



The writing of this essay was funded as part of The Kurna Project 2019-20 (coordinator Rob Amery) by the Commonwealth of Australia Ministry for the Arts through its Indigenous Languages and Arts (Languages) program.

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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.03.02/01

?PURTAWARTI / ?PURTARTILLA / ?PURDITILLA ' (Ochre Cove)

(last edited: 10.7.2020)

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NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.

The spellings and interpretations contained in it (linguistic, historical and geographical) are my own, and do not necessarily represent the views of KWP/KWK or its members or any other group.

I have studied history at tertiary level. Though not a linguist, for 30 years I have learned much about the Kurna, Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri and Narungga languages while working with KWP, Rob Amery, and other local culture-reclamation groups; and from primary documents I have learned much about the Aboriginal history of the Adelaide-Fleurieu region.

My explorations of 'language on the land' through the Southern Kurna Place Names Project are part of an ongoing effort to correct the record about Aboriginal place-names in this region (which has abounded in confusions and errors), and to add reliable new material into the public domain.

I hope upcoming generations will continue this work and improve it. My interpretations should be amplified, re-considered and if necessary modified by KWP or other linguists, and by others engaged in cultural mapping: i.e. Aboriginal researchers who are linking their oral traditions with other up-to-date and best available knowledge, and associated archaeologists, geographers, ecologists, anthropologists and historians.

Chester Schultz [10/7/2020].

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Abstract

No Aboriginal name was recorded at first contact for Ochre Cove (often called Red Ochre Cove). But it may have had one or both of two Kurna names: 1a. PROBABLY *Burtawarti* (N.Sp. *Purtawarti*), or perhaps 1b. *Burtawatto* (N.Sp. *Purtawatu*); and POSSIBLY 2a. *Burtartilla* (New Spelling *Purtartilla*), or perhaps 2b. *Puretilla* (N.Sp. *Purditilla*).

In the 1930s ethnologists recorded two Ngarrindjeri names for Ochre Cove: “Putawatang” from the Ramindjeri man Reuben Walker, and “Poṭ`artang” (or “Putatang”) from the Yaraldi man Albert Karlowan. Both men believed that the word they gave meant ‘red ochre’; but this is not so, as neither word matches any Ngarrindjeri or Kurna vocabulary for ‘ochre’. By replacing a final vowel with the Ngarrindjeri Locative *angk*, both words could easily be derived from the same Kurna original, *Purtawarti* or perhaps *Purtawatu*, or the contracted forms *Purt`arti* or *Purt`atu*. All of these could have been expanded by adding the optional Kurna Locative *ngga* ‘at, place of’.

In the early-to-mid 20th century there was also a local settler name “Portachilla” (mapped by Tindale and remembered by Chester Schultz from the 1960s) which was used for Ochre Cove, Ochre Point, or their vicinity. The last three syllables of ‘Portachilla’ may be a settler mistake, assimilating the word to the other nearby place-names known in local usage as ‘Tortachilla’ and ‘Tatachilla’. If it is a valid form, it cannot be derived from the same original as “Putawatang” and “Poṭ`artang”, but it could possibly have originated from a different original Kurna name, either *Purtartilla* or conceivably *Purditilla*.

Of these conjectural Kurna names, *Purtawartingga* could mean EITHER ‘in the midst of embers or ashes’ OR ‘place of embers/ashes and [redacted] or tail’; *Purtawatu* means ‘embers [of] tree branches’; *Purtatilla* means ‘place of roasted, baked, or cooked things in general’; and *Purditilla* means ‘place of kidneys or loins’. The Discussion examines the possible cultural references and connotations of these names, and tries to assess their relative likelihoods. *Purtawarti* or perhaps *Purtawatu* seem the most likely on balance, but the others cannot be completely discounted.

Ochre Cove was the major source of valuable red ochre for a very large area of south-eastern Australia south of the Flinders Ranges. As a consequence it was an important centre of trade to and from the upper River Murray and Victoria. It also contained one of the springs created by the culture hero Tjirbuki when he stopped here to weep over his murdered nephew, in the course of his journey southward carrying the smoke-dried body. At least two other myths involving Ochre Cove

are also on record in brief (see Appendix 3). Over a 50-year period the ochre quarry was desecrated and partly destroyed by sand-miners who used the coloured sands and clays for pigment and pottery. But today's Kurna people still consider this to be a sacred site.

The Cove and ochre deposit are located on Section* 359 between Moana and Maslin Beach. But probably most of the recorded names¹ referred to a wider area including the large and ancient campsites nearby at Moana South (Sections 356, 353, 350, 589, 590, 594). These were thoroughly researched several times by archaeologists, but have all been obliterated long ago by visitors, souvenir hunters, neighbouring development, and consequent erosion. Some of their sites are now part of the Moana Sands Conservation Park.

* All Sections in this essay are in the Hundred of Willunga.

Coordinates	Lat. -35.209727°, Long. 138.473396° [putative centre of whole camping area, between Cove + known campsites]
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Language Information

Meaning	PROBABLY 1a. 'in the midst of embers' or 'place of embers + [redacted]'. [OR 1b. 'embers of tree branches'] OR POSSIBLY 2a. 'cooking place'. or conceivably 2b. 'place of kidney or loins'.
Etymology	PROBABLY 1a. <i>Purta</i> 'embers, ashes' + <i>warti</i> 'middle, midst' OR 'tail, [redacted]' [OR 1b. <i>watu</i> 'tree branches'] > <i>Purtawarti</i> ; [OR 1b. <i>Purtawatu</i>] – probably abridged as <i>Purt'-arti</i> . [OR 1b. <i>Purt'-atu</i>] OR POSSIBLY 2a. <i>purparti</i> 'boiled/baked/roasted [thing(s)]' + <i>illa</i> 'at, place of' > <i>Purtatilla</i> . or conceivably 2b. <i>purpita</i> 'kidneys, loins' + <i>illa</i> 'at, place of' > <i>Purditilla</i> .
Notes	Two different Kurna names: 1a. <i>Purtawarti</i> and 1b. <i>Purtawatu</i> could easily be abridged in common speech to <i>Purt'-arti</i> and <i>Purt'-atu</i> (with two consecutive stresses). By adding the Ngarrindjeri Locative (which elides the final vowel of the root), both of these could easily be adopted into Ngarrindjeri as <i>Puuth-atangk</i> (= Tindale's "Poth-artang"). 2a. Either <i>Purtatilla</i> or perhaps 2b. <i>Purditilla</i> , could have been the Kurna original of the name 'Portachilla = Ochre Cove', which was remembered by some settlers and noted by Tindale but never gazetted. <i>Purtatilla</i> or <i>Purditilla</i> could perhaps be adapted into Ngarrindjeri as "Poth-artang"; but both would require a change in the stress pattern, and <i>Purditilla</i> would also require a change of the 2 nd vowel from <i>i</i> to <i>a</i> , making these adaptations rather less likely than for <i>Purtawarti</i> or <i>Purtawatu</i> .
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	PROBABLY 1. <i>Burtawarti</i> and <i>Burt'arti</i> [OR 1b. <i>Burtawatto</i> and <i>Burt'atto</i>] OR POSSIBLY 2a. <i>Burtatilla</i> or conceivably 2b. <i>Puretilla</i>
KWP New Spelling	PROBABLY 1a. <i>Purtawarti</i> and <i>Purt'arti</i> [OR 1b. <i>Purtawatu</i> and <i>Purt'atu</i>]

¹ – with the exception of the fully Ngarrindjeri name *Mulgali* (see PNS 4.03.02/05).



2010	OR POSSIBLY 2a. <i>Purtartilla</i> or conceivably 2b. <i>Purditilla</i>
Phonemic Spelling	PROBABLY 1a. /purtawarti/ and /purtarti/ OR 1b. /purtawatu/ and /purtatu/ OR POSSIBLY 2a. /purtartila/ or conceivably 2b. /purditila/
Syllabification	1a. “Purta - warti” / “Purt-arti”: 1b. “Purta - watu” / “Purt-atu”: 2a “Purta-rtilla”: 2b. “Purdi-tilla”:
Pronunciation tips	1a. “Purta - warti”: and 1b. “Purta - watu”: Stress the 1 st and 3 rd syllables. Every <i>u</i> as in ‘put’; possibly long <i>uu</i> rather as in ‘port’. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori ‘haka’. <i>rt</i> in every case is a Retroflex <i>t</i> (tongue curled back). 1a. “Purt-arti”: and 1b. “Purt-atu”: Stress the 1 st and 2 nd syllables. 2. “Purta-rtilla”: Stress the 1 st syllable; secondary stress on the 3 rd . <i>u</i> as in ‘put’; possibly long <i>uu</i> rather as in ‘port’. <i>rt</i> in both cases is a Retroflex <i>t</i> (tongue curled back). 3. “Purdi-tilla”: Stress the 1 st syllable; secondary stress on the 3 rd . <i>rd</i> is a Tapped <i>r</i> (not normal in English; sounds rather like <i>t</i> or <i>d</i>).

Main source evidence

Date	1840
Original source text	- “Burta, s. ashes” - “Burtandi, vn. to burn; to blaze” - “ Burtati , p. pass. boiled or roasted” - “Pure, stone” - “ Pureta , s. loins; reins; kidneys. Karko pureta , a smooth oval stone used for preparing the red ochre”
Reference	Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, <i>Outlines of a Grammar...</i> 2:41.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaitpinna etc. 1839-46.

Date	1857
Original source text	- “burta, the flame of the fire, the blaze, red hot embers.” - “burtandi; 1. to blaze. 2. used also of the wind, storm & thunder.” - “ burtarti , roasted, baked”. - “pure, stone”. - “ purita , the kidneys”.
Reference	Teichelmann Manuscript Dictionary 1857.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaitpinna etc. 1839-46.



Date	1924
Original source text	<p>“ A very large native camping ground is situated in an area of blown sand dunes where Pedler's Creek reaches the coast... On a visit to this spot in March of this year, while searching for worked flakes, the writer's attention was attracted to a piece of slaty material, which appeared to have an artificial contour and unusual markings on it. The object... was roughly kidney-shaped in outline...</p> <p>In the early part of April... <i>[another]</i> search resulted in Mr. Hossfeld finding another undoubted example of the same type of object, and the writer was fortunate enough to recover three small fragments belonging to the broken specimen of his initial find... All three examples have been fashioned from thin pieces of greenish-grey slate about 5 mm. thick; all are roughly reniform <i>[kidney-shaped]</i> in outline and very similar in dimensions... Two, apparently either newer or less weathered specimens, still bear remains of a coating of red ochre...”</p>
Reference	TD Campbell 1924, 'An Account of a Hitherto Unrecorded Type of Aboriginal Stone Object', <i>Transactions of Royal Society of SA</i> 48: 74-78.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1934
Original source text	<p>“15. AN UNDETERMINED IMPLEMENT [FIG. 147.]</p> <p>Among the stone residuals of the Adelaide Tribe a somewhat obscure kind of instrument occurs, the significance of which is not easy to determine. The Author obtained two examples of these; one a nearly perfect example from an old camp site at Morphett Vale, and the fragment of another from Fulham... There is a close uniformity in these objects in relation to the rock used, their shape, and the markings on them. The rock from which they have been formed is a dark-coloured phyllitic shale or slate, obtained from the Upper Phyllites of the Adelaide Series, that form the thick shales between the Black Hill and the Glen Osmond quartzites... the implement is... roughly, kidney shaped... Special care has been taken to make the concave edge very smooth and sharp... As a tool, or instrument, to produce physical effects, it is practically useless, for a slight pressure on the slate would bring it to grief. It is highly probable that it had a ceremonial use...”</p>
Reference	Walter Howchin 1934, <i>The Stone Implements of the Adelaide Tribe of Aborigines Now Extinct</i> , Adelaide, Gillingham & Co. Ltd.: 78-81.
Informants credited	TD Campbell, PS Hossfeld
Informants uncredited	



<i>Date</i>	1934
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“Red Ochre mine at Moana native name `Putawatang `Putaw^{wa}tang = red ochre mine at Moana young men went Springtime went there carried 20-30 lbs Traded it up river & to Vict. got spears (myall) & black flint”.</p> <p><i>[marginal note added later]</i> “Ochre Cove H of Willunga `Pot`artang of Kaurna NBT”.</p>
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1934, ‘Notes from Reuben Walker 21-24 April and July 1934’, SE of SA journal Vol.2, SA Museum AA338/1/33/2: 154.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Albert Karlowan for `Pot`artang.

<i>Date</i>	1935
<i>Original source text</i>	“Po^oarta:ŋ (Red Ochre Cove)” <i>[underdot on 1st ‘t’]</i> .
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale MS, 'The story of Tji:rbuki... from Karlowan and notes from Milerum, published in 1936', in 'Notes on the Kaurna', SA Museum AA338/1/35: 81.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Albert Karlowan
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	Dec 1935
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“Po^oarta:ŋ red ochre cove” <i>[1st ‘t’ underlined.. Arrow to coast at Ochre Cove, but also extended into Section 359; and also a 2nd arrow to beach opposite 365.]</i> “Po:ta`tjila (Portachilla)” <i>[arrow to ‘water’ dot in SW corner of Sec. 365, near coast on north bank of the unnamed northern creek which flows into Maslin’s Beach.]</i> - <i>[top L]</i> “Details from Karlowan Dec. 1935. March 1939 / 1941”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale annotated map, Hundred of Willunga, SA Museum AA 338/24/97.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Karlowan Dec 1935 for `Po ^o arta:ŋ.
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	?Local residents, or contemporary literature or public signage, for ‘Portachilla’.



Date	1936
Original source text	[Tjirbuki] “went on to [Potarta:ŋ] (Red Ochre Cove, Section 362, Hundred of Willunga), where he cried again; yet another spring of water came up”. “The consonant <i>d</i> ... pronounced with the tongue placed in a position between the teeth... The corresponding <i>t</i> sound is represented in the place name Potarta:ŋ...”
Reference	Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale & Mountford, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 5(4): 501, 500 n15.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	c.1940 / 1993
Original source text	- “Red Ochre Cove (Mulgali or Putatang , both names meaning red ochre)”. - [Tjirbuki] “went on to Tainbarang (Port Noarlunga) and on to Putatang (Red Ochre Cove) where he cried, his tears again forming a spring”.
Reference	RM Berndt & CH Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> , Melbourne University Press: 20, 234; cp. p.330-1.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1980s]
Original source text	“ Pot’arta:ŋ Kurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust. Red Ochre Cove, Section 362 Hd of Willunga. The best ochre for body painting south of the Northern Flinders Ranges. Visited formally as part of the [redacted] ceremonial activities of the Murray River and Lake Alexandrina peoples”.
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [#598/1], in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Reuben Walker

Date	n.d. [1980s]
Original source text	“ Potarta:ŋ Kurna Tr. Adelaide area S.Aust. place name Red Ochre Cove Section 362 H of Willunga Ramindjeri youths from Encounter Bay, [redacted] made an excursion there to gather red ochre. To them the place name was spoken of as Putawatang ”.
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [#598/2], in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Reuben Walker



<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1980s]
<i>Original source text</i>	“ Putawatān Kurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust. Red Ochre Cove Section 362 H of Willunga. Another version of the name is Potartang which see. Lewurindjeri (Jarildekald) form of name as used by Reuben Walker Ramindjeri Tr”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kurna place-name card [#605], in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	[1960s] / 2010-2020
<i>Original source text</i>	“I remember the name ‘ Portachilla ’ clearly from the 1960s, & in that spelling. It occurred, as I think, on old government maps & street directories & possibly a road sign in the area, & referred to a location north of ‘Tortachilla’ & Maslins Beach, near Red Ochre Cove (in the same way that ‘Tortachilla’ occurred around the Bowering Hill area south of Maslins); or possibly to Ochre <u>Point</u> at north end of the Cove – tho the ‘cove’ is tiny, not more than 200 yards long. In 2008 I thought I had seen the name that year in print as ‘ Ochre Cove (Portachilla) ’ or ‘ Portachilla (Ochre Point) ’ or the like: somewhere on an old list of places south of Adelaide, e.g. old street directory or tourist booklet; but did not record the reference & have never been able to find it.”
<i>Reference</i>	Chester Schultz reminiscence, written on 26/8/2010 for the Data File of this PNS.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1980s]
<i>Original source text</i>	“It is always of interest to find possible signs of the directions of movements of earlier ancestors of the people of the southern parts of Australia... One such lead is that the chief source for red ochre for the coastal tribes, Ramindjeri, Tanganekald and Yarildekald is the outcrop on the coast of Fleurieu Peninsula at Section 362, and vicinity, in the Hundred of Willunga. Ramindjeri youths of Encounter Bay, [REDACTED] were taken by their elders on an excursion to Potartang , now in the country of the Kurna. To them Putawatang was its name and other tribespeople called it Potatjila . The red ochre product they came to gather was [ˈta:u:we] and they would send parcels of it away through intermediaries to their trading partners (<i>witjuti</i>) in exchange for other products not obtainable in their own clan territories. Thus the name for red ochre used by the distant Jotijoti tribespeople on the

	Upper Murray River has special significance. Each tribe between has its own name for red ochre but the JotiJota, 950 km away in the Echuca area (525 km as the crow flies) show a link with the Lower Murray. To them red ochre is [ˈpuʔ:ɔ:ga], or putthōga as published by Mathews (1902 :182). It would appear that the ancestors of Ramindjeri and Kurna carried with them a word which predated Ngurunduri's discovery of the Lake Alexandrina and Fleurieu Peninsula area and they used the Upper Murray word in naming their discovery at [ˈPotata:ŋ].”
Reference	Tindale typescript, 'Mode of gathering and recording place names', in 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', SA Museum AA338/10/2: 16.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Reuben Walker for ochre expeditions.

Date	1987
Original source text	“Carrying his burden, now a dry compact parcel [<i>the smoked body of his dead nephew</i>], Tjirbruki... went on to [ˈPotarta:ŋ] (Red Ochre Cove), Section 362, Hundred of Willunga, where he cried again; yet another spring of water came up.”
Reference	Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tji:rbruki: a tale of the Kurna people of Adelaide', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 20: 8b.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: OCHRE COVE AND ITS NAMES:

1. THE PLACE: CLIFFS, COVE, CAVE, OCHRE, SPRING, TEARS:

Ochre *Point*, beneath low cliffs on the Gulf coast between Moana and Maslin Beach, is well-known and officially gazetted² because it is a Point (a minor coastal landmark), and named after the magnificent deposits of varicoloured ochre clays and sands featuring spectacular reds and yellows in adjacent Ochre Cove.³ These were soon discovered and eventually exploited by colonists for paint pigments and pottery.⁴

² See the SA government website SAPPA, <https://maps.sa.gov.au/SAPPA/>, go to 'Find / Place Names', and enter 'Ochre Point'.

³ Geologists speak of a specific 'Ochre Cove Formation' named after the exposures here, consisting of “*soft Pleistocene sands and clays*”, which are “*alluvial*” (i.e. laid down by very ancient river floods). There is “*a cliffed coast containing exposures of Permian clay immediately south of Ochre Point*”, i.e. in Ochre Cove. The Cove and Point are located on a major fault-line, the 'Clarendon-Ochre Cove Fault' (see RP Bourman, CV Murray-Wallace & N Harvey 2016, *Coastal Landscapes of South Australia*, University of Adelaide Press: 52, 53, 54, <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/coast-sa/coast-sa-ebook.pdf>). This fault may account for the presence of the good freshwater spring compared with the tidal salt water of Pedlars Creek. The colours are due to the presence of multiple oxides of iron.

⁴ See below.



In the Aboriginal value-system, this tiny Cove⁵ is one of the places where the culture hero Tjirbruki wept for his murdered nephew, and his tears were transformed into a beach spring at the mouth of the ochre gully.⁶ The fresh water in this spring was probably much better than the brackish water in Pedlers Creek near most of the campsites.⁷

It also had *“the best ochre for body painting south of the Northern Flinders Ranges”*,⁸ in particular the highly-prized red ochre. The original landscape and details of the Aboriginal ochre quarry may be difficult to imagine now after so much destruction. Old residents of the area remembered that the source of ochre was not a gently sloping open gully (as it is now) but a cave in cliffs. Archaeologist Val Campbell wrote:

In 1884 F.W. Andrews of Aldinga, wrote to the S.A. Museum announcing:- “I shall have next week to send you, a block of red ochre, which the natives get out of a cave they have made in the cliffs about three miles from here. They used to come once a year a long distance to get it and carry lumps of it on their heads for three or four days journey...” Sadly there is no record that the ochre was ever sent...

Two elderly informants have described to me ‘cubby holes’, seen in the early 1900s, in the cliffs where Aboriginal mining had taken place. In those days a cliff face remained at Ochre Cove, and in this cliff at the southern end of the beach there was a series of ‘cubby holes’ excavated “all around in a semi-circle” but “up high, two thirds of the way up”. (Mrs E. Best, pers. comm.).⁹

No doubt the cave was destroyed by the mining.¹⁰

⁵ It is only about 200 metres long.

⁶ See Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tj]irbuki, a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale & Mountford, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, *Records of SA Museum*, Vol. 5 (4): 500-1; and RM Berndt & CH Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*, Melbourne University Press: 234.

⁷ In 1839 Richard Counsel, the first surveyor of Pedlers Creek (then un-named), mapped “Salt Water Creek” at the mouth on Section 350, with “Salt water” c.1.5 km upstream at the western edge of 354; and “good water” only at 2 km upstream on 357 (Counsel 1839, Field Book 102, Hundred of Willunga, SA Geographical Names Unit: 20). One of Counsel’s survey assistants noted that in the “gully called Turneeyundingga [Pedlers Creek]... the sea occasionally flows into it at the mouth. When first discovered it was called the Salt Water Creek” (‘L.P.’ [Louis Piesse], ‘Descriptive Tours through Part of District C’, *Observer* 13/4/1844: 8a). The mouth at least of Pedler Creek was often of usually brackish. According to Bill Watt’s experience (p.c. 16/2/09), it is naturally brackish in the pool west of Commercial Road behind the dunes, except when flushed out by heavy rains. See also PNS 4.03.03/01 Tarniyandingga.

⁸ Tindale Kaurna place-name card [598/1] ‘Pot’ arta:ŋ, in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.

⁹ V Campbell 1983, ‘Moana Revisited’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 21(8): 5-6, online http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JASSA-Volume-21_8-Campbell.pdf. Dated October 1983; misnumbered as 21(7) in the online Index.

¹⁰ Collateral evidence for the cave may perhaps be contained in a work of fiction for children published in 1972. It tells a story of two young Kaurna boys and their introduction to the story of “Jilbruke” at Ochre Cove. The credits show that the author researched her material at the SA Museum and State Library. She refers throughout to “Red Ochre Cave” rather than ‘Cove’: *“the spring near Red Ochre Cave”*; *“supplies of ochre from Red Ochre Cave”*; and the small-scale map on the back endpaper marks “Red Ochre Cave” at the same place as ‘Maslin Beach’. Are these misprints or real

“Tjilbruke’s Spring” is marked by Betty Ross in the mouth of the gully which contains the ochre deposit;¹¹ but how much does its appearance today resemble what it was once? Can it even be pinpointed now? The lower reach of the intermittent watercourse contains two or three patches of reeds which may mark the site of Tjilbruki’s spring, perhaps rendered permanent by underground seepage.

The Ramindjeri-educated man Pulpumini (Reuben Walker) told stories of how young men used to visit the Cove in springtime for ceremony, and each would carry away 20-30 pounds of ochre to trade it up the Murray River into Victoria, in return for “spears (myall) & black flint”.¹² It was therefore well-known and important over a large area of south-eastern SA.¹³ Yaraldi man Albert Karlowan often nicknamed this place as *Mulgali*, which we might translate as ‘The Red-Ochre’;¹⁴ this name confirms the well-known significance of the place.¹⁵ Karlowan too described the trade visits, and the routes which these south-eastern neighbours took to get there. Ronald Berndt retold his account:

Red Ochre Cove was an important meeting place: Lower Kurna people would meet those from Encounter Bay, the Lakes and Coorong and exchange various commodities (e.g. gum, shields and spears) for indigenous tobacco, itself traded from further north... Although [ochre from Parachilna in the Northern Flinders Ranges] was of better quality than Mulgali red ochre, the Kukabrak¹⁶ preferred the latter, which they carried back in baskets and skins.

... Although we heard of ceremonies being performed by trading parties at Mulgali, the emphasis was not, apparently, on exchanging them... When groups of people visited each other... ceremonies were usually preceded by an exchange of food and

information? The waters are muddied further by including the following Rantoora Cave tale from an unknown source: “Somewhere in the hills near the big water at Maslin was a cave, a long deep cave, hard to find. The climb to it was over treacherous rocks. Here lived Rantoora, the Monster. Once, long ago in the Dreamtime, a Kurna man had killed a man of the Moorundee (River Murray) tribe, and the man’s spirit had followed the Kurna tribe back to their grounds and had become a monster. Here in the cave, near Maslin, Rantoora dwelt. He killed and ate all who went near the cave at night”. Since she marks the ochre cave at Maslin’s, is Rantoora’s Cave the same or different? Was it perhaps the gazetted ‘Deadman’s Cave’ at Tortachilla? Did she know something about the old memories of a cave at the Cove? Much of the content is clearly adapted from Tindale – presumably from publications, since her “Acknowledgments for assistance with research and advice” include “Charles P. Mountford... Mr Robert Edwards, Anthropologist, Head of Aboriginal Dept., S.A. Museum... Messrs. Hans Mincham and G.D. Seton, Information Dept, S.A. Museum”, and “The staff of the State Library, South Australia”, but not Tindale. In view of the other errors and dubious details, including the mis-spelling of *Potartan* as “Potartan” and of *Ruwarun* as “Ruwarun”, we cannot treat the details in this book as other than third-hand fiction unless we can track her sources to their origins (Madeleine Brunato 1972, *Worra and the Jilbruke Legend*, Adelaide, Rigby Opal [reissued by Frederick Muller Ltd, London, 1973]: 8, 14, 29-30, 38).

¹¹ Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal & Historic Places Around Metropolitan Adelaide*, :23 map.

¹² Tindale, ‘Notes from Reuben Walker 21-24 April and July 1934’, SA Museum AA338/1/33/2: 154.

¹³ A map and brief account of Aboriginal trade out of and into South Australia is found on p.3 of the *Atlas of South Australia* (T Griffin & M McCaskill (eds), SA Government Printing Division & Wakefield Press 1986). The map shows Ochre Cove trade taking ochre to the Riverland, and wooden and stone implements to and from the River Darling.

¹⁴ See PNS 4.03.02/05 Mulgali.

¹⁵ – much as we might give a nickname ‘The Opals’ to a place like Coober Pedy.

¹⁶ Berndt’s term for the Ngarrindjeri.

*commodities and, particularly, by a feast sponsored by the local owners of the land to which the visitors had come.*¹⁷

According to the *Atlas of South Australia*:

*There is evidence that the trade routes were highly significant in religious-mythological terms and that they followed the 'dreaming trails' (the routes travelled by ancestral beings) over long distances. Thus, the route to the Flinders Ranges ochre mines was an emu dreaming path, used by people who traded with other groups who shared this dreaming and with whom they held combined ceremonies on their journey. These trade routes illustrate the high degree of interaction between people from different areas, and the extent to which cultural ideas as well as material goods were transferred.*¹⁸

It is clear that Ochre Cove and the Moana campsites were a similar focus of trade and interchange of culture. The associated Dreaming tracks in this region are not obvious in historical records; but we may hope that more evidence and more insightful interpretations of existing evidence, in conjunction with careful work on place-names, may one day reveal or at least suggest what some of them were which converged on Ochre Cove.¹⁹

Big trade and ceremony with people from distant Country also meant big feasting:

*When groups of people visited each other either within Kukabrak territory or in relatively distant places (up the Murray or at Red Ochre Cove near Adelaide), ceremonies were usually preceded by an exchange of food and commodities and, particularly, by a feast sponsored by the local owners of the land to which the visitors had come.*²⁰

Karlowan also knew that the ochre deposit itself was a "restricted" site.²¹ We may infer that most of the big trade meetings and associated big feasts happened in the nearby campsites, some within 500 metres of the ochre quarry, others up to a couple of kilometres away at Moana. They were

¹⁷ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 20, 117, 129.

¹⁸ Griffin & McCaskill 1986: 3.

¹⁹ From my place-names work around the Fleurieu, we may begin to suspect among others a *Parna* ('Autumn Star') trail; a *Kangka* ('birthing') trail; another associated with Mirka and the sons of Ngurunduri; and no doubt there are already known signs of others. The place-names using these morphemes may help us to map parts of their routes. See also Appendix 3 (below) on the story of Mirka.

²⁰ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 129.

²¹ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 117.

described thus by Betty Ross in 1984, summarizing many years of archaeology by various workers:²²

The sand dunes at Moana have produced evidence of intensive use by Aboriginal people for over 6,000 years. The site remains today include part of a stone arrangement, an ochre mine, areas of stone artefacts and compacted shell and food remains... It was here, close to Pedler's Creek that Milerum's family camped... [The] area, characterised by a wall of rocks,²³ was known to Milerum as "the place on cliffs where older men used to camp during summer, watching for schools of mulloway fish that swam up the Gulf, following the shoreline"²⁴ ... About 150 metres inland from Red Ochre Cove artefacts are scattered all over the surface. This is a major work-bench area and cores, flakes and hammerstones have been reported along the cliff north of Red Ochre Cove.²⁵

Describing the excavation of a shell midden on the south side of Pedler's Creek at Moana,²⁶ she continues:

Much of the original Aboriginal site has been severely degraded by natural erosion and vandalism. The erosion processes were doubtless hastened early in European occupation by the destruction of dune vegetation by introduced animals, particularly rabbits. Large-scale

²² Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places around metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*, Anthropological Society of SA Inc: online via <http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/>, and click on 'Ross-B.-ed.-1984-Chapter-3.pdf'. Quotations below are taken from Chapters 3 and 4, but Chapter 4 'Excavation of a Moana shell midden' is not available online.

²³ i.e. the cliffs immediately north of Ochre Cove. Cp. Tindale annotated map County Adelaide (SA Museum AA 338/24/107), where he locates the cliff lookout on Section 353, i.e. parallel with an area of Moana South from Macquarie St to Lennard Drive. Cp. Tindale map AA 338/16/6. Tindale also found a burial site in this area (map AA 338/24/97). *"Along the shores of St Vincent Gulf the Kaurna old men had such watching places on cliffs overlooking the seashore, and would signal with smoke when schools of fish were seen swimming parallel to the shore in the rise of water as it was ready to break on the beach. Such places could have names and once had rough walls of stone or rubble to divert breezes and thus be shelters for their comfort"* (Tindale n.d. [1980s], 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 44). This information came from Milerum. Tindale wrote these sentences under the head *"Suffix indicating a lookout place: -angk (compare beringgi of Kaurna, anġk of Ramindjeri)"*; but this bit is quite wrong linguistically and we may ignore it).

²⁴ The quotation is from Tindale. The whole passage reads thus: *"Other teamwork by members of the Society was concentrated on known former camping places of the Aborigines, particularly on a large area near the mouth of Pedler Creek... Later on, our assessment of recency was confirmed when our oldest informant, Milerum of the Tanganekald tribe, led us to the places where, as a boy in the 1870s, he and his parents had camped while on journeys to Adelaide from their home near the mouth of the Murray River. Milerum also took us to the low wall of rocks which marked the place on the cliffs to the south where older men used to camp during the day, watching for schools of mulloway fish that swam up the Gulf, following the shoreline in the rise of water as it came to break as surf on the shore"* (Tindale 1982, 'A South Australian looks at some Beginnings of Archaeological Research in Australia', *Aboriginal History* 6(2): 95 {online at <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p71431/pdf/article08.pdf>}).

²⁵ Ross 1984: 22b, 24a. *"Tindale described the stone arrangement as the remains of a stone-walled fish trap, built across the mouth of Pedlers Creek. It was here where Milerum, as a boy in the 1870s, camped with his parents while on journeys to Adelaide"* (p.27a).

²⁶ In today's Moana Sands Conservation Park.



*commercial removal of sand in recent years has had a far more devastating effect on the dune system.*²⁷

The excavation revealed twelve hearths with “a wide range of food debris, including fish otoliths of Mulloway and Bream... Common Reef Crab... freshwater shellfish... Murray Mussel... Pipi... Abalone, Cockle, Snails... fish remains and otoliths of Mulloway... Cuttlefish, Sea Lion, Wallaby... Kangaroo... Dingo... Rat... Kangaroo Rat... small Mouse... snake vertebra... possum... small lizard... Rabbit-eared Bandicoot... Some fragments of bone were sufficiently large to be kangaroo bones”.²⁸ There were signs that larger game were cooked, and Ross quotes the description of Kaurna earth ovens by Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: “Kanyandi, to stew or steam in a native oven... all their larger game, as kangaroo, wild dogs, emu, emu eggs and different vegetables were prepared in this way”.²⁹ She concludes:

*The midden at Moana appears to have been a large and popular campsite used by earlier groups and by the Kaurna in historic times... preparation of vegetable foods as well. The number of hearth stones and quantity of carbon indicate intensive camping at Moana. While water and good food supplies were available, these attributes were not unique to Moana. The one element which renders Moana unique among coastal sites is the proximity of Tjilbruke’s spring and the ochre mine at Red Ochre Cove... The Kaurna legends and remains from campsites have established Aboriginal occupation of the Fleurieu Peninsula for a continuous time dating back for 8000 years.*³⁰

It is possible, perhaps likely, that all these campsites from Ochre Cove to Pedlers Creek were included under the umbrella of the names of the Cove, that the Moana dunes south of Pedler’s Creek were also seen as part of “Potartang”, “Putawatang” or “Portachilla”.³¹

The Cove and the old campsites are still places of great significance to local Aboriginal people today: the Kaurna on whose land it lies, the Ramindjeri, Ngarrindjeri, Peramangk, and others. Senior Kaurna man Lewis Yerloburka O’Brien says:

As Tjilbruke travelled further along the coast, he came to other sites that are of significance to our people, including men’s and women’s sites. There is Red Ochre Cove... which is a very important site for men... Moana, on the coast, is like a cross roads for Kaurna women and men.

²⁷ Ross 1984: 29a.

²⁸ Ross 1984: 32b.

²⁹ Ross 1984: 36a.

³⁰ Ross 1984: 37a.

³¹ A hint of this possibility will be followed up in my discussion of the linguistics of the names (below).



The women headed north to the Ngangkiparringga,³² while the men headed south just round the corner to Red Ochre Cove... You can see that the grounds in the Moana area were used for ceremonial purposes... They had stone emplacements there that are a hundred yards long and thirty yards wide – full of stones. They were probably used for increase ceremonies. It was an educational event.³³

He also extols the multi-coloured sands not far away near Maslin's Beach:

At Maslin's Beach... there is an amazing quarry of coloured sands. When I was a young lad one bloke told me how the rainbow serpent started there at Maslin's Beach... There's deep purples and every other shade of the rainbow – they run layer after layer. Unfortunately, a sand company has been mining the sand there for years... They mine it as garden sand, mixing it all together so that it becomes red sand... It took someone from Germany to petition our government to protect this place... Eventually this bloke wrote a paper about the sands, and the government did meet us to talk about preserving the remaining sands before they all run out. We suggested the quarry be used as a ceremonial ground.³⁴

The Ochre Cove quarry and Moana campsites have been largely destroyed. An account of an "Encampment At Aldinga Bay" by the "Boys' Field Club" in 1892 mentions how a "prospecting party nearly destroyed" the old Aboriginal ochre mine at "Ochre Cliffs" in about 1888.³⁵ This was soon followed by worse at the same place:

European mining occurred at the site in the latter part of the 19th century, many hundreds of tons of clay and ochre being removed before activities ceased in the 1940s. Some of the

³² Old Noarlunga in particular, and the Onkaparinga River flood plain in general (see PNS 4.02/04).

³³ Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien (M Gale ed.) 2007, *And the Clock Struck Thirteen*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 206, 210.

³⁴ O'Brien 2007: 207.

³⁵ *"The first and chief object of the club is education", said the report; "The leaders desire to... add to the intelligence of the boys by promoting the spirit of enquiry and research — the 'instinct of science,' as Professor Tate once put it — while at the same time providing healthful rational recreation and fostering a true manly spirit in the members". It seems the boys also acquired a properly 'scientific' attitude to things Aboriginal: "The members of the Boys' Field Club, who have been in camp since Tuesday last, returned to Adelaide shortly before 9 o'clock on Saturday evening, after a most successful outing... On Tuesday... A further walk brought the party to the Ochre Cliffs, in which is situated the remains of the old Aboriginal Ochre Mine. About four years since a prospecting party nearly destroyed the work of the blacks, and did no good for themselves... The following characteristically plain statement has been obtained from Master Stanley S-, rising twelve, the little gentleman who gave so graphic an account of the camp at Port Victor last year. It is given in his own words:— '... On Thursday we walked to the ochre mine, about seven miles off, and on the way some casts and fossils were found... Some 'blacks' hammers' and broken bits of stone knives were found, and we were told all about it. At the ochre mine we got fine specimens, and we came back after a first-rate excursion.' After a digression into the stone age and reflections upon the foolishness of primitive man in being content with such rude appliances Stanley, the juvenile explorer, proceeded to relate how after a visit on Friday to the [Willunga slate] quarries... the boys returned happy and weary" (SA Register 25/4/1892: 7e-f, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/48228703#pstart4058692> [10/12/15]).*

pigment was shipped to England for pigment to paint British Post Office letter books red. The clay overburden was used locally for pottery.³⁶

2. NAMES AND THEIR SOURCES:

In the 1930s, with Ivaritji recently dead, there was no Kurna informant with old memories of a Kurna name for Ochre Cove; but at least four names were recorded. Three of them came from Tindale and Berndt and are Ngarrindjeri; one is of uncertain origin and might be Kurna.

2a. MULGALI:

In the Berndts' 1993 book, *Mulgali* is featured as (apparently) Karlowan's preferred or most common name for Ochre Cove. This is simply a Ngarrindjeri noun meaning 'red ochre', and its usage for this particular site is much as we might nickname a famous place 'Granite' or 'The Opals'. I have dealt with it briefly in another short essay.³⁷

2b. PUTAWATANG:

Tindale first heard an Aboriginal name for Ochre Cove in April or July 1934 from Pulpumini (Reuben Walker), who had spent most of his life with the Ramindjeri. From this perspective he said in 1934 that "Putawatang" (N.Sp. *Putawatang*) was both the name of the "Red Ochre mine at Moana" and a word meaning 'red ochre'.³⁸

2c. "POṬ`ARTA:D":

A year or so later the Yaraldi man Albert Karlowan gave Tindale another Ngarrindjeri name for Ochre Cove, more distinctive than his *Mulgali*: it was "Poṭ`arta:ŋ",³⁹ (which in KWP's N.Sp. would

³⁶ Val Campbell 1983, 'Moana Revisited', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 21(8): 6, online http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JASSA-Volume-21_8-Campbell.pdf.

³⁷ See PNS 4.03.02/05 Mulgali. For other thoughts on Berndt's record of Karlowan's alleged place-names around this area, see also PNS 4.03.02/06 Lukar & Luki.

³⁸ Tindale, 'SE of SA' journal Vol. 2, AA338/1/33/2: 154.

³⁹ The underlined *t* is an Interdental (with tongue between the teeth). See Tindale MS, 'The story of Tji:rbuki... from Karlowan and notes from Milerum, published in 1936', in 'Notes on the Kurna', AA338/1/35: 81; cp. "*Potarta:ŋ*" with an

be *Pothartang* or *Puthartang*).⁴⁰ In Tindale's records of Karlowan's 'Story of Tji:rbuki', the earliest source I have been able to find is a manuscript already written up and substantially identical to the version which Tindale published in the following year. As a result we cannot be sure whether several names (including "Poṭ`arta:ŋ") were given by Karlowan as part of the story sometime in 1935, or as part of a cultural mapping exercise in December of that year,⁴¹ when Tindale entered it identically on his annotated map as "Poṭ`arta:ŋ".⁴² Note the rather unusual pattern which Tindale recorded here, with a stress on both the first and second syllables, 'Puthartang', the same rhythm as in 'Port Arthur' (– – ^).⁴³ We shall return to this later.

Around 1940, Ronald Berndt recorded the same name from Karlowan as "Putatang", again in the context of the Tjirbuki story.⁴⁴ According to Berndt, Karlowan said that this word too means 'red ochre'.

2d. PORTACHILLA:

Then there is the strange tale of the settler name "Portachilla". It seems that only Tindale and I have left any record of it that can be found at this time (2020). Yet I remember seeing it printed in a list of 'Places to See' (or the like) within a published tourist guide to the region south of Adelaide. If my memory is not playing tricks – and I am well aware that this can happen – the listing there was either "Portachilla (Ochre Point)" or "Ochre Point (Portachilla)". I still have fairly clear memories of the years 1960-1966, when I in my mid-to-late teens was beginning to explore the Fleurieu and Gulf coast by bicycle, car and foot. I consulted every source I could find, from RAA and military maps to tourist pamphlets and street directories. Although I knew nothing then about Aboriginal people or place-names, I remember that I was intrigued how some of my sources had the very similar names 'Tortachilla' and 'Portachilla' co-existing, in close proximity but distinguished from each other. There was no misprint involved: 'Tortachilla' was around the cliffs *south* of Maslin's

explanatory footnote about the interdental *t*, in Tindale 1936, 'Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay', in Tindale & Mountford, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum*, Vol. 5 (4): 501, 500 n.15.

⁴⁰ VOWELS: There is no significant distinction between *o* and *u* in Kurna (and KWP's New Spelling opts to write this vowel as *u*); but in Ngarrindjeri the two pronunciations are distinguished, and so both letters must be used. The last vowel is given as *u* by the place-names scholar GH Manning, who spells the word "*Potartung*" (Manning 1990, *Manning's Place Names of SA*: 231, 253). Since he names no source, we may assume that he was quoting his preferred authority Tindale, from whom he seems to have received a number of personal communications and private updates in the 1980s. This gives no authority for a phonetic pronunciation *tung* ('u' as in 'put'). 'Potartung' could be either Manning's misspelling of Tindale's usual version 'Potartang', or a p.c. in which Tindale provided a 'popular spelling' with the 'u' to be pronounced as in 'bung'.

⁴¹ In December 1935 Tindale "*worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan... We put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide*" (Tindale MS, 'Work with Karlowan in Adelaide', in 'Murray River notes' Vol.1, AA 338/1/31/1: 197).

⁴² Tindale annotated map Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97. It includes many place-names, and a general credit "*Details from Karlowan Dec. 1935. March 1939. 1941*", but (unusually) not to Milerum.

⁴³ Tindale showed a stressed syllable by adding a forward ('acute') accent mark before it. In my work I represent this diacritic by a backward ('grave') accent mark – ` – which is easily available separately on my computer. In the word under discussion we have `Pot and `art. When writing my own examples, I underline the initial consonant and vowel ("Put" and "art"). In any Aboriginal languaget it would be unusual to find a stress on two consecutive syllables of an unabridged word.

⁴⁴ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 20, 234, 330-1. As far as we know, Berndt did not record the stress pattern.

Beach – I remember a local road sign giving the name somewhere in that vicinity⁴⁵ – and ‘Portachilla’ was explicitly described as ‘Ochre Cove’ or ‘Ochre Point’, which in turn was marked on some maps about a mile *north* of Maslin’s. To me then they were both equally mysterious and fascinating. It was only much later that I learned that ‘Tortachilla’ was explicable in origin, though misplaced,⁴⁶ while ‘Portachilla’ seems to have disappeared not only from everyone else’s memory⁴⁷ but from all the available literature – except in Tindale’s unpublished work.

Like most of Tindale’s annotated maps, his ‘Hundred of Willunga’ has many undated, uncredited entries, plus other entries credited to written sources, and an overall credit: in this case “Details from Karlowan Dec. 1935. March 1939 / 1941”. But there are some uncredited names whose source is very unlikely to have been Karlowan: old place-names printed on the base map (such as “Wil:a`ngga”),⁴⁸ and of unmapped homestead names which he no doubt gathered from contemporary local knowledge; these are merely re-spelled in Tindale’s personal system.⁴⁹ Because of this imprecision in making primary records, there are some mysteries around the entry “Po:ta`tjila (Portachilla)”. What is its relationship with the neighbouring entry “Poṭ`artaṅ / red ochre cove”? Neither of these are credited individually. We know the origin of ‘Potartang’ from other primary sources in Tindale. But were ‘Portachilla’ and/or ‘Po:ta`tjila’ also volunteered by Karlowan in 1935? And why is the phonetic spelling given *first*, then followed by the English spelling “(Portachilla)” in brackets?

The last of these questions may probably be answered by my own memories. If (as I believe) ‘Portachilla’ was a long-standing unofficial place-name referring to Ochre Cove or Ochre Point, Tindale wrote it in because it was not printed on the base map, and also re-spelled it. This leaves us uncertain whether Karlowan knew this name as part of his tradition, whether he had seen it on other maps or signs, whether Tindale reported it to him, or whether Tindale wrote this annotation independently of Karlowan. Then there is the surprising location indicated: Maslins Beach.⁵⁰ In conjunction with my memory, it is very likely that this old local name was current before Tindale

⁴⁵ Probably on what is now called Bowering Hill Rd; possibly on Tuitt Rd or Old Coach Rd.

⁴⁶ It was originally spelled ‘Tartachilla’ and located on Willunga Creek at what is now Aldinga town; but was soon used as the name of a nearby trig station, then mis-spelt on some Survey Department maps, and the mis-spelling and trig location entrenched. Meanwhile, the spelling ‘Tatachilla’ was adopted for *the road leading to* the ‘Tortachilla/Tartachilla’ trig and cliffs *from* McLaren Vale. See PNS 4.03.02/04 Tatatyilla.

⁴⁷ My mentor in the SA Geographical Names Unit, Bill Watt, thought at first that he could remember ‘Portachilla’; but later wondered whether it was simply a typographical error or misprint of ‘Tortachilla’ (p.c. 2008, 5/1/2010).

⁴⁸ This is merely a re-spelling of ‘Willunga’, except that the second stress mark may signify Karlowan’s inaccurate Ngarrindjeri pronunciation of the Kaurna word: **Wilangga** instead of a single-stressed **Wilangga**.

⁴⁹ e.g. “Katunga” (= Katunga, which is also the name of a station near Iron Knob and a town in Victoria) and “Wir:a`wir:a” (= Wirra Wirra), both of which were wineries established in the 1890s, whose names were doubtless taken from pre-existing wordlists. Also “Munapil:a” = Monopilla, of uncertain origin: from the 1850s onward, the name ‘Monopilla’ was given to John Brown’s homesteads in several alleged locations near McLaren Vale and/or near Meadows and/or in the ranges northeast of Willunga (see PNS 6-12 Monopilla).

⁵⁰ See below for a discussion of this.

began his fieldwork; and if so, it may be the oldest available evidence for any Aboriginal place-name in the Port Willunga area apart from 'Aldinga' (1836)⁵¹ and 'Tartachilla' (1844)⁵².

Its form is standard Kurna, using the Locative *illa* ('at, place of') on a three-syllable root word something like *PuutatyV* or *PurtatyV*, where 'V' is an unknown vowel.⁵³ Although I think local whitefella knowledge was almost certainly Tindale's source for this name, we cannot completely rule out Karlowan – though it would be an unlikely coincidence for the newly-acquired spelling to agree with my memory as exactly as it does.⁵⁴ Either way, if 'Portachilla' originated early, it *may be* evidence for what the Kurna people called the place before they were dispersed.⁵⁵

3. TINDALE'S NAMES AND THEIR LOCATION(S):

Tindale's cards, maps and writings mostly locate 'Potartang' at Ochre Cove on Section 359 or 362 – but not always. The multiple and altered annotations on the Willunga Hundred map⁵⁶ are in similar writing and pen size, suggesting that these entries were made at the same time (probably December 1935), and also that there was some uncertainty in his mind about the exact location of 'Potartang' and its relationship with 'Portachilla'.

His 'Potartang' has two clear and separate arrows: one to Ochre Cove on Section 359;⁵⁷ and the other to the coast on the south corner of section 365, i.e. a kilometre south of Ochre Cove and 2-300 metres north of Frank Hilton Reserve at Maslins Beach: almost to the waterhole site marked

⁵¹ See PNS 4.04.01/01.

⁵² See PNS 4.03.02/04.

⁵³ In Kurna, a two-syllable root must retain its final vowel and use the other common Locative *ngga* (e.g. *wila* > *Wilangga*); but a three-syllable root has its final vowel replaced by the *i* in *illa* (e.g. *Yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*).

⁵⁴ And Tindale did not normally add an English approximation to his phonetic spelling of names which his informants had given him.

⁵⁵ In view of the confusions around 'Tortachilla' and 'Tatachilla' in the same area, one might doubt whether 'Portachilla' is just another garbled version of those. Could it be separate name? The other two are known to be versions of an original 'Tar-ta-chil-la' attested reliably in 1839 (see PNS 4.03.02/04). No names beginning with 'p' or 'b' are known in the area except those under consideration here. Nothing is shown here on Counsel's detailed field maps from the first surveys in 1839, or in any other known early source. It is not surprising that the Kurna guides on the survey team did not divulge the name or significance of this important and sensitive site. But it is possible that the name was passed on to settlers in the early years, and survived as an unofficial memory, to be used occasionally in tour guides or signage along with other local stories like 'Dead Man's Cave' (Manning 2006, *Manning's Place Names of SA*: 124); or that some Ngarrindjeri families or individuals retained this Kurna form as well as an adaptation in their own language. It might repay a thorough search of the archives of the Willunga National Trust.

⁵⁶ AA 338/24/97.

⁵⁷ This northerly arrow is in two sections, both 'barbed' at the end. The first points to the beach opposite 362; the second (clearly a correction or refinement) extends the first to 359 at the Point just north of 362. Section 359 appears to be indicated for 'Potartang' also on the smaller-scale County Adelaide map (AA 338/24/107).

'Portachilla'. Why? Did Tindale or Karlowan think that Ochre Cove extended the whole way to Maslin's?

On the Willunga map a route is marked as a thick black line along the entire coast, accompanied by arrows pointing north. When we compare this with three of his other maps of neighbouring country, we find that this may perhaps be part of the "track of Tjilbruke to Brighton t. Karlowan", traced northward from the hill and trig station near Parawa whose name is 'South of Mt Hayfield'; or it may be a similar route remembered by Milerum from his childhood journeys.⁵⁸ In December 1935, with Karlowan's story fresh in their minds, this mainly coastal track may have been the focus of Tindale's place-name work with Karlowan.⁵⁹ Near this pen-line is a water site (waterhole?) marked as a dot in Section 365, 1.2 km south of Ochre Cove near the beach on the northern creek at Maslin's. This is just across the creek⁶⁰ from the Frank Hilton Reserve, above which this watercourse was 'developed' almost to invisibility in 1982.⁶¹ The annotation "'Po:ta`tjila (Portachilla)" is located at this Maslin water site. But it cannot be the site of Tjilbruke's tears, which from Karlowan's consistent witness – to both Tindale and Berndt separately – are a beach spring at the Cove. There is no reason to suppose that 'Portachilla' belonged at Maslin's unless Karlowan knew something else; and if he did, we are not told.

Probably Karlowan gave some input concerning other coastal water sites as well in those sessions. Any uncertainty about location *may* therefore have been Karlowan's: perhaps he did not know the place from personal experience. But one also suspects that deduction or conjecture by Tindale is already at work along with Karlowan's information.

Later, when he was preparing the introduction to his proposed place-names Gazetteer in the 1980s, Tindale seems to have eliminated the Maslin waterhole from his picture and equated 'Potartang' with 'Portachilla'. He wrote (very confusingly) that

the chief source for red ochre for the coastal tribes... [was] at Section 362, and vicinity. Ramindjeri youths of Encounter Bay, [redacted] were taken by their elders on an

⁵⁸ The 'Tjilbruke track' note appears only on his Adelaide Area map AA 338/16/8. The other three (AA 338/24/64, 338/24/73, and 338/24/97) may or may not refer to this. Another guess might be that these three show parts of the route taken by Milerum's family on their annual journeys to Adelaide when he was young.

⁵⁹ The tears transformed into beach springs are not found in Milerum's version of the story, and all the names associated with springs between Kingston Park and Sellick's Hill were given only by Karlowan.

⁶⁰ Perhaps it was intended to be *in* the creek.

⁶¹ Eric Thomason 1993, *A History of Maslin Beach*, Maslin Beach, Potartung Publications: 16. I thank Eric for supplying me with a copy of his relevant pages. On the SAPP website the main tributary is still shown coming down from 4 km inland near California Rd.

excursion to Potartang, now in the country of the Kurna. To them⁶² Putawatang was its name and other tribespeople called it Potatjila.⁶³

I conclude that we may fairly ignore these variable locations as Tindale's armchair work, not Karlowan's authoritative information.

4. THE NAMES AND THEIR POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANCES:

4a. ANALYSIS AND CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDED NAMES AND GLOSSES:

Both 'Putawatang' and 'Potarta:ŋ' have the common Ngarrindjeri Locative suffix *angk*,⁶⁴ and so are clearly Ngarrindjeri 'outsider' names for a place on Kurna land.⁶⁵ But there are no Ngarrindjeri words which fit *putatV* at all, and none which fit *puta* completely.⁶⁶ Others which do not fit exactly – no matter how tempting their translation – are irrelevant because these Ngarrindjeri men would have pronounced them correctly.⁶⁷ So either these names have no dictionary meaning, or they have a Kurna origin, possibly garbled.⁶⁸

⁶² The Ramindjeri.

⁶³ i.e. 'Portachilla' (Tindale, 'Mode of gathering and recording place names', in 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 16). It is not clear who these 'other tribespeople' could be if not Kurna. The passage reads like an attempt to incorporate all the versions of the name while failing to clarify his confusion about languages. A moment's linguistic thought should have reminded him that 'Potatjila' is clearly a Kurna name. But Tindale actually thought of 'Potartang' as being also a Kurna name, "'Pot'artang of Kurna" (undated marginal note on the 1934 'Putawatang' page, AA 3381/33/2: 154). Presumably this was because it is located on what he (and Karlowan) believed to be Kurna land. In fact it was a Yaraldi-Ngarrindjeri 'outsider' name. This blurring of languages and territories is unfortunately common in his work around the Fleurieu, and almost universal in the 'tribe' attributions at the top right corner of his index cards for this area.

⁶⁴ We may safely assume that Walker and Karlowan said *angk* even though Tindale wrote only "*ang*" and "*a:ŋ*". The colon in "*a:*" simply means a long *aa*.

⁶⁵ Despite the confusions of the map in the Berndts' big and much later 1993 book, Karlowan and Mark Wilson knew explicitly that the old border of Ramindjeri country with "*Kurna tribal country*" lay on the south coast of the Fleurieu between Callawonga Creek and Tunkalilla Beach (see RM Berndt 1940, 'Aspects of Jaralde culture', *Oceania* 11(12): 180-1). Walker had different ideas about Ramindjeri and Kurna language country; but they do not match the situation as it was at first contact (see *Feet On the Fleurieu*).

⁶⁶ *Purtapurta* 'kestrel' (a late addition to Ngarrindjeri vocabulary) might be conceivable (Gale 2007, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*: 122), except that the vowel *a* is unstressed, contrary to Karlowan's pronunciation.

⁶⁷ e.g. *puti* 'extremity, end' and *puthawi* 'doctor, wise-man'.

⁶⁸ Tindale and Berndt's Ngarrindjeri informants in the 1930s-40s knew very little Kurna language. They had never lived in the pre-contact situation when Kurna culture and Kurna place-names flourished on Kurna language country, and Kurna and Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri families on the Fleurieu intermarried constantly, so that many or most of them were bilingual at least. (See my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* [in progress 2020]).

‘Putawatang’ in N.Sp. would be *PuTawaTangk*, in which the capital *T*s represent any of several possible kinds of Aboriginal *t* or *d* (English-style Alveolar *t/d*, Interdental *th*, or Retroflex *rt*).⁶⁹

In “‘Pot`arta:ŋ”, Tindale’s vowel ‘o’ could represent a short Ngarrindjeri *o* as in ‘pot’, or short *u* as in ‘put’ (these would match Tindale’s phonetic spelling, if we can trust it); or a long *o*: as in English ‘port’, or long *u*: as in ‘cooler’ (these would match ‘Port’ in ‘Portachilla’).⁷⁰ In our New Spelling this word could be any of *Puthartangk*, *Pothartangk*, *Po:thartangk*, or *Pu:thartangk*.

Both ‘Portachilla’ and Tindale’s re-spelling ‘Po:ta:tjila’ clearly represent a Kaurna word with the correctly-formed Kaurna Locative suffix *illa* on a three-syllable root; N.Sp. for both could be *Puutatyilla* or *Putatyilla*. Note that in a word like this, English ears hear (and English writing spells) a clear distinction between the familiar Alveolar *t* and the equally familiar ‘ch’, which phonetically is in fact another kind of *t*, the Palatal *ty* = Tindale’s *tj*.⁷¹

‘Potartang’/*Puthartangk* might look very like a Ngarrindjeri version of Kaurna *Putatyilla*, merely substituting one Locative (*angk*) for another (*illa*). Perhaps it also changes the pronunciation of both the *t* phonemes: the first from *t* (perhaps) to *th*, the second from *ty* to *t*; for Aboriginal speakers this would be an easy transition.⁷² But there is a more important snag. Tindale’s adjacent stress marks in “‘Pot`artang’ are probably not a mistake, as we shall see. They tell us that the second vowel *a* is stressed equally with the first syllable *po*, and so the root word *put-artV* (rhythm – ^) is incompatible with the ‘Portachilla’ root word *putaTV* (– ^ with an unstressed second vowel *a*).

It is rather unlikely that it was Karlowan’s tradition which remembered *Potajila*-‘Portachilla’; he would probably have given something like ‘Potartjalangga’. Judging by his impossible correction of the nearby name Tortachilla to “Turtotjalangga” with two Locatives,⁷³ it seems he did not know that *illa* is a Kaurna Locative, even though he knew *ngga*. Was ‘Portachilla’ an independent original Kaurna retention by settlers, rather than a settler fiction? Perhaps a little of both; perhaps they borrowed the last three syllables ‘achilla’ from the other local names and grafted them onto a memory of the genuine first syllable ‘Port’ (*Puut* or *Po:t*). If so, then ‘Portachilla’/Po:ta`tjila’ does not support a genuine Kaurna origin for this interpretation of the stress pattern (– ^ ^), nor for any

⁶⁹ Aboriginal languages do not make any distinction between the sounds *t* and *d*; they are treated as variant pronunciations of the same thing, while preferring a ‘softer’ sound with no puff of air. KWP’s New Spelling opts for *t*. Interdental *t* has the tongue between the teeth; Retroflex has it curled back.

⁷⁰ For Ngarrindjeri vowels see M Gale & D French 2007, *Ngarrindjeri Learners’ Guide*, Raukkan Community Council: 2.

⁷¹ Tindale’s phonetic spelling uses ‘j’ (as in German *ja*) to represent the sound of the consonant *y*.

⁷² And we can’t be sure what kind of *t* was used for either of the two in the original Kaurna word, regardless of whether ‘Portachilla’ is a settler memory or a Ngarrindjeri memory. Some other words credited to Karlowan by Tindale change in the reverse direction, Kaurna *t* to Ngarrindjeri *ty*, written by Tindale as *tj* (see my discussion of “*tjirangga*” in PNS 6-23 Brukangga).

⁷³ i.e. *ngga* added onto *illa* (see PNS 4.03.02/04 Tatatyilla).

Kurna root word *PutatV* based on it. But we are guessing, and may retain an open mind about this as a possibility.

According to Berndt, Karlowan believed that both this word “Putatang” and the common Ngarrindjeri word *mulgali* were place-names for Ochre Cove, and that both words meant ‘red ochre’.⁷⁴ In Tindale’s primary record it seems that Walker, from his Ramindjeri tradition, believed the same about his version “Putawatang”.⁷⁵ *Mulgali* is clearly a variant of the known Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri word *milkurli* ‘red ochre’; though Berndt may have been mistaken in thinking that Karlowan intended it as a place-name.⁷⁶ But the only other known local words for ochre do not resemble *putatV* or *putawatV* at all. In Ngarrindjeri they are *tauwi* ‘red substance, red ochre’,⁷⁷ and perhaps the Tangani word “*kulalaki* ?pyrites or yellow ochre”.⁷⁸ In Kurna we have only *karko* and *milte* (both ‘red ochre’) and *yarnbanna* ‘purple coloured ochre’.⁷⁹ It therefore seems reasonably clear that both of these men – at least when asked by Tindale for a ‘meaning’ – *assumed* or *guessed* (wrongly) that the foreign word *putatV* or *putawatV* meant ‘red ochre’, because it referred to the famous ochre place.

Accordingly, and with no prior assumptions about the meaning of the words, we shall comb Kurna language records and known grammar for possible originals which might have been used by Kurna countrymen of the area.

All three sources agree that the root word began with something like *puta*, and two agree that it continued with *t*, and ended with an unknown vowel elided by the Locative.

4b. ‘POTARTANG’ and ‘PORTACHILLA’: ROASTS AND BAKES:

Karlowan’s version seems to require a three-syllable root something like *puthatV* or *putatV* (or perhaps using Retroflexes for the either or both of the *t* sounds: *putartV*, *putatV*, etc).

A three-syllable root would require the Locative *illa* as in *Puutatilla* etc. The stresses in such a word would be on the first and third syllables, *Puuta-tilla*. This rhythm –[^]–[^] obviously fits ‘Portachilla’ (*Puuta-tyilla*), though we would still have to account for the difference between *t* and *ty*. However, it does not fit the stress pattern –[^] recorded by Tindale in Karlowan’s Yaraldi version *Puuth-artangk*.

⁷⁴ Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 20.

⁷⁵ “*Putat^{wa}tang = red ochre*” (Tindale AA 338/1/33/2: 154).

⁷⁶ See pnf4.3.2/5 ‘Mulgali’.

⁷⁷ Meyer 1843, “*tauwe*”.

⁷⁸ .Milerum in Tindale 1934 ‘Story of Tjelbruke’, AA 338/1/33/2: 52.

⁷⁹ New Spellings *karrku*, *milthi*, *yarnpana*.



VOCABULARY:

There is one Kurna root word similar enough to *putatV* to be put at the top of the list: *burtati* (N.Sp. *putarti*) ‘boiled, roasted, baked’.⁸⁰ In line with Kurna usage, this participle would also be usable as a noun, ‘boiled thing’ etc.

Thus *Burtartilla* (N.Sp. *Putartilla*) could mean ‘place of roasts, bakes, boiled things’ – perhaps more or less ‘The Cookery’.⁸¹

This word is identical with ‘Portachilla’ except for the ‘ch’, which we noted above is *ty*, another kind of *t*; Ngarrindjeri listeners who did not know much Kurna language could easily adapt it to *Puutatyilla*. However, we have cautiously reasoned that Karlowan is a rather unlikely source for this name; more likely it was remembered by early settlers. After the initial surveys, in the absence of Kurna speakers, in casual usage and in the context of very similar place-names nearby, it would be easy and natural for settlers to adapt the one *tilla* to fit the surrounding *chillas*: ‘Tartachilla Tortachilla, Tatachilla Portachilla’. Yet if my memories are correct, they did retain its explicit reference to Ochre Cove, and perhaps this is compatible even with Tindale mapping the name at Maslin’s Beach.⁸²

4c. ‘PUTAWATANG’: FLAMES AND EMBERS:

A hasty glance might suggest that Walker’s ‘Putawatang’ merely adds an arbitrary and perhaps meaningless extra syllable into Karlowan’s ‘Potartang’. But in fact it can explain those adjacent stresses.

⁸⁰ Aboriginal languages do not distinguish between *b* and *p*. KWP’s New Spelling opts for *p*. Technically this word is the Past-Perfect Participle Passive of the verb *burtandi* ‘to burn, blaze’. This word was common enough to be listed independently in wordlists by Williams 1839, Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, and Teichelmann MS 1857. Both of the *ts* in *putarti* are Retroflex (tongue curled back). There may be a variant pronunciation (or different verb) *putanthi*, ‘be cooked, ready to eat’.

⁸¹ I am not familiar enough with the intricacies of Kurna cooking methods to guess whether the word could also cover steaming, grilling, etc. Did it include ‘anything cooked’? or perhaps ‘anything cooked in an earth oven’? *Kambandi* (N.Sp. *kampanthi*) means ‘cook, roast, bake, boil, burn (something)’, i.e. Transitive; *kanyandi* (N.Sp. *kanyanthi*) means ‘stew or bake (something), steam food in an earth oven’ (see the description of this process in the main text above); *kanyayapa* is an ‘earth oven’; *koarrendi* (N.Sp. *kurrinthe*) is ‘to steam (Intransitive)’.

⁸² Tindale located ‘Portachilla’ at Maslins Beach, and it remains unclear why. But he also located ‘Potartang’ there, as well as at the Cove. A likely explanation is that he thought of the south end of section 365 – to which the ‘Potartang’ and ‘Potatjila’ arrows both point – as part of Ochre Cove. On his base map the coastline shows a shallow continuous bay-curve from Ochre Point (on Section 359) to another lesser Point at the junction of Sections 368 and 371 (i.e. opposite today’s Oleander Rd, Maslin Beach, just north of the northern creek mouth). In fact this second Point does not exist, not even as a slight bump. Perhaps it was created accidentally by Tindale’s pen-line which marks his mysterious ‘Milerum-or-Tjilbruke’ route along the whole coast.

‘Putawatang’/PuTawaTangk⁸³ matches ‘Portachilla’ rhythmically but not phonetically. It seems to indicate a four-syllable root puTawaTV. In Kaurna this would have to be a Compound Noun using two words, puTa + waTV. The whole Compound root would be PutawaTV with stresses on the first and third syllables (–^–^), resembling Puuta-tyilla but with the second stress on wa instead of tyi.

Significantly, this hypothetical Compound could easily be abridged in conversation to Put’-atV.⁸⁴ This stress pattern (– –^) does fit Karlowan’s Pu-thartangk. In fact, the full names with Locative – Put-atVngga and Pot-artangk – differ only⁸⁵ in the routine elision of two Kaurna phonemes by the Ngarrindjeri Locative: the unknown vowel V, and the unstressed final a. Thus it makes a very easy and natural adaptation. But it is still incompatible with ‘Portachilla’.

VOCABULARY:

The first word could be Kaurna *burta* (N.Sp. *purta*) ‘the flame of the fire, the blaze, red hot embers, ashes’.⁸⁶

The second word could be Kaurna *warti*, which is used in a few other Kaurna place-names.⁸⁷ Commonly it means ‘middle, centre, cause’, and with the Locative *wartingga* can mean ‘in the middle or midst’. But in Kaurna it can also be a different word pronounced the same way (i.e. a homophone) which means ‘tail [redacted]’.⁸⁸ It could also be *watto* (N.Sp. *watu*), ‘branch of a tree’.

Purta-wartingga could then mean EITHER ‘in the midst of flames/embers/ashes’ OR ‘place of embers/ashes [and] [redacted] tail’. *Purta-watungga* would mean ‘place of embers/ashes [of] tree-branches’.

⁸³ The capital ‘T’s here remind us that the recorded form does not tell us which kinds of *t* Walker used (e.g. *th*, *rt*, or *t*).

⁸⁴ A similar abridgement causes the same change in stress-pattern in the place-names *Tarndanya* (from *Tarnda-kanya*) and *Yarnauwingga* (from *Yarna-kauwingga*); see PNSs 2/06 and 5.02.02/04. It is likely that the abridgement *Yarn’-auwingga* was adapted into Ngarrindjeri language as *Yan’-arwing* (Milerum’s pronunciation, audio-recorded by Tindale), in much the same manner as I speculate here for *Puth’-artangk* (see PNS 5.04.02/01 Yanawing).

⁸⁵ Apart from the uncertainties about vowel lengths and kinds of *t*.

⁸⁶ Or, conceivable but unlikely, *puta* could be an abridgment of *putaputa* ‘bottle-shaped sponge’.

⁸⁷ See PNS 2/21 Wita-wartingga (Seacliff Park); 2/22 Witu-wartingga (Brighton); 5.04.01/08 Wita-wartingga (Rapid Head); 8/39 Mitiwarti.

⁸⁸ For a discussion of these two Kaurna homophones see PNS 8/39 Mitiwarti. The word exists also in Ramindjeri, Walker’s own dialect of Ngarrindjeri, in two forms. One is *wati* ‘tail’; the other is *warti* ‘firestick, foot, planet Venus’. Was Walker perhaps hybridizing the name, adding *wa(t)* from his own vocabulary? This is unlikely. Explanations given by Tindale’s Ngarrindjeri informants for place-names on Kaurna land often interpreted a whole foreign name with reference to their own language: e.g. *Wiljauar* for ‘Willyaroo’ (PNS 7.03/07), *Tarangk* for ‘Taringa’ (PNS 4.03.01/02 Tarrangga). Milerum gave ‘*beringgi*’ under the impression that it was a Kaurna Locative suffix, whereas it is almost certainly his pronunciation of Kaurna *aringga*, ‘river place’. But they rarely invented obvious hybrids. That said, Milerum gave Tindale the name “*Karko`ar*” for a place on Currency Creek (Tindale annotated map Hundred of Nangkita AA 338/24/66), and this may be a hybrid. Milerum is the only known Ngarrindjeri source for this name and for the word *karko*, which he glossed as “*red ochre, the type from Moana*” (Gale *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*: 13, quoting from Tindale’s Tangani index card). *Karkuwar* would appear to mean ‘upon the red ochre’, using one of the Ngarrindjeri Locative suffixes; but we know nothing to tell us how this might apply to a place on the river flats at lower Currency Creek. This item, coming from Milerum, shows that the wide fame of Ochre Cove had caused the Kaurna word to enter the vocabulary even of men like Milerum who lived on the Coorong.

And if a Ngarrindjeri-Ramindjeri tradition such as Walker's knew that *ngga* was a Kurna Locative, it would be easy for them to substitute their own Locative and call it *Purtawartangk* or *Purtawatangk*, which eliminates the Kurna vowel and matches the record 'Putawatang'.

Moreover, as noted above, *Purta-wartinggal/Purta-watungga* could also be easily abridged to *Purt'-artinggal/Purt'-atungga*. Another Ngarrindjeri tradition could then adapt either of these as *Purt-artangk*, by changing the first vowel to a closely-related sound *o*; and rendering the second consonant as an Interdental *th*, to produce Karlowan's 'Pot'artang'/*Puth-artangk*.

4d. 'POTARTANG' and 'PORTACHILLA' AGAIN: KIDNEYS AND LOINS:

There is another possible derivation for 'Portachilla'/*Puutatyilla*. The word *pureta* or *purita* (N.Sp. *purdita*) was glossed as 'loins, reins, kidneys'.⁸⁹ Here the second consonant is thought to be "quite likely" a Tapped *r*, a sound which untrained listeners can easily mistake for a *d* or *t*, or sometimes for a different kind of *r*; N.Sp. represents it by the letters *rd*.⁹⁰

'Place of kidneys or loins' would be *Puretilla* (N.Sp. *Purditilla*). This could be a Kurna original for 'Portachilla', as follows:

English ears would be likely to hear this word as *Putitilla*. If they were casual in their listening, or if the pronunciation was sloppy, they might easily mistake the second vowel for *a*, the English default for an unstressed vowel, and think they had heard *Putatilla*. Ngarrindjeri ears might do the same if they did not know Kurna language.

Perhaps the first vowel was in fact a long *uu*. The settlers might take small step from this to *Puutatyilla* (= 'Portachilla') under the influence of nearby names, as described above. The Ngarrindjeri might interpret or adapt the Tapped *rd* as an Interdental *th* in 'Potartang'; or Karlowan might have pronounced the Tap and Tindale mistaken it for the Interdental.⁹¹

⁸⁹ (1) *Pureta* is clearly derived from *pure* (N.Sp. *purdi*), 'stone, sandstone'. (2) KWP's pilot Kurna dictionary interprets it as "area between the lower ribs and the pelvis" (J Morley & R Amery 2014, *Kurna Language Dictionary*, Adelaide, Kurna Warra Pintyanthi: 114). As Amery says, "T&S... were referring to the meat either side of the spine in the region of the kidneys... I don't think they were referencing the figurative, euphemistic use of loins in English that may have sexual connotations" (p.c. email 12/6/20).

⁹⁰ Teichelmann & Schürmann did not distinguish the different kinds of 'r' sound. In answer to my inquiry, KWP's consultant linguist Rob Amery wrote to me, "I think it quite likely that *pure* has a tapped *r*, though I'm not familiar with any cognates in neighbouring languages" (p.c. email 27/8/2010). The 'tap' accounts for *kardi* 'emu' being recorded as "*kari*" by T&S. The sound of a tapped *rd* is "like the 'tt' in butter in normal fast speech, *Kauwanu Lewis [O'Brien]*, and others... do not perceive this sound as an *r*-sound" (Rob Amery & Jane Simpson 2013, *Kullurdu Marni Ngathaitya! Sounds Good to Me! a Kurna Learner's Guide*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press:112).

The mistake seems to have happened in both directions at different times to Tindale with the place-names which he transcribed as "*Warabari*", "*Wataberingg*" and "*Watara-beringg*". Hearing an audio recording of Milerum's pronunciation of the word "*Waraberingg*" (sometimes transcribed by Tindale as "*Wataberingg*") Amery identified the second consonant as a tapped *r* (*warda*). We strongly suspect that this word too originated in a Kurna name. To trace the connections of this *warda*, see PNS 5.03/04 *Watara-paringga*; 5.01.06 *Warabari* (Sellicks); 7.01/0 1 *Witawalang*; 7.01/02 *Parawa*.

⁹¹ It seems likely that languages without a tapped *r* include not only English but Ngarrindjeri (see the discussion of *r* sounds in Gale & French 2007, *Ngarrindjeri Learners' Guide*: 10). However, one audio recording of Milerum has a tapped

The etymology 'kidney place' requires more steps and errors on the way to it than 'place of roasts', because the *a* in *Purtartilla* is a better linguistic match for 'Portachilla' and 'Potartang' than the *i* in *Purditilla*.

But in the context of Ochre Cove, *Purditilla* has a significant supporter for its claim: the recorded phrase *karko pureta* (N.Sp. *karrku purdita*), literally 'red-ochre kidney(s) or loins'. This was glossed in 1840 as "a smooth oval stone used for preparing the red ochre".

I do not know any other description of such a stone tool in times of first contact; nor do I know any description of how the Kurna in those days prepared ochre.⁹² But what did come to light on Kurna land in the 20th century is a kidney-shaped artefact made of slate, carefully sharpened at the concave edge. A number of examples were collected between 1924 and 1946 at various places from Eden Valley to Normanville, and some of them had "remains of a coating of red ochre". The first man to describe this "hitherto unrecorded type of Aboriginal stone object" was TD Campbell, who found them at Moana and conjectured that they were probably "a type of ceremonial or sacred object".⁹³ Basedow contradicted this notion, dismissing the red ochre as not signifying anything sacred or unusual, and maintained that these objects were scrapers for cleaning animal hides.⁹⁴ Later archaeologists have ignored the ochre and either agreed with Basedow or at least did not ask the question – with the exception of Margaret Nobbs, who pointed out that the scraper theory was in fact just a theory: "*It has been postulated that the 'Reniform' Slate Scrapers were used to prepare skins before curing.*"⁹⁵

Is this slate tool the *karrku purdita*? It is beyond my competence to challenge the archaeological consensus on this matter, if there is one. But the "smooth oval stone used for preparing the red ochre" introduces new evidence. A worn, damaged or inferior example of a kidney-shaped implement might well be described as 'oval' by casual observers such as Teichelmann or Schürmann. The presence of red ochre on some of the samples, rather than being an accident or

rd (see PNS 5.04.02/02 Watpardung), so it did exist in the Tangani dialect at least; and it is not impossible that the interidental *th* which Tindale heard from Yaraldi man Karlowan was actually a tapped *rd*.

⁹² Does the gloss mean 'preparing the raw material into usable condition'? or 'preparing the pre-mixed ochre for use in ceremony'? The tool may have been suited to the soft sands and clays of Ochre Cove rather than the harder clays and rocks used elsewhere. It may have been used at a particular stage of the preparation, e.g. grinding the material into powder, or mixing the dry powder with animal fat, or spreading the wet ochre onto surfaces. I leave these questions to those who know how all this is done, and might be able to interpret T&S's gloss.

⁹³ TD Campbell 1924, 'An Account of a Hitherto Unrecorded Type of Aboriginal Stone Object', *Transactions of Royal Society of SA* 48: 74-78; online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/16197#/summary>. In 1926 "*This impliment [sic] has so far only been recorded within the bounds of the Adelaide tribe*" (SA Anthropological Society, reported in *Advertiser* 26/8/1926: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47013273/2437332>).

⁹⁴ Herbert Basedow 1925, 'Slate Scraping Implements of the Extinct Adelaide Tribe', *Man* Vol. 25, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: 173-176, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2839772?seq=1>; Walter Howchin 1934, *The Stone Implements of the Adelaide Tribe of Aborigines Now Extinct*, Adelaide, Gillingham & Co. Ltd: 78-82.

⁹⁵ i.e. kidney-shaped.

⁹⁶ Margaret Nobbs 1971, 'A description and survey of archaeological evidence at Aldinga-Sellicks Beach scrub', *Friends of the South Australian Museum Newsletter* 2(1): 6; my emphasis.

decoration, might indicate that these had been used to scrape the ochre, or mix it, or spread it on human bodies.

If the slate objects found at Moana and elsewhere were in fact used in 'preparing the ochre' – as well as or instead of scraping animal skins – then either Ochre Cove and/or the nearby campsites could be 'kidney/loins place' in either or both of two senses: (1) [redacted]; or (2) 'the place where the kidney tool is used a lot' – much as we might name a place after an artefact for which it is or was well-known: e.g. 'Pottery Estate' (in NSW), 'Ironpot' (in Queensland), or 'Semaphore' (in SA).⁹⁷ Did Kurna speakers in earlier times perhaps hint to Ngarrindjeri speakers that the place or its name had the connotation of a tool associated with red ochre? If so, this might help to explain why Karlowan and Walker believed that the place-names beginning with *put-* meant 'red ochre', even though the words matched none of their own Ngarrindjeri vocabulary.⁹⁸

5. LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CONCLUSIONS, IF ANY:

LINGUISTICALLY:

#1. It is clear that none of the names can mean 'red ochre' in either Kurna or Ngarrindjeri language, even if they might be referring to it.

This means there is no serious credibility in Tindale's unpublished theory that the Yorta-Yorta word "putthōga" is related to the Fleurieu words 'Pot'artang' and 'Potatjila' because they all mean 'red ochre'.⁹⁹ Tindale was using this to support his other more credible theory about ancient migration down the Murray River into the Lower Lakes and Fleurieu.

#2. *Purtatilla* ('place of cooking') is our best available explanation for 'Portachilla', if we allow the easy change from *t* to *ty*. BUT it does not credibly account for 'Putatang/'Pot'artang'. AND, because this name has no direct link with an Aboriginal source, the last three syllables of 'Portachilla', and their stress pattern, might be a settler mistake.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ One of several possible meanings for *Kanyanyapilla* is 'place of many earth ovens'; this too is an artefact (see PNS 4.03.03/03).

⁹⁸ There is a grey area between 'connotation' and 'meaning'. And we should also remember that when ethnologists asked their informants for the 'meaning' of a place-name, the answer may sometimes have been made up obligingly on the spot, because this way of thinking about it had never arisen in their traditional knowledge of the place – as might happen if we were to ask a non-academic Catholic about the 'meaning' of the name 'Rome'.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁰ See Part 4a above.



#3. *Purta-wartingga* ('in the midst of flames/embers' OR 'place of embers/ashes + [redacted] tail'), or *Purta-watungga* ('embers/ashes of tree-branches'), easily account for Walker's 'Putawatang', and provide our best available explanation for the adjacent stresses in Karlowan's 'Putatang/Pot-artang'. BUT they can't account for 'Portachilla'.

#4. *Purditilla* ('kidney or loins place') might fairly easily account for 'Portachilla', granted a change of the second vowel from *i* to *a*, and of the third consonant from *t* to *ty*. BUT it stretches probability a little to see it as the origin of 'Pot-artang'; AND it can't account at all for 'Putawatang'. By this stage the bets are getting low on the Kurna credibility of 'Portachilla'.

CULTURALLY:

#5. 'Place of cooking' fits well with the big feasts held with trade partners at the Moana campsites near Ochre Cove, but not with Ochre Cove itself, a restricted site.

#6. 'In the midst of embers' fits the trade feasts almost as well as 'cooking place', and so does 'embers of tree-branches'.

#7. 'Kidney or loins place' might fit either the hypothetical use of kidney-shaped stones in some kind of ceremonial use associated with red ochre, or (at a stretch) with a cultural or mythical association of Ochre Cove with genitals (e.g. [redacted], and the story of the [redacted] monster *Mirrka*).¹⁰¹

#8. 'Place of embers/ashes + [redacted]' might fit with both the feasts and [redacted].

OVERALL:

#9. It is possible that all these names (except *Mulgali*) referred not only to Ochre Cove itself but also to the nearby campsites at Moana.

#10. It is possible though unlikely (see #11) that 'Putawatang' does not have any rational origin in Kurna language, but is an arbitrary alteration by Walker's Ramindjeri tradition.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix 3. If the connection was with *Mirrka*, we might expect this word for [redacted] to be used in the place-name rather than *purdita*. But perhaps *purdita* might have been used as a public euphemism (avoidance term).

#11. There remains a faint possibility that all these names were ‘just names’, referring to an important place but with no vocabulary meanings attached to them (rather like ‘Rome’, ‘London’ or ‘Paris’ in European tradition). BUT the probable presence of a Compound word (signalled by the adjacent stresses in “Pot-artang” and the analogous abridgement ‘Putawatang’ > ‘Put’-artang’) makes it more likely that these two names did originally have a lexical meaning in Kurna.

#12. Perhaps there were several different Kurna names associated with Ochre Cove: some being restricted (*Purditilla* ‘kidney/loins place’, *Purtawarti* ‘embers and [redacted]’), and some open (*Purtatilla* ‘cooking place’, *Purtawarti* ‘in the midst of embers’, *Purtawatu* ‘embers of branches’). The open names might have provided public cultural ‘cover’ for the secret names.

#13. The open names might have referred to the campsites and the area in general, and the restricted names only to the Cove.

#14. Because of its uncertain origin ‘Portachilla’ must be regarded as a rather doubtful record; and therefore its two hypothetical Kurna originals *Purtartilla* and *Purditilla* are a little more doubtful still, no matter what credibility we may find in their meanings.

#15. ‘Putawatang’ looks like the best bet, with the most explanatory power and the fewest problems. Perhaps it originated as an intentionally ambiguous Kurna name which served the purpose of cultural ‘cover’: probably *Purta-warti*, with a double meaning ‘in the midst of embers’ AND ‘place of embers and [redacted]’; or perhaps a simple ‘cover’, *Purta-watu*, ‘embers of branches’. And, as we have seen, either of these could easily have turned into Karlowan’s ‘Pot-artang’.

#16. We should keep an open mind on all these etymologies and interpretations, while admitting that we can’t be completely sure about any of them.

.....

APPENDIX 1: KARRKUNGA:

Around 1998-2000, Kurna language activists were setting up the Dual Naming program with the SA government's Geographical Names Unit, contributing ideas to Rob Amery's thesis, producing a booklet on the Aboriginal history of Glenelg area, and considering what to do with the Ngarrindjeri placenames on Kurna land which are mentioned in Tindale's 1987 essay on 'Tjirbruksi'. In their promotions and publications they replaced Tindale's 'Potarta:n' and Berndt's 'Putatang' with a Kurna New Name for Ochre Cove: *Karkungga* ('place of red ochre'):

*An attempt has been made to Kurna-ize these names... [Kurna placename] Karkungga – [Spellings in original sources] `Potarta:n (Tindale); Mulgali or putatang (Berndt & Berndt) – [Location] Red Ochre Cove – [Notes] karko 'red ochre' + -ngga. Putartilla OR Putartangga are also options.*¹⁰²

Ochre Cove is not gazetted. The Point has been gazetted under Dual Naming policy as both "Ochre Point" and "Karkungga".¹⁰³

Since then, KWP's New Spelling (2010) has refined the spellings to *karrku* and *Karrkungga*.

¹⁰² Rob Amery, Georgina Yambo Williams, Lester Irabinna Rigney, Alice Wallara Rigney & Lewis O'Brien, 2001, 'Reclaiming the Kurna language', in Yvonne Allen et al, 2001, *Footprints in the Sand: Kurna life in the Holdfast Bay area* (2nd revised edition), Underdale, Aboriginal Research Institute & Holdfast Bay Reconciliation Group: 37-8. At this stage it was not yet clear that the form *Putartangga* is forbidden by the Kurna language rule that three-syllable roots must use *lla* not *ngga*. This word was spelled "*Portatangga*" in Amery 2000, *Warrabarna Kurna! Reclaiming an Australian Language*, Lisse, Swets & Zeitlinger: 67; and in the Uni of Adelaide e-book reprint <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/press/titles/kurna/kurna-ebook.pdf>: 77.

¹⁰³ See SAPP, <https://maps.sa.gov.au/SAPP/>, go to 'Find / Place Names', and enter 'Karkungga'.

APPENDIX 2: PUTHŌGA AND THE MURRAY RIVER CONNECTION:

Tindale devoted a lot of mental energy to the matter of prehistoric migrations. In an unpublished draft about place-names, he speculated that the name “Pot`artaŋ” was very ancient and had come from far up the River Murray:¹⁰⁴

It is always of interest to find possible signs of the directions of movements of earlier ancestors of the people of the southern parts of Australia... One such lead is that the chief source for red ochre for the coastal tribes, Ramindjeri, Tanganekald and Yarildekald is the outcrop on the coast of Fleurieu Peninsula at Section 362, and vicinity, in the Hundred of Willunga. Ramindjeri youths of Encounter Bay, [REDACTED] were taken by their elders on an excursion to Potartang, now in the country of the Kurna. To them Putawatang was its name and other tribespeople called it Potatjila. The red ochre product they came to gather was [ta:u:we] and they would send parcels of it away through intermediaries to their trading partners (witjuti) in exchange for other products not obtainable in their own clan territories. Thus the name for red ochre used by the distant Jotijoti tribespeople on the Upper Murray River has special significance. Each tribe between has its own name for red ochre but the JotiJota,¹⁰⁵ 950 km away in the Echuca area (525 km as the crow flies) show a link with the Lower Murray. To them red ochre is [ˈpuṯ:ɔ:ga], or putthōga as published by Mathews (1902:182).¹⁰⁶ It would appear that the ancestors of Ramindjeri and Kurna carried with them a word which predated Ngurunduri’s discovery of the Lake Alexandrina and Fleurieu Peninsula area and they used the Upper Murray word in naming their discovery at [ˈPotata:ŋ].

The linguistic argument here – built upon Walker’s information about *witjuti* and the trade from Ochre Cove up the Murray – is ruined by Tindale’s confusion over local languages. *Tauwe* is a Ramindjeri word for ‘red ochre’, but none of the local *put/pot* words mean anything like this.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Tindale typescript, ‘Mode of gathering & recording place names’, in ‘Place Names: Drafts For Text’, AA338/10/2: 16.

¹⁰⁵ (CVS) Widely known as the Yorta-Yorta.

¹⁰⁶ RH Mathews 1902, ‘Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria’, *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S.Wales*, Vol. xxxvi: 182.

¹⁰⁷ See also my discussion of the meanings, above in section on ‘Names and their significances’.

APPENDIX 3: OCHRE COVE, THE MONSTER MIRRKA, AND OTHER STORIES:

In “about Feb. 1933”, early in his collecting career around the Fleurieu region, Tindale scribbled “some odd notes” on “a piece of paper”:

Durunderi's son went down towards Mt Gambier. A big 'devil' came out of the lake at Mt Gambier and chased the youth as far as Willunga. Durunderi saw the 'devil' approaching, attacked and wounded him. The blood fell out on to the ground forming the red ochre deposits at the beach there (Ochre Cove). The 'devil' went back towards the South-East and all along the track in the Coorong he left clots of blood.

Transcribing this into his journal later, Tindale thought it was “evidently obtained from Milerum or Blackmore”, but obviously was not sure because he had kept no record of who said it. ‘Blackmore’ might be the “really old” Archie Blackmore who died in October 1933, or perhaps the younger Frank Blackmore. Both were Yaraldi men whom Tindale interviewed: Archie in 1933, and Frank in 1934, transcribing stories from him such as Waiyungari and Kondoli the whale.¹⁰⁸

Tindale elaborated on the ‘devil’ story in 1936 in an article for the *Advertiser*.¹⁰⁹

The sons of Ngurunderi had equally strange adventures. One of them went down towards Mount Gambier. A 'big devil' called Mirka came out of the Blue Lake and chased the youth right back along the Coorong coast and across the Mount Lofty Ranges to Willunga. Ngurunderi saw the 'devil' approaching, attacked and wounded him at the Ochre Cove. The blood ran out and stained the rocks. If you do not believe it, go to the coast a mile south of Moana Beach and there you will find an acre or more of out crop of the red ochre which was formed by the congealing of the blood of the Mount Gambier devil man. The wounded man ran away back to his country. The blood dripped from his wounds wherever he camped! There is a waterhole in the Coorong where it exists and blackfellows are alarmed when they see the blood there. The 'devil' fled back to Mount Gambier and went down into a great hole in the ground. This hole is the famous sink hole in the gardens at the back of the Mount Gambier Town Hall, which is thus the hiding place of Mirko [sic].

¹⁰⁸ See Tindale ‘Murray River Notes’ Vol.1, AA 338/1/31/1: 55-58, 161-5, 188-191, 343a-b; and ‘SE of SA’ journal Vol.2, AA 338/1/33/2: 181-4. “Clarence Long was a young man in Archie Blackmores eyes. ‘He knows a lot about the Coorong; nothing about our country’” (AA 338/1/31/1: 58).

¹⁰⁹ ‘Legends of the Coorong’, *Advertiser* 16/5/1936: 25b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/74162839/7298995>.

The version in this article was paraphrased by a local historian of Mt Gambier, Les Hill. It is not clear whether Hill had other information or was making up certain details:¹¹⁰

At the rear of the Town Hall and right in the heart of Mount Gambier are the Cave Gardens, built around a Cave, which the Aborigines say, is the cave hiding place of the Giant Devil, Mirka. This unholy terror popped out of the Blue lake one day and chased one of the sons of the Great God, Nurunderi. The boy still had a narrow lead, when, having been chased the whole length of the Coorong, he got to Willunga and Nurunderi came to save him. Nurunderi attacked the Devil at Ochre Cave [sic] and wounded him, as anybody can see by the bloodstains on the rocks a mile south of Moana. Still dripping blood, Mirka fled back to Mount Gambier with Nurunderi and his son so hot on his heels that instead of returning to the Blue lake, he took refuge in the Cave. The natives say that he will not come out because he does not know that Nurunderi is dead.

Commenting on Hill's version Amery wrote, "Of course this is a Bungaditj view of the creation of the red ochre deposit at Ochre Cove, which may not coincide with the Kurna view of the 1840s".

Kurna woman Georgina Williams (Ngangkiburka) was told a quite different story by a visitor from far away. Amery wrote:

[T]he late Arthur Peterson's view, as communicated to Georgina Williams, [was] that the ochre was formed from the blood spilt in a fight between wild dogs. Arthur Peterson was a Doomadgee man from Queensland who volunteered this version of events when shown the ochre deposit. According to him, the forces of good and evil came into battle there... It may be that Arthur's view represents the story from the perspective of the northern trade [route], whereas the Bungaditj story [w]as that of the eastern trade [route].

But the local origins and cultural provenance of the Mirka story need more investigation; for the name *Mirka* (N.Sp. *Mirrka*) is not Bungaditj.¹¹¹ It is the Kurna word for [REDACTED]. Clearly there was input into the Mirka story from somebody who knew Kurna language more than casually.¹¹² The meaning of the name makes it very likely that the story was connected with [REDACTED] in some way.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Les Hill 1972, *Mount Gambier: The City Around a Cave*. Investigator Press, Leabrook SA: 104.

¹¹¹ There is no Bungaditj word like *mirka* in the major book and wordlist about the Bungaditj, Christina Smith's *Boandik Tribe* (Mrs James [Christina] Smith 1880, *The Boandik Tribe*, Adelaide, E Spiller, Government Printer, online at <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/96476>). Here the only related meanings – *krip* 'the thigh' and *wirlap* 'ochre' – do not resemble *mirrka* at all.

¹¹² A merely casual knowledge of Kurna language might include the word *warti* for [REDACTED] or 'tail', as it was widespread in the languages of the region; but much less likely the specifically Kurna word *mirrka*.

¹¹³ The same connection might apply to the 'rainbow serpent starting' at Maslin's Beach, as told to Lewis O'Brien by an unnamed informant (see above).

Philip Clarke interprets the Mirka story as one of several “innovations” made in post-contact times:¹¹⁴

This particular version of the Ngurunderi myth is unique among the recorded mythologies of southern South Australia for its extremely broad geographic coverage. The mythical sites of other known versions of Ngurunderi are contained within the South East cultural bloc. The existence of the broader account is probably best explained in terms of post-colonial Aboriginal people gaining extensive geographical knowledge through participation in early statewide agricultural activities, such as shearing and harvesting. The importance of Red Ochre Cove, in the post-contact situation, is indicated by the record of Lower Murray people from Point McLeay Mission, travelling to Noarlunga to obtain [redacted] ochre in 1860.¹¹⁵ The construction of mythology would not have been restricted to a time long before European invasion, but has been a continuing process.

Elsewhere, Clarke says of Mirka and the son(s) of Ngurunderi,¹¹⁶

When Aboriginal people from the Lower Murray region encountered mythologies concerning a different landscape, it is likely that they drew close comparisons with their own creation beliefs. Through this process, Ngurunderi may have assumed the identity of mythical ancestors in new areas. The possession by Aboriginal people of knowledge concerning key points in the landscape, however short the experience with them, imparts a sense of authority over their environment. Mythological sites, as 'places', reflect both the political and social dimensions of the relationship Aboriginal people have with the landscape.

Doubtless the *Mirrka* debate will continue.

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SEE ALSO MAPS ON NEXT THREE PAGES.

End of Summary

¹¹⁴ Philip A. Clarke 1991, 'Adelaide As An Aboriginal Landscape', *Aboriginal History* 15(1), Canberra, Aust National Uni: 54-72, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72251/pdf/article059.pdf> .

¹¹⁵ Clarke cites Taplin Journals, 12 September 1860. This reads: “*Today I found out that there was to be a design to make more Kainyani, and that men had gone to Noarlunga for milkurle for the purpose. However, it is a great secret*” (Taplin diary 12 Sep 1860, transcribed by Joe Lane, http://www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/4/5/4/34544232/taplins_diary_1859-79.pdf [8/9/17]).

¹¹⁶ Philip A Clarke 1995, 'Myth as History? The Ngurunderi Dreaming of the Lower Murray, South Australia', *Records of the South Australian Museum* 28(2): 151, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/179342#page/147/mode/1up>.

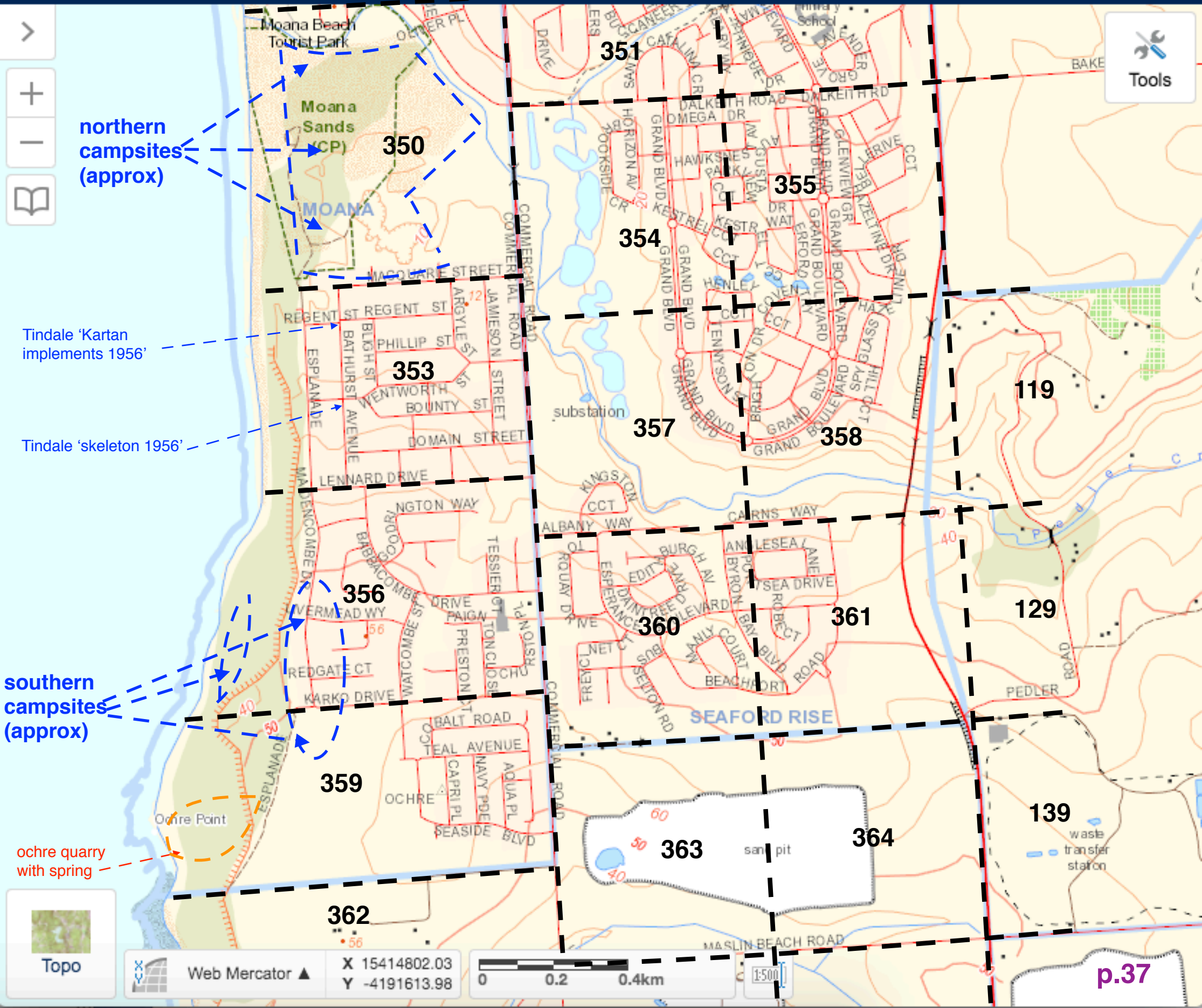


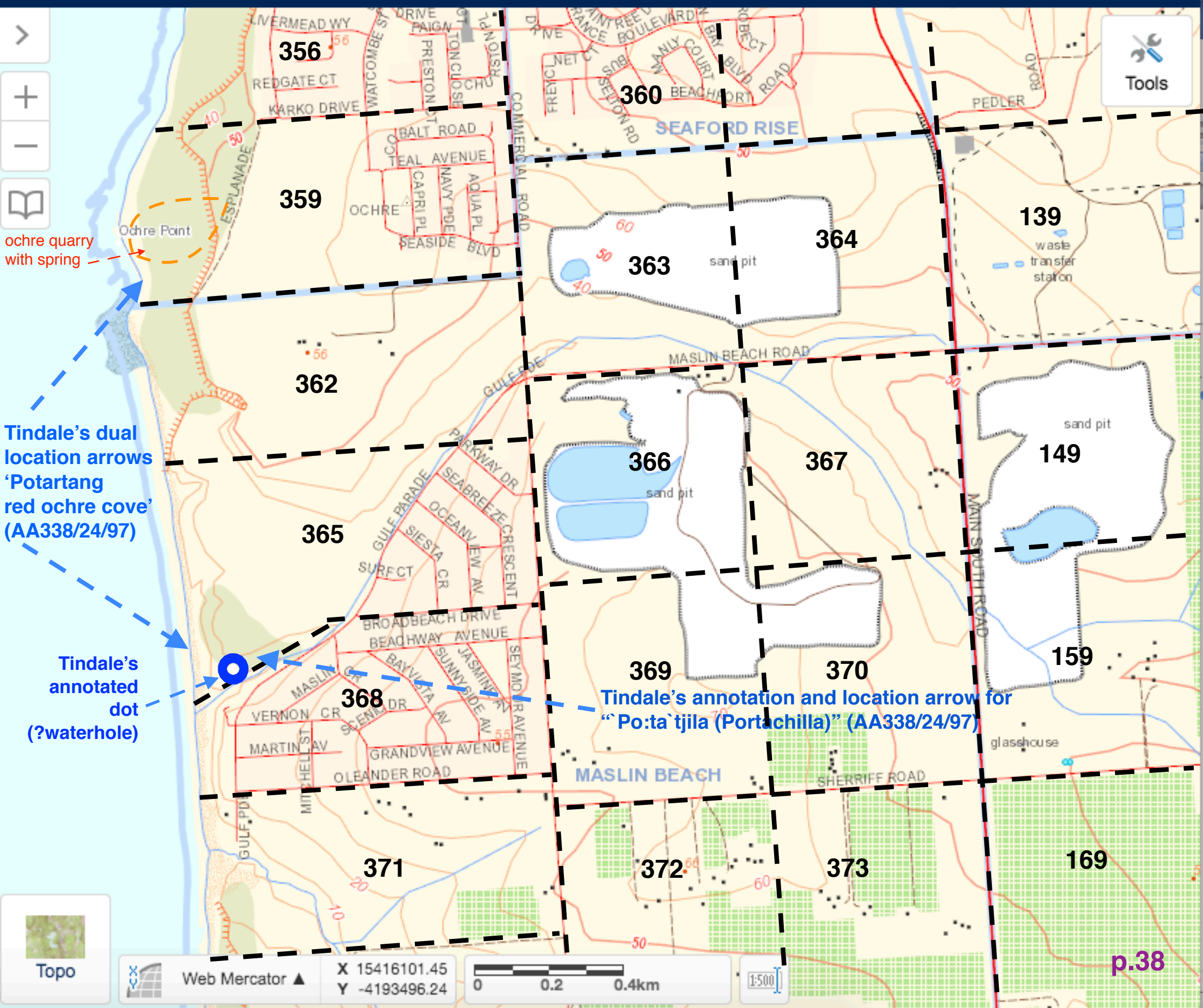
MAPS ON NEXT TWO PAGES:

p.37: MAP 1: Sections around Ochre Cove and Moana.

p.38: MAP 2: Sections around Ochre Cove and Maslin's Beach.

DRAFT 10 July 2020





ochre quarry with spring

Tindale's dual location arrows 'Potartang red ochre cove' (AA338/24/97)

Tindale's annotated dot (?waterhole)

Tindale's annotation and location arrow for "Po:ta tjila (Portachilla)" (AA338/24/97)