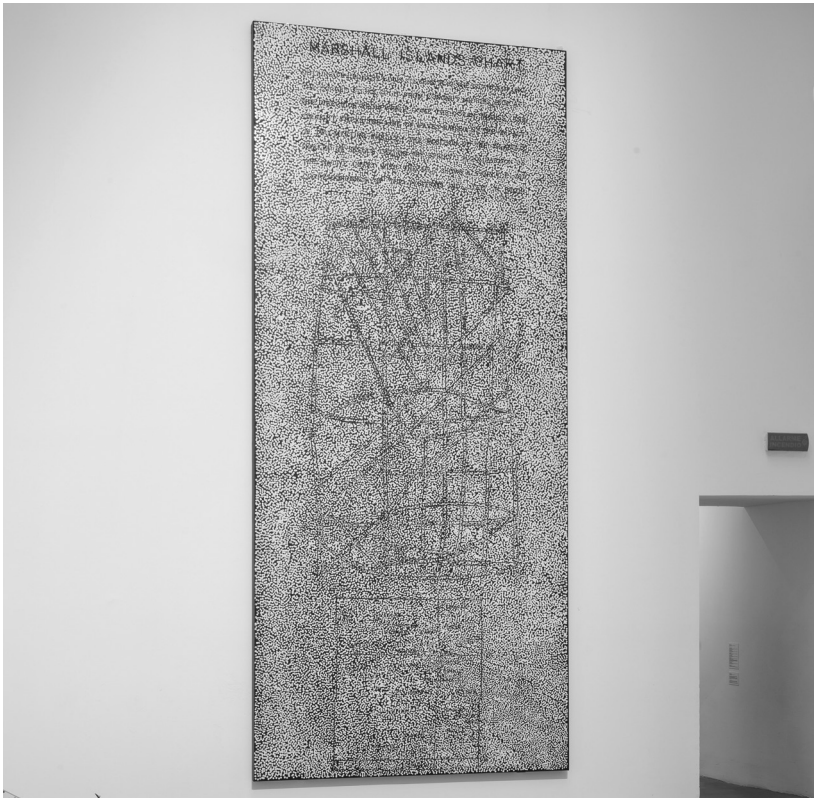


# INDIGENOUS ARCHIVES

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## ANACHRONIC ARCHIVE: TURNING THE TIME OF THE IMAGE IN THE ABORIGINAL AVANT-GARDE

*Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll*



*Figure 15.1: Daniel Boyd, Untitled T13, 2015, 56th International Art Exhibition – la Biennale di Venezia, All the World's Futures. Photo by Andrea Avezzi. Courtesy: la Biennale di Venezia.*

Daniel Boyd's *Untitled T13* (2015) is not an Aboriginal acrylic dot painting but dots of archival glue placed to match the pixel-like

form of a reproduction from a colonial photographic archive. Archival glue is a hard, wax-like material that forms into lumps – the artist compares them to lenses – rather than the smooth two-dimensional dot of acrylic paint. As material evidence of racist photography, Boyd's paintings in glue at the 2015 Venice Biennale exhibition physicalised the *leitmotiv* of archives.

In Boyd's *Untitled T13* the representation of the Marshall Islands' navigational charts is an analogy to the visual wayfinding of archival photographs. While not associated with a concrete institution, Boyd's fake anachronic archive refers to institutionalised racism – thus fitting the Biennale curator Okwui Enwezor's curatorial interest in archival and documentary photography, which he argues was invented in apartheid South Africa.<sup>1</sup>

In the exhibition he curated in 2008, *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*, Enwezor diagnosed an 'archival fever' that had afflicted the art of modernity since the invention of photography. The invention, he believed, had precipitated a seismic shift in how art and temporality were conceived, and that we still live in its wake. Photography, argued Enwezor, was an inherently archival activity that sought to rescue a lost past: 'Here we witness firsthand how archival legacies become transformed into aesthetic principles, and artistic models become historicising constructs'.<sup>2</sup> These principles, which are essentially 'mnemonic strategies', operate as the distinctive medium of art in the previous 100 years. A persistent question haunts this archival logic of our times: 'the relationship between temporality and the image, or, rather, the object and its past'.<sup>3</sup> Thus, he concluded, the contemporary artist:

serves as the historic agent of memory, while the archive emerges as a place in which concerns with the past are

touched by the astringent vapours of death, destruction, and degeneration. Yet, against the tendency of contemporary forms of amnesia whereby the archive becomes a site of lost origins and memory is dispossessed, it is also within the archive that acts of remembering and regeneration occur, where a suture between the past and present is performed, in the indeterminate zone between event and image, document and monument.<sup>4</sup>

Enwezor's project was concerned with photographically based art, but his analysis had wider implications, as it implied that the invention of photography was such a paradigmatic epistemological shift that it marked all art whatever its medium. This is readily apparent in Hal Foster's analysis of an 'archival impulse at work internationally in contemporary art'.<sup>5</sup> Foster focused on three artists who worked across a range of media. While acknowledging that archivalism had been pervasive in modernist art throughout the last 100 years, he identified a distinctive current emergent in recent times that was relational (aimed at eliciting discussion) and charged with affect, utopian rather than subversive and geared to a world in which cultural memory and the symbolic order was failing. Indeed, the fetish for bureaucracy and accumulation is aestheticised in many postcolonial archive projects the world over. Zarina Bhimji and Emily Jacir for instance, document and accumulate, respectively.

These themes also circulate in various ways in the work of Aboriginal contemporary artists most keyed to the international art that interests the likes of Enwezor and Foster – that is, urban-based artists who have trained in university art schools and/or are familiar with the discourses of the contemporary art world. However, these artists also bring a distinctive thematic to bear

on the archive that directly addresses their collective colonial history, one which, to follow Enwezor, positions itself ‘against the tendency of contemporary forms of amnesia whereby the archive becomes a site of lost origins and memory is dispossessed’, but ‘also within the archive’ as if here ‘acts of remembering and regeneration occur’.<sup>6</sup> This distinctive Aboriginal thematic, I argue, is theoretically grounded in an anachronistic temporality.

In broadest terms, anachronism describes the act of understanding the past through the terms of another period. In this context, the interpretation of the past from the perspective of the present is anachronistic. Such a perspective, I argue, is the necessary precondition to decolonise the official discourse of Australian history. This official discourse constructed a totalising temporal model of teleological linear progression – the historicist chronology of civilisation’s advance – in which the continent is progressively de-Aboriginalised as it is Europeanised. In this context Aboriginal art history can only be produced anachronically, or against the temporality of the teleological assumptions of the colonial archive that organise the memory of colonialism, and which official Australian histories use to memorialise white Australia.

While the archival impulse in contemporary art is often if not overwhelmingly anachronistic – the tendency has been evident at least since Manet’s engagements with the history of Western painting and is the mainstay of postmodernist appropriation – Aboriginal artists tend to practice an engaged or tendentious anachronism, one that plunges into the past in order to imagine a new postcolonial future geared to an Aboriginal sovereignty. This chapter will test the thesis that Aboriginal art invented an anachronic archival turn. It will have to twist time to bend it to such a claim of precedence. Such an anachronistic history of art is not based on a strict linear teleology of the archival turn from the

avant-garde to the present. Its method enables a set of questions to be asked: Does the archival turn undermine or seek to draw on the historical power and temporal authority of the non-Indigenous archive? How would an Aboriginal archive collect and classify differently than the colonial that still marks most institutional archives? Why is the *unarchiving* of colonial record keeping part of the archival art project for Aboriginal artists, and how does it undermine rather than replicate the government archive?

The necessity of anachronic histories – of histories written against the grain of historicism’s chronologies – is evident in other disciplines. The agency in anachrony, Jacques Rancière argues, comes from the necessity of subjects acting ‘against their time’ to create change.<sup>7</sup> Feminist historian Caroline Arni uses Sigfried Kracauer’s challenge to historicism’s temporal teleology to define historical subjectivities and their strategic anachronism.<sup>8</sup> Art historians, such as Georges Didi-Huberman, Keith Moxey, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, have also begun recently to theorise productive anachronism.<sup>9</sup>

First I need to justify the use of this cumbersome historical terminology in what should be an argument that steers us away from the dominance of chronological frameworks in canonical art history. For the traditional historian or ‘anti-anachronist’, trying to encounter the past objectively or ‘on its own terms’, anachronism is to be stringently avoided. Thus, for example, anti-anachronists judge it impossible to use contemporary Aboriginal culture as a means of mediating work produced by Europeans and Aboriginal people during the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> ‘That is “not history” but “art”’, they protest. However, a productive anachronism has been at the core of much contemporary postcolonial and Aboriginal art that engages with the colonial archive and the colonial record.

Contemporary art contributes productively to the revision of history that has been standardised by political interests.

The ephemerality of much Aboriginal visual material from the nineteenth century (works on bark, performances, body art, organic ephemera) demands creatively associative methods of restoration. Contemporary Aboriginal art, in particular, is working with the colonial archive to re-imagine or rediscover such lost material. The ways in which an anachronic archival impulse ignites the sparking distances between the historical and the contemporary also amplifies the struggles in art history against normative categories of time. Postcolonial artists are intervening distinctively in the colonial record to decolonise Australian art history and produce Aboriginal art history.



*Figure 15.2: Julie Gough, TAHO LC347, HDMI video, Tasmanian Bennett Wallaby skins, sheep skins, 2013.*

Other artists more directly engage with the archive by capitalising on the potential of revisionist history writing in the material

aspects of archival practice and its representational politics in the institutional environment. Such approaches in contemporary art are typically related to postmodernist exercises in appropriation and institutional critique that often cite the writings of Michel Foucault and Walter Benjamin.<sup>11</sup> In the video *TAHO LC347* (2013) Julie Gough films from a tripod over her shoulder the act of typing archival records, accompanied by the bureaucratic noises of the archive.

The name refers to the boxes of loose-leafed, uncatalogued police magistrate reports (LC347) from Northern Tasmania held in the TAHO Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office in Hobart. These records, which date from the early 1820s, archive stories involving Aboriginal people and the Aboriginal community's sealer/sailor ancestors. As the everyday in the archives for Gough unfolds on film, the banality of evil in the violent encounters she is transcribing is heightened by the subtle mimicry in her gesture: the artist digitising a copy of a document that was produced in the same cool, deadly vein. The Tasmanian archives are full of the most gruesome descriptions of the mistreatment of Aboriginal people by settlers in the nineteenth century. It is a physical violence that haunts the whole island archipelago and the few that survived it.

The eerily barren sites of colonial Tasmania are also epitomised in Ricky Maynard's landscape photographs of important Aboriginal sites on the island, as if he is making his own counter archive to the official colonial record of Aboriginal Tasmania. The series *Portrait of a Distant Land* (2007) includes *The Healing Garden* in Wybalenna on Flinders Island in Tasmania. Also a Tasmanian Aboriginal artist, Maynard was inspired to become a photographic artist in the early 1980s after working in the photographic archive of AIATSIS (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander Studies) in Canberra, engaged in historical research in his photographic practice.

### Archive Acupuncture

As Enwezor explored in his 2008 exhibition referred to previously, archivally oriented contemporary art takes historical evidence both literally and metaphorically, and thus highlights the often indeterminate lines between documentation and fiction in the archive. Addressing the archive as a medium or paradigm, postcolonial artists work through its materiality in order to rethink the temporality of the postcolony. Amongst those working anachronistically on the archive, we can count such celebrated artists as Samson Kambalu, Simryn Gill, Tom Nicholson, Judy Watson, Susan Hiller, Christian Boltanski, Mark Dion, Tacita Dean, Taryn Simon, Thomas Hirschhorn, Walid Raad, William Kentridge, Doris Salcedo, Kara Walker, Georges Adéagbo, Sammy Baloji, Samuel Fosso, Marlene Dumas, William Kentridge, Shigeyuki Kihara, Kent Monkman, Jeffrey Thomas, and Doris Salcedo.

Such is the proliferation of artists these days working with the archive or in an archival manner, that the genre is evident in many of the works in the 2015 Venice Biennale. In urban Aboriginal art geared to postcolonial themes in particular, the genre may be seen to be dominant to the point of being hegemonic, as if a postcolonial future cannot be imagined without first dismantling the colonial archive. The anthropologist of archive-art, Ferdinand de Jong, speaks of a 'context of postcolonial fatigue, in which many postcolonial subjects have abandoned the project of decolonising the imagination and have resigned themselves to what the anthropologist Charles Piot has termed "nostalgia for the future".<sup>12</sup> A new impulse to rethink postcolonial futures is required. Such an impulse may be found in the archival work of those artists

whose critique of the archive yields a decolonised subjectivity. I am thinking of those artists who act on the clenched muscle of time like the acupunctural needle does, diving into just a precise spot and from there enlivening the whole body of material again. In one such strain there is an intense focus on one or a few items from an archive that open out into an artwork, as in cultural revival projects such as the possum skin cloaks and mourning rituals in which Clarke has been engaged.



*Figure 15.3: Maree Clarke, Born of the Land, 2014, sculptural video installation, dimensions variable, duration 1:48 minutes, video produced by SW Production. Courtesy the artist and Vivien Anderson Gallery, Melbourne. Photography by Kirsty Milliken.*

Inspired by images in the encyclopedia of 1860 by Wilhelm von Blandowski, Clarke began to remake mourning skull caps. Clarke's research revealed that the dead were given a clay digging stick (made from the same 'Kopi', the white gypseous clay that occurs naturally around Mildura in Victoria) to dig their way out of a possum skin cloak and grave to become one of the stars in the night sky.<sup>13</sup> While painting bodies with this white clay Clarke was continually confronted with her communities' fear of the

ghosts of the dead. The archival image was taken deadly seriously and re-enacting it was seen as a potential danger. The magic of the image was very much seen to be potentially effective and borrowing even just the gestures of the archival ancestor could wake in the living the same fate as the long dead.

Brook Andrew has also approached taboo topics surrounding death through the same archive. For him the engraving of the burial mound near the Budda River in Blandowski's archive represents the ongoing recuperation of archives of disappeared Aboriginal people. Particularly perturbed by the protocols and taboos that now limit access and use of ethnographic collections, Andrew recuperates precisely those 'images of death, sexuality and evidences of colonial wars [that] are thought not to exist and are therefore erased or hidden from the public eye, without witness or assessment'.<sup>14</sup>

Andrew's screen-print *The Island*, on 2.5 m x 3 m cloaks of Belgian linen, is so large that one enters the work as the only human figure, surrounded by dendroglyphs, facing a life-size burial mound. Around the burial mound is a flattened path in a circle with two approaches, one from the central foreground and a second obscured and leading out at 180 degrees on the far side. Through the trees that rise above the mound is a forest of eucalypts. The surface of *The Island* is ruptured, the red paint cracked to reveal a silver underground. The artificiality of the colours makes the landscape more alien and unbelievable. It is as if the colour repressed in the prints and photographs from the 1850s returns in Andrew's screen prints.<sup>15</sup> His images appear, as Andrew said of his interpretation of Blandowski, to be a 'science fiction' of a civilisation refracted back through time.<sup>16</sup>

Andrew's growing personal archive from which he sources found materials for his art works is an example of an artist's

archive – a not uncommon practice amongst contemporary artists. Indeed, it is an age-old practice: Durer had his own cabinet of curiosities and Picasso and Matisse were famous for their collections of Indigenous art. However, Andrew's work shows how acts of archiving can be violent displacements of meaning. The artist's intervention in archives is not a peaceful or conciliatory act. Nor does he shy away from the allure of the archive, its nostalgia and fetishistic nature evident in the ambivalence that pervades his work.

The archive is a place of visibility and invisibility. Its revelations or visibilities are enacted through its strategic management of invisibilities. It is not just the obscurity of the classification system that makes archives difficult to penetrate, but the willed concealment on the part of curators who see them as their own and even more, the epistemologies in which they work. Thus the histories of museum displays are palimpsests of the shifting reception and extension of control and power in debates about Aboriginal culture. Adjudication of proper and anachronistic reuses of culture is also still the domain of anthropology. Baldwin Spencer's social evolutionism, in which all Aboriginal contact with Europeans produced cultural degeneration (rather than creative engagement) may no longer carry much weight, but few yet accepted that Aboriginal artists of the nineteenth century who anachronistically appropriated European material culture were ahead of their time. Only now are critics beginning to see that to deconstruct a mission blanket for thread rather than use it whole was a creative rather than ignorant act. Some change in the reception of 'entangled objects' – a term coined by the anthropological historian Nicholas Thomas as a way to re-imagine Indigenous cross-cultural engagements as creative endeavours – evidences a celebration of anachronistic reuse.<sup>17</sup>

Anthropologists following Nicholas Thomas are debating the terms of 'entanglement' between Indigenous and modern, thereby looking at the mutual entanglements of people around objects rather than a hierarchical coloniser-colonised relationship of exchange. Shawn Rowlands argues that to analyse entanglement, as Thomas did, is to define it as a synthesis of desire. This, Rowlands argues, omits close analysis of material entanglements. Although the study of entangled objects is primarily an anthropology of material culture, the archival impulse in contemporary art urges us to question what cultural entanglements mean when the archive reconstitutes culture for community, not just for the art scene, salvage ethnographers, or history writers.

The possum skin cloaks are an example of this and have been written about and remade from many different perspectives.<sup>18</sup> The 'old ways' maintain that the possum skin cloak was a medium used by Indigenous people in south-east Australia before contact to signify kin. This is reinforced by identifying the features of country represented on the cloaks. However, now that the revival of a ritual object has been realised in its fabrication, it is all the more difficult to move again beyond the object, which does not yet carry the culture of rituals and country that once surrounded it. The recent success in the difficult task of remaking possum skin cloaks in suburban twenty-first-century Australia is held as hope for cultural revival.<sup>19</sup>

Let me give an example of the material entanglements in the possum skin cloaks. Len Tregonning plans to chew the fat off the kangaroo tail that can today be bought fresh at the Victoria Market in Melbourne, in order to prepare sinews that will be the thread to sew together the skins. Every day the tails available from the butcher shop prove too rotten so Vicki Couzens, Maree Clarke and Lee Darroch have to use commercially bought thread instead.

With a mixture of old and new tools – mussel shells and possum jaws, thread rather than kangaroo sinew and with a herringbone blanket stitch – they have refashioned a family tradition.<sup>20</sup> Along with Couzens’ stitching together of methods comes not only a fresh set of designs, but a revitalisation of familial ties sung in whatever lists of language can be found.<sup>21</sup> Mourning songs for the cloaks when they are hung over a coffin, and naming songs for specific days and stories are accompanied with clap-sticks.

### Inventing ‘Art’ From the Archive



*Figure 15.4: Ishmael Marika, Kathy Lette and Grayson Perry at the opening of Enduring Civilisation at the British Museum, London, in April 2015. Photo: John Carty.*

Australian art historian Ian McLean’s thesis that Aboriginal Australians invented contemporary art has stimulated justifications in many directions, and contemporary artist Grayson Perry recently articulated a provocative mutation of the thesis.<sup>22</sup> Perry is a celebrity transvestite potter, the Dame Edna of the London art world and trustee of the British Museum. Transvestism does not preclude conservatism, and Perry’s careful choice of a Victorian

costume to the opening of the *Enduring Civilisation* exhibition at the British Museum in 2015 was an absurd picture of the colonial among the Aboriginal elders the evening was supposed to spotlight.

Positioned at the entrance of the opening of the *Enduring Civilisation* exhibition at the British Museum, Perry reiterated to me his inversion of McLean's thesis, which he gave in the prestigious Reith Lectures on BBC radio.

I went to the 'Australia' show recently at the Royal Academy and that's got quite a lot of Aborigine art, and they're very beautiful and powerful objects, but are they art? Because the original bark paintings were kind of spiritual maps and their relationship with the universe and the landscape and they're powerful ethnic items, but are they contemporary art? You know they look like abstract expressionist paintings, but are they, you know, because do they know about the contemporary art world? I don't know.

But then I read this story about this 81-year-old white artist in Australia called Elizabeth Durack who painted Aborigine style paintings under the pseudonym of Eddie Burrup and put them into an Aborigine art show, and there was outrage that she should borrow their special otherness – you know, the fact that they *weren't* artists. She was borrowing the power. And yet there was outrage at that and yet there wasn't outrage about the Aboriginal artists borrowing the power of being a contemporary artist somehow. It was an interesting point about, you know, is it art if it's not done by someone who sort of acknowledges themselves as an artist.<sup>23</sup>

In this way, Perry inverts the ‘Aborigines invented contemporary art’ idea. He clarified this to me in conversation by saying Aboriginal people who claim they are contemporary artists steal his identity as white, male, British Museum Trustee and fixture of the London art establishment. *They are not artists, I am*, he says, before launching into a lecture about how Duchamp made a toilet an artwork because he was Duchamp. The artist is artist because the self-referential art scene judges it to be so. The parody-come-pandering-to-the-market that Perry excels at is supposed to justify his claim that Aboriginal artists are fakes and intruders. What it doesn’t take into account is the way in which Aboriginal art has far surpassed in quality, innovation and even economic success anything a dealer could have come up with on their own, and it has enabled artists to stay, self-determined on country.

The British Museum is only now beginning to conceive of the future existence of an Australian gallery. As Perry says, ‘all the best stuff is already on display’, and ‘when you see what’s going on in Syria you think maybe it’s safer here’. The Museum’s Director ‘Neil MacGregor takes the sting out the great storehouse of stuff that has been taken from around the world’.<sup>24</sup> Yet in his television programs Perry plays with the utter construction of identity. Is not the successful invention of an Aboriginal contemporary art just the kind of manoeuvre in the market that is embraced by the fickle and fast-moving art scene? For Perry is also saying Aboriginal Australians invented contemporary art, fabricating it from history, as historian Keith Windschuttle would argue. Stephen Muecke, citing Bruno Latour, recently responded to Windschuttle by writing that good fabrication is a sign of understanding the material.<sup>25</sup> A cleverly invented art that fabricates the claims of contemporaneity is contributing to the essence of making art and history.

Muecke deals a deft blow to the authenticity problem. Perry, on the other hand, says: ‘old, poor, dirty things always seem more authentic, that’s why people go to old, poor, dirty places on holiday...[These are the] tropes associated with authenticity’. Perry’s problem with Aboriginal artists anachronistically inventing contemporary art is not a problem at all. Perry claims in his BBC interview that Aboriginal artists seek to draw on the power of contemporary artists, just like white settler artists (Gauguin, Picasso, Matisse and the rest) have sought the cache of the Aboriginal archive in primitivism.

## Conclusion

As Howard Morphy recently urged, it is not all of Aboriginal art that is anachronistic in its dealings with the archive.<sup>26</sup> This discussion focuses on a particular range of Aboriginal artists that use avant-garde strategies from institutional critique, performance, and ethnographic conceptualism. There are many different strategies that artists working archivally have used in Australia. Some stage a performative institutional critique (as in the Julie Gough example of TAHO), while others like Brook Andrew create their own archive. Yet another contemporary strategy makes the biography of one previously invisible protagonist stand for ‘the devastatingly incomplete archive’.<sup>27</sup> Take, for example, reconfigurations of archival photographs such as Daniel Boyd’s pixel-like three-dimensional dots made of oil and archival glue on canvas in the *Untitled T13*, based on a photograph of a Marshall Islands Chart given to author Robert Louis Stevenson. Like many of his works in this series of ambivalent black and white history paintings, black and white relations are metaphorically reproduced and restructured through the lens of concave blobs of archival glue. The details of the historical moment, the artefacts and

captions being represented are blurred by the very medium that is intended as fixture of archival photographs to their mounts – here a metaphor for the epistemological limits of the archive. Black and white is both signifier and signified in the semiotic play on Boyd's canvas. It fractures the colonial photograph through the vocabulary of contemporary conceptual painting. The photograph's meanings in the archive change as it recirculates as an appropriated artwork. There are shifts in the potential meanings of photographs that document institutionalised racism, and when these images are materially and anachronistically re-worked they also become critical and reflexive.

I have discussed examples of Julie Gough, Brook Andrew, Daniel Boyd and Maree Clarke's work because they use anachronism not to condemn or ironically attack those artist-historians who transport themselves into the terms of the past and ventriloquise from there – they have moved beyond this – but to show a more creative alternative use of the archive. Rather than treat the archive as a mute object to be mined, with its visibilities and invisibilities taken as a given, they make it into a subject that can reveal and speak back its secrets and invisibilities, and somewhat paradoxically they do this by adopting the procedures of the archive. Their contemporary and thus anachronistic use of the colonial archive shows how effective a strategy for decolonisation it is to wrench colonial artefacts from the terms in which they were once cast and let them unsettle the settler discourses about Australian art history.

## Notes

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- 3 *ibid.*, p. 23.
  - 4 *ibid.*, pp. 46–7.
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  - 8 S. Kracauer, *History: The Last Things Before the Last*, Paul Oskar Kristeller (ed and trans), Markus Wiener, Princeton, 1995, pp. 139–63.
  - 9 G. Didi-Huberman, 'Before the Image, Before Time: The Sovereignty of Anachronism', in Claire Farago (ed), *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and Out of History*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2003, pp. 31–44 at 42; K. Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2013; A. Nagel & C. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.
  - 10 I recall here as examples especially a response from Nicholas Jardine at the University of Cambridge, History of Science Senior Seminar. Nicholas Jardine defines vicious anachronism as a 'historically incoherent interpretation of past deeds and works' in which the conditions of production that determine meaning are denied. See N. Jardine, 'Uses and Abuses of Anachronism in the History of the Sciences', *History of Science*, no. 38, 2000, pp. 251–70 at 252.
  - 11 For example see *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, Special Issue: Following the Archival Turn: Photography, the Museum, and the Archive, C. Simon (ed), vol. 18, no. 2, 2002.
  - 12 F. de Jong, Introductory address to *At Work in the Archive* conference, Sainsbury Institute for Art, University of East Anglia (UEA), 8 May 2014. The framework and discussions at the conference de Jong organised at UEA is the source of many of the reflections in these paragraphs and I am grateful to all the participants, especially Alexandra Dodd, Paul Basu, Ferdinand de Jong, Rania Jaber, Nadine Siegert, Angela Briedbach, and Brenton Maart.
  - 13 Maree Clarke has made *Kopi: Connected to Country* in a range of exhibitions including the 2010 Melbourne International Arts Festival.
  - 14 B. Andrew, 'Come in to the Light', viewed 11 December 2015, < <http://maa.cam.ac.uk/the-island-catalogue/> >.
  - 15 W. Garden, 'Ethical Witnessing and the Portrait Photograph: Brook Andrew', *Journal of Australian Studies* vol. 35, no. 2, June 2011, pp. 251–64.

- 16 B. Andrew, 'Remember How we See: *The Island*', in H. Allen (ed), *Australia: William Blandowski's Illustrated Encyclopaedia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 165–8 at 166.
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- 18 F. Edmonds with M. Clarke, *Sort of Like Reading a Map: A Community Report on the survival of Aboriginal Art in Southeastern Australia since 1834*, website accessed 15 April 2015, <<http://www.lowitja.org.au/sites/default/files/docs/Sort-of-like-reading-a-map-amended.pdf>>; F. Edmonds, "'Art is Us': Aboriginal Art, Identity and Wellbeing in Southeast Australia", PhD Dissertation, Melbourne University, 2007.
- 19 For hope as a method see the various chapters of J. McDonald & A. M. Stephenson (eds), *The Resilience of Hope*, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2010.
- 20 J. L. Comaroff & J. Comaroff, *Ethnicity Inc*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 2009.
- 21 Ivan Couzens (Vicki's father) has written a dictionary of the Kirrae Wurrong language in which there are many words related to possum skins, evidencing how important they are to that culture. *Teen Yoolonteeyt* (old female possum), *Takoort weentat* (young possums) and *Weeyan* (possum cry) are just a few examples. Vicki Couzens works for the aboriginal Language Corporation, see the Dictionary of Australian Artists Online (DAAO) entry for Vicki Couzens.
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- 23 P. Grayson, 'Playing to the Gallery' and 'Beating the Bounds', Reith Lectures 2013, Liverpool, 22 October 2013, pp. 12–13. See website, viewed 2 October 2015, <[downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/reith-lecture2-liverpool.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/radio4/transcripts/reith-lecture2-liverpool.pdf)>. Thank you to Helen Idle for guiding me to this source.
- 24 All quotations unless otherwise stated are taken from an interview published as: Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll, 'My Big Ugly Art World: Grayson Perry on Aboriginal art and how to be undiplomatic in the history wars', *Art Monthly Australia*, no. 285, November 2015, pp. 38–41.
- 25 S. Muecke, 'A diplomat for the history wars', *Text*, no. 28, April 2015, viewed 2 October 2015, <<http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Muecke.pdf>>.
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- 27 E. Smith, 'Obsolescence and Ephemera in Postcolonial History', in K. von Zinnenburg Carroll (ed), *The Importance of Being Anachronistic*, Discipline, Melbourne, in press.

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