

7. Results

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analyses on data collected during field work. Although records documented by others are at times referred to, only data gathered during the three field trips are included. A quantitative and qualitative analysis is applied to the data relating to the three main stylistic periods, *IIAP*, *Gwion* and *Wanjina* Periods. Anthropomorphic motifs within the latter two periods are extremely diverse in style; their classification into styles for the purpose of this thesis follows Walsh (2000). Style classification is essential because each period used diverse keys to flag sex and gender.

Of the 7,579 motifs that were recorded, there were 3,671 anthropomorphs, 680 zoomorphs and the remainder were made up of unidentified, plants, non-figurative, artefacts, prints and stencils (Travers 2014). The ratio of 81% human figures to 19% animal indicates that there was a significantly greater focus on human activity although this emphasis changed through time. Of the 3,671 anthropomorphic motifs 1,567 were considered suitable for inclusion in diagnostic analysis. Images were rejected if they were significantly exfoliated and/or excessively weathered.

The aim of the analyses is to firstly *sex* the anthropomorphic figures with *biological* (primary) features and secondly to *gender* (assign gender) to unsexed individuals using *socially* recognised iconographic (secondary) keys, such as, headdress type, weapons association, attitude and so forth (Chapter 6).

7.2 *IIAP*

Unfortunately, many of the figures from the *IIA Period* suffer from weathering and exfoliation attributed to their presumed antiquity. Contrary to Walsh (2000:126), our research shows that the motifs were not situated in sites suitable for occupation. Only one of the shelters could be considered a living area with all of the others classed as overhangs over jumbled rock and shallow shelters. Although some were placed for visual impact on exposed and/or high panels, one pair of motifs was painted on the ceiling of a shallow shelter near to ground level.



Figure 7-1 Weathered motif of an *IIAP* male at LMR02a

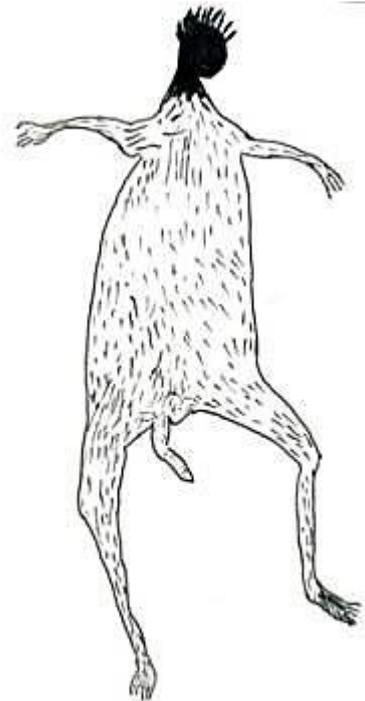


Figure 7-2 Sketch of Fig 7.1



Figure 7-3 *IIAP* 'half' figure and associated macropod depicted beneath Fig 7.1 at LMR02a

The dataset includes seven *IIAP* anthropomorphic figures including three males, one badly weathered female and three partial figures; one is the lower body of a male, exfoliated at the head end, and the other two are unsexed. Three are painted on a panel

where associated animal motifs are depicted in the same style, are of the same coloured pigment and show equivalent weathering. Walsh (2000:130-3) and Donaldson (2012 Vol 1:502-3, Vol 2:215) have recorded a number of additional *IIAP* but they are generally amongst the rarest of the anthropomorphic figures recorded in the Kimberley rock art data. The *IIAP* male (Fig 7.1) is 2000mm above ground level, on an elevated ceiling and the *IIAP* macropod (Fig 7.3) is depicted on a vertical face beneath this male figure. The legs in the top left of Fig 7.3 are part of another *IIAP* anthropomorphic motif curiously depicted from the waist down only and showing nearly identical features as the male in Fig 7.1 but lacking genitalia.

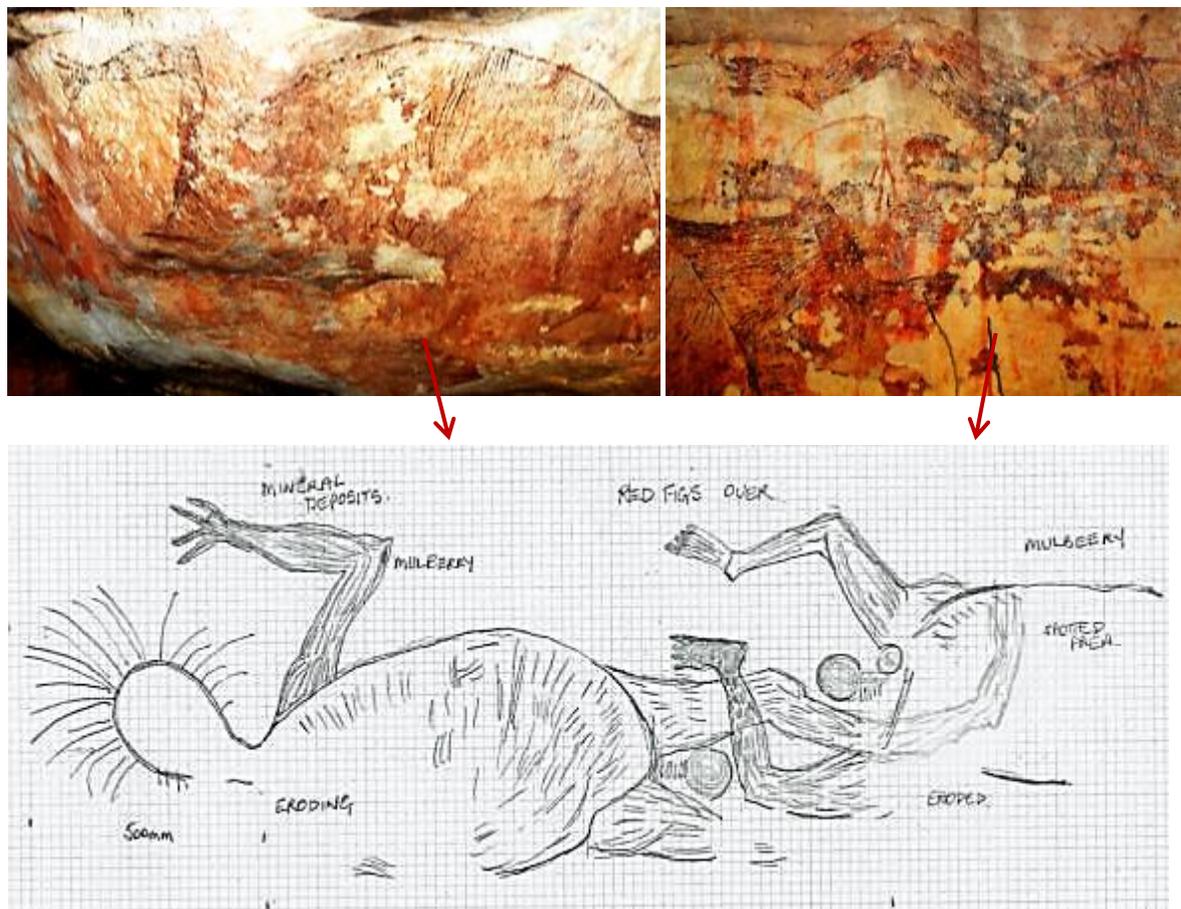


Figure 7-4 Two *IIAP* anthropomorphs at CC09

The *IIAP* anthropomorphs in Fig 7.4 are clearly male, and lie end to end. The photos of the panels and the sketch show irregular dashed infill, rotund bodies, spiked hair and detailed feet and hands, all features common to male *IIAP* anthropomorphic figures. The head of the right hand figure is weathered and exfoliated to such an extent that the type of hair/headdress could not be analysed.

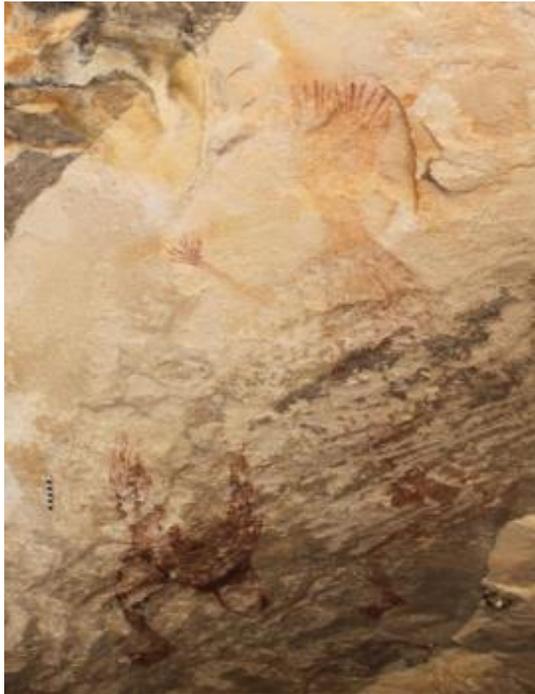


Figure 7-5 *IIAP* 'male' is associated with an incomplete anthropomorphic figure at BSC21



Figure 7-6 Outlined figures in Fig 7.5 at BSC21



Figure 7-7 Female *IIAP* anthropomorph at LR04

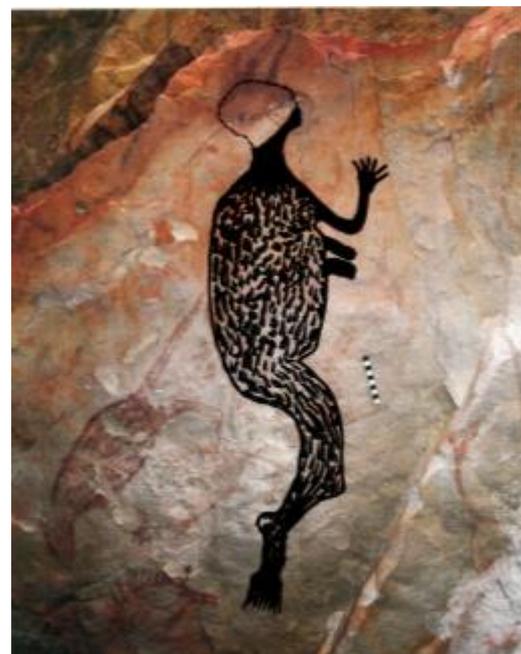


Figure 7-8 Sketch of figure at LR04

In Figs 7.5-6 what appears to be a rare profile *IIAP* 'male' is depicted with an incomplete anthropomorphic figure, although weathering may prevent an unequivocal conclusion on the sex of the complete figure. The single female figure (Figs 7.7-8) is depicted in profile with a significant number of macropod and echidna in the same pigment and style (see also Walsh 2000:130-1).

Limited numbers here preclude statistical analyses. Nevertheless, Table 7.1 shows that, although some are partially exfoliated or faded, the *IAP* anthropomorphic motifs display uniformity of features. General features shared by both sexes are; rotund body, detailed feet and hands, colour, irregular dashed line infill and large size compared to other motifs in later stages. The complete males all have spiked hair but the female motif cannot be categorised because the head area is too weathered. Four (57%) of the seven figures have male genitalia, one (14%) is female with stacked breasts and two (29%) are unsexed. Three figures, one single and a pair, are on ceiling panels while two single and one pair are depicted on vertical panels.

Table 7-1 Features of *IAP* anthropomorphs considered in analysis for sex/gender

Site	Sex	Sexual Features	Body	Legs	Feet	Hands	Head	Infill	Orientation	Figure Grouping	Colour	Panel
LMR02a	M	Penis	Rotund	Wide	Detailed	Detailed	Spiked hair	Random Dash	Plan	Single Assoc. with animal	Red	Ceiling
LMR02a	U	None	Rotund Half	Wide	Detailed	Absent	Exfoliated	Random Dashed Line	Plan	Single Assoc. with animal	Red	Vertical
LMR04	F	Stacked Breasts	Rotund	One	Detailed	Detailed	Exfoliated	Random Dash	Profile	Single Assoc. with animal	Red	High Vertical
BSC21	M	Side Penis	Rotund	One	Detailed	Detailed	Spiked hair	Random Dash	Profile	Pair	Dark Red	Vertical
BSC21	U	None	Rotund Half	One?	Detailed	Absent	Absent	Random dash	Plan	Pair	Dark Red	Vertical
CC09	M	Penis	Rotund	Wide	Detailed	Detailed	Spiked hair	Random Dash	Plan	Pair	Dark Red	Ceiling
CC09	M	Penis	Rotund Half	Wide	Detailed	Absent	Exfoliated	Random Dash	Plan	Pair	Dark Red	Ceiling

Weapons and Accoutrements

Depictions of accoutrements and weapons were absent.

Size

Over all, body size differs in measurements for the sexes with males being on average nearly twice as tall as the female. In addition, the female is approximately a third in width when compared to the male figures. The results show that the males are proportionally ‘taller’ and ‘fatter’ than females. Nevertheless, the male and female motifs are not

situated on the same panel and they are not in pairs or group scenes so it is difficult to assess these comparisons as significant (Table 7.2).

Table 7-2 Comparison between male and female body measurements shows dimorphism although the male and female figures are not depicted in pairs or groups

	Male x 3	Female x 1	Male x 3	Female x 1
	Height	Height	Width	Width
Mean	1843	1050	933	360
Median	2000	1050	950	360
Mode	1400,2000,2130	1050	850,950,1000	360
Range	730	N/A	150	N/A

Animal Association

The female figure is depicted on the same panel as macropod, echidna, birds and what appears to be a thylacine now extinct. One male is associated with an eagle motif and an unsexed figure is depicted close to a macropod. If there is significance in animal type/sex and the sex/gender of anthropomorphic figures, the small dataset negates meaningful analysis.

Relationship and Attitude

Action and attitude are not relevant to this period as the figures are static or prone in appearance. For example, the paired males (Fig 7.4) appear to be lying prone on their backs and do not appear to be actively engaged with each other. The other pair (Fig 7.5) includes only one complete figure and one partial figure so the relationship is difficult to determine. No patterning was identified.

Summary

Because of the small dataset pertaining to this group, results remain inconclusive.

Nevertheless, it can be said that there is a significantly high ratio of sexed figures in the *IIAP* assemblage (71%) when compared to the overall rock art assemblage. Primary sex features include mammae and male genitalia. Secondary gendering keys cannot be identified with any confidence because of the small dataset but may include hair style, dimorphism, body size and association with a particular type or sex of animal.

7.3 Gwion

The three distinctive groups, *Classic*, *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* of the *Gwion* period are analysed individually then as a whole. *Mambi & Yowna* are classed as one group under *Classic Gwion* because although they differ in some details that are at times noted,

overall their similarities are significant. Firstly, the anthropomorphs were organised by style into groups (Table 5.7), then sorted by sex and lastly divided by association or lack of association with features considered potential sexing and/or gendering keys.

Table 7-3 Numbers of sexed and unsexed figures of the three styles of *Gwion* period anthropomorphic figures

	<i>Classic</i>	%	<i>Dynamic</i>	%	<i>Wararrajai</i>	%	<i>Total</i>
Male	5	0.74	0	0.00	0	0.00	5
Female	29	4.28	3	5.08	8	3.56	40
Unsexed	643	94.98	56	94.92	217	96.44	916
Total	677	100.00	59	100.00	225	100.00	961

Table 7.3 illustrates the dearth of sexed anthropomorphic figures especially males within the *Gwion* assemblage. Of the total 961 anthropomorphic figures, five (0.74%) are sexed as male and forty (4.16%) are female with breasts. The percentages for female figures in each of the styles are reasonably even, but the lack of data for males sexed by primary features of genitalia in the *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* styles suggests secondary or gendering keys were used.

Sexual features

Table 7-4 Sexual features depicted in *Gwion* anthropomorphic motifs

Sexual Features	No	Male	Female	Unsexed
Anus	0	0	0	0
Blotch of power	0	0	0	0
Breasts - to either side	9	0	8	0
Breasts – profile single	8	0	8	0
Breasts – profile stacked	22	0	22	0
Pubic hair	0	0	0	0
Penis	2	2	0	0
Penis & Testicles	3	3	0	0
Vulva - suspended	1	0	1	0
Vulva - suspended & breasts to either side.	1	0	1	0
Total		5 (0.52%)	40 (4.16%)	916 (95.32%)

Approximately ninety-five percent (916) of *Gwion* period figures are not sexed. The female sexual features favoured during this period are breasts in profile view. There is very little (4%) emphasis on genitalia for female figures (Table 7.4). The five males have a penis, three have testicles and all are in a squatting position in ‘plan’ view to facilitate clear illustration of these genitalia.

Gendering features

Secondary or gendering features are iconographic keys that indicate the sex/gender of an individual by way of socially ascribed traditions and actions. The *Gwion* period depictions are rich in such features and include traditions of hair arrangement and headdress style and actions of weapon association and positioning of limbs.

Headdress and Hair

Sexed female anthropomorphic figures sometimes incorporate hair or a small headdress. The hair is often in the shape of a ‘mop’ or a ‘cap’ (Fig 7.9a-b). The classification of small headdress includes small ‘acorn’ shaped headdress, squat ‘cone’ shaped headdress and variations of these (Fig 7.9c-d). Typically the *Classic* females are depicted with hair or small headdress but these are not depicted on *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* motifs.

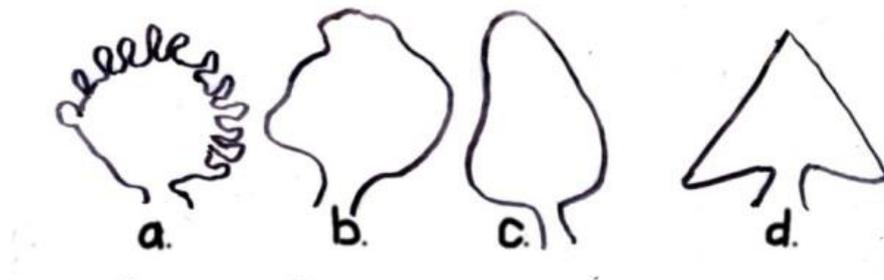


Figure 7-9 (a) ‘mop hair’ and (b) ‘cap hair’ and small headdresses (c) ‘acorn’ and (d) ‘cone’

While elaborate headdresses are numerous and varied in design there are three main styles that relate to the *Classic*, *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* as illustrated in Fig 7.10. All but four of the anthropomorphic motifs associated with these elaborate headdresses are unsexed. The four sexed figures are male and are depicted with a ‘dunce cap’ headdress of plain unadorned design suggesting that they are a masculine gender key (Fig 7.13).

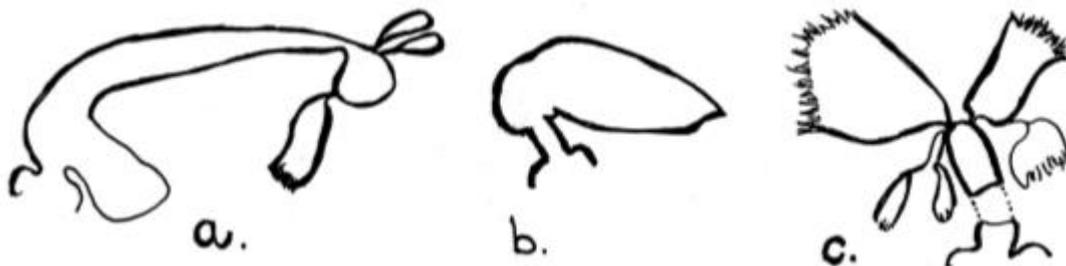


Figure 7-10 *Gwion* headdress styles (a) *Classic*, (b) *Dynamic*, (c) *Wararrajai*

The classification of ‘missing’ indicates that the headdress has been exfoliated or weathered to such an extent that it cannot be said with confidence that it ever existed as shown for the male figure in Fig 7.11. This differs from the classification of ‘none’ where

the motif clearly at no time included a headdress as demonstrated by the female figures in Fig 7.11 and 7.12.

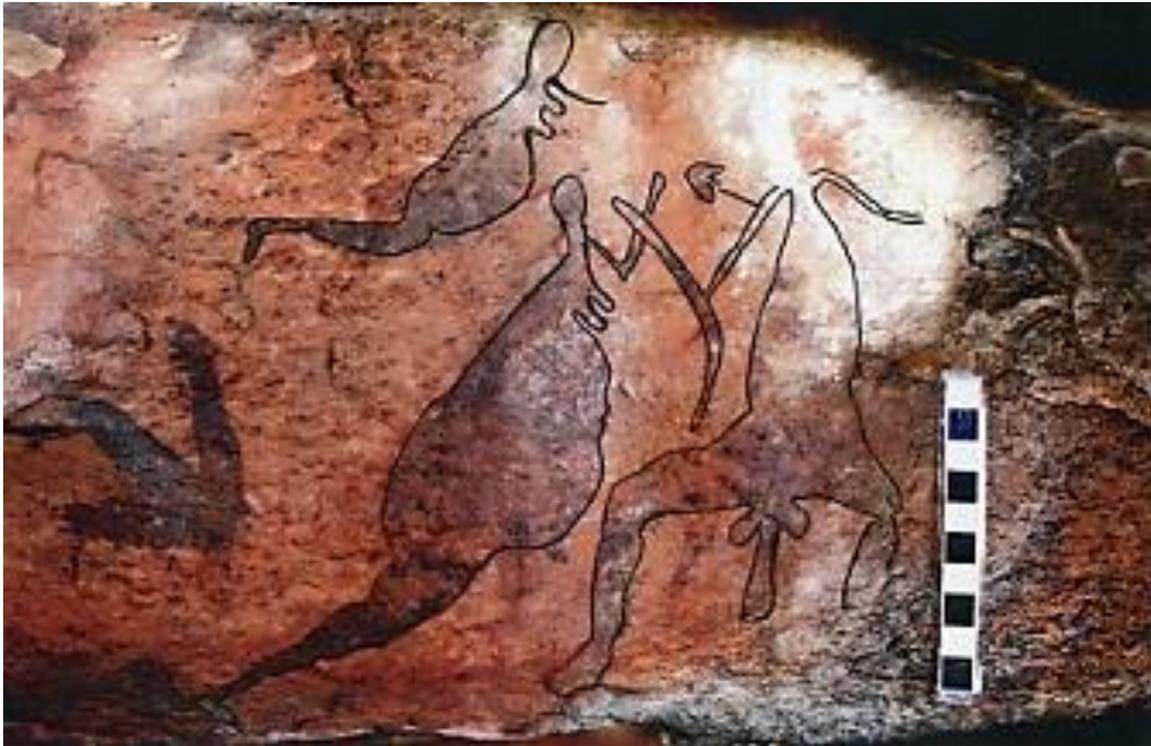


Figure 7-11 Headdress classification, for the two females, is 'none' & for the male it is 'missing' at BSC18

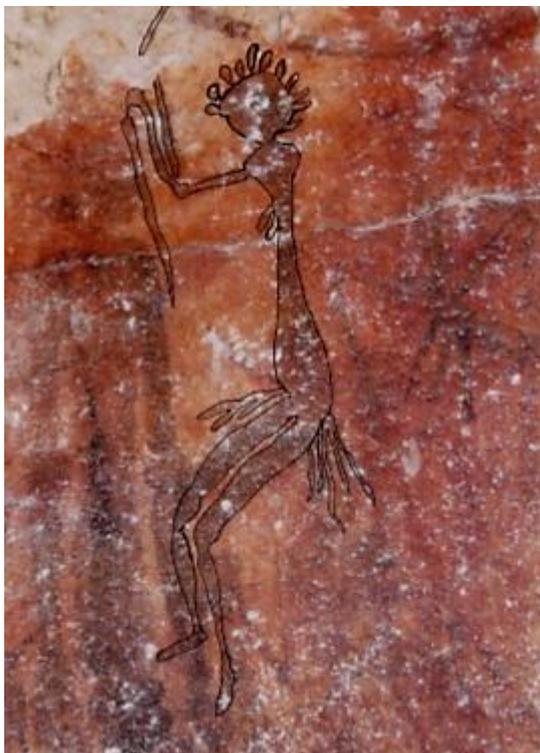


Figure 7-12 This female's hair is classified as 'mop hair' & headdress classification is 'none' at LR03b



Figure 7-13 The headdress worn by this male figure is classified 'elaborate' at BSC04

This is an important distinction because the ‘absence of headdress’ is measured as a potential iconographic key of sex/gender distinction used by the creators of the *Gwion* art and ‘missing headdress’ is not. Therefore, when testing for significance the figures classified as ‘missing headdresses’ were omitted, there being an even chance headdresses may or may not have existed.

Table 7-5 Sexed anthropomorphs in three *Gwion* styles and their relationship with headdresses

	Sex	Mambi & Yowna	%	Dynamic	%	Wararrajai	%	Total Male	Total Female
Elaborate	M	4	11.76	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	0
	F	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0
Small	M	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0
	F	5	14.71	0	0.00	2	25.00	0	7
None	M	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0
	F	24	70.59	2	66.67	6	75.00		32
Missing	M	1	2.94	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	
	F	0	0.00	1	33.33	0	0.00		1
Total		34	100.00	3	100.00	8	100.00	5	40

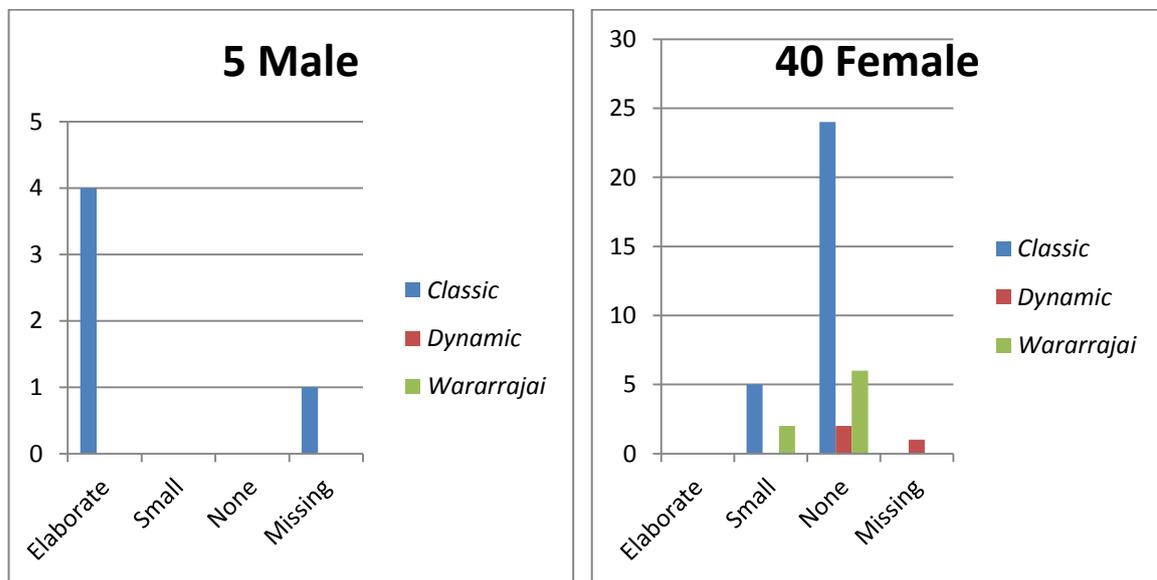


Figure 7-14 Sexed headdresses across *Gwion* styles

Table 7.5 and Fig 7.14 show that four *Classic* style males display ‘Elaborate’ headdress similar to that on the male in Fig 7.13 while the fifth is classified as ‘Missing’ a headdress (Fig 7.11). The total lack of sexed males in the *Dynamic* or *Wararrajai* styles is marked. Headdress classification for the 40 female anthropomorphic motifs is 32

‘None’, one ‘Missing’, seven ‘Small’ and nil ‘Elaborate’. In this sample of sexed *Gwion*, male figures are exclusively associated with ‘Elaborate’ headdresses while female figures are depicted with absence of headdress or those of small, plain form.

Table 7-6 Unsexed anthropomorphs for the three *Gwion* styles and their relationship with headdresses

	Classic	%	Dynamic	%	Wararrajai	%	Total	%
Elaborate	529	82.27	27	48.21	152	70.05	708	77.29
Small	8	1.24	0	0.00	6	2.76	14	1.53
None	81	12.60	27	48.21	23	10.60	131	14.18
Missing	24	3.89	3	3.57	36	16.59	63	7.10
Total	642	100.00	57	100.00	217	100.00	916	100.00

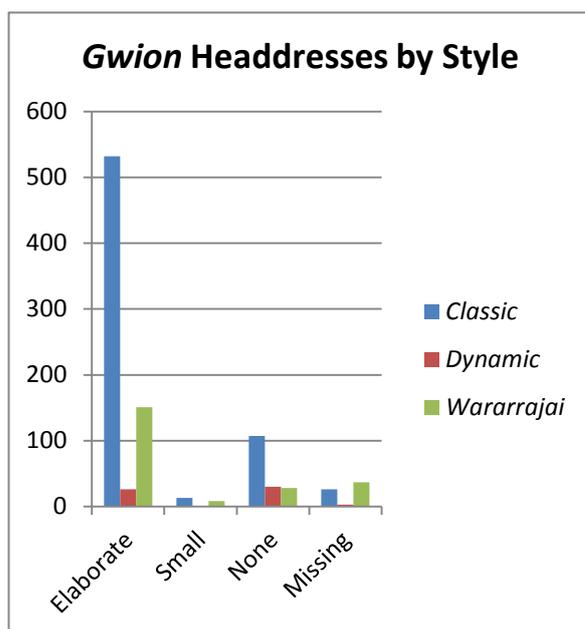


Figure 7-15 Unsexed *Gwion* style figures

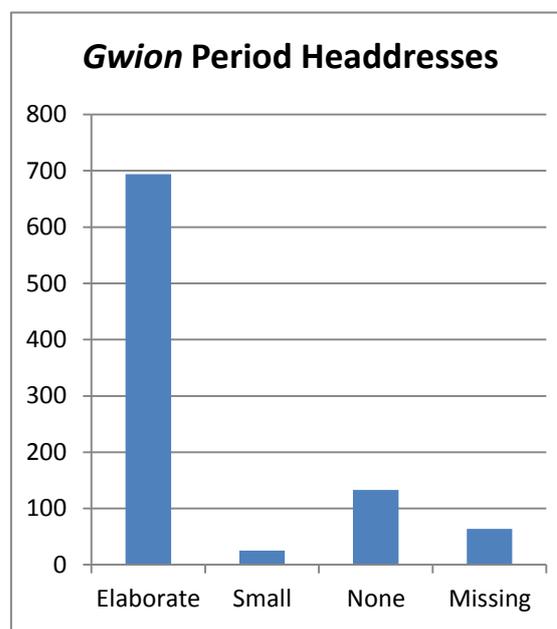


Figure 7-16 Combined *Gwion* headdress type data

Table 7.6 and Fig 7.15 demonstrate the significant difference between the numbers and percentages of total unsexed *Gwion* figures with ‘Elaborate’ headdress and those with ‘Small’ and ‘None’ (708:145). In addition, there is significant ratio variation of ‘Elaborate’ to ‘Small’/‘None’ between the *Classic* (529:89), *Wararrajai* (152:29) and the more equal ratio of the *Dynamic* at 27:27.

Headdress distribution of combined *Gwion* headdress types (Fig7.16) illustrates the disproportionate levels of elaborate headdress. I propose that figures with elaborate headdress are potentially male and those with small or absent headdresses are female. Hypothetically, males outnumber females by 66%. However, this notion needs further clarification. The large frieze of 41 anthropomorphic figures (Fig 7.17) demonstrates the difference between elaborate and small headdresses adding credence to my argument.



Figure 7-17 Top – a large frieze of 41 *Gwion* figures includes depictions of three females.

Bottom Left – two females on the left and an unsexed anthropomorphic figure to the right.

Bottom Right – an unsexed anthropomorphic figure on the left and a female on right at LMR02a

Hair

Of 961 *Gwion* period anthropomorphic depictions, there are 127 with hair; 22 are depicted with ‘hair only’ and 105 with ‘hair and headdress’. Of the 22 with ‘hair only’ there were six female figures; five were *Classic* and one *Wararrajai* (Table 7.7 & Fig 7.18).

Table 7-7 'Hair only' distribution for total *Gwion* styled anthropomorphic figures

	<i>Classic</i>		<i>Dynamic</i>		<i>Wararrajai</i>		Total
	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	Female	
Mop	9	4	4	0	0	1	18
Capped	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Shocked	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	12	5	4	0	0	1	16 unsexed 6 female

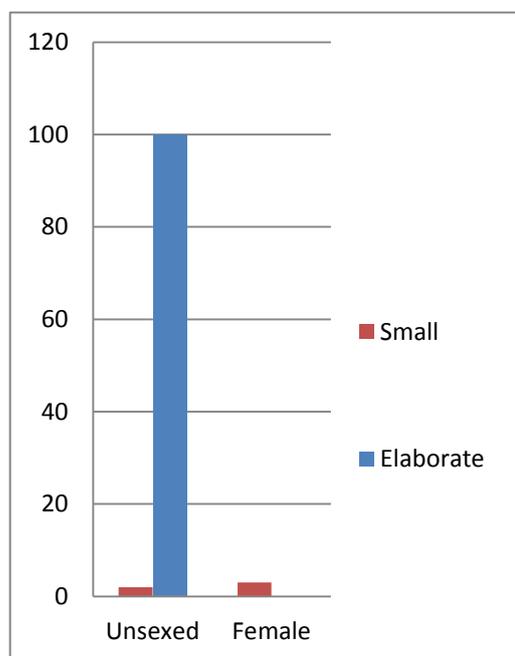
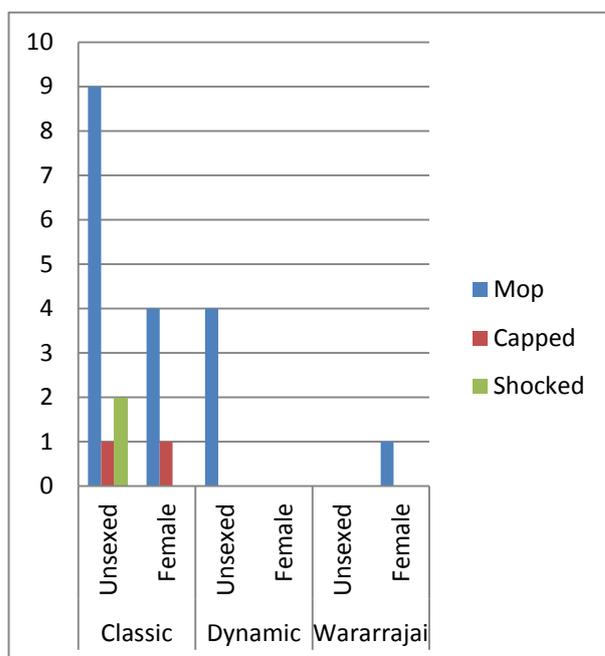


Figure 7-18 *Gwion* styled figures with hair

Figure 7-19 *Gwions* with headdress/ hair

Although a small representation for this category, it is significant that over a quarter (27%) of the figures are female and there are no males with ‘hair only’.

Table 7-8 Hair/headdress combination data for *Gwion* anthropomorphic figures

	<i>Classic</i>		<i>Dynamic</i>		<i>Wararrajai</i>	
	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	Female
Small headdress/hair	2	3	0	0	0	0
Elaborate headdress/hair	100	0	0	0	0	0
	102	3				

Additionally, the 105 anthropomorphic figures depicted with ‘hair/headdress’ combination are made up of 100 with ‘hair/elaborate headdress’ and five with ‘hair/small headdress’. The latter combination is exclusively found in the *Classic* figures (Table 7.8 & Fig 7.19). Of the five with the ‘hair/small headdress’ combination, three are female. There are no figures marked as male in the ‘hair/small headdress’ category. This indicates that sexing of the figures is dependent on the headdress type in this category.

Weapons and/or Tools

Association of weapons/tools with sexed anthropomorphs is rare and the type of association differs between the female and male figures. The anthropomorphic motifs marked male by genitalia are usually depicted *holding* weapons or with the weapons in parallel alignment to a limb or the body (Fig 7.20). Alternatively, weapons/tools associated with females are generally portrayed *near* to groups (Fig 7.21) or in several instances a spear is depicted penetrating the body of a female. Rarely are the weapons ‘held’ by a female figure. Three of four females associated with spears are pierced by them. It appears to be the positioning of the weapon that is the key to sexing the figures.

Table 7-9 Sexed anthropomorphic figures and association with weapons and tools

	<i>Classic</i>		<i>Dynamic</i>		<i>Wararrajai</i>		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Boomerang	2						2
Boomerang/ digging				2			2
Boomerang/spear	1						1
Hooked stick/ spear		2					2
Spear		2					2
Total	3	4		2			9

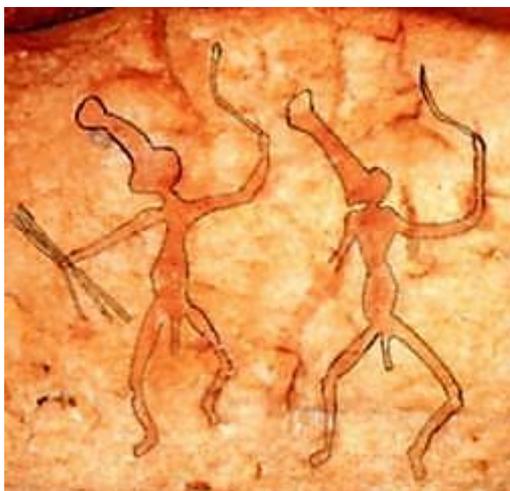


Figure 7-20 Males holding weapons at LR10

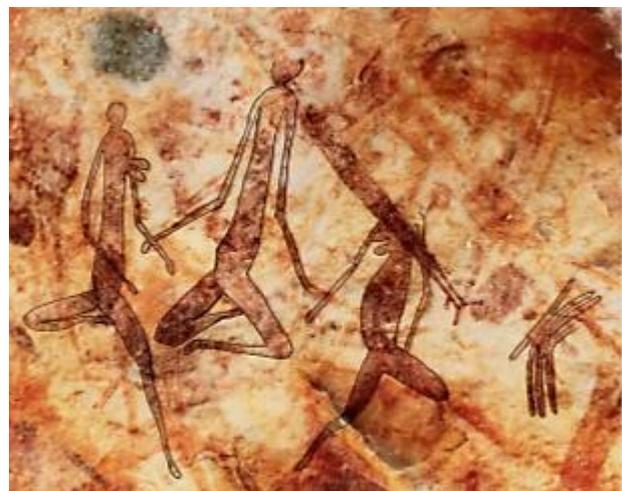


Figure 7-21 Female association with weapons at BSC5

Many of the motifs are associated with multiple weapons. For example, Fig 7.20 depicts the left hand figure holding several ‘spears’ and one boomerang, while in Fig 7.21, there are three boomerangs and a digging stick placed beside the right-hand sitting female. Only the weapon combination and not the total number of weapons associated with each figure has been reported. A total of 395 *Gwion* figures were associated with differing combinations of weapons.

Table 7-10 Unsexed *Gwion* period anthropomorph and weapon/tool association

	Classic	%	Dynamic	%	Wararrajai	%	Total	%
Boomerang	222	83.77	10	35.71	7	6.86	239	60.51
Boomerang/digging stick	1	0.38	1	3.57	0	0.00	2	0.51
Boomerang/digging stick/spear	0	0.00	1	3.57	0	0.00	1	0.25
Boomerang/hooked stick	1	0.38	1	3.57	1	0.98	3	0.76
Boomerang/hooked stick/spear	1	0.38	0	0.00	1	0.98	2	0.51
Boomerang/spear	26	9.81	4	14.29	3	2.94	33	8.35
Digging stick	2	0.75	4	14.29	0	0.00	6	1.52
Hooked stick	4	1.51	4	14.29	10	9.80	18	4.56
Hooked stick/spear	2	0.75	0	0.00	17	16.67	19	4.81
Shield	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.98	1	0.25
Spear	6	2.26	3	10.71	62	60.78	71	17.97
Total	265	100.00	28	100.00	102	100.00	395	100.00

Table 7.10 illustrates different patterns of weapon association between the *Gwion* styles, for example, *Classic* are more often associated with boomerangs (83.77%) and *Wararrajai* with spears (60.78%).

Weapon/Headdress relationship

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between ‘weapons’ and ‘elaborate headdress’ for the *Gwion* anthropomorphic figures. The analysis showed that relationship between these variables is highly statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 20.105$ with 1df, $P < 0.0001$. H_0 : that there is no association between ‘headdress’ and ‘weapons’ is false.

Table 7-11 Chi-square test of independence data

	Weapons Present	Weapons Absent	Total
Elaborate Headdress Present	314	417	731
Elaborate Headdress Absent	50	147	197
Total	364	564	928

The strong result for this test indicates that there is a high probability that anthropomorphic figures with elaborate headdress were more likely to be associated with weapons than those without an elaborate headdress. There is a significant probability that both elaborate headdress and weapons are masculine keys for male sex. Table 7.11 shows there are 314 (43%) figures associated with both elaborate headdress and weapons and 50 (5%) without elaborate headdress associated with weapons. Yet, the majority of figures (564:61%), 417 with elaborate headdress and 147 without, are not associated with weapons.

Body Shape

Forty eight percent (n=14) of *Classic* female anthropomorphic figures show a tendency to have ‘gynoid body’ shape. This trend is not evident for the *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* style female figures. Rather they are depicted with body shapes more evenly spread over the five categories (Table 7.12). One male is of ‘gynoid’ shape and four display the ‘narrow chest and paunch detail’ common to the *Classic* figures.

Table 7-12 Body shape trends for *Gwion* styles of sexed figures

Body Shape	Classic				Dynamic				Wararrajai				Total	%
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%		
Barrel	0	0.00	5	17.24	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	25.00	7	15.56
Elliptical	0	0.00	5	17.24	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	12.50	6	13.33
Gynoid	1	20.00	14	48.28	0	0.00	1	33.33	0	0.00	3	37.50	19	42.22
Narrow Chest & Paunch Detail	4	80.00	2	6.90	0	0.00	2	66.67	0	0.00	2	25.00	10	22.22
Stick	0	0.00	3	10.34	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	6.67
Total	5		29		0		3		0		8		45	

The percentile trend for unsexed *Gwion* figures follows the sexed figure trend and is clearly dependent on the particular style rather than the sex of a motif. For example, 51% of *Classic* figures are of the ‘narrow chest and paunch detail’ body shape and only 24% of *Wararrajai* are depicted with this shape (Table 7.12).

Table 7-13 Body shape trends for *Gwion* styles of unsexed figures

Body Shape	Classic	%	Dynamic	%	Wararrajai	%	Total	%
Barrel	125	18.49	17	28.81	90	39.82	232	24.14
Elliptical	105	15.53	0	0.00	54	23.89	159	16.55
Gynoid	85	12.57	9	15.25	25	11.06	119	12.38
Narrow Chest & Paunch Detail	347	51.33	26	44.07	55	24.34	428	44.54
Stick	14	2.07	7	11.86	2	0.88	23	2.39
Total	676	100.00	59	100.00	226	100.00	961	100.00

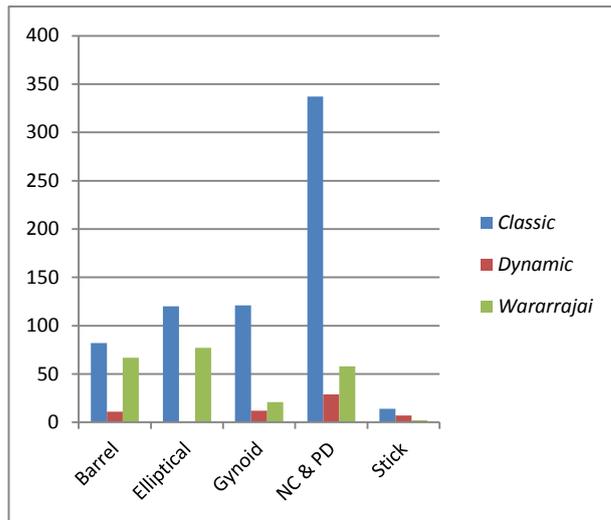


Figure 7-22 Body shape by style for the Gwion

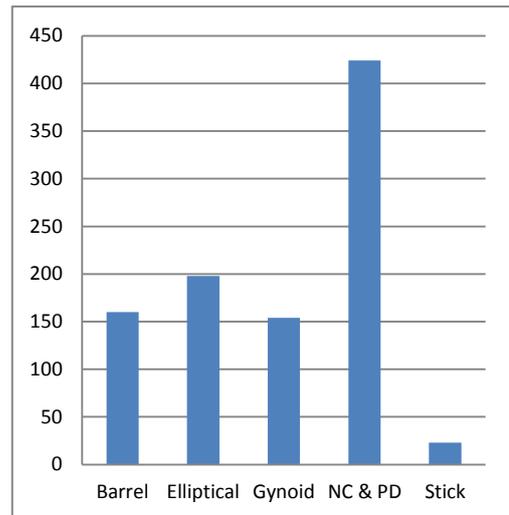


Figure 7-23 Gwion body shape totals

Overall the ‘narrow chest and paunch detail’ style is favoured for the *Gwion* period anthropomorphic figures. It appears the artists were focused on style rather than using feminine or masculine body shape as a significant sexual identifier (Fig 7.23). Therefore, I concluded that body shape is not a reliable sexing key for the total *Gwion* anthropomorphic assemblage when considered for individual figures. However, there are some scenes that are suggestive of body shape being employed as a gendering key in grouped figures (Fig 7.24-5).

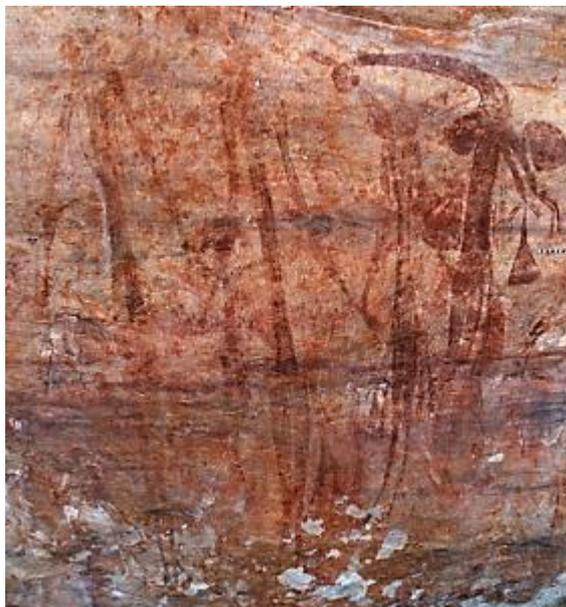


Figure 7-24 Weathered *Gwion* figures showing distinctive body shape features at MM19



Figure 7-25 Figures manipulated by *ImageJ* and outlined for clarity at MM19

This group shows three slim figures with round heads, no headdress and gynoid or feminine features of weight distribution in hip and thigh area (Figs 7.24-5). Their body and dress decoration are minimal while the figure with masculine keys of large headdress, elaborate accoutrements and weapons has a barrel body and more muscling in the lower arm in particular. Superimposition and weathering show that the highly decorated profile figure was painted after the other three figures of similar design. This example demonstrates the difficulty of sexing neutral anthropomorphic motifs based on an analysis of socially ascribed ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ body shape alone.

Body Action and Orientation

Body position does not appear to reveal any gendering keys except that the majority (28 or 70%) of the 40 sexed female *Gwion* figures are depicted in profile to accommodate stacked breasts. Some have their lower body in frontal view and their upper body twisted into profile for the same purpose. Ten more display breasts to either side of a frontal view body, and two have suspended vulvae best revealed in a squatting position. Similarly, the sexed male figures are depicted in squatting positions that provide a perspective that allows for male genitalia to be included more easily. Nevertheless this situation is only relevant when breasts or genitalia are to be included and not when these keys are omitted.

Gwion anthropomorphic figures of the *Classic* and the *Wararrajai* styles favour the ‘standing’ action and ‘profile’ orientation for female figures (Table 7.14) while the *Dynamic* females are in ‘sitting/plan’. The *Dynamic* are skewed into ‘profile’ at chest level, perhaps for the easy inclusion of ‘stacked breasts’ that are favoured as a sex feature of this group. Alternatively, the five recorded males of *Classic* style are depicted in ‘squatting’ position in ‘plan’ orientation for easy inclusion of male genitalia.

Table 7-14 Action and orientation of *Gwion* sexed figures

Body Action & Orientation	<i>Classic</i>				<i>Dynamic</i>				<i>Wararrajai</i>				Total	%
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%		
Standing/plan			4	13.79							4	50.00	8	17.78
Standing/profile			22	75.87							3	37.50	25	55.56
Standing spread legged											1	12.50	1	2.22
Sitting/plan							3	100.00					3	6.66
Squatting	5	100	3	10.34									8	17.78
Total	5		29	100.00			3	100.00			8	100.00	45	100.00

Table 7-15 Action and Orientation for unsexed Gwion and sexed Gwion in brackets

Action	Orientation	Classic	Dynamic	Wararrajai	Total	%
Bending	profile	6	2	2	10	1
Kneeling	profile	3			3	
Prone	profile	2			2	
Running	profile	3	20	1	24	3
Standing	plan	399 (4 female)	8	172 (4 female)	579 (8f)	63
Standing	profile	194 (22 female)	4	8 (3 female)	206 (25f)	23
Standing spread legged	plan	9	2	24 (1 female)	35 (1f)	4
Sitting	plan	1	11 (3 female)	6	18 (3f)	2
Sitting	profile	3	5		8	1
Squatting	plan	6 (5 male & 3 female)	1		7 (5m/3f)	
Squatting	profile	16	3	5	24	3
Total		642 (29f/5m)	56 (3f)	218 (8f)	916 (5m/40f)	

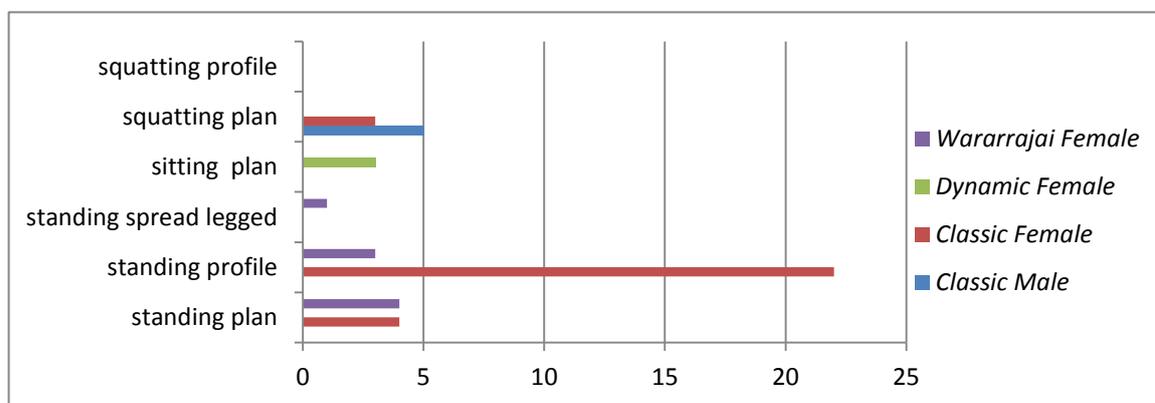


Figure 7-26 Action and orientation trends for Gwion sexed figures

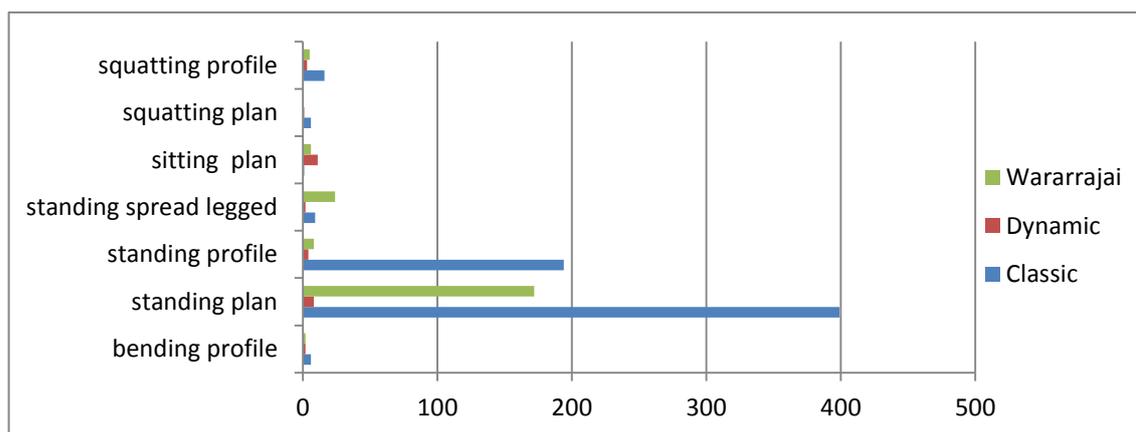


Figure 7-27 Action and orientation trends for Gwion unsexed figures

Where there is no mamma or genitalia included, the position of the body and its ‘orientation’ appears not to be critical to the artist. It is therefore proposed that ‘orientation’ is not a consistent sexing feature. Additionally, no significant trends were found for the ‘action’ performed except that there appeared to be variance between styles.

Limb Detail

An analysis of the position of the limbs reveals a trend towards arms being depicted in a downward sloping or hanging position and legs closely and evenly spaced. In very rare circumstances the thickness of the arm or leg appears to have been relevant. In examples where sexed figures have been depicted together – comparison can be made. The two female figures in Fig 7.11 have legs that gradually taper down from well-rounded thighs to slim calf muscles and small feet, while the male’s legs convey strength and power from thick thighs to strong calf muscles and large feet. There is no perceivable difference in the upper limb thickness of the single female (Fig 7.12) and single male (Fig 7.13), or indeed, in the general shape of their bodies. Because there was no perceptible difference found between *Gwion* male and female figures in limb thickness, feet direction, hand type and so forth these features have not been described. However, the position of the arms showed some trends considered relevant to the questions addressed in this thesis.

Table 7-16 Limb detail for sexed *Gwion* figures by style

	<i>Classic</i>		<i>Dynamic</i>		<i>Wararrajai</i>		Total	%
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Asymmetric Limb	3	7					10	22.22
'W' Angled Arms	1						1	2.22
Arms Bend Down from Elbows						1	1	2.22
Arms Bent Up from Elbows		3					3	6.67
Hanging Arms		1				1	2	4.44
Horizontal Arms		1					1	2.22
Sloping Arms	1	5		2		1	9	20.00
Upraised Arms		13				5	18	40.00
Total	5	30		2		8	45	100.00

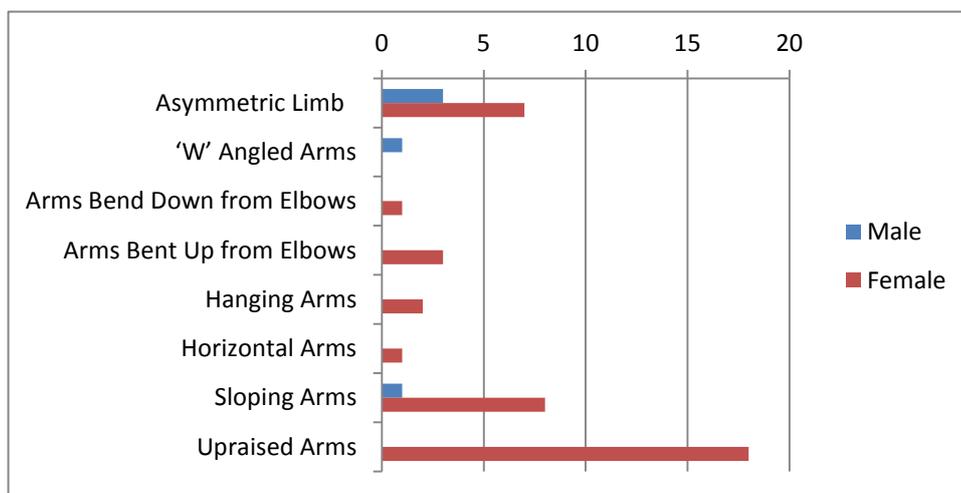


Figure 7-28 Sexed *Gwion* arm positions

Because the data for sexed figures are so limited, it is difficult to isolate clear features for sexing purposes. Nevertheless, there are 18 females and no males with upraised arms so it could be argued that this was a feminine feature used by artists to clearly display breasts. However, it would be fanciful to suggest that the 89 unsexed figures with upraised arms are potentially female unless other sexing keys are evident (Table 7.17). Similarly, limb arrangement does not reveal sufficient information for it to be used in isolation as a sexing feature. When combined with other features such as ‘relationship’ it may.

Table 7-17 Arm detail for unsexed *Gwion* figures by style (sexed figures are in brackets)

	<i>Classic</i>	%	<i>Dynamic</i>	%	<i>Wararrajai</i>	%	Total <i>Gwion</i>	%
Asymmetric Limb	136 (7f) (3m)	22.30	15	29.41	9	4.69	160	18.76
'M' Angled Arms	3	0.49		0.00		0.00	3	0.35
'W' Angled Arms	25 (1m)	4.10		0.00	1	0.52	26	3.05
Arms Bend Down from Elbows		0.00		0.00	1 (1f)	0.52	1	0.12
Arms Bent Up from Elbows	15 (3f)	2.46	2	3.92		0.00	17	1.99
Drooped Hanging Arms	2	0.33		0.00		0.00	2	0.23
Hanging Arms	151 (1f)	24.75	1	1.96	10 (1f)	5.21	162	18.99
Horizontal Arms	29 (1f)	4.75	3	5.88	11	5.73	43	5.04
Sloping Arms	172 (5f) (1m)	28.20	28 (2f)	54.90	150 (1f)	78.13	350	41.03
Upraised Arms	77 (13f)	12.62	2	3.92	10 (5f)	5.21	89	10.43

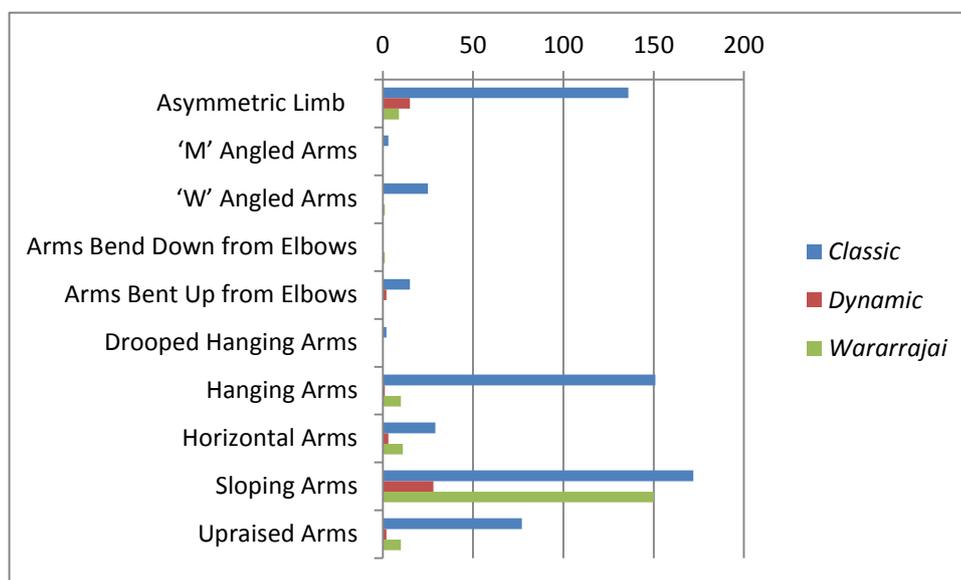


Figure 7-29 Arm position trend for unsexed *Gwion*

Observation of leg arrangement of sitting figures within ‘camp’ scenes demands further analysis when a larger data base becomes available. For example, decorum demands that Aboriginal women sit with the heel of one foot in the crotch (Bell & Nelson 1989:411) This was also reported in the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1909:-

'In sitting on the ground, which is his usual custom, the blackfellow (sic) crosses his legs and brings his heels nearly under him; a woman usually sits almost on her knees with one foot right in the crotch. These positions, like the difference in the "fighting fist" of whites, seem to be sexual distinctions.'
www.abs.gov.au/AUSTATS/, p 164.

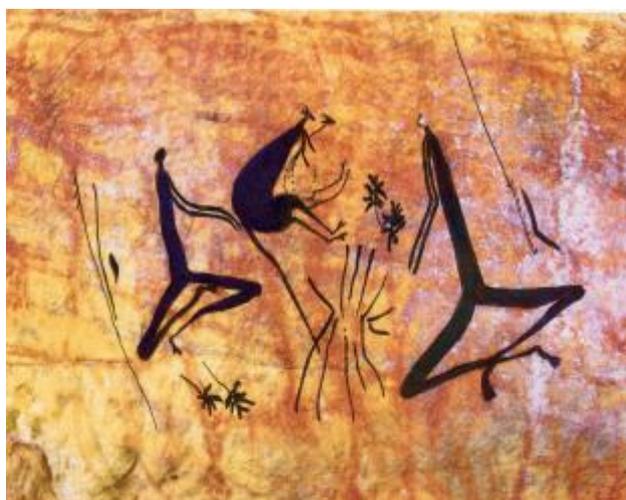
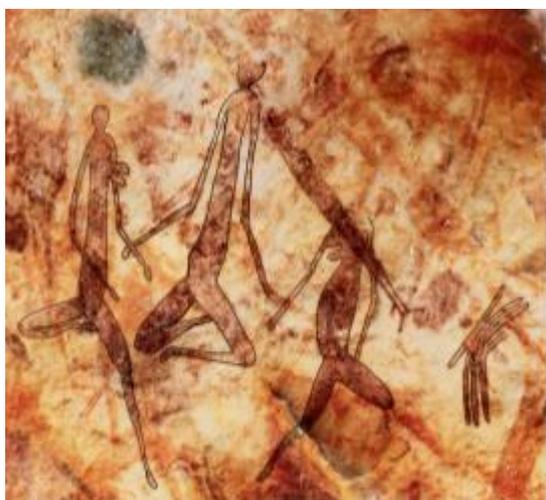


Figure 7-30 Females sitting with heel in crotch at BSC5

Figure 7-31 Figures in open crotch sitting position at U122

In Fig 7.30 two females sit with a foot tucked into the crotch while the central unsexed figure sits with open crotch as do the two figures in Fig 7.31. There are no headdresses to suggest that the three figures with open crotches are male but sitting leg position may well prove to be significant in allocating sex in such scenes.

Relationship and attitude

Table 7-18 Relationship and attitude of sexed *Gwion* anthropomorphic figures

Relationship/attitude	Classic		Wararrajai		Total <i>Gwion</i>
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Close proximity to child/human of same style		5		1	6
Close proximity to female of same style		7		1	8
Close proximity to male of same style		1			1
Dominant in group		1			1
Female under arm of human		4		1	5
Female under arm of male					
Male/female association		1			1
Male/male association	3				3
Protected/Dominated		10			10
Supplicant in group		5			5
Total	3	34		3	40

When exploring the potential of ‘attitude’ for sexing figures, consideration is given to ‘action’, ‘relationship’ and ‘limb detail’. For example, of the eighteen females with upraised arms, there are eight that raise their arms in what would be thought of as ‘supplication’ or ‘reverence’ towards larger and at times, more elaborately dressed and weaponed figures (Figs 7.32-3). Close spatial association between motifs within scenes (Table 7.19) suggests some anthropomorphic figures were in gendered relationship to each other. For example, mother to child, husband to wife/wives and male to male.

Table 7-19 Relationship and attitude of unsexed *Gwion* anthropomorphic figures

Relationship/attitude	<i>Classic</i>	<i>Wararrajai</i>	Total <i>Gwion</i>
Close proximity to child/human of same style	4	1	5
Close proximity to female of same style	4	2	6
Dominant in group	4		4
Female under arm of human	1	1	2
Male/Female association	1		1
Protected/dominated	5		5
Protective/dominant	12		12
Suppliant in group	14		14
Upraised arms	64	4	68
Total	109	8	117

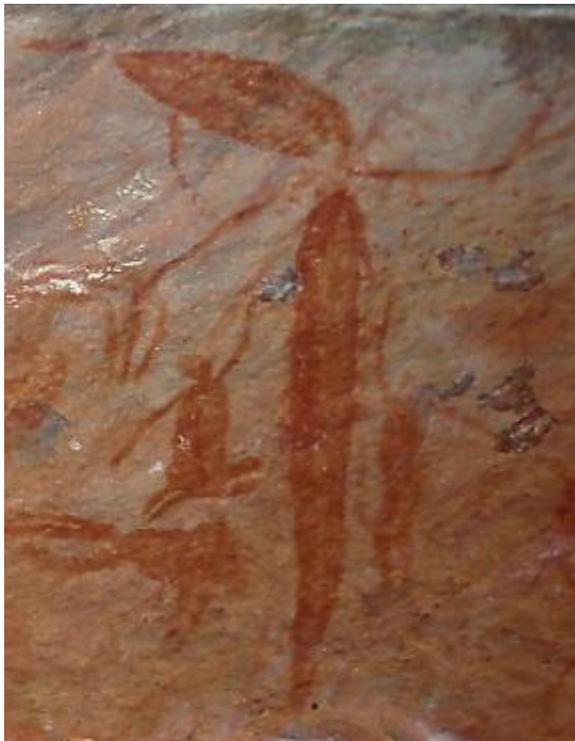


Figure 7-32 Submissive unsexed figures reach towards a central figure at MM24

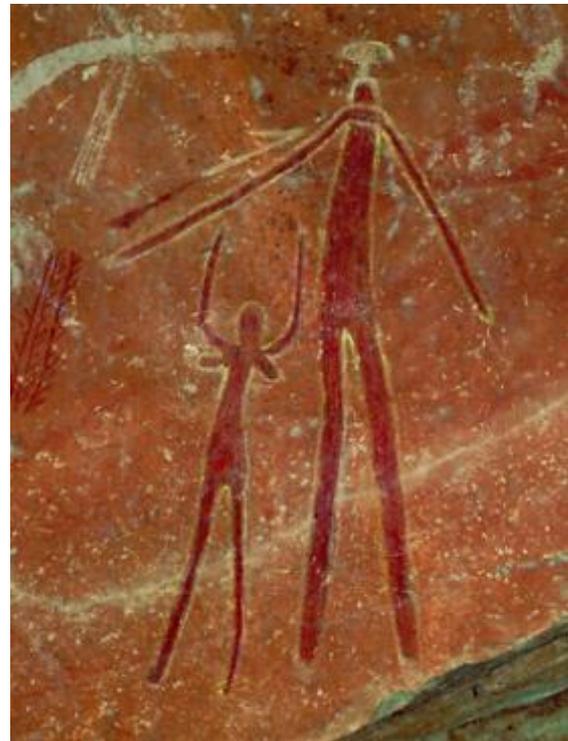


Figure 7-33 Protected/dominated *Wararrajai* female beneath the arm of an unsexed figure at MM21

Of the 136 *Classic* with ‘asymmetric’ arm arrangement three are ‘protected/dominated’, two are ‘protective/dominant’ and one is deemed a ‘supplicant’ (Fig 7.32). Of the 77 *Classic* figures with upraised arms there are 64 unsexed and 14 of these are the supplicant and 12 are protected/dominated in relation to another figure (Fig 7.33). Even when one figure is sexed in such a relationship the evidence is not strong enough to use ‘upraised arms’ as a sexual marker or to determine a gendered state.

Accoutrements – body and dress decoration

The accoutrements depicted on figures are potentially a feature of significance in determining sexual signifiers as the type of ‘body decoration’ and ‘dress decoration’ differs greatly across the *Gwion* figures. Body decoration is concerned with ‘on body’ adornment such as arm bands, bangles, body lines and waistbands, while ‘dress decoration’ encompasses apparel, including sashes, tassels and aprons, as well as hand-held objects such as whisks and bags. The variety of these decorations is extensive but many are faithfully repeated throughout the assemblage in a constant manner. Because there are 23 body and 52 dress decorations and the potential combinations, of features as a key to classification of sex are extensive (Appendix 1), accoutrements level is arbitrarily allocated to ‘simple’ or ‘elaborate’ (Figs 7.34-5).



Figure 7-34 Elaborate accoutrements level at MM19



Figure 7-35 Simple accoutrements level at LR03b

Of 677 *Classic Gwion* figures, 447 (60%) are depicted with body or dress decoration, including two males and 11 females. Only 13% (8 of 59) of *Dynamic* and 37% (85 of 225) of *Wararrajai* figures are depicted with accoutrements. Nevertheless, there is a definite division between males depicted with ‘elaborate’ accoutrements levels and females with ‘simple’ (Table 7.20 & Fig 7.34-5). The limited data on sexed male figures

with dress and body decoration may reflect the context in which they are depicted rather than an accurate documentation of male/dress/decoration association. That is, elaborately dressed and decorated figures do not include genitalia but sparsely dressed and unclothed males do. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Table 7-20 Accoutrements (body and dress decoration) levels for sexed and unsexed *Gwion* figures

	<i>Classic</i>			<i>Dynamic</i>	<i>Wararrajai</i>		Total
	Male	Female	Unsexed	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	
Simple		11	125	4	3	55	198
Elaborate	2		308	1		24	335
Total	2	11	433	5	3	79	533

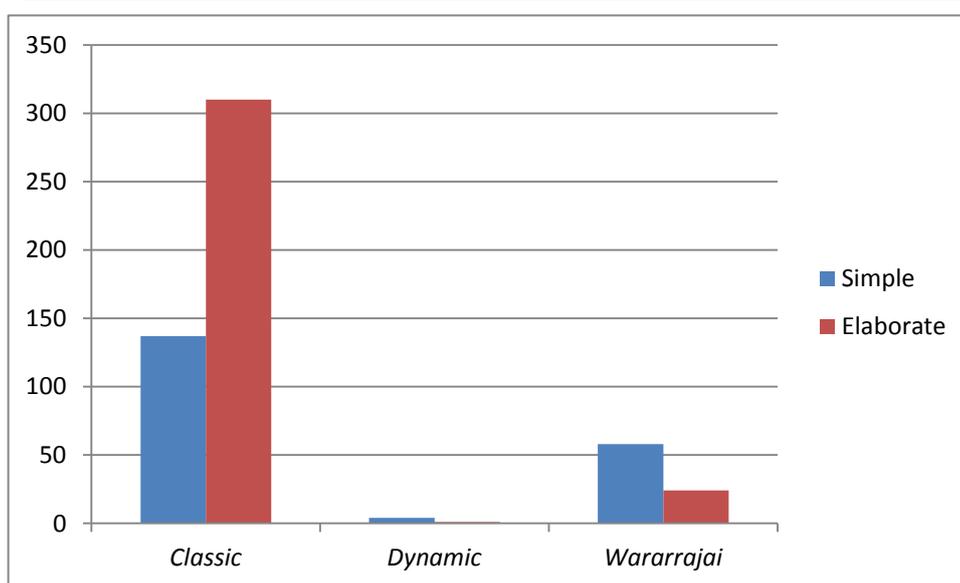


Figure 7-36 Simple and elaborate accoutrements levels for combined sexed and unsexed *Gwion* figures

There are twelve sexed female anthropomorphic figures, of the total forty recorded for the *Gwion* period, that are depicted with accoutrements. Eleven wear small waist sashes or aprons and one female carries a ‘whisk’. While one female with ‘waist tussocks’ wears a ‘small headdress’ the remainder have ‘none’. Of the five sexed males only two were depicted with accoutrements – one was depicted with ‘elaborate headdress’ and ‘fluffy elbow bands’ and the second with ‘plume arm bands’ but with ‘missing headdress’.

To expand the analysis, ‘headdress’ type was combined with the ‘body and/or dress decoration’ features. Analysis shows that figures depicted with elaborate headdress are highly likely to be portrayed with several levels of apparel and decoration, while the female and unsexed figures with small and no headdress sport simpler dress (Table 7.21). However, the type of apparel appears to be interchangeable. That is, sashes, tassel,

varied aprons, arms bands and waistbands are evident on anthropomorphic motifs of both sexes.

Table 7-21 Association of 'headdress', 'sex' and 'body & dress' decoration for the total Gwion

	Figures associated with 'body and/or dress decoration'									Total	%
	Classic			Dynamic			Wararrajai				
Headdress	M	F	U	M	F	U	M	F	U		
Elaborate	1	0	414	0	0	2	0	0	57	474	87.13
Small	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	4	11	2.02
None	0	11	24	0	0	0	0	1	2	38	6.99
Missing	1	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	6	21	3.86
Total	2	12	457	0	0	2	0	3	69	544	100.00

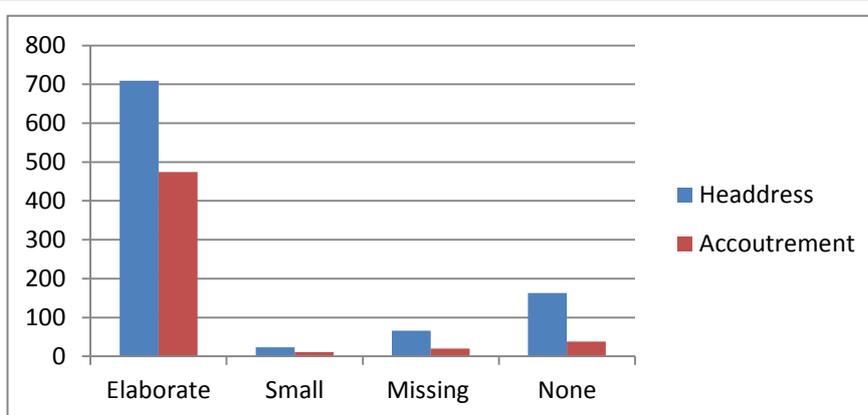


Figure 7-37 Total Gwion figures with accoutrements and their association with 'headdress' type

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between 'accoutrements' and 'headdress'. The analysis showed that relationship between the variables is extremely statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 94.932$ with 1df, $P < 0.0001$. H_0 : that there is no association between 'headdress' and 'accoutrement' is false.

Table 7-22 Chi-square test of independence data

	Accoutrement Present	Accoutrement Absent	
Elaborate Headdress Present	485	248	733
Headdress Small/Absent	38	124	162
	523	372	895

There is a significant probability that a combination of elaborate headdress and accoutrements (body and dress decoration) is a key for male gender. Table 7.22 shows 485 (54%) figures are associated with both elaborate headdress and accoutrement, 248 (28%) with elaborate headdress and without accoutrement, 38 (4%) figures have a small or absent headdress and accoutrements and 124 (14%) have neither.

Correspondingly, Table 7.23 isolates some features that may be signifiers of sex/gender. ‘Headdress’ type is added into a combination of features to explore trends. The analysis shows that sexed males are *exclusively* associated with ‘*elbow decoration*’ and ‘*plume arm band*’, while figures marked female wear ‘*short pubic apron*’, ‘*three point sash*’, ‘*waist bag*’, ‘*waist tussock*’ and ‘*whisk*’.

Table 7-23 Accoutrements associated with sexed and unsexed figures combined with Headdress type

Headdress type	Elbow decoration		Plume arm band		Short pubic apron		Three point sash		Waist bag		Waist tussocks		Whisk		Total		
	M	U	M	U	F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U	M	F	
Elaborate	1	10		86		62		102		4		71		74	1		409
Small									1		1	6		1		2	7
None		2			4	6	1	5	1	1	5	10	1	1		12	25
Missing			1	1		3		1		1		2		0	1		8
	1	12	1	87	4	71	1	108	2	6	6	89	1	76	2	14	449

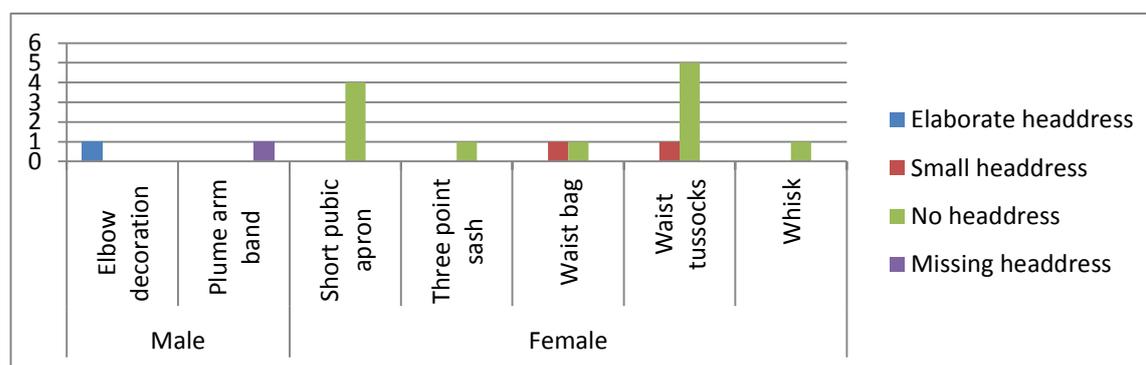


Figure 7-38 Trends for specific ‘dress’ & ‘body decoration’ associated with sexed figures

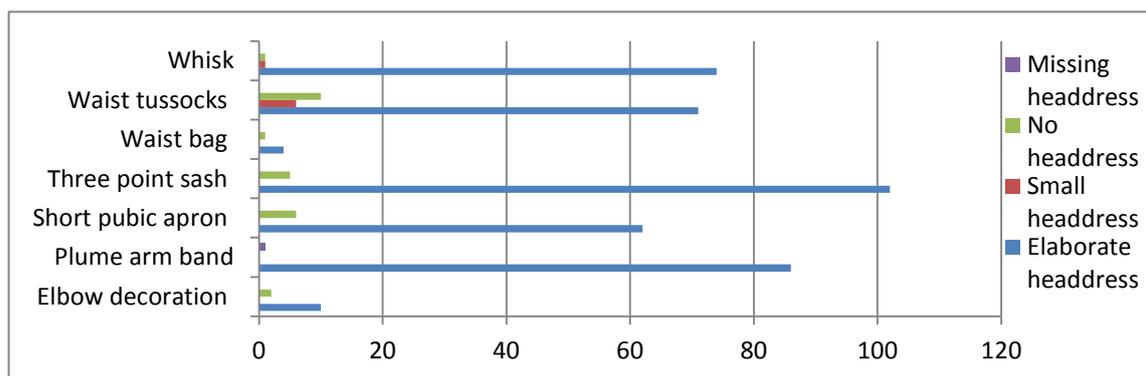


Figure 7-39 Trends for particular ‘dress’ and ‘body decoration’ features associated with total Gwion

The ‘elaborate headdress’/‘accoutrements’ association continues in the unsexed figures, though all of the ‘dress’ and ‘body’ decorations associated with female sexed figures occur frequently in the unsexed figure/elaborate headdress category except for the ‘waist bag’ feature. This feature is associated with two females and only four unsexed figures.

A wider study may reveal that body and dress decoration are significant for analysis of feminine and masculine features, but the paucity of sexed figures associated with accoutrements challenges meaningful results. Comparison of accoutrements and other features provides another avenue of inquiry to identify potential keys for allocating sex/gender. However, due to the constraints imposed by thesis length, only those that show some indication of relevance in my dataset are included.

Of 87 *Gwion* figures (Fig 7.40) decorated with plume arm bands, 85 have elaborate headdresses, one has a missing headdress and one has a small headdress. Also, 75 of 86 figures with plume arm band and elaborate headdress are associated with a boomerang, one with a boomerang & spear and one with a spear. Coincidentally a male recorded with genitalia has plume arm bands and holds a boomerang, but is missing a headdress. This strongly suggests that the 'plume arm band' decoration is potentially a masculine accoutrements.

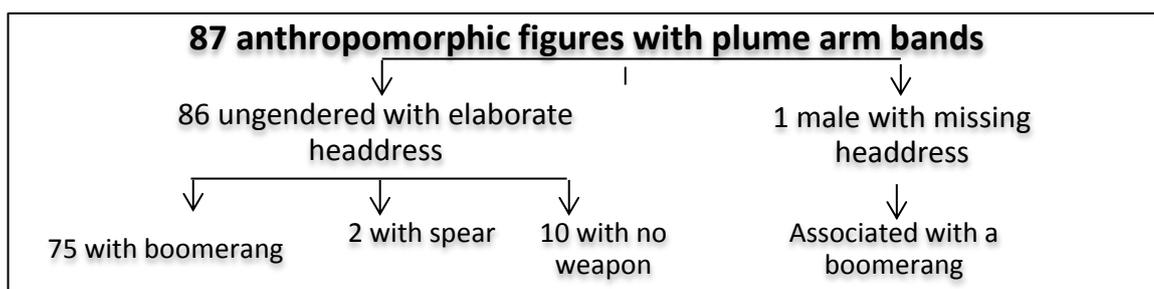


Figure 7-40 Plume arm band analysis

Furthermore, of 123 figures wearing waistbands, 113 wear elaborate headdress, five are missing headdress and five have no headdress (Fig 7.41). Fifty eight of the 123 are associated with boomerang, hooked stick or spear. Still, one female with no headdress or association with weapons wears a waistband and short pubic apron, elbow and wrist bands. Although waistbands may have a high probability of being a male sexing key they are not exclusively so, so cannot be classified definitively as a sexual diagnostic feature.

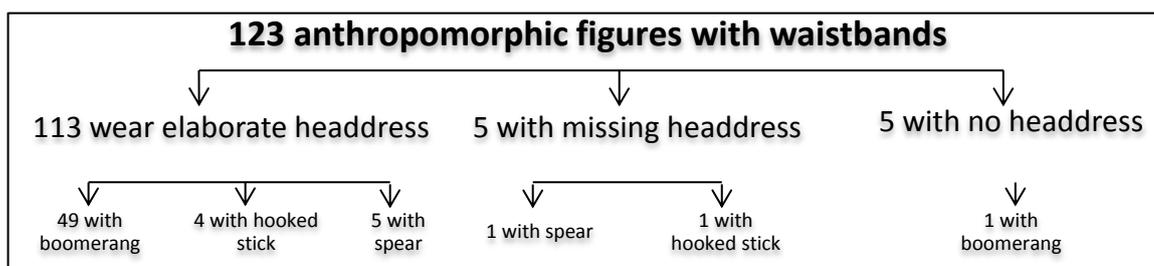


Figure 7-41 Waistband analysis

Size

Dimorphism is depicted in seven ‘pairs’ made up of at least one sexed female figure with sexed male or ‘gendered’ male figures (Table 7.24). The six unsexed motifs are depicted with male gendering keys such as elaborate headdress/weapons and have been totalled with the single sexed male figure. The sexed females are on average 23.46% smaller than the male figures. Pairs of equal sized figures are generally of the same sex.

Table 7-24 Dimorphism analysis for paired *Gwion* anthropomorphic motifs

Motif numbers	Height of paired motifs by sex in mm			Height difference in mm	% difference
	Gendered Male	Sexed Male	Sexed Female		
0037 & 0038	470		420	50	10.64
0069 & 0070	460		350	110	23.91
0141 & 0142	360		220	140	38.89
0241 & 0242		190	160	30	15.79
0441 & 0442	360		300	60	16.67
0826 & 0827	440		320	120	27.27
1146 & 1147	150		90	60	40.00
Total	2430		1860	570	
Average height	347.14		265.71	81.43	23.46

Technique

Analysis of technique was not undertaken because all motifs were painted.

Colour

No colours were found to be significant for sexing *Gwion* anthropomorphic motifs. There was no difference detected in the colour used in paired and grouped figures other than the variations that were considered to be the effects of weathering. Of the 677 *Classic* group 665 were depicted in solid shades of red, three were solid red with white dotted line highlighting and nine were solid red with yellow outline. The dotted lines and yellow outlining are rare and the ochre used is of a less enduring nature suggesting that more of these figures may at one time have been similarly decorated.

The *Dynamic* figures were also similarly uniform with 53 in solid red and six depicted in solid yellow. No use of two or more colours was found in these figures. However, the *Wararrajai* figures showed a greater use of colour and of bi and polychrome portrayal (Table 7.25). A red and yellow bichrome female figure was depicted with the same infill and outlining as the associated unsexed figure under whose arm she stands (Fig 7.33). This convention of depicting associated anthropomorphic motifs in the same pigment is evident in all cases whether the figures are sexed or unsexed.

Table 7-25 *Gwion* Period colour distribution

	Classic	Dynamic	Wararrajai	Total	%
red	665	53	142	860	89
white			1	1	
yellow		6	2	8	1
black/white			1	1	
red/white	3		5	8	1
red/white/yellow			43	43	5
red/ yellow	9		31	40	4
	677	59	225	961	100

Although colour is more diverse in the *Wararrajai* styled figures, the depictions are not sexually divided by colour, indeed associated figures are noticeably depicted in the same technique, pigment and style. Neither is colour used to divulge femininity or masculinity in *Classic* or *Dynamic* style motifs.

Figure Grouping

Table 7-26 Numbers for anthropomorphic figures recorded as single, paired or grouped

	Classic			Dynamic			Wararrajai			Total	%
	M	F	U	M	F	U	M	F	U		
Single Figures	1	5	79	0	0	6	0	0	30	121	12.59
Paired Figures	3	7	58	0	0	2	0	3	26	99	10.30
Grouped Figures	1	16	507	0	3	48	0	5	161	741	77.11
Total	5	28	644	0	3	56	0	8	217	961	100.00

Anthropomorphic figures were classified into single, pair and group (Table 7.26). These configurations allow analysis of association and aid in gender identification when one or more of the figures are sexed within a pair or group. Many of the figures are clustered in groups that appear to be interrelated. For example, Fig 7.17a shows 41 grouped figures but within this frieze there are also pairs (Fig 7.17c) and smaller groups of three (Fig 7.17b) or more. Some examples are given below (see also Appendix 2) and can be classified as conflict, camp and hunting scenes. For example, in the *Dynamic* period three female figures and 19 unsexed figures were observed in five ‘Camp’ scenes (Figs 7.30 & 7.43-5). ‘Camp’ scenes were classified when pairs or groups made up of sitting figures were recorded with game and/or tools/weapons resting near them.



Figure 7-42 'Camp' scene in original format at UL22



Figure 7-43 Inked in 'camp' scene at UL22



Figure 7-44 'Camp' scene at UMR01c



Figure 7-45 Inked in & outlined 'camp' scene at MP04

Many scenes are made up of unsexed anthropomorphic figures including 'camp' scenes (Figs 7.42-4). While weapons associated with the figures point to male ownership, such a conclusion cannot be established with certainty; nor can the *lack* of weapons empirically signify women, though the analysis of data clearly shows that males are associated with multi-barbed spears and females are not. However, there are discrete scenes that lend themselves to further analysis where one or more sexed figures is included (Figs 7.30 & 7.45). Even though none of the figures in the camp scenes have headdress detail, this may be due to other sexing features being used. For example, 'sitting position' may be key to sex/gender; 'open leg plan' being masculine and 'closed leg plan', feminine. Four unsexed motifs are depicted without breasts and in 'closed leg plan' suggesting they are female (Fig 7.44). This example is based on the premise that the actions of a female were socially impressed upon her by society's demands and sitting in a feminine way was a gendered practice just as wearing an elaborate headdress was a masculine practice. In this way, gendered keys overlay and define sex. It is argued that in the absence of primary sexing keys such culturally determined indicators were employed to show sex/gender.

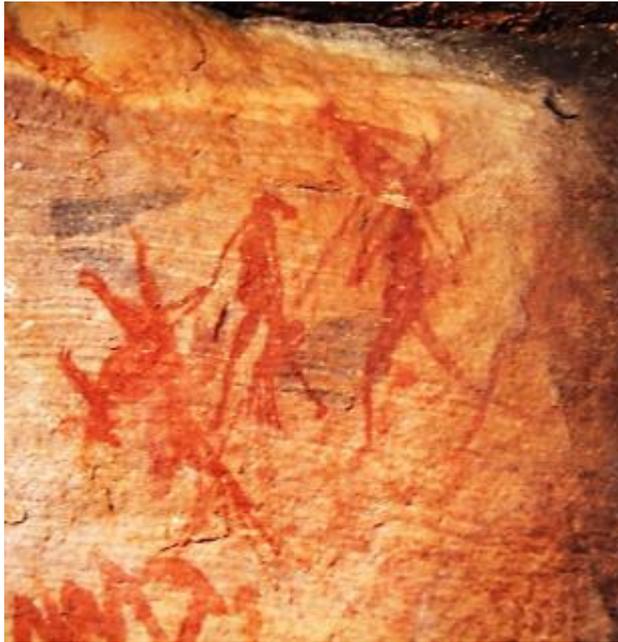


Figure 7-46 Kangaroo 'Hunt' scene at LR16

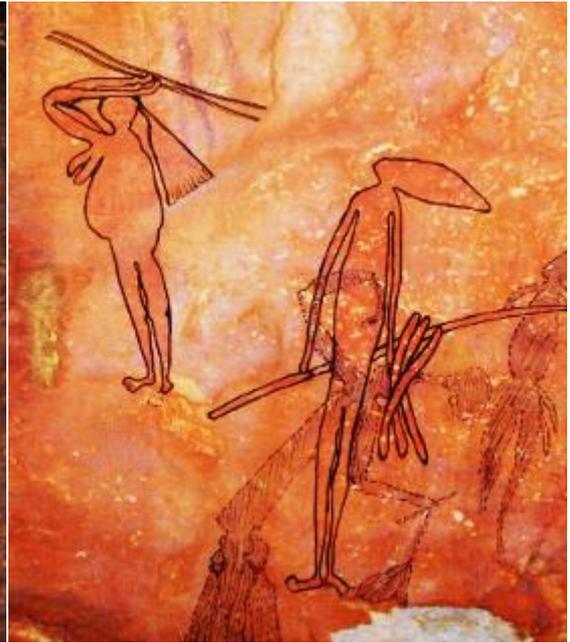


Figure 7-47 'Hunters' at OTB02

Other scenes included 'hunt' and 'conflict' scenes. Both hunting scenes include a female figure and an unsexed figure depicted with male gendering keys of elaborate headdress, boomerang and spear. One sexed female carries a kangaroo on her head (Fig 7.46) while the other, carries long 'sticks' and wears a bag from the back of her head (Fig 7.47).



Figure 7-48 'Conflict' scene at MP03



Figure 7-49 Conflict scene at MP03

Conflict scenes depict different association of weapons for figures sexed female and males gendered by headdress type. A female is depicted with a single breast and multi-barb spears entering her body (Fig 7.48), while the unsexed conflict figures gendered

male by headdress type, hurl spears at opposing sides (Fig 7.49). While no single ‘key’ provides conclusive evidence of sex, a number of secondary gendering keys taken together provide more substantial evidence. I propose that these figures and many others are able to be sexed by headdress type and the nature of the association with weapons.

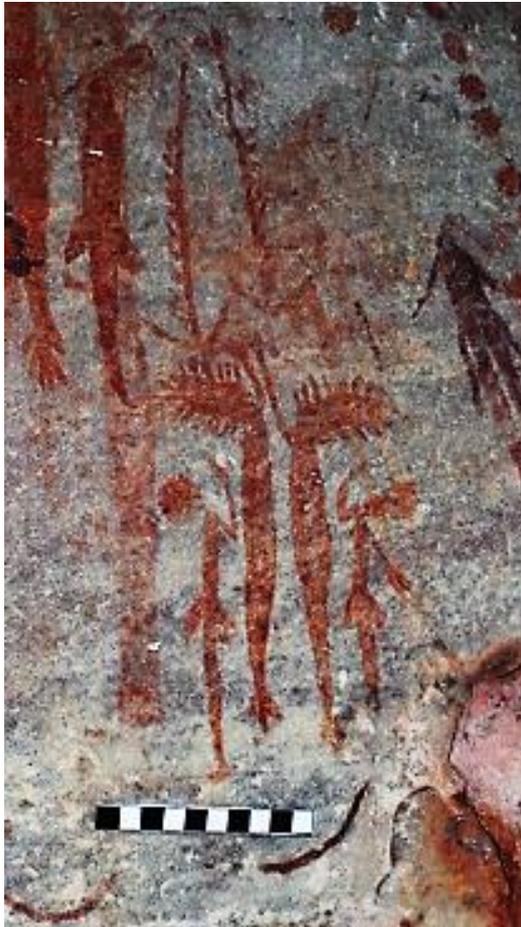


Figure 7-50 *Gwion* group of four includes face-to-face pairs at MP01

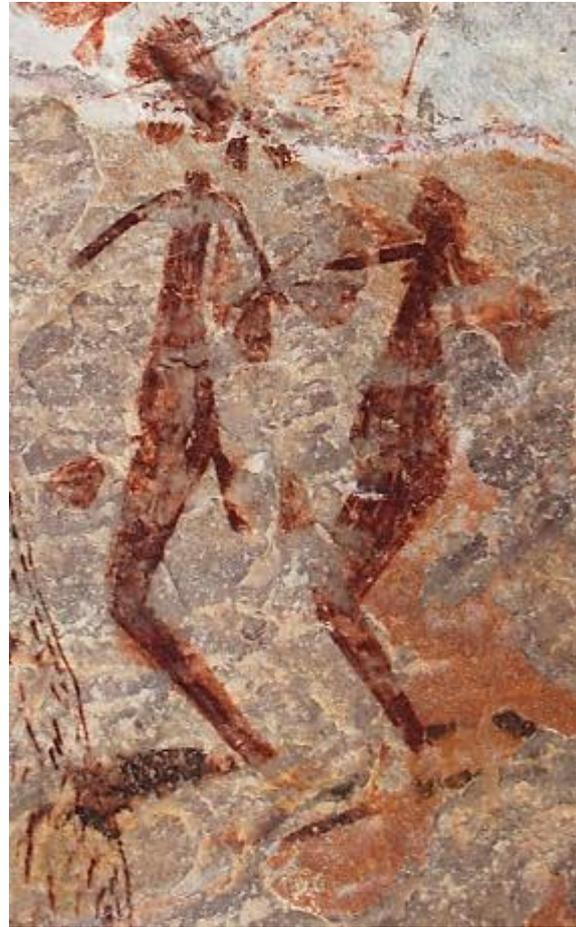


Figure 7-51 Monochrome *Wararrajai* pair at LMR02

Additional features frequently associated with paired and grouped figures are ‘dimorphic largeness/smallness’, ‘attitude’ and ‘digging stick’. A group of four anthropomorphic figures include two dimorphically smaller female figures each with a single profile breast, mop hair, waist tussocks and ‘reverential’ stance with one female depicted with a bag hanging from her shoulders (Fig 7.50). The larger, central figures have elaborate headdresses and their arms reach upwards towards boomerangs and barbed spears. Similarly, the *Wararrajai* female (Fig 7.51) is depicted paired with an unsexed figure. The dimorphically smaller female has stacked profile breasts, gynoid body shape and a dilly bag hanging from the head with arms extending towards the taller unsexed figure. Her digging stick crosses the unsexed figure’s arm just above the elbow decorations.

Note also the difference in the depiction of the head; the unsexed figure has an extremely elaborate headdress while the female wears a capped hairstyle.

These examples illustrate the process of identifying secondary iconographic keys that singularly or in combination assist in allocating sex/gender. This process is further demonstrated in ten examples of paired and grouped figures (Appendix 2). The site name and motif numbers are given to illustrate the spatial distribution of their occurrence i.e. spread across the study area. Features considered for analysis include dimorphism, attitude, headdress, weapons or tools, colour, body shape and accoutrements. Results show that ‘body shape’ is not consistently uniform in expression and proved to be an unreliable key for gendering. In addition, dimorphism is a regular feature in paired and grouped figures with females being consistently smaller than the associated unsexed figures argued to be male. Similarly, headdress and weapons are argued to be male keys. The ‘attitude’ of the female figures could be described as ‘reverential or ‘submissive’ and that of the male termed ‘protective’ or ‘dominant’. However, this can only be said for anthropomorphic figures in association with each other and not in regard to the whole *Gwion* assemblage.

Table 7-27 Summary of selected gendering keys for groups and pairs described in Appendix 2

Sex	Sex Key	Average height	Headdress	Weapons/Tools	Body Shape	Accoutrements
12 Assigned male	None	322mm	12 Elaborate	1 Hooked Stick/Spear 2 Boomerang 1 Boomerang/Spear 2 Spear 6 None	7 Barrel 4 Narrow chest & paunch detail 1 Bottle tree	8 Nil 4 Elaborate
15 Females	Breast	202mm	8 None 2 Hairlike 5 Acorn (small)	2 Digging stick 1 Boomerang/Digging Stick 12 None	7 Gynoid 6 Barrel 1 Narrow chest & paunch detail 1 Elliptical	6 Nil 4 Bag 5 Waist tussocks

Having established iconographic differences depicted between sexed female and unsexed figures from the analysis of grouped motifs, a comparison of these differences was made. Results showed that dimorphism, attitude, body shape, colour and accoutrement were not reliable indicators of sex/gender in isolation but could to be used as supporting features in combination within pairs and groups (Table 7.27). However, headdress type, weapons used in specific fashion and particular types of apparel are gendered iconographic keys that can be used with confidence for sexing single, paired or grouped motifs. The keys selected from the *Gwion* dataset for assigning male sex and masculine gender are -

- elaborate headdress
- held weapons – hooked stick, multi barbed spear, clubs, boomerangs
- plume arm band

Conversely, assigning female sex/feminine gender cannot be done with confidence. The difficulty is that there is obviously social status assigned to individuals wearing elaborate headdress, carrying weapons or wearing particular types of apparel; it is argued that these motifs represent either men of higher law degree able to perform in ceremony or those who have reached manhood entitled to, for example, hunt large game. They are individuals not only recognised for their social status but those who no doubt enjoyed access to economic privileges. The motifs without headdresses or with small headdresses could simply have been any other member of the society and are not necessarily female; they may be uninitiated boys, girls, smaller children and women. The only item that could be conceived as being female-specific is the digging stick and unfortunately it is very rarely depicted; only 12 instances were recorded. Other features including ‘closed leg’ positioning of legs while in a sitting position are not yet proven as feminine keys.

Table 7-28 Equation for assigning sex by including iconographic gendering keys ‘elaborate headdress’ and ‘held weapons’

Headdress	Male	Assigned male (depicted with elaborate headdress)	Assigned male (depicted with ‘held’ weapon)	Female	Unassigned figure	Total
Elaborate	4	708				712
Small			1	7	13	21
None			50	32	81	163
Missing	1		31	1	32	65
Sub-totals	5	708	82	40	126	961
Totals	785 (81.69%)			40 (4.16%)	126 (13.11%)	

As recorded at the beginning of this section there were 713 (5 male & 708 unsexed) of 961 *Gwion* motifs with elaborate headdress (Tables 7.5-6). The 708 unsexed motifs with the masculine gendering key ‘elaborate headdress’ are assigned male (Table 7.28). A further 82 figures are assigned male because they are associated with the masculine gender key of ‘held weapon’ even though they include figures with small (1), absent (50) or missing (31) headdress, giving a total of 785 male/assigned male figures. Also listed are 40 sexed females and 126 figures that are unable to be assigned a sex through iconographic gendering keys singularly or in combination.

The results for paired and grouped figure analysis clearly show that there was intent by the artist to illustrate the sex of the motifs through the use of iconographic keys that conveyed the gendered practices and actions of the people. The fact that there are approximately 20 males for every one female indicates that men enjoyed considerable kudos within the culture at this time.

Superimposition

Superimposition is the key to developing a relative stylistic sequence for the differing styles of motif and for placing the sexed anthropomorphic figures in order of style.

Although there were 241 motifs without superimposition, there were 719 that had been painted over or were under another painting. Of these superimposed motifs there are 217 that show clear sequential order. This order also demonstrates that similarities and differences existed in the social and cultural focus placed on female and male figures over time and these changes can be detected during and between the successive periods of the assemblage. Superimposition analysis confirms the validity of the stylistic sequence formulated by Walsh (2000).

Animal Association

There are only 13 instances of human/animal association depicted in the *Gwion* period (Table 7.29). Twelve of the animals are macropod and one is a flying fox. One female figure is depicted with a macropod and the remainder of the figures are unsexed but assigned male because of the secondary gendering keys of elaborate headdress and/or held weapons. Seven figures are involved in hunting scenes with macropod and two are depicted in a camp scene.

Table 7-29 *Gwion* anthropomorphic motif and animal and weapon association

Anthropomorphic motif	Sex	Flying Fox	Macropod	Weapons
1 <i>Dynamic</i>	F		1	
1 Classic (<i>Yowna</i>) 1 <i>Dynamic</i>	U		2	boomerang
1 <i>Dynamic</i>	U		1	boomerang/digging stick/spear
1 <i>Wararrajai</i>	U	1		boomerang/hooked stick/spear
1 Classic (<i>Yowna</i>)	U		1	boomerang/object in hand
1 <i>Dynamic</i>	U		1	boomerang/spear
2 <i>Wararrajai</i> 1 Classic (<i>Yowna</i>)	U		3	hooked stick/spear
1 Classic (<i>Yowna</i>)	U		1	object in hand
2 <i>Dynamic</i>	U		2	spear
13		1	12	

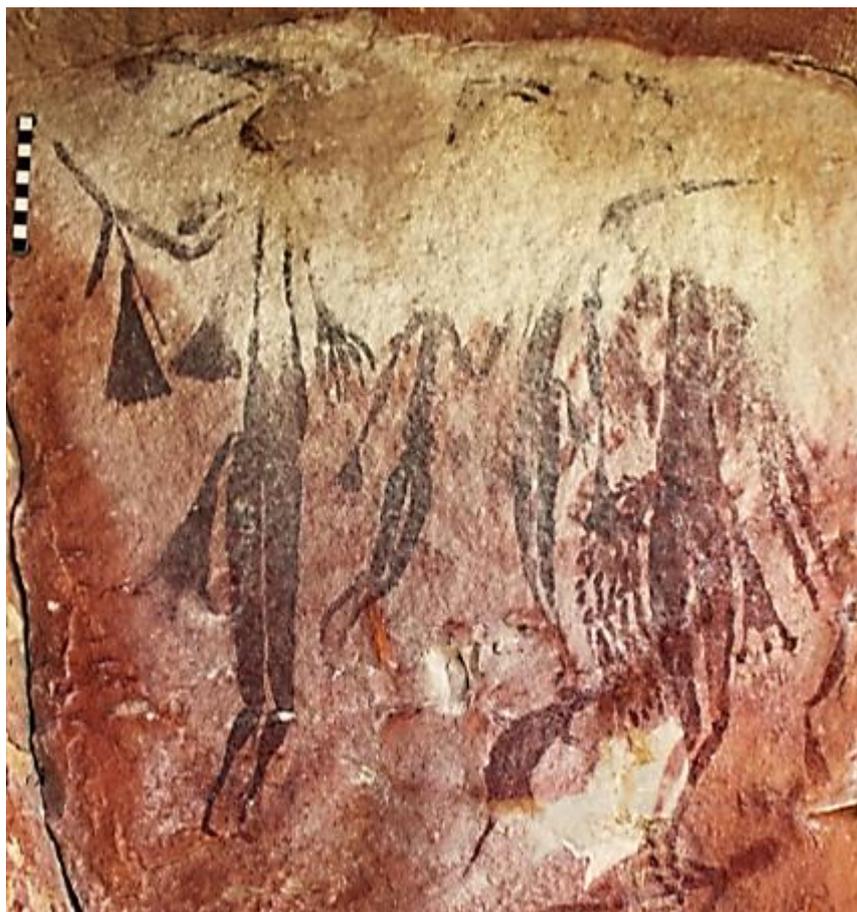


Figure 7-52 *Yowna* with macropod at LMRO2C

Only one small macropod was recorded not being hunted and could perhaps depict ‘totem’ animal inferences as it is placed beside the lower legs of a *Classic Gwion* (*Yowna*) figure (Fig 7. 52). The curious lack of *Gwion* animal depictions in close association to human figures is marked.

Conclusion

The analysis of *Gwion* period anthropomorphic motifs indicates that there is a high probability that males are depicted wearing elaborate headdresses, with a range of accoutrements and with ‘held’ weapons, while females are depicted with small headdress or no headdresses and not depicted holding weapons. Added to these principal sexing features are less common markers, namely, particular forms of clothing or tools such as digging stick and whisk. It is the combining of two or more sexing keys that gives confidence that a particular motif is male or female. Additionally, attitude and context scenes in combination with the above sexing features have proved to be a strong gauge of the sexual assignment of a particular motif. Taking these facts into consideration, I

suggest that in most cases, many unsexed figures can be categorised as male or female. An analysis of gender roles can then be explained.

Because there are 40 females and five males marked with genitalia or mammae, it is the female figures that are most informative. The female figures' close association with unsexed figures incorporating features found on sexed males suggest that these figures are male. The data analysis shows that *Gwion* period anthropomorphic motifs, identified as males using multiple sexing keys outnumber females by a ratio of 20:1 male to female.

Still, caution should be taken in classifying all of the ambiguous figures with no headdress or small headdress as female. There are some figures, by their association with for example, females in breastfeeding scenes that are babies or children of unknown sex. Other figures cannot be distinguished either way. A portion of these figures, when depicted with highly decorated figures, may also be children, initiates or males with little or no social standing or economic power. If this were taken into account, it would indicate that females are even less evident in the art. The inference for figures associated with elaborate headdress, high accoutrements levels and held weapons is that they are male and are prominent in the art of the *Gwion* period. Still, there are 50 *Gwion* figures without headdresses but that hold weapons suggesting that there may be other factors to be considered before accepting that weapons are an exclusively male diagnostic key.

7.4 Wanjina

The analysis of *Wanjina* period figures creates significant challenges because of the subtle and variable stylistic elements combined to create this style. Many have been 'freshened up' or 'repainted' with little regard for the original depiction that sometimes remains visible beneath. In these cases, extra elements may have been added or omitted. However, this difficulty is balanced somewhat by access to ethnohistorical and ethnographical accounts of the mythology associated with some of the motifs and the culture itself.

A total of 601 anthropomorphic figures were studied for the *Wanjina* period made up of 439 *Painted Hand Period (PHP)*, 132 *Wanjina* and 30 *Argula & Jillinya*. The *PHP* style of anthropomorphic figures is argued to be a transition between the *Wararrajai* style of the *Gwion* period and the *Wanjina* style of the *Wanjina* period. At times a *Wararrajai* anthropomorphic figure was selected by the artist and extra limbs or elements were added

to form a less rigid and a more rudimentary human form. It appears that there is less emphasis on the strict adherence to a particular number of stylistic conventions when compared to that used in the *Gwion* period. Decorative infill is also utilised to a greater extent. The *Wanjina* style develops from this foundation; but with the new technique of a 'prepared background' often incorporated. Light-coloured pigment is blown from the mouth onto the rock surface before the figure is painted over it or less frequently, scratched into the wet ground. A conventional range of stylistic elements were adopted in this style; rayed or halo headdresses, the lack of a mouth and varied forms of patterned infill are formalised. The sexually explicit *Argula* and *Jillinya* spirit figures are a distinctive subgroup within the *Wanjina* period. While they were contemporaneous with the *PHP* and *Wanjina* styled motifs it is probable that they served a different purpose for the people who created them (but see Crawford 1968:91-7, Doring 2000:56).

Gender categories

The analytical units for gender during the *Wanjina* period have been expanded to include bisexual, homosexual and ambiguous (Chapter 6). As discussed, gender is the socially ascribed identity of an individual in a particular culture that overlays the biological sexed expression. The categories for the *Wanjina* period are as follows:

- Male – depicted with masculine gendering features
- Female – depicted with feminine gendering features
- Bisexual – masculine and feminine sex features
- Homosexual – sexual *behavior* between two members of the same sex or gender
- Ambiguous – of unknown sex or gender
- Ungendered – of neutral sex or gender

Examples of the added gender categories are given below. The difficulty in analysing some figures necessitates an 'ambiguous' category. For example, four *Painted Hand* figures on the right of the group (Fig 7.53) are superimposed over motifs similar to the more human-like squatting depiction on the left. Perhaps the original intention was for this group of five motifs to be human because the legs of the second figure from the left are still just visible and extend well below the newly painted feet extending to the sides at the original hip height. The four figures depicted over the original motifs now resemble 'lizard' men and are categorised as 'ambiguous'.

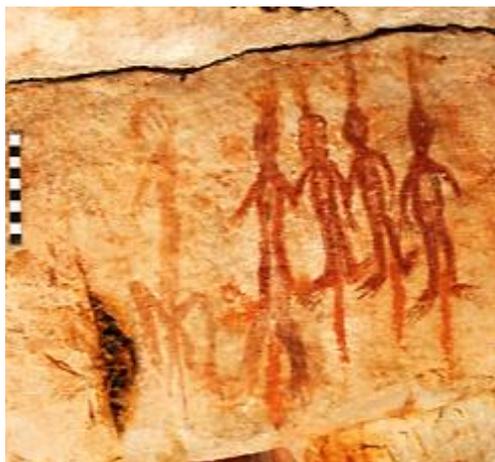


Figure 7-53 (a) Ambiguous figures commonly called 'lizard men' at LMR02d



Figure 7-54 Bisexual figures with breasts and male genitalia at LR02d



Figure 7-55 Bisexual figure with on body vulva and male genitalia at LR03d

Bisexual figures are not common, but they are found distributed throughout the area within groups of sexed and unsexed figures or singularly (Table 7.30). There are different combinations of sexual indicators for these figures – breasts and male genitalia (Fig 7.54) or male and female genitalia (Fig 7.55). No explanation of the purpose of these bisexual figures could be learned from the Traditional Owners, but *Wanjina* mythology suggests the 'dreaming ancestors' could choose to be either sex or a combination of both (Elkin 1930:279, Lommel 1952:16).



Figure 7-56 Erect side-penis figures at BSC18



Figure 7-57 Outlined figures suggest ritual activity

Homosexual figures are generally found grouped in horizontal lines or in pairs (Fig 7.56). As with bisexual figures they are rare, but they are widely spread throughout the Kimberley suggesting a general sexual practice or more probably ritual tradition. Again, no ethnographic information could be gained except that the site (BSC18) was referred to

as the ‘men’s site’ by Traditional Owner, Greg Goonack (30/7/2011 pers. comm.). ‘Bisexual’ figures were only observed in the *Argula and Jillinya* style and ‘homosexual’ figures were exclusively recorded in the *PHP* assemblage (Table 7.30 & Fig & 7.59).

Table 7-30 Sex/gender category data for Wanjina figures

	Painted Hand	%	Wanjina	%	Argula & Jillinya	%	Total	%
Ambiguous	4	0.91		0.00		0.00	4	0.67
Bisexual		0.00		0.00	3	10.00	3	0.50
Female	52	11.85	11	8.33	15	50.00	78	12.98
Homosexual (male)	16	3.64		0.00		0.00	16	2.66
Male	54	12.30	7	5.3	10	33.33	71	11.81
Unsexed	313	71.30	114	86.36	2	6.67	429	71.38
	439		132		30		601	

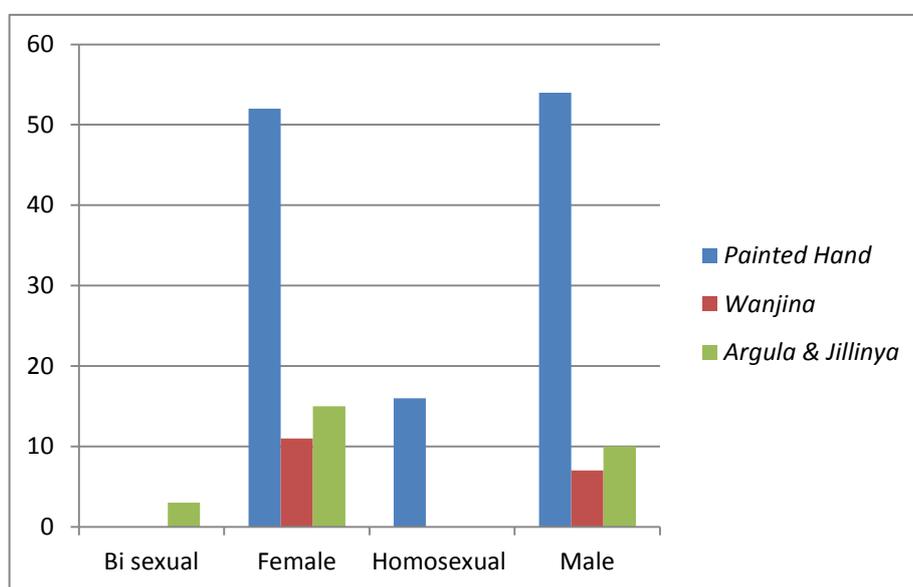


Figure 7-58 Sex/gender categories expressed in the three *Wanjina* period styles

Sexual features

Of the 601 *Wanjina* period figures there are 172 depicted with sexual features. For example, 39 figures are portrayed with breasts only, 17 with breasts and vulva, 15 with vulva only and three figures displayed pubic hair in combination with a vulva. This indicates that although the vulva received significant attention, breasts remained the preferred female defining feature. The penis remained the most prevalent male defining key (Table 7.31). Some of these features are surprisingly detailed and appear to be graphic depictions of particular practices observed during this period. For example, enlarged vulva and sub-incised penises become commonplace.

Table 7-31 Sexual features used singularly or in combination during the *Wanjina* period

Sex		PHP	%	Wan	%	A & J	%	Total	%
Ambiguous	lizard tail or long penis	4	3					4	2
Bisexual	breasts & penis					1	4	1	1
	breasts, penis & testicles					1	4	1	1
	penis, testicles & vulva					1	4	1	1
Female	breasts to either side	25	19	3	17	5	18	33	18
	breasts stacked	4	3					4	2
	breasts to either side and vulva	7	6	3	17	7	25	17	10
	breasts to either side, pubic hair & vulva	1	1	1	6	2	7	4	2
	copulation – female penetrated by male	1	1					1	1
	pubic hair	1	1					1	1
	pubic hair and vulva	1	1	2	11			3	2
	vulva	12	9	2	11	1	4	15	9
Homosexual	Erect side penis	10	8					10	6
Male	blotch of power	1	1					1	1
	decorated anus, penis & testicles					1	4	1	1
	erect side penis	6	5					6	3
	erect side penis and testicles	6	5					6	3
	penis	36	28	6	32	6	20	48	27
	penis and testicles	10	8	1	6	3	10	14	8
	penis, pubic hair and testicles	1	1					1	1
Total sexed		126		18		28		172	

The depiction of the sub-incised penis (Fig 7.59-60) appears to be related to the tradition of ritually reopening the original wound for the purpose of bloodletting to provide an adhesive to glue ‘feather down’ designs for men’s ceremony (Love 2009:24). The penis was held in the mouth to facilitate cutting and stimulating the flow of blood.



Figure 7-59 Contorted figure with sub-incised penis and testicles at MB03



Figure 7-60 Figure at left highlighted for clarity

Headdress

Different trends are evident in headdress style for the *Wanjina* period. Female and bisexual anthropomorphic figures of the *PHP* and *Argula & Jillinya* tend not to have any type of headdress, while rayed and haloed headdresses are evenly distributed between the sexed figures of the *Wanjina* style. Additionally, the 317 unsexed figures for the *PHP* style show a 41% presence of headdress, while unsexed *Wanjina* style figures show 53 (46%) rayed, 44 (38 %) are haloed and 19 (16%) are devoid of a headdress (Table 7.32 & Fig 7.61). Approximately half of *Wanjina* period figures are depicted without a headdress. Nevertheless, assigning sex to these unsexed figures remains difficult because sexed male and female figures are depicted with the same types of headdress without any significant distinguishing iconographic keys. (Table 7.32, Figs 7.63-6).

Table 7-32 Headdress status for *Wanjina* period anthropomorphic figures

Headdress	Painted Hand Period by sex				Wanjina by sex			Argula & Jillinya by sex				Total	%
	M	H	F	U	M	F	U	M	F	Bi	U		
Rayed	8		5	8	6	6	53	1	1	1		88	14.64
Halo	2			26		1	44					73	12.31
Elaborate	18	8		97				2				125	20.80
None	23	8	47	180	1	2	19	7	14	2	3	304	50.58
Missing	3			6								9	1.67
Total	54	16	52	317	7	9	116	10	14	3	3	601	

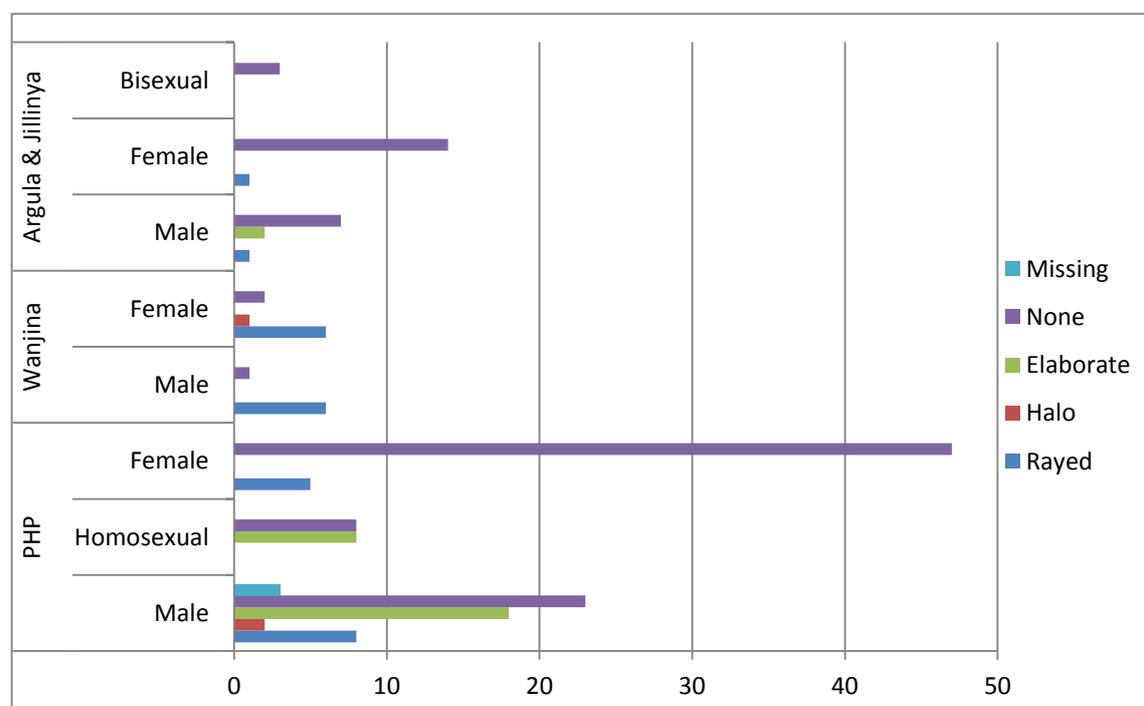


Figure 7-61 Distribution of headdresses across *Wanjina* styles for sexed/gendered figures

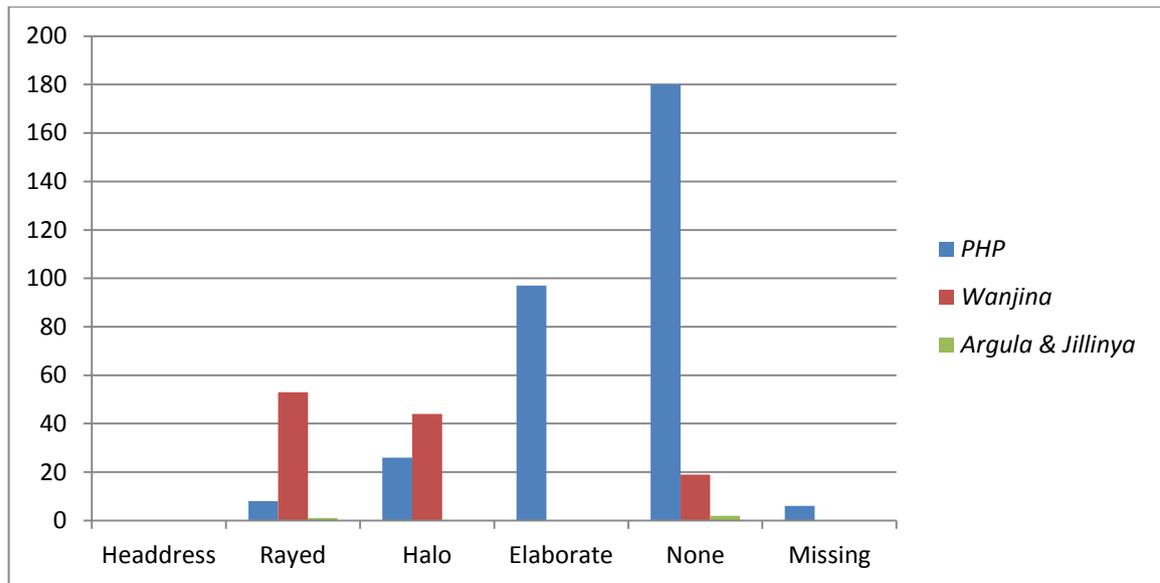


Figure 7-62 Distribution of headdresses across *Wanjina* styles for unsexed figures



Figure 7-63 Rayed headdress on female *PHP* at CC12

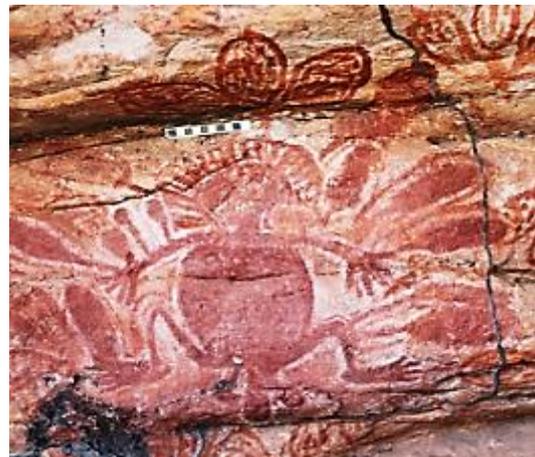


Figure 7-64 Rayed headdress on *PHP* male at BSC18

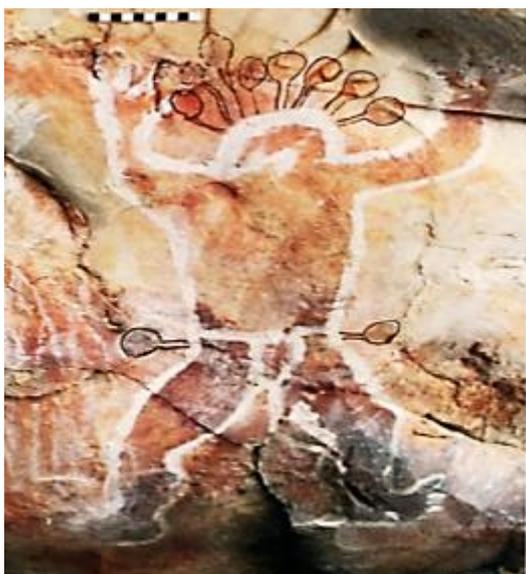


Figure 7-65 Tulip ray headdress on male at CC04



Figure 7-66 Tulip ray headdress on stylised female at UL05

Both male and female anthropomorphic figures are depicted with ‘rayed’ headdresses (Figs 7.63-4) and ‘tulip rayed’ headdresses (Figs 7.65-6). This trend occurred across *Wanjina* styles and was particularly noticeable in paired and grouped figures discussed below.

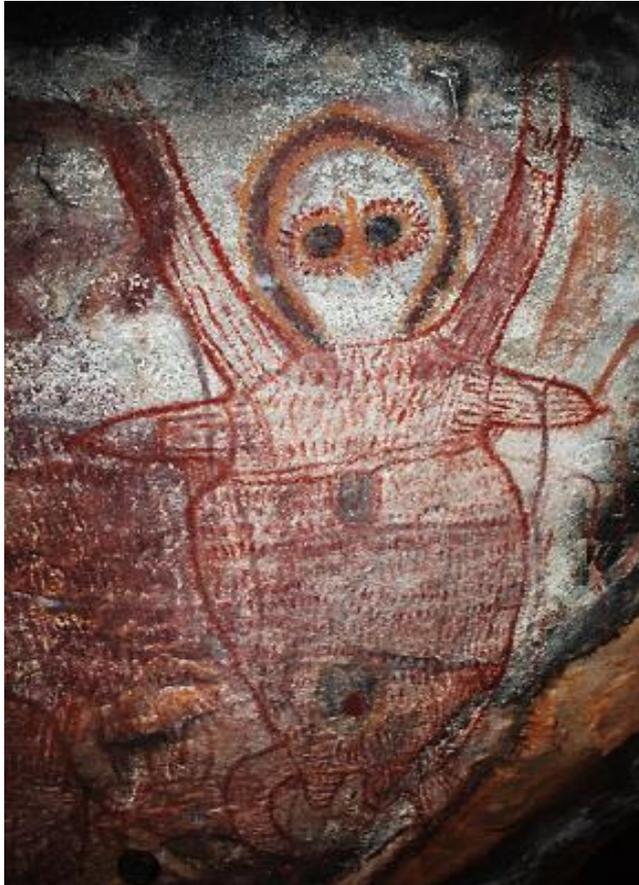


Figure 7-67 Halo headdress on *Wanjina* female at KCC05



Figure 7-68 Halo on *Wanjina* male at LR03D

Although the male and female *Wanjina* figures (Figs 7.67-8) are not within the same rock art site they are both depicted with ‘halo’ headdress. These examples (Figs 7.63-8) demonstrate that headdress type is not sex specific with artists using the same stylistic forms across sexes. This feature is not considered a reliable key for sexing unsexed figures.

Weapons and/or Tools

There are very few weapons associated with *Wanjina* period anthropomorphic motifs. Consequently, of the 601 *Wanjina* period figures only 3% (22) are associated with weapons and this feature is not considered of significance for gendering purposes. Two males, one *Painted Hand Period* and one *Argula & Jillinya*, and 20 unsexed figures are associated with weapons (Table 7.33 & 34).

Table 7-33 Sexed Wanjina period figures with weapons

	Painted Hand		Wanjina		Argula & Jillinya		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Boomerang					1		1
Hooked stick/ spear	1						1
Total	1				1		2

Table 7-34 Unsexed anthropomorphic Wanjina period figures with weapons

	Painted Hand	Wanjina	Argula & Jillinya	Total	%
Boomerang	2	1	1	4	19.05
Boomerang/hooked stick	1			1	4.76
Boomerang/spear	3			3	14.29
Hooked stick	9			9	42.86
Hooked stick/spear	1			1	4.76
Spear	3			3	14.29
Total	19	1	1	21	

Figure 7-69 *PHP* figures with weapons at OTB2Figure 7-70 *PHP* weapons at OTB05

The *PHP* figures are depicted with weapons similar to those portrayed with the preceding *Wararrajai* figures. The *PHP* data comprises 19 of 21 instances of weapon association for the *Wanjina* period. The sketchy nature of the depictions makes weapon identification difficult but two figures are associated with hooked stick and barbed spear (Fig 7.69), while two stick figures are depicted with hooked sticks secured in waist bands (Fig 7.70). It is argued that these unsexed *PHP* figures are male because of the type of weapons and context of association. Yet, the figures are stylistically varied and iconographic gender keys accordingly random, making empirical classification difficult to establish.

Body Shape

There are 168 sexed figures in the *Wanjina* period assemblage. This is approximately one third of the 601 motifs recorded for this period. Body shape favours ‘barrel’ at 57% with ‘gynoid’ at 37% and the other three categories combined add up to only 6%. Homosexual males are exclusively barrel bodied while bisexual figures are recorded as gynoid in shape. Percentages have been rounded to whole numbers (Table 7.35 & Fig 7.71).

Table 7-35 Body shape & sex/gender of *Wanjina* styles M = Male, H = Homosexual, F = Female, B = Bisexual

Body shape	Painted Hand						Wanjina				Argula & Jillinya						Total	%
	M	%	H	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	B	%		
Barrel	40	74	16	100	18	35	5	71	4	36	6	60	7	47			96	57
Elliptical	1	2															1	1
Gynoid	11	20			27	52	2	29	7	64	4	40	8	53	3	100	62	37
NCPD	1	2															1	1
Stick	1	2			7	13											8	4
Total	54		16		52		7		11		10		15		3		168	

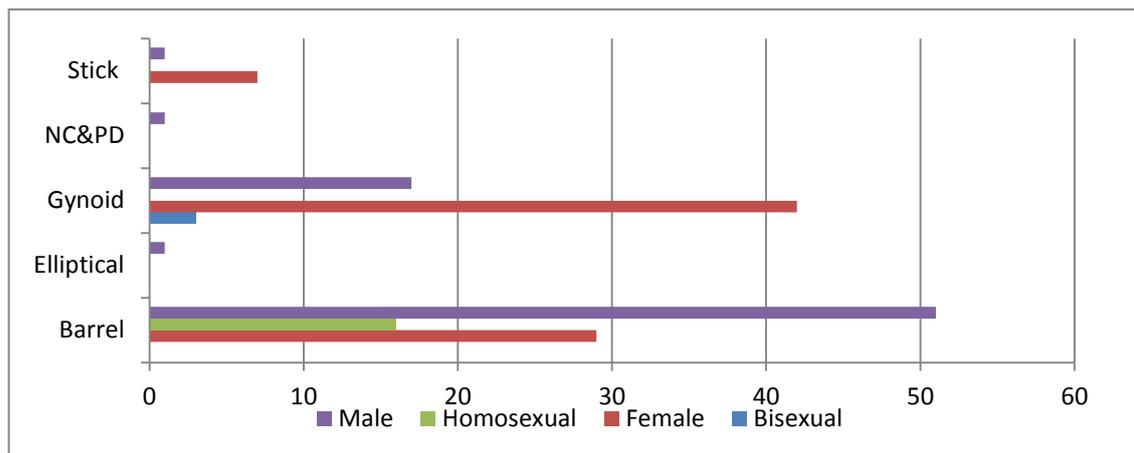


Figure 7-71 Trends for body shape in sexed *Wanjina* figures

Male figures are more often barrel shaped (Fig7.71), while female bodies are gynoid although they are by no means exclusively so.

Table 7-36 Body shape by style for unsexed *Wanjina* figures

	Painted Hand	%	Wanjina	%	Argula & Jillinya	%	Total	%
Barrel	184	58.04	82	71.93	2	100.00	268	61.89
Elliptical	26	8.20	3	2.63		0.00	29	6.70
Gynoid	68	21.45	29	25.44		0.00	97	22.40
NC&PD	7	2.21		0.00		0.00	7	1.62
Stick	32	10.09				0.00	32	7.39
Total	317	100.00	114	100.00	2	100.00	433	100.00

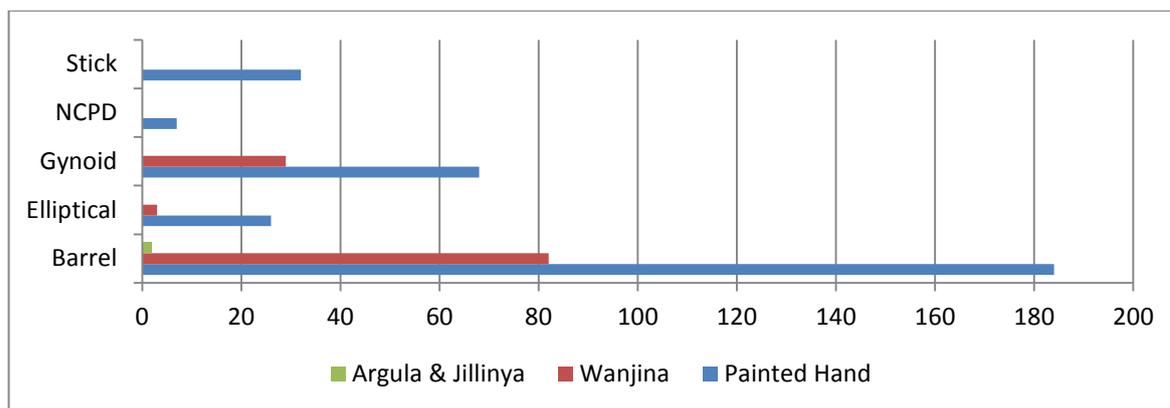


Figure 7-72 Body shape in unsexed *Wanjina* anthropomorphic motifs

The unsexed *Wanjina* period figures are significantly barrel bodied with 268 (62%) depicted in this shape. Only 97 (22%) are gynoid in shape and 68 (16%) are made up of the less determinant shapes of elliptical, Narrow Chest & Paunch Detail and stick figures (Table 7.36 and Fig 7.72). Body shape is not implicitly constant and is therefore not a dependable sexing key.

Body Action and Orientation

Unlike the *Dynamic* figures of the *Gwion* period, *Wanjina* period figures are depicted in less active mode. The ‘standing spread legged’ and ‘standing profile’ orientation accommodates the addition of male genitalia admirably and perhaps these stances were chosen for this purpose. Females from the *Wanjina* period were commonly depicted with breasts to either side and therefore were more likely to be depicted in the ‘plan’ view.

Table 7-37 Body action and orientation data for *Wanjina* period sexed anthropomorphic figures

Body Action & Orientation	Painted Hand						Wanjina				Argula & Jillinya				B	Total	%	
	M	%	H	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%				
Bending/profile	1	2		0		0		0		0	1	10		0		0	2	1
Standing/plan	29	54		0	22	42	4	57	4	36	1	10	6	40		0	66	39
Standing/profile	4	7	16	100	4	8		0	2	18		0		0		0	26	15
Standing spread legged	13	24		0	7	13	1	14	1	9	4	40	3	20		0	29	17
Sitting/plan	1	2		0		0		0	1	9		0		0		0	2	1
Sitting/profile		0		0		0		0		0	1	10		0		0	1	1
Squatting	6	11		0	19	37	2	29	3	27	3	30	6	40	3	100	42	25
Total	54	100	16	100	52	100	7	100	11	100	10	100	15	100	3	100	168	100

No figures for the *Wanjina* period were recorded running, hunting, in conflict or participating in communal ceremony. Rather, the figures were often depicted singly or if

in groups, they did not appear to be interacting with each other. The sexed figures showed more variety in their body positions and action (Table 7.37), with squatting and standing spread legged being reported more often than figures of this type in the unsexed category (Table 7.38). The predominant stance for both sexed and unsexed figures is standing and the ‘plan’ orientation was favoured in each group.

Table 7-38 Body action and orientation data for *Wanjina* period unsexed anthropomorphic figures

Action	Orientation	Painted Hand	%	Wanjina	%	Argula & Jillinya	%	Total	%
Prone	profile	2	0.63	1	0.88		0	3	0.69
Standing	plan	252	79.50	111	97.37	1	50	364	84.06
Standing	profile	22	6.94	1	0.88		0	23	5.31
Standing spread legged	plan	29	9.15	1	0.88		0	30	6.93
Sitting	profile	2	0.63		0.00	1	50	3	0.69
Squatting	plan	9	2.84		0.00		0	9	2.08
Squatting	profile	1	0.32		0.00		0	1	0.23
Total		317	100.00	114	100.00	2	100	433	100

Body action and orientation do not provide any patterns that confirm sex or gendered roles.

Limb Detail

The positions of the arms were selected for analysis from the range of limb detail features for the three *Wanjina* period styles. The division of the different arm arrangement classifications were equally represented across all sections of the period. This differs from the previous *Gwion* period figures where females were highly represented in the ‘upraised arm’ category. Still, in isolation this feature does not permit sexing of the *Wanjina* figures (Table 7.39).

Table 7-39 Arm arrangement of sexed *Wanjina* figures

	Painted Hand			Wanjina		Argula & Jillinya			Total	%
	Male	Female	Homosexual	Male	Female	Male	Female	Bisexual		
Asymmetric Limb	4	5		1	1				11	6
‘M’ Angled Arms		1				1	2		4	2
‘W’ Angled Arms	8	2			1				11	7
Horizontal Arms	5	4	6	2	2	1	1		21	13
Sloping Arms	18	20	2	3	3	3	5		54	32
Upraised Arms	19	20	8	1	4	5	7	3	67	40
Total	54	52	16	7	11	10	15	3	168	100

Table 7-40 Arm arrangement data for unsexed *Wanjina* figures

	Painted Hand	Wanjina	Argula & Jillinya	Total <i>Gwion</i>	%
Asymmetric Limb	13	4		17	4
'M' Angled Arms	2			2	1
'W' Angled Arms	50	6		56	13
Horizontal Arms	25	9		34	8
Sloping Arms	192	73	1	266	61
Upraised Arms	35	22	1	58	13
	317	114	2	433	100

The disparity in percentage of total sexed (40%) figures and total unsexed figures (13%) with 'upraised arms' is related to style (Tables 7.39-40). Male and female figures are equally represented with 'upraised arms'. Although it may appear that females figures are represented this way to accommodate breasts it is evident that more sexed figures are depicted in this fashion, while unsexed figures are more frequently associated with the 'sloping arm' style.

In addition to arm position, leg position was examined and one category alone appeared to be significant. This feature is 'upswept legs' and it was associated with eight female figures and four unsexed figures. All except one female is of the *PHP* style. Because there were only four unsexed figures with this feature its assistance for sexing is minimal.

Relationship and attitude

Table 7-41 Relationship and attitude of sexed and unsexed *Gwion* anthropomorphic figures

	Painted Hand Period				Wanjina			Argula & Jillinya			Total
	M	H	F	U	M	F	U	M	F	U	
Close proximity to child/human of same style			2	8			3				13
Close proximity to female of same style	3		4	2							9
Close proximity to male of same style			3								3
Dominant in group	1		1								2
Female under arm of human			7	1							8
Group sex scene story panel	6		2	3				2	4	2	19
Male/female association	2		2								4
Male/male association		16									16
Protected/Dominated			4	1							5
Protective/Dominant				2							2
Supplicant in group			1								1
	12	16	26	17			3	2	4	2	82

PHP anthropomorphic motifs in pairs or scenes show similar relational trends to those of the *Gwion* period figures, with females being depicted under the arms of male or unsexed human figures; supplication and protected/protective inference where arms of female

figures are upraised towards larger sexed male or unsexed figures. There is no evidence of this in the *Wanjina* and *Argula & Jillinya* figures (Table 7.41). The figures of these later periods of art are related in colour and style but are typically placed side by side rather than in compositions. Physical interaction is not generally portrayed unless in a specific scene such as breast feeding, birthing or coitus.

Accoutrements

The analysis of body decoration and dress decoration revealed a significantly lower occurrence for the *Wanjina* period anthropomorphic motifs than for the *Gwion* period. Only 19 of the *Wanjina* figures with accoutrements are sexed therefore this feature is not considered a reliable key to sexing unsexed motifs (Table 7.42).

Table 7-42 Accoutrements levels for *Wanjina* period figures

	<i>PHP</i>		<i>Wanjina</i>		<i>Argula & Jillinya</i>				Total
	Male	Unsexed	Female	Unsexed	Male	Female	Bisexual	Unsexed	
Arm decoration	1			3					4
Armpit decoration		2							2
Armpit decoration/waist aprons		4							4
Breast cross straps						1			1
Chest decoration				2			1		3
Chest decoration/elaborate bands				8					8
Chest decoration/simple bands			1	5		1			7
Elaborate bands					2	1			3
Elbow decoration/elaborate bands				1					1
Elbow and hip decoration	1	2							3
Fluffy bands, waist apron		1							1
Hip decoration	4	3							7
Plume arm band		1		2					3
Simple bands		4			4	2		2	12
Waist aprons		12							12
	6	29	1	21	6	5	1	2	71

Size

Dimorphism was tested when figures occurred in pairs with one or more sexed figures. In Table 7.43 the data for same sex pairs records the superior height on the left and in pairs of differing sex the male is recorded on the left and the female on the right.

Table 7-43 Dimorphic height comparison in pairs with one or more sexed figures

Pairings	Male/Male		Male/Female		Male/Unsexed		Female/Female		Unsexed/Female	
	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm
Height	320	320	340	200	900	470	485	428	400	200
	300	200	240	230	800	500			460	580
	460	380	390	320	480	480			500	360
			870	420					140	280
			740	470						
			50	290						
Average totals	360	300	438	321	727	483	485	428	375	355

Generally, males are dimorphically larger than the females and any unsexed figures that they are associated with. There are exceptions to this rule: for example, the male to female ratio of 50:290mm in the ‘male/female’ pairs and in the ‘unsexed/female’ column where two of the heights of 140:280 are reversed against the general trend (Table 7.43).

The data were also analysed by dividing pairs into each of the styles in the *Wanjina* period and comparing dimorphically large or small figures with height averaging (Table 7.44). There are two pairs of equal sized figures, one of two males and one of male/unsexed figures. Eleven males and three females are dimorphically large and four males and nine females are dimorphically small. Although dimorphism shows that males are generally larger than females, during the *PHP* style the tendency is not strong enough to warrant its inclusion as a reliable sexing feature.

Table 7-44 Pair type, numbers of sexed/unsexed and maximum/minimum height comparison for *PHP* figures

	No of pairs	No of figs	Dimorphically large	Dimorphically Small
Pairs	14	28	9 male 2 unsexed 3 female	3 males 3 unsexed 8 female
Pairs - figs of equal size	2	4	2males	1 male 1 unsexed
Face to face pairs	2	4	2 unsexed	1 unsexed 1 female
Averages of totals				
Total	18	36	11 males 3 females 4 unsexed	4 males 9 females 5 unsexed

Additionally, while there are three paired *Wanjinas* showing a dimorphic difference on average of 1118:828mm height ratio none of the figures are sexed. There are no paired *Argula* & *Jillinya* anthropomorphic figures.

Technique

During the *Painted Hand Period* rock art technique became more varied. Painting with ochre remained the preferred technique but drawn images were sometimes executed. The painted brush strokes were broadened, outlining developed, and varied infill designs became common. The infill patterns are diverse and many variations are evident, but neither infill nor technique distinguishes one sex from another. The *Argula & Jillinya* style includes the only two waxed figures recorded for this study (Figs 7.73-4). However, two additional partial figures recorded, but not included in the analysis because of their weathered state and missing parts indicate that this medium was used for both male and female figures in equal number.



Figure 7-73 Wax female with on body vulva and 'ears' at MM12



Figure 7-74 Partial male wax figure with penis at LMR02D

For the purpose of analysis the most prominent infill style for each motif recorded was chosen in multi type infill examples (Table 7.45) and colour and prepared background were examined (Table 7.46). The sexed figures were analysed for trends but no significant keys to identification of sex was achieved.

Table 7-45 Outlining and infill analysis for *Wanjina* period styles. B = bisexual, F = female, H = homosexual, M = male

Outlining & Infill type	PHP			Wanjina		Argula & Jillinya			Totals			
	M	H	F	M	F	M	F	B	M	H	F	B
Compartment/solid infill	5		4						5		4	
Outlined/crosshatched infill	2		1						2		1	
Outlined/longitudinal lines	10		4	1	1	5	3		16		8	
Outlining/dotted infill		8	14			1		2	1	8	14	2
Outlining/solid	14	8		2	5	1	4		17	8	9	
Outlining/dashed infill	4		4	1	2	2	4	1	7		10	1
Nil outline/solid infill	19		24	3	3	1	4		23		31	
	54	16	51	7	11	10	15	3	71	16	77	3

Colour

Each of the *Wanjina* styles was analysed for colour by sex. Solid red colour is used for 79 of the 166 figures with an even distribution between the sexes. Bichrome figures of red and white are also common, with white prepared background over painted with red more common in the latter period of *Argula & Jillinya*. Additionally, pairs and groups with one or more sexed figures are all depicted in similar colour and design.

Table 7-46 Colour analysis for *Wanjina* period styles

	PHP			Wanjina		Argula & Jillinya			Total
	Male	Homo-sexual	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Bisexual	
Black						1	1		2
Black, red, white, yellow			1						1
Black/red/yellow					1				1
Brown/red	2								2
Mulberry	1						1		2
Orange	6		3						9
Orange/red/yellow							1		1
Orange/yellow			2						2
Red	25	8	27	6	3	4	5	1	79
Red/white	9		7	1	5				22
Red/white prepared background		8				2	6	2	18
Red/white/yellow			2			1			3
Red/yellow			4		2				6
White	5		6						11
Yellow	6						1		7
	54	16	52	7	11	8	15	3	166

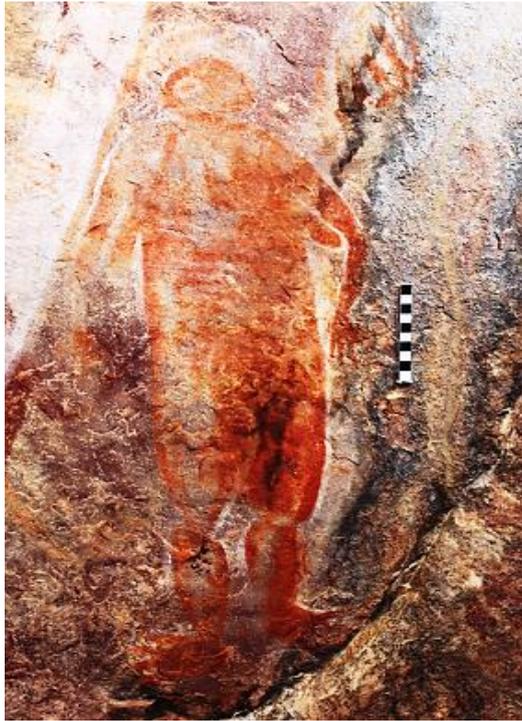


Figure 7-75 Female *PHP* in red with white outlining at BSC18

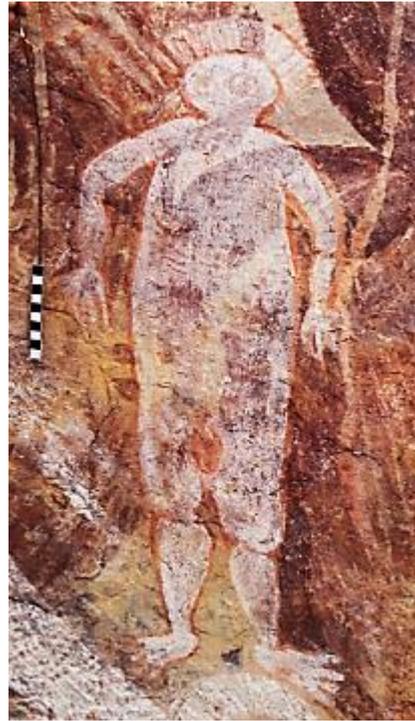


Figure 7-76 Female *PHP* in white with red outlining at BSC18

The *PHP* females (Fig 7.75-6), depicted in red with white outlining, and white with red outlining, demonstrate that a colour is not reserved for a particular sex. Attention was paid to all parts of the design and colour of each paired or grouped motif with no evidence of distinguishing differences between the sexes (Fig 7.77).

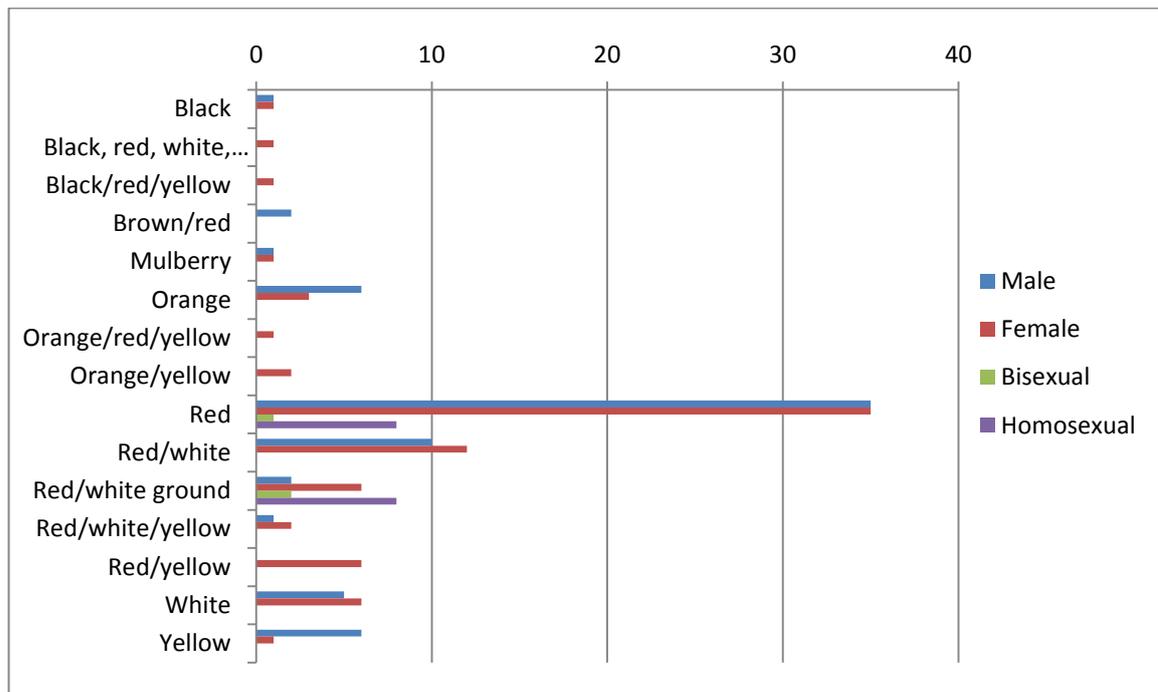


Figure 7-77 Total sexed *Wanjina* figures and colour comparison

Figure Grouping

Paired and grouped *Wanjina* period scenes do not always offer the well-defined relationship scenes depicted in the *Gwion* period. There is significant difference in figure association between the *PHP*, *Wanjina* and the *Argula & Jillinya* motifs. For this reason the data for each style will be examined separately.

Painted Hand Period (PHP) Style

The *PHP* style is hugely varied in conformation (Figs 7.78-81) but rarely depicts action except for a copulation scene (Fig 7.78). Rather, they depict static individuals and groups. Rare protective/dominant scenes are shown in the two larger *PHP* unsexed figures (Figs 7.79-80) that have arms extended over female figures with breasts. Both the paired and grouped compositions reveal that the sexed female figures are dimorphically smaller than the associated male (Fig 7.78 & 7.80) and unsexed (7.79 & 7.81) figures.



Figure 7-78 *PHP* copulation scene at UMR01b



Figure 7-79 *PHP* Protection scene at MM09



Figure 7-80 *PHP* male with two females at OTB01

Additionally the male figure and ‘assigned male’ figures (7.79 & 7.81) display elaborate headdresses (highlighted in Fig 7.81) while these are omitted on the female figures. The ‘blotch of power’ in the crotch of the male figure (Fig 7.81) can also be seen in the lower section of the larger female, and is interpreted as ‘menses’ or ‘on body vulva’ on the female body. This feature is therefore problematic as a sexing key where other supporting keys do not exist.



Figure 7-81 *PHP* ‘assigned male’ figure and two females (outlined). Note red blotch (of power/menses/vulva) in the crotch area of both the ‘assigned male’ and female motifs at MP01

Although *PHP* figure groupings reflect some relationship and attitude conventions of the preceding *Gwion* period, interaction between the motifs occurs infrequently and delivers less information for gendered roles (Table 7.47). This occurs even though there are a significant percentage of figures in pairs (16%), groups and horizontal rows (56%).

Table 7-47 Results for composition of sexed and unsexed *PHP* anthropomorphic figures. * C = child, F = female, M = male, U = unsexed. For example F/C = female with child

	Total Sexed Figures	Female				Male			Unsexed	Total <i>PHP</i> Figures	%
Single Figure	46	18				28			80	126	28.70
		*F/C	F/F	F/U	F/M	M/F	M/M	M/U			
Pairs	24	1	2	4	3	4	6	4	45	69	15.72
Grouped	30	1		14	3	1		11	151	181	41.23
Figures in Horizontal Row	16			3			12	1	47	63	14.35
	116	20	2	21	6	5	46	16	323	439	100.00

Wanjina Style

The sexing of the anthropomorphic figures in the *Wanjina* style group is also problematic because only the head or head and shoulders is generally depicted. When full bodied figures are depicted they are largely bereft of sexual features, display similar headdresses and are often depicted in singular unrelated form. Body shape and decoration also appear to be interchangeable between the sexes (Figs 7.67-8).

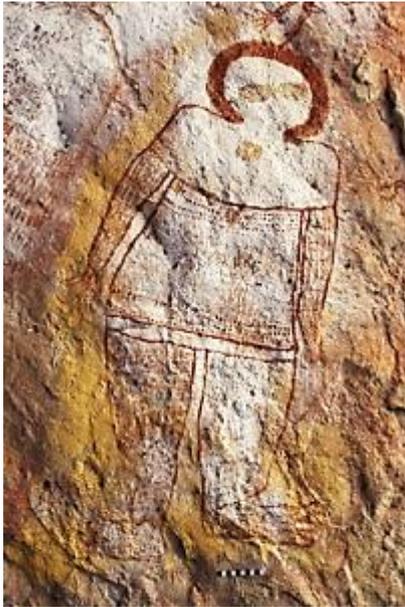


Figure 7-82 'Single' composition of haloed *Wanjina* at CC04



Figure 7-83 'Single' *Wanjina* with rayed headdress at SBY01C

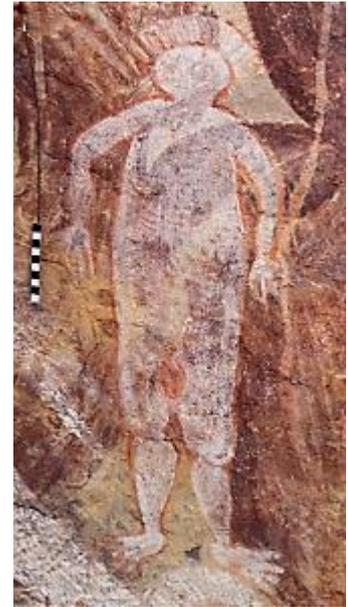


Figure 7-84 *Wanjina* female with rayed headdress at BSC18

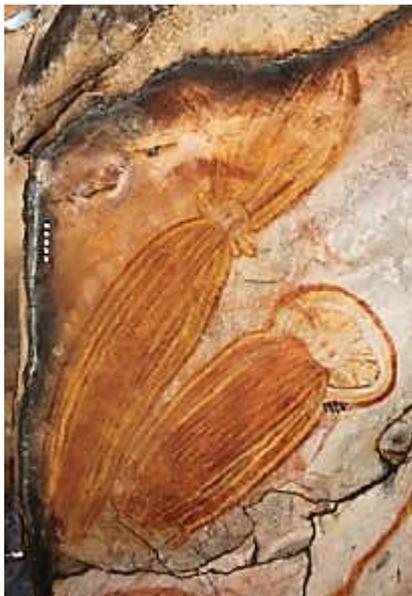


Figure 7-85 'Pair' of *Wanjina* at KERC01



Figure 7-86 'Grouped' *Wanjina* of 'head only' motifs at KERC02



Figure 7-87 'Head and shoulder' *Wanjina* figures in a horizontal line' at LRW01

Additionally, although the ‘pair’ in Fig 7.85 shows dimorphism in height and body mass and significantly different headdresses, this does not signify sexual differentiation. The ‘head only’ groups (Fig 7.86) and ‘head and shoulders’ compositions (Fig 7.87) do not contain iconographic keys that indicate the sex of the figures.

Table 7-48 *Wanjina* style anthropomorphic motif counts. C = child, F = female, M = male, U = unsexed. For example F/C = female with child

	Total Sexed Figures	Female				Male			Unsexed	%
Single Figure	13	7				6			58	51.33
		F/C	F/F	F/U	F/M	M/F	M/M	M/U		0.00
Pairs	0								8	7.08
Group	5	2	1	1			1		40	35.40
Figures in Horizontal Row	1			1					7	6.19
	19	2	1	9			7		113	100.00

Argula & Jillinya Style

Only 30 figures in this study were classified as *Argula & Jillinya*; and all but two are sexed. Fifteen (50%) are female, 10 (33%) are male, three (10%) are bisexual and two (7%) unsexed. Most of the figures are depicted as individuals. There is one large panel depicting ‘figures in horizontal row’ (Fig 7.94) where all of the figures are enclosed by an ovoid shape. Crawford (pers. correspondence 17/11/12) was informed by Alex Ooroomanu that these motifs are spirit figures and the enclosing line is that of a cave (but see Crawford 2001:85 for an alternative explanation).

Table 7-49 Figure grouping for *Jillinya & Argula* styled figures

	Total Sexed Figures	Female	Male	Bisexual	Unsexed	Total <i>Argula & Jillinya</i> Figures	%
Single Figure	18	12	4	2		18	60.00
Clustered	4		4			4	13.33
Figures in Horizontal Row	6	3	2	1	2	8	26.67
	28	15	10	3	2	30	100.00

The greater percentage of these figures is in single composition (60%) but as they are mostly sexed (93%) and we are aware that these spirit figures are able to assign their own gender, analysing iconographic keys for sex seems counterproductive.



Figure 7-88 Wax *Jillinya* at MM12



Figure 7-89 *Jillinya* with *Wanjina* features and infill at KCC01b



Figure 7-90 *Argula* with animals at LR03d



Figure 7-91 Bisexual *Argula/Jillinya* at LR03d



Figure 7-92 *Argula* with leaf ears of *PHP* design at BSC13



Figure 7-93 Small *Argula* at KCC05



Figure 7-94 *Jillinya* & *Argula* figures in 'panel' enclosed within an outline at LMR03d

Shared Features of the Three Styles of Wanjina Period Sexed Figures

The *PHP*, *Wanjina* and *Jillinya & Argula* styled anthropomorphic figurers of the *Wanjina* period share many features in common. For example, the prepared background and meticulous infill designs of the *Wanjina* style figures are present in many of the *Jillinya & Argula*. The lack of mouth, bar nose and evidence of ‘freshening up’ or ‘repainting’ are elements that also reoccur. The depiction of side breasts is common and pubic hair and vulvae were introduced into the rock art in this period and they continue to be produced through all of the styles of the *Wanjina* period. Similarity in stylistic elements across the three styles of the *Wanjina* period lends support to the contention that these styles were contemporaneous (Table 7.50 & Fig 7.95), suggesting that the images performed a different purpose at an equivalent time.

Table 7-50 Comparison of features between styles of the Wanjina period female figures

	No	Upraised arms	Squatting	Standing	Ears	Nose	Mouth	Eyes	Body shape			Colour		
									Barrel	Fat	Other	O	R	W
<i>PHP</i>	52	19	17	22	4	6		18	15	27	10	5	41	6
<i>Wan</i>	11	5	6	5		3		9	4	7			11	
<i>J & A</i>	15	9	6	9	6	4	5	9	7	8		1	14	
	78	33	29	36	10	13	5	36	26	42	10	6	66	6

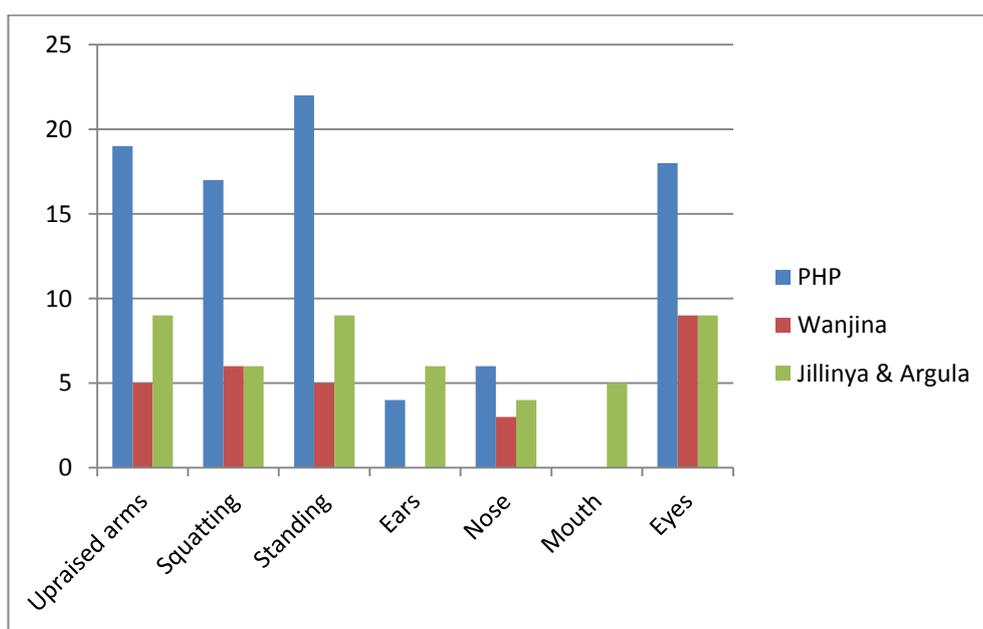


Figure 7-95 Features common to the three styles of Wanjina period female figures



Figure 7-96 *Jilinya* badly weathered at MM4



Figure 7-97 Field drawing of Fig 96 at MM4



Figure 7-98 Birthing scene at BSC13b



Figure 7-99 Breastfeeding mother/child at BSC18

Additionally, although the female figures (Figs 7.96-9) are referred to as *Jilinya* by the Traditional Owners, they are individual in the impression they convey. The common form of *Jilinya* (Fig 7.96) is said to be a warning to young men against ‘wrong way’ liaisons (Terrence Manga pers. comm. 2011) and are ‘always in promiscuous stances’

(Grahame Walsh pers. comm. 1994 [Appendix 3]). However, the birthing and breastfeeding females exhibit many of the same features.

Besides the *PHP*, *Wanjina* and the *Argula & Jillinya* figures there is a large group of anthropomorphic motifs that may be intended to be secular figures (Fig 7.100). They are generally static in stance and painted in varied ochres and styles.

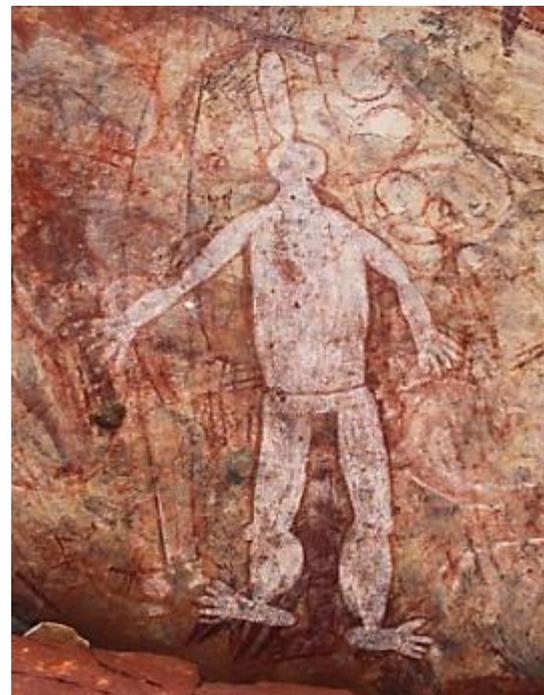
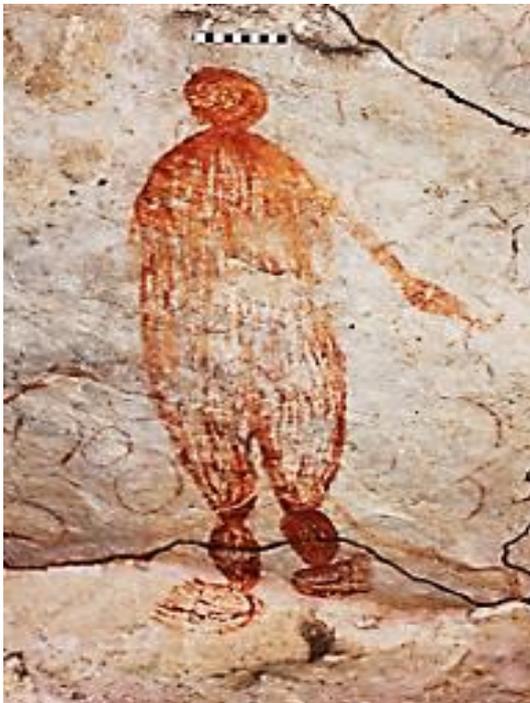
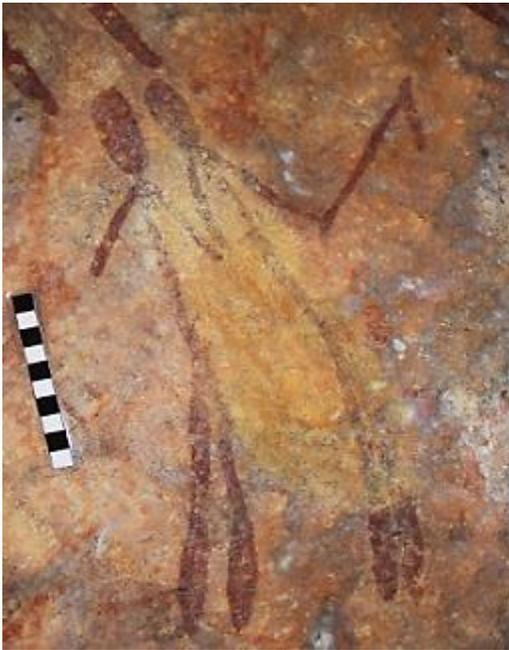


Figure 7-100 Figures not categorised as spirit figure, Top left at BSC14, Top right at CC12, Bottom left at KCC01b & Bottom right at BSC01

Superimposition

Superimposition is an essential tool in the analysis of the relative sequence and also gives insight into the societal shifts in gendered roles. However, this period is particularly challenging as the three *Wanjina* period styles appear to be contemporaneous with each other; serving a different purpose during a comparative time (see Appendix 4).

Animal Association

There are 25 anthropomorphic motifs in the *Wanjina* period with an animal or bird placed in close association with them. However, there are only three males and one female included in these data (Table 7.51). There are two male *Argula* & *Jillinya* figures associated with a dingo with one holding a boomerang and one male *PHP* with a macropod. The female is depicted leading a line of stick figures and a macropod (Table 7.51 & Fig 7.101).

Table 7-51 Wanjina period figures associated with animals

	PHP		Wanjina		A & J	
	Female	Ungendered	Male	Ungendered	Male	
Bird				4		4
Dingo					2	
Flying fox		1				1
Macropod	1	7	1	9		20
	1	8	1	14	2	25



Figure 7-101 ImageJ enhanced image shows a female (far left) with profile 'stacked' breasts and arm uplifted

The *Wanjina* styled figures are more commonly shown grouped with one or more birds or animals in close association (Fig 7.86). Because it is difficult to confirm the relationship intended for such groups and no sexed figures were involved they were not added to the data.

7.5 Summary of Results

Results of the analysis of anthropomorphic figures depicted in the northwest Kimberley rock art assemblage provide results relevant to the theoretical questions addressed in this thesis. The relative sequence of the *IIAP*, *Gwion* and *Wanjina* periods proposed by Walsh (2000, see also Welch 1993, Travers 2014) is supported by the scholarship of the broader *Change and Continuity* research project. This sequence provided an appropriate structure for the analysis of sexed figures and gendered categories.

Within the *IIAP*, *Gwion* and *Wanjina* periods each style group conforms to a set of standardised elements that is unique in its iconography and has a set of specific or traditional symbolic forms associated with it. It is the repetition of iconographic keys that provides statistical data for analysis of sex and gender.

The diagnostic features are divided into two categories based on sex and gender.

- Sex - the physical features that determine biological difference – genitalia, mammae, body hair and muscle development
- Gender - the characteristics that the culture allocates as masculine, feminine or other – hair arrangement, headdress style, accoutrements, weapons, attitude, orientation

Whereas primary sexual features are a biological fact in deciding the masculinity or femininity of a particular anthropomorphic motif, gender characteristics are vulnerable to changing cultural customs. While repeated iconographic gender keys are valuable in the process of sexing figures they also assist in discovering the gendered roles allocated to individuals through time (Table 7.52).

Table 7-52 Total of sexed and unsexed anthropomorphic figures

	Male	Female	Ambiguous	Bi sexual	Homosexual	Unsexed	Total
<i>IIAP</i>	4	1				2	7
<i>Gwion</i>	5	40				916	961
<i>Wanjina</i>	71	78	4	3	16	429	601
<i>Total</i>	82	119	4	3	16	1347	1569

IIAP artists produced few anthropomorphic figures amongst the more prolific animal and plant motifs they favoured. Of the seven anthropomorphic figures recorded, four are male and one female. Although there is a high proportion of sexed figures, no single or combination of features suggested noteworthy sexing potential. This may be due to a

limited data set, and/or the typically weathered state of the motifs in this stylistic period.

However, the high proportion of sexed figures shows that:-

- Primary (sexual) features are
 - Male – penis or penis & testicles of normal proportion
 - Female – stacked breasts of normal proportion
- Secondary (gender) features are
 - Male – shocked hair and plan view
 - Female – capped hair and profile view

The ‘secondary’ gendering features for the *IIAP* anthropomorphic motifs listed above are identified as credible features for testing against a larger data set in the future. Other features including body shape, dimorphism and attitude were not informative when assessing sex/gender in this group. Animal and weapon association are discussed further below.

The lowest proportion of sexed figures was recorded in the *Gwion* period (40 female and five male) with a ratio of unsexed to sexed of 916:45. Seven of the female anthropomorphic figures were depicted with a small or capped headdress and 32 were depicted wearing none. Four of the five male figures were depicted wearing elaborate headdresses and one held a weapon. Six females are associated with weapons but in a different context to that of male figures: females do not hold weapons unless they are carried in a transporting mode above the head and females are shown with spears entering the body. Additionally, of 87 figures (including one sexed male) with ‘plume arm band’, 86 had elaborate headdress and 76 were also associated with weapons. This statistical analysis indicates that there is a strong probability that male iconographic keys include elaborate headdress, weapons and plume arm band. Less convincingly, 113 of 123 figures with ‘waistbands’ have elaborate headdresses and half of these have weapons, though one female without a headdress is amongst the total of figures with ‘waistbands’. It would seem that ‘waistbands’ are not an exclusively male feature within the rock art assemblage.

More importantly, the chi-squared tests suggests there is a high probability that anthropomorphic figures with ‘elaborate headdress’ are more likely to be associated with ‘weapons’ and/or accoutrements than those with a small headdress or absent headdress. There are 314 (33%) anthropomorphic figures associated with both ‘elaborate headdress’

and weapons and 731 (79%) with ‘elaborate headdress’ and/or ‘weapons’. In addition, 485 (54%) figures have a combination of both elaborate headdress and accoutrements while only 38 (4%) with small/absent headdress are depicted with accoutrements.

Therefore, a relationship between headdress type and weapons and/or accoutrements indicates a significant probability that a combination of these features is a key for male gender. These results confirm that singularly or together these gendered features can be used to ascribe sex to figures from the *Gwion* period. However, it is necessary to be attentive to *context of association* when ‘weapons’ are used as a sexing feature.

Although there were no male *Dynamic* and *Wararrajai* figures marked with the primary sexing keys of genitalia, the data confirms the validity of the secondary keys of elaborate headdress and held weapons as gendering features for these style groups also.

Observation of scenes with one or more females present gives confidence in this scenario. The data on female figures are particularly significant because they are frequently the only sexed figures in paired or grouped scenes. In these scenes, the unsexed figures are repeatedly depicted with secondary male iconographic keys; elaborate headdress, elaborate accoutrements and held weapons. Dimorphism, attitude and orientation also become factors in scenes with sexed female motifs where they are generally diamorphically smaller, often depicted in supplication with arms raised toward a larger unsexed figure or are shown beneath the protective arms of a larger figure. Though, less equivocal conclusions can be drawn in labelling unsexed motifs as female because of the difficulty in distinguishing them from youths and children. The primary sexual features and secondary gendering keys for the *Gwion* period are listed below (Table 7.53).

Table 7-53 *Gwion* period features for sexing and gendering anthropomorphic figures

Period	Style	Primary sex features		Secondary gendering keys	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Gwion</i>	<i>Classic</i>	penis penis/testicles	breasts (to either side, profile single, profile stacked), suspended vulva	elaborate headdress & accoutrements, plume arm band, held weapons, attitude (dominant/protective) dimorphic largeness	small headdress, mop or cap hair, digging stick, passive weapon association, attitude (supplicant/protected)
	<i>Dynamic</i>		breasts (profile stacked)	elaborate headdress, plume arm band, held weapons, dimorphic largeness	lack of headdress, digging stick, passive weapon association
	<i>Wararrajai</i>		breasts (to either side, profile stacked)	elaborate headdress, held weapons dimorphic largeness	lack of headdress, digging stick, passive weapon association

The *Wanjina* Period presents challenges as many features analysed were unhelpful in establishing sex/gender. However, there was a definite variation between the *PHP*, *Wanjina* and *Argula & Jillinya* styles. While the *PHP* showed some features of the preceding *Wararrajai* figures, such as headdress and weapon association, females under the arm of humans and dimorphism in paired and grouped discrete scenes, the *Wanjina* and *Argula & Jillinya* styles diverged. These latter styles although different in social milieu are judged to be contemporaneous with *PHP* figures through superimposition evidence. *Wanjina* are rarely depicted with genitalia while 93% of *Argula & Jillinya* (Spirit Figures) are depicted with sexual keys.

In the *PHP* style group there are 28% sexed (70 males & 62 females) and 313 unsexed figures. Although the painting technique and pigment choice differ from the *Wararrajai* anthropomorphic figures, the *PHP* depictions illustrate a continuum of several sexing and gendering features while others were introduced. The gender categories, ambiguous and homosexual were added to this style group in addition to newly introduced sexing features of blotch of power/menses, decorated anus, erect side penis and pubic hair.

- Primary features are
 - Ambiguous – lizard tail or long penis
 - Female – breasts (to either side, profile stacked), copulation, menses, pubic hair, vulva (on body, suspended), impregnation by male, baby in utero
 - Homosexual – erect side penis in contact with posterior of male of same type
 - Male – blotch of power, decorated anus, erect side penis, penis, penis & testicles
- Secondary gendering features are
 - Female – association with suckling baby/child, association with birthed baby, digging stick
 - Male – elaborate headdress, held weapons, dimorphic largeness, attitude – dominant/protective

The *Wanjina* motifs included 18% (7 male, 11 females) sexed figures and 114 unsexed. These motifs are highly iconographic with each element infused with symbolic meaning. For example, many have halo headdresses made up of several rings and the ‘*Malngirri*, the Lightning Ring, is the first or closest to the head, *Djilij*, second ring, dark, low, rain-

laden clouds; “the woolpack” (Mowaljarlai 1993:200) and so forth. However, this strict adherence to standardised representation of iconography does not specify sex or gender. The anthropomorphic motifs are remarkably static in form and relationship; many of the full bodied sexed figures stand alone and when paired or grouped, interaction is not evident. In addition, paired and grouped figures are generally depicted in the same form, colours, infill design and often subsidiary *Wanjinas* are depicted in a different orientation to the main *Wanjina* orientation. Although many features were tested, no iconographic keys were considered relevant sexing indicates. Mythology associated with these motifs specifies that both male and female *Wanjina* are included in the rock art assemblage, but without these ethnographic data gendering the unsexed *Wanjina* style motifs remains unsound.

The *Argula & Jillinya* group has by far the greatest proportion of sexed figures at 93 % (3 bisexual, 10 male, 15 female, 2 unsexed). These malevolent or mischievous figures, said to warn against ‘wrong way’ behaviour, are highly sexualised with enlarged genitalia and mammae. Generally depicted singularly, they make up a small part of the *Wanjina* period assemblage. In an unusual configuration two unsexed figures are depicted with six sexed figures (4 female, 1 male, 1 bi-sexed) within an enclosed shape (Fig 7.94). No sexing or gendering keys were found in the *Argula & Jillinya* style group.

The three distinct style groups within the *Wanjina* period differ in their iconographic coding. However, it is suggested that while being contemporaneous with each other, they facilitated different imaginative, spiritual and educational aspects of the culture. It is assumed that the members of this society knew and understood the information encoded within the depictions.

In contrast to anthropomorphic figures, it is the males of the animal kingdom that are usually depicted with genitalia, conceivably because female animal genitalia is less obvious. In scenes with both sexes depicted, dimorphism is also evident as an indicator of sex. Additionally, different techniques have been used for indicating sex in females. If for instance, a female has a pouch she is often shown with the legs and tail of the young protruding from it. In other cases the young may be shown independently but near to her and mammae are sometimes included where the young suckles from the mother. The sex of a female animal may also be indicated by the inclusion of eggs. For example, a turtle may be portrayed with x-ray design eggs depicted on either side of the centerline of the back. However, birds are more often portrayed with their eggs close by them.

In the *IIAP*, animal motifs are generally large and greatly outnumber the anthropomorphic figures. They are sexually defined in most cases and are not usually depicted in direct association with the anthropomorphic figures. However, the only female *IIAP* anthropomorphic figure recorded was depicted with a great many animals in close association, and they included unsexed macropod and echidna and a male 'thylacine'. A male *IIAP* anthropomorphic figure was associated with a large 'eagle' but no pattern was established as a means to sex anthropomorphic figures. The rare *Gwion* period animals are mainly depicted in camp or hunting scenes and include 12 macropods and a flying fox that do not display sexual detail. In the more recent *Wanjina* period, animals become more prominent once again. Of 25 animal motifs there was one female depicted with a macropod and two males with dingoes. Although close attention was paid to the relationship between anthropomorphic and zoological motifs, no associations considered significant for gendering purposes was discovered.

A summary of the sex and gender keys for the three periods of rock art recorded during the northwest Kimberley field trips is listed in the flow chart included at the conclusion of this chapter (Fig 7.102).

Having identified several iconographic gendering keys within the northwest Kimberley rock art assemblage, in the following chapter I will set these results into a chronological framework. Using additional archaeological and environmental data, I will consider the social and physical contexts in which each stylistic period was produced and discuss the implications of these.

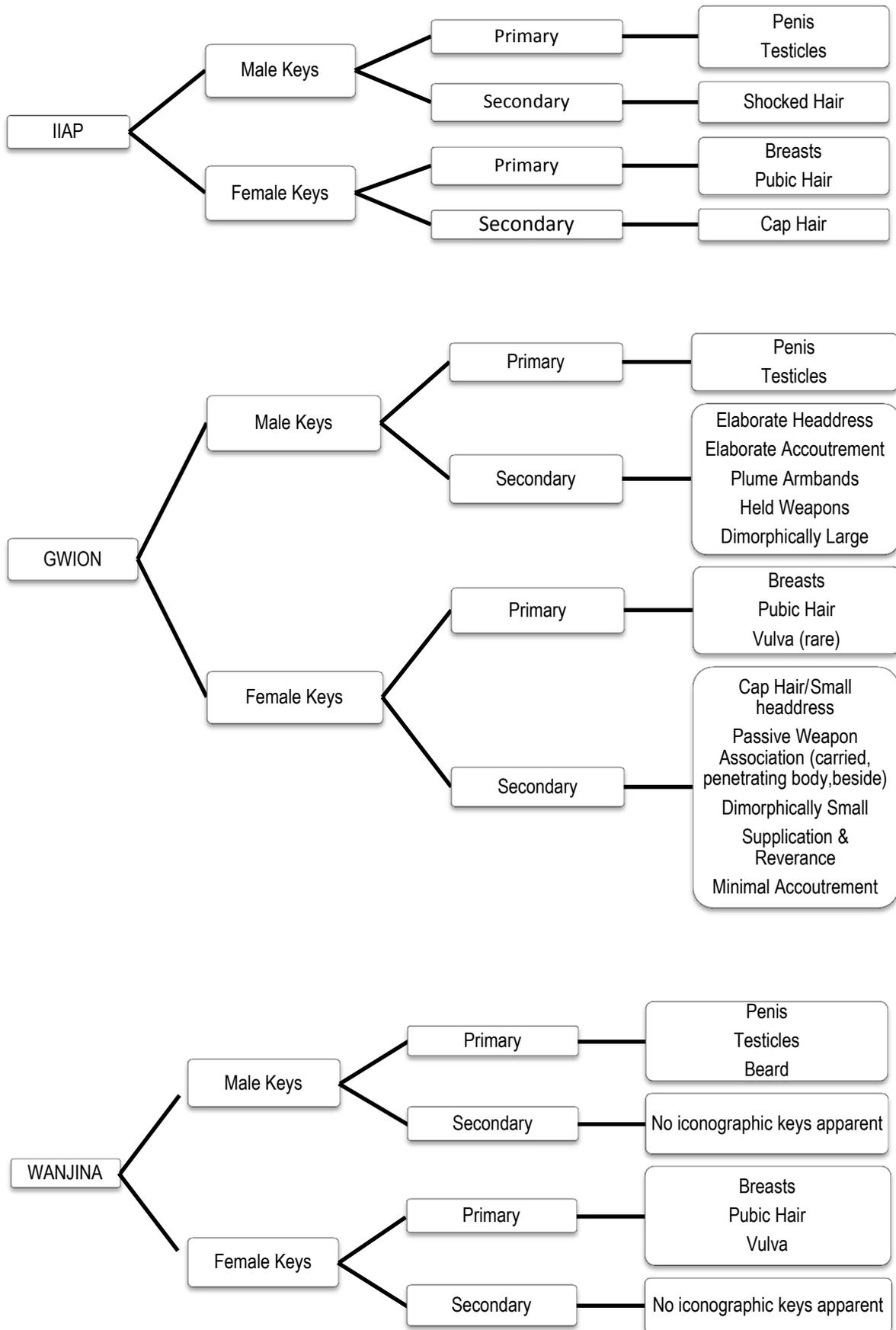


Figure 7-102 Flow chart of sex and gender keys for the three periods of Kimberley rock art