



Songspirals

Songspirals

Yolŋu women sharing
& nourishing milkarri

Songspirals are often called songlines or song cycles. ...[W]e call them songspirals as they spiral out and spiral in, they go up and down, round and round, forever. Our songs are not a straight line. They do not move in one direction through time and space.

Gay'wu Group of Women,
Songspirals: sharing women's wisdom of Country through songlines

**Songspirals was exhibited at the University Gallery, Callaghan
23 September - 26 November 2022**

This document was prepared, designed and published on Awabakal lands. We acknowledge the unceded lands on which we work and we pay respect to all Elders past, present and emerging

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**Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples
are advised that this document contains images
of people who are deceased**

Welcome & Acknowledgement

Welcome to Songspirals: Yolŋu women sharing & nourishing milkarri. Thank you for being here to understand our culture, our Law, our songlines, and how we live our way of life. We will do a cleansing as you enter. We do this every time that we go to a place that our spirit doesn't recognise, so that we have a longer and true connection with the land.

We also acknowledge the people on whose land we are sharing this knowledge, the Pambalong Clan of the Awabakal people. We pay our respect to their Elders, past, present, and emerging; to the land itself; and to the beings that co-become on this Country. We also wish to extend our respect to other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who visit this exhibition.

With this exhibition, we share about Bawaka, about our place, our land, our people and our songspirals. Please join us and be cleansed by the smoke, then come on a journey with us, a journey of songspirals from north-east Arnhem Land.

**Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs,
Ronyiwuy Maymuru & Rosealee Pearson
(exhibition curators)**

Dedication to Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaṅa



In the loving memory of Djäri, Njulin, Warraday, Dhatam, Bewudalṅu, Gäwiny.

We dedicate this exhibition to our eldest sister, our mother, our grandmother, our mentor, our guide, our leader, senior colleague and friend Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaṅa. Dr Burarrwaṅa has been and always will be extraordinary. Her vision has guided us, her loving warmth has protected us, her immense knowledge, beautiful humour, sparkling intelligence and deep love has led the way. She will always lead the way.

Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaṅa
Honorary doctorate ceremony,
Yirrkala, 2016

It has been a long journey, so much singing of the sacred places, so much giving knowledge, giving life to the land, to the animals, and so much making of boundaries.

Wititj is so very tired. So she settles down, curled in a spiral with her head in the centre.

She rests her weary head at the centre of her coiled body, marking a boundary of the sacred territory she has worked so hard to create and claim. When women keen milkarri and men sing, they sing the boundary.

Singing and keening the land, crying the land, marking the land. They are signing the land by being there.

Every Yolŋu territory is marked by that Law. *

Dr Burarrwaŋa is Wititj, Rainbow Serpent. She is named for the serpent with names that were given to her by our Gälpu grandmother. Before she was born, Dr Burarrwaŋa visited as a spirit at Gutjitj, a freshwater waterhole in the mangroves. Her spirit came as a big snake named Wulara. The land at that waterhole belongs to the Njymil clan and the waterhole is called Milŋurr, a special place where fresh water bubbles up. This bubbling water is knowledge.

*Gay'wu Group of Women, Songspirals: sharing women's wisdom of Country through songlines

We honour Dr Burarrwanga deeply and with all our hearts. She has a special place as the eldest daughter of the eldest daughter in our family, as mother, grandmother, sister, Elder, teacher, leader. She has always embraced her special responsibility to care for Country and care for family, to hold the songspirals together, crying milkarri for them and so re-creating and singing the land. Both the Dätiwuy and Njymil clans taught her milkarri, and likun, the deep names, because she is Witiitj. As a child, she was buku dhäwu, having a mind full of stories. She loved being around the stories. She was always sitting there, listening. She learnt from the old people, from the grandmothers and all the mothers. She would listen, go with them hunting and getting food. As the eldest, she was taught and she learnt as much as she could. She is honoured as a deep knowledge holder by Yolŋu people.

We also recognise her immense contributions to the academic world, and to all Australians. It has always been her wish to show people another way by giving a message to n̄äpaki, helping them learn. She has been a school teacher, and taught many visitors through her cultural tourism business, changing the lives of thousands of guests from all over Australia and the world, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. In the academic world, Dr Burarrwanga had the vision behind the Gay'wu Group of Women and she first began working with the non-Indigenous members of our collective. By sharing her Yolŋu knowledge in a strong way she has extended her teaching and made an important and challenging contribution to the university world and beyond. In this, she has won many awards including the Prime Minister's literary award for her work, *Songspirals*. She was also an accomplished artist and weaver. She has been recognised with a doctorate in the Yolŋu world, with a wapitja, and in the University world with a Doctor of Letters (honoris causa) from Macquarie University. She has thousands of generations of knowledge, thousands of generations of teachers, thousands of generations of the land.

Dr Burarrwanga will always be held in our hearts. She lives with us, spiralling through time, through our connections of gurrutu and love. We are always held together through the longstanding Yolŋu kinship structure; it is everlasting. Like the honey, our knowledge and our Law flows, since that time of long ago. Dr Burarrwanga, Witiitj, has made her way and keeps making her way, with her powerful language, her knowledge of the sacred deep names that she holds and will always hold. We dedicate this exhibition to her, in her memory and with our deepest love, respect and gratitude.

About the Exhibition

“Songspirals have been here a long time. Forever. They are Yolŋu Law. They bring us into being and they link us to the land, to Country. They come from the land and they create it too” (xvii)

Who we are

Songspirals: Yolŋu women sharing & nourishing milkarri is curated by Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs, Ronyiwuy Maymuru and Rosealee Pearson with the Gay’wu Group of Women and Bawaka Country, including Dr. Barbara Burarrwanga, Ritjilili Ganambarr, Banbapuy Ganambarr, Sarah Wright, Kate Lloyd, Sandie Suchet-Pearson and Lara Daley. Gaywu’mirr Miyalk Mala means a

Dilly Bag Group of Women and is the name we chose for our Bawaka Collective when we started sharing songspirals in our writing together.

Our collective first came together at the end of 2006. Us sisters, Barbara, Ritjilili, Merrkiyawuy and Banbapuy wanted to work with some nāpaki (non-Indigenous people) to help us write information down to share with tourists as part of our new family tourism business, Bawaka Cultural Experiences. Our eldest sister, Barbara, and her daughter Ronyiwuy started this process. The rest of us sisters then joined in too, and our families. Our Elders helped us, Country guided and cared for us, children were born and others joined the family. We slowly gathered like clouds in the sky and things came to life for us.

When we first met, we were this songspiral, just the beginning of it, starting our spiral together. Now, we are continuing our spiral, putting this exhibition together following the publication of our book, Songspirals: sharing women’s wisdom of Country through Songlines.

xvii Gay’wu Group of Women, Songspirals: sharing women’s wisdom of Country through songlines

Scope of the exhibition

“We are still doing milkarri of the songspirals ... The sound communicates who we are and where our homeland is ... The place and the song are one. It’s soothing and healing ... Women cry milkarri to guide our loved ones, living and dead ... We cry milkarri in grief, bittersweet, with love, to heal” (xvii, 84, 255)

The exhibition includes print-making, weaving, and audio-visual works, connected to the Yolŋu kinship system, Gurrutu, and five songspirals: Wuymirri (whale), Wukun (gathering of the clouds), Guwak (messenger bird), Wititj (rainbow serpent) and Goŋ-Gurtha (Fire keeper). The exhibition is a manifestation of the inter-generational continuation and nourishment of songspirals and milkarri by Yolŋu women in North East Arnhem Land.

Songspirals are often called songlines or song cycles. We call them songspirals as they spiral out and spiral in, they go up and down, round and round, forever. Yolŋu women from North East Arnhem Land in northern Australia, cry the songspirals, we keen the songspirals—this is what we call milkarri. Only women keen milkarri. Milkarri is an ancient song, an ancient poem, a map, a ceremony and a guide, but it is more than all this too. Milkarri is a very powerful thing in Yolŋu life. The knowledge and stories in this exhibition are an invitation to share in some of what we, Yolŋu people, know and do as we live songspirals today.

Songspirals

Songspirals are all about knowing **Country**, where the homelands are, the essence of the land and water and sky. They are a deep mapping of the land.

Songspirals are many things. They are a story, a big story. They are ceremony with a story in it. They are not a made-up story.

Songspirals connect our homelands. They link us far and wide. **Songspirals** weave **Country** together. **Songspirals** are our foundation.

All **songspirals** have their own structure and law. For example, Yirritja clans always finish with the sunset; Dhuwa clans finish with the wind.

Country

Country is the keeper of the knowledge we share. **Country** gives the knowledge for this exhibition. It guides us and teaches us. **Country** has awareness, it is not just a backdrop. **Country** is our homeland.

Country is home, it sings to us and nourishes us. We come into being together.

We don't have an identity without **Country**. We are all connected. Every contour on the land, every rock, every water, is connected to us.

Everything within **Country** is alive and sentient and people are part of this vibrance. So, the **songspirals**, which bring **Country** into existence, are deeply connected to people.

Milkarri

Milkarri connects us to our clan, our family and our homeland. When we do **milkarri**, as soon as we hear it, the tears just come, because the words and the meanings are so deep that the land is talking. **Country** cries too. It has its **milkarri**. We keen **milkarri** for **Country** and **Country** keens its **milkarri** with us.

When women cry **milkarri** our tremulous voices sing a story about pain, heartbreak, hope, loss, anger, frustration, happiness and love.

When we cry **milkarri** for our **Country**, us women are claiming our self and the land, we are one. We sing and keen **milkarri** for everything, and it is the singing and doing **milkarri** that brings everything into being.

Protocols

As we share knowledge of songspirals, we only reveal the top layers of what exists. There are rules about who can know and talk about the deep layers of knowledge, even within the Yolŋu community. These layers are like lirrwi, layers of buried charcoal, and ranjan, a paperbark tree that has many layers of bark. That's our Yolŋu knowledge, it has layers and layers of it, stored in old people's heads. And we're making new knowledge too, all the time, making new songs.

"The language of the songspirals is deep and complex, with many layers and meanings. These always go back to the land, the sea and the sky" (xxviii)

As you learn about songspirals we ask that you treat the knowledge with respect. Respecting the knowledge means not writing about things that you don't understand, not putting things into your own words. These artworks, stories, and songlines belong to Yolŋu people, they are our property. You can talk about it, but don't think you can become the authority on it. You can use our words for reflection. You can talk about your own experiences and think about how to take lessons from our sharing into your life. You can talk about the very top layer but you need to be respectful and aware of the limits of what we are sharing and what you in turn can share. This is an important knowledge protocol. Throughout the exhibition you will notice that there is signage explaining who has the authority to share each of the songspirals. This is how we also show our respect for knowledge, people and land.

Gurrutu Yolŋu kinship

Gurrutu is a pattern of relationships, the way we are connected to one another and to everything, including our homelands. Songspirals are an expression of gurrutu, they cycle out like the generations, like the family connections and kinship relationships that bind us all together, as Yolŋu and with Country. This kinship, gurrutu, underpins who we are. It is between us Yolŋu, with each other and the land and all its beings.

Gurrutu is not only a blood relationship, but a place in a pattern of existence, a system of relationships. Gurrutu holds all to do with human beings, nature, land, sea, seasons. When it is really hot, people will say that is my waku-pulu, my child. When we see rain from the west, we know that is Gurrutu, that is part of the pattern. Gurrutu is in our art too. Perhaps you have admired these patterns before in weaving and art by Yolŋu people?

Gurrutu tells us our relationship to the rock and the rain, the clouds and the homelands. It is how we know who we are, through our connections. We can't exist outside gurrutu. It wouldn't make sense. We know and can name our place through gurrutu. This is the place we hold in our mind and our heart as we walk.



Planning Gurrutu weaving installation in Yirrkala, NT.

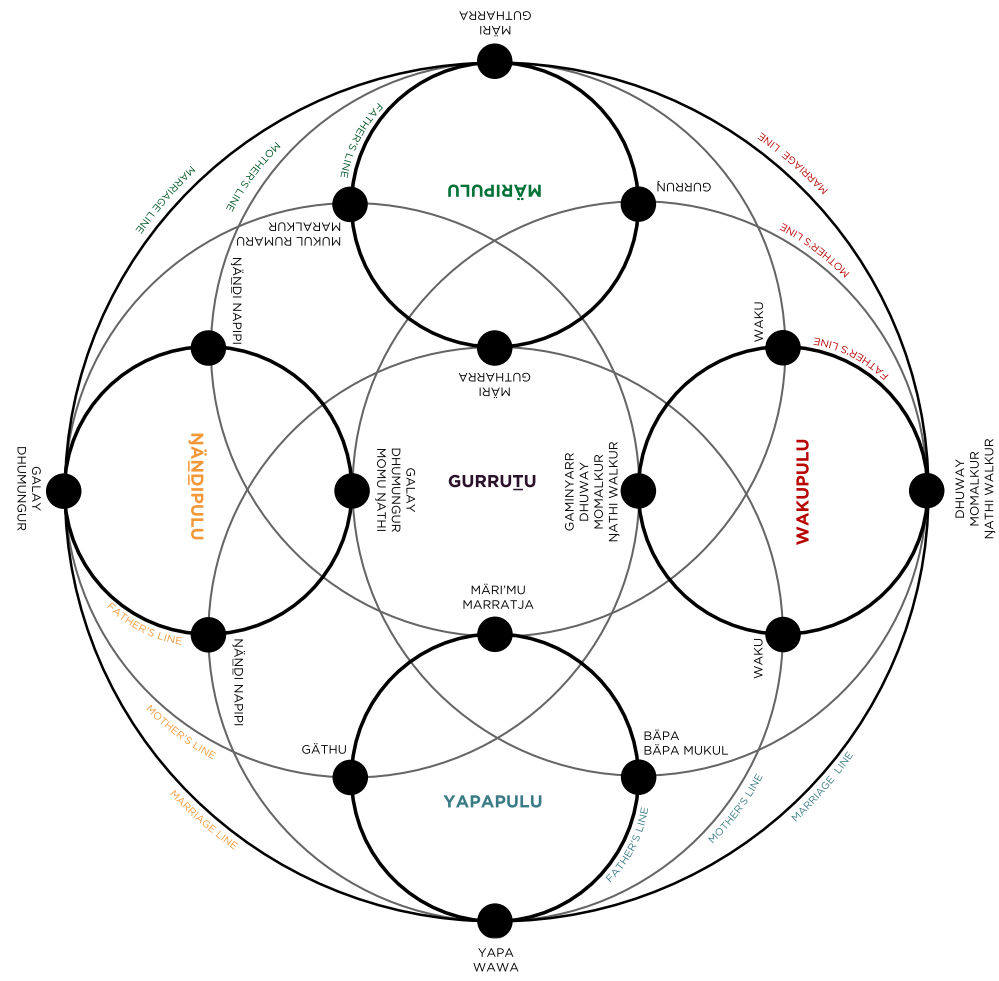


IMAGE
The Mulka Project
Gurrutu Mapping - A work in progress
 Buku-Larrnggay Mulka



IMAGE
Ms D Yunipingu
Lamamirri Whale 13B 2016
Etching 1/20
Mother of the Rirratjinu nation

Wuymirri

Whale Songspiral

“Songspirals sing the actual land and the sea ... hearing and keening the Wuymirri [whale] songspiral ... keeps Wuymirri alive ... [As you listen to it being sung] you become part and parcel of the songspiral, part and parcel of bringing the world into existence” (x)

Wuymirri is a songspiral, a story, but it is also a group of people. In Yolŋu culture we know all of the connections; between tribes, between places and between people and animals like the whale. The Warramirri people are the ones most closely connected to the whale. They come from the Wessel Islands at the very top of Australia. They were like pirates, always sailing on their boats. The men, women and children would always be sailing and were tall and strong. Each songspiral connects Yolŋu people to different Country, people, animals and spirits and the power of these comes from knowing what they are.

x Gay'wu Group of Women, Songspirals: sharing women's wisdom of Country through songlines

The Yirritja songspiral of Wuymirri teaches us about the strong and infinitely continuing connections that are both around us and that include us. Wuymirri is not just about a whale; not just something to look at and take photos of. Wuymirri is a story, a journey. The Wuymirri songspiral teaches Yolŋu people about their connection to these places. To Country. As the whale swims its journey it connects these places together and connects Yolŋu people to their history.

The collective work of the Gay'wu group of Women has been led by the four daughters of Gaymala Yunupiŋu, Dätiwuy women from Rorruwuy homeland in North East Arnhem Land—Barbara, Ritjilili, Merrkiyawuy and Banbapuy—and in their work they honour their mum. To their mum, they are the new generation. They are Elders and caretakers for Bawaka homeland in North East Arnhem Land, and they work together with their daughter Ronyiwuy.

IMAGE

Guluruṅa, Manala Marika

Rulyapa

Etching 14/20

Clan: Rirratjinu,

Moeity: Dhuwa



Wukun

Gathering of the clouds songspiral

Wukun is a Dhuwa songspiral and is about the gathering of clouds. These clouds gather from all around including our homeland of Rorruwuy. This songspiral does not just sing of clouds in the sky but also of people and Country coming together, just as clouds do before a storm.

Djambuwal the Thunderman controls the weather and it all begins at Yirrkala. The power gathers here and then the Thunderman points his spear cloud (larrpan) to all different Dhuwa places, labelling them, saying their names and sending the clouds there. The clouds are getting all the power so it can rain but only on Dhuwa Country as this is a Dhuwa songline. Yirritja clouds are different, they sit on the horizon.

The song sings about coming together. The clouds come together to get power so they can return to their home Country and rain to bring new life. When they point the spears sometimes the point of the spear goes onto the land, or the water of that Country, gathering information. The clans coming together to talk is putting that information back into the land, talking about issues and what needs to be done between two clans. The people come together

to negotiate, to talk about issues and things that need to be done. Coming together creates an alliance. A new closure and a new beginning.

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Long ago, two spirit men called Djirrawit and Nyäluṅ made a fish trap (dhawurr) in the Gurriyalayala River. The fish trap was made of upright posts forked at the top with a long crosspiece sitting in the forks. The space between was filled in with more upright sticks (dharpa) interwoven with horizontal sticks.

Then Djirrawit and Nyäluṅ cut pieces of bark from the dhanggi tree, pounded them to release the poison, and threw them into the river. The poison in the bark turned the water black and stunned the catfish (gaṅal).

To collect all the stunned fish they used their fishing spears (gara) and double-sided triangular fishing nets (ganybu) made of bush string (raki'). Djirrawit and Nyäluṅ got the idea for the special shape of these nets from watching pelicans (galumay) catching fish in their big bills.

Yolŋu people learned from the two spirit men how to catch fish this way, and still do sometimes when there is a big gathering of people needing much food.

The squared background design called gapu (meaning water) which is used in paintings of this story is a special clan design belonging to the Djapu clan from Waŋdawuy and represents that country (wäŋa). Several other Dhuwa moiety clans own small parcels of land/water (ringitj) in this area and this is represented by the squared design, but the design itself belongs to Djapu people.

The dhaŋgi story is told in the sacred songs (manikay) of Djapu people and danced at ceremonies (buŋgul). When Yolŋu dance galumay, they open and close their arms as though opening and closing these fishing nets.

Waŋdawuy is also associated with the Thunderman, Bol'ŋu. In ancestral times, Bol'ŋu travelled from Wessel Islands south through various Dhuwa moiety clans' country. He was both man and cloud, the heavy cloud (wolma) which brings the first rains of the wet season. He travelled in the clouds, and rain fell when he urinated.

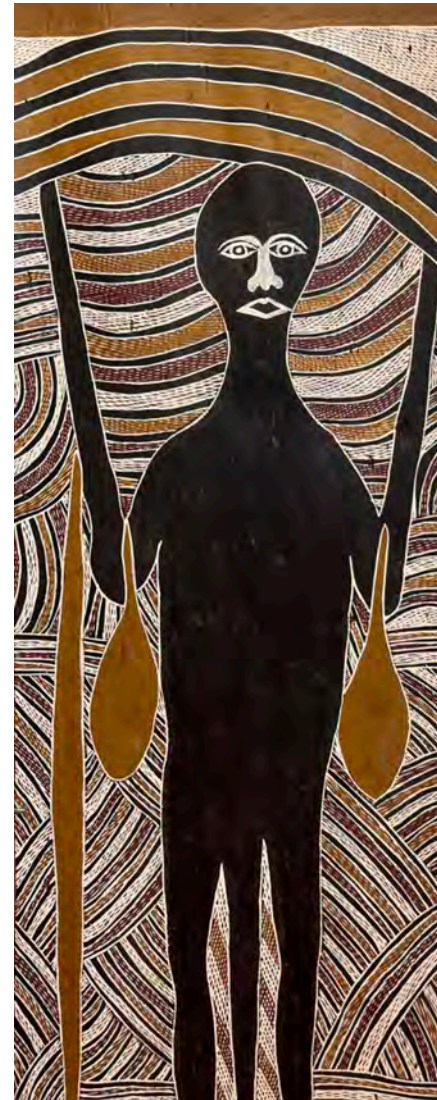
As Bol'ŋu travelled through the country, the Dhuwa clouds and the rain followed him. Rivers and creeks and springs with freshwater for the dry season formed. And he said to himself, let it be like this always. As he passed by Bol'ŋu named the rivers and springs at the sites he visited. He named trees and antbeds, and these are still the names for all these things at these places. In each clans' country Bol'ŋu gave ceremony and law to the people.

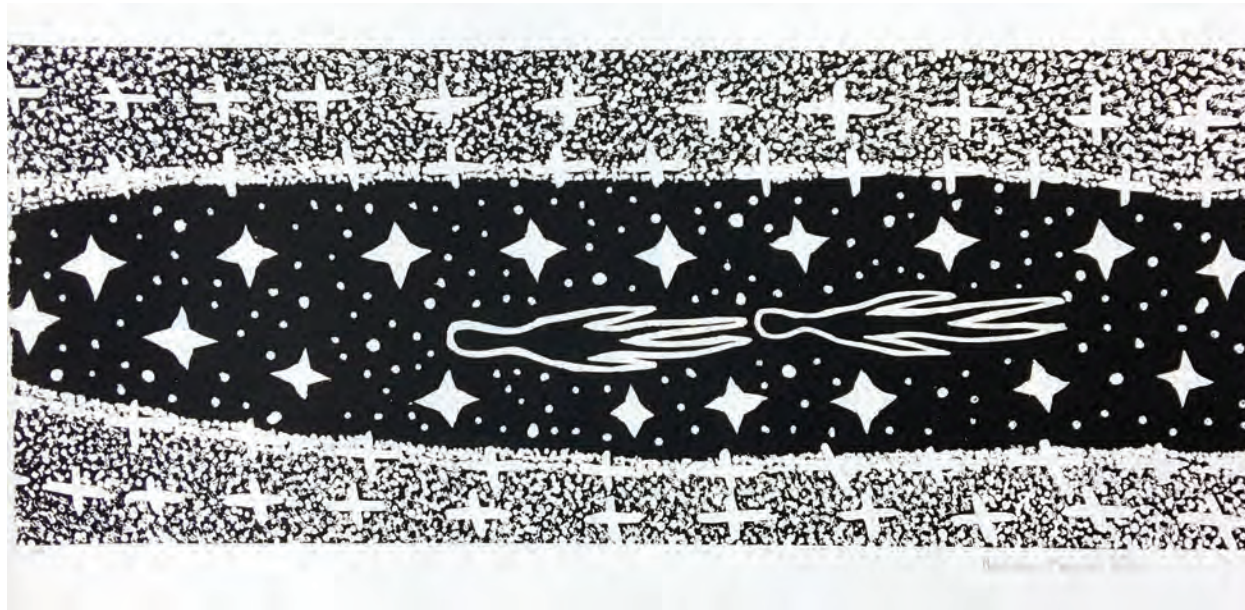
He taught songs and dances and the designs that belong to each of the clans, and he taught initiation ceremony to make the young boys men. The song cycle describing his travels is sung at these ceremonies.

The Dhuwa clans that sing Bol'ņu all have a special piece of rainforest belonging to Bol'ņu. From this rainforest small thunder clouds rise from each territory. They also belong to Bol'ņu. He has brought them all together. The curved lines are representative of his spear but also the clouds from the territory of the following clans; Rirratjingu; D̄aṭiwuy; Njamil; Djapu; Djambarrpuynņu; Bararrņu and Dhuḍi-Djapu.

o o o

IMAGE
Laklak #2 Ganambarr
Bol'ņu
Etching 14/20
Clan: D̄aṭiwuy, Gapiny group
Moeity: Dhuwa





IMAGE

Naminapu Maymuru-White

Milŋiyawuy #4

Screenprint

Clan: Maŋgalili, Belaŋ group

Moeity: Yirritja

Guwak

Messenger bird songspiral

Guwak is a bird, a Yirritja bird, also known as a Koel in English. She is a messenger bird. Guwak calls out in the night and travels across the land guiding spirits to the Milky Way, the spirit world. Guwak is the link between us and the River of Stars, Sky Country. This is what we call the Milky Way, Milŋiyawuy.

Each clan has their own place and songs but some are shared such as the morning star, the evening star and Guwak. Guwak is shared by clans but each has their own way of singing the song. Even within clans there is ringitj which is a place for other clans within a different territory. Like an embassy, a safe place, somewhere to go to be safe if you're lost. Ringitj is like a border, but it is not a border that separates. It is an interlocking of responsibilities from different clans. Through Guwak, we are connected. We are linked, one person to another, one clan to another.

Guwak teaches us to know our place in order to know where we come from and where we are going. Guwak reminds Yolŋu people of the two worlds they live in. One of their Yolŋu culture and one of ŋäpaki (non-Indigenous) culture.

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It was in the wangarr, ancestral times, when the Guwak men, Munuminya and Yikawanga, sitting under the shade of the sacred Marawili tree, instructed the ancestral koel cuckoo Guwak to lead the Maŋgalili people to this new place they had established for them at Djarrakpi.

Having seen the people settled in their new homeland they announced to the Maŋgalili their farewell, that they, the Guwak men were to travel out to sea, to a place in the sky and that they would become stars which would shine out of the night sky.



IMAGE

Naminapu Maymuru-White

Milḥiyawuy # 1

Screenprint

Clan: Maṅgalili, Belaṅ group

Moeity: Yirritja

So a canoe and paddles were made and their journey began by paddling down the Milngiya River which flows into the Blue Mud Bay near Djarrakpi. In the bay, at a place of significance, strong winds developed and capsized the canoe-the men drowned.

At this place is the site of Yingalpiya, the freshwater crocodile's nesting place. This same place is the spirit source for Mangalili people. The Guwak Men, it was said, had attempts made on them to be rescued.

A special log Milkamirri or Bandumul, containing mangrove worms offered itself as assistance. Noykal the ancestral king fish is also manifest in this form. Even the rock cod they had caught for their journey offered assistance, as did Dhäla the sea creature.

It was to no avail however as the men had destined themselves as offerings, to the night sky where they and subsequent Mangalili souls are seen today in the Milky Way. These Mangalili souls attain their celestial position by means of possum furstring Burrkun that connects Djarrakpi at the site of the Marawili tree to night sky. Miliyawuy or Milngiya as the Milky Way is also looked upon as the nesting place for the ancestral crocodiles Yingalpiya. The river itself is shown as it is today after it was sung into the sky by these Mangalili heroes-the Milky Way.

o o o



IMAGE

Malaluba Gumana

Datum 2017

Screenprint

Clan: Dhalwaṅu, Nuṅburundi group

Moeity: Yirritja

Wititj

Rainbow serpent songspiral

Wititj, the serpent, sings the land, she travels around and now she is resting. She gave birth to the Dhuwa clans, gave the tongues, languages, to the land and made the boundaries.

Wititj is a story that lots of Aboriginal and Yolŋu people around Australia have, the rainbow serpent. Although many Aboriginal people have the story of the Rainbow Serpent, they are all slightly different. Each is specific to a clan's connection and is told with different language and responsibility. Aboriginal cultures are diverse, not just one big group. We are Yolŋu so we can only share what is connected to us. Everyone must know the boundaries both on Country and with knowledge.

The travels of the Rainbow Serpent created the land, the people. When she travels, she flattens the grass, creating tracks through the bush. This creates the boundaries. All of the totems will know where the boundaries are because they can smell where Wititj has been. They sense these boundaries and turn away. This songline is about the settling of the serpent. After traveling, naming Country and creating boundaries she is tired and so she curls into a spiral with her head in the center. Wititj claims the territory through singing, not for herself but to make it sacred.

"When we do milkarri, as soon as we hear it, the tears just come, because the words and the meanings are so deep that the land is talking. It is in our cry, the sounds of our keening. The land is crying for her people and the people are crying for the land. Country cries too. It has its milkarri" (xxii)



IMAGE

Gunybi Ganambarr

Yirritja Woman 2016

Etching A/P

Clan: Naymil

Moeity: Dhuwa

Gonj-gurtha

Fire keeper songspiral

The fire burns. The smoke billows. The flames rise.

This song talks about people that you don't see, people you never see but yet they're over there somewhere. You only see the fire, the ash, and the smoke. Gonj is the hand, gurtha is the fire.

So, Gonj-gurtha is someone who lights the fire, the keeper of the flame, holder of the knowledge. The flame in our hands.

The Gonj-gurtha is also the hunter. The fire signals that a hunt has been successful. Everyone is told because they can see the smoke. The flames connect us, reach out, across to the horizon, back to our ancestors and on to our ancestors who are still to come. The songspiral of Gonj-gurtha, of the hunter, tells us the procedure of hunting, preparing and sharing food. All songspirals teach the proper order of things, if it's not in order it's dhawadatj, mixed up. The songspirals hold the knowledge of everything to be passed onto our children and grandchildren so they can keep the fire burning.

IMAGE
Gonj -Gurtha, fire keeper
songspiral - Gay'wu Group
of Women at Bawaka

Our children and grandchildren are Gonj-gurtha too, the keepers of tomorrow's knowledge for the next generations. Everything they need to learn is in the songspirals. We end our sharing at Gonj-gurtha with the hunter. We started with the Whale Songspiral and ended with Gonj-gurtha. We spiral back to where we started.

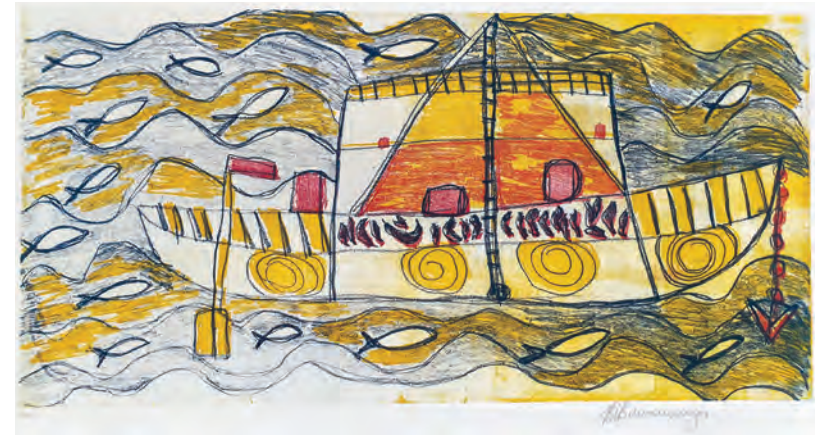


Ending with the wind

“We don’t sing about nothing; we sing about earth, life on earth, and life itself. We are all part of it. We look after our earth, our animals, our lands, and our songs. We ask that you respect the people who sing these songs, to respect us for who we are. We are here still and we will be singing these same songs for the next thousands of years.”

Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs

For now, we are done. An evening breeze rises, the north wind dirrmala. Wind is the one that cleanses, cleanses the footprints of the day. It smooths the sand for a new beginning, a new song tomorrow. We light a fire on the beach. As when we welcomed you, we now also finish with a cleansing, spiralling around, smoking the spirits with fire. It is sunset, the day has ended. The tide is coming in, dancing with the wind. When the sun sets the north wind rises. And tomorrow, we cry the dawn.



IMAGE

Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaja

Macassan Boat

Etching 7/30

Dätiwuy, caretaker for Gumatj

Moeity: Dhuwa

IMAGES OVERLEAF TOP

LEFT TO RIGHT

Gaymala Yunupinju

Djerrknu Yunupinju

Marri'marri Burarrwaja

IMAGES OVERLEAF BOTTOM

LEFT TO RIGHT

Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaja

Ritjilili Ganambarr

Merrkiyawuy Ganambarr-Stubbs

Banbapuy Ganambarr



Thank you

In our language we say buku-wekam to honour those who have helped us bring Songspirals: Yolŋu women sharing & nourishing milkarri to life. Living, breathing, nurturing Country—thank you for shaping and enabling everything we do. We honour Country and all those who have shared with us and supported us as we have worked to create this exhibition.

Thanks to Gillean Shaw, the University Galleries at the University of Newcastle, and the Discipline of Geography and Environmental Studies, School of Environmental and Life Sciences (University of Newcastle) for supporting, promoting and hosting the exhibition.

To Will Stubbs and Joseph Brady from Buku-Larrŋgay Mulka Yirrkala Art Centre for their support, experience, and assistance. To Andrea Magill for her research and writing contributions.

We thank the artists who have given us permission to use their work in this catalogue —Naminapu Maymuru-White as well as the memories of our family members, Gaymala Yunupingu and Dr Laklak Barbara Burarrwaja.

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Merrkiyawuy with
her grandchild,
Yirrkala, 2021