

Notes on Aboriginal Cultural Heritage of the Mt Lofty Ranges

(Background material from Neale Draper and Australian cultural Heritage Management (ACHM) for the Mt Lofty Ranges World Heritage Bid)

1. Native Title Status

The Peramangk Aboriginal group does not have a native title claim lodged over its asserted traditional land and is represented for heritage matters by a heritage committee. As an incorporated body, the Mannum Aboriginal Community Association Incorporated (MACAI) represents the heritage interests of the Peramangk people.

The western foothills of the South Mount Lofty Ranges, fall within the boundary of the Kurna Native Title Claim area (SC00/1).

2. Kurna Cultural Heritage

The Aboriginal people of the western Mount Lofty Ranges region are today recognised as the Kurna people (Edwards 1972; Groome and Irvine 1981; Hemming 1990) and their traditional lands stretch from Crystal Brook and the Clare Valley in the north to Cape Jervis at the southern end of the Fleurieu Peninsula. This traditional cultural boundary is reflected in the original area lodged under the Kurna Native Title claim (SC00/1). A Map of South Australian Tribes included in A.W Howitt's "The Native Tribes of South-East Australia in 1904 shows the name "Kurna" for the Adelaide region, although his source of information has not been identified (Howitt 1904: facing 44). Kurna was identified as the collective name for Aboriginal people of the Adelaide region by Ivaritji, a revered Kurna Elder in the 1930s (Tindale 1974:213; Hemming 1990:126). Hemming explores the history of the Kurna people in more detail in the article, 'Kurna' identity: a brief history (Hemming 1990).

The western foothills of the South Mount Lofty Ranges were seasonal living places for the Kurna, who used its resources during the winter. In pre-colonial times, Kurna families and clans generally moved inland to more sheltered locations in the Mount Lofty Ranges foot hills in winter, and spent much of the summer fishing and hunting along the coastline of St Vincent Gulf (Tindale 1987:10).

Before European colonisation, the Kurna people of the Adelaide Plains were a very populous society, with more than twenty clans living in tracts of home country that stretched from the foothills of the Mount Lofty Ranges and across the plains to the coastal beaches, estuaries and wetlands. The coastal streams provided watered access routes across these lands. Some Kurna places are known, including the sites and springs along the Tjirbruke Dreaming track, and the archaeological campsites and burial sites along the coastal cliffs and dunes of the Adelaide coastline, and throughout the Fleurieu Peninsula:

In the days of yore, up to the time the march of civilisation began in South Australia, the tribe of Aboriginals afterwards known as the Adelaide tribe, because their haunts embraced the plains between the neighbourhood of Brighton and that of Gawler, used to make the Little Para, which runs

through Salisbury, a rendezvous. Early settlers have often told stories of their meetings with companies of natives in the district, on their way north, and for many years after the proclamation of the State, the natives made the Little Para famous by their tribal ceremonies. There are few localities where better evidence of the popularity of the place as a native resort in the early days can be found than along the banks of the serpentine water-course, and even trees bear testimony to the boat-building industry of the coloured race... Further evidence of the fact that the natives used to congregate there has been found on many occasions by the turning over of small hillocks on the slopes near the creek, which had been built up by generations in the process of baking the game and fish on which the blacks used to live. The remains of numerous Aboriginal ovens have been unearthed, and the soil, which was little else than decomposed vegetable matter and ashes, has been spread over many of the gardens as manure... Old residents of the district, who had had experience in the Darling district before going to Salisbury, and had watched the process of baking animals and birds in the improvised earthen ovens, say that the Salisbury creations of the natives were identical, with those of the river Blacks... In addition to these facts the discovery of Aboriginal skeletons and skulls at various times along the Para has proved beyond a doubt that the place was a burial ground also long before the white man took possession of the country. (Anthropology Newspapers Cutting Book, SAM Anthropology Archives – probably from the Adelaide Advertiser of 22/01/1906).

Kaurna connection to the Mount Lofty Ranges also may be found in place names. Warriparinga, the name for the Sturt River and the Kaurna interpretive centre on the river at Marion, means the river of the wind, or voice - referring both to the gully winds which issue from Sturt Gorge, and the sound of the wind as the voice of Yura, the Creation Ancestor forming the Mt Lofty Range. The permanent water sources and protection afforded by the valleys were valued by the Kaurna and continue to be an important landscape (Tindale, SA Museum Archives; Smith et al 2004:16)

3. Peramangk

There is comparatively little known or documented about the Peramangk by comparison with to their neighbours the Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri. The Peramangk occupied the east-central part of the Mount Lofty Ranges. They had access to plentiful food and had many supplies for the manufacture of tools. As a result of this there was a lot of trading between the Peramangk and especially the western Ngarrindjeri (Peramangk [no date]).

Their territory extended from the south near Myponga, north towards Gawler. and then east along the South Para River to the township of Truro. Their eastern boundary extended from near Towitta and southwards towards Strathalbyn, following the Bremer escarpment. The northern Peramangk lived close to Mount Crawford and were known as the 'Tarrawata'. The Mount Barker Springs group were known as the 'Ngurlinjeri'. A splinter group of the Peramangk nation were known as the 'Merrimayanna', and lived in a semi-permanent campsite in the eastern Barossa Region. (Peramangk [no date])

Documentation by early anthropologist Norman Tindale places [the east-central part of the Mount Lofty Ranges] within the traditional lands of the Peramangk, and records by early settlers document a population of several thousand living in large camps throughout the Mount Lofty Ranges. The area was abundant with food and water, so that the Peramangk were able to remain in semi-permanent camps and did not need to venture far from their traditional lands. Radiocarbon dating of charcoal from fires in the area shows that people have lived in the area for at least 2400 years. This relatively recent date is due to a lack of research

The literature, as well as the discovery of numerous rock art sites and campsites along the Marne River, shows that this area was part of an important trade route and cultural centre, with groups

conducting meetings and ceremonies on the upper banks of Saunders Creek and the Marne River, near Springton and Eden Valley.

3.1 The Effects of European Settlement on the Peramangk

By the mid-1840s, European settlement was encroaching on much of Peramangk territory, with flocks of sheep crowding the watering places traditionally used by the Peramangk and the animals they hunted. Because the area included some of the most productive agricultural land in South Australia (Laut et al 1977: 54), agriculture rapidly expanded in the district. Hossfeld (1926: 291) provides an example of the destruction that occurred to resources in the area:

As land in the Ranges was cleared for agriculture and water sources were fenced for stock (mostly sheep), and the Peramangk were largely displaced from their lands, many moving to live in the Riverland nearby, while some moved to the Adelaide Plains and lived among the Kurna (Coles and Draper 1988:2-3, Cawthorne Diary). By the mid-1850s documentary sources referring to the Hills Tribe began to disappear, and many of the Peramangk moved to live in the Riverland, displaced by agriculture (Coles and Draper 1988: 2-3).

The current local Heritage Committee at Mannum services both traditional Peramangk country in the South Mount Lofty Ranges and eastern foothills and also a stretch of Murray River country centred on Mannum. This situation originates from the mid-nineteenth century marriage of prominent ancestors “King” Jerry (Mason) from Mannum and Ngaut Ngaut on the Murray, and Jenny Christmas from the Peramangk in the Ranges (both are buried near Mannum – N. Draper field notes 1988).

3.2 Geographical Area and Tribal Boundaries

Anthropologist Norman Tindale recorded the traditional lands of the Peramangk people as being in the Mt Lofty Ranges, extending as far south as Myponga and as far north as Gawler and Angaston, east to Wright Hill, Strathalbyn and Kanmantoo, and along the eastern scarp of the range to near Towitta (Tindale 1974: 217; Coles and Draper 1988: 5; Coles and Hunter 2010: 13). Accounts from early European settlers record that the Peramangk people could have numbered several thousand inhabitants living in large camps near the Mount Barker summit, Mount Crawford, Eden Valley and Springton (Coles and Hunter 2010: 13), and radiocarbon dating of charcoal from campsites in the area shows that people have lived in the Ranges for around 2400 years (Coles and Hunter 2010: 13). Map 8-1 shows the tribal boundaries as recorded by Tindale (1974: 217).

This was an area well-endowed with resources, including food, water, firewood, raw materials such as stone, timber and resins for manufacturing tools, bark for huts, shields and canoes, pigments for painting, and animals for food and fur (Coles and Draper 1988: 11). As such, while some neighbouring groups such as the Ngarkat to the east had to live a relatively nomadic lifestyle in order to exploit the available resources, the Peramangk did not need to venture far in order to survive. They lived for much of the year in the vicinity of Mount Barker, and along the strip of Red Gum country running north to the Angaston district. With abundant water and plenty of animals and plant life to exploit, the Peramangk had little need to visit the plains. During winter, they stayed below an altitude of around 360 m, and winter shelters constructed of branches, bark, grass and leaves, often around hollow gum trees, have been recorded in the northern part of Peramangk country, around the Eden Valley and Angaston districts (Hossfeld 1926; Coles and Draper 1988: 11).

Boundaries between the tribes maintained themselves for a number of reasons. To begin with, the boundary of circumcision includes the Peramangk, with groups to the east of the Ranges not engaging in that practice of initiation (Coles and Draper 1988: 6; Tindale 1974). As such, those living to the east of the Mount Lofty Ranges were afraid of the Peramangk due to their practice of circumcision, while the Murray River peoples were also said to have a strong dislike of closed-in

forests and hills, preferring to be able to see the horizon (Tindale 1974; Coles and Hunter 2010: 16). Meanwhile, to the west, the Kurna feared the Peramangk for their reputed powers of evil magic (Tindale 1974; Coles and Hunter 2010: 16). With groups on either side fearing them and having no desire to venture into the hills, boundaries maintained themselves without any need for the use of force.

However, it is also noted in the diaries of early settler and teacher W.A. Cawthorne that a close relationship probably existed between the Peramangk and the Kurna. He suggests that the name Peramangk may in fact be Kurna in origin, being the combination of the words peroo (flesh) and maingker (red colour), which may be a reference to impressions of initiated Peramangk men painted in red ochre (Cawthorne 1844-46).

3.3 Land Use and Daily Life

As stated above, the Peramangk occupied an area abundant with food, water and other exploitable resources such as stone, timber, resins, pigments and furs (Coles and Draper 1988: 3). Coles and Hunter (2010: 34-55) list the numerous plant, animal and other resources they were able to make use of in the area. Women generally gathered the native roots and bulbs for food, roasting them in baskets in earthen ovens (Coles and Hunter 2010: 34).

Water courses such as the Marne were important trade routes for several groups. Among other groups, the Peramangk traded with the Kurna, and with the Ngangaruku, who visited the eastern hills near Springton seasonally, travelling upstream along Saunders Creek and the River Marne (Hossfeld 1926). Important trade items for the Peramangk included the bark from Manna gum, and stringybark and iron pyrites used to light fires (Schmidt 1983: 66). Items brought into Peramangk country included chert pieces from the lower South East, and from further north along the Murray River, possum skins used to make fur cloaks, and River Red Gum bark used for bowls, shields and canoes (Hunter and Coles 2010: 68). The people of the Murray River and plains are known to have brought mallee wood branches to trade, ideal for manufacturing spears (Tindale 1974; Coles and Draper 1988: 6). Other items traded included milky quartz and crystals for the manufacture of spear barbs and blades used in skin cutting ceremonies and sorcery practices. Ochre used for body-coating and rock art, slate scrapers, and umbilical cords of new-born babies to be used in the practice of sorcery were also traded. Edge-ground axes were also brought all the way from Victoria, beginning their journey as blanks, and arriving in South Australia ground and polished. Some of these were used to cut wood, and others were regarded as status symbols for senior tribal members (Coles and Hunter 2010: 68).

Important gatherings and corroborees also occurred along these trade routes. The network of painting sites and semi-permanent campsites throughout the region suggests that the central ranges around the Palmer area was a major cultural exchange centre, where groups would not only trade, but also settle grievances, perform ceremonies, organise marriages, and instruct young group members in the law (Coles and Hunter 2010: 156; see also Blair 1997). The Peramangk would have had clear views of the trading groups' campfires from their shelters, and would have been able to prepare in advance for their arrival and for the large ceremonies that would follow (Coles and Hunter 2010: 156).

The ceremonies would probably have taken place on the upper banks of Saunders Creek and the Marne River, near Springton and Eden Valley (Hossfeld 1926). According to Cawthorne's diaries, each tribe sat separately, although close, in a horse-shoe shape, with each tribe dancing and singing in turn for an hour or two (Cawthorne 1844). Coles and Hunter (2010: 55) write, 'The corroborees were a means of connecting the participants and audience with the land.'

The streams issuing from the Mt Lofty Ranges both to the east and the west were the major traditional travelling routes for Ngarrindjeri and Riverland people (to the east) and the Kurna, Narrunga and Ngadjuri people to the west and north-west for meetings in the ranges and crossing the ranges for gatherings further afield.

4. Myths and Creation Stories for Mount Lofty Ranges – Peramangk and Kurna

Several myths or creation stories have been recorded which make mention of Peramangk country (see Coles and Hunter 2010: 89-98). These stories are often shared between neighbouring tribes, each of which holds slightly different versions of the story.

One well known story is that of Tjilbruki (or Tjibruki), specifically the versions recorded by Tindale (1987). Although this story is often considered to be chiefly of importance among the Kurna people of the Adelaide plains, Tjilbruki travels through Peramangk country as part of his journey (to Brechung, where he collected pyrites to use with flint from the South East of SA for striking sparks to make fire). A Peramangk account of the story was provided to Tindale by Robert Mason of the Mannum area (Tindale 1987; see also Coles and Hunter 2010: 89). In tracking an emu, he is thought to have followed it through Myponga, near the southern boundary of Peramangk country (Coles and Hunter 2010: 90).

A second Kurna story which relates to Peramangk country is that of Juredla (also Yura), an ancestral giant who came from the east to attack the people of the plains. Sometimes recorded as the rainbow serpent, Tindale (1974: 64) recorded the name in Kurna as meaning, 'the body of an ancestral man'. The giant was slain, and his fallen body forms the Mount Lofty Ranges, stretching approximately 60 km from Mount Lofty to Nuriootpa. The twin peaks of Mount Lofty and Mount Bonython are his two ears (Coles and Hunter 2010: 93; Tindale 1974: 64). The town of Uraidla is said to have been named after this giant by the South Australian Premier, Sir Thomas Playford (Coles and Hunter 2010: 93).

Ngurunderi, another creation ancestor, is said to have been involved with the creation customs and beliefs of the Peramangk, as well as the visiting lower Murray tribes. He is also credited with having created the Murray River. The Point McLeay Missionary, Rev. George Taplin (1879: 55, 58), wrote the following about Ngurunderi:

He is said to have made all things on earth and to have given to men the weapons of war and hunting. Ngurunderi instituted all the rites and ceremonies which are practised by the Aborigines, whether connected with life or death... the natives regard thunder as the angry voice of Ngurunderi and the rainbow as also a production of his.

Another Kurna story makes mention of the Peramangk association with the hilly country to the east of Adelaide. It is the story of Pootpobberrie, who is said to have, along with his wife and children, 'had possession of the hill country east of the great plain.' As related to James Cronk by C.H. Harris in 1913, 'They did not eat flesh, but lived on roots, fruit, and wattle-gum and to supply their wants with least trouble robbed their neighbours on the plain' (a likely reference to the Kurna) (Public Service Review 1913: 34-36).

Like many visible features of the landscape, the Mount Lofty Ranges align with Aboriginal Ancestral beings of their Creation mythology. This is evident in the Kurna nomenclature for the Mount Lofty Ranges from Nuriootpa to Willunga, which has been recorded as "the body of an ancestral man" (Tindale 1974:64), which in fact constitutes the body of Yura the rainbow serpent, whose story is cultural confidential to male Elders. As a result, several Kurna place names along the range refer to body parts – Ngarrumuka (brain, now called Gumeracha), Picola (eyebrow), Yureidla (place of the ears; now called Uraidla), Warriparri (throat river; now called Sturt River), Willingga (place of the chest; now called Willunga) (Martin 1987:9; Ellis and Houston 1976:5; N. Draper field notes).

The area around Mt. Barker Summit and through the central and eastern Adelaide Hills generally is recognised as the traditional country of the Peramangk people, whose known descendants constitute a much smaller group than either the Kurna or Ngarrindjeri. The Peramangk people do not have a native title claim lodged at this time and so there is no self-defined traditional boundary available as a guide to their area of interest as traditional owners, or even whether they would agree with the Kurna definition of their mutual boundary within the Adelaide Hills.

We also understand that although Mt Barker and its environs lie outside the Ngarrindjeri traditional lands and their native title claim area, that the mountain is a very prominent physical feature which can be seen from much of their flat, lower Murray country, and that it is culturally very significant to them. It is associated with their Creation Ancestor Ngurunderi, and also with the rainbow serpent.

As well as being an area clearly associated with Peramangk people – a local group was often referred to as “the Mount Barker Tribe” – it is also highly likely that Mount Barker itself was a meeting ground for inter-tribal gatherings (Coles and Draper 1988). There is a record of several hundred people camping near Mount Barker in the early 1840s (Davison diary 28/3/1842; Schmidt 1983; cited in Coles and Draper 1988), and the permanence of water – including both the Mount Barker Creek and other fresh-water streams – was adequate to support not only a regular population, but also large gatherings of people. Furthermore, the northern flank of the mountain was a source of pale pink to dark red ochre, used for personal adornment and ceremonial body painting.

Traditional exchange items included sheets of red-gum bark from Peramangk country and mallee spears from the Lower Murray, as well as possum skins for winter cloaks (Coles and Draper, 1988: 31). It also appears that trade and associated travel continued despite colonial dispersal and decimation of various Aboriginal populations (Hossfeld 1926; cited in Coles and Draper 1988), and that traditional trade routes were retained for colonist-derived rations also (Foster 1989:75). As Coles and Draper (1988) note, “The exchange of items appears to have been a long-established, regular event – probably with some ceremonial associations – and the arrangement was still honoured as far as possible by the Murray people even after European settlement had destroyed the Peramangk way of life” (Coles and Draper 1988:31). Mount Barker summit was also an important burial place (Draper 1985).

Ethnographic research and consultation (Draper 1985; no date) indicates that Mount Barker itself is a very significant site according to Aboriginal cultural tradition, but there has not been any opportunity to follow this up and register it as an Aboriginal site. Sensitive and confidential Aboriginal cultural information is involved, so that site registration might be difficult.

5. Archaeological Significance of the Mount Lofty Ranges

Aboriginal sites are common in the Mount Lofty Ranges, comprising rock art, artefact scatters, campsites, burials, CMTs and rock shelters containing occupational debris. Previous research indicates that such site types are most likely to be found in the vicinity of a watercourse, and that watercourses are often culturally significant in and of themselves.

The South Mount Lofty Ranges contain numerous Aboriginal sites, particularly near the banks of creeks and rivers emanating from the catchment. The western foothills of the South Mount Lofty Ranges were seasonal living places for the Kurna, who used its resources during the winter. There is at least one rock art site known on the western face of the foothills, along with numerous culturally modified trees, and traditional burials are known to have taken place near the townships of this area in historic times. This area was also traditionally a place of cultural interaction between the Kurna and their Peramangk neighbours.

The South Mount Lofty Ranges are particularly rich in rock art sites, which occur not only in large rock shelters but also on relatively small outcrops and rocks, and at low altitudes. Aboriginal camp sites are common in the ranges, particularly in sandy areas adjacent water courses; these areas are also highly likely to contain traditional burials. CMTs are numerous in the ranges and occur with frequency near other sites, such as camps, and along water courses. The probability of the project works encountering sites anywhere in the ranges is thus high, particularly near water.

Water courses in general have been identified as 'hotspots' for finding archaeological materials, as well as being potentially ethnographically significant. As such, there is a heightened probability that Aboriginal sites will be found wherever the route passes near or through a water course.

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5.1 Rock art

Rock art is perhaps the most significant site type in the Mount Lofty Ranges; currently, more than 70 rock art sites are known in the ranges, and a large number exist specifically within the region adjacent the project area, with a cluster known around Macclesfield (Coles [no date]). Rock art sites are common throughout the length of the ranges and, although they are far more prevalent on the eastern sides of the ranges, at least one site is known on the western side, at Brownhill Creek, with another possible series of engravings at Waterfall Gully (Gara and Turner 1986).

Most rock art occurs on the inside surfaces of the numerous mica-schist and sandstone rock-shelters and caverns commonly found adjacent the creeks in the ranges, as well as on the undersides of granite drop-boulders and angled strike-ridges (Blair 1997). Most of the paintings are found on the back walls of the deep cave-like rock shelters, out of the wind and rain, where preservation conditions are best; however, rock art is also found on walls of rock with little to no overhang, where the aspect protects the art from the prevailing weather (Ross and Ellis 1974), and engraved motifs occur on more exposed surfaces (e.g. Gara and Turner 1986). Paintings have also been found in small, relatively shallow shelters.

The rock art of the Mount Lofty Ranges is predominantly paintings produced in red, yellow, black and white pigments (Coles and Draper 1988; Gara and Turner 1986). Most often the pigment has been applied in solution like paint, using fingers or brushes, although 'dry-pigment' application – using pieces of ochre, clay or charcoal like crayons, to draw directly on the rock surface – is not uncommon. The pigments were most likely made from coloured ochre, clay, bird droppings, charcoal, blood and animal fat (Coles and Draper 1988). Some motifs are executed in a single colour and outlined in another (usually white), in an attempt to highlight the image against the dark (often fire-blackened) rock surface (e.g. Tindale and Sheard 1927).

The most common recognisable motif is the human or anthropomorphic figure (Coles and Draper 1988; Gara and Turner 1986), which is portrayed in a variety of attitudes – including some apparently holding boomerangs and shields (e.g. Hossfeld 1926). Dots, curvilinear and geometric forms, such as lines and circles, are also common, with animals such as snakes, lizards, birds, marsupials and mammals – including recent introductions, such as horses – along with human and animal tracks, also occasionally depicted (Gara and Turner 1986; Figure 2; for other examples, see Hossfeld 1926; Preiss 1964; Stirling 1902; Tindale and Sheard 1927).

5.2 Campsites

Another site type common to the Mount Lofty Ranges is the Aboriginal campsite. The ranges are well watered and contain abundant resources, such as wood and bark for fires and implements, stone for tool production, resins for food and hafting, pigments for ceremony and art production, and furred animals, for both meat and skins (Draper 1985). As such, camps could be large and groups could be maintained in an area for long periods before having to move living quarters. Early colonists in the region noted that large groups of Aboriginal people would camp by the banks of a creek for many weeks at a time, and there are many specific references to campsite locations observed by the settlers in the region, such as the camp of 'Charlotte' and 'Black Mary', near Clarendon Bridge, on the Onkaparinga River (Schmidt 1983).

The archaeological remains of such campsites are most often found adjacent the numerous creeks and streams feeding out of the ranges, usually situated on the sandy banks and overflow areas of the larger water courses (Ross and Ellis 1974; e.g. Hossfeld 1926). From site descriptions, such campsites usually consist of large open areas containing scattered stone artefacts and the remains of hearths and ground ovens – the use of which in the region is also attested by the historical record (e.g. Schmidt 1983). Human burials are sometimes found within campsites, and rock art and CMTs are also often found in close proximity (Gara and Turner 1986), indicating that, as suggested above, a range of activities were taking place at these locations.

Charcoal from a hearth site near Saunders Creek has been dated to 800 (\pm 80) years before present (Coles 1993). This site includes two ceremonial stone circles, with nearby burial sites, and it seems likely that it is the same extensive semi-permanent Saunders Creek campsite described earlier by Hossfeld (1926).

5.3 Aboriginal burials

Burial grounds are also known in the Mount Lofty Ranges, particularly in sandy areas near creeks and rivers (Gara and Turner 1982; Hossfeld 1926). As mentioned above, these are the areas also targeted for campsites, and the co-location of burials and campsites in sandy grounds adjacent water sources is not uncommon.

A number of burial sites are registered in the vicinity of the project area but there are also numerous references to burial grounds in colonial reminiscences. The district of Kangarilla was home to a number of such areas. Numerous Aboriginal skeletons were unearthed accidentally by early settlers ploughing their fields, although a number of specific locations were also in active use as cemeteries during the early colonial period, and traditional burials were observed taking place at least up until the 1850s/60s (Kangarilla Progress Association 1975). Jack Sharp, growing up in Nairne prior to c.1900, remembers visiting 'forbidden' areas near the summits of the ranges, in order to inspect the decayed remains inside the 'hut burials' of the Aboriginals (Reg Butler, pers. comm., cited in Draper 1985).

Importantly, a number of historically important Aboriginal ancestors are recorded to have been buried in the South Mount Lofty region. Two renowned ancestors of the Kurna, Ityamaitpinna ('King Rodney') and his wife, Tankaira ('Queen Charlotte'), both died in the Clarendon area about 1860 (Clarendon Historic Hall Committee 1973). Their daughter Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') was another very significant Kurna ancestor (Tindale 1974:213; Gara 1990; Hemming 1990:126). An early settler records that 'King John' (Mullawirraburka), husband of 'Mount Barker Mary' and a famous Kurna figure in the annals of Adelaide's early colonial years, was buried either near Echunga in a traditional hut burial (Sanders 1909, in Draper 1985), or near Clarendon (Gara, n.d.).

Many Aboriginal people were also buried in the numerous chapel and church cemeteries around the hills, often in unmarked graves and as a result of forced attempts to Christianise the Indigenous population (e.g. Clarendon Historic Hall Committee 1973; Kangarilla Progress Association 1975).

Although these burials are outside the purvey of sites under the Aboriginal Heritage Act 1988, as burials in accordance with the laws of the state, the enforced element of (no doubt) many of these burials may make these places important to present day Aboriginal people as sites representing the imposition of colonial rule.

5.4 Culturally modified trees (CMTs)

The CMT is possibly the most abundant site type in the region. Found primarily on the banks of the many water courses, most are River Red Gums bearing scars from the removal of bark for use as a dish, shield or canoe (e.g. Gara and Turner 1982; Figure 3), although large 'sheets' were also often removed for use in shelter construction (Tindale 1974, cited in Coles and Draper 1988). Additionally, smaller scars may also be present, where toe-holds have been cut out and/or spikes driven into the wood by Aboriginal people climbing trees to catch possums for food and skins (e.g. Sanders 1909, in Draper 1985).

5.5 Rock shelters

Rock shelters with occupational debris are reasonably abundant in the South Mount Lofty Ranges. Rock shelters of sufficient height and having reasonably sized living areas are sometimes found to contain hearths, stone tools and food remains (Gara and Turner 1986), and a number have been reported containing artefacts manufactured from imported stone such as chert, as well as, occasionally, rock art (e.g. Hancock 1997).

6. Ngarrindjeri

6.1 Ngarrindjeri Identity

The Ngarrindjeri people today are represented in terms of cultural heritage matters by the Ngarrindjeri Regional Authority, which has its office in Murray Bridge.

The Ngarrindjeri people have inhabited the general region of the Lower Murray regions, [the southern Mt. Lofty Ranges extending along the Fleurieu Peninsula,] and the resource rich coastline of Encounter Bay and the Southern Ocean, for many generations. They are a distinct community of people that have shared a physical and spiritual tie with the land over a long period of time. The Ngarrindjeri nation was traditionally divided into 'lakalinyerar' (or tribes) (see Bell 1998: 29, Berndt & Berndt 1993, Jenkin 1979: 23, Tindale 1974, Taplin 1873 in Woods 1879: 119). Although the 'exact' scope of the Ngarrindjeri landscape is unclear, Norman Tindale's boundaries are generally accepted as reasonable parameters for reference (Tindale 1974). Diane Bell, author of the 'ethnographic portrait' of Ngarrindjeri culture titled *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: a world that is, was, and will be* describes the extent of the Ngarrindjeri nation as:

Running from Swanport on the Murray River, down to Kingston in the east, and Cape Jervis in the west, Ngarrindjeri lands take in Lakes Alexandrina and Albert, Encounter Bay, a number of small off-shore islands and rock formations, the Coorong and the hummocks, the scrub back-country to Strathalbyn, salt lakes, claypans, numerous fresh-water wells, valleys where river gums create deep shade, and the mighty Murray as it winds to the mouth where it debouches into the chill waters of the Southern Ocean. It is generally agreed that peoples who lived along the Coorong were known as the Tangani (Tangane, Tanganekald); those who lived on the east side of Lake Alexandrina and Murray River, the Yaraldi (Jaralde, Jaraldekald); the Ramindjeri occupied the Encounter Bay region; Warki (Warkend) lands were on the north and west of Lake Alexandrina; and the Portaulan were on the western banks of the Murray River. Across the Mt. Lofty Ranges were the Kurna, with whom the

Ngarrindjeri had some links through trade and marriage but whose ceremonial life and language were quite distinct (Bell 1998: 29)

Ngarrindjeri land encompasses the 'best of both worlds' with the beautiful landscape and fertile soils of the south-eastern fringe of the Mt. Lofty Ranges and Lower Murray regions over to the resource rich coastline of Encounter Bay and the Southern Ocean. All year round water was never far away. The Fleurieu Peninsula features many streams and creeks that collect water run-off that filters through the Mt. Lofty Ranges. The Mt. Lofty Ranges is a geographical divider of territories to the Ngarrindjeri's northern neighbours, the Kurna of the Adelaide plains (Ellis in Twidale 1976: 115).

There is a considerable amount written about the Ngarrindjeri people describing their cultural heritage as dense, diverse and relatively stable (see Bell 1998, Berndt & Berndt 1993, Jenkin 1979, Ellis in Extract from SA Yearbook 1978: 2). The South Australian Museum houses numerous artefacts collected over many years from the Fleurieu Peninsula. Section 5.2 describes briefly the Dreamtime ancestor of the Ngarrindjeri, 'Ngurunderi', and the creation of the Ngarrindjeri landscape and heavens. Some of these creations include the Murray River and its fish species, Long Island (Lenteilin), Granite Island and the Bluff, the rocky Pages Islands and geographical features on Kangaroo Island.

The considerable resources of the region that has sustained the Ngarrindjeri culture for generations, and the historical accounts and paintings and recent writings about Ngarrindjeri people point to a rich, complex and ongoing culture that deserves respect, attention and inclusion when it comes to matters concerning their ancestral landscape.

6.2 The Ngurunderi Creation

The Dreamtime ancestor of the Ngarrindjeri and Ramindjeri, 'Ngurunderi', was responsible for the creation of the landscape and heavens. Some of these creations include the Murray River and its fish species, Long Island (Lenteilin), Granite Island and the Bluff, the rocky Pages Islands and the Milky Way where Ngurunderi eventually rose, to become a star. Ngurunderi travelled down the Coorong to Kingston and back to Cape Jervis creating many of the topographical features visible along this coastline.

The coastline along the Youngusband and Sir Richard Peninsula, and along Encounter Bay is associated in detail with the creation journey of the primary Ngarrindjeri and Ramindjeri Ancestor, 'Ngurunderi'. As Ngurunderi travelled west in pursuit of his two wives, he encountered the Ramindjeri creation Ancestor, 'Jekereje' (as recorded by Tindale 1937; pronounced by Henry Rankine as 'Jekeree'). In a traditional 'Tangane' (Coorong people) song (Song 19 of the 'Milerum' series) recorded by Tindale (1937: 115-6), they met at Port Elliott, where Ngurunderi congratulated Jekereje on his creation of the coastline of Encounter Bay, saying that he had made the fishing grounds at Port Elliott as well as if Ngurunderi had made them himself. In a Ramindjeri version, they met at Goolwa, and Ngurunderi congratulated Jekereje on his creation of the beaches stretching from Goolwa westwards around Encounter Bay (Tindale Archives: Southeast Journal 2: 31; Milerum Folder 8).

6.3 Cultural Significance of Mount Barker

Although Mt Barker and its environs lie outside the Ngarrindjeri traditional lands and their native title claim area, that the mountain is a very prominent physical feature which can be seen from much of their flat, lower Murray country, and it is culturally very significant to them. Mt Barker is associated with several Ngarrindjeri creation Dreamings, including Ngurunderi and the Rainbow Serpent.

7. Ngadjuri

The Ngadjuri Nation is bounded in the south by the Mt Lofty Block (Laut et al. 1977a:54); the Flinders Ranges and surrounding alluvial fans forms the north-western boundary (Laut et al. 1977a:59); and the Eastern Pastoral Province forms the eastern boundary (Laut et al. 1977a:57).

Tindale (1974: 214) provided the following description of the country of the Ngadjuri people.

Ngadjuri

Location: From Angaston and Freeling north to Clare, Crystal brook, Gladstone, Carrieton, and north of Waukaringa to Koonamore; east to Mannahill; in Orroroo, Peterborough, Burra, and Robertstown districts; inhabitants of the gum forest areas. In the period just before the arrival of white people, they were making movements towards the Murray River near Morgan in aggressive attempts to impose the rite of circumcision on the river people. Miranda was a leading male until his death in 1849. The Mimbara horde remained living in the northern bushlands until 1905, the last "wild" group in South Australia. In their last years these people lived near Quorn, at Riverton, and on Willochra Creek. The term Aluri also spelled variously as Hilleri, Yilrea, Eeleeere, etc., is a general term used for several tribes here and on the west coast of South Australia.

Tindale also recorded quite detailed renditions of two Ngadjuri Creation Ancestor stories. One concerns an old woman and her two dogs and the other concerns the Eagle and Crow (Tindale 1937). In his introduction to the two legends, Tindale wrote:

It is probable that less has been written about this tribe than any other in South Australia...The territory of the Ngadjuri people extended from Angaston and Gawler in the south to Port Pirie and Orroroo in the north. Westward they ranged to Crystal Brook, but they scarcely touched the coast at Spencer Gulf except when on visits to the ['Naranga] people of Yorke Peninsula. In the south their boundaries marches with those of the ['Kurna] between Hamley Bridge and Gawler. Their eastern boundary was the eastern scarp of the Mount Lofty Ranges. Their northern neighbours were the ['Nukunu], who lived on the highlands and coast near Mount Remarkable. To the north east was ['Maraura] country. In accordance with the general practice that each neighbouring people has its own term for a tribe, we find that several names have been applied to the members of the Ngadjuri tribe by surrounding peoples. (Tindale 1937:149).

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