwa
IV,18	Inarinbarinja
IV,19	Ultikljeraka
IV,20	Iltjentjarinja
IV,21	Inkataalkua

EASTERN ARANDA FAMILY TREES

Group Prefix V

V,1	Njintjalutnuruka
V,2	Lirabota
V,3	Antjilulutnuruka
V,4	Utijtuta
V,5	Eritja I
V,6	Palirguruka
V,7	Ntjilulutnuruka

V,8	Aralkuljaka
V,9	Urbmiljankaraka
V,10	Antjuantjua (listed as F.T. of Ulamba)
V,11	Ilkooabuna
V,12	Intjina (given as Ultunalera)
V,13	Erotiljika
V,14	Damara

Originally this area had the 4-class system of terminology. The 8-class system was, however, adopted, perhaps some time after 1900. This change seems to have occurred first in the Alice Springs region where it was probably caused by the influx of a large number of Northern Aranda people to the Alice Springs ration depot. From here it spread gradually eastward, and had become accepted everywhere by 1955. In 1935 however, the Hale River group was still clinging to its 4-class system of terminology. Undoubtedly the widespread depopulation of the Eastern Aranda area caused by the 1919 Spanish Influenza epidemic helped to spread the 8-class system fairly rapidly throughout this region. (Note by T.G.H. Strehlow.)

V,15	Kowijuwia I
V,16	Erambinja
V,17	Ankararinja
V,18	Etaltua
V,19	Alburiwuka
V,20	appears to be missing
V,21	Walter Kowijuwia II

V,22	Atneljabuna
V,23	Nkunaknara
V,24	Makatia
V,25	Jim Woritarintja

HAAST'S BLUFF (PINTUBI)

Group Prefix VI

VI,1	Manun (f)
VI,2	Pira
VI,3	Jatjitja I
VI,4	Nunti
VI,5	Mulakarinja
VI,6	Inapa
VI,7	Kulaia
VI,8	Jack Coulthard (part aboriginal)
VI,9	Naltowara
VI,10	Paddy Bola
VI,11	Awulara

PETERMANN RANGE

Group Prefix VII

VII,1	Mantarana
VII,2	Natana
VII,3	Tembanja

For maps of the Petermann Range country see my diary for July 1939, pages 10a-16a, note by T.G.H. Strehlow.

SOUTHERN "LORITJA"

(apparently) JANKUNTJATJARA, ARABANA

Group Prefix VIII

- VIII,1 Talanka
- VIII,2 Mutukatjita
- VIII,3 Tjalkaljeri (or Talkaljeri, commonly known as "Tiger")
- VIII,4 Warumalintji
- VIII,5 Titja
- VIII,6 Untutanu
- VIII,7 Karultji
- VIII,8 Tjuntatjunta
- VIII,9 Maratanu
- VIII,10 Kuta
- VIII,11 Moutitja
- VIII,12 Mantjukulbi
- VIII,13 Kakalalatjukur
- VIII,14 Kultupiana
- VIII,15 Wantitja
- VIII,16 Jarankakuna

UNMATJERA**Group Prefix IX**

IX,1	Batjintarinja
IX,2	Aralta (i)
IX,3	Araltaka (ii)
IX,4	Ungunantinea
IX,5	Ititjeranunja II
IX,6	Itannarinja
IX,7	Akararinja
IX,8	Nkopiarununja
IX,9	Ilbiljamba

from ALKUTURA (EASTERN ARANDA) in 1958

Group Prefix X

X,1	Intjina
X,2	Antjuantjua
X,3	Inkultjareraka
X,4	Ungunantinea (see IX,4)
X,5	Altjelbera
X,6	Ntelunaka
X,7	Alkambapuna
X,8	Ebaniwuljaka

WANKANURU

Group Prefix XI

IX,1 Wiljali

WALBIRI (?)

Group Prefix XII

XII,1 Wanatjukurba

XII,2 Nalikari

Documentation

(i) *Tuṇa*

The grid reference for Tuṇa is L17 on the Map *Aboriginal Central Australia*. It is the waterhole in the Finke immediately south of Henbury Station Homestead which is built practically on the banks of this river and is in fact the place from which the homestead used to draw its water supply until a huge flood in the Finke washed the entire waterhole away a few years ago. My informants on my 1982 trip down the Finke attributed this disappearance of the sacred waterhole to the – in their eyes– sacrilegious activities of the white exploiters of the ancient territory of the tjonba or giant prenti ancestor who once stood in the middle of the Finke. Etaninaka, whose details appear below, was believed to have been reincarnated from the tjonba which was pursued into the Henbury waterhole: “era kwatjaka irbuka, erina ujiantam’ ergunaka: parantama itnama = he dived into the water, without being caught: a gum tree stands here now.”

There are 31 people located from the Family Trees whose conception sites have been

listed as Tuṇa or Henbury. Of these some contain conflicting information which will be given below when their individual histories are written down, and of the 31 people three of them are listed as either coming from Henbury or as being called, for instance, in one case, "Henbury Rosie" or Rosie IV. Kitty Benham (part aboriginal) has also been included as the half sister of Leisha. Although her details could not be remembered, Leisha (part aboriginal) is noted as coming from Tuṇa and being of the *tjonba* totem so that it is a reasonable assumption, lacking evidence to the contrary, that the two half sisters would share the conception site and totem. The Henbury or Tuṇa group is listed in alphabetical order:

	Name	Sex	Conception Site	Totem	Class	Date (if any)
	*denotes part aboriginal					
1.	Albertina II (or Florrie I)	f.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
2.	Armstrong, Maurice	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
3.	Armstrong, Maxie = Max II	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
4.	Armstrong, Michael = Mick XIII	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
5.	Armstrong, Nola or Noel = Noala I	f.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
6.	Armstrong, Rufus	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Mbitjana	
7.	Armstrong, Tim	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>		
8.	Armstrong, Sheila III	f.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Baṇata	
	Tim II	m.	Tuṇa	<i>tjonba</i>	Dala	

9.	Augusta IV	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Mbitjana
10.	Benham, Kitty*	f.	?	?	Paltara
11.	Brownny	m.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Paltara
12.	Caroline	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Banata
13.	Clem II	m.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	?
14.	Connie	f.	Henbury	?	?
15.	Daisy I	f.	Tuŋa and Par' Itirka	<i>ntjira</i>	Paltara
16.	Daphne II	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	?
17.	Elsie II	f.	Tuŋa ?	<i>tjonba</i> ?	Paltara
18.	Etininaka or Etaninaka	m.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Pananka
19.	Fogarty*	m.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Mbitjana
20.	Itjata	m.	Tuŋa ?	<i>tjonba</i> ?	Paltara
21.	Kantitja I	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Purula
22.	Leisha*	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Paltara
23.	Lorna II*	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Purula
24.	Mary Inura = Mary II	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Mbitjana
25.	Rakueraka	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Paltara
26.	Ray* = Raymond II	m.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Pananka
27.	Rosa Utunka= Rosa X	f.	Tuŋa	<i>tjonba</i>	Banata
28.	Rosie IV= Henbury Rosie	f.	?	?	?
29.	Rosie VI= Edda II	f.	Henbury	?	?
30.	Tjantji	m.	Tuŋa ?	?	?

31. Todmorden Jack m. Tuṇa *tjonba* ?
 = Jack XVII
32. Valda I* f. Tuṇa *tjonba* Pananḡa

A note must be inserted here on the method of dating these genealogies: when all known dates have been ascertained a line can be established from which to work backwards. At the time of his first marriage a man is not less than 25 years of age. This is the time he was permitted to marry traditionally for a married man could not be sent out after game for the old men, so they kept him in suspense as long as they could before allowing him to marry. Assuming therefore that his first child was born some time after his marriage the convenient date of 25 years back from the date of his first child will give his own approximate date of birth, which establishes the second line of the genealogy, and so on. Between the birth of each child one would allow three years, for the sake of argument.

1. **Albertina** (or Albertine II or Florrie I)

Albertina appears on 3 family trees: II,1, p. 8, II, 2, addendum IV, p. 9 and II,m 6, p. 1, information given by Kwaninja, Molly I and Victoria Stoneham and Annie III respectively. There is a note on her card that F.T. II,2 is to take precedence over II,1 (where information differs). Albertina was conceived at Tuṇa into the Tjonba totem of that site, and was of the Baṇata class (see F.T. II,1). She married a part aboriginal man, Sonny Swan, of the Kamara class (II,1, II,2, II,3) whose white father had been Augustus Henry Elliot, white owner of Horseshoe Bend Station and Lill Swan (= Lill I whose story is told in *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, pages 155, *passim*). Her children were the Stanley IV (m.), Susan III (f.), Dick I (m.), (christened Amos), Ronnie II, (m.), Annesley (m.), Christabel (f.), and Kathleen III, (f.), all listed on F.T. II,2, Addendum IV). Albertina's

siblings are listed as Billy Barlow (m.), Caroline (q.v.)(f.), and Ilamata (or Molly I) (f.), on F.T. II,1, and as Esther III (= Molly I)(f.), and Caroline (f.), on F.T. II,2. Her father was Paninka (or Baninka) and her mother was Neliljika (II,1 and II,2, Addendum IV). Her father's father is given as Kaiakaia (who is identical with Ilitjilkuna, but the father's mother is unknown) (II,2, Add. IV). Her mother's father is given variously Iwuta according to II,1 and Tjatjita according to II,2. Her mother's mother is given as Taritnaka (on II,1 and II,2).

2. **Armstrong, Maurice I**

Maurice I is not actually listed as "Armstrong", but I have listed the Armstrongs here under this name in order to follow their genealogical details more clearly. Where details are given for the first alphabetically listed siblings, they will not be repeated for those following except where details differ. Maurice I is a Banjata man from Tunja of the tjonba (or prenti) totem who appears on the Family Trees II,2, page 2 (details given by Tim Armstrong and Molly I) in 13.6.55, and II,3, page 2 (where details are given by Jankitja et al.). His parents are Lorna II, a part aboriginal Purula woman from Tunja of the tjonba totem from her marriage to part aboriginal Harry Armstrong, a Pananka man who married his mother's daughter-in-law's daughter. There were six children of this union: Michael II (m.), Maxie (m.), Maurice I, (m.), Nola (or Noel) (f.), Sheila III (f.) and Billy III (m.), all of the Banjata class. All but Billy III were of the tjonba totem of Tunja and were still unmarried because they were too young. At the time Billy was about a year old and his conception site and totem are given as Alice Springs, tnurunatja (or green caterpillar) totem. They also had a half-sibling, Amy Armstrong (f.) because Lorna II had a child by the full-blood man Tempe Downs Toby. Maurice I's father's father was Jankitja and his father's mother the part aboriginal woman Leisha (q.v.) (see F.T. II,2, p. 5 and II,3). His

mother's father was white man Charlie Carew (or Crow) and his mother's mother Molly I (according to F.T. II,1 and II,2).

3. Armstrong, Maxie (= Max II)

Maxie's details are the same as for his full brother Maurice I (no. 3, above).

4. Armstrong, Michael (= Michael II, called Mick XIII)

Michael II's details are the same as for his full brother Maurice I (no. 3, above).

5. Armstrong, Nola

Nola's details are the same as for her full brother Maurice I, (no. 3, above). According to F.T. II,2 she is called "Nola" according to F.T. II,3 she is known as "Noel", and has been listed as Nola I.

6. Armstrong, Rufus

Rufus Armstrong is the part aboriginal Mbitjana son of Molly I (= Molly Ilamata, a Paltara from Ilamata of the arenana or carpet snake totem) and her part aboriginal Dala husband Tim Armstrong (christened Kamos, also F.T. II,1, p. 7). Both Rufus and his father share the conception site of Tunja and its tjonba totem. His siblings also share these details: Mary II, (f.) (or Mary Inura), Fogarty (m.) and Augusta IV (f.) also called "Rokota" (see F.T. II,1, p. 8). Augusta (or 'Agatha'?) was christened Bertha (= Bertha II), and pronounced "Beta" by the natives. Mary II married part aboriginal Harry Forest "from east of Alice Springs", christened Daniel (= Daniel II) and they produced two Panangka children, Ray and Valda, whose details appear in numbers 26 and 37 below. Rufus also had a half sister Lorna II (II,1, and II,2) since his mother Molly also had a child by the white man Charlie Crow or Carew. Rufus married Elsie II, a Paltara woman

from Mbontuma of the kwatja (= water) totem who also had a female child called "Una", a Knuarea from New Crown Point whose father was the Paltara man Tjabiata who had come to New Crown Point for work from the Unmatjera region. The couple produced a Dala son, Puppet Armstrong whose conception site is given as Tnautatara of the wan̄kara or duck totem. Rufus's father's father is Kwalba, his father's mother Leisha, his mother's father Paninka (or Baninka) and his mother's mother is Neliljika. He was legally married by the Reverend Albrecht and his age was given on this marriage certificate as 28 years (i.e. born in 1927), according to F.T. II,1, Addendum I.

7. Armstrong, Tim

Tim Armstrong (= Tim II) is a part aboriginal Dala man from Tunja of the tjonba totem who features on F.T. II,1 p. 7 (information given by Kwaninja) and II,2, pages 3 and 9 where the information has been supplied by his wife Molly I Ilamata christened Esther (= Esther III), a Paltara woman (see also no. 6 above) (also II,1, and II,2). They produced four offspring: Rufus Armstrong (no. 6 above), Mary Inura (f.), Fogarty (m.), and Rokota (II,1 and II,2), Tim had one sibling, namely Chinaman Ted (m.) (on F.T. II,2). Note: F.T. II,9, page 10, note 47 however gives Chinaman Ted (= Ted I)'s father as Ned Chong (Chinese) from Oodnadatta II,9. His father was Kwalba and his mother the part aboriginal Leisha. Leisha also had two children by the full-blood man Jankitja, her second husband: Ivy Armstrong and Harry Armstrong and two children by two white fathers - Sarah Breden (f.) by Alan Breden and Susie Armstrong by Louis Bloomfield. Susie is therefore a half-sister of Baden Bloomfield. They are therefore the half siblings of Tim and Chinaman Ted. Another half sibling is Mauwi (f.), Kwalba's child by his second wife Kitty Benham (II,2). Tim's father's father was Nakinkaka and his father's mother Ljikintjia, according to F.T. II,2, but see also II,8 that gives Totumeraka at the mother of

Tim Armstrong. His mother's father was the white man George Elliott and his mother's mother Janie Lenkara (II,2, Addendum I). Tim, as stated previously, had been christened Kamos. Since Molly I is listed on F.T.II,1, page 7 as a Paltara-Banata, there is a note on Tim's card that he wrongly married a Banata woman. Note 34, F.T. II,9 gives the information that Molly I had been the second wife of Tjueta, but she "is now married to Tim Armstrong . . . and has several more children . . . Tjueta in the end let her go, since Tim Armstrong kept on taking her away from him".

8. Armstrong, Sheila III

Sheila's details are the same as for her sibling Maurice I (see no. 2, above).

9. Augusta IV

Augusta IV is otherwise known as Rokota or Bertha II, from Tuja of the tjonba totem. F.T. II,2 gives her husband as Percy Locky, a part aboriginal from Erldunda (christened Dan). Their child was called Gollan Locky (m.). According to F.T. II,2, page 7, Addenda II, Percy was the son of Minawara (the younger brother (itia) of Kanakana, known as Hawkeye) and part aboriginal Ruby Locky from Erldunda who was the child of Locky (a white man) and an unnamed full-blood aboriginal woman. Augusta IV's other details will be the same as for her sibling Rufus Armstrong.

10. Benham, Kitty

Kitty Benham, part aboriginal, is a Paltara woman whose conception site and totem informant Tim Armstrong did not know. She appears on F.T. II,2, pages 6 and 7, information for which was supplied by Tim Armstrong and Molly I, and on II,8, page 3 where the information was supplied by Kaltjirbuka III. She was the second wife of Kwalba an Mbitjana man from Inteera of the rara (red kangaroo) totem (q.v.) from which

union she produced one part aboriginal daughter Mauwi, a Dala woman from Mbontuma of the kwatja totem. Janee Lenkaka produced a half sister to Kitty, namely Leisha (q.v.), also a part aboriginal with a different father. Kitty's father was white man Charlie Benham (according to II,2, page 7). No grandparents are recorded for Kitty Benham.

11. **Browny**

Few details are recorded for Browny. He was a Paltara man from Tuña of the tjonba totem (or renina (?) totem according to C. Strehlow, although a query is put here), on F.T. I,18, page 8, information from Tjalkabota. Only his father Erola, his mother Nunjala, his father's father Kenkuneaka and his father's mother Irekura are given. However since Erola's and Nunjala's children as listed on F.T. II,7, page 1 (information supplied by Lame Mick Kaltjirbuka III at Maryvale on 21st June 1955) give an unnamed male child as their first offspring, this could well be Browny. For full details of this family therefore, see the entry of Daisy I, below. According to II,7, all come from the Tuña area.

12. **Caroline**

Caroline is a Paltara-Banjata woman from Tuña of the tjonba totem. Her spouse was William II from Todmorden and they had no children. According to the Native Population Census taken in Jay Creek in 1941 by Patrol Officer Strehlow (records from the *Handbook to Genealogies* by T.G.H. Strehlow), Caroline was aged 41 years in 1941, and came from the Southern Aranda "tribe". Since Caroline is the sibling of Albertine II or Florrie (no. 1, above), her other details are to be found there.

13. **Clem II**

Since neither the class of Clem (or any of his siblings) or that of his father Corrigan is given, it is not easy to say definitely to what class he belongs. He is a tjonba totemite

from Tuna according to F.T. II,2, page 5 (information from Tim Armstrong and Molly I) and II,3, page 2 (information from Jankitja et. al., so Strehlow). However, according to II,3, note 9, Corrigan (whose father is Kutunata from the Lilla Creek region) is allegedly *balkala* or classless. However the mother (Ivy Armstrong) is a Panangka from Mbontuma of the kwatja totem, and according to the rules of the four class system the Panangka female marries a Purula male and the children are Kamara. This does not seem to have been applied in this case. Clem's spouse is not given and therefore naturally no children. His siblings are Daphne II and an unnamed female (who was then a small girl from Alice Springs of the tnurunatja totem). His mother's father was Jankitja and his mother's mother Leisha (q.v.), according to II,2 and II,3.

14. Connie

Connie listed on F.T. VIII, 15, page 1 from information collected at Todmorden Station on 28 September 1969 by T.G.H. Strehlow from Winuta and Yaketi Tjukintjia (see his field diary, Book XL, p.40). According to this information she comes from Henbury but no other details are given except that her spouse is Paddy from Witjintjitja and they have no children. No siblings are given but her father is Malutjukurba from Aljintja (= Mulga Park) and her mother is Molly Iwana, also from Altjintjini (of the malu totem) (= Molly XVIII).

15. Daisy I

Daisy I appears on 3 genealogies: F.T. VIII,15, page 2, II,2, page 8, and II,7, page 1. Her father's family (including Brownny - see no. 11 above as the first born child and an unnamed female) features on F.T. I,18. Information on these various sources conflicts, however that she is a daughter of Erota and Nunjala remains consistent. The biggest crux

concerns her conception site which is given (along with her siblings) as Tuṇa on II,7, page 1 and Par' Itirka (Horseshoe Bend) on the other two references. If from Tuṇa she would be of the tjonba totem, but Par' Itirka has the ntjira grass seed as a totem. The family tree of Kaminna, whose information was supplied by Lame Mick Kaltjirbuka III at Maryvale on 21st June 1955 lists four siblings in this order: an unnamed male (Brownny?), Tjantji, Itjata, Elsie II, "all from the Tuṇa area". Daisy I is the youngest child. The sexes of the children are not given in this source, but on F.T. II,2, page 8 Tjantji and Itjata are males. Nunjala was a Purula woman from Ungwatja of the ilia or emu totem, whose parents were Kaminna, a Kamara man from Erpalka (Mt Sunday) of the ilia totem and Nobilja, a Paltara woman from the Atanta region (Anderkerinja area) whose totem is not given. Besides Nunjala (their third child), they had three others: Crumbs (m.), Kantorea (f.) and Nontinka (m.), all Purulas from Ungwatja of the emu totem.

Daisy I married twice: Strehlow's note on F.T. VIII,15, page 2 records her marriage to Kali from Witjintitja (no class or totem are given) and notes "since this is a white name it must be Gully"; Kali has no aboriginal name. He also records "She is Erota's daughter, and hence a Henbury woman. She was first married to Mulai and had from him a daughter called Maisie Mulla, who comes from "Amiurka" (i.e., Pmoierka)." Kali and Daisy have no children.

F.T. II,2, page 8, Addenda II has this to say: Erota and Nunjala (who is given as a Purula woman from Erldunda) had four children (Brownny is missed out, otherwise the names remain the same).

Daisy I, the youngest, is a Paltara woman from Par' Itirka of the ntjira totem married to Mula, a Kamara man from Mutikutara of the ilia totem. They have a daughter, Marjorie I,

a Purula also from Mutikutara of the ilia totem. There is a note here that "Daisy has also adopted a little Paltara boy who came from Haast's Bluff and whose mother died in the Alice Springs hospital. She has forgotten the boy's father's name. The boy looks about 2 years old. She now classifies him as a Purula ("I turned him into a Purula", were Daisy's words), to indicate that he is her son. He is called Pula by her".

F.T. I,18 is the family tree of Aratiwuka, whose information was apparently given by Tjalkabota and is also the family tree of Erota, a Knuarea man from Itnilelaraka of the njarowa (a kind of sobbing bird) totem. His brother was Injkaia, a Knuarea from Urumuna who will be discussed in that section. Their parents were mother Ireakura III, a Kamara woman from Ultunta of the ereakura (yelka or yalka bulb) totem who married Kenkuneaka, a Paltara "perhaps from Pantjindama of the rara or red kangaroo totem".

A special note on Erota's marriage is of interest here and is recorded from T.G.H. Strehlow's *Aranda Regular and Irregular Marriages* (n.d.). He discusses it under the heading of "Irregular marriages among the Western Aranda". "All instances of 'alternative' (labelled as bailba (or balba) i.e. wrong - by the Western Aranda themselves) and 'irregular' (labelled as itioka, i.e. incestuous) marriages which had been contracted in the area of Western Aranda group, have been taken from C. Strehlow's *Aranda and Loritja Stämme in Central Australian*, (IV, I, pp. 71-2) and the Stämmbaume or genealogical tables appended to this volume. I have tabulated them according to the class-name of the husband". Erota's marriage is listed as type 5: (The spelling has been altered to conform to that used in the present thesis.)

Talina (m.) (Knuarea) married Anurupa (f.) (II) (Purula): children Paltara (S.B. (= Stämmbaume) 3a);

Erota (m.) (Kjuarea) married Nunjala (f.) (Purula): children Paltara (S.B. 4a).

Both are marriages of men to women who were by class their mother's brother's daughters, and marriage to cross cousins is prohibited in the 8-class system. Both marriages occur amongst people discussed in the local groups chosen for study.

16. **Daphne II**

Daphne II is the part aboriginal sister of Clem II and therefore, since her spouse and children are not given, her details will be as for Clem II (no. 13, above).

17. **Elsie II**

Since Elsie II and Daisy I (no. 15, above) are full sisters, their details can be found in that entry. However there are several pieces of conflicting information too about Elsie II which are summed up in Miss Lesley Crowley's research assistant notes on Elsie II. Miss Crowley's book gives her as Elsie IV: "II,1, pages 7 and 11, Add. I; II,2, pages 2 and 8, Add. III; II,7, page 1; Elsie II (f.) (Paltara) from Mbontuma , kwatja kn. (kn = kjanintja or totem) (or from Par' Itirka, ntjira kn., or from Idracowra?). Daughter of Erota (m.) and Nunjala. Married Rufus Armstrong (= Rufus II)" (no. 7, above).

18. **Etininaka**

Details about Etininaka and the various ramifications of his family tree appear on several genealogies: I,18, page 2 (information from Tjalkabota, I,19, page 1, II,4, page 8 where he is given as Etaninka) and II,5, page 3. Information about him also differs in some respects depending on the source. I,18 gives him as a Kjuarea man from Tuna of the tjonba totem, but II,4, page 8 (whose information is given by Tjakambarkaka on 16th and 17th June 1955) gives him as a Pananka man, but for the explanation of this see below. On

I,18, page 2 his first wife is given as the Dala woman Ntatnanaka from Imanda of the Ulbolbuna totem. Their children were Tjakambarka (m.), a Paltara from Tatara who married Nuaniita II, a Kamara woman, and an unnamed female. Tjakambarka and Nuaniita produced two unnamed and unsexed children about whom no details are known. Etininaka's second wife was Lintilkaka, a Dala woman from Mborawatna of the kwatja totem of which union there was one child for which no details are recorded. Tjakambarka was christened Gamaliel and his totem is rara (or red kangaroo), and he is referred to in Book XVII, page 45 bottom as "Famalji". His wife was from Ilara of the rara totem (F.T. I,10) or from Ilbila, tjilpa totem (F.T. I,28). Carl Strehlow originally had "Mbitjana" which equals the southern Aranda Kamara.

Etininaka had four siblings: Ultakatana (m.), of the Kjuarea class from Albeilta or Pantjindama, probably of the rara totem, Kaputatjalka (Kjuarea) from Albeilta (perhaps rara totem, F.T. I,19, Ulentaka III (f.), a Kjuarea from Nkulkinama of the rara totem and Kataraka (Kjuarea) from Meinjameinja of the arugutja or woman totem. They had a half sibling, Alknalbintjirka, because Arilkara, the father, had a child also by his second wife Naljika. Etininaka and his siblings had for their mother Jerawuka also given as Jerauka. Her father's father was Ltutjiaka (whose wife is not recorded, his mother's father being Lantinja and his mother's mother Ntjuleaka (added from I,19, p.1). T.G.H. Strehlow's note on Etininaka's card is as follows:

Given also on F.T. II,4, page 8 as ETANINAKA (Pananka) from Tunja, tjonba totem. He is given as the second child of Arelkara and Jerawuka (Arelkara's third wife, according to II,4). His siblings are Wotowa (f.) ('Wotowa was shot in the Henbury area by the Gillimore gang (for cattle-killings(?))' - so II,4, page 6, note 32) and Ulentaka III. His

half siblings are the children of Arelkara and his first wife, Joltijika, viz. Ultakatana, and the children of Arelkara and his second wife, Naljika, viz. Tnunkumba (m.) and Kaputatjalka (f.) On F.T. II,4, Etaninaka's spouse is given as Ndantatnanaka and his child as Tjakambarkaka (m.) (= Gamaliel). There is a footnote to this F.T. which reads 'Etaninaka was reincarnated from the tjonba which was pursued into the Henbury waterhole: 'Era kwatjaka irbuka, erina lujiantam' ergunaka: parantama itnama = 'he dived into the water, without being caught: a gum tree stands here now'. Also given on F.T. II,5, page 3 as Etaninka where he is given as the spouse of Ndantatnanaka.

An addendum to F.T. II,5, page 4 (from Book XIX, p.172) gives the following relevant information from Gamaliel or Tjakambarkaka. According to him, the following were the main classes of well-known Southern Aranda totemic centres:

Imanda	:	Purula-Kamara
Tuŋa	:	"
Inteera	:	"
Ulba	:	Paltara -Panangka
Wora	:	"
Albeilta	:	"
Tatara	:	"
Mborawatna	:	Purula -Kamara
Par' Itirka	:	Paltara -Panangka

(Tjakambarkaka) said that (the Southern Aranda 4-class system) was the correct Aranda system everywhere when he was young. It had been found not only in the Southern Aranda area, but also on the Finke at least as far as Hermannsburg (which he had

frequently visited as a boy and young man). It had also been in use in the Hugh River area 'everywhere': the 8-class system was a 'new and foreign' way of counting kin-groupings, and had been adopted from the Ilpara people (cf. Spencer & Gillen 1927, p. 42: 'The names, derived, so the natives say, from the Ilpirra, a strong tribe living to the north of the Arunta, have gradually spread southwards'). I was glad to have his word for it that Tnukutowaka and the rest of the people mentioned by Kwaninja and Ralarinja in their F.T.'s should all be re-classed according to the 4-class system (Book XIX, p. 18)."

19. **Fogarty (Armstrong)**

Fogarty is a part aboriginal Mbitjana man from Tuja of the tjonba totem who appears on genealogies II,1, page 8 (information from Kwaninja) and II,2, page 3 (information from Molly I). Although his spouse is not given, he married Jean, one of my informants on my 1982 trip down to Finke. I do not know whether they have any children. Since Fogarty is the full brother of Rufus Armstrong (no. 6, above), the rest of his details can be found in that entry.

20. **Itjata**

See Daisy I and Elsie II (or IV) for details since they are siblings (nos. 15 and 17 respectively above).

21. **Kantitja I**

Kantitja I, who was born after the death of her father, appears on four family trees: I,21, page 21 (information supplied by Tjalkabota where she is listed as being a Purula woman "probably from Tuja of the tjonba totem"), II,4, page 5 (information from Tjakambarkaka where she is listed as being a Purula woman from the Ntarea area (no totem)), V,5 (information from her husband Sidi Ilbarinja and Undoolya Peter

Antelowuka where she is recorded as being from Tunja of the tjonba totem), and on II, 11, page 2 collected at Henbury from Inditjalbuka on Sunday 24th July 1960 (where she is from Tunja of the tjonba totem).

Two spouses are recorded for Kantitja. Her first was Chris Tilmouth, a white man (II, 4) by whom she produced two part aboriginal offspring Mary Tilmouth and Wauchope Tilmouth. Her second marriage to her full-blood husband Sidi Ross Ilbarinja resulted in no children. Sidi was a Panangka man from Ankaratarkatarka of the utnuruŋatja or green caterpillar totem.

On the F.T. I, 21, Kantitja I's parents are given as Erakerama, a Kamara man from Karalta of the kwatja totem and Kamebaljika (spelt variously as Kambenaljika, Kambeneljika and Kamuljiljaka (II, 11, p. 1), a Paltara woman from near Irbmaŋkara of the waŋkara or duck totem. Her paternal grandparents were Arkara, a Purula man from Ntatera of the deba arkara (bird) totem and his second wife Topmiwuka, probably a Panangka woman from Irbmaŋkara of the waŋkara totem. On this family tree a sibling is given for Kantitja II - Kaki, a Purula male from Ntarea of the ratapa or mythical twins totem. "Kaki" is supposed to be a white man's name, probably "Cocky".

F.T. II, 4, gives the maternal side of Kantitja I's family tree, as well as her alliance with Chris Tilmouth and her two part aboriginal children by him (Mary Tilmouth part aboriginal and Wauchope Tilmouth part aboriginal). Sidi Ilbarinja reared Mary and Wauchope Tilmouth from a very early age after Chris Tilmouth had either left Kantitja I or died (see note 18, II, 4). Kambeneljika's parents were Teperaka, a Panangka man from Ungwatja of the ilia or emu totem and his first wife Mbaltja II, a Purula woman from Imanda of the intjitjera (frog?) totem. Teperaka's parents are recorded as being Ljanaka, a

Kamara woman from Puna of the kwatja totem, second wife of Tjiminta, a Paltara man from Tnauutata whose totem is unknown.

F.T. II,11 records some additional information about this family, that is that Kambuliljaka was a Paltara woman from Tnauutata of the arenana or carpet snake totem who had been the first wife of Tjatjita II, a Kamara from Ungwatja of the ilia totem but they had produced no children. Kantitja's father Erakeraka, a Western Aranda man from Karalta had taken away Kamuliljaka from Tjatjita and after that Tjatjita had married a Loritja woman and lived with her somewhere in the Idracowra area (notes 8 and 10,II,11, pp.1-2).

The Handbook to C.A. Genealogies by T.G.H. Strehlow makes this entry on page 100:

"Sidi Ilbarinja. Aged about 55 years (at the Taka Ceremonial Festival, 1953). Facts given on page 24 of Book XVII. His wife is Kantitja, from Tuja (tjonba totem). Kantitja's mother's brother is Ted Iraia".

22. Leisha (H.C.)

Since most of the relevant information about Leisha is given in the entry (no. 8, above) on her son Tim Armstrong, offspring of her first marriage to Kwalba, a Mbitjana man of the rara totem of Inteera, a site close to Tuja, it will not be repeated here. Leisha is a part aboriginal Paltara woman from Tuja of the tjonba totem whose father was white man George Elliot and whose mother was Janie Lenkaka.

23. Lorna II (H.C.)

Lorna II, a Purula woman from Tuja of the tjonba totem appears on the following genealogies: II,1, page 7, information from Kwaninja, II,2, pages1 and 5, information from Ilamata, and II,3, page 2, information from Jankitja. Her spouse was Panangka man

Harry Armstrong. Her details are given on son Maurice I's entry, and on half-sibling Rufus Armstrong's entry. In the Population Census taken at Hermannsburg in 1921 *Handbook* (p. 145), Lorna II is given as having been born in 1914.

24. Mary Inura (or Mary II)

Since Mary Inura is the full sister of Rufus Armstrong, her details are to be found in his entry (no. 6, above).

25. Rakueraka

Rakueraka appears on F.T. II,8, page 2 (information from Kaltjirbuka III) as the spouse of Jinkaniljika, a Mbitjana man from Nbonuna of the aroa totem. They had no children. However she is given (on F.T. II,8 note 5 as the sister of Ted Iraia or King Ted) whose details are given thus (in Addendum II, F.T. II,4, p.11, translation of Book XVII, pp. 45-6):

I am Iraia, a Paltara man from Irbmanjara: my conception tree stands at Irbmanjara, on a high bank. My father (a Kjuarea man) was Puntura. His conception site was Totjalkura, below Japalpa: he belonged to the dingo totem. My father's father was Namantiaka (a Paltara man): his conception site was Purara, south of Nankali (i.e. somewhere in the territory of the 'Southern Loritja'). Namantiaka came from the south as a fugitive, to escape being killed. He came to Japalpa and later married an Aranda woman. My mother was Mbaltja II, a woman from Imanda belonging to the frog totem, a Dala woman. My mother's father - my tjimea - was a man from Urumuna*: he passed away when I was still only a small boy. This man from Urumuna was the mother's father of Gamaliel and me: Gamaliel is from the younger mother, whereas I am from the older mother.

*Iraia did not remember the name of his mother's father, nor was he sure about his class. At first he thought that this man from Urumuna had been a Kjuarea man; but later on he expressed the thought that as the father of a Dala woman, he should have been a Mbitjana man (note by T.G.H Strehlow).

Rakueraka is given as a Paltara woman from Tuja of the tjonba totem.

26. Ray (= Raymond II)

Ray is a part aboriginal son of Mary Inura and Harry Forest (see II,6, p. 6) a part aboriginal from Tunja of the tjonba totem: his details appear on F.T II,2, page 3, details from Tim Armstrong and Molly I, his mother's father and mother's mother respectively. He has no spouse and no children recorded but his full details will be found on the entry of Rufus Armstrong.

27. Rosa Utunka (= Rosie X)

Rosa Utunka is a Banata woman from Tunja of the tjonba totem who appears only once in the family trees (on II,1, p.5) as the wife of Toby Eritja (= Toby VII and Eritja V), a Paltara man from Topatjitjika of the eritja or eagle totem. They had no children and no other details appear for her. The information for this family tree (that of Tnukutowaka) was collected by Strehlow at Alice Springs on 3rd June 1955 from Kwaninja (or Ltaberinja I), with the assistance of Kneitnama and Injola (se Book XIX, p. 9).

28. Rose IV (= Henbury Rosie)

Rose IV appears here merely because she is called "Henbury Rosie", for no details about her class, conception site or totem are given. She appears on F.T. II,5, page 2 (information from Tjakambarkaka) as the spouse of Ljibanteraka, a Kamara man from Imanda of the ulbolbuna totem. He was also known as Queensland Ted. He went into Queensland with an Afghan and lived there many years. He finally came back, to die (of tuberculosis (?)) at Jay Creek, some time before 1942 (see note 3). The union with Rosie produced no children.

29. Rosie VI (= Edda II)

Rosie VI appears on F.T. II,2, page 8 (information from Tim Armstrong and Molly I). Her spouse was Tjantji (q.v., no. 30, below) and they produced no children. No siblings are listed for her but her father is given as Njitataka and her mother as Nakara II, both from Tempe Downs. She is given as being from Henbury but no details of conception site, totem or class are given although her husband was a Paltara man from Erldunda. She was christened Edda (= Edda II).

30. Tjantji

Tjantji, the husband of Rosie VI (no. 29, above) is the sibling of Daisy I et al. and therefore his details are given in those entries numbers 15 and 17 above.

31. Todmorden Jack (= Jack XVII)

Todmorden Jack, "actually from Tunja" of the tjonba totem appears on family tree II,6, page 2 as the husband of part aboriginal Victoria Stoneham (information given by Victoria Stoneham and Annie III). They had one child—Tony Button, according to this family tree, but since information on the various sources differs, it will all be set out below.

F.T.II,2, p. 1 lists Tony Button as a Kamara man from Horseshoe Bend of the ntjira (grass-seed) totem as the husband of Amy Armstrong (Banata) whose father was Tempe Downs Toby (Toby VI). Tony Button's age was given as 27 years in 1955 (b. 1928), according to F.T. II, 1, Addendum I. His parents are given of course as Todmorden Jack and the part aboriginal woman Victoria from Horseshoe Bend.

F.T. II,10, page 1 gives Todmorden Jack as a Purula man (perhaps from Ungwatja) and according to Inditjalbuka he had no aboriginal name. Here two children are given for Todmorden Jack and Victoria IV: Frank Button (called Francis VI and Button (ii)), a Kamara male from Horseshoe Bend, and Tony Button (Anthony II and Button III), a Kamara from Horseshoe Bend. On this family tree his parents are given as Big Jack Anuanja (= Jack I), a Kamara man from Ungwatja of the ilia totem and his wife Januranaka II, daughter of Puntura II, a Paltara woman from Irbmanjara of the wanjara totem. His father's parents are given as Tjitiitjakuma, a Purula man from Ungwatja of the ilia totem and his wife Kauwinja I, a Panangka woman from Erpalka (= Mt Sunday) of the ilia totem.

Note 28, F.T. II,9, page 6 (a note referring to Janurunuka II, a Paltara woman from Irbmanjara of the wanjara or ntana or ititja (= possum or native cat) totem, the fourth wife of Inanbaka): "She was the daughter of Puntara (m.) and had a son called Todmorden Jack (= Jack XVII), who married Victoria IV (HC.) (see p. 3 (this F.T.)). Inditjalbuka gave Janurunuka twice today (i.e., on 24th July 1960 at Henbury), in two different family trees. In the Family Tree of Tjitiitjakuma = F.T. II,10, page 1; Todmorden Jack's father was given as Big Jack Anuanja (= Jack I); in the present Family Tree Inanbaka was credited with being Todmorden Jack's father. The mistake was not sighted till I wrote out my notes in Alice Springs several days later".

F.T. VIII,1, page 2 and note 14 also mention Todmorden Jack but there is no additional information given about him, since he is merely listed here as Victoria's husband, "Jack XVII (full-blood)".

32. Valda I

Valda I is a Panaraka woman from Tuṇa of the tjonba totem, given on F.T. II,2, page 3 (information from Tim Armstrong and Molly I). Since Valda is the full sister of Ray (no. 26, above), reference is made to details given there, and other people to whose entries Ray's entry makes reference. She was called "Balta" by Tim Armstrong, and this is a corruption of some English name, probably Valda (or Violet) notes Strehlow.

However since writing up the entry on Ray, additional information has been discovered in F.T. II,6, that Harry Forest was married twice. This gives many new half siblings for Valda and Ray.

Harry Forest, a Banjata man from Arltunga, christened Daniel (= Daniel II, according to F.T. II,2, p.3) was the first husband of Mary Taylor an part aboriginal offspring of Dick Taylor, son of the white man, Dick Taylor and his first wife Mollie Nenana (= Mollie IX), a Dala woman from Lilla Creek region. They produced 6 children who would be half siblings to Ray and Valda, the part aboriginal Janet II, Richard III, Joe, Rosie VII, Walter IV and Daniel III. Note 5, Addendum IV, F.T. II,6 tells us that the conception sites and totems of the children of Harry Forest and Mary Taylor were probably mainly from Oodnadatta ("and perhaps one or the other is from Alice Springs").

(ii) The Site of Urumuna

The site of Urumuna is a tjilpa or native cat and ntjuimamba or honeysuckle (juice) site in Eastern Aranda Territory. Some of its acts and songs have been recorded by T.G.H. Strehlow (see *Songs of Central Australia*, pp., xix, 379, 673, 674) and also his field diaries), and some acts have been recorded by Spencer & Gillen (see *The Native*

Tribes of Central Australia, (pp. 297,122). It is a native cat centre of the tjilpa line which passed north from Imanda and elsewhere as the map (which is not to scale) of the Ltaltaltuma tjilpa line of travel shows on page 135a of Strehlow's *Field Diary XXVI*.

Urumuna shows as the conception site for the following people:

	Name	Sex	Conception Site	Totem	Class	Dates
1.	Angelina I (= Anintja)	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba	Purula	
2	Inkwakaka II	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba	Purula	
3.	Inkaia	m	Urumuna	inkaia? rabbit-eared bandicoot	Kguarea	
4.	Kana (= Untjuiamba V)	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba	Purula	
5.	Kapata	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba	Purula	
6.	Mary Ntjuiamba II (= Mary VII)	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba kutatarinja	Purula	
7.	Ntjilparuntuna	m	Urumuna	rara	Purula	
8.	Pmoara II (= Tjikiwuka)	f	Urumuna?	ntjuiamba area	Panaŋka	
9.	Pmoara III	f	Urumuna	ntjuiamba	Purula	

1. Angelina I (or Anintja)

Angelina I features on the F.T. of Etaltua (F.T. V,18), collected from Sidi Ilbarinja,

Left-hand Peter Antelowuka, and Walter Kowijuwia at Ajura on 15th August 1960. She

also features on F.T. V,24, the family tree of Makatia, collected from Bob Rubuntja at Amoonguna Settlement on 6th August 1960 in the presence of Iliakwata and Ekunjambarinja. However there is a warning note preceding F.T. V,18: "This Family Tree must supersede the Family Tree collected from Rubuntja - F.T. V,24, pp. 3-4, Addendum - which gave all of Etaltua's children to his younger brother Kolakola, who married Etaltua's widow after his elder brother's death, and reared his elder brother's children without having any of his own by Kentura. Since Etaltua was Lefthand Peter Antelowuka's father-in-law, there can be no doubt that the present Family Tree must supersede Rubuntja's." Both family trees are set down below.

Angelina Anintja

F.T. v,18, p. 2 gives Angelina Anintja as a Purula woman from Urumuna of the untjuambia or honeysuckle totem. She married firstly Jim Ajutarinja (= Jim XXI and Ajutarina II), a Panangka man from Ajuta of the ereakura totem who was also married to Angelina's sister Topsy Intjota (= Topsy I and Intjota V), a Purula woman from Kriṅka of the rara totem. Neither of these marriages produced any offspring. However, according to Note 4, page 1, F.T. V,24, Angelina went off with the white man George Ballingall and stayed with him till she died (see also p.3, Addendum of V,24). George and Angelina had one part aboriginal son, Arthur Ballingall (= Arthur VIII), a Baṅata from Ndolja of the eritja or eagle totem. Of the white father Strehlow notes: "Arthur Ballingall's white father was George Ballingall, for many years drover, saddler, cook, etc. on Undoolya Station - a man well known and remembered by the Undoolya people. According to Inspector McKinnon, George Ballingall used to talk to him time and again about his crossings of the Australian continent on horseback; and George Ballingall would complain bitterly each

time that no one was interested in these exploits. T.G.H. Strehlow's 1940 *Diary* (p.67a) states: Arthur Ballingall (H.C.), on 28th December, 1940, came out to Jay Creek. He brought out with him a fullblood woman whom he wants to marry." This was apparently Topsy III, "an arugutja urbula from Hatches Creek" (= a black woman from Hatches Creek), who was deceased when the genealogy was recorded. However she had been a Kamara woman and there were no children of the marriage.

Angelina's parents were Etaltua, a Kamara man from Kriпка of the rara totem and his wife Kentura, a Paltara woman from Uloara of the arenana (or ntana ntjira or grass seed) totem. Their four children give Angelina three siblings: Topsy Intjota (q.v.), Johnny Kanjia, a Purula man from Kantalkuatara of the tjonba totem and Rowdy Untjuiamba (see no. 6, below). However here her conception site and totem are given as Ratakeltja Rockhole untjuiamba respectively. There is a note to the effect that "the name Etaltua means 'hollow throat'." Johnny Kanjia (= John XVII used to go "up and down with camel teams", and he died at Alice Well while working for the Afghan Sidek.

F.T. V,24, Addendum (pp.3-4) cited Kentura as being a Paltara woman; however her conception site is given as "perhaps from Therereta" and her totem as "perhaps tjilpa".

2. Inkwakaka II

Inkwakaka II, a Purula woman from Urumuna of the Ntjuiamba totem is listed on F.T. I,8, page 2 (information from Tjalkabota) as the wife of Kararinja II, a Panangka man from Kara of the kyulja or dingo totem, who had been the son of Pmalkara, a Banata man from Tnorula of the paraltja (= gum sugar, the white glucose substance formed in certain seasons by insects on gum leaves) totem and his second wife Runurpa, and Mbitjana woman who was the sister of Inkamarelaka (who was the father-in-law of Uraiukuraia -

see pages 126-128, *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*, both were from Ereambata; Tnatnagunaka was another sister; all three were Remala (sic in note, F.T. I,8); he too was from Ereambata and was antana or possum totem (F.T. I,8).

The marriage of Inkwakaka and Kararinja I produced six children: Ntjilba (f.), Takararinja (m.), Nabatakarinja II (f.), Njinararinja (f.), Lumbalindakarinja (m.) and Njitinjita (whose sex is not recorded). All were naturally of the Banata class.

Ntjilba - whose name means "empty ereakura bulb" was conceived at Ultunta (or Owens Springs) into the ereakura totem. She married Mbitjana man Kalbilaljika II from Urukultjima of the rukuta (= novice) totem and they had two children, an unnamed male and an unnamed female about whom no details are recorded.

Takararinja's conception site is given, appropriately enough because that is what his name means, as Takara of the Ereakura totem. His first wife Eruamba, a Mbitjana woman from Kaporilja of the kwatja totem produced two children: Luise, a Pananka from Ntarea of the ratapa totem, born before 1894 and who died on 29 November 1912) who married Rukuta III (Purula) from Katana of the rukuta totem, and an unnamed male about whom no details are recorded. His second wife Mutuka, an Mbitjana from Ulaljelka of the aroa (= the black flanked rock wallaby) totem produced another child, but not even its sex is recorded.

Nabatakarinja II (otherwise known as Inapatakarinja II) was from Nabataka and of the pmeljara (?) totem who was the first wife of Erultjerultjarinja from Erultj' -erultja of the tjilpa totem. Their first child Wolatja, a Dala from Emiana of the antana (= possum) totem (two children for whom no details are recorded) and also Namatjira II. Their

second child, Rupia, was a Dala man from Rupia of the arun̄kulta (= death dealing magic) rupia (?) totem.

Lumalindakarinja came from Lumalindaka and was of the aroa totem and Njitinjita was "perhaps from Ulburakataba of the ilia totem": no further details are recorded for them.

3. Inkaia

Inkaia, a Knuarea man from Urumuna has a query alongside his totem which is given as "in̄kaia" (or rabbit-eared bandicoot). He appears on F.T. I,8, page 8 (note 78) which records that he was reincarnated from the legendary in̄kaia (= rabbit-eared bandicoot) ancestor of Iwupataka (= Jay Creek) This was the in̄kaia who had killed the Dapa (= crow) (ancestor) at Iwupataka and (who) finally borkeraka (went to his eternal sleep) at Urumuna. He married Jabanaka I, a Dala woman from Pujurura of the t̄jilpa totem: the details of their two children are unrecorded. Since he is the full brother of Erot̄a, the details of Inkaia have also been discussed (no. 15, above) on Daisy I, in Section (i), above.

However there the half siblings of Erot̄a and Inkaia have not been set down, for Ireakura had children also by her second husband, Iit̄jilkuna, namely Baninka and Nkukna.

Iit̄jilkuna (identical with Kaiakaia of F.T. II,2, p. 9) was a Paltara man from Pmoierka of the erit̄ja (= eagle) totem. Baninka was a Knuarea man from (like his father) Pmoierka of the erit̄ja totem also married Purula Neleljika from Ungwatja of the emu totem (she is given as Neliljika on F.T.'s II,2, page 1 and II,1, page 6). They had two children, Malli I, a Paltara woman from Ilamata of the carpet snake totem and a male about whom nothing is recorded. Baninka's sister Nkukna shared his class of course, but also his conception site and totem and she was also known as Johanna, the first wife of Utnadata II (= Daniel

I). Carl Strehlow records their offspring as two unnamed children, but Strehlow notes that in the Hermannsburg Souls' Register there is only 1 child given: Victoria I, a Mbitjana girl who was born on 24th July 1913 and who died shortly afterwards on 9th December that year (I,8, p. 8).

There is only one grandparent set down for Inkaia – his father's father, Ltutjiaka, a Knuarea from Akaua of the tjilpa totem. The family tree (I,18, p. 5) goes one generation back from that to Aratiwuka, a Paltara man who shares his son's conception site and totem. Their respective wives have only question marks as regards details. Aratiwuka is the apical ancestor of I,18.

4. **Kana or Kana (+ Untjuiamba V)**

Kana appears under this name on F.T. II,1, page 4 (information from Kwaninja), and as Untjuiamba V on FT. V,10, page 3, the family tree of Ulamba, collected from Jim Ulambarinja at Ajura on Tuesday, 18th September 1962 in the presence of Tim Damara and Lindsay Rararkaka. Both sources list her as a Purula woman from Urumuna of the untjuiamba totem. Kana takes her name from the legendary ancestress of Urumuna which allegedly means *ungwala ntjuiamba* or *juice of the honeysuckle*, whose reincarnation she is ("On Kana, the Urumuna ancestress, see Book XVII, page 89" where this information comes from).

Let us take F.T. V,10 first. On this family tree her husband is given as Paddy Melba (= Intjalka V or Paddy XIV). Here his sons are all listed as Paltara *not* as Knuarea by Ulambarinja: Dala, Mbitjana, Knuarea, and Banata were introduced into the Eastern

Aranda area only *after* Ulambarinja's initiation into manhood. "Even today", Strehlow further notes, "many E.A. (= Eastern Aranda) men refuse to recognise these classes."

Paddy Melba is given as Ntjalka V on II,1. Kana and Paddy had six children, but in addition she produced two part aboriginal offspring, Alice X, a Paltara woman probably from Arltunga who was her first child, now Mrs Costello whose white father was known to Ulambarinja and Jack Tankara, a Paltara man from the Arltunga goldfield, probably of the ulamba (= rain) totem. Jack Tankara (the latter name = "bindi-eye" was given to him in sport by Jim Ulambarinja; he is also Jack XXXVIII) went south as a youth and later allegedly married a "white" woman. He was born during the Arltunga gold rush and his white father is believed to have been Jim Grant.

All of Kana's children are of the Paltara class, but F.T. V,10 gives no details of their conception sites and totems, as does F.T. II,1 (set down below). Allen Itjira (m.) = Alan I and Frank Ltaberinja (m.) (= Francis I and Ltaberinja II.) Ulambarinja badly wanted these two nephews to come to the Ajura festival, but they didn't turn up. Alfie Takara (m.) = Alfred II, and Toby VII (m.) = Eritja V. Dick Tjampit (m.) = Dick IX and on FT. II,1, page 5 he is called Dick Eritja (or Ilauera II = Eritja IV). Queenie II (f.) is not given here.

More details are to be found on F.T. II,1. Here Kana's husband is listed as Ntjalka V, Knuarea man from Ulba, "Ilaiara ileoa (which means 'downstream from Ilaia of the ntjalka (a grub) totem). Allen Itjiljara (m.) (he and his brothers are listed in Book XVII, p. 89) is from Ilumbatnonda of the itjiljara (Carl Strehlow glosses this as a "lizard with a stumpy tail", though with slightly different spelling) totem who married Janali, an Mbitjana woman from Telka, south of Alice Well of the rameia or yellow goanna totem.

Their two children, both girls, Emily II and Ethel II are both of the Knuarea class and share conception sites and totems: Par' Itirka (= Horseshoe Bend) and ntjira respectively.

Frank Ltaberinja II came from Kota (7 miles north-west of Maryvale) of the ilia (= emu) totem who married Banjata woman Lucy Nomba from Par' Itirka of the ntjira totem, only since 1953. He had been unmarried till then. Nomba had been the wife of George Breaden Arelja, but she left him because he had ill-treated her, allegedly breaking one or more of her ribs in a fit of anger. "Era utua raakjara erina unbukalaguia" (= "she divorced this bad-tempered man"). Frank and Nomba have no children, however Nomba had three: Stewart, whose father was the part-Afghan Hussein Khan, Charlie II whose father was Charlie Coffey, a part aboriginal, and a full-blood boy called Sambo Breaden whose father was George Breaden Arelja.

Alfie Takara is from Topatjitjika (= Maryvale station) of the eritja totem who married Atepuka (or Myrtle), a Paltara woman from Raralaba (east of New Crown Point) of the rara totem. Her name means (according to note 4, page 1 of the F.T.) 'she got bogged', because the rara got bogged here. The pair had no children. Since Myrtle is Rolarinja's daughter, both she and Alfie are Paltara. This "marriage" is therefore "not recognised". According to Kwaninja, Alfie and Myrtle are "metameta wara" (only "mates"). The old people have never agreed to it; but the young people have refused to take any notice.

Dick Eritja IV or Ilauera's conception site is Topatjitjika or the eritja totem; he married Tanuna (no totem) from Urana, beyond Ernabella. They have no children.

Toby Eritja V from Topatjitjika of the eritja totem married Rosa Utunja (= Rosa X. see no. 27, section (i) above), a Banata woman from Tunja of the tjonba (= giant goanna; prenti) totem. They had no children.

The last named sibling is Queenie II, a Paltara woman from Topatjitjika of the eritja totem who married an unnamed half-caste man, then dead, who was the son of Jessie II, the wife of Bulapaka at Jay Creek. Queenie II is also dead and their orphaned children are said to be at Jay Creek.

Paddy Ntjalka was more commonly known as Paddy Melba from "melba" – "elbow". "Era Melba-melaba pitjima" - "he walks along, crooking his elbows outward". Paddy Melba later died at Jay creek.

5. Kapata

Kapata appears on F.T. V,5, page 3 (information from Sidi Ilbarinja and Undoolya Peter Antelowuka on 27th September, 1955) as the first wife of its apical ancestor Eritja I, a Pananka man from Kabulja of the eritja totem. Kapata was a Purula woman from Urumuna of the ntjuiamba totem. Kapata and Pmoara III, Eritja I's first two wives, were actual sisters. Although they shared the same conception site their totems differed, for Pmoara III was of the erualaja (?) totem. They were reincarnations of the two mythical women who went from Nkuranana to Akara. They were reincarnated from the two sister ancestresses whose bodies are still shown as boulders at Urumuna (see Book XXII, p. 108a, map and note 1, F.T. V,5). Their brother was Ntjilparuntuna, see note 43, F.T. V,5 a Purula man from Urumuna of the rara totem. This rara came to Urumuna from Krijka.

Kapata had three children from Eritja I: Tatirbuka I (m.), Ilia VII (f.) and Tom Utnurunatja (m.). She also produced a part aboriginal male called Billy Curtis whose father was a white man called Curtis, and who was a Banata man from Ndolja of the eritja totem. He was one of the first part aboriginals born in the Ndolja area; he went north and had a station near Bonney Well in the 1930s (note 42). Billy married Milja, a fullblood woman from Barrow Creek.

Tatirbuka I, a Banata from Atnorunja (Jessie Gap), of the ilia totem married Ilia VI, a Mbitjana woman from Unera of the ilia totem and no fewer than four generations of their descendants appear on the family tree, too numerous to list here.

Ilia VI, a Banata woman from Atnorunja of the ilia totem married Potankunjarinja, a Mbitjana from Potakunja of the ereakura (= yelka bulb) totem. They had no children.

Tom Utnurunatja, a Banata man from Atnorunja of the utnurunatja totem married Antara, an Mbitjana "perhaps from Tjikara" of the arenana (= carpet snake) totem: They had no children.

6. Mary Ntjuiamba II (= Mary VII)

Mary is given as a Purula woman from Urumuna, of the ntjuiamba kutatarinja totem (see V,5, also V,6, p. 3), which means the ntjuiamba ancestor (or in this instance ancestress) "who had always lived there, i.e. ever from the beginning". She is the wife of Undoolya Peter Antelowuka, a Panangka man from Nturka of the tnurunatja (= caterpillar) totem. Although no children are recorded for them Strehlow notes (note 21): "I seem to remember that the male misshapen infant left to die in the Alice Springs Camp in July 1932 was the son of Undoolya Peter and Mary Ntjuiamba (see Book I, p.47, entry for July

3rd, 1932). He also records (in note 20) that "the name Antelowuka means 'wagged its head'" (a reference to the tnurunatja caterpillar raising its head while looking for another branch).

Since Mary VII is the full sister of Angelina I (no. 1, this section, above), this entry should be consulted for details of siblings.

7. Ntjilparuntuna

Since Ntjilparuntuna is the full brother of Kapata - consult no. 5, above.

8. Pmoara II (Tjikiwuka)

Pmoara II is given on F.T. I,8, page 6 as the Pananka wife of Purula man Tjalakurka (from Ultunta of the ereakura (= yelka bulb) totem). The information about her is a little vague: "from the ntjuimba area, perhaps Urumuna. The produced two children: Doja (f.) (also known as Dori), a Kamara from Alice Springs, perhaps of the tnurunatja totem who married Ntjala, a Paltara man and an unnamed male. The F.T. I, 30, page 1 gives identical information.

9. Pmoara III

Pmoara III, a Purula woman from Urumuna of the erualana (?) totem features on F.T. V,5, page 13, as the second wife of Eritja I. Their three children were Kowijuwia I (m.), Annie I (f.) and Tnaiumeraka (m.). Since she is also the full sister of Kaupapa (no. 5, above), this entry should be consulted as well.

Her first child, Kowijuwia I, a Banata from Wunkalatana (near Atnorunja) of the Utnurunatja totem married Annie II, a Mbitjana from Utaltala, near Potakunja who was a sister to Potakunjarinja, husband of Ilia VI (see no. 5, above). Their daughter Rosie XI

Nunalba, a Panangka woman from Interulanama near Jessie Gap of the utnurunjatja totem married Pebble or Peebles, a white man once manager of Undoolya Station and this union eventually gave rise to two large families who "have no contacts with any of my informants but ignore them", according to Strehlow.

The second child, Annie I, a Banata from Intergulanama near Wunkalatana married Ilukarinja (so called because of the many pines (iluka) growing on the Utera mountain), from Utera (probably Urtera) north-west of Wolatjatara of the lakabara (= black hawk) totem. They had no children.

The youngest child, Tnaiumeraka, a Banata man from Kabulja of the eritja totem is famous for two reasons: he was one of Constable South's trackers at Illamurta, and he is the father of one of Strehlow's most famous informants, Sidi Ross Ilbarinja, from his marriage to Ankararinja (f.), an Mbitjana woman from Ankara, near Ujitja of the arukuta (?) totem. Sidi's details are given with those of his wife Kantitja, see no. 21, section (i), above. However Sidi was not Ankararinja's first child - she was Maria III, a Panangka woman from Nturka of the tnurunjatja totem whose father was Frank O'Donnell (or Donald). Then came her two full-blood children, Sidi and Sheila I, a Panangka woman from Ndolja of the eritja totem who remained single and had no children. Sidi's conception site is Green Banks, a place on the Todd River (= Lira Mbantua) near Mt Blatherskite, just south of Alice Springs).

(iii) Emalkpa (= Mt Heughlin)

The site of Emalkpa is one of the two sites of that name recorded on the map *Aboriginal Central Australia*: its grid reference is H.12, and it is a *pmara kutata* - together with its

associated site Karkiljarkilja (grid reference also H.12) - of the Purula -Kamara *njinana* section of the north-western part of the Western Aranda-speaking area.

Strehlow writes of Emalknja on page 371 of *Songs of Central Australia* (note 231):

The feeling of personal intimacy that inspires the Australian aboriginal's attitude towards the heavenly bodies is fed by his myths and legends about them and by his reincarnation beliefs. To the Northern and Western Aranda, for instance, the sun still *belongs* in a sense to Ilbalintja, the moon to Emalknja . . .

Emalknja - which is also the home of the most beautiful pure white ground painting - is the conception site of 33 people whose names are still extant in the genealogical records:

	Name	Sex	Conception Site	Totem	Class	Dates (if any)
1.	Alknambalknamba	m	Emalknja	Antana (possum)	Kjuarea	
2	Altinja I	m	Emalknja	imora	Kamara	_____
3.	Altinja II	m	Emalknja	Imora (possum)	Kamara	_____
4.	Altinja Kurka or Bakabaka or Altinja III	m	Emalknja (on F.T. I, 33 Barkitanama on FT. I,6 p.8	antana ratapa kutatarinja	Mbitnana Kamara	_____
5.	Altiraka	m.	Emalknja	antana	Kamara	_____
6.	Antana II	m.	Emalknja	antana	Panajka	_____
7.	Anukura	f.	Emalknja	antana	Dala	_____
8.	Anurupa II	f.	Emalknja	imora	Purula	_____
9.	Emalkjarinja = Mbakalarinja	m	Emalknja	antana	Purula	_____
10.	Epi	f.	Emalknja	antana	Dala	_____

11.	Ilburknunta	f.	Emalknja	imora	Purula	_____
12.	Ilbunkulana	m.	Emalknja	imora	Kamara-Mbitjana	_____
13.	Inkula or Wamiti	f.	Emalknja	imora	Paltara	_____
14.	Irbilkira	m.	Emalknja	taia (= moon) or imora	Kamara	_____
15.	Jabanaka II	f.	Emalknja	imora	Purula	_____
16.	Lubi	f.	Emalknja	antana	Dala	_____
17.	Mankuta	f.	Emalknja	imora	Purula	_____
18.	Maureen	f.	Emalknja	antana	Mbitjana	_____
19.	Njutupa I	f.	Emalknja	antana	Purula	_____
20.	Njutupa II	f.	Emalknja	imora	Paltara	_____
21.	Njutupa II	f.	Emalknja (?)	imora	Kjuarea	_____
22.	Njutupa IV (or V?)	f.	Emalknja	antana	Mbitjana	_____
23.	Numba	m.	Emalknja	antana	Banjata	_____
24.	Riedel	m.	Emalknja	antana	Dala	_____
25.	Teralta	m.	Emalknja	imora	Purula	_____
26.	Tjinakuja II	m.	Emalknja	antana	Paltara	_____
27.	Toby II	m.	Emalknja	?	?	_____
28.	Troti*	f.	Emalknja	antana	Paltara	_____
29.	Tuma	f.	Emalknja	antana	Dala	_____
30.	Unurupa (sic r) = antakuna)	f.	Emalknja	antana	Pananka	_____
31.	Urbumania	m.	Emalknja	ntana or antana	Kjuarea	_____
32.	Wilbirtuntja (na)	f.	Emilknji	waiuta	?	_____
33.	Witjitji	f.	Emalknja	waiuta	Nunara	_____

1. Alknambalknamba

Alknambalknamba was a Knuarea man from Emalkna of the antana or possum totem who appears on F.T.s I,17, page 2; I,15, page 1; I,12, page 3; I,14, page 5; IV,5, page 1; IV,14, page 3 and IV,14, Addendum II, page 10. He was also known as Alf Cook.

His first spouse was Wolatja, a Dala woman from Emiana of the ljaau (= edible herb or munyeroo) totem who also married Namitjira II (see F.T.s I,6, I,15 and I,25). His second wife was Tjilpa III (see F.T.12). There were two children from his alliance with Wolatja, but no details about them are recorded. From his second wife came Pmoara I (f.), a Paltara from Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem. Their other child has no recorded details (which invariably means it died early before it could be named).

The siblings of Alknambalknamba were Ilbolarinja, a Paltara man from Ilbola of the tnurujatja totem, Mukutarinja, a Knuarea from Mukuta of the apma (= snake) ndaterka totem who actually had four wives simultaneously, according to F.T. I,17, note 22, and Iranda II, a Knuarea woman from Ntakitjia of the iranda or black cockatoo totem.

Their parents were Mbaraturia, a Paltara man from Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem who married Erutnaka, a Kamara from Ulamba of the rara totem who also married another husband, Katakarinja (according to F.T. I,15).

The grandparents, both paternal and maternal are also recorded: the father's father was Urbula, a Knuarea man from Ulaterka of the ljaau (= edible herb) totem and his second wife Kaltia, a Dala woman from Njanama whose totem is unknown; the mother's father was Lankua (or Ulankua, Book IV, p. 59), an Mbitjana man from Iwupataka of the latjia

(= yam) totem and his wife Kaiirka, a Banata from Eritjakwata of the eritja (= eagle) totem (see I,16, p. 7).

2. Altinka I

Altinka I was a Kamara man from Emalkña of the imora or possum totem, details about whom appear chiefly on F.T. I,6, p.1, but also on F.T. 1a, page 3 and I,16, page 9. His totems are also given as "antana" (possum) and taia (moon) (information from Tjalkabota).

His first spouse was Awolara (also known as Walara), a Paltara woman from Ututara, perhaps of the rara totem. His second wife was Topinbora (or Itopinbora, a Banata-Paltara woman from Ntalua of the tonara or flying ant totem).

Her double class probably shows that the Banata marriage was a wrong one which has been made legal by a class shift.

The first marriage produced three children: Mankuta (f.), a Purula from Emalkña of the imora totem, Njutupa I, (f.) a Purula from Emalkña of the antana totem, and Ilburknunta (f.), a Purula also from Emalkña of the imora totem.

The second marriage also produced children, two of them: Anurupa II (f.), a Purula from associated site Karkiljarkilja of the imora totem and Emalkñarinja (m.), a Purula man (whose ordinary name was Tupura which means *Purula* = Mbakalarinja) of I,33, page 2 (see also F.T. I,16, p.9).

Altinka I had three siblings: Ilbunkulana (m.), Irbilkira (m.), and Alknenteria I (m.).

Ilbunkulana was a Kamara-Mbitjana from Emalkña of the imora totem. Irbilkira (which

means "white") was a Kamara man from Emalkña of either the taia or imora totem and Alknenteria I was a Kamara man from Iloara of the arenana totem. There is a note (no. 52) by C. Strehlow to the effect that Ilbunkulana was actually a Kamara man, but since he migrated into the local territory and married a Banata he was transferred into Mbitjana class and accordingly his children were rated as Dala. According to Utnadata III, Ilbunkulana was shot by Wurmbrandt, Mounted Constable Willshire's assistant, at Inbira.

Altiñka I was the son of Teralta, the apical ancestor of F.T. I,6, a Purula man from Emalkña of the imora totem who married Joana I, a Panan̄ka from Ulintjira of the imora totem. This family tree is interesting since no part aboriginals appear on it as recorded except by marriage - that of Louis Schaber, H.C., (see no. 3, below). It probably therefore reflects more than the Tuñja information, the situation as it obtained before the influence of the white settlers.

3. Altiñka II = Altiñka Kñara

Altiñka II is a Kamara man from Emalkña of the imora totem although C. Strehlow - whose additional information has normally been left out in the preceding entries - also lists "taia; tjilpa (= native cat)". The information is from Tjalkabota, and he was also known as Altiñka Kñara (= older brother) (F.T.I,6, p. 7).

He married twice: the first time was to Tarilkña, a Banata woman from Walurumpa, perhaps of the ilia totem and they produced three offspring: Toby II (m.) from Emalkña, Arthur I (m.) from Japalpa (= Glen Helen Gorge) who was at Jay Creek, and Andy I (m.), probably from Alice Springs. None of them have classes, or totems. Altiñka II's second wife was Njumita I, a Paltara woman from somewhere west of Putati, perhaps of the

kɲulja (= dingo) totem which union resulted in Erinjakalaka II (m.) (later christened Riedel) from Mbatata of the arenana totem and Lubi (f.) from Ereambata of the imora totem who married Louis Schaber (part aboriginal) (see also her entry no. 16, below).

Altɲka II's parents were Emalkɲarinja (see no. 2, above) and Kantankuna his wife, a Panan̄ka from Manajatujata of the alkɲarintja or mythical woman totem (see entry on Lubi, no. 16, below). Besides Altɲka II, there were several other children of this marriage: Tnaltja (m.), a Kamara from Ulaterka of the tnurun̄atja totem (who married twice), Njanta II, a Kamara woman from Arugutj' Intaia of the aran̄a or euro totem who also married twice but produced no children, Tambu (m.), a Kamara from Arugutj' Intaia (which means "women's gap") of the aran̄a (= euro) totem who is probably the Walta of F.T. I, 33, Altɲka II, and last born Altɲka Kurka (m.), a Kamara from Barkitanama of the ratapa kutatarin̄ja or local mythical baby totem.

There is a note on the entry of Altɲka II to the effect that he was also known as Bakabaka or Altinka III. The name Bakabaka is said to reproduce the call of the Kunbalunbala (which is like a bell bird), according to Tjalkabota. Barkitanama is "Emalkɲan̄a itin̄ja antakarakwa" - that is "close to Emalkɲa. in a southerly direction". The locally born ratapa went far away to the north, to Erultja, out west of Napperby. Bakabaka was generally known as Altɲka Kurka (= little Altɲka) in his last years at Jay Creek, when he was living there together with his elder brother Altɲka II. The latter was referred to as Altɲka or Altɲka Kara (=elder brother of).

His father's father was Altɲka I (see no. 2, above) and his father's mother Topinbora. The mother's parents are not given.

4. Altin̄ka Kurka

Since his full brother Altin̄ka II's details have already been given (no. 3, above), there is no need to repeat them here. Although a different conception site is given in that entry, FT. I, 33 lists Altin̄ka III as coming from Emalk̄na and hence he is included here.

His totem is given as antana. However, on I,6, page 8, he is given as a Kamara whereas on I,33, page 6, it is given as Mbitjana . His spouse on I,33 is Polly Inkataka (meaning "big-footed"), and she was generally known as Polly Kunia whose first husband had been Ilkaiagata. She was a Paltara from Irbman̄kara of the wan̄kara totem, but she bore neither husband any children. Strehlow notes that Altin̄ka Kurka was always in poor health when he knew him at Jay Creek, and looked much older than his well-preserved and vigorously-built older brother Altin̄ka K̄nara. Toby, Arthur, and Andy were all fine, strapping fellows, and Lubi was a particularly good-looking young woman (see no. 16 below). These would have been his niece and nephews.

5. Altiraka

Altiraka was a Kamara man from Emalk̄na of the antana totem, the information for whom was given in I,15, page 2 by Tjalkabota. He also appears on F.T. 3a, page 2, I,6, page 3 and 2a, page 1. His spouse was Ilkanalaka, a Paltara (formerly Ban̄ata) from Iaba of the jiramba or honey ant totem, otherwise spelt as Ilkinalaka who was also the first wife of Jola. Their two children are listed on I,15, page 2, and I,6, page 3, but the order of their births differs: on I,15 Iunkurkna (f.) is given first, a Purula from Lun̄kun̄ka of the rara totem; I,6, page 3 reverses the order. However she did have a sibling, Lakuararin̄ja (m.), a Purula from Lakura Teinta of the rara totem.

Altiraka's parents' first child was Erutnaka (f.), a Kamara from Ulamba of the rara totem who married twice, both times to Paltara men.

Their parents were Alknerkarinja (father) and Antana I, his first wife. Ulentaka I, Ilbilakartjarinja (?), a Kamara woman whose details were not known. The other child was unnamed and the sex is not given. There is a note to the effect that C. Strehlow gives her totem as ilbila (mulga sugar), but Strehlow remarks that if Ilbilakartjarinja belonged to the ilbila totem, her conception site was probably Ulturka. The name was given by C. Strehlow as Ilbalakartjarinja, but Tjalkabota could not recall it. After several guesses he agreed it might have been Ilbilakartjarinja.

Altiraka's father's father was Tapatataka, a Kamara man from Ulamba of the rara totem and his father's mother was Alurtja, a Paltara whose place and totem were not known.

6. Antana II

Antana II was the last child of his parents Tekua I and his first wife Makaknara. He was a Panangka man from Emalknja of the antana totem, hence his name, and he appears only on F.T. I, 16, page 3, which information was supplied by Tjalkabota. Tekua I was a Banjata man from Lalta of the tekua totem (= rat without a pouch) who first married Makaknara, a Kamara (formerly Mbitjana) woman from Ekunjamba of the rara totem. Their other four children were Ntjakaka I (f.), a Panangka from Lukaria of the jiramba (= honey ant) totem who was one of Kolakola's two wives (she later married Kalaijika I (she was his second wife)) and had a daughter Rakua (Rebecka, see F.T. I, 15), Panangka (m.), a Panangka from Inintjintana of the rara totem (also known as Inintjintana who married Ulkwapa, a Purula from Arankala of the tjilpa totem), Alknakulpa III (f.), a Panangka from Lukaria of the jiramba totem whose first husband was also (like her older sister) Kolakola (she in fact

had four husbands altogether), and Ragatarinja, a Panangka man from Ragata of the jiramba totem who married once, to Jurukwatjarinja, a Dala who was formerly a Purula from Jurukwatja of the ntapitnja totem (= large fish, locally called 'bony bream').

There are two grandparents recorded for Antana II, the parents of Tekua I: Balupa was a Panangka man from Lukaria of the jiramba totem and his wife was Artjila, a Purula from Eritjakwata of the inalana (= echidna).totem

Tekua I had a child also by his second wife Tjonbitja, a Mbitjana woman whose details were not known to Tjalkabota, but no details are recorded for it. His third wife was Nuaiita I who is recorded on this family tree as being an Mbitjana "perhaps from Ulamba" of the rara totem. Their children, half siblings also of Antana II were Alknakulpa I, a Panangka perhaps from Lukaria like her father and like him of the jiramba totem, and an unnamed, unsexed child.

However the information on Nuaiita I differs on F.T. I,24 where she is recorded as being from Unapuna of the rara totem. Her second husband was Kakatawara from Tnorula of the paraltja (=gum sugar) totem. Their son was Paraltja. "Kakatawara erina atua njintala ulburinjala waka ilba tnatana, erina juralelamala" - "a man threw a boomerang at Kakatawara, hitting him behind the ear and killing him". This man (who threw the boomerang) was Nuaiita's first husband. Tjinakuia was her third husband.

7. Anukura

Anukura is given on I,33, page 1 as a Dala woman from Emalkna of the antana totem.

The information for this family tree was collected at The Bungalow on 6th October 1958,

from Iliakwata, in the presence of Rubuntja, Ekunjabarinja and Willy Arana Ljinana. There is a note to the effect that the information given on F.T. I,33 should be compared with that given on F.T. I,6, which was obtained 50 years earlier from different informants (i.e. by the Reverend C. Strehlow). However I do not think at this stage that the information regarding Anukura is affected by any information on F.T. I,6, but if it shows up in subsequent entries the appropriate notes can be made.

Anukura married a Kguarea spouse from Pmukuta of the apma (or snake) totem, Mukutarinja. Mukutarinja's first wife was Leneraka (whose father was Inditerguka, see F.T. I,12) who bore him first, Queenie-Linda, then Albert Par'Erulpa (= Tjilara). Mukutarinja married Tuma, Anukura, and Epi, i.e. three blood sisters, while Leneraka was still living and thus had four wives simultaneously (this F.T.). References are also made to F.T.'s I,15, page 2 and I,17, page 3. However his marriage to Anukura produced two children, Richard (m.) a Paltara who became the watercolour painter who called himself "Richard Moketarinja" and who married Napitja, a Mbitjana woman from Tempe Downs area, and Ida, a Paltara who married Tom Mbujulbura, a Kamara man from Jamba of the kwatja totem. The marriages to Tuma and Epi produced no children.

Anukura had three siblings: Tuma, a Dala woman from Emalkna of the antana totem, Epi (probably Effie) with the same details, and Pompey, a Dala man from Ulaterka of the utnurunatja totem who married an unknown female from the Lake Nash Station in Queensland.

Their parents were Atnaltja, a Mbitjana man from Ulaterka of the utnurunatja totem and his wife Andula, a Paltara from Karinjara (= Central Mt Wedge) of the aroa (= black-flanked rock wallaby found in Central Australian mountains and hills) totem. Although

Andula's parents are not given, Atnaltja's father was Mbakalarinja, a Dala man from Mbakala of the antana totem. Mbakala is the western downslope of the great Emalkña Pota itself. The name means "burn" or "red", i.e. "inanka tataka" (= reddish breast) (of the possum). Mbakalarinja was also known as Emalkñarinja (see no. 9, below and F.T. I,6, page 6 where he is given as a Purula). His wife Unurupa (sic r) (see no. 30, below) is given as a Panan̄ka from Emalkña of the antana totem. She was also called a Kñuarea, but her sons always stated that they were "born by a Panan̄ka woman" - "nuna meia Panan̄kakana". Unurupa is called Kantakuna in F.T. I,6, page 6.

8. Anurupa II

Anurupa II appears on 3 family trees: I,6, page 2, I,16, page 9, and VI,5, page 2. She is listed as being a Purula from Karkiljarkilja, Emalkña's associated site, of the imora totem (or antana totem as given on I,16, page 9). She was married twice, the first time to Talina, a Kñuarea (formerly Panan̄ka) from Ulbura of the jiramba totem (according to I,6, page 2, or from Akamalereja of the tjilpa totem according to I,16, page 9). She also married Ultanbaka, a Kñuarea man from Tatitja of the rara totem.

From her first marriage Anurupa II produced three children, all Paltaras who had had their classes changed from Ban̄ata. The first-born was Wantapari (m.) from Wantapari of the tjilpa totem, the second, Aritjala (f.) was from Alabi of the aritjalitjala totem (= a bird with a red chest?) and Ilkinalaka from Laba of the jiramba totem whose husband Altiraka was from Emalkña (see no. 5, above).

From her second marriage Anurupa II had 1 child, Tekua II a Paltara man also known as Thomas I, from Lukaria of the jiramba totem according to Tjalkabota on F.T I,28.

However he was alkjarintja (= mythical women) totem (*Aranda Grammar*, p.73, para. 34) (F.T. I,16).

There is a slight crux here. F.T. VI, page 5, page 1 gives conflicting information of the parentage of Thomas I. According to this source (from information supplied by Tom Tunala with the help of Iliakwata in the presence of Ekunjambarinja and Tatuka at Ajura on 23rd August 1960) (family tree of Mulakarinja, Thomas Tekua – “my Hermannsburg informant” was the son of Mulakarinja (given as Anurupa’s first husband, with one child, Wantapiri) and his third wife, Akaltia, a Dala woman from Emalknja of the imora totem (who is omitted from the alphabetical list, above).

Anurupa II’s parents were Altinja I (see no. 2, above) and his wife Topinbora. Her full sibling is therefore Emalkjarinja: therefore for her half siblings this entry can also be consulted, where there is also the information on her father’s father (Teralta) and father’s mother (Joana I). Her mother’s father was Balupa, a Pananka from Lukaria of the jiramba totem, and her mother’s mother was Artjila, a Purula from Eritjakwata of the inalaja totem (I,16, p.2).

9. Emalkjarinja

Emalkjarinja’s information appears in the entries of his father (Altinja I, no. 2, above), his sister (Anurupa II, no. 8, above) and his children, Altinja II, (no. 3, above) and Altinja Kurka, (no. 4, above).

10. Epi

For all relevant information consult the entry of her sibling, Anukura (no. 7, above).

11. Ilburkjunta

Ilburkjunta was a Purula woman from Emalknja of the imora totem, although it is given as antana totem on I, 27, page 1. The information was given by Tjalkabota and Utnadata III. C. Strehlow also lists her as being of the alkjarintja totem, but generally the information on totems from C. Strehlow has not been given throughout these entries. Ilburkjunta appears on the following family trees: I,6 page 1, I,27, page 1 and VI,5, page 1. Since information differs in some respects from family tree to family tree, they will be taken in order.

Family Tree I,6 lists Ilburkjunta as the child of her father Altinja I and his first wife Awolara (see no. 2, above), where her siblings and half siblings are detailed. Here, too, her spouse is given as Ilapalarinja, a Kjuarea man (formerly Pananka) from Ilapala of the imora totem. The children of this marriage are given as Inkula (f.), a Paltara (formerly Banata whose conception site is Emalknja of the imora totem also known as Injkulu (na) from Ula of the ndorota or brown-crested pigeon rock totem (see I,17). A note says that she married firstly Aratata and secondly Ilkaiagata (I,27). Aratata was an Mbitjana from Aratata of the injkulkja or pulantja (hawk or kite) totem.

I,6 gives another unnamed female child, but if we turn to F.T. I,27, page 1, the children are given as Injkula (also given as Injkuluna and reference is made to her appearance also on I,12), a Paltara from Ulaterka of the ndorota totem, Tjinakuja II, a Paltara from Emalknja of the antana totem (who went north and never returned) and Walankaia (m.), a Paltara from Ilapala of the ljukudurandura totem (?).

On F.T. VI,5, page i, Ilburkjunta is given as the first Dala Wife (conception site and totem remain the same) of Mulakarinja, a Tunarei man from Ilapala of the tjunatalili (= Aranda

ljukuduradura), but in case one may think these are two different spouses; a note informs us that he is called Ilapalarinja on F.T. I,27, page 1. There is also a footnote that C. Strehlow gave her as a Purula, but Utnadata (in 1953) claimed she was Dala. Strehlow notes that "Dala seems like a normalization of her marriage with Ilapalarinja, who was a Kjuarea" (F.T. 27). The second wife of Mulakarinja was Anurupa II (see no. 8, above where this crux is discussed).

The Hermannsburg population census listed in the *Handbook* gives her as Nellie Ilburkunta = Emilie, who was born in 1881. She is given as having married in 1912 "Liebler namaŋa" (= Liebler time) to Winuinŋa, so it is to be hoped that she is the same person.

T.G.H. Strehlow also notes (I VI,5, p.1, note 2): "This Ilburkunta is a different and much older woman from the Wilbirnuntu, who was the wife of Ananupuntu" and refers us to I,6, page 1, and I,27 page 1.

12. Ilbuŋkulana

Details about his totem and so on have already been given above in the entry of his sibling, Altinŋa I (no. 2, above). However details of his three wives (all of whom produced children from their marriage to him) and children have not. He appears on F.T.'s I,6, page 8 (information from Tjalkabota, I,22, p. 1, I,25, and also F.T. 4, p. 3, 3a, p. 3 and Ia, p. 3). Information on his totem also varies from source to source.

His first wife was Ulbumuntiwuka, a Bagata woman from Ulbma of the ilia totem which marriage produced four children: Laporintja II (f) a Dala (formerly Purula) from Par'Erultja of the laporintja (= permissive female ancestress) totem, Warinjua (m.) a Dala

(formerly Purula), probably from Maṇama of the ultamba (?) (= honey bee) totem, Tanbarinja (m.), a Dala (formerly Purula) from Tanba of the lalitja (Western Aranda, a berry of some sort) totem, and Lakararinja (f.), a Dala (formerly Purula) from Lakara of the arugutja (= woman) totem.

The second marriage to Kwatukwata II (a Baṇata woman from Iwupataka of the latja or yam totem) produced two children: Maṇamarinja, a Dala man from Maṇama of the ultamba totem and an unnamed, unsexed child.

The third marriage, to Maninta I, a Baṇata woman from Arambera of the unwala tararamba (= sweet little reddish exudations from the mulga tree) totem resulted in an unnamed, unsexed child.

13. Inkula (or Wamiti)

The details of Inkula are given on the family tree of her parents (see the entry of Ilburkjunta, no. 12, above). However on I,27, her first husband is recorded as being from Paura or Ulumbauura of the ilia totem and her second husband, Ilkaiagata as being a Kamara man from Nkapatja, near Ultamba (south of it) of the rukuta (= novice) totem. Although she had a child from each husband they are unnamed and unsexed.

Inkula's maternal grandparents are Altinka I and Awolara (q.v.), but her paternal grandparents are given here for the first time. Her father's father was Tjinakuja I, the apical male ancestor of F.T. I,27, a Paltara man from Ilipiti in the Petermanns. He fled from his people after having committed a murder. He was the third husband of Inkula's grandmother, Nualita II, an Mbitjana from Unapuna of the rara totem. She was given to her husband by the Aranda. She was originally given as Kamara by C. Strehlow, perhaps

from Ulanba of the rara totem. She married three times and details of her husbands are given on F.T. I,24.

14. Irbilkira

Irbilkira was a Kamara man from Emalknja of either the taia or imora totem (I,6, p. 12, information from Tjalkabota). Since he is the sibling of Altinja I, all details for him appear above (see no. 2). Since he was also married to Walara, the first wife of his brother, Altinja I, the details of his wife also appear on the previous entry. They had two unnamed, unsexed children.

15. Jabanaka II

Jabanaka II was a Purula woman from Emalknja of the imora totem (although C. Strehlow gives "antana; aroa" totems). She is recorded on F.T. I,6, page 6, as the grandchild of Emalknjarinja (see no. 9 above, which lists several other references).

Jabanaka II was the daughter of Emalknjarinja's oldest child, Tnaltja, a Kamara man from Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem and his second wife, Ekuna, a Paltara from Majatanarka of the aroa or rock wallaby totem. She had a sister, Tnukura I, a Purula from Atatu of the rekuura (a type of bird) totem. These two sisters had a half sister, Tolkiwa, a Purula from Arugutj' Intaia (= women's gap) of the Paltara from Emalknja of the imora totem.

No grandparents appear for the mother's side.

16. Lubi

Lubi appears on two family trees, and the information differs. I,33, written down by Strehlow at The Bungalow on 6th October 1958 from Iliakwata, in the presence of Rubuntja, Ekunjambarinja and Willy Aranja Ljinana notes that its information should be

compared with that given on I,6, which was obtained fifty years earlier from different informants (see no. 7, above). On page 4, I,33, Lubi is listed as a Dala woman from Emalknja of the antana totem, and full sister to Riedel, also a Dala from Emalknja of the same totem, although he was then already deceased.

From the conception sites of her children, it would seem that Lubi travelled a lot after her marriage to part aboriginal Louis Schaber, a Kguarea from Runatjirpa (= Simpson's Gap) of the tjonba totem. There is a note on Louis Schaber to the effect that he is Makarinja's step-son (F.T. I,21 is Makarinja's family tree). "His mother and Schaber found him together at Simpson's Gap", remarked Iliakwata sarcastically. The white man Schaber also worked in the Simpson's Gap area before going to Mt Riddock. "Altarama" is a common term for the "finding" of a baby at the baby's conception site. However, be that as it may, the union with Louis Schaber gave Lubi six part aboriginal children, all Paltaras: Willy Schaber (from the Todmorden or Lambina area), Troti (f.), from Emalknja (see no. 28, below), of the antana totem (she was still unmarried on that date), Louise (f.), from near Woratara (= Old Hamilton Downs Station) of the araja totem (also still unmarried), Neneta (f.) (= Nanette?) from Ntarea of the ratapa or mythical twins totem, Ron (m). from Iwupataka (= Jay Creek) of the latjia (or yam) totem and an unnamed female from Ntarea of the ratapa totem.

Lubi's father was Altinja (see no. 3, above) and her mother his second wife, Njumita. Lubi's father's father was Mbakalarinja and her father's mother Unurupa. In case the apparent crux is noticed between this entry and that of Altinja II, there are notes to the effect that Mbakalarinja is identical with Emalkjarinja (note 6, I,33) and Unurupa is identical with Kantakuna (note 7, I,33). Her maternal grandparents are not given.

17. Mankuta

Mankuta was the first child of Altin̄ka I (see no. 2, above) and his first wife Awolara, therefore all details about grandparents, siblings and half siblings appear on that entry. A Purula woman from Emalk̄na, Mankuta married Urbula, a K̄guarea (formerly Pan̄n̄ka) from Ulaterka of the tnurun̄atja totem, although his totem is given as Ijaua (= manyeroo) on F.T. 17, page 1. She was his third wife: He also married (1) Januranaka (2) Kaltia and (3) Mankuta (see I,17). Her half siblings, Anurupa II (f.) and Emalk̄narinja (m.) are also given on I,16, page 9.

18. Maureen

Maureen was an Mbitjana woman from Emalk̄na of the antana totem as recorded on I,33 page 4. Informants are given above in several entries. She appears as the child of Andy (m.), a Dala from the Maryvale area and his wife June, a Purula from Ntaripa (= Heavitree Gap) of the utnurun̄atja totem. She had an unnamed female sibling, a Mbitjana from Iwupataka of the latja totem. Her paternal grandparents were Altin̄ka II and his first wife Tarilk̄na (see no. 3, above). Her mother's father was Iltaba and her mother's mother was Janela (see note 10, I,33), but no other details appear to have been recorded about them. And no spouse or children are given for Maureen.

19. Njutupa I

Njutupa I, a Purula woman from Emalk̄na of the antana totem (C. Strehlow also gives the alk̄narintja totem) appears on two family trees – I,6, page 1 where she appears as the daughter of Altin̄ka I and Awolara (and therefore her details can be found in no. 2, above) and on F.T. 1,12, page 1, where she appears as the first wife of Pan̄n̄ka man Etoparinja from the Ulbma district of the ilia totem, a man who married three times, his other wives

being Lunḡunḡa, a Purula woman from Lunḡunḡa of the rara totem and Irtnjeulaka I, a Purula from Imatara of the apma jaltakalbala (a type of serpent) totem. There is a note (note 3, p. 2, I,12) to the effect that Eroparinja "seems to have married two 'sisters' (according to our classification they would have been second cousins) viz. Lunḡunḡa and Irtnjeulaka I; each of these was father's father's brother's son's daughter to the other (see F.T. I,15)."

20. Njutupa II

Njutupa II was a Paltara woman from Emalkḡa of the imora totem (C. Strehlow however given antana; ilia as totems). She appears on F.T. I,6, page 6 as the first wife of Tnaltja, a Kamara man from Ulaterka of the tnurunatja totem. Since he is the full sibling of Altinḡa II, his details appear in entry no. 3, above. Tnaltja's second wife was Ekuna. His alliance with Njutupa II produced one female child, Tolkiwa, a Purula from Arugutj' Intala of the arana totem. No other facts are recorded about her. See also the entry on Jabanaka II, the child of Tnaltja's second marriage.

21. Njutupa III

Njutupa III is to be found on F.T. I,6, p. 10 (information from Tjalkabota) "perhaps from Emalkḡa" of the imora totem, as the wife of Warinjua, a Dala (formerly Purula) "probably" from Maḡama of the ultamba totem (there is a query to this). They had two unnamed children. No other details are given, however Strehlow has added this note: "The Njutupas on F.T.'s I,6, I,12 and I,16 were originally all given as Njutupa III. It is doubtful if the Njutupa III given on I,6 is the same as the one given on I,12 and I,16. The Njutupa III of F.T.'s 12 and 16 was, according to Tjalkabota, Kwanerka's daughter. C. Strehlow originally had her as Njutupa IV on F.T.'s I,12 and I,16".

22. Njutupa IV (or V?)

Njutupa IV or V is recorded on F.T. I,10, page 5 (information from Tjalkabota) as the fifth wife of Ltjabakurka, a Paltara man from Ilkitjeramanta of the aroa totem. The note explains that he and his family belonged to an area (Irbman̄kara) with a four-class system. All of his wives between them produced numerous offspring. Njutupa IV had two: Tjulpa V, a Panan̄ka-Knuarea from Ilbila of the tjilpa totem, and Apma III, a Panan̄ka-Knuarea man from Arbanta of the arenana totem. The footnote explains that "Njutupa IV or V had first been wife to Numba (see no. 23, below), a Barjata, an opossum man. When Numba went blind, Ltjabaku(r)ka took Njutupa with him to Irbman̄kara together with Njutupa's and Numba's son Tjukutai. Tjukutai was from Manajatujatu of the paral̄tja totem." I.10 is the family tree of Ltjabakurka. He and his descendants belonged to Irbman̄kara with a four-class system (see also above).

23. Numba

Numba, a Banan̄ta man from Emalk̄na of the antana totem appears only in a couple of notes in connection with his wife and his sister (see note 33, I,10, information from Tjalkabota, and note 75, I,8 respectively).

Note 33, I,10 is recorded above in his wife Njutupa IV or V's entry (no. 22). Notes from Book XVII, pages 114a and 115a, record that Njutupa IV, Tjulpa V and Apma III were killed at Irbman̄kara, but Tjukutai escaped through being at Arbanta. The massacre of Irbman̄kara is set down by Strehlow in *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* (p. 35 passim) and in *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (pp. 124-126). The events and details are also recorded in *Notes* at the end (p. 6) of I,10.

Numba's sister was Kiambaka, a Baŋata from Manajatujata of the arugutja alkŋarintja totem (= mythical women), and is recorded as the second wife of Alkeraka on F.T. I,8.

Note 75 says (on p. 14): "She was the daughter of Talkalia (m.) and Uralbminja; he was nanta totem (nanta = the hairy caterpillar which lives on gum trees). Kiambaka's brother was Numba, from Emalkŋa, antana totem."

When Numba went blind, his wife Njutupa IV or V was taken from him by Ltjabakurka, who took her as his fifth wife. Tjukutai went with them, she to her death with her two other children, who also accompanied her, in the massacre of Irbmaŋkara.

24. Riedel

Riedel, a Dala man from Emalkŋa of the antana totem appears in F.T. I,33, page 5, and in I,6, page 7 where he is listed as Erinjakalaka III from Mbatata of the arenana totem.

There is a note (note 49) to the effect that Erinjakalaka III was later christened Riedel. On 6th October 1958 he was already deceased. His spouse, according to I,33, was Veronica from Ntarea and they had two children, Andreas (m), and Mbitjana from Ntarea (= Hermannsburg) of the ratapa (= mythical twins) totem and an unnamed male child.

Since Riedel was the full brother of Lubi (no. 16, above), and the son of Altinŋka II and his second wife Njumita, their entries can be consulted for all further details.

25. Teralta

Teralta – whose name means fearful, frightened of, coward – is the apical ancestor of Family Tree I,6, who married Joana I, apical ancestress, a Pananŋka woman from Ulintjira of the imora totem. Ulintjira is west of and close to Emalkŋa. Teralta himself was a

Purula from Emalkña of the imora totem also. Carl Strehlow gives the totem antana with a query after it. He also appears on F.T. 1a, p. 3 and 3a, page 1.

Since Teralta's children were Altin̄ka I, Ilbur̄kulana, Irbilkira and Alknenteria I, all of whom (except Alknenteria) came from Emalkña, all other details have been set down in their entries above (no.s 2, 12 and 14 respectively).

26. Tjinakuja II

Tjinakuja II features on two genealogies: I,27, page 2 and VI,5, page 1. On I,27 he is given as a Paltara man from Emalkña of the antana totem: it is the family tree of his paternal grandfather, Tjinakuja I (information from Otnadata III). No spouse or children are given for him. However since he is the child of Ilpalarinja and Ilbur̄kjunta (f.) his mother's entry (no. 11, above) should be consulted for all relevant information.

Ilpalarinja's father was Tjinakuja I, a Paltara from Ilipita in the Petermanns whence he fled after committing a murder. He was the third husband of Nualita I, an Mbitjana from Unapuna or the rara totem who was given to Tjinakuja by the Aranda (see also no. 13, above).

Ilpalarinja had children also by his second wife, Laporintja II, a Dala woman from Par' Erultja of the arugutja laparintja (?) totem, they being Utnadata III, a Paltara man from Laba and an unnamed female. Laba is west of Emalkña and close to it. Utnadata III was Strehlow's informant John Utnadata (also known as Inkaknara, later christened Zacharias).

On F.T. VI,5, page 5 he is called Tjinapuntu, of the Tapaltari class from Emilkŋi of the Waluta totem. *Tjinapuntu* = "bigfoot", but he is called *Tjinakuja* = badfoot on I,27, page 2. He went north to the Top End (of the Northern Territory) and never came back.

27. Toby II

Since Altinŋka II was his father (no. 3, above) and since there are no spouse or children recorded, there is nothing further to add to this entry that cannot be found in that of his father, grandparents and half siblings. He is from Emalkŋa, but his class and totem are not given (by Tjalkabota on F.T. I,6, p. 7).

28. Troti

Troti appears on page 5, I,33 and is given as from Emalkŋa and of the Paltara class and the antana totem. Since she is the daughter of Louis Schaber and his wife Lubi (no. 16, above), all of her details except that of her father's mother are to be found there. Louis Schaber was the son of Tnuŋarinja, the second wife of Makarinja of the Kamara class from Tnuŋa of the putia (see below) totem. She was born about 1873 and died at Glen Helen, probably during the last days of July, 1939 (all information from I,21, page 7 and note 41, page 8, *op. cit.*). Tnuŋarinja was the daughter of Loatjira Baŋa and Njibanta I. This putia is a small grey rat-kangaroo, living in sandhills.

29. Tuma

Tuma appears on F.T. I,33, page 1 as a Dala woman from Emalkŋa of the antana totem and is the wife of Mukutarinja. Since she is the sibling of Anukura (see no. 7, above), all her details appear there.

Tuma is listed in Strehlow's 1937 Diary in his Census of the Aboriginal Population, Alice Springs district (*Handbook*, p. 20) as being then "about 55 years".

30. Unurupa (sic r) Also called Kantakuna I,6, p. 6)

Unurupa is given on I,33, page 2, as a Pananjka woman from Emalknja of the antana totem. Since her spouse was Mbakalarinja who was identical with Emalknjarinja, I,6, page 6, and her children were Atmaltja (m.) (see Anukura, no. 7, above), Walta, Altinja Kjnara (m.) (= Altinja II, no. 3 above), and Altinja Kurka (= Altinja III, no. 4, above), these entries should be consulted for all relevant information. No siblings or grandparents are given for her.

31. Urbumania

Urbumania appears on two family trees. On I,6, page 8 he appears as the spouse of Laparintja II, daughter of Ilbunjkularja (see no. 12, above and relevant cross references). Here he is given as a Kjuarea (formerly Pananjka) from Emalknja of the antana totem (I,17, page 7 gives "ntana" totem). His wife, Laparintja II is given as a Dala on I,17 and as a Dala, formerly Purula on I,6, page 8. Both sources list her as being from Par' Erultja of the laparintja totem.

Their children are given on I,17, page 7 as Laramanaka (f.), a Paltara from Tatitja of the rara totem, Lunapaltja I (m.), Paltara from Ljimalja of the jiramba totem and Kuwiuwija (f.), also naturally a Paltara from Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem.

Urbumania's wife married first Urbumania, then Ilapalarinja the father of Utnadata III.

Urbumania's siblings were both older; they were Urbula (m.), a Kjuarea from Ulaterka of the ljaua totem and Kaputakutja (f.), (whose name means "small head"), a Kjuarea from

Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem. Their father was Rata (apical ancestor of I,17), a Paltara from Ulaterka of the tnurujatja totem. His wife, probably an Mbitjana woman, was not known. Note 1, page 1, I,34 says that "Urbumania was also known as Urbula: the name means 'to sit with a bent or arched back'."

32. Wilbirnuntj[na]

Wilbirnuntj[na] features on F.T. I,36, page 9, which information came from Ekunjambarinja, Iliakwata, Tunala, Thapani and Kramer Andy on 21st August 1960 and 23rd August 1960. She is given as being from Emilkna (= Mt Heughlin) of the waiuta (?) tjukurpa (or totem). Her class was Nanala. She was married to Ananupuntu (in Aranda this means *mburkaknara* or *large body*), a Tunarei from Ajantji of the kalaia (= water serpent (?)) totem.

Their children – the names and conception sites of the persons in this Addendum II where they appear were supplied mainly by Tom Tunala – were Njumita II (f.) of the Napaltari class from Putati of the maku tala (= Aranda jiramba) totem, Janela II, a Tapaltari class from Putati of the maku tala totem, Kubali III (f.) of the Napaltari class from Putati of the maku tala totem and Jack Tatuka (m.) of the Tapaltari class from Papunja, upstream from Ajaii of the malu (a type of marsupial totem) totem.

Strehlow notes of the last born (p.11, I,36, note 11):

Tatuka (commonly known as "Jack Kelly") is Jack II and Tatuka II. He is the man with white hair and a striking white beard here at my Ajura Camp. He went south as a boy to Marree and Farina. Later he worked on stations and as a drover along the Birdsville track (e.g. Bedourie, Cordillo, etc.). He has come back only recently as an old man (Ajuantama era pitjalbuka). He has no wife. He is interested in the traditions of his people, but has no knowledge of them. Tatuka's portrait appears on the bottom of page 20 and on the dust jacket of Douglas Lockwood's *We, the Aborigines* (as "Jack Kelly").

33. Witjitji

Witjitji appears on page 2, F.T. VI,11, the family tree of Awulara (f.) collected from Wantu (f.) at Umbanara on the Dashwood Creek Crossing on 15th August 1969 when the writer was also present. She is of the Dunara class from Emalkna of the waiuta (?) totem, and the second spouse of Kulaia, a Tanjala man from Mauruna of the kulaia (water serpent(?))totem. Wantu (= Aranda n̄amara or mallee fowl) was Witjitji's full sister. They were the daughters of Awulara (f.) a Nakamara woman from Ulumbaura of the kun̄ka (woman) totem and a father whose name was not remembered since he had died when Wantu was still a child and they were brought up by the younger brother, Pututukurkna whose class (Tapaltari), conception site (Karinjara) and totem (malu) were shared with his deceased sibling. Between them these wives produced nine children. Wantu was of the Dunara of Dunarei class from Opereri, west of Karinjara and she had five children. Witjitji's four children were: Tilila (f.) of the Nambitjinba class from Ulumbaura of the kun̄ka totem, Amaña (f.) of the Nambitjinba class from Mañama of the ultamba maña (= honey bee) totem (Amaña is an Aranda name), Allen (m.), a Tambitjinba from Kitjitjira of the rara totem and Alfie (m.), a Tambitjinba from Kaput' Urbula of the araña totem.

Amaña is listed on page 78 of the *Handbook* (1941 Native Population Census, Jay Creek) as being 21 years of age. Her mother is given on page 97 where her conception site is recorded as being Ulumbaura and her age as 48 years. They are given as being from the Kukatja "tribe". Allen's age is given here as 16 years and Alfie appears as "Algen", aged 10 years.

A note of F.T. VI, 7, page 3, Note 2 reads: "Wantu and Witjitji were always called sisters – and were probably full sisters. Wantu was appreciably older than Witjitji. Kulaia had them as wives simultaneously, and they were always the best of friends".