



Object number:
00055934

Title: Gawutj Grey Sweetlip

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Guykuḍa

Mununggurr is the only full time artist at his homeland of Garrthalala (Caledon Bay). He has distinguished himself as a completely innovative sculptor who pioneers new materials and techniques. One of the themes that he has pursued is the natural representation of animal species without reference to their sacred identity. This is one such work. However, for stricter adherents of Yolŋu law the naturalistic representation of totemic species is a sacrilege. Despite his protestations of innocence in representing figurative sculpture of crocodiles (which are related to his mother's clans respectively) he was counselled away from this approach.



Object number:
00055935

Title: Gopu Mackerel Tuna

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Guykuḍa

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Object number:
00055317

Title: Hammerhead Shark

Date: 2018



Date: 2018

Medium: Ochre, wood

Name: Sculpture

History: Gyuksda

Mununggurr is the an artist at his homeland of Garrthalala. He has distinguished himself as a competely innovative sculptor who pioneers new materials and techniques. One of the themes that he has pursued is the natural representation of animal species without reference to their sacred identity. This is one such work. This shark is known by the yolngu word Mäna and represents the artist's own identity. Although this is specifically not a sacred rendition it is worth noting that Mäna is the artist's own Djapu clan identity. In ancestral times, Mäna travelled around the coast and through various Dhuwa moiety clan's country and powerful spirit beings like Mäna could change form at will. These spirit beings shaped and marked the country with their activities and gave their culture to the clans. Through the knowledge and objects they left, present day clansmen affirm their rights to country and have access to the ancestral power. In Djambarrpuyngu clan country, Mäna was hunted and killed by a Yirritja moiety spirit man, Ganbulabula. Mäna's body was channeled up by

was chopped up by Ganbulabula and pieces of it were washed to the country of several Dhuwa clans. The head, wanda, ended up at Wandawuy in Djäpu country. Mäna himself also travelled to Wandawuy, and to Dhurruputjpi, another site in Djapu country. At these places, Mäna was changed to a Djapu man and said, 'this country will always belong to Djapu people'. Spring water gushed from the ground where it was struck by the sharks tail. In Djäpu country, Mäna changed himself into a white gum tree when the billabongs - flooded during the wet season - dried up. These white gums can still be seen around his sites.



Object number:
00055936
Title: Bāru
Date: 2010



Object number:
00055318
Title: Mānā the Tiger Shark
Date: 2010



Object number:
00055919
Title: Mānā
Date: 2010

Date: 2018

Medium: Wood

Name: Crocodile carving

History: Bäru (Ancestral Crocodile) was sitting in the river at Birany Birany and thinking to himself "I'm sick and tired of sitting here in this hot place, I'm going to leave here and go to that lovely cool island Murrmurpa. He went to that place which belonged to the Yarrwidi Gumatj and fought with them and the barb from the gapalkmirri entered the flank of the Bäru symbolic of the dispute resolution ceremony Makarratha. After the peace was settled between the two the Dhinimbu (Spanish Mackerel) jumped out of the water to see the colourful and beautiful clouds symbolising the peace between the disputants. Thereafter the groups stood in a Mari-Gutharra relationship with each other (an important bond in Yolngu life between a child and its mother's mother's brothers always of the same moiety as each other and with important duties and rights as far as funeral and circumcision and other ceremonial law is concerned). Märi-Gutharra relationship at

Mulmurrupa. The relationship between the clan's is analagous to that between two individuals

Date: 2018

Medium: Ochre, wood

Name: Sculpture

History: Guykuḏa

Mununggurr is the only artist at his homeland of Garrthalala. He has distinguished himself as a competely innovative sculptor who pioneers new materials and techniques. One of the themes that he has pursued is the natural representation of animal species without reference to their sacred identity. This is one such work. This shark is known by the yolngu word Mäna and represents the artist's own identity. Although this is specifically not a sacred rendition it is worth noting that Mäna is the artist's own Djapu clan identity. In ancestral times, Mäna travelled around the coast and through various Dhuwa moiety clan's country and powerful spirit beings like Mäna could change form at will. These spirit beings shaped and marked the country with their activities and gave their culture to the clans. Through the knowledge and objects they left, present day clansmen affirm their rights to country and have access to the ancestral power. In Djambarrpuyngu clan country, Mäna was hunted and killed by a Yirritja moiety spirit man, Ganbulabula. Mäna's body was chopped up by

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: This shark is known by the Yolngu word Mäna and represents the artist's own identity. Although this is specifically not a sacred rendition it is worth noting that Mana is the artist's own Djapu clan identity. In ancestral times, Mäna travelled around the coast and through various Dhuwa moiety clan's country. In those times, powerful spirit beings like Mana could change form at will. These spirit beings shaped and marked the country with their activities, and gave their culture to the clans. Through the knowledge and objects they left, present day clansmen affirm their rights to country and have access to the ancestral power. In Djambarrpuyqu clan country, Mäna was hunted and killed by a Yirritja moiety spirit man, Ganbulabula. Mana's body was chopped up by Ganbulabula and pieces of it were washed to the country of several Dhuwa clans. The head, wanda, ended up at Wandawuy in Djapu country. Mäna himself also travelled to Wandawuy, and to Dhurruputjpi, another site in Djapu country. At these places, Mäna was changed to a Djapu man and said

where an Yirritja (for example from the Yarrwidi Gumatj) man's Dhuwa mother will always have an Yirritja mother. The brothers and fathers of that Yirritja woman (who in this example would be from the Rrakpaia Gumatj) are charged with managing the circumcision, initiation, arranged marriage and mortuary rites of such a person. Defending him in the face of accusation or attack and inculcating a knowledge of his grandmother clan's law, land and language (including sacred designs - as painted by numerous gutharra or grandchildren in this book). This is not to say that other clan relationships do not have importance and input to these rites but the Märi is referred to as 'the backbone'. Guykuḍa Mununggurr's mother is a member of the Gumatj clan and their identity is linked to Bäru (Saltwater Crocodile). His mother belongs to a particular subgroup the Yarrwidi with a surname of Mununggurritj. The differences between the sections of the clan are differences of origin and law and are reflected in different songs, paintings, places and in post-missionary times different surnames. Whilst people with the surnames

was chopped up by Ganbulabula and pieces of it were washed to the country of several Dhuwa clans. The head, wanda, ended up at Wandawuy in Djäpu country. Mäna himself also travelled to Wandawuy, and to Dhurruḍutjpi, another site in Djapu country. At these places, Mäna was changed to a Djapu man and said, 'this country will always belong to Djapu people'. Spring water gushed from the ground where it was struck by the shark's tail. In Djäpu country, Mäna changed himself into a white gum tree when the billabongs - flooded during the wet season - dried up. These white gums can still be seen around his sites.

to a Djapu man and said, 'this country will always belong to Djapu people'. Spring water gushed from the ground where it was struck by the shark's tail. In Djapu country, Mäna changed himself into a white gum tree when the billabongs - flooded during the wet season - dried up. These white gums can still be seen around his sites.

Yunupinju, Mununguritj and Burarrwaŋa all count themselves as Gumatj their distinct stories are part of their identity. The songs describe a conflict and resolution between the Yunupinju group represented by the crocodile (Bäru) and the Mununguritj group represented by the stingray (Gäŋalkmirri). This sculptural form is free of any miny'tji or clan design and at first is just a crocodile form. But it adds to understanding to know that this animal is Guykuḏa Munungurr's maternal grandmother.



Object number:

00055921

Title: Nyarakawurray
(Giant Herring)

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on native hibiscus

Name: Fish carving

History: In Yolŋu law
Rangga or sacred objects
are never revealed and
their shape can only be
guessed at. It is assumed
that it was the similarity of
these manifestations of
totems with such rangga
which caused elders to
veto his naturalistic
representations of species.
He specifically disavows
any sacredness for these
works. They are 'just art' or
'just for fun'. An area
where he has been able to
play with form and not
attract negative attention
is in his representations of
fish. This work is part of a
series begun in 2018. As a
homeland resident living
on the coast of a vibrant
sea estate which includes
estuaries and coral reefs,
big rivers and ocean he
feeds himself and his
family with his knowledge
of the land. This familiarity
allows him to shape these
sculptures from memory
not from images or life.



Object number:

00055920

Title: Warrukay (Barracuda)

Date: 2018



Object number:

00055922

Title: Mäna

Date: 2018

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Ngalkan is a deep name for the ancestral Barracuda and has reference to a sacred place, in the saltwaters in Ngaymil country, Arnhem Bay close to the mouth of the Gurrumuru River.

Larrtjangga of the freshwater Ngaymil was custodian of this saltwater site as his classificatory brothers clan, the saltwater or bottom Ngaymil has been all but wiped as a result of Yolngu war several generations ago. The old woman Bitinggurra was the last of these people and resided at the artists homeland of Yangunbi. Out in these waters the Ngaymil know of a sacred place that represents a hole that is described as the wanga or home for Ngaymil power totem Warrukay the barracuda. This deep place is the font of secret Ngaymil knowledge and ngaymil soul. Sacred water coming up from this hole Ngalkanbuy has a special quality referred to as Djeldja. This is the water of profound weight and body with qualities also of danger amplified by the

presence of Warrukay patrolling Ngalkanbuy. The traditional final rites for Ngaymil clansmen is to



Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on native hibiscus

Name: Fish carving

History: This shark is known by the Yolngu word Mäna and represents the artist's own identity. Although this is specifically not a sacred rendition it is worth noting that Mäna is the artist's own Djapu clan identity. In ancestral times, Mäna travelled around the coast and through various Dhuwa moiety clan's country. In those times, powerful spirit beings like Mäna could change form at will. These spirit beings shaped and marked the country with their activities, and gave their culture to the clans. Through the knowledge and objects they left, present day clansmen affirm their rights to country and have access to the ancestral power. In Djambarrpuyqu clan country, Mäna was hunted and killed by a Yirritja moiety spirit man, Ganbulabula. Mäna's body was chopped up by Ganbulabula and pieces of it were washed to the country of several Dhuwa clans. The head, wanda, ended up at Wandawuy in Djapu country. Mäna himself also travelled to Wandawuy, and to Dhurruputjpi, another site in Djapu country. At these places, Mäna was changed to a Djapu man and said

have their bones placed inside the hollow log ngalkan to rest on clan land. The sacred miny'tji (clan design) of Djetdja identifies to the spirit world and others the journey the deceased soul has taken - to the place guarded by Warrukay. In Yolngu law Rangka or sacred objects are never revealed and their shape can only be guessed at. It is assumed that it was the similarity of these manifestations of totems with such raqga which caused elders to veto his naturalistic representations of Species. The artist specifically disavows any sacredness for this works. They are 'just art' or 'just for fun'. An area where he has been able to play with form and not attract negative attention is in his representations of fish. This work is part of a series begun in 2018. As a homeland resident living on the coast of a vibrant sea estate which includes estuaries and coral reefs, big rivers and ocean he feeds himself and his family with his knowledge of the land. This familiarity allows him to shape these sculptures from memory not from images or life.

to a Djapu man and said, 'this country will always belong to Djapu people'. Spring water gushed from the ground where it was struck by the shark's tail. In Djapu country, Mäna changed himself into a white gum tree when the billabongs - flooded during the wet season - dried up. These white gums can still be seen around his sites.



Object number:
00055923

Title: Dhinimbu (Spanish
Mackerel)



Object number:
00055924

Title: Rätjuk (Barramundi)
Date: 2010



Object number:
00055925

Title: Makani/Yarrwarri
(Queenfish)

mackerei)

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments on native hibiscus

Name: Fish carving

History: Guykuga

Mununggurr is the only full time artist at his Homeland of Garrthalala (Caledon Bay). He has distinguished himself as a completely innovative sculptor who pioneers new materials and techniques. One of the themes that he has pursued is the natural representation of animal species without reference to their sacred identity. This is one such work. However for stricter adherents of Yolŋu law the naturalistic representation of totemic species is a sacrilege. Despite his protestations of innocence in representing figurative sculpture of crocodiles (which are related to his mother's clans respectively) he was counselled away from this approach. In Yolŋu law Rangka or sacred objects are never revealed and their shape can only be guessed at. It is assumed that it was the similarity of these manifestations of totems with such Rangka which caused elders to veto his naturalistic representations of species.

He specifically disavows any sacredness for these works. They are 'just art' or 'just for fun'. An area

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigment on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: This work is a decorative piece. It is made from renewable wood which is usually harvested from the tree in the dry season. Preferred woods are Maiwan (Hibiscus Tiliaceus), Gunhirr (Blind-Your-Eye-Mangrove), Wuduku (mangrove wood), Barrata (Kapok). The first activity is to enter the monsoon vine thicket and cut the wood and carry it back to the vehicle. Often a long hike through prickly vines and scrub. The wood is skinned and left to dry for a short period. It is then shaped by knife or axe. After the surface is sanded smooth a layer of red paint is usually the first to go down. The paints used are earth pigments. The red (Meku), yellow (Gaqqul) and black (Gurrqan) are provided by rubbing rocks of these colours against a grinding stone and then adding water and PVA glue in small quantities. A new batch of paint is prepared or renewed every few minutes as it dries or is used up. After an outline of the composition is laid down the Marwat or crosshatching commences. This is applied using a brush made of a few strands of straight human hair usually from a young

(Queenrisn)

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: In Yolŋu law Rangka or sacred objects are never revealed and their shape can only be guessed at. It is assumed that it was the similarity of these manifestations of totems with such Rangka which caused elders to veto Guykuga Mununggurrs naturalistic representations of species. Guykuga Mununggurr specifically disavows any sacredness for these works. They are 'just art' or 'just for fun'. An area where he has been able to play with form and not attract negative attention is in his representations of fish. This work is part of a series begun in 2018. As a Homeland resident living on the coast of a vibrant sea estate which includes estuaries and coral reefs, big rivers and ocean he feeds himself and his family with his knowledge of the land. This familiarity allows him to shape these sculptures from memory not from images or life.

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hair usually from a young woman or girl. The artist charges the Marwat (brush) with the paint and then paints away from themselves in a straight line. Each stroke requires a fresh infusion of pigment. The last layer to be applied is almost always the white clay (Gapan) which is made from kaolin harvested from special sites. This also has water and glue added after being crushed into a fine powder. An alternative to painting the cross hatching is to use a razor to incise fine lines and reveal the light coloured wood underneath. Most works are made in the Homelands as a means of obtaining extra income to defray the huge expenses of travel and freight residents suffer from.



Object number:
00055927

Title: Bulatja (Grey Snapper)

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Guykuḍa Mununggurr is the only full time artist at his homeland of Garrthalala (Caledon Bay). He has distinguished himself as a completely innovative sculptor who pioneers new materials and techniques. One of the themes that he has pursued is the natural representation of animal species without reference to their sacred identity. This is one such work. However for stricter adherents of Yolŋu law the naturalistic representation of totemic species is a sacrilege. Despite Guykuḍa Mununggurr's protestations of innocence in representing figurative sculpture of crocodiles (which are related to his mother's clans respectively) he was counselled away from this approach.



Object number:
00055928

Title: Black Marlin Gopu

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments on native hibiscus

Name: Fish carving

History: Marlin and Sail fish are an oceanic and epipelagic species usually found above the thermocline. Most densely distributed in waters close to the coasts and islands. Large schools and undergoes spawning migrations in the Pacific. Feeds mainly on fishes, crustaceans and cephalopods. They are distinguishable by the fact that a Marlin has a dorsal fin like a sail and a Sailfish has one more like a shark. A Marlin bill is shorter and round whereas a Sailfish bill is long and flat.



Object number:
00055926

Title: Darrapa (Bludger)

revally)

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: In Yolngu law

Rangga or sacred objects are never revealed and their shape can only be guessed at. It is assumed that it was the similarity of these manifestations of totems with such Rangga which caused elders to veto Guykuḍa Munungurrs naturalistic representations of species. Guykuḍa Munungurr specifically disavows any sacredness for these works. They are 'just art' or 'just for fun'. An area where he has been able to play with form and not attract negative attention is in his representations of fish.

This work is part of a series begun in 2018. As a Homeland resident living on the coast of a vibrant sea estate which includes estuaries and coral reefs, big rivers and ocean he feeds himself and his family with his knowledge of the land. This familiarity allows him to shape these sculptures from memory not from images or life.



Object number:
00055930

Title: Gopu Longtail Tuna

Date: 2018

Medium: Wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Guykuḍa

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Object number:
00055929

Title: Baliny

Date: 2018



Object number:
00055931

Title: Ŋuykal (Kingfish)

Date: 2018

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on native hibiscus

Name: Fish carving

History: This work is a decorative piece. It is made from renewable wood which is usually harvested from the tree in the dry season. Preferred woods are Maiwan (Hibiscus Tiliaceus), Gunhirr (Blind-Your-Eye-Mangrove), Wuduku (mangrove wood), Barrata (Kapok). The first activity is to enter the monsoon vine thicket and cut the wood and carry it back to the vehicle. Often a long hike through prickly vines and scrub. The wood is skinned and left to dry for a short period. It is then shaped by knife or axe. After the surface is sanded smooth a layer of red paint is usually the first to go down. The paints used are earth pigments. The red (Meku), yellow (Gaqqul) and black (Gurrqan) are provided by rubbing rocks of these colours against a grinding stone and then adding water and PVA glue in small quantities. A new batch of paint is prepared or renewed every few minutes as it dries or is used up. After an outline of the composition is laid down the Marwat or

crosshatching commences. This is applied using a brush made of a few strands of straight human

Date: 2018

Medium: Wood

Name: Fish carving

History: In the late Dry and early Wet Season Yolngu still gather to sacred places known as Yelan where they wait for this fish to bring itself to be speared. The bones are left at the site and any fish, which is speared but not landed, is regarded as sacred. This stems from the original Mangalili Ancestral Hunter, Muwandi. This sacred country under the coastal waters of the area of Djarrakpi (Cape Shield) and into which the sacred rock has its foundation. Ancestral Hunter Muwandi climbed up on this anvil shaped rock that rises above the lower tides to spear fish. With the two-pronged hook spear he speared Yambirrku the Ancestral parrot fish. The parrot fish's special spiritual qualities make reference to the procreative freshwaters of the Wayawu River in Mangalili country and the ancestral kingfish Njuykal who breeds there and eats /carries the yoku or corm /child of the lily. When Muwandi caught Yambirrku he went back to his camp and made a special ground to eat the fish. The ground was to become the sacred Yinjapunapu at Djarrakpi, the original canoe shaped low relief sand sculpture

hair usually from a young woman or girl. The artist charges the Marwat (brush) with the paint and then paints away from themselves in a straight line. Each stroke requires a fresh infusion of pigment. The last layer to be applied is almost always the white clay (Gapan) which is made from kaolin harvested from special sites. This also has water and glue added after being crushed into a fine powder. An alternative to painting the cross hatching is to use a razor to incise fine lines and reveal the light coloured wood underneath. Most works are made in the homelands as a means of obtaining extra income to defray the huge expenses of travel and freight residents suffer from.

low relief sand sculpture used to mother, confine, release the essence and spirit of the Mangalili people and realm at mortuary. From his camp Muwandi witnessed the cloud massifs Wajupini form on the horizon taking up from the sea freshwater to rain back over the sea to Djarrakpi the freshwaters that flowed through the Wayawu estates. Still today Yolngu spearing Yambirrku from Yinitjuwa have the responsibility to prepare, eat and discard scraps all within the confines of a Yinjapunapu. This reaffirms the Mangalili connections Djarrakpi has with the tides and the sea, the flow and freshwaters of the Wayawu River and the horizons return through the skies and tides the life force of the Mangalili. The giant spirit boulder Dukurrurru gouged the bed of this river, as it crashed down from Burrawanydji to the coast. The ancestral woman Nyapaliqu used rushes growing along the Wayawu River to make baskets for collecting Yoku water lily bulbs which are washed down the river during flood along with lily leaves. The freshwater runs down the Wayawu River where the Maqgalili rock stands, past and through Dhalwaqu, Munyuku, Djapu clan country before meeting the sacred waters of the Dhudi

sacred waters of the Dhuruputjpi.
Djapu clan at Dhuruputjpi.
Here the water of the
Maqgalili clan, coming from
the rock, slips under the
waters of Dhuruputjpi past
the shark, to surface again
to empty into Blue Mud
Bay at what is marked on
the map as Grindall Bay.
The central panel is this
subterranean passage
used by Ŋuykal and
ancestral shark Mana. The
Mangalili dance the Ŋuykal
at Wayawu where men
enact a search for the
sacred rock Dhukurru -
men with their spear
thrower the swimming tail
of the totem king fish
Ŋuykal. They dance as if to
find Dhukurru as it marks a
spot designated as sacred
by the Yirritja moiety
creator beings. Here the
waters are most sacred to
the Mangalili, ancestral
identity past and future
stems from here, where
Ŋuykal finding the
Dhukurru coming up
against the Wayawu flow
to the upper reaches of
freshwater changes sex to
give life. The group of
dancing men having found
the sacred site, send out
its leader with the
feathered dilly bag carried
in the mouth and spears at
ready to encircle the site,
still in dance of the king
fish, checking it out for
adversary before setting
in. Ŋuykal feed on the
corm of the waterplant
Apongetum. The corm

Aponogetum. The corns
are the child within; these
mark the Mangalili soul.



Object number:

00055933

Title: Djembirri'

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Djembirri' is the
name for a mature
Mangrove Jack (*Lutjanus*
argentimaculatus).

Dharrawata is the
immature Mangrove Jack.

This is one of the most
delicious fish with very
impressive teeth. In the
Midawarr season after the
Wet when fish are ready to
harvest they also have
large deposits of pinky
belly fat in their abdominal
cavity which Yolŋu are very
careful to retain when
gutting the fish as this is a
huge enhancement to
flavour. It appears in
freshwater creeks,
estuaries, around reefs and
in the ocean.



Object number:

00055932

Title: Sailfish Gopu

Date: 2018



Object number:

00055937

Title: Warrukay

Date: 2018

Date: 2018

Medium: Earth pigments
on wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Here Guykuḏa Mununggurr has represented Gopu or Sailfish. Other names in the Yolḁu Dictionary are Markurri and Marrtkurru. This species is part of the Yirritja moiety songs and is the name of the famous football team Gopu which has won more premierships than any other in the North east Arnhem Football League and whose patron is Gumatj clan leader Galarwuy Yunupingu. Gopuru can also mean tuna and the lyrics of the song Gopuru by Dr G. Yunupingu the blind Gumatj singer describe the movement of these pelagic fish through the water. Marlin and Sailfish are an oceanic and epipelagic species usually found above the thermocline. Most densely distributed in waters close to the coasts and islands. Large schools and undergoes spawning migrations in the Pacific. Feeds mainly on fishes, crustaceans and cephalopods. They are distinguishable by the fact that a Marlin has a dorsal fin like a sail and a Sailfish has one more like a shark. The Marlin bill is shorter and round whilst the Sailfish bill is long and flat.

Date: 2018

Medium: Wood

Name: Fish carving

History: Ngalkan is a deep name for the Ancestral Barracuda and has reference to a sacred place, in the saltwaters in Ngaymil country, Arnhem Bay close to the mouth of the Gurrumuru River. Larrtjangga of the freshwater Ngaymil was custodian of this saltwater site as his classificatory brothers clan, the saltwater or bottom Ngaymil has been all but wiped as a result of Yolḁu war several generations ago. The old woman Bitinggurra was the last of these people and resided at the artists homeland of Yangunbi. Out in these waters the Ngaymil know of a sacred place that represents a hole that is described as the wanga or home for Ngaymil power totem Warrukay the barracuda. This deep place is the font of secret Ngaymil knowledge and ngaymil soul. Sacred water coming up from this hole Ngalkanbuy has a special quality referred to as Djeldja. This is the water of profound weight and body with qualities also of danger amplified by the presence of Warrukay patrolling Ngalkanbuy. The traditional final rites for Ngaymil clansmen is to have their bones placed inside the hollow log

inside the hollow log
ngalkan to rest on clan
land. The sacred miny'tji
(clan design) of Djetdja
identifies to the spirit world
and others the journey the
deceased soul has taken -
to the place guarded by
Warrukay.