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REMBRRANGA ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES

During archaeological research and documentation of the cave paintings on the upper reaches of the Cadell River, the expedition came into contact with a group of Aborigines under the leadership of an old man Mandarrg. This was really an extension of his family, since it included, apart from himself and his four wives, four sons, six daughters, and a distant relative together with his wife and small son of the latter. This man was not quite healthy, apparently suffering from some mental illness, for he never remained alone, nor did he go hunting alone. The others maintained that he did not know his way in the bush. His relationship to and position in the group were interesting. He was one of the last to sit down to their communal meals. The other members of the group paid little attention to him. He was not called to meals separately, nor did anyone make him aware of his special position. He was silently tolerated and supported by the others. The last member of the band to mention was a middleaged man, who was apparently with them only temporarily. His relationship was not clear. He had been seen some days before at a circumcision ceremony on the Maningrida government station.

Mandarrg had two more sons, but they were not living with the group at that time.

The band was certainly one of the last groups permanently living in the bush. Though they had contact with Aborigines living on government or mission stations, and owned a variety of things such as a steel knife, an axe, tin containers made from cans, pieces of clothing, etc., they still maintained a perfect knowledge of all primitive techniques and traditions, which they also used when necessary.

During a short stay with them, when the men, led by Mandarrg, built themselves a hut near the expedition camp, I took notice of a number of things, particularly of a technological nature — the building of the hut, the preparation of food, manufacture of some implements, bark painting, rock painting, making and throwing of spears, hunting with dogs and their relationship to the dogs.

THE MANUFACTURE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

Several stone implements, blades and points, all of the most recent type, were found in the sand close to the hut. Since, as indicated by the remains of fireplaces and of corroborre bones, Mandarrg had fairly often used the same camp site in the past, it was difficult to decide whether the implements had been made by Mandarrg himself, or by some one else. Now, if stone implements were at hand, and if they were required, Mandarrg used them for simple tasks. More often, of course, he used the steel knife belonging to his son Bunganyial. Mandarrg's devotion to this son was great, and they were seldom apart. Thus Mandarrg normally could use of the steel knife.

In an attempt to find out whether the stone implements used by Mandarrg were merely found or actually made by him, I asked him whether he made such tools. His answer was in the affirmative, and he led us to a large, mushroom-shaped rock formation on the opposite (the left), bank of the river, about 500 metres from our camp. He seemed to know the place well, since he went among the boulders, through a rocky maze, unhesitatingly taking the shortest and the only scalable route.

When we started our way up this large rock formation, he indicated an overhanging rock, in whose shelter were hidden three human skulls and several long bones, and said that he had lived here with his group during the last rainy season (1968 to 1969). I asked him if he did not mind that there were skulls in the vicinity. The answer was negative, with the explanation that the skulls were very old.

On the summit, beneath the overhang of the mushroom-shaped rock, there were traces of fire-places and a few stone tools were lying at random on the surface (all of recent blade-type) and above all a great number of flakes of all kinds, together with several cores (Fig. 4). The cores often had a flat ventral side (the original surface), and flakes had been removed from the dorsal side. These cores were plane-shaped. The second group of cores was discoidal — these cores have been worked on both sides. The flakes obtained from them were usually shorter. It must be added, that the ceiling and walls of the rock overhang were richly decorated with paintings. There were none of the oldest type of paintings of dynamic human figures here. On the other hand there were several monochrome red animal figures, ancient anthropomorphic figures with signs of the incipient X-ray style and polychrome figures of primitive style. There were neither developed X-ray style paintings, nor white paintings belonging to the youngest layer. The place seems to have served as workshop for the manufacture of tools for many generations. It was used as living site only exceptionally, if at all. Among other things it is rather inaccessible. It is the highest point of the area, and so it is far from water. Nearer to the river there are plenty of overhanging rocks in more accessible places, more suitable for long-term occupation.

First Mandarrg looked for a suitable hammerstone. He weighed various stones in his hand, then he chose one about twice the size of a man's fist. Then he chose suitable raw material. He tested and examined some of the bigger discarded cores, as well as stones not yet worked. He also examined the edges of large boulders and the ceiling of the rock-overhang. Here and there in all these places there were traces of older blows. He ran his hammerstone once or twice over the place chosen on the rock edge then followed a heavy blow. When he managed to separate a suitable piece of raw material of the required size, he sat down and began to make stone blades. He usually worked them on the soft part of his heel. Hammerstone and core were both of the same material. He held the core on his left heel with his left hand so that the place struck was partly enclosed by his thumb, holding thus the chipped-off blade and preventing it from falling on the ground. The blows were medium-heavy and accurate. The flake was, of course, often a failure. Mandarrg examined it and threw it away. If it was fairly good, but broke to two pieces, he would shake his head and click his tongue as if in disappointment. Before each blow he scraped the hammerstone across the core edge

in the place where the blow was to fall. If the core was still quite big, but only a small striking surface had been left, he modified it in his hand with heavy blows, either in the air (he often knocked it out of his left hand onto the ground), or placing it on the hard base of the rock surface. When making on his heel, he directed the blows obliquely to the striking surface of the core. The successful flakes were examined by Mandarrg wistfully from all sides. He was so engrossed in his work that he was not aware of anyone around him, nor of the fact that he had cut his ankle with the sharp edge of the core. After a total of two hours' work he put to one side seventeen flakes (Fig. 5). He trimmed three of them slightly, one of them on the ventral side (during archaeological survey at the Bulman waterhole on the Wilton River we found only two examples of ventral trimming). During trimming both the hammerstone and the flake being trimmed are held in the hand, the whole process reminds of striking up sparks from a flint.

Mandarrg announced that the seventeen selected pieces would be good as spear points. He picked up an old, broken blade point from the ground. It seemed to be a discarded one — it had no bulb left from the blow and the wide angle of the original flake was also missing. With a few blows Mandarrg trimmed it into a suitable shape and added it to the other points he had made. Another flake lacked the pointed shape of most of the others, it ended in a sharp crosswise edge. Mandarrg described it also as being suitable for a spear point. The truth is however, that in the camp all the blades made by Mandarrg were put to the post supporting the roof and he used them in various ways: as knives for cutting bark and butchering killed animals, as scrapers for making ropes and strings from bark; as drills, for boring small depressions into wood for fire-making with drilling sticks — and finally he used a blade with a crosswise sharp edge as a chisel for making thin bark in preparation for painting. With this stone chisel in his right hand he chopped the outer side of the bark and pulled off the cut fibres with his right hand. The best seventeen blades (with the exception of the above-mentioned chisel) really ended up as spear points. These stone tools were never hafted, they were always held directly in the hand. Most blades and points may be considered as multi-purpose tools, although they serve mostly as spear points and knives.

The material used in all cases was a heavily silicified fine local sandstone.

It must be added that Bunganyial, the son of Mandarrg, was also able to make stone tools, though not so perfectly as Mandarrg.

SHELTERS AND THEIR CONSTRUCTION

On the Rembranga territory we found a whole series of huts whose roofs rested on vertical posts with forked ends. I observed the building of such a hut by the men of Mandarrg's group. Using a dig-

TABLE I



FIG. 1. *Upper Cadell River. Mandarrg making stone flakes on his heel.*



FIG. 4. *Upper Cadell River. Stone tool workshop high up in the rocks.*



FIG. 2. *Upper Cadell River. Final trimming of a stone tool against the stone-bank edge.*



FIG. 5. *Upper Cadell River. Stone flakes and tools made by Mandarrg in one afternoon. They were selected and brought down from the work slop to the camp.*

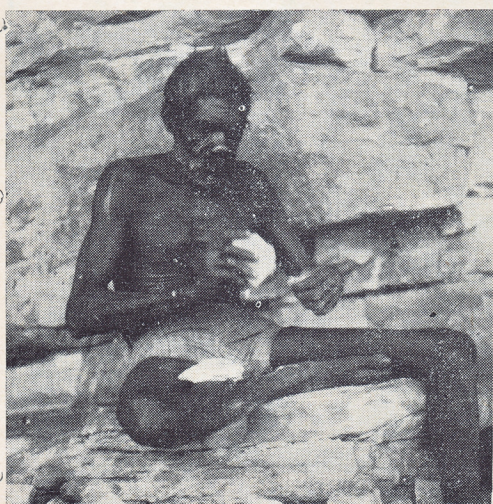


FIG. 3. *Upper Cadell River. Final trimming (retouch) of a stone tool in hand.*



FIG. 6. *Upper Cadell River. Mandarrg using stone flake as a chisel to work the eucalyptus bark.*



FIG. 1. *Upper Cadell River. A shelter with the roof made of paper bark and eucalyptus branches. Before the shelter are two spears.*



FIG. 4. *Wilton River. A rough shelter against the sunshine.*



FIG. 2. *Bulman waterhole (Upper Wilton River) Typical bark shelter.*



FIG. 5. *Wilton River. A sunshine protection.*



FIG. 3. *Wilton River. The skeleton of a bark shelter.*



FIG. 6. *Upper Cadell River. A bast string is made with the help of a stone flake from the eucalyptus bark.*



FIG. 1. *Upper Cadell River. Bast string making. The ready fibers are in the hairs. Note the stone tool in the arm string.*



FIG. 4. *Upper Cadell River. The fish (barramundi) is put on the hot stones and eucalyptus leaves to be baked.*

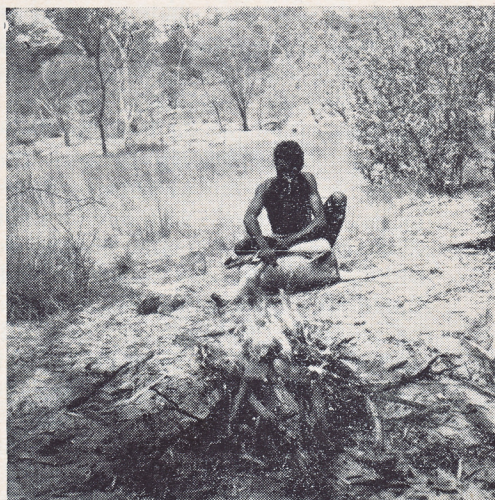


FIG. 2. *Upper Cadell River. Food preparing. The legs of the kangaroo are broken before scorching the fur.*



FIG. 5. *Upper Cadell River. A Rembranga man eating baked opossum on a paper bark sheet.*



FIG. 3. *Upper Cadell River. Food preparing. Ready kangaroo is put out of the fire.*



FIG. 6. *Upper Cadell River. Preparing bark for painting drying bark sheet in the fire.*

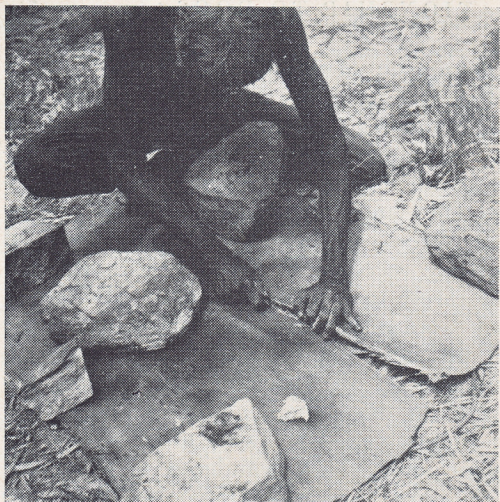


FIG. 1. Upper Cadell River. Preparing a bark sheet for painting. Cutting the bark with a stone knife.



FIG. 4. Upper Cadell River. Bark painting. Second stage. Outlines and main lines are designed in white colour with the help of fine bark brush.



FIG. 2. Upper Cadell River. Preparing bark sheet for painting: working the bark with a stone chisel.



FIG. 5. Upper Cadell River. Bark painting. The fine hatching is done with fine brush made of pandanus leaf fibres.



FIG. 3. Upper Cadell River. Bark painting. First stage of a barramundi painting. The colour is prepared on a flat stone.



FIG. 6. Upper Cadell River. White clay for rock painting is collected.

TABLE V

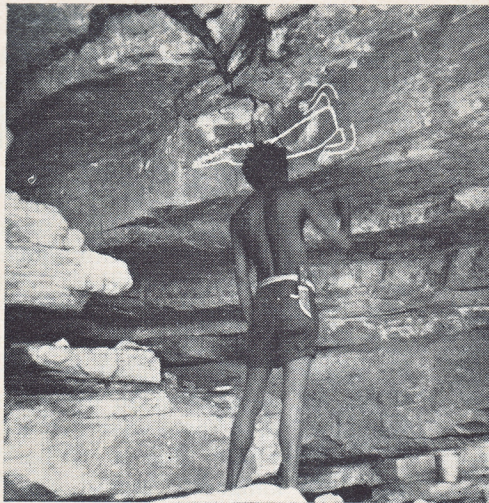


FIG. 1. *Upper Cadell River. The process of crocodile painting on a rock wall in a stone tool workshop. The painter starts with a tail.*

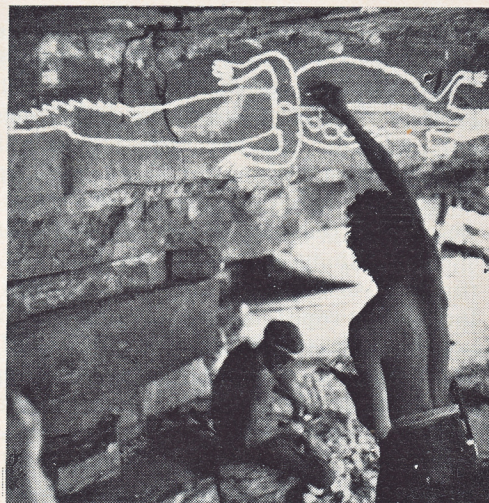


FIG. 4. *Upper Cadell River. The painting of a crocodile. The eggs are designed.*

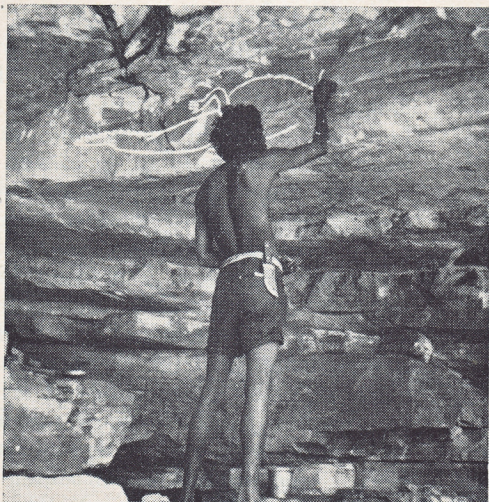


FIG. 2. *Upper Cadell River. The crocodile painting. The tail is in side view, the body in a vertical view.*



FIG. 5. *Upper Cadell River. Crocodile rock painting in a simple X-ray style.*

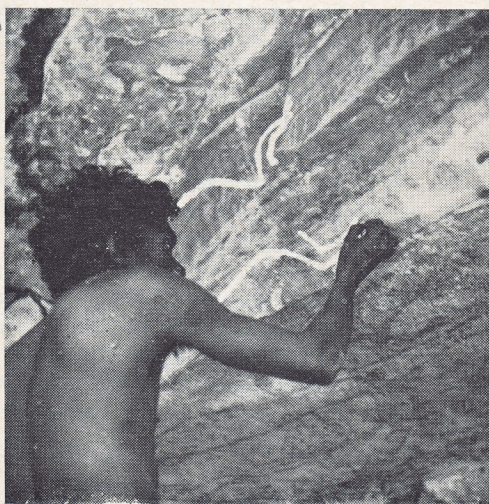


FIG. 3. *Upper Cadell River. The crocodile painting. The bark brush is used.*



FIG. 6. *Upper Cadell River. Preparing wood for woomera (spear thrower).*

down with nine big stones. Two of them, the flattest ones, bore traces of colour, revealing that they had originally been used for mixing paint. The rear posts were 135 cm high, the front ones measured only 120 cm. The hut was 160 cm wide and was 130 cm deep. Around it there were many traces of human activities. Behind the rear wall there were food remains, about 20 shells of the *Unio* shellfish. Alongside the hut lay pieces of peeled and rumpled stringy bark strands, evidently prepared for making ropes and strings; at the right-hand rear post there was a flat stone with traces of red, yellow and the black colours. On it lay two irregular pieces of stone. Inside the hut, near the rear wall, lay a 120 cm long stick, of the type used by the Aborigines for digging up yam tubers or for peeling off paperbark. There was also a piece of red haematite and a round, flat pebble. Its surface bore traces of rubbing, polishing, carving and of red paint in irregular lines. This was probably a Murrayian sacred stone, analogous to similar painted stones described by K u p k a (1972). In front of the hut lay a straight piece of liana, cleanly cut at both ends. It is possible that it was chopped with a steel axe. The posts supporting the hut also seemed to have been cut with a metal axe. In front of the left-hand front post I found a broken irregular stone and a large flat flake, trimmed to the shape of a semicircular knife or scraper.

150 cm to the left of the hut there was a small fireplace with scorched stones. It apparently served for cooking. A second ash-strewn fireplace was close to the right side of the hut. Such fires usually serve as sources of heat for the Aborigines at night. About 230 cm in front of the hut was a third fireplace, with eight tortoise shells scattered around it and with a large, perfectly trimmed stone-blade knife. The tortoise shells ranged in size from 25 to 35 cm and their upper and lower parts were split at the edges. Most of them had three small round holes in the upper part, showing that they had been speared with a three-pronged spear made of steel wire. This and the use of metal axe for cutting wood were the only signs of contacts with civilization. The stone blade was 12 cm long, perfectly worked along its long sides. It was made of a light, strongly silicified sandstone, with a clear percussion bulb on the ventral side. The distal end was blunted with three counter blows. It is perhaps a re-processed, originally large knife or dagger, or spear point.

The grass in front of the hut seemed to have been burnt during the construction. On the day the hut was found the billabong was some 30 m distant. About 150 cm above the actual water level there was a horizontal black line along the sandy bank. This was from the ashes of the burnt grass settling on the water surface and washed ashore. From the time of the construction of the hut to the day of its discovery the level of the billabong had fallen by 150 cm. On the other hand the undisturbed ashes in the fireplaces, the colour on the stone and the complete greasiness of the tortoise shells showed that it had not rained since the construction of the

hut. No human footprints had been preserved around it. According to our estimates the hut had been built at least two months before and had been abandoned at least one month before.

It may also be important that there is a cave in the rocky Bulman Gorge, with paintings on the rock face near its entrance. Some of the paintings are red, thread-like archaic static-type anthropomorphic figures; others are apparently of a later date, but bearing no marks of the X-ray style. These paintings are some 200–250 m from the hut and its occupant knew about them, without doubt. We speak of one occupant — the small dimensions of the hut indicate in all likelihood that there was one, at the most there were two, inhabitants.

On the inner side of the bark there are paintings of a kangaroo and of a supernatural being, a spirit (on the rear wall), and of a goana (on the ceiling). The most frequently used colours are red (haematite) and white (clay), then yellow (limonite) and some black (diluted charcoal), used for painting the kangaroo's muzzle only.

The kangaroo painting is high. The body is in white, the contours and details of the body are in red and yellow lines. It is a large male kangaroo painted in perfect X-ray style. Inside the body are drawn the spine, joints, gullet, heart, lungs, liver and stomach. The head and the ends of the hindlegs have been repainted. Drops of white colour clearly showed that the painting had been done in vertical position, i.e. after completing the erection of the hut. Somewhat higher and to the right of the kangaroo is the supernatural figure of a spirit, with beaked head, clawed fingers and unnatural bending of the hindlegs, painted on an irregular white background in red. There are irregular lines inside the body. The figure is reminiscent of certain paintings of evil spirits called "mamandi". It is cm high. On the ceiling of the hut there is a painting of a goana in X-ray style, less detailed than the kangaroo. This may be so because painting on the ceiling is surely less comfortable. The upper part of the trunk had been repainted and has been blurred. The tail was first painted bending to the left, and in the final version straight. The main part of the painting is white, the outline and details are red. A simple spine and the marking of joints show affinity to the X-ray style. The split tongue and the shape of the body indicate that it is a goana. The painting is 000 cm high.

The fact that this was a relatively small hut, in the vicinity of cave paintings, the perfect execution of the paintings in it, the spirit painting and the discovery of the decorated pebble raise the possibility that the stay in the hut could be associated with some ritual matter. It is also interesting that the hut was completely isolated, there were no signs of Aboriginal habitation in the vicinity. The style of the paintings is clearly related to cave paintings in X-ray style.

MAKING WOOMERA

They selected a stringy bark eucalyptus and cut transversally up and down the selected piece of bark which they then stripped down with the help of an axe. Then they chopped off a longitudinal piece of wood with help of several wood wedges. This piece of wood was cca 100 cm long, 15 cm wide and 3 cm thick. Than Bunganiyal, Mandarrg's son, produced rough womera shape by chopping. Because the piece was not quite straight he straighten it against his own head or between tree branches. The final shape was reached by scraping, using big steel knife. At the womera end he cut a small notch with the knife. Obliquely into this notch he inserted a small wooden hook. This was cut from the fresh wood and hardened in fire. Than he wormed piece of bee wax in fire and put in into the notch at the womera end. Into this he inserted the small wooden hook. Than he bound the tooth into its position by bark string which he covered again with warm wax. Than the whole surface of the object was painted red with white simple ornament.

THE SPEAR

Bunganiyal used cca 150 cm long straight branches of fresh wood, peeled the bark and cut off smoothly the side branches. When not straight enough he straighten the wood bowing it in corresponding side. The thicker end of the shaft was crushed with hammerstone and than a stone point was inserted and glued with warmed beewax. Than it was fastened by bark string and covered again by wax. With a round wet stick they smoothed the surface which they finely repaired by burning stick. In the other thin end of the shaft he drilled a small socket with the bone point.

The whole shaft was finally ornamented by painting similar to the womera decoration.

The string which Bunganiyal used when spear making was made in following way: He brought some long eucalyptus roots which he found in a cave where they were growing through the cave ceiling. Than he put the root on flat stone and beat it with another stone so that the bark was easy to peel down in one piece. This he again beat and crashed by hammer stone and finally tore it into long thin stripes of fibres. Two such stripes he rolled together. By rolling the end of one or both other stripes of fibres he added next by rolling them into the former ones. So he produced string of the desired length. Sometimes he used even the bast layer of stringy bark. He separated the surface rough bark from the bast which he tore into stripes of fibres. These he chew some time to soften them. Than he produced the string as described above.

FIRE MAKING

Bunganiyal used dry sticks of a bush. One he cleaned and slightly pointed. This was the fire drill. The second stick (thicker one) he cleaned as well

and splitted and with a steel knife made a socket for the drill and a notch where wood dust produced by drilling can fall down. This piece was the hearth. When making fire, he put first a piece of smooth bark (inner side up) and the hearth layed on it holding it by foot. He put the drill into the small hole and drilled it between his stretched palms. When pressing the fire drill down he moved slowly with the palms down the drilling drill. When being too low he quickly changed the palms to the upper end of the drill and continued to drill. In the hole appeared black wood dust which fall down on the bark through the notch. Finally the smoke appeared (after 15—20 seconds). When red glowing colour appeared he took a soft dry bark stripes which he used as tinder, put it on the glowing wood dust and softly blew till the flames appeared. Then he added some dry grass and wood.

BARK PAINTING

The Arnhem Land Aborigines use for bark painting the stringy bark of the eucalyptus tree. They knock the trunk of the tree with a stick, to find whether the bark is thick enough. They then cut the bark of the selected tree at the top and at the bottom, insert a digging stick below the bark and rip it off. They cut the bark with a stone or steel knife and the cut belt of bark is then torn off. They sear the thinned bark over a campfire and put it with its internal side on sand warmed up by the sun and put some stones on it, to straighten it. A few hours later the straightened bark can be used for painting. Mandarrg from the Rembranga tribe, living on the Upper Cadell River painted the bark in the following way.

First he roasted in the fire several pieces of resin, then crushed and mixed them with water. Then he crushed some red colour on a flat stone, added the water with the dissolved resin, which served as bonding agent. Then he painted the whole surface of the bark on both sides, even the edges and thus he obtained a slight red ground. During painting he added from time to time some crushed pigment and water with resin. As brushes he used wider or narrower strips of stringy bark. He crushed the end of the strip between two stones and chewed it. For fine hatching lines and contours he used a fine brush from the loose veins of a pandanus leaf. Similarly as for rock painting he used white China clay and red hematite. First he painted the outlines of the body of a fish in black, then filled the inside with black. He called the black pigment gundjarid, and he said that he always used it, since his ancestors had used it too. In fact the Aborigines use black pigment (charcoal dissolved in water) very seldom. When the black background was finished he painted the backbone and intestinal canal in red as two thick lines and he added a pair of gills, separating the head from the body. Then he bordered the whole fish, including the black outline, with thin white line. Inside the body he hatched first the central belt in white. With a fine pandanus



FIG. 1. Upper Cadell River. Shaping the wood for spearthrower. Note how the axe is hold.



FIG. 4. Upper Cadell River. Straightening the spear shaft.



FIG. 2. Upper Cadell River. Preparing the hook for spearthrower.

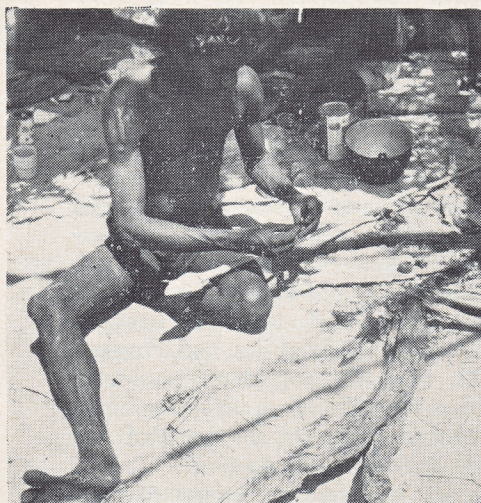


FIG. 5. Upper Cadell River. Making a spear. The stone point is inserted.



FIG. 3. Upper Cadell River. Fixing the spearthrower hook with bitumen.



FIG. 6. Upper Cadell River. Making a spear. The spearhead is fixed with bitumen.



FIG. 1. *Upper Cadell River. The spear is painted.*



FIG. 4. *Upper Cadell River. Fire making by drilling.*



FIG. 2. *Upper Cadell River. Spear making. Drilling a socket for spearthrower hook.*



FIG. 5. *Upper Cadell River. Fire making by drilling. The sparks are in bark bast.*



FIG. 3. *Upper Cadell River. Throwing a spear with a spearthrower.*



FIG. 1. *The Discovery of the painted Aboriginal bark shelter in Bulman Gorge, Central Arnhem Land N.T. Australia.*



FIG. 4. *Stone knife found near the bark shelter.*



FIG. 2. *X-ray painting on the vertical bark sheet (a kangaroo and a spiritfigure).*



FIG. 5. *One side of the engraved and coeoured pebble found in the bark shelter.*



FIG. 3. *X-ray painting on the horizontal bark sheet (goana).*



FIG. 6. *Reverse side of the same pebble.*

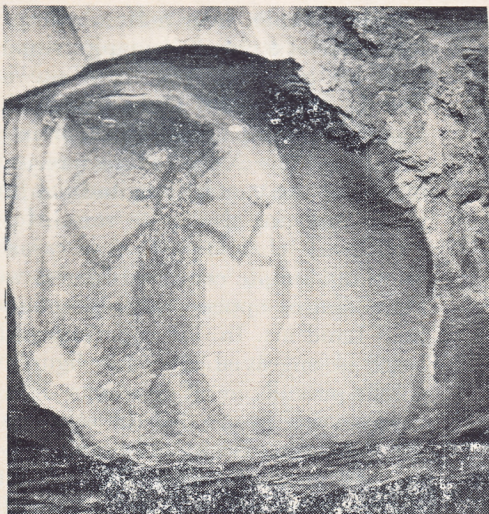


FIG. 1. *Bokolo. An example of a rock painting style from Bokolo gallery.*



FIG. 3. *Upper Cadell River. A spirit figure in a local variant of X-ray style (note the crest on the right leg of the figure). Right is a simple symbol of a spirit figure (head down).*



FIG. 2. *Upper Cadell River. An example of the recent simple X-ray style from the Arnhem Land interior.*



FIG. 4. *Upper Cadell River. Developed X-ray style as an import from the East Alligator River area.*

brush he made the lines in the direction from his body away. After hatching the central part of the body he continued with the dorsal part, then with the bottom rear part from the intestinal canal to the caudal fin and finally the belly. Only then did he paint the caudal fin and the eyes. Mandarrg left the surface of the bark outside the painted object free — at this point he is very close to the style known from the western part of Arnhem Land, differing from the style used in Milingimbi (eastern Arnhem Land), where every inch of the bark is filled at least with hatching.

ROCK PAINTING

Mandarrg's oldest son Bunganyial painted a white crocodile with eggs inside its body, at the workshop for making stone tools. He started painting from the tail, then he painted the hindlegs, the body in dorsal view, and finally the head, again in lateral view, similarly as the tail.

He painted the tail so as to accentuate its characteristic crest. The eggs were in fact unpainted circular rock surfaces inside the white body of the crocodile. Bunganyial kept the white China clay diluted with water and saliva in his mouth. After completing the painting with a chewed strip of stringy bark he sputtered the rest of the paint on his left hand put on the rock. Thus arose a typical white hand stencil. On our question, what it was, Bunganyial explained that it was his hand, since it is his rock, because he painted the crocodile. In fact he marked his property.

The white colour used was taken from the nearby billabong, where it formed a layer beneath the water. Bunganyial discovered it during the dry season, but now he had to dive below the surface and to scrape the clay with a sharp stick or with hands. On the shore he kneaded it into the shape of a big cone, and he carried it in a fork of three twigs. He considered the deposit of the white colour his private property and the others recognized his claim. Bunganyial owned also a deposit of red pigment — of haematite — at a place that was at the same time one of his "dreaming sites".

ROCK-ART IN THE REMBRANGA TERRITORY — CENTRAL ARNHEM LAND

During our survey in the traditional tribal territory of the Rembranga people we visited an studied rock art galleries in Beswick, Bokolo, Bulman Gorge, Yaimani and on the Upper Cadell River. Near Cadell River Crossing we met a group considering themselves Rembranga and claiming the territory theirs. Some of the rock paintings were made by these people. We regard therefore even the Upper Cadell River region as Rembranga territory.

The rock paintings in Beswick were studied and described by Macintosh (Macintosh 1952).

In Bokolo, near a Rembranga sacred ground, the venue of a recent Kunapipi ritual, there are three rock art galleries. The main site is called Dadbu, that is Snake Site. Compared with other Arnhem Land sites the paintings here are very simple, even primitive. The X-ray characters are only rudimentary (e.g. the central longitudinal line in the animal body) and are also quite rare. Most paintings lack any X-ray character. In few cases some engraved lines and simple engraved figures were found. Even these figures appear only exceptionally in the Arnhem Land art. In one superimposed group of paintings an engraved crocodile figure was found. Red colour prevails in all paintings. The white paintings, representing in most of the other galleries the latest art, are quite exceptional here.

All these features show that the locality has only a marginal position, compared with other galleries found in north and central Arnhem Land.

The third locality we studied comprises three galleries in Bulman Gorge. The first two galleries are right in Bulman Gorge, in the vicinity of the big cave. The oldest paintings here belong to the archaic style, they are in red and picture some characters similar to the other archaic style paintings in Arnhem Land (Jelínek 1979, Brandl 1974, 1978, Chaloupka 1978). The third group of paintings found above the Bulman Gorge has characteristic archaic-style kangaroo paintings, resembling the archaic paintings we found on the Upper Cadell River or in the Deaf Adder Creek region (Brandl 1974, Jelínek 1979). Recent paintings in white are absent also here. The Yaimani Creek galleries contain two chronological groups of paintings: Archaic ones, mostly in red colour and representing mainly human stick figures. To the second group belong simple X-ray paintings. The X-ray style of this region never reached the degree of development we saw in the East Alligator River Area. The latest paintings are mostly in white. The site, as we learned from the Aborigines, is a sacred place (Dreaming site) of Bunganyial, the oldest son of Mandarrg. Mandarrg is half-Rembranga and half-Dangbon, but the whole family is considered Rembranga. In 1971 they were still living between the upper reaches of the Tonkinson and Cadell Rivers.

Near Cadell River Crossing there are numerous galleries and rocks with rock paintings. The oldest paintings, preserving only the red colour, are dynamic figures, often with boomerangs and with spears held in hand, without the use of woomera. The X-ray characters found in the later paintings (red, yellow or white) are always very simple. Four paintings (on the left bank) of barramundi fish are in elaborate X-ray style, but this painting was influenced, no doubt, by the East Alligator River style of X-ray paintings, characterized with rich hatching and complicated anatomical features. There is only one such painting in the Cadell River Crossing area. The latest paintings made by Mandarrg and his family are mostly in white, sometimes in white and red. The X-ray style is not so elaborate. It is important to know that Mandarrg

visited Oenpelli in the late forties, i. e. he is familiar with the developed X-ray style of the East Alligator River area.

At two sites near Cadell River Crossing we found rock art galleries and stone tool workshops. In both cases the majority of the used cores was of planconvex type. One workshop (on the right bank) was accompanied with archaic paintings only. The other workshop (on the left bank of the river) contained archaic and simple X-ray paintings. Both sites were situated high in the rocks, several hundred metres from the river.

Chronologically we can divide the rock paintings found in the Rembranga territory into archaic, later prehistoric and recent ones. The archaic paintings preserved up to these days are mainly in red, and cannot be found in the southern part of the traditional Rembranga territory, where strong southern influence can be traced in the rock art. Archaic paintings are found in Central Arnhem Land — they belong stylistically to similar groups of archaic paintings in the East Alligator River area, on the Deaf Adder Creek, Kimberley's, on the Cap York Peninsula and in Eastern Arnhem Land, where Bradshaw figures, forming a local group, belong to the same archaic art family. The simpler X-ray paintings, later, but still prehistoric, are usually in red, yellow, less often in white and black. They are characteristic of Central Arnhem Land and we can find them on the Upper Cadell River, Middle and Upper Liverpool River, partly even in some localities in the East Alligator River area (e. g. Obiri, Red Lily Lagoon), in Deaf Adder Creek, and even in El. Sherano. The East Alligator River area developed a special elaborate style with complex anatomical details and rich hatching. This region

has even some other characteristic features, one of them being the earliest knowledge of woomera, compared with other rock paintings in Central, South and West Arnhem Land. The elaborate X-ray style had reached partially even the Deaf Adder Creek area, El. Sherano and several localities of the traditional Gunwingu territory. Wide-spread use of the white colour in recent paintings is characteristic of the Central Arnhem Land, of the traditional Gunwingu area, and partly even of the west and north.

This chronological and regional distribution reveals different stylistic influence on comparing the southern and northern parts of the Rembranga territory. The original simple X-ray style in the southern part of Arnhem Land is influenced by southern elements, and in the north mainly by the East Alligator River area.

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