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A 'PORT SCENE', IDENTITY AND ROCK ART OF THE INLAND SOUTHERN KIMBERLEY, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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Abstract. In Australia, Indigenous rock art images of European material culture and animals were common responses to European contact. However, in the southern Kimberley of northwest Australia, European motifs are rare. Instead, rock art associated with the first European contact emphasises group identity more than in immediate pre-contact times. A rare depiction of European motifs in one rock art panel in the region can be interpreted as a representation of individual identity. This contrast within a single region demonstrates the diversity of responses to European arrivals in Australia and the effect on motif choice of the nature of relationships between the Indigenous and new peoples.

Introduction

Rock art as a means to mark landscape (for example, David and Wilson 2002, Part 1) and to mark and reinforce group identity and distinguish it from 'other' (for example, Sanz et al. 2008) are common themes in the interpretation of rock art motif distribution across time and space. We have previously reported on changes in the rock art of the south central Kimberley region of Australia (Fig. 1) that appear to be associated with the European contact period (O'Connor et al. 2013; Balme and O'Connor 2014). In these papers we argued that, while the pre-European motifs of Ancestral Beings and other landscape marking motifs continued after European arrival, new styles of art appeared using new techniques and with motifs which we interpreted as emphasising group identity. Here we discuss an unusual panel in this contact period art of the region that seems to depart from this pattern in that it appears to mark individual identity, and we discuss the historical circumstances in which such a departure might occur.

In Australia, Indigenous rock art images of European material culture and animals were a common response to European contact (Taçon et al. 2012). However, in the richly decorated cave and rockshelter walls of the Devonian limestone reef system of the south central Kimberley, home of Bunuba and Gooniyandi people, such motifs are very rare. Despite over 20 years of archaeological research in the area, we have only found one panel, the subject of this paper, relating to the contact period that contains images of European

material culture. However, rock art continued to be created and was refreshed until recent times and the rock art of the region remains an important part of Bunuba and Gooniyandi identity and connection to the landscape today.

O'Connor et al. (2013) describes the rock art in the region that varies across time and space and includes anthropomorphs, phytomorphs, zoomorphs, geometric designs, and tracks using a variety of techniques including painting, engraving and drawing. On the basis of our interpretation of superimposition and oral testimony, we identified a new body of art within the region that we interpreted to be associated with the contact period (O'Connor et al. 2013; Balme and O'Connor 2014). While continuing to produce old motifs and long-used techniques of painting, drawing, stencilling and engraving, the new body introduces new motifs and two new techniques: scratch-work and dry black pigment drawing. Amongst this contact art, for the first time in this region, there are depictions of active figures with headdresses resembling those used in ceremonies by Bunuba and Gooniyandi people (Balme and O'Connor 2014). The active poses in ceremonial dress appear to self-reference rather than depict Ancestral Beings.

In our previous work we suggested that these changes within the rock art may relate to the particular relations with Europeans during the contact period in the region. European expansion into the south central Kimberley did not begin until after land was released to settlers in 1881 and it was very rapid (Bolton and

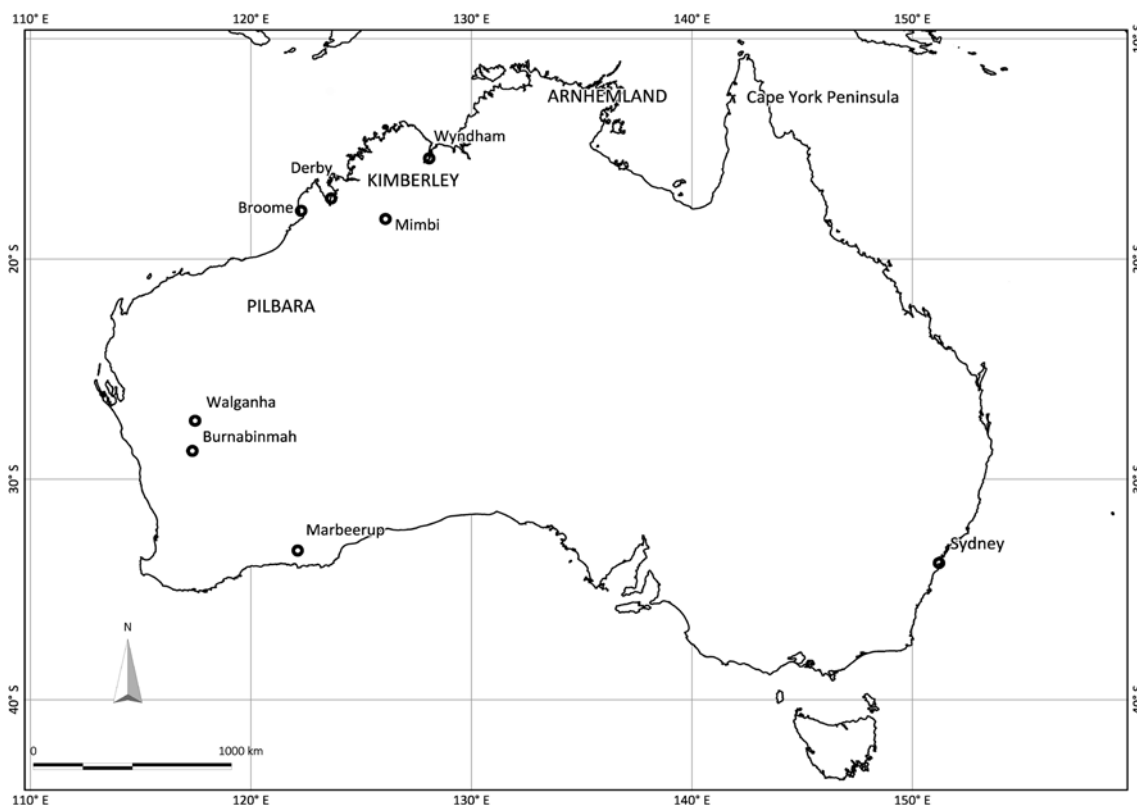


Figure 1. Map of Australia with the marked location of the places mentioned in the text.

Pedersen 1980). Until about 1920, relations between Aboriginal people and Europeans were so violent that the period is often referred to as the 'killing times' by Aboriginal people (Kimberley Language Resource Centre 1996). Aboriginal movement was more restricted, making it difficult to access resources, including ochre, and so more use was made of abundant and accessible resources (charcoal) and techniques that did not require pigment (scratch-work) in the art. In this violent context Europeans and the objects that were the instruments of their control may have been unattractive (O'Connor et al. 2013: 15) and could explain the lack of European motifs being introduced in the art. Instead, people continued the visual traditions of pre-contact, including Ancestral Beings such as the Wanjina-style figures that emphasised their relationship to the landscape (Blundell and Woolagoodja 2005) but added to these motifs to include depictions of people performing ceremonies — motifs that we suggest emphasised group identity (Balme and O'Connor 2014:38).

The exception and the only example of art which clearly depicts European contact-themed subjects is found on a single panel (Fig. 2) in the east of our survey area at Mimbi, within Gooniyandi country (Fig. 1). This panel of painted art is unusual in several respects, not least because the most prominent of the motifs it contains is a ship.

Images of watercraft are not unusual in Australian rock art (e.g. Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007; Chaloupka 1984, 1996; Clarke and Frederick 2006; Layton 1992; O'Connor and Arrow 2008; Wesley et al. 2012) and

papers in a recent special issue of *The Great Circle* edited by Taçon and May (2013) but, with a few exceptions, these images are on or near a coastline. The southern Kimberley image is one of the furthest inland representations of watercraft so far reported in Australian rock art. Several questions arise from the presence of this panel so far inland. Is it really 'contact art' and, if not, when was it created? Is it really Aboriginal art? What does the timing and selection of such motifs suggest about the relationships between Indigenous and settler relations at the time that the image was created? Finally, what does this panel of art suggest about identity in a corpus of rock art that otherwise expresses landscape affiliation and group identity?

Images of visitors' watercraft in Australian Indigenous rock art

While there may have been many visitors and new colonists to Australian shores since first colonisation over 50 000 years ago, the earliest recorded are Indonesian fishing people, who began visiting northern Australia by at least 1664 CE and possibly much earlier (Taçon et al. 2010). The Dutch navigator Willem Janszoon on the *Duyfken* is the first documented European to have landed on Australian shores, in this case on Cape York Peninsula in 1606. From 1616 when the first Dutch VOC ship, the *Eendracht* captained by Dirk Hartog, landed at Shark Bay, until the first half of the 18th century, VOC vessels making their way to the East Indies would have been regularly observed



Figure 2. The Mimbi 'port scene' panel.

by Aboriginal people. The ships of other 18th century European navigators, particularly the French and English, would also have been seen from the shore, and, after the British settlement of Australia in 1788, such sightings would have been more frequent.

These phases of maritime visitation have been recorded in Indigenous rock art, particularly in northern Australia where images of Macassan praus and ships dating until at least the 1940s (Wesley in press) are frequent; on Groote Eylandt (Chaloupka 1984; Clarke 2000; Clarke and Frederick 2006; Cole 1980) where Macassan praus dominate the watercraft assemblage, and elsewhere in northern Australia (Layton 1992: 89–94 and Wesley et al. 2012 for a review), where images of European ships are more common (Roberts 2004). On the Kimberley coast, only 18 depictions of watercraft have been recorded so far. Most of these are canoes and small vessels (Ross and Travers 2013), and only one has been suggested to be a Macassan prau (O'Connor and Arrow 2008: 400).

There are fewer images of watercraft further south. In the Pilbara six engraved images of square-rigged sailing ships have been found at the Inthanoona (Indenoona) site, 25 km from coast (Bigourdan 2006; Reynolds 1987; Paterson and Wilson 2009), another at nearby Spring Station (Bigourdan 2006) and, most

recently, one has been recorded at Burnabinmah, near Mount Magnet south of Cue (Bigourdan 2013). In the Sydney basin area, more than half of the contact images are of sailing vessels (McDonald 2008: 102). Even further south, a painted image of a sailing ship occurs at Marbeerup (Mt Ridley), in south west Australia (Bigourdan 2006: 17).

By and large, these images are very close to the coastline and might simply be representations of observations. However, Clarke and Frederick (2006: 124) record some watercraft images '10–15 kilometres from the coast' at Groote Eylandt and, in western Arnhem Land, images of watercraft at Mount Borradaile (Roberts 2004) and in the Wellington Ranges (Taçon et al. 2010; May et al. 2013) are over 20 km from the coast. The images at the Pilbara site of Inthanoona are also over 20 km from the coast. Further afield are the image at Marbeerup, which is about 50 km inland, and a two-masted ship at the site of Nanguluwur, in Arnhem Land, some 80 km from the coast (Chaloupka 1993).

The three exceptions to this coastal and near coastal distribution pattern are the Mimbi panel, a painted image of a ship at *Walganha* (Walga Rock), near Cue in Western Australia, and an engraved ship image at Burnabinmah, near Morawa, Western Australia. The best-known of these is *Walganha* which depicts a

steam ship superimposed on older rock art within a large rock art gallery (Bigourdan and McCarthy 2007; McCarthy 2000). It is about 300 km from the coast. The Burnabinmah image depicts a ship-rigged vessel (Bigourdan 2013: 21). It is about 150 km south of *Walgan* and about 250 km inland. The Mimbi image is 300 km from the Kimberley coast and is over 1600 km to the northeast of *Walganha*.

The southern Kimberley ship rock art site

The Mimbi ship image is part of a panel located in a prominent position at the entrance to a series of deep caves within the Lawford Range in the south central Kimberley. The caves contain permanent water and, in an area where water is not easily available during the dry winter months, this makes it a location that continues to be important to Gooniyandi people today.

The panel consists of four main elements, all painted in red pigment (Fig. 2): a ship, profile of a torso and head of a person wearing a hat, a wheeled and roofed vehicle that appears to be associated with a horse at one end, and four capital letters 'CPLE'. The figures and objects are not executed to relative scale, as the human figure is taller than both the ship and horse and wheeled cart.

Slightly removed, on the upper right hand side of the panel and also executed in red pigment, is an image of a camel and, further to the right again but slightly lower, is a U-shaped red pigment motif that may be a representation of a horseshoe. Although we have not tested the chemical composition of the pigments, the similarities in colour and weathering of the pigment, the immediate proximity of these last two motifs to the first four motifs, as well as the fact that all six motifs are the only ones in the rock art panel (apart from recent graffiti) to represent European subjects, combine to suggest that the six motifs were executed at the same time.

All of the images have been damaged somewhat by graffiti in the form of letters (in charcoal) and scratchings. Graffiti seems to be continuing on the panel as we noticed a difference between our photo taken in 2011 and that taken by Playford (2007: 150) in the 1990s (Playford pers. comm. 2013). Notably, more letters have been scratched onto the human figure and pecked and abraded petroglyphs have been added to the port side of the ship, giving the impression of portholes. The latter are very recent, as they do not appear in a photograph of the ship taken by Mike Donaldson in 2004 (Donaldson pers. comm. 2014).

The wheeled vehicle is shown in profile and has three easily identifiable wheels with spokes with the fourth, right rear wheel, less visible. There are five upright struts holding up the roof or canopy and, between the uprights, some thinner cross struts. The ship appears as a two-masted screw steamer with a single funnel, rigged possibly as a topsail schooner. While the bow is now partly obscured by calcium carbonate, the stern area remains clearly visible, showing what appears to

be a mizzen sail, or its rigging aft. This and the smoke billowing from the funnel suggests that the breeze is blowing from fore to aft of the ship, that is, from the near top left of the picture as viewed by the artist. Other than the mizzen and the deck, there are no other structures visible in the image. A notable feature of this image is what at first glance appears as a pronounced sheer (curvature) to the main deck. While a feature of 17th century sailing vessels of both European and Asian design, this is not reflective of mid-to late 19th century steamship practice, where decks are invariably flush (straight when viewed from the side) (M. McCarthy pers. comm. 2013). The impression with the apparently anomalous Mimbi depiction is that the artist is viewing the vessel from a vantage point above and forward of the vessel, that is, looking down into it at an angle. As a result, what is being viewed aft may be the starboard gunwale.

Age of the port scene art

The precise age of the art is difficult to determine. Mimbi is on Mt Pierre Station, which was excised from GoGo Station and given to the Gooniyandi traditional owners in 1989. GoGo Station (originally Margaret Downs) was leased by the Emanuel family from 1887 until 1985 (Bolton and Pederson 1980). Although the final 'E' in this letter sequence might make it tempting to suggest that an Emanuel may have painted the letters 'CPLE' or, if the first letter is an upside down 'G', a possibility suggested by Playford (2007: 151), 'GPLE', we could find no evidence that any of the Emanuels living on the property had those initials.

The closest ports to the Mimbi site are Derby, about 300 km west of the site, Broome, about 400 km west of the site and Wyndham, a little over 400 km the north-east at the junction of the Indian Ocean and the Timor Sea (Fig. 1). Cumming et al. (1995: 54–55) report that steamships, including two masters such as *SS Karrakatta* and *SS Rob Roy*, regularly visited these ports from their founding in 1883 (Broome and Derby) and 1885 (Wyndham) until at least the late 1920s.

The upright and cross struts on the side of the horse-drawn vehicle do not match any images we could find of horse drawn goods carts or indeed motor vehicles (if the horse is unrelated to the wheeled vehicle). However, the upright and cross struts were a feature of horse drawn trams, which were used at the turn of the century as transport from the port jetties at both Derby and Broome. Fig. 3 shows one such tram in use in Derby — note the upright and cross struts that are similar to those on the Mimbi wheeled vehicle.

In Broome the horse drawn tram was established in 1898, but the horses were replaced by steam in 1910. At that time Broome port primarily served the pearling industry while the port of Derby serviced the pastoral industry in the southern Kimberley (Bolton 1954: 12–15). The Derby tramway was established in 1886 (Anon. 1886: 5) and extended along the jetty that, because of the extensive tidal flats, is about 550 m long,



Figure 3. Horse-drawn tram at Derby in the 1930s (Battye Library BA1322/14 0079049).

and then through the town. The horse-drawn tram in Derby was not replaced by an internal combustion engine tram until 1938 (Anon. 1938: 19).

Camels would also have been a familiar sight in Derby because it was one of the places where British entrepreneurs shipped camels and their handlers in the late 19th century (Deen 2011). Camels were used to carry supplies to the pastoral stations and to the goldfields during the Kimberley gold rush in the late 19th century. For example, *The Australian Town and Country* of 26 May 1886 p. 27 refers to Derby as the 'port of the lately discovered Kimberley goldfields' illustrated by an etching of 15 camels owned by the East Kimberley Supply company being loaded at Derby next to the tramline. Camels are still in the area today.

Together, the horse-drawn tram, camel and ship suggest a date for the art of between 1886 and the late 1920s when steamships were largely replaced by marine combustion engines. A latest date of 1938 is suggested by the end of the use of horse-drawn trams at Derby port. Although the same elements would have also been present at other ports, including Broome (although not as late as the 1930s), Derby was the closest port to Mimbi, it is known that cattle were taken to the Derby port from the station which previously encompassed the rock art, and it is therefore likely that this was the place where the artist had observed all elements represented in the panel.

Is the 'port scene' Aboriginal art?

The 'port scene' art is in a pleasant cool spot with permanent water available and there is much evidence of use of the area by Indigenous people past and present. Motifs on other rock art panels within and at the entrance to the cave are primarily Ancestral Beings. Scratch-work art is particularly abundant in this location. Despite this clearly Indigenous context to the

'port scene' rock art panel, the distance of the art from the port where the images might have been observed is unusual in Australian Indigenous rock art as are the use of letters at a time when few Indigenous people would have been literate. The question that obviously arises is — were these three images painted by a European?

The origins of the artist of the ship at Walganha have also been questioned on the same grounds (the distance of the ship from the ocean and the lines of 'writing' beneath the image), and there are many stories suggesting non-Indigenous artists executed the image (e.g. McCarthy 2007). McCarthy (2000, 2007) has argued that the similarities between the *SS Xantho*, which sank at Port Gregory a few kilometres south of the Murchison in 1872, and the ship depicted in the Walganha rock painting, suggest that the painting represents the *SS Xantho*.

There are some oral records documented in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs files (P00249) suggesting a non-Aboriginal origin for this painting. Most often cited is the suggestion that it was done by a 'Malay' (the name generally but incorrectly describing indentured labourers who came to the north-west from the islands immediately north of Australia). The ship sank under Charles Broadhurst and his crew, including a number of 'Malays' and some of the oral evidence links the painting of the image to a period when Sammy Malay (also known as Sammy Hassan) was camped near the site in the second or third decade of the twentieth century (McCarthy 2007: 195). However, if the Walganha image was painted by Sammy Malay, there is a time lapse of 50 years between his experience of the ship (1872) and his painting of it (reputedly 1917 as reported by Stan Gratte in the DAA site files). This seems improbable. A suggestion of an Arabic origin to the image of the ship largely derives from the cursive style of the four or five lines of 'writing' beneath the

image. However, these lines do not reproduce letters in any known alphabet; they appear to represent, rather than reproduce, writing. There is also the question of why Sammy Malay or a European person would produce such rock art.

There are plenty of examples of Europeans inscribing rock in Australia but generally these are initials, written messages, names of people and dates or images associated with writing and dates (Clegg 1998). Although we can find no published examples of confirmed European images on Indigenous rock art panels, ascribing authorship of contact rock art can be difficult. Where non-traditional methods, such as metal objects, have been used to execute the art there might be a temptation to suggest non-Aboriginal authorship. However, Aboriginal people also had access to metal tools after European settlement and so execution technique alone is not a convincing criterion to ascribe the art. Technique in association with other European elements produces a more convincing argument. For example, the Dampier Archipelago contains only one post-contact motif – a sailing ship on Dolphin Island (Vinnecombe 2002). This sailing ship is apparently incised with a metal object and this, in addition to its association with numbers and letters as well as its location on a rock where European vessels landed to obtain fresh water, suggests that the engraving may have been done by a European (Vinnecombe 2002: 22).

Where the execution technique is traditional and there is little evidence of traditional European contact graffiti (writing and numbers), there is no need to question the Indigenous origins of the rock art. This does not mean that Europeans did not depict images but, if they did paint the Walganha, Burnabinmah and Mimbi images, why would they select these particular images (ships and other port motifs) to paint? All three images are within panels alongside other Indigenous art consisting of Indigenous motifs and all are executed using traditional Indigenous materials and methods. There is then no reason to believe that all of the art was not created by Indigenous artists. As rock art images of ships are common in Indigenous art, the only thing that is unusual about these three examples is that the images are so far inland.

Discussion

The distribution of ship images in rock art around the coasts and waterways of Australia is not surprising as Turner (1973: 303) has suggested that people depicted 'subjects immediate in their experience, and the more unique these immediate experiences are the more chance they have of being depicted'. However, this is perhaps an oversimplification. Choices of motif, especially, are affected by people's cultural experience and their engagement with the new subject matter. Clarke and Frederick (2006), for example, have analysed watercraft motifs recorded in the rock art of Groote Eylandt and found that Macassan fishermen, European explorers and

other cultural groups are most frequently represented by images of their watercraft rather than by images of the visitors themselves. The frequent engagement of Groote Eylandters with Macassans, for example, is indicated by the greater proportion of watercraft images being praus, the use of a greater number of colours in the images, the fact that more are painted rather than drawn (requiring greater preparation) and the intimate knowledge of the inside of the praus. Unlike depictions of European boats, images of praus are found further from water (up to 15 km) (Clarke and Frederick 2006: 124) suggesting a greater familiarity with the praus and an incorporation of the Macassan people deeper within the social landscape of Groote Eylandt (Clarke and Frederick 2006: 125). In addition, human figures are rarely shown on European sailing boat images but are frequently depicted on the praus, where they are portrayed in active dynamic positions. Clarke and Frederick (2006:129) conclude that these differences indicate that Indigenous artists distinguished and asserted differences in their experiences of, and relationships with, the two groups of outsiders.

Reynolds (1987) reports that one of the Inthanoona ships has details of an anchor and rudder and this, in combination with the presence of crew on three of the ships (Paterson and Wilson 2009: 107), suggests close observation. The Inthanoona ships are associated with over 50 contact art images including a female figure in a full length dress and other motifs invoking pastoral life (Paterson and Wilson 2009), suggesting that most of the engagement was through the pastoral industry.

Not all watercraft images show details of crew and maritime architecture. For example, the watercraft depicted in Sydney contact art have no such details and McDonald (2008: 110) has concluded that this indicates that they were viewed from a distance rather than depicting Indigenous perceptions of close cross-cultural experiences. Like the Sydney images, the Walganha, Burnabinmah and Mimbi ship images have no such details suggesting that the ships may have been observed from afar and, perhaps, little engagement with the ships' occupants. Instead they are observational representations of the experiences of the artists. In the Mimbi case the associated images indicate that this experience was not just of a ship but, of an active port.

We have suggested that the images most likely represent observations at Derby between 1886–1938 or soon thereafter when Mimbi was part of GoGo station, a cattle property. Given the rareness of European contact art in the region, the distance of the port from the site and the presence of letters in the composition, what can be concluded about the artist and the social context in which the art was executed?

Despite the violence during the years of conflict, Aboriginal people were incorporated in the Fitzroy Valley stations (Bolton and Pedersen 1980) and, in the eastern part of the region where GoGo station was located, they worked as stockmen (Bolton 1954).

Payment for this work was largely in rations and the people who worked on the stations camped there with their families while they were working. In some cases trusted station workers were invited to live closer to the homestead away from the other Aboriginal workers to help keep pastoral order. Jock Shandley, a stock man at Christmas Creek (also part of GoGo Station until the Land Act Amendment in 1920) describes this process for the mid-twentieth century as the manager coming down to the Aboriginal camp and telling him that he could no longer stay at that camp but that he should camp and eat with the manager (Shandley 2011: 55).

The role of station workers was various but included branding, mustering and watering cattle etc. (see stories in Marshall 2011). Cattle from GoGo Station then had to be droved to Derby for transportation to Perth. However, not all the station stockmen would have taken the cattle all the way into Derby. The Native Administrative Act 1905 (Western Australia) restricted movement of Aboriginal people unless they were lawfully employed and so it is very unlikely that many Aboriginal station workers would have had the opportunity to observe a port scene. White drovers were employed by the stations to undertake this work but Aboriginal stockmen were also sometimes included in the droving party (Lawford 2011: 37). For these people arriving at a busy port with ships and tramways must have been a transformative sight.

There are two other possibilities; the panel was created by an Aboriginal person who visited Derby as a prisoner or it was copied from a picture. Aboriginal people were commonly taken to Derby or Broome as prisoners but as a confined prisoner they would have been less likely to be in a position to observe the day-to-day activities of the port reproduced in the Mimbi art. The images may have been copied from a publication or postcard as has been suggested for some images in Arnhem Land (e.g. May et al. 2013). This latter interpretation also seems unlikely as the image lacks the detail and perspective that May et al. (2013:88) suggest indicates the possibility in the Arnhem Land examples and, while there are certainly pictures of steamships in Derby, the combination of different elements represented in the Mimbi image is not likely to have been represented in a single photograph taken in a small remote port town.

The Indigenous people who were most likely to have had experiences of the port of Derby in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have been stock workers, especially close to the station management. If they were one of the trusted workers who lived at the homestead rather than the station camp, they may have learnt some letters, perhaps enough to write some letters but not words and the ambiguous C or G may be a result of a lack of frequent use of writing.

In a social context where most Aboriginal experiences with Europeans were negative and, as a consequence, the rock art emphasised links to land and social cohesion

this rare representation of European motifs in rock art expresses an individual response. On the one hand the artist has selected a location of importance to Aboriginal people and that is already rich in rock art. They have executed the images with traditional techniques and in doing so were maintaining traditional practice. On the other hand they have selected motifs associated with experiences and status of a trusted worker who worked closely with Europeans. Whether this was done simply to show other Aboriginal people the things they had seen in Derby, they still chose to execute the images as a permanent mark in an important place.

In the south central Kimberley, rock art during the first 40 to 50 years of European occupation continued to emphasise traditional associations with landscape. However, when the region was invaded by Europeans, who usurped Indigenous land and restricted movement so that long-term social and ceremonial life was disrupted, social cohesion was threatened. In this context motifs emphasising group identity were important and added to the repertoire. As land was taken from them, the only opportunity for Aboriginal people to live on traditional lands was to live on station camps. Restricted access to resources must have made working for the station attractive. Successful station workers were between two worlds, perhaps not feeling fully part of one or the other. The port scene may be therefore read as an expression of individual identity of an Aboriginal person and their place 'between' the European pastoral station and Indigenous worlds.

Conclusion

The Mimbi contact art includes one of the few far-inland images of a ship. The ship is a two-masted screw steamer with a single funnel, rigged possibly as a topsail schooner. The lack of detail in the illustration, compared with the luggers, schooners and praus in coastal locations where the artists were probably employed on the boats, suggests that the Mimbi steamer was 'pier head art' painted by someone who had seen it but was not familiar with its construction or workings. We have suggested that the steamer and other images on the Mimbi panel are scenes from everyday life in the port of Derby, and that they were most likely painted by one of the Indigenous station workers who lived and worked on GoGo station between 1886 and 1938. It provides a unique insight into the distances travelled and it reflects the dependent relationship between white cattle station owners and Indigenous workers before the advent of equal wages in 1968.

The Mimbi panel also provides insight into the way in which rock art is used to express identity. In the south central Kimberley, a time of threat to social cohesion from outside invasion was marked by a greater emphasis on rock art motifs expressing group identity and a rejection of European motifs. However, some individuals found themselves more entwined in the European world and the Mimbi panel is an example of what might be expected from such people — an

expression of their own individual identity but within an Aboriginal world. The Mimbi example serves to show not only the importance of local history but also the experiences of individuals on rock art diversity.

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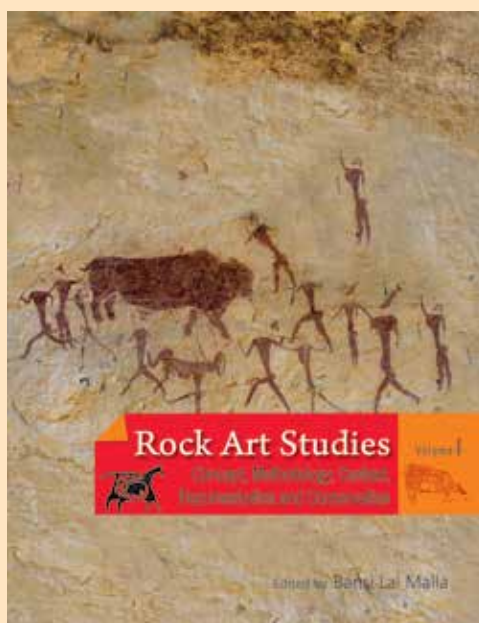
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