

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 7.1/06

‘KONGGARATINGGA’

(Blowhole Creek)

(last edited: 6/6/2013)

See also PNS 5.2.2/03 Kunggaratingga (Second Valley).

Abstract

‘Konggaratingga’ is RM Berndt’s spelling of the Kurna name which (according to him) Ngarrindjeri man Albert Karlowan applied around 1940 to a cave on the southern Fleurieu coast at Blowhole Creek. In Karlowan’s version of the story the ancestral hero Tjirbuki, after his long underground journey, emerged here already transformed into a bird.

The name is one possible phonetic spelling of ‘Congeratinga’, recorded by the first surveyors in 1840 as the name of a river northeast of Second Valley (see PNS 5.2.2/03).

However, at Blowhole Creek ‘Konggaratingga’ is almost certainly an error: either a confusion by Karlowan or a misunderstanding by Berndt.

‘Kongarati Cave’ in the cliffs near today’s Wirrina Resort was named (probably by Tindale) after the nearby River Congeratinga, and it is very likely that this name was mistakenly transferred to the other cave at Blowhole Beach.

There is no evidence of any name resembling ‘Konggaratingga’ in this area at early settlement time, though the Ngarrindjeri name ‘Rarkang’ (?*Nragangk*) was recorded for Blowhole Creek by the mid-19th century.

It is conceivable but very unlikely that in post-contact Ngarrindjeri memory the cave at Blowhole Beach may have been a second place with the same name.

In examining Tindale’s primary records, it seems more likely that Karlowan’s first use of this name, even at Wirrina, came not from his own knowledge but from discussions with Tindale over a printed map on which ‘River Congeratinga’ was already marked.¹

Blowhole Beach is also one of the locations recorded from Ngarrindjeri informants as the site where Ngurunduri called up the sea to drown his wives as they were fleeing to Kangaroo Island.

¹ See PNS 5.2.2/03 Kunggaratingga (Second Valley).

The Caves:

The first of Karlowan's two recorded versions of the Tjirbuki story (1935-6, for Tindale) features three caves: the coastal cave of the nephew's burial; the final exit at an unspecified site; and 'Kongarati' Cave near Wirrina, which was probably introduced to the story by Tindale.

His second version (c.1940, for Berndt) features four caves: one 'near Sellick's Hill'; a 'hill cave' south of Rapid Bay; the coastal one north of Cape Jervis; and the exit site at Blowhole Creek.

Milerum in 1934 had a different version of the story, featuring several caves: unspecified 'caves' during a backward detour which Tjelbruke made after the revenge at Myponga cliffs; and then the burial cave and the exit, both located inland in the hills and having the same place-name 'Warabari':

[After the revenge, Tjelbruke] stopped there nephew dry enough. After rolled him up went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made way in caves. Went right in as not far enough in. Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called Warabari (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) and got good place there and put in cave. Instead of going back he made it wide enough for him to go on inside until he got right up on top of range at Warabari. He came out onto main range there.

See also PNS 5.1/06 'Warabari' (Sellicks Hill) and 5.3/04 Watara-parringga.

Coordinates	-35.653844° Latitude, 138.155817° Longitude.
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Language Information

Meaning	'place of <i>Kongkarati</i> '
Etymology	<i>Kongkarati</i> [meaning unknown] + <i>-ngga</i> 'at'
Notes	These explanations are not of the original Kurna place-name (which belongs on the Gulf St Vincent near Wirrina Cove) but of Karlowan's alleged place-name at Blowhole Beach (which is almost certainly invalid). His pronunciation was probably different from the original Kurna, because he may have been following the English pronunciation of 'Congeratinga', and because Ngarrindjeri language distinguishes between <i>o</i> and <i>u</i> (unlike Kurna).
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'.
KWP Former Spelling	Konggaratingga
KWP New Spelling 2010	Kongkaratingga
Phonemic Spelling	/kongkaRaTingka/
Pronunciation	"Kongga-ratingga":
Pronunciation tips	Stress the 1 st syllable; Secondary stress on 3 rd syllable; 'o' as in 'pot'; 'ngga' both times as in 'finger' not 'singer'; every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'.



Main source evidence

Date	1935
Original source text	“ Kongarati Cave ” [marked at coastal cliff just north of Wirrina Cove]. - “ Kojaratiŋanj ” [marked at mouth of Congeratinga Creek].
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hd Yankalilla, AA 338/24/101).
Informants credited	Karlowan, Dec 1935
Informants uncredited	

Date	1936
Original source text	“Kongarati Cave is situated on the seaward margin of Section 1589, 3.7 km north of the mouth of Congeratinga Creek (Native name [Kojarati`ŋanj]”. <i>[from Karika:liŋ`ga]</i> “Then he went to [Kojarati`ŋga], where there is a [perki] (i.e. a cave or hole in the hill). About half a mile south, there is a small creek, which is also a camp. Just before Tji:rbuka [<i>sic</i>] reached the [perki] [Kojarati`ŋga] , he sat down and cried: a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked south, passing the mouth of the creek, and travelled along the coastal cliffs.... <i>[after entering the cave north of Cape Jervis]</i> He did not emerge from the cave but went on into the depths of the hill for a long way. He eventually came out on the top of the hills near a swamp lagoon. He could see the sun shining through a high crevice. He climbed up, and as he looked about, he said: ‘Well, there is no use in my living like a man any more.’ He therefore transformed himself into a bird, called [<i>tji:rbuki</i>] (a species of ibis), and spent his time catching fish in the lagoon.”
Reference	Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale and Mountford, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> Vol. 5 (4): 487, 501.
Informants credited	Karlowan 1935
Informants uncredited	?Milerum 1934

Date	c.1940
Original source text	“The two women [<i>wives of Ngurunderi</i>] hurriedly walked down Tankalilla beach to Tjirbuk ³⁹ (Blowhole Creek). ³⁹ Tji:rbuk , so named after <i>Tjirbuki</i> a man of the Kurna tribe, but whose wanderings were nevertheless known to the Ramindjeri and other peoples of the Narrinyeri group.”
Reference	RM Berndt 1940, ‘Aspects of Jaralde Culture’, <i>Oceania</i> 11(2): 181 +n.).
Informants credited	Karlowan c.1940
Informants uncredited	

Date	[c.1940] / 1993
Original source text	[<i>Ngurunderi and Nepeli</i>] "At that time, Kangaroo Island... Ngurunderi followed them [<i>his two wives</i>], walking down the beach to Tjirbuki (Tjirbuk) , a place associated with the Dreaming man Blue Crane, on the coast at Blow Hole Creek. By then the two sisters were walking across the strait..." - [<i>Becoming Ngatji</i>] "... [<i>Tjirbuki</i>] looked up and began to climb, emerging from the cave to see that he had turned into a bird. This was at Konggaratingga (Blow Hole Creek) . When people came there they saw Tjirbuki turned into a bird; they saw him catching fish nearby (at the place now called Tjirbuki). People saw that cave and said, 'It's him, because he came up there! That is why there are plenty of fish!'"
Reference	Berndt and Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> : 226, 234.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: KARLOWAN, CAVES, AND BLOWHOLE CREEK:

KARLOWAN'S CAVES:

Sometimes the discrepancies in Tindale's accounts of the Tjilbruki story can be traced to differences in the two versions of it from Milerum and Karlowan. But in this case the discrepancies appear to be between different accounts given at different times by Karlowan.

CAVES 1: KARLOWAN 1935-6.

In 1935 he gave Tindale a brief account of 'The Story of Tji:rbuki', which was published the next year more or less intact.²

The unpublished manuscript of a late draft of this version – subtitled "*from Karlowan and notes from Milerum*" – agrees with the published account about the following three caves (quoted here from the latter):

1. There is a cave or hole in the coastal cliffs on the gulf coast near Wirrina Cove. Tindale called it 'Kongarati Cave' and it was the main subject of this 1936 essay by him with Mountford. Tjirbuki bypassed it:

² Tindale 1936, 'Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay', in Tindale and Mountford, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* Vol. 5 (4): 501; cp. Karlowan / Tindale MS 'The story of Tji:rbuki... from Karlowan and notes from Milerum', in 'Notes on the Kurna', AA 338/1/35: 79-85.



Then he went to [ˈKoŋaratiˈŋga], where there is a [perki] (i.e. a cave or hole in the hill). About half a mile south, there is a small creek, which is also a camp. Just before Tji:rbuka [sic] reached the [perki] [ˈKoŋaratiˈŋga], he sat down and cried: a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked south, passing the mouth of the creek, and travelled along the coastal cliffs, all the way to Cape Jervis [ˈParewarˈa:ŋk].

2. There is another coastal cave on the gulf coast a little north of Cape Jervis, where Tjirbuki laid his nephew's body:

From Cape Jervis he returned northwards along the foreshore below the cliffs, and came to another [perki] or cave called [Jaˈnarwiŋ] (according to another informant) [Milerum]. He left the body of his [na:ŋari] outside, and walking into the darkness found a place where there was a suitable ledge of rock. He put sticks up, just as was done when the body was being smoked, carried the body in, placed it on the platform, and left it.

Note: 'Northwards along the foreshore below the cliffs' was an emendation, probably incorrect in view of the topography, from the draft which had said 'northwards along the cliff'. In fact, according to Milerum's account of the land there, he would have had to walk along the clifftops and reach the foreshore near the cave via the only possible descent at Watbardok³.

3. There is a third cave or hole at a rather vague location where after a journey underground Tjirbuki emerged to enact the last scenes of his career:

He did not emerge from the cave but went on into the depths of the hill for a long way. He eventually came out on the top of the hills near a swamp lagoon. He could see the sun shining through a high crevice. He climbed up, and as he looked about, he said: 'Well, there is no use in my living like a man any more.' He therefore transformed himself into a bird, called [tji:rbuki] (a species of ibis), and spent his time catching fish in the lagoon.

The phrase 'on top of the hills' sounds more like Milerum's account, 'at the top of the range'. Knowing that Tindale had mixed a few titbits of Milerum at times (not always credited) into his account of the narrative,⁴ and in the light of what Karlowan told Berndt (see Caves 2), we may wonder which bits of this final episode came from Karlowan and which from Milerum.

Karlowan had also interpreted the name of the River Congeratinga (near Wirrina) as "Kongaratingangk (creek)" on the Hundred of Yankalilla map, one of Tindale's primary sources.⁵

³ See PNS 5.4.2/01 Yanawing, and 5.4.2/02 Watbardok.

⁴ He credited the name of "Janarwing" cave to "another informant". Another piece of Milerum inserted within Karlowan's narrative, but uncredited, was the location of Watirangenggul (see PNS 5.3/04 Watara-parringga, Postscript 1).

⁵ Annotated map Hd of Yankalilla, AA338/24/101.

This was probably added to the map during one of the sessions at Adelaide in December 1935: “Dec. 19th to 27th 1935 – Worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan... We ~~placed~~ put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide”.⁶ There is a very strong likelihood that some of these names were interpretations based on names printed on the maps, and ‘Kongaratingangk’ is a case in point.

The name ‘Congeratinga River’ had been on maps at this location since 1840, the only (alleged) cave in the story that has early Kurna witness for its name.⁷ Karlowan was a speaker of Ngarrindjeri language and knew very little Kurna. An accurate borrowing from Kurna into Ngarrindjeri would be *Kongaratangk* or perhaps *Kongaratingg*. But in this map note it is almost certain (lacking any other explanation for the extra syllable) that he merely added a Ngarrindjeri locative suffix *-angk* onto the already-complete Kurna name ‘Congeratinga’, apparently forgetting for a moment that *-ngga* is a locative and so the Ngarrindjeri locative must *replace* it. (He did a similar thing with ‘Tortachilla’: not knowing the Kurna locative for three-syllable roots, *-illa*, he corrected the name to “Turtotjalangga”, this time adding a second Kurna locative *-ngga* onto the suffix already given).⁸

Karlowan must have known about this cave near Wirrina (even if not by name), since he apparently defined the location of Tjirbuki’s spring by reference to it.⁹ One wonders whether in the 1936 version Tjirbuki bypassed Kongarati Cave mainly because it had no significant part in Karlowan’s inherited story – nor in Milerum’s in 1934, where no cave is mentioned in this part of the journey – but had been introduced into the discussion by Tindale. (The story was published here only as an appendix to Tindale’s account of the excavation of this cave).

The suspicion becomes greater when we see what happened about 5 years later as Karlowan gave another account of the Tjirbuki story to Ronald Berndt.

CAVES 2: KARLOWAN c.1940.

In this version there are four caves in Tjirbuki’s final journey, not three as in 1935-6, and some of them are in places which are unfamiliar to readers of Tindale:¹⁰

1. At ‘*Ruwuru (near Aldinga)*’, “*he picked up his sister’s son again and went on walking to a cave (peki) near Sellicks Beach*”: perhaps immediately south of it, if we are to believe the very small and

⁶ MS ‘Work with Karlowan in Adelaide’, in AA 338/1/31/1 ‘Murray River notes’: 197.

⁷ See PNS 5.2.2/03 ‘Kunggaratingga (Second Valley)’.

⁸ See PNS 4.3.3/04 ‘Tartatyilla’.

⁹ Tindale, ‘The story of Tji:rbruki’... from Karlowan and notes from Milerum, published in 1936’, in ‘Notes on the Kurna’, AA 338/1/35: 83.

¹⁰ Berndt and Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 233-4; cp. Yaraldi text p.446-7. For locations cp. map p.330-1; but the map is very small and the locations are therefore only approximate and sometimes misleading.

inherently vague map.¹¹ This first cave is far north of 'Kongarati Cave', separated by Myponga Beach, Carrickalinga, Yankalilla Plain and three rivers.

The next stopover on the way south is named as a *nguri* reed swamp somewhere near Carrickalinga.¹² Then Berndt tells of him "passing" Rapid Head, though this is not mentioned in the Yaraldi narrative. Unlike Tindale's version in 1936, there has been no 'Kongaratingga' on the way from the *nguri* swamp, nor any reference to another cave.

2. The second cave in Berndt's record is somewhere in the hills south of Rapid Bay:

Picking up his burden again he continued, passing Witawateng (Rapid Head) until he came to a hill with a cave. He stayed there for a while...

The Yaraldi text says this is a *nguli-puki* 'hill cave', presumably inland. There is no other information about this cave anywhere that I know of. Is it in the "*nguli range*" marked immediately south of 'Yankie Hill':¹³ i.e. the range above Wirrina and around Tonto Homestead, perhaps in the Big Gorge? Granted the vagueness of the map, it could even be close to Mt Hayfield and so make a suggestive comparison with the familiar site given by Milerum as Tjelbruke's final cave-exit.¹⁴ We await the Berndt archives, in hope of finding some detailed field notes.

3. The third cave is the one in which Tjirbuki finally lays his nephew's body. Its location is unclear in both the Yaraldi text and Berndt's, which continues:

... then carried the corpse up into the hills and went down into a cave at Nangarang, near Pariwa (Cape Jervis). He walked into the cave and put the corpse down while he searched for a place on which to put it. He asked himself where he could lodge it safely. Looking around, he found a ledge of rock (a natural platform or resting place). There he placed the body, making sure all was well, and left it.

¹¹ Karlowan's word-for-word Yaraldi narrative gives the cave as *Pukangk* [sic] which Berndt (probably in error) takes to be a place-name, "*at Puki* [sic] (*cave*) *place*"; and the order of events shows clearly that this is north of the subsequent reed swamp: probably somewhere in the cliff coast between Sellick's Beach and Myponga Beach. The Berndt map is unhelpful here, marking it immediately south of a Sellick's Beach reed swamp which can only be The Washpool area; this would place the cave almost on the Aldinga Plain.

¹² Here Tjirbuki once more '*put it down for crying*'. This swamp is marked between Carrickalinga Head and Carrickalinga Hill (in the hills and quite inaccurate, judging by the eyewitness data from Karlowan in Tindale, where the *nguri* swamp is "*just south of... Carrickalinga Head... for... Karlowan had seen it himself... a little swamp flat*": cp. Tindale 1936: 501, Tindale 1987: 7a.

¹³ map p.330-1. *Nguli* is not a place-name but merely Ngarrindjeri for 'hill'.

¹⁴ See PNS 5.3/04 'Wataraparringga'.

The most we can get out of this is that from the *nguli-puki* he went up again, presumably into a different lot of hills, then down into the next cave near Cape Jervis: was it *in* the hills, or *down from* them? The latter fits the map location of ‘Nangarang’ on the coast at a position consistent with Milerum’s ‘Yanarwing’ cave: one can get to this cave only by first going up into the hills between the Cape and Rapid Bay, then down a gully.¹⁵

4. The fourth cave is a far-off exit of the third. Berndt continues:

He went further on down into the cave, walking until he saw light that came through a hole in the roof of the cave. He looked up and began to climb, emerging from the cave to see that he had turned into a bird.

If Berndt has translated correctly, Tjirbuki was already a bird when he emerged from the cave. This detail differs from Tindale’s 1936 essay.

This 1940 account ends by attributing the name ‘Konggaratingga’ to this completely different place, Tjirbuki’s final exit, here located “*on the coast at Blow Hole Creek*” on the south coast east of Cape Jervis. Moreover, the bird-man did not travel east to the Bluff as in Tindale’s account from Milerum, but stayed “*nearby*” – doubtless on the beach or rocks, or the tiny swamp at the mouth of the creek:

This was at Konggaratingga (Blow Hole Creek). When people came there they saw Tjirbuki turned into a bird; they saw him catching fish nearby (at the place now called Tjirbuki). People saw that cave and said, ‘It’s him, because he came up there! That is why there are plenty of fish!’

In all of this Karlowan does not mention a cave anywhere from a place north of Carrickalinga down to the hills south of Rapid Bay: a stretch which includes Wirrina, the Congeratinga River and ‘Kongarati Cave’.

By contrast, in the 1935-6 Tindale version quoted earlier Tjirbuki creates a spring at Sellick’s Beach, but there is no cave nearby. After Carrickalinga, his travels have circumstantial detail near the explicitly-named ‘*Kongaratingga perki (cave)*’. From there Tjirbuki goes straight to Cape Jervis, while Rapid Head is not mentioned except in the introduction as being near Tjirbuki’s summer camp.

¹⁵ See PNS 5.4.2/01 Yanarwing.

Had Karlowan by 1940 changed his mind about the location of 'Kongaratingga', or did he suffer a lapse of memory? Or did Tindale misinterpret or ignore this part of his narrative?

Did he also change his mind about the pronunciation about the second consonant, from Tindale's *Konga-* to a cluster in Berndt's *Kongga-*? or was this merely the different ears of the two hearers? *Kongga-* happens to be part of the standard English pronunciation of the map name 'Congeratinga'.

Did Karlowan really give the name to Berndt in Kurna form? It does appear that he gave a few other Kurna place-names, though not always in reliable Kurna form.¹⁶

Combining the discrepancies with the considerable doubt whether Karlowan originally volunteered the name even in 1935, and with the fact that the first evidence of 'Congeratinga' was mapped near Wirrina by the surveyors in 1840 and was therefore attested by their Aboriginal guides, one must conclude that the credibility of the name at this Blowhole Creek location is in serious doubt. It is just conceivable that it could have been in use at a second site and known to the Yaraldi, but this is not at all likely, especially ending with an a untypical of Ngarrindjeri words.

Perhaps in 1940 Karlowan remembered something about the Kongarati Cave from his previous discussions with Tindale in 1935, and his narrative became confused, or Berndt mistook a memory of Tindale for Karlowan's own information. Or perhaps Berndt asked him about Tindale's published essay of 1936. Or perhaps with four different caves in the story Berndt became confused, either then or fifty years later while writing it up.

We cannot check this from Berndt's source notes until the embargo on them is lifted.¹⁷

CAVES 3: KARLOWAN'S CAVE EXIT.

In about 1940 Karlowan said (according to Berndt), "*This was at Konggaratingga (Blow Hole Creek)*". In 1935-6 he may have said to Tindale, "*He eventually came out on the top of the hills*" – or was this sentence a Tindale paraphrase of Milerum?

¹⁶ 'Meipongga' for *Maitpangga* and 'Witawateng' for *Wita-wattingga* are very close; but others are adapted: 'Patawilyandjalang' for *Patawilyangga*, 'Patapungga' for *Patpangga*, 'Walpari' for *Warriparri*, 'Yangkalyawang' for *Yamkalyilla* (Berndt and Berndt 1993: 20, 23, 234, 311-2, 330-1).

¹⁷ There are other mysteries about Tjirbuki's caves. One might compare the first and second of Karlowan's caves above, vaguely located, with an obscure passage in Milerum 1934 which Tindale ignored completely. After the violent revenge on the cliffs south of Sellick's Beach, Tjelbruke "*Stopped there nephew dry enough. After rolled him up went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made way in caves. Went right in as not far enough in. Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called Warabari*" (Tindale SESA 2: 49-50). Is there a whole chapter of the hero's other cave adventures between Sellick's Beach and the far south, of which both Tindale and Berndt heard only these tiny and confusing hints? See also PNS 5.1/06 'Warabari' (Myponga Area).

Tindale seems to have either assumed that whatever Karlowan actually said on this subject was in agreement with Milerum's information already obtained in 1934, or ignored it if it was not. Milerum had told Tindale that Tjelbruke emerged "*right up on top of range... He came out onto main range*",¹⁸ "*highest part of land*",¹⁹ and interpreted this soon afterward as Mt Hayfield or its vicinity:²⁰ inland and many miles from Blowhole Beach. Since the published account of Karlowan's story included some other items from Milerum without credit,²¹ it is quite likely that the phrase "*on the top of the hills*" was also adapted directly from him.

'On top of the hills' is a more ambiguous expression than Milerum's 'on top of range'. The latter meaning seems at first more plausible than 'on top of the cliffs at Blowhole Beach'. But if so, then Karlowan later changed his mind about where Tjirbuki came out; and surely this is a much less likely scenario than a confusion over an unfamiliar name 'Konggaratingga'. Tindale's mindset was such that he habitually assumed there was a single correct version of anything, unless forced to record otherwise; and even then he rarely admitted it in writing, but left discordant details unanalysed and published only his preferred version: e.g. for the location of 'Witawali'.²² Though he may have automatically aligned Karlowan's original words with Milerum's, not feeling a need to clarify, yet Karlowan almost certainly meant the Blowhole Beach cliffs.

I am not aware of any source which identifies exactly where this Blowhole Creek cave is. Karlowan seems to have thought of it as more or less the same place as "*Tjirbuki (Tjirbuk)... on the coast*", where Ngurunderi "*called out to [his wives] to return*" and "*called out in a voice of thunder*" commanding the tide to rush in upon them.²³ This seems to preclude any site further upstream, fixing it somewhere at Blowhole Beach.²⁴

THE PLACE: NGURUNDURI AND THE WATERS; 'RARKANG'; FISH CAMP:

The military survey and raster maps show the creek here with the alternative names "Rarkang or Blowhole Creek". 'Rarkang' is a long-standing name dating back to the early surveys, though the

¹⁸ SE of SA 2, AA 338/1/33/2: 50.

¹⁹ SESA2, AA 338/1/33/2: 229.

²⁰ Tindale typescript, 'Songs by Milerum recorded... 1937', SESA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 252.

²¹ e.g. the Tangani name of Mt Hayfield, Tindale 1936: 500.

²² See PNS 7.1/01 Witawalang.

²³ Berndt and Berndt 1993: 226; RM Berndt 1940, 'Aspects of Jaralde Culture', *Oceania* 11(2): 181.

²⁴ There is a hint that 'Tjirbuk' may be a separate site, though 'nearby': "*they saw him catching fish nearby (at the place now called Tjirbuki)*" (Berndt and Berndt 1993: 234; my emphasis). There is a tiny swamp at the bottom of the steep gully where Blowhole Creek enters the beach. No doubt it is often inhabited by ibises or blue cranes. For more discussion of this see PNS 7.1/07 'Tjirbuk'.

earliest evidence I have found so far is relatively late: an undated map of the entire Hundred of Waitpinga, withdrawn in 1897, marks it exactly as above.²⁵

Karlowan seems to have acknowledged this Ngarrindjeri name (it cannot be Kurna, which never uses an initial 'r'), and pronounced it as "Rarkəŋ".²⁶ This may have arisen not from prior knowledge but from Tindale showing him the name on the map: as is admitted with Milerum's Permangk place-name interpretations, and is very likely with some of Karlowan's.²⁷ Nor apparently did he mention the name to Berndt at all (it is not listed in the book). His pronunciation therefore does not necessarily have authority in determining the original pronunciation or derivation.

More important for present purposes is to note that while his ideas about the *name* may have been sketchy or flexible, he knew the *place*, its practical function and its mythical stories. It was a place where the myths of Tjilbruki and Ngurunduri intersected: a conjunction also noted for an ambiguous place in southern Fleurieu named 'Witawali' by Ephraim Tripp and 'Warabari' by Milerum.²⁸

For Karlowan this place "*on the coast at Blow Hole Creek*" was firstly the place of Ngurunduri's anger and judgment:

*The two sisters were walking across the strait. When he saw them, Ngurunderi called out to them to return. They would not listen. He called out to the sea. When the two sisters were in the middle (between [Kangaroo] island and the mainland), he called again in a thunderous voice. The tide came rushing and fell upon them... [and they] drowned.*²⁹

One of the possible Ngarrindjeri derivations for 'Rarkang' is *ngraki* + *-angk*, 'place of wrath'.³⁰

Secondly, it was for Karlowan the place of two final legacies of Tjirbuki: the totemic bird and the abundant fish.

And thirdly, according to the name card Karlowan told Tindale that there was a "*camp*" here, "*at coastal end of Sec 109 H of Waitpinga / Rarkang Blowhole Creek / Tindale ms from Karlowan H of*

²⁵ 'No. 18A Waitpinga', plan 79/42, GNU.

²⁶ Tindale map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93; cp. Ramindjeri place-name card 'Rarkəŋ', AA338/7/1/17.

²⁷ See Tindale 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 114.

²⁸ See PNS 7.1/01 'Witawalang' and 5.1/6 'Warabari'.

²⁹ Berndt and Berndt 1993: 226.

³⁰ Another possibility is 'place of scrub'. See 'Rarkang' in the accompanying File with this Summary 7.1/6.

Waitpinga map". On the map³¹ it is marked at the little cove at the mouth of Blowhole Creek, i.e. Blowhole Beach.

There is at least one piece of early evidence supporting this campsite. Late in an evening of August 1845, the artist George French Angas embarked from Adelaide with Governor Grey in the government cutter for a tour to Rivoli Bay (Beachport) in the Southeast. On the second day,

we passed Rapid Bay and rounded Cape Jervis. Off Haynes's whale fishery³² it fell calm: the sun was very hot, and the penguins continually popped up their heads above water, uttering their singular cry. In the evening we landed in a romantic cove between Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay; the hills rose steep on each side, and down the glen ran a stream of fresh water: it had been a favourite camping-place with the natives, and numerous remains of their ovens were scattered along the beach.³³

An examination of the geography and sailing context shows that this 'romantic cove' was almost certainly Blowhole Beach.³⁴ Archaeology may perhaps be able to add more details of the campsite.³⁵

We may take Karlowan's data as first-hand knowledge of a place which was *ruwi mama-watjeri*, 'a ground with plenty of fish'. People engaged in their fishing would see the cave and remember Tjirbuki, *itjan mama-woliamb*, 'that catcher of fish'.³⁶ For the identity of that fish-catching bird, see the Data File of PNS 7.1/07 'Tjirbuk'.

Karlowan's double association of Tjirbuki and Ngurunduri with Blowhole Beach is confirmed by the informant who gave Unaipon the story of 'Nurunderi's Wives'. Without actually naming the place,

³¹ Tindale map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93.

³² Fishery Beach, immediately southwest of the Cape.

³³ George French Angas 1847, *Savage Life and Scenes* Vol.1: 181-2.

³⁴ Since Fishery Beach they had been becalmed and probably almost stationary. After landing at the cove (which must have been within easy rowing distance of Fishery), they "set sail with the tide; two flat-topped rocks called the Pages, bearing ESE". The Pages are due south of Tunkalilla Beach. It was apparently still calm, so the ebb tide would have carried them SE from the cove. The recorded bearing could only be taken from well out to sea and somewhere in the general vicinity of Yatala Shoal (which is due south of Cobbler Hill). The cove must therefore have been well west of Tunkalilla Beach. Between Fishery and Tunkalilla the significant inlets are at Coalinga Creek, Naiko Inlet, Blowhole Beach, and perhaps Marrano Creek. Of these, only Coalinga and Blowhole are big and safe enough to be a likely landfall for this official party. Blowhole is bigger, safer and only 4 km east of Fishery.

³⁵ There are ancient 'Kartan' campsites and burial sites along this South Coast, e.g. at Fishery Beach, Tunkalilla Beach and Waitpinga Beach (see the observations by A Kollosche in VM Campbell 1986, 'Notes on Some Interesting Sites on the Southern Coast of the Fleurieu Peninsula', *Journal of Anthropological Society of SA* 24(5): 3-13). Angas and Karlowan confirm that some sites on this rugged part of the coast were also used in recent centuries.

³⁶ Ngarrindjeri language, from Berndt and Berndt 1993: 234, 447.

he identifies it as a land bridge 'opposite [Kangaroo] island' whose mainland approach was a Tjirbuki site (he is called 'Chirr-bookie the Blue Crane' in this book):

Now [Nurunderi's] wives arrived in the afternoon at a place opposite the island. At the time of this story this island was connected with the mainland, but during a severe southerly storm the sea would cover the connecting strip of land... At the mainland end of this strip of land there was a keeper who was in charge. He was known as the blue crane... Now Nurunderi came a little nearer to the strip of land that led to the island, and he sat upon a vantage spot watching and waiting until his wives were half-way to the island. When they reached that point Nurunderi began to sing the wind song... Then presently the waters were churned up...³⁷

This view of the dramatic Blowhole Beach landscape – backed by a tantalizing view of the unreachable Kangaroo Island, the land of spirits after death, Ngurunduri's pathway to the heavens – may be particular to certain Ngarrindjeri-speaking clans, as all these associations were recorded either from the Yaraldi man Karlowan or from the Unaipon informant whose dialect affiliation is uncertain but may have been Ramindjeri.

OTHER VIEWS:

It was not the only view, though by far the best recorded. The Pages recur as the bodies of the drowned sisters, but other informants had other sites for Ngurunduri's calling of the waters.

Tangani man Milerum seems to locate it at Tunkalilla Beach, 11 km further east: though the record is extremely brief, and ambiguous because he is probably not naming all the places which were in his mind:

'You go straight to Tankular', he said to women (Tunkalilla Beach). When Dur. got there no sign of them saw them almost over to Kangaroo I. floated about, sulky not come back turned them into `RanZurej. Two sisters = the Pages.³⁸

Reuben Walker locates the calling explicitly at Granite Island before Ngurunduri travelled further west. In this Ramindjeri version of the story, Ngurunduri was standing at Umbrella Rock and saw his wives 'just about to land on Kangaroo Island'.³⁹

³⁷ William Ramsay Smith 1930, *Myths and Legends of the Australian Aborigines*: 328-330.

³⁸ Milerum 12 Feb 1934, 'Additions to Durunderi story', SESA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 32.

³⁹ Tindale records here a debate on the feasibility of the claim that the Pages were visible to Ngurunduri from Granite Island.



They were swimming in the sea pushing 'kundi' or 'reed rafts of three cornered shape to use RW's own words before them. Durunderi beckoned to the waves and they began to break over the women and their kundi. Durunderi then made them into the two Pages, islands off the coast. Two reefs nearby are the two kundi. The Pages he named Randjuleng after his 2 wives. Ngurunderi then left Poltang [the Causeway Point at Victor Harbor] and continued southwestwards passing Mugurangk (the Inman River mouth).⁴⁰

According to Walker the south coast around Blowhole Beach was rarely visited in traditional times:

Cape Jervis not greatly frequented by natives except along sea front. The scrub lands when whites not yet gone⁴¹ not frequented; scared of `muldarpi there.⁴²

Like Karlowan, Walker said that the country from Cape Jervis east to The Bluff at Encounter Bay was also the trail of departing human spirits:

Arriving at `Lonko`war [The Bluff] after passing Waitpiṅa, [Ngurunduri] dived off the cliff into the water and passed over to Karta (Kangaroo Island). The Ramindjeri belief is that the spirits of all departed persons follow Durunderi to Karta. If you were to travel along the coast you would hear their whisperings as they talk and chatter while on their journey in pursuit of Durunderi.⁴³

Another cryptic note by Tindale gives yet another location for Ngurunderi's wrathful 'calling out': Coalinga or Campbell Creek, which runs into the sea about two km west of Blowhole Beach. On his map Tindale reinterpreted the public name as "*Kowuləŋə*" and glossed it as "*lit. calling out*": "*here Durunderi stood and called out to his wives fleeing to the Pages*".⁴⁴ The re-spelling is very improbable linguistically (altering two vowels, and mixing a Kaurna suffix *-ngga* with a Ngarrindjeri verb-root), and has no supporting evidence anywhere. Its most likely source is Tindale himself, ruminating on his map with a copy of Meyer's 1843 Ramindjeri dictionary; but in compiling his secondary cards later, he seems to have persuaded himself that it came from Karlowan.⁴⁵ But this is not a credible scenario in the light of what we know from Berndt about where Karlowan located this incident.

⁴⁰ Tindale MS 1935, 'Story of Durunderi: brief note from Reuben Walker', in Tindale 'Murray River Notes', AA 338/1/31/1: 102-3; cp. SESA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 293-4.

⁴¹ This presumably means 'before the whites had gone there'.

⁴² 'Notes from Reuben Walker, 1934', in SESA2, AA338/1/33/2: 158. 'Muldarpi' is an evil spirit.

⁴³ 'Murray River Notes', AA 338/1/31/1: 105; cp. 'Reuben Walker manuscript 1934', SESA2, AA338/1/33/2: 203. For Karlowan's version see Berndt 1940: 182.

⁴⁴ Annotated map Hd of Waitpiṅa, AA338/24/93.

⁴⁵ cp. Ramindjeri vocabulary cards 'Ko:wuləŋə' and 'əŋə' in AA3387/1/17; and see PNS 7.1/05.

References to background documents

For complete data and background analysis of related place-names, see the background document 'BACKGROUND4_TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

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End of Summary