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Urban Representations: Cultural expression, identity and politics

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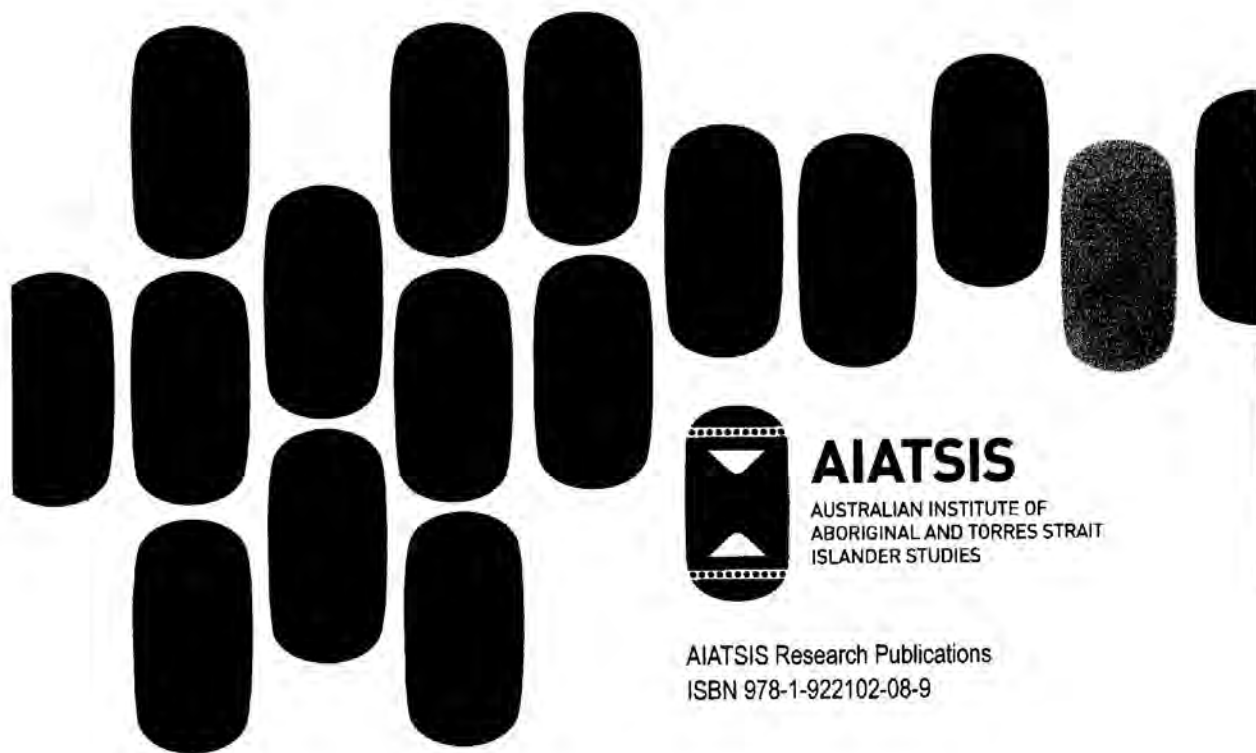
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Indigenous Studies Conference



The chapters in this volume were presented as papers in the sessions on Representation and Cultural Expression at the 2009 AIATSIS National Indigenous Studies Conference. They look at artistic expression and its relationship to Indigenous life and culture in a variety of media and in different Australian urban locations, including:

- mural art in Melbourne's inner north
- the marketing of Aboriginal art in the commercial sector
- revival of the traditional art of making possum skin cloaks
- representations of Aboriginality in Australian film soundtracks
- the 1990 Venice biennale and new perceptions of artistic practice
- community festivals as focal points for Indigenous art and culture.

Urban representations explores the interpretive frameworks through which the work of 'urban' Aboriginal artists is understood, the political activism in which artists are engaged and the continued questioning of identity.



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Chapter 5

Neither dots nor bark: Positioning the urban artist

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Abstract: *This paper considers the positioning of the urban Indigenous artist through an examination of the selection of Rover Thomas and Trevor Nickolls to represent Australia at the Venice Biennale in 1990 under the rubric 'Not dots or bark' (O'Ferrall 1990). At that time the mainstream art world was still uncertain how it rated urban art by Indigenous artists. It was not even sure how to categorise Rover Thomas, as he came from a town in the remote East Kimberley and depicted a ceremonial landscape that included roads and bridges. Neither Thomas nor Nickolls fitted easily into the two generally accepted categories of Aboriginal art at that time: dot painters from Papunya or bark painters from Arnhem Land. These two categories in denial of their cross-cultural histories were regarded as the 'new primitive' and had the purchase on timeless authenticity. Aboriginal art was perceived as 'homogenous' and 'classical', but 'Venice challenges this notion' (Garuana and Isaacs 1990). Prior to the Venice Biennale, Aboriginal art suffered from what was then termed category panic: if new work was 'neither dots nor bark', how should it be categorised and was it authentically Aboriginal?*

Introduction

The 1990 Venice Biennale is a hinge point in a critical decade that begins in 1984. It can be reliably said that a year later, in 1985, Rover Thomas began painting in ground-up local ochres on board and canvas, almost a decade after his discovery in 1975 of the *Kuril Kuril*¹ ceremony in a series of dreams after Cyclone Tracy. His first subjects were taken from the boards used by the dancers performing the *Kuril Kuril* and, understandably, were influenced by the work of a senior Gija artist, Paddy Tjaminji,

who had been instructed by Rover Thomas as the dreamer of the *Kuril Kuril* to paint the dance boards.

In the Kimberley artists use the word 'boards' to denote paintings on any introduced surface, including canvas. Very soon Thomas's repertoire expanded and incorporated the multifarious aspects of the country he was familiar with; the stories of the mythological travels of ancestor figures from the Western Desert that he had grown up with and the ancestral stories of his adopted Gija country. Thomas also painted the modern history of that country, such as its roads, bridges and other man-made landmarks, and its Indigenous contact history of frontier encounters and massacres. While Thomas's work remained largely non-figurative, there was nothing in the past or the present it might not encompass — from telephone boxes to crossroads in Tokyo. Thomas's appetite for painting the world he encountered was voracious and did not privilege the old over the new. He was interested in delineating the marks on the country, whether they had been made by Dreaming figures or surveyors with bulldozers.

In 1984, the same year that Rover Thomas began painting at Warmun in the East Kimberley, the first significant exhibition of urban Aboriginal art was held in Sydney. *Koori Art '84* was held at Artspace and curated by sociologist and academic Vivien Johnson. Trevor Nickolls was one of the artists exhibited, as was Banduk Marika, a Yolŋu woman from Yirrkala in north-east Arnhem Land who was then living and working in Sydney and establishing herself as a fabric designer and printmaker. Three years later, Boomalli Aboriginal Artists Ko-operative was formed in Chippendale (close to Redfern in Sydney) and ANCAAA, the Association of Northern and Central Australian Aboriginal Artists, was also created. In 1988 Boomalli combined with ANCAAA to hold a joint exhibition under the banner *Artworks Produced and Managed by Aboriginal People*, which included the work of Rover Thomas. However, Boomalli did not exhibit Trevor Nickolls' work, perhaps because he was one of the first recognised urban artists and already well known.

Trevor Nickolls was the founding father of urban Aboriginal art and in his work you see many of the tropes associated with 'The Urban Aboriginal Artist': the kitsch reclamation of the diorama black dolly, the fierce bloody polemic, the use of overt symbols and puns, the brightly lit carnival colours, the wholesale raiding of the Western art cultural armoury, the issues associated with using traditional marks in *rarrk* and dots. Nickolls' poetry and punning constantly materialise language, a tendency that Richard Bell, Gordon Hookey and Gordon Bennett have made into an art form. His many alter egos prefigure Bennett's John Citizen. Without Nickolls how and where might Destiny Deacon, Robert Campbell Jr, Lin Onus, HJ Wedge, Ian Abdullah and Julie Dowling have begun? In 1985, just after *Koori Art '84*, Ulli Beier published a monograph, *Dream Time – Machine Time: The art of Trevor Nickolls*, which clearly signalled Nickolls' significance as an artist.

The child of an Aboriginal mother and a Scottish father, Nickolls grew up in the outer industrial suburbs of Adelaide under the shadow of Namatjira and he began

art school around the time of the beginnings of Papunya Tula. He was an unusually sensitive child and was directed to art early on. His first discovery was Picasso, the Picasso of *Guernica* (1937); the head turned sideways looking up at a foreboding sky terrified and pleading for release. That head has been a continuous recurrent presence in Nickolls' work; it is often serrated like a cut-out cardboard crown or a sawtooth factory roof.

In Nickolls' work self-portrait manifests in many forms and is frequently doubled; playing cards, Janus faces, Gemini figures and double head optical illusions; now you see me, now you don't, I am seen and I am hiding, or I am hidden; obscured and covered over by that other part of myself. Sometimes the doubling takes the form of inversion; the card figures that read upside down or the faces that divide along their own profile, in mourning for the lost twin, the other self. The split selves grow and proliferate into the split world, which is the dialectic of modernity: Dreamtime and machinetime, nature and nurture, spirit and commerce.

To understand the context in which Rover Thomas and Trevor Nickolls were selected to represent Australia in the 1990 Venice Biennale, I consider certain events such as the Saatchi & Saatchi advertising campaign for the Northern Territory Tourist Commission and the exhibition proposed by 'Ace' Bourke (which I will return to shortly) and the discourse surrounding them in the period leading up to 1990. They clearly indicate the level of category panic that was prevalent in Aboriginal art at the time. Since the early 1970s the term 'transitional' had gained some currency as an umbrella term used to describe Indigenous work that was seen as neither narrowly and strictly traditional nor unquestionably mainstream 'modern' art. It had first been applied to Papunya painting but had eventually withered away. By 1985 'transitional' persisted as a descriptor. Anthropologist Vincent Megaw (1985:51) invoked it in his criticism of the initial hang at the Australian National Gallery — 'at the time of its opening celebrations in 1982, no example of transitional or contemporary, non-traditional, non-tribal Aboriginal art was on view' — to make the point that acrylic art was not recognised in that institution. In the same publication, the term 'transitional' was applied by the maverick Papunya Tula art co-ordinator and supreme marketer Andrew Crocker to describe both Papunya and bark painting. Crocker (1985:45) argued that in these paintings, 'neither are the materials wholly traditional, nor the motives for the painting, nor the use to which the paintings are put', and he separates them from 'ceremonial painting'. For Crocker (1985:46) the 'transitional' are the 'commercial efforts' but he does acknowledge that 'there is probably an overlapping in both directions'. It is significant that Crocker embraces 'transitional' to describe Papunya art and in the same move locates it on the same level of *transition* as bark painting. Crocker continues to place the work at 'the other end of the scale', the work made by urban Aboriginals, calling it 'reconstituted art'. Crocker's final category is 'hybrid', which he applies to textile design, music and ceramics (Crocker 1985). 'Transitional' is a distinctly uncomfortable label: neither pure enough to be traditional, nor so

adulterated as to be merely tourist art, but on the way from somewhere to somewhere and somehow not there yet, not a proper category or style with a very slippery meaning attached. A circuit breaker was needed to free these shackled binaries. The instability of this discourse, which I have characterised as 'category panic', is prevalent and palpable before Venice.

The 1989 Northern Territory Tourist Commission advertising campaign by Saatchi & Saatchi, *There's Nowhere in the World Like Our Own Territory* (NT Tourism 1989), featured an abundance of Aboriginal art: photographs of rock art, reproductions of bark paintings and desert dot painting, and examples of work commissioned from Yolŋu artist Terry Yumbul and Murri artist Arone Raymond Meeks. Yumbul made ochre paintings on paper in bark-painting style and animations. Many of them depicted non-traditional subjects, including a version of the Northern Territory Tourist Commission's logo, a brogga hovering over a sunset. Another had discrete images in separate panels divided by decorative *rarrk*: a tube of sunscreen, a bush hat, an aeroplane, a tour bus and, most bizarrely of all, a building designated 'bank'. The animation showed a plane flying by and an Aboriginal family driving along in a Toyota. Meeks' black and white prints in woodblock or lino cut style are the basis for a series of elegant posters: of birds, wildflowers, barramundi and a starry sky. In this one campaign, contemporary Aboriginal art is registered and modulated as if in four degrees: *Old Traditional* (rock painting), *New Traditional/Transitional* (barks and dots), *Contemporary Traditional* (Yumbul) and *Contemporary Modern* (Meeks). You might wonder where the *Reconstituted*, the *Hybrid* or the *Urban* is in all that.

If the Northern Territory tourism campaign represents the mainstream and the macro level, then the exhibitions proposed by Anthony 'Ace' Bourke at Hogarth Galleries speak for the inner circle and the micro level of the articulation of the discourse. Bourke was concerned that the 1990 Sydney Biennale had not included any Aboriginal art and he proposed two exhibitions at Hogarth Galleries during the period of the Biennale: *Urban Aboriginal Art 1990* and *Innovations in Aboriginal Art 1990*. Writing in 1989 to Joel Smoker, the co-ordinator at Waringarri Aboriginal Arts in Kununurra, Bourke said, 'There is a degree of confusion in the public's mind about "urban", "traditional" and "innovative" Aboriginal art and for example, which category Jimmy Pike falls into' (Bourke 1989). Bourke proposed that Rover Thomas and Jack Britten from Waringarri Aboriginal Arts should be included in the *Innovations* exhibition, alongside Jimmy Pike, Jack Wunuwun and Banduk Marika. The work by Jimmy Pike confounded this classification. Although a traditional Walmajarra man who grew up in the Great Sandy Desert, Pike had begun making art while serving time in Fremantle gaol under the tutelage and support of two non-Indigenous art teachers, Stephen Culley and David Wroth. After release from prison Jimmy Pike returned to country to paint, and formed a partnership with his former teachers to license his artwork under the name Desert Designs. 'Ace' Bourke did not indicate who he considered urban, but he was well versed in the urban, having previously held solo

exhibitions of Trevor Nickolls and Sally Morgan. Bourke argued that Rover Thomas and Jack Britten 'are central to the thesis of the exhibition. How "traditional" and how "innovative" are their paintings?' (Bourke 1989). Although the exhibition never eventuated, again there was an attempt to wrangle the works into the correct category, while still maintaining the demarcation around the 'urban'.

The tortuous gradations of these terms to describe Aboriginal art and the category panic prompted exaggerated responses, which I call 'category policing' by the art world, and the nervous dividing and re-dividing is reminiscent of the racialist discourse that categorised the Aboriginal person as 'full blood', 'half-caste', 'quadroon' and 'octoroon' on the basis of perceived quantities of Aboriginal blood. By analogy, in Aboriginal art at this time, it was as if blood was the indicator of perceived authenticity, and if you go so far as to substitute the Chief Protector for the Aboriginal Art Theorist, then the categories move from the traditional (standing for the 'full blood') to the transitional (standing for the 'half-caste') and the reconstituted (presumably standing for the 'octoroon'!).

In 1990 the pairing of Trevor Nickolls and Rover Thomas was a curatorial coup and a highly conscious strategy on the part of curator Michael O'Ferrall of the Art Gallery of Western Australia to blow apart these constricting definitions of Aboriginal art at the time. O'Ferrall, the prime mover behind the Venice Biennale coup, was one of the most experienced people in the burgeoning field of Aboriginal art curating. O'Ferrall was the first art co-ordinator at Yirrkala and was part of a loose coalition of curators and art advisors, including Vivien Johnson, Djon Mundine (then at Ramingining) and Wally Caruana at the National Gallery of Australia, who were determined to position Aboriginal art as contemporary art. They utilised forums, reviews, publications and exhibitions to make their point and ensured that Aboriginal art was presented in an unsegregated and non-compartmentalised way alongside other Australian contemporary art. George Milpurrurru, the traditional bark painter, had been selected for both the 1979 and 1986 Sydney Biennales. Milpurrurru's inclusion was brokered by Djon Mundine, a visionary art co-ordinator in the remote community of Ramingining in Arnhem Land. Mundine's initiatives addressed category panic in a constructive, critical and interventionist manner and demonstrated how permeable the borders were. Mundine saw to it that traditional art, whether it was bark painting in the case of Milpurrurru or weaving in the case of Robyn Djunginy's innovative and unprecedented woven bottles, which could be read as sculptural objects, was repositioned and placed in the extreme white cube modernist glare of the Biennale. As co-ordinator of the art centre at Ramingining, Mundine had a strategy that brought together urban and local artists to meet on country, which led to collaborations and cross-fertilisations of art and the founding of a bush art academy at Garmedi, an outstation near Ramingining presided over by Elder and artist Jack Wunuwun.

O'Ferrall had already done a dry run for the Biennale by curating *On the Edge* (O'Ferrall 1989) for the Art Gallery of Western Australia in the previous year, where

he included Trevor Nickolls alongside Bede Tungtulum (a Tiwi artist best known for founding Tiwi Designs and for his work as a printmaker), two bark painters, Mandjuwi from Elcho Island and George Milpurrurru from Ramingining, and Western Australia's own emerging artist Rover Thomas. The exhibition's subtitle was *Five Contemporary Aboriginal Artists* and O'Ferrall stressed that 'their art presents some of the key characteristics within the present day plurality of Aboriginal art practice' and that it revealed 'a sense of landscape identified as both personal, historical and social space' (O'Ferrall 1989). O'Ferrall knew his judgment was being backed because both Thomas and Nickolls were featured later in 1989 in exhibitions at the newly opened Deutscher Gertrude Street Gallery in Melbourne. Trevor Nickolls had a solo show and Rover Thomas was prominent in an exhibition from Waringarri Art Centre, *Turkey Creek Dreaming*. In the same year as the Venice Biennale, Thomas and Nickolls were both included in the Queensland Art Gallery *Balance 1990* exhibition.

The Venice Biennale was the distillation of O'Ferrall's ideas for *On the Edge*. By pairing Port Adelaide-born and art-school-trained artist Trevor Nickolls with the charismatic Kimberley stockman Rover Thomas, O'Ferrall uncoupled the debilitating dichotomies of traditional/transitional and timeless/contemporary, and replaced them for a brief blazing moment with a notion of regional, individual artists apparently not dependent on tribal or group affiliations. In the space O'Ferrall cleared, categories were destabilised. Australian critics floundered as they tried to compare and contrast these new types of Aboriginal artists. European critics were utterly dazed and confused.

To examine the language in which Nickolls and Thomas were cast and received, the front cover of the special issue of *Artforce* published by the Australia Council describes them as 'contemporary Aboriginal artists' and notes that people who are familiar with 'traditional' Aboriginal art will find they represent a different and challenging direction and 'the start of a new understanding about contemporary Aboriginal art' (*Artforce* 1990). Inside the publication, O'Ferrall is discovered to be the source of the quote. He elaborates, 'Both artists' work was chosen because it is dramatically different to the more recognised traditions of Aboriginal art — the traditional style is viewed more as a regional product than as an intensely personal expression' (*Artforce* 1990:8). The link between Thomas and Nickolls was that they were individual artists as opposed to representatives of their tribes or communities. The emphasis on them as individuals may have been a strategy on O'Ferrall's part to avoid using the tainted and loaded term 'transitional'.

The term 'transitional' had hovered around Rover Thomas, never quite settling yet not going away until Venice. There had been disquiet in some quarters about exactly what Rover Thomas's work was; some kind of new funeral ceremony; art arising from a dream about a motor car and an aeroplane focused on a recent event, Cyclone Tracy. Warmun or Turkey Creek is just off the main road between Kununurra and Halls Creek. It is remote but arguably not isolated, which is glossed in this context as isolated from modern Western influences that threaten the authentic purity of

Indigenous expression. Moreover, it was known that Rover Thomas was painting country not his own but Gija land while dwelling in Kununurra on Mirriwung country; his situation was complex and problematic but not that unusual for an Aboriginal person in the Kimberley, where displacement, dislocation and dispossession is the norm and the direct consequence of the entrenched encroachment of pastoralism and the relentless pursuit of mineral wealth. Vivien Johnson, writing about Narelle Jubelin's exhibition *Trade Delivers People*, shown in Aperto at the 1990 Venice Biennale, says of Rover Thomas and Trevor Nickolls, 'Aboriginal artists have in recent times laid to rest the fallacy of "primitivism" by invading the spaces of High Art with powerful contemporary art, whose conceptual sophistication and aesthetic impact rival instead of reinforce their non-Aboriginal contemporaries' (Johnson 1990a:unpaginated).

Wally Caruana and Jennifer Isaacs edited a special supplement of *Art Monthly Australia* in 1990, *The Land, The City: The emergence of urban Aboriginal art*, which focused on the 'art of urban and rural Aboriginal artists from non-classical traditions and addressed notions of personal artistic classification, cultural perspective and even the very language used to describe these artists and their work' (Caruana and Isaacs 1990:3). Meanwhile, in Venice, European critics were nonplussed. London-based art historian Margaret Garlake said that 'to an outsider, both artists' work is an uneasy hybrid for which a more appropriate name than Aboriginal art would be "new Australian painting"' (Whisson et al. 1990:6). Garlake continued, in the article, to praise a Papunya exhibition held in Venice by Melbourne gallerist Gabrielle Pizzi at the same time as the Biennale, saying, 'it may not have been any more closely related than the official exhibition [Thomas and Nickolls] but it showed a new aspect of Aboriginal painting which appeared to have achieved a more creative synthesis with western abstract art' (Whisson et al. 1990:6). These comments suggest that 'dot' painting was only accepted into the international mainstream by ignoring its primary reference to country, place and affinity. Subsuming Western Desert art into abstract expressionism persisted. And this is 20 years after its first appearance at Papunya.

The Venice Biennale was daring and risky, there was a lot riding on it and it happened at a time of turmoil at the Art Gallery of Western Australia. The Director, Betty Churcher, and the Chairman of the Board, Robert Holmes à Court, the brilliant mercurial entrepreneur, had fallen out badly and Holmes à Court would not be retained as Chairman of the Board and Churcher would leave Western Australia to take up the appointment as Director of the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra. However, Holmes à Court and Churcher had created a synergy that fuelled the vision and the generous resources that were needed to ensure it succeeded. It did work, it made a splash and there were no disasters. In speaking with Michael O'Ferrall (the curator), Seva Frangos (the exhibition manager) and Annie English (then an honours student doing an internship at the Art Gallery of Western Australia), it becomes clear that it was seen as a high risk, high gain enterprise undertaken at a tumultuous time (English 2010; Frangos 2010; O'Ferrall 2010).

The exhibition *Tagari Lia: Contemporary Aboriginal Art 1990 — From Australia*, shown in the United Kingdom in Glasgow, Swansea and Manchester, opened in 1990 just after Venice. It was a catholic and comprehensive mix of the best contemporary artists — all 32 of them — and included plenty of dot and bark painters alongside Rover Thomas and Trevor Nickolls and a roll call of urban artists: Lin Onus, Gordon Bennett, Fiona Foley, Karen Casey, Arone Raymond Meeks, Sally Morgan, Judy Watson, Michael Riley, Poovarar, Bronwyn Bancroft and Robert Campbell Jr. The exhibition's message was to build on Venice. In the catalogue foreword Lin Onus argued that 'while barks and dots are central to Aboriginal art...in practice, Aboriginal artists live all over Australia' (Onus and Smith 1990:1). Terry Smith's extensive catalogue essay, 'Aboriginal art now: Writing its variety and vitality', is notable for locating Rover Thomas and Jimmy Pike with Trevor Nickolls in the same section, entitled 'Koori culture meets post-modernism' (Onus and Smith 1990:11). Smith concludes that the achievement of these artists is 'to burst open the category "Aboriginal art"' and that "'Aboriginality" has entered the art discourse...whatever the diversity of their backgrounds, and expressed in their art, despite its variety of form and content' (Onus and Smith 1990:13). Smith's comments are somewhat sweeping. Is he suggesting that Nickolls, Pike and Thomas are all Kooris? Is Smith suggesting that if Aboriginal art is to enter the discourse then it must do so under the rubric of postmodernism and be leached of its Aboriginality? This move is as undesirable as stretching the particular regional term 'Koori', denoting people from south-eastern Australia, to become an umbrella term to cover Trevor Nickolls, who is Koori, as well as Jimmy Pike, a Walmajarra man from the north-west Kimberley, and Rover Thomas, a Kukatja-Wangkajunka from the East Kimberley. At this moment in the discourse it is as if 'Koori' stood for any Aboriginal person who was not perceived as 'traditional' and almost stood for a person who was 'transitional' themselves.

Venice made Rover Thomas famous and Trevor Nickolls contributed to Thomas's fame by his marvellous depictions of him. Thomas is most memorable in Nickolls' work *Roving in Thomas Town* (1994), in which Rover is sporting a green satin red-fringed rodeo shirt, proper tall-crowned Kimberley cowboy hat and the snakeskin boots Nickolls had bought for him. Nickolls continued to depict Rover Thomas as a celebrity cowboy in *The Adventures of Wanda Wandjina* (2001), which included a Wandjina family dominated by Wanda Wandjina, all bug eyed, her afro hair, a halo, gorgeous in her little miniskirt and carrying her dillybag like an attentive dolly bird. Thomas became the star of the show in an elaborate play in which Nickolls was the dramaturge. Trevor the man is there, too, cool in his shades, driving the old green FJ Holden, keeping the show on the road, or one of his alter egos, the serrated-head man or the blue man with the striped singlet, is there larger than life.

Three weeks in Venice and time in Rome exposed Nickolls to art with a capital A and he soaked it all up, seeing the works of Van Gogh, Picasso and Giotto in the flesh. It was a feast, a garden of earthly delights. Just look at how Trevor Nickolls depicts

himself in his painting *Roving in Thomas Town*: lounging in the big chair in Peggy Guggenheim's garden, he might be overwhelmed but he is certainly in his element, right in the thick of it. Venice was indeed a marvellous moment in the history of the reception of Aboriginal art. After Venice the 'urban' was established and its position unassailable, the 'innovative' was assumed, the 'transitional' and 'reconstituted' dispensed with; Aboriginal art was recognised as the contemporary art it was.

In her 1990 article 'Into the urbane: Urban Aboriginal art in the Australian art context', Vivien Johnson reflected, 'who dreamed then (in 1984) that by 1990 Trevor Nickolls and Rover Thomas would be representing Australia in the 1990 Venice Biennale?' (Johnson 1990b:23). The 1990 Venice Biennale was an important watershed on a grand canal and after it Aboriginal art had been positioned and recognised as unquestionably contemporary art, at least among Australians.

CODA La Lutta continua...

It would take longer, much longer, for the Europeans to catch up, due to the entrenched ethnographic model that disallowed Aboriginal art to be alive, contemporary and innovative. This investment in the primitive was difficult for Europeans to give up. We should not forget that in 1994, at the end of this decisive decade, Gabrielle Pizzi had to argue for Aboriginal art as living contemporary art in Cologne. To the Cologne curators it was either primitive art (if the artists were dead it should be in an anthropology collection) or, if it was being produced now, it was folk art and belonged in an ethnology institute. Pizzi persisted only to be told in 1998 that she 'could only exhibit work by urban Aboriginal artist HJ Wedge and not the acclaimed bark artist John Mawurndjul' (Smee 2002). Smee diagnoses the problem as 'category confusions'. This time around the category is 'contemporary' as opposed to 'traditional', with Wedge categorised as a contemporary Australian artist and Mawurndjul relegated to the category of traditional Aboriginal folk artist. Almost a decade later in 2005, a major retrospective of Mawurndjul's work, <<rarrk>> *John Mawurndjul: Journey through Time in Northern Australia*, opened in Switzerland at Basel's Museum Tinguely, where the category 'traditional Aboriginal folk artist' was finally put to rest. Mawurndjul was feted internationally as a contemporary Aboriginal artist and integrated into the discourse of art (Volkenandt and Kaufmann 2009).

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Note

1. *Kuril Kuril* – the orthography used in 1990: subsequently other spellings were *Kril Kril*, *Krill Krill*, *Gril Gril*, *Grill Grill* and *Goorrir Goorrir*; today, following linguist Frances Kofod, *Gurirr Gurirr* is the preferred spelling.