

Relational returns

Relationships and the repatriation of legacy song recordings in Australia

Reuben Brown and Sally Treloyn

The digitisation of audiovisual media of song and dance has enabled individuals, communities and institutions to reimagine the ways in which records of ‘intangible’ cultural heritage can be accessed, used, and linked to cultural custodians, as well as to other collections and content management systems.¹ In Australia, legacy recordings representing a diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander performance traditions are being used and recirculated both physically and online to revitalise aspects of performance traditions: to innovate; to recover aspects of style; to aid memory of lyrics; and to support the reclamation and reconstruction of song practices that, particularly in the south of the continent, were brutally harmed from the late 18th century onwards.²

In this article we focus on how repatriation is perceived, enacted and understood by custodians of living performance traditions in the north and north-west of Australia. We observe a relational turn in intercultural research collaborations around Aboriginal Australian song: one that enfolds our personal relationships with Indigenous collaborators, those of past researchers and singers, and past and present archivists and archives.³ In imagining a future in which recordings are

recirculated among a new generation of performers and used to support the vitality of these Indigenous Australian song traditions, we suggest that, alongside technical considerations concerning new systems for archiving and dissemination, a consideration for the relationships and exchanges that brought recordings into being will also be necessary.

A relational turn in research on song

The return of digital recordings of songs from archives, institutions and private collections to communities of origin has evolved as a primary activity of ethnomusicologists in Australia, and has given rise to a critical discourse in ethnomusicology that responds to Indigenous peoples’ rights to their cultural heritage. As a decolonising research methodology, repatriation also addresses acquisitive collection-oriented research methods, and reimagines the local significance of song-based research.⁴ The Garma Statement on Indigenous Music and Performance in 2002 identified as a matter of high priority the digitisation of legacy recordings for access and use by custodians, as well as the need to record the diversity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander living performance traditions for future generations.⁵

This statement was formalised with the National Recording Project for Indigenous Music in Australia (NRP), which envisaged a national strategy involving partnerships between institutions such as the National Library of Australia and the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and community archives, to establish local repositories providing permanent access to recordings.⁶

In the intervening years since the Garma Statement, the aims set out by the NRP have begun to be realised through a series of Australian Research Council–funded projects led by Indigenous researchers in their own communities, as well as by non-Indigenous researchers. These projects involve the return and dissemination of digital collections to cultural heritage custodians of Nyungar language and song in the south-west of Australia, the *thabi* song tradition of the Pilbara and *junba* of the Kimberley in Western Australia, *kun-borrk/maniyardi*, *bunggurril* and *manikay* traditions of Arnhem Land, *wangga* of the Daly region in the Northern Territory, and the song traditions of central Australia.⁷ In each instance, the work of repatriation has been enabled through long-established

Listening to a recording at Gunbalanya (Oenpelli), 1948. Clockwise from left: Larry Marawana, unidentified man, Djambunuwa, Ray Giles, Colin Simpson and Tommy Madjalkaidj. Photograph by Howell Walker. NLA MS5253, Box 99, Bag B, by permission of the National Library of Australia.

interpersonal relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers and their collaborators, and the singers and recordists identified in the archival recordings.

Consider the tangled and continually unfolding web of relationships, transactions and exchanges around a small sample of public songs, recorded by ABC (Australian Broadcasting Commission) journalist Colin Simpson and technician Raymond Giles in October 1948 during their visit to Gunbalanya (Oenpelli)—the third base camp of the American-Australian Expedition to Arnhem Land (right). The recordings came into existence in a large part due to Wurrik clansman Nakodjok Larry Marawana, a Bininj (Aboriginal person) who helped arrange public ceremony—known as *kun-borrk* in Bininj Kunwok language of the plateau country and *manyardi* in Iwaidjan languages of the coastal country of western Arnhem Land—for the visiting Balanda (European or non-Aboriginal person). Marawana acted as a ‘fixer’ and cultural broker for Simpson and Giles during their two-week stay at Gunbalanya and nearby Red Lily billabong: interpreting, translating and providing contextual information on the origin and style of the songs.⁸ Originally



captured on a Pyrox wire recorder, the recordings were archived by the ABC to acetate disk before being converted to tape, and in recent years they were digitised.⁹ Some of the recorded material was used in the years immediately after the expedition, in the ABC radio feature *Expedition to Arnhem Land*,¹⁰ and recycled,

re-arranged and re-orchestrated into soundtracks for ethnographic films by C.P. Mountford.¹¹ However, the voices of singers such as Marawana—who was told by Simpson of the intention to broadcast the recordings around Australia, and was recorded in at least one take explaining the origins of the song for an audience

illiterate in the kun-borrk tradition—were omitted from these public broadcasts and film scores.¹² It was not until Linda Barwick and Allan Marett first played back the public songs to Iwaidjan speakers at Croker Island in 2005 (complemented by Martin Thomas and Murray Garde's carefully negotiated playback of the sub-set of men's restricted recordings made by Simpson and Giles with senior Elders at Kabulwanamayo in 2005–06), that a better understanding of the origin and diversity of the songs emerged, and the songs could begin to be re-connected to the people and song traditions from which they came.¹³

Over the course of his PhD fieldwork in Arnhem Land from 2011 to 2014, supported by an ARC Discovery Project led by supervisors Linda Barwick and Martin Thomas,¹⁴ Reuben Brown carried out further playback of Simpson's public recordings with Bininj Kunwok and Mawng Elders and current songmen residing in Gunbalanya and nearby Warruwi community (South Goulburn Island), and disseminated the recordings via USB and Micro SD cards. Elder Kodjok Nawurrbarn Jimmy Kalarriya had been 'born in the bush' some time in the late 1930s at a place called Mankorlord. He would come in to Oenpelli Mission

with his family for rations and seasonal work skinning buffalo, and remembered the expedition's visit. In 2011, Brown played back Simpson and Giles' recordings for Kalarriya and members of his extended family, including artist Isaiah Nagurrgurrba, in the screen-printing room of Injalak Arts and Crafts in Gunbalanya. Upon hearing the first phrase of the song, Kalarriya froze, as he recognised the singer from his childhood:

Nakohbanj ngadjadj manekke wayihwayini. Weyirra kunyed. Oh! Yoh, nungka. [To Isaiah Nagurrgurrba] ngorrkbelhwarreeh. Yoh, Weyirra kunred. Manekke wanjh wayihwayini, nakohbanj ngadjadj Mukudu nganehyaw. 1948 bu wanjh ngane yahwurdni ngaye nani ngane-yawurdni ngadburrung nadjalama [Mukudu]. Bu second World War Two. Birri dulubuleni Darwin. Kunukka wanjh ngarriyahyawurdni.¹⁵

That old man singing is my uncle—born at Weyirra [North Goulburn Island]. Oh! Yes, that's him! [*kun-derbi* term: my uncle and your nephew]. Yes, his country was North Goulburn Island. This song was sung by that old man who is uncle to me

and Mukudu [Kalarriya's brother]. Back in 1948, me and him were little boys—my brother of Djalama clan [Mukudu]. During the Second World War, when they were fighting in Darwin. During that time we were little kids.

Elders such as Kalarriya and contemporary custodians of the kun-borrk song tradition in the communities of Gunbalanya and Warruwi were not only able to identify rich details about recordings—the genre, song-set, traditional country and language origin of the songs, and the Balandia/English, Bininj, kinship, and clan names of the singer—they also situated the hitherto-invisible people in the recordings in the living kinship network of western Arnhem Land. For example, in the passage above, Kalarriya uses a *kun-derbi* tri-relational kinship term *ngorrkbelhwarreeh*, which simultaneously encodes the relationships between Kalarriya and Nagurrgurrba (listening to the audio playback) and Namunurr (singing on the original recording).

This process of retracing the songs revealed not only the richness of western Arnhem Land kun-borrk and society, but also the efforts of cultural broker Larry Marawana in

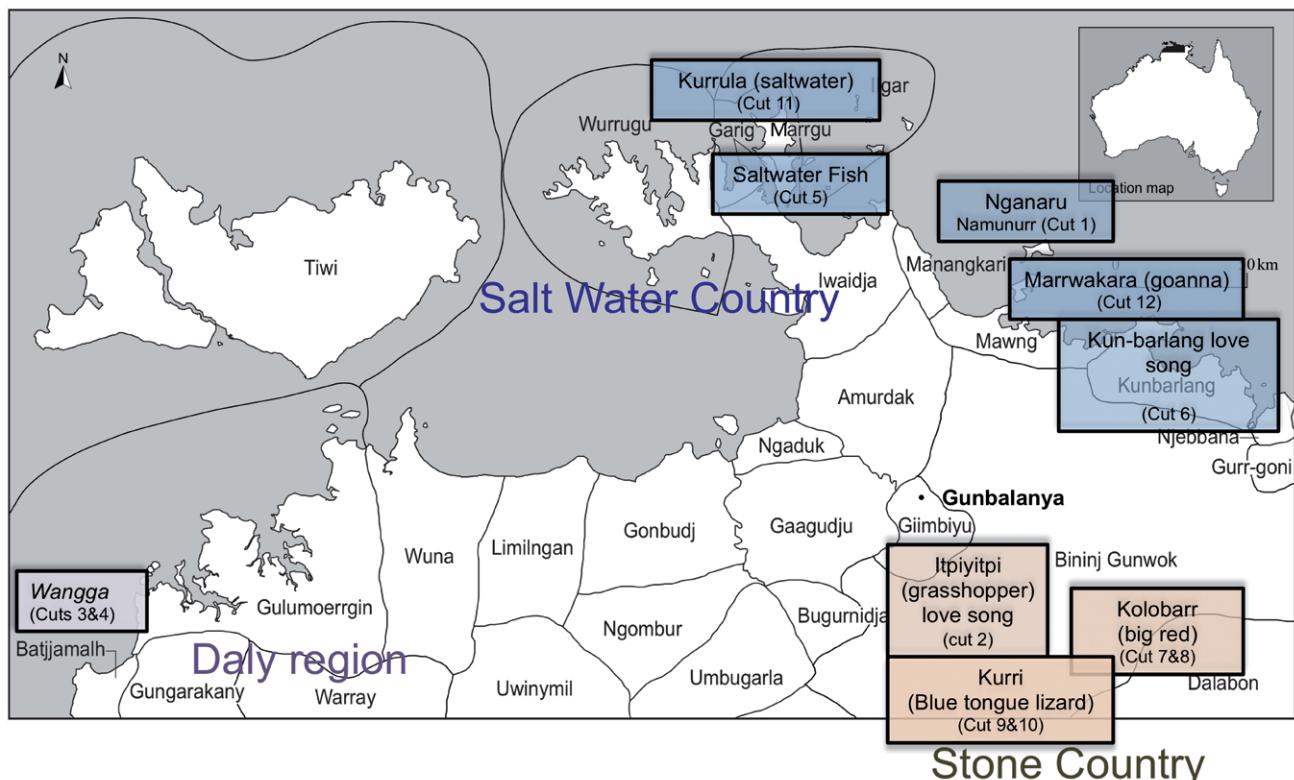
Map showing origins of song-sets recorded at Gunbalanya by Simpson and Giles in 1948. Song-sets shaded blue represent saltwater country origin, song-sets shaded orange represent stone country origin, and the purple shade represents Daly origin. Map adapted from Aidan Wilson.

curating a sample of 11 songs sung by different singers belonging to both the stone country and the saltwater country of western Arnhem Land and beyond to the Daly region, which would neatly showcase the musical and linguistic diversity of the region (see map below). These ‘snapshots’ of musical life—as Barwick and Maret have described them—also highlight principles of complementarity and

variegation, which are a continuing feature of kun-borrk performance. Today, as in 1948, multiple singers are responsible for leading their own distinct song-sets featuring different languages and musical characteristics, and carefully manage together the ordering of songs through performance, in response to social and environmental factors of the ceremony.¹⁶

Burrunguma, maruy and wurnan

The idea of relational repatriation stems from epistemological frameworks that explain the phenomenon of the existence of voices of ancestors after they are deceased, held in archives often thousands of kilometres from their home. Matthew Dembal Martin—a contemporary custodian



of Ngarinyin, Worrorra and Wunambal junba at Mowanjum in the western Kimberley—for example, has described to Sally Treloyn how *burrunguma*—the spirits of deceased ancestors—reside in recordings that sit in the archive of AIATSIS in Canberra and that, when he listens to them, the *burrunguma* help him learn and remember songs:¹⁷

The old people beside you sitting, and you can feel the spirit. Makes you remember songs too—songs you forget. You get them back on your mind; like the old person singing there, you get the words off him. That's how it works ... The spirit it is like a magnet going into your mind. It might be the composer is beside you. The songs that you pick up, he put it in your mind. You think you got the words and you got the tune. You pick it up, like a magnet in your mind ... It's like a recording ... It's like that spirit is singing that song in the recorder while you are singing, picking the words up, and the tune.¹⁸

Marett describes how in the Batjamalh language of the Daly region the word *maruy*—which means ‘baby spirit’ or ‘conception

agent’ (broadly, an equivalent to the Ngarinyin language *burrunguma*)—is also used to refer to computer, recordings, photographs, films and shadows (and was the word used to refer to one of the early local repositories set up to hold *wangga* recordings for the Belyuen community in 2001):

... songs are given to songmen by ghosts, who sing to the songman in dream. In ceremony, singers reproduce this ghost-given song, while dancers perform as ghosts ... Moreover, when ... a person's appearance is reproduced in a photograph (or on film or video), or when the sound of their voice is played back from tape, this too is seen or heard as a manifestation of the person's *maruy*, and as such it has a certain power.¹⁹

To understand the role that recordings and repatriation have played in both the circulation and production of song knowledge, and in intercultural researcher–singer relationships, we can also turn to the legacy recordings themselves and the precedent set by Indigenous singers using recordings to pass messages to distant family across space and time, and to use recording technologies to transmit knowledge.

Well before non-Indigenous researchers thought to provide cultural heritage communities with access to their research products, in recordings made in the 1960s by singers of the western Pilbara region of Western Australia with German-Australian linguist Carl von Brandenstein, we hear numerous singers recording messages addressed to family members in distant towns that von Brandenstein was due to visit. Brandenstein's recording equipment became a kind of modern message stick, and the linguist its carrier, as he conducted substantial linguistic work over a period of five years all over the Pilbara region with numerous interlocutors.

In the Kimberley, the circulation of recordings is rooted in the law of sharing known as *wurnan*. Hilton Deakin, in his doctoral dissertation of 1974, describes the inclusion of a cassette tape containing recordings of *balga* (an equivalent to *junba*) songs in a *wurnan* trade package that arrived in the mission community of Kalumburu in the northern Kimberley region. And Matthew Martin has described how his distribution of CDs containing recordings of songs by various *junba* composers, made by Lesley Reilly in 1974 and Ray Keogh in 1985, to the families of composers and singers in

Matthew Martin, Scotty Martin (deceased), Donald Dolon, Pansy Nulgit (seated, left to right) training young dancers while Maitland Ngerdu (foreground) records, and Rona Charles and Sally Treloyn assist, Mangkajarda, 2014. Photograph by Matthew Scurfield.
© Mowanum Art and Culture Centre.

2012, was an act of *wurnan* enfolding the composers, their descendants, and extended family, including Martin himself.

Sally Treloyn: I remember that we made a little set of CDs with [the songs of] old man Wurumalu, Karadada and Wunanggu (deceased composers with living family in Kalumburu)—all the old man composers—and I remember when we were in Kalumburu you went around handing out those CDs.

Matthew Martin: Yeah, yeah.

ST: Do you reckon you could say a little bit about why that was important?

MM: That was the family you know, family takes that. You have to give them back the recording, so they can listen to their grandfather, uncle, father. They listen to the songs. They'll dance, they'll pick it up too you know. Some time, if they're wanting to sing the song or put on their show. They can pick up the song from their old timers. ... That's real good that. That's real good, handing it back to the family. ... It is the *wurnan*.²⁰

For Martin, the singers whose spirits reside in the recordings left recordings of their voices and songs as a gift for current and future generations:

MM: *Wurnan*, it's a gift. The spirit is giving you something. It's gift. Your family passed away, they give you the *wurnan*. Passing it on to you.

ST: So *wurnan* can work between generations like that?

MM: Yeah. To do their work, what they did in the past ... and they want someone to carry on from them. Because they are not around to pass it on.

ST: That *wurnan* comes alive even from those old recordings?

MM: Yeah, it's still alive.

ST: So if one person didn't get to teach a song when they were alive they can still do that?

MM: Yeah. Yeah. They leave them songs and things in your mind. The words they told you, you keep it, it's sort of gift given to you. So you'll have that thing all the time. No matter who can



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leave you. They still there. It's all in your mind. Once it grows in your mind you don't forget, you keep remembering. You don't have to. You don't have to go and ask someone to tell you what to do. You got that thing. It's always in you. It's in your system.²¹

A wurnan-like regard for the subject status of both the material and non-material similarly characterises the way in which Bininj and Arrarrkpi²² of Gunbalanya and Goulburn Island dealt with the recent return of both tangible and intangible 'goods' arising from the legacy of the 1948 expedition.²³ In 2011, as part of a reburial ceremony at Gunbalanya to return human bones and the deceased spirits belonging to them, western Arnhem Land singers led a procession of community members and Balanda visitors from the northern end of the community to the southern end, between the foot of Arrkuluk and Injalak hills, where a majority of the bones had been stolen from their resting places among stone caves and burial sites.²⁴ The bones were returned by Museum Victoria, the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, and the Smithsonian Institution. They had been stolen from various sites near Gunbalanya in Mirarr and Manilakarr

clan country, including Malakananja, Red Lily billabong, Arrkuluk hill and Injalak hill. The thefts occurred not only during the 1948 expedition to Arnhem Land, but also during Baldwin Spencer's visit to Gunbalanya in 1913, and archaeologist Carmel Schrire's fieldwork in 1964.

The task of physically handling and preparing the bones for burial had been carried out by traditional owner families in the days leading up to the ceremony. Yet the tangible act of repatriation could not be carried out without particular and significant intangible acts taking place. Ceremony leader Jacob Nayenggul addressed the spirits using his rarely spoken language of Mengerrdji, reassuring them that they were home, as others painted the bones in ochre in order to 'cool' the spirits, before wrapping them in paperbark. The kun-borrk/manyardi ensemble of singers and dancers then led the procession to a large grave site and danced and sang the bones into the grave, continuing until the last shovel of dirt was laid. Songman Solomon Nangamu's reflections after the event about the ordering of the songs during the procession revealed how kun-borrk/manyardi performers first sang Yalarrku/Mirrijpu (seagull) songs that were connected to the saltwater country, followed by Karrbarda (long

yam) songs connected to the stone country. This enacted the collection of the spirits of the bones from Washington across the Pacific Ocean, via Solomon's country of Goulburn Island, to the stone country of Gunbalanya:

Solomon Nangamu: I'm from the saltwater country, I was born there. So when the bones arrived here, I came and collected the bones, and I took it and gave it to all the stone [country] mob, from this country. I passed it on to them, them mob now, them take it and bury it.

Reuben Brown: Right, OK. So you're carrying the bones in, through song, right?

SN: From the sea.

Conversely, when it came to the repatriation of intangible objects—the Simpson and Giles recordings, silent colour film and photographs made during the expedition's three months at Gunbalanya—Elders such as Kalarriya physically re-embedded these records into their place of origin by requesting a playback session at an old mission-era shed where he used to hear old people singing during his childhood.

Relational returns and the return of relations

In these examples from western Arnhem Land, the Pilbara and the Kimberley, singers are shown to make recordings with future audiences in mind, drawing attention through their curated songs and recorded messages to networks of family, language, kinship and country. A relational approach to the repatriation of songs might also be thought of in terms of its attentiveness to these relationships in both the design of the content management system in which the records are held, and the ways in which the recordings from the archive are accessed by cultural heritage communities and contemporary singers. Both in Australia and internationally, we have seen examples of databases that aim to reflect and embed local Indigenous ontologies, cultural protocols and traditional knowledge in both the content and schema of the system (for example, Ara Irititja in Australia and Mukurtu in the USA).²⁵

It is no coincidence that the content management system designed to provide the Mowanjum community with access to records of its cultural heritage refers to wurnan and is called '*Wurnanangga jarug ngardmen Storylines*', which broadly translates to 'Gathering together'

regularly to exchange'. In the Pilbara, a digital collection of more than 1,000 legacy songs has been assembled from archives such as AIATSIS, by Sally Treloyn, Reuben Brown, Nicholas Thieberger, Mary Anne Jebb and PhD candidate Andrew Dowding—maternal grandson of the prolific Ngarluma composer Robert Churnside—for return and reuse by Elders who are custodians of the thabi tradition.²⁶ In order to represent connections between songs, people, places and country geospatially (in the same manner that they are thought of by Elders and singers), the team will draw on Dowding's previous work as a consultant documenting cultural heritage and songs with Elders and singers of the Pilbara and Kimberley regions, in which audiovisual material including the song, dance and singer's explanation for the song is mapped in the three-dimensional landscape of Google Earth.

New performances of song traditions such as thabi are being revived as a direct result of these relational returns of songs from the archives. In April 2016 in Roebourne, Dowding's cousin Patrick Churnside led a public performance of thabi inspired by legacy recordings. Dowding had located several years earlier, which he had passed on to his cousin and other relatives.

The songs were composed by their relative Robert Churnside, as well as by other composers from nearby language groups. The process of constructing a community performance in an intercultural setting (Churnside collaborated with non-Indigenous artists and producers from artistic company Big hART as well as Ngarluma Elders and a dance ensemble of local children from primary school age to late teens) sparked productive discussion around issues such as how to gain permission to perform the songs, how to order the songs for performance, and how to choreograph accompanying dance, in ways that were culturally appropriate to the composers and their descendants. In the program for the performance, Churnside depicted the songs as an interconnected circle of circles, each containing the song title, family of the composer, and affiliated country, including Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi, Martuthunira, Kariyarra, Kurrama and Banyjima. These circles representing songs were in turn connected to a central circle, titled 'Journey of the Tjabi show'. Together, this illustration seemed to graphically represent the relational nature of the song tradition, which was shared by past singers such as Robert Churnside who lived and worked throughout the

region, spoke languages other than his native Ngarluma, and accompanied and sang other composers' songs in performance.

Cree scholar Shawn Wilson makes the connection between ceremony, which can be understood as the recognition of relationships made between people and environment that are brought together through performance, and a relational approach to research that involves bringing people together to strengthen relationships based on respect and reciprocity.²⁷ This concept of research as ceremony has been borne out in the Australian context on a number of occasions where the return and production of recordings has been marked ceremonially,²⁸ and has raised memories of the people, places and events linked to recordings, often stimulating new connections between people or material to be worked up into songs.²⁹ In a recent example, ceremony leaders from Belyuen and Warruwi (Goulburn Island) came together to perform, for the first time in decades, on Rak Mak Mak Marranunggu country near Litchfield National Park in the Daly region. The event was supported by Dr Payi Linda Ford's research project and involved the sharing of resources such as recordings and teaching of manyardi and wangga to

younger generations in a culturally safe environment, hosted by the traditional owner families. Linda Barwick, Allan Marett, Deborah Rose and Reuben Brown were invited as research collaborators with both Ford and the wangga/manyardi ceremony leaders, and helped bring people together for the event, documenting as well as participating in the wangga and manyardi.

Significantly, the return of goods from decades of research—including Barwick and Marett's series of wangga CDs and Rose's monograph—were presented after the ceremony, to direct descendants of those singers and families with whom the researchers had collaborated. This highlights the intergenerational nature of research collaborations and the transactions and recordings they produce.³⁰ For Brown, Marett, Barwick and others, the relational process of research is embodied through performance as well as through the record. Having forged collaborations and kinship connections with Bininj and contemporary songmen such as Nangamu at Gunbalanya through the process of returning legacy recordings of kun-borrk, and after accompanying Nangamu and other songmen during his doctoral research while attending and documenting

ceremonies throughout the region involving the performance of kun-borrk, Reuben Brown himself became the recipient of a *mamurrng* (diplomacy) ceremony in 2012, performed by singers from Goulburn and Croker Islands for Brown, Barwick, Marett and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal collaborators.³¹ In the photograph opposite, Nangamu accompanies Jamie Milburru and Rupert Manmurulu as they perform a *mamurrng* ceremony for the children of the host family at Rak Mak Mak Marranunggu country, with Brown still helping with the recorded documentation, but now also dancing the handover of the *mamurrng* ceremonial pole alongside the same people that gave it to him four years earlier.

Conclusion

Through this article we have given a glimpse into the way that the return of legacy recordings of distinct genres of Aboriginal song are being received by custodians. Curated recordings of kun-borrk/manyardi of western Arnhem Land have been re-connected with contemporary singers, and triangulated within kinship networks that link Bininj and Arrarrkpi from the past to the present. Junba songs recorded in the Kimberley, sent off as gifts for future

Rupert Manmurlu, Reuben Brown, Jamie Milburru and Solomon Nangamu (didjeridu) perform and record manyardi at Twin Hill Station, 2016. Photograph by Nicole Thompson.



generations and stored for years in archives, have made their inevitable return to country as part of the wurnan law of sharing. Digital retrieval of thabi songs from the Pilbara region has complemented community efforts to revive a new generation of singers, and to bring song knowledge back into the public sphere. And recordings of wangga from the Daly region have been returned and celebrated ceremonially as part of an intergenerational and intercultural collaboration of embodied practice and research in the song tradition.

In the future, a number of factors signal a potential shift towards the decolonisation of important archival collections. These include greater access to archival collections via increasingly compact digital storage, the ability to stream recordings and other digital media to mobile devices in more areas of Australia where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people live, and the development of content management systems that respond to and reflect Aboriginal knowledge production as it relates to different languages, song genres and cultural protocols. At the same time, in order for custodians of Australia's living performance traditions—descendants of the likes of Matthew Dembal Martin, Larry Marawana, Patrick Churnside and others—to

remain connected to songs in the archives, relations who can act as conduits between the archive and the community will be a vital part of the equation. Without such conduits, even the most technologically capable or culturally responsive collections may remain silos: as useful or knowable to cultural custodians as Simpson's wire recordings from 1948 were to Bininj and Arrarrkpi before their digital return.

In the same way that spirits can enter bones, recordings and computers, the digital trace or imprint of a song manifests in different mediums and is mobilised through the sharing of objects that emerge from and inform human relationships. The repatriated song may take a digital form, but manifests as tangible when it enters the field of relationships. In this sense, when considering the role that legacy recordings of Indigenous Australian song can play in sustaining the vitality of performance traditions, the future of the object, as it merges from tangible to digital and back again, is glimpsed only once we consider it as a subject, to be situated among the people, places, events and cultural worlds that brought it into existence.

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Dr Reuben Brown is an ARC research associate at the University of Melbourne, and a research affiliate with the ARC Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language. He has collaborated with ceremony leaders from western Arnhem Land and the Pilbara, as well as linguists, anthropologists and historians, to return legacy recordings of kun-borrk/manyardi and thabi, and to document intercultural encounter through performance ethnography. His current collaborative research project involves the creation of a song database to support efforts to maintain and revitalise Indigenous Australian song traditions. Dr Sally Treloyn is an ARC future fellow at the University of Melbourne for the project Singing the Future: Assessing the Effectiveness of Repatriation as a Strategy to Sustain the Vitality of Indigenous Song (2016–20), which investigates the interplay of new technologies and music vitality and resilience in various Australian and Ugandan sites. She has conducted long-term participatory research in the Kimberley with junba performers since 1999 and more recently with thabi performers in the Pilbara.

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- 1 Linda Barwick, 'Turning it all upside down ... Imagining a distributed digital audiovisual archive', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2004, pp. 253–63; Linda Barwick and Nicholas Thieberger, 'Cybraries in paradise: New technologies and ethnographic repositories', in Cushima Kapitzke and Bertram C. Bruce (eds), *Libr@ries: Changing information space and practice*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006, pp. 133–49.
- 2 ANZ-ICTM [Australia/New Zealand Regional Committee of the International Council for Traditional Music], *Statement on Indigenous music and dance*, 2011, http://ictmusic.org/sites/default/files/documents/IAMD_statement.pdf, viewed 7 March 2017; Sally Treloyn and Andrea Emberly, 'Sustaining traditions: Ethnomusicological collections, access and sustainability in Australia', *Musicology Australia*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2013, pp. 159–77.
- 3 Our attention to the relational in processes of research collaborations was prompted by the work of Treloyn with Ngarinyin/Wunambal Elder Matthew Dembal Martin and Ngarinyin/Nyikina consultant Rona Googninda Charles, who have referenced the relational law of sharing wurnan to explore their intercultural collaboration to sustain song and dance in the Kimberley (Sally Treloyn, Matthew Dembal Martin and Rona Googninda Charles, 'Cultural precedents for the repatriation of legacy song records to communities of origin', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 2, 2016, pp. 94–103), as well as Cree scholar Shawn Wilson's discussion of relational accountability as an Indigenous research paradigm (Shawn Wilson, *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*, Halifax, Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2008).
- 4 Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusza and Andrew Weintraub, 'The audible future: Reimagining the role of sound archives and sound repatriation in Uganda', *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 56, no. 2, 2012, pp. 206–33; Treloyn, Martin and Charles, 'Cultural precedents for the repatriation of legacy song records to communities of origin'.
- 5 Garma Forum on Indigenous Performance Research, *Garma Statement on Indigenous Music and Performance*, 2002, [www.aboriginalartists.com.au/NRP_statement.htm#statement](http://aboriginalartists.com.au/NRP_statement.htm#statement), viewed 10 October 2016. The statement emerged from the Symposium on Indigenous Performance held in 2002 at Gunyajara in Arnhem Land, convened by Marcia Langton, Allan Marett and Mandawuy Yunupingu, and attended by senior custodians of Aboriginal knowledge and scholars of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander song.
- 6 Allan Marett et al., 'The National Recording Project for Indigenous Performance in Australia: Year one in review', in *Backing our Creativity: The National Education and the Arts Symposium, 12–14 September 2005*, Sydney: Australia Council for the Arts, 2006, pp. 84–90.
- 7 Current Indigenous Discovery projects include Mobilising Song Archives to Nourish an Endangered Aboriginal Language (IN170100022) led by Clint Bracknell, Linda Barwick and Kim Scott in south-west Australia, and New Ways for Old Ceremonies: An Archival Research Project (IN150100013) led by Payi Linda Ford in the Daly region of the Northern Territory. Other current projects include Hearing Histories of the Western Pilbara: An Interdisciplinary Study of Indigenous Songs Composed in the Pilbara Region of Western Australia in the Twentieth Century and Technologies to Sustain Them into the Future (DP150100094); Singing the Future: Implications and Significances of Repatriation of Legacy Song Records and New Technologies for Music Vitality (FT150100141); Strategies for Preserving and Sustaining Australian Aboriginal Song and Dance in the Modern World: The Mowanjum and Fitzroy River Valley Communities of Western Australia (LP0990650); Intercultural Inquiry in a Trans-National Context: Exploring the Legacy of the 1948 American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land (DP1096897); and Reintegrating Central Australian Cultural Community Collections (LP140100806).
- 8 See Colin Simpson, *Adam in ochre: Inside Aboriginal Australia*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952, p. 67. Details of the recording sessions and Marawana's role in arranging them can be found in the diaries of Bessie Mountford (diary no. 4, entry 17 and 18 October, pp. 73–74A), in Simpson, *Adam in Ochre*, p. 8, and a timeline of events is reconstructed in Reuben Brown, 'Following footsteps: The *kun-borrk/manyardi* song tradition and its role in western Arnhem Land society', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2016, pp. 221–65.
- 9 See Martin Thomas, 'The crackle of the wire: Media, digitization, and the voicing of Aboriginal languages', in Norie Neumark, Ross Gibson and Theo Van Leeuwen (eds), *Voice: Vocal aesthetics in digital arts and media*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010, pp. 71–90 (86).
- 10 Colin Simpson (writer and producer), *Arnhem Land Expedition*, 1948, ABC Radio Archives 83/CD/1239.
- 11 See Anthony Linden-Jones, 'The circle of songs: Traditional song and the musical score to C.P. Mountford's documentary films', in Amanda Harris (ed.), *Circulating*

- cultures: Exchanges of Australian Indigenous music, dance and media*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014, pp. 45–72 (59–60).
- 12 The recordings were originally published as part of a set of twelve 12-inch discs, PRX2809–10, PRX2645–52, by Colin Simpson in 1949 under the title *Aboriginal music from the Northern Territory of Australia, 1948, with annotations by Professor A.P. Elkin*, Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission (processed by Columbia Gramophone). A number of recordings from Oenpelli were then given to Mountford and published under his own name (see C.P. Mountford, *American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land 1948* (nine 78 rpm discs), Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1949). Elkin's annotations provide some minimal information on the musical style of the recordings and, in some instances, the place recorded and singer's first name. However, this information was not drawn upon in Simpson's radio broadcast or in the official records of the expedition. For further details on the provenance of Simpson's 1948 recordings, see Linda Barwick and Allan Marett, 'Snapshots of musical life: The 1948 recordings', in Martin Thomas and Margo Neale (eds), *Exploring the legacy of the 1948 Arnhem Land Expedition*, Canberra: Australian National University E Press, 2011, pp. 355–77 (364).
- 13 Barwick and Marett, 'Snapshots of musical life'; Thomas, 'The crackle of the wire', p. 85; Murray Garde, 'The forbidden gaze: The 1948 Wubarr ceremony performed for the American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land', in Thomas and Neale (eds), *Exploring the legacy of the 1948 Arnhem Land Expedition*, pp. 403–22 (416–18).
- 14 Intercultural Inquiry in a Trans-National Context: Exploring the Legacy of the 1948 American-Australian Scientific Expedition to Arnhem Land (DP1096897).
- 15 Interview with Jimmy Kalarriya, Don Namundja and Isaiah Nagurrurrba, 2 August 2011. For a full transcript, see Brown, 'Following footsteps', Appendix 5 [20110802RB01, 00:02:13.100–00:04:26.107].
- 16 See Brown, 'Following footsteps'.
- 17 Research in the Kimberley described in this chapter was supported by the Australian Research Council: Singing the Future: Implications and Significances of Repatriation of Legacy Song Records and New Technologies for Music Vitality (FT150100141), and Strategies for Preserving and Sustaining Australian Aboriginal Song and Dance in the Modern World: The Mowanjum and Fitzroy River Valley Communities of Western Australia (LP0990650).
- 18 Matthew Martin in conversation with Sally Treloyn, 7 November 2014; Treloyn, Martin and Charles, 'Cultural precedents for the repatriation of legacy song records to communities of origin', p. 97.
- 19 Allan Marett, 'Sound recordings as *maruy* among the Aborigines of the Daly region of north west Australia', in Linda Barwick et al. (eds), *Researchers, communities, institutions, sound recordings*, University of Sydney, 2003, p. 5, <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/1511/1/Marett%20paper.pdf>, viewed 8 August 2017.
- 20 Martin speaking to Treloyn, 16 January 2014; Treloyn, Martin and Charles, 'Cultural precedents for the repatriation of legacy song records to communities of origin', p. 99.
- 21 Martin speaking to Treloyn, 7 November 2014.
- 22 The word for Aboriginal person in Mawng language.
- 23 Martin Thomas, 'Turning subjects into objects and objects into subjects: Collecting human remains on the 1948 Arnhem Land Expedition', in Harris (ed.), *Circulating cultures*, pp. 129–66.
- 24 See Brown, 'Following footsteps'.
- 25 Kimberly Christen, 'Ara Irititja: Protecting the past, accessing the future: Indigenous memories in a digital age', *Museum Anthropology*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2006, pp. 56–60.
- 26 This research is supported by the ARC project Hearing Histories of the Western Pilbara (DP150100094).
- 27 Wilson, *Research is ceremony*.
- 28 See for example Barwick's discussion of the production and launch of a CD of Yawulyu Mungamunga songs, in Linda Barwick, 'Performance, aesthetics, experience: Thoughts on Yawulyu Mungamunga songs', in Elizabeth Mackinlay, Denis Collins and Samantha Owens (eds), *Aesthetics and experience in music performance*, Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005, pp. 1–18.
- 29 See for example Barwick's discussion of the use of a community's music database of wangga recordings in the production of new funeral songs at Wadeye: Linda Barwick, 'Keepsakes and surrogates: Hijacking music technology at Wadeye (northwest Australia)', in Thomas Hilder, Shzr Ee Tan and Henry Stobart (eds), *Music, indigeneity, digital media*, University of Rochester Press, 2017, pp. 156–75.
- 30 As a further example, Linda Barwick and Allan Marett collaborated with both junba songman Scotty Martin and manyardi songman Solomon Nangamu in the 1990s and early 2000s respectively, before their students Sally Treloyn and Reuben Brown continued the collaboration with the singers through their respective doctoral research in the following decade, and now with descendants of the singers.
- 31 See Reuben Brown, 'A different mode of exchange: The *mamurrng* ceremony of western Arnhem Land', in Don Niles, Kirsty Gillespie and Sally Treloyn (eds), *A distinctive voice in the Antipodes: Essays in honour of Stephen A. Wild*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2017, pp. 41–72.