

## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.1/06

### **‘WARABARI’** **(Sellicks Hill cliffs)** (last edited: 25/3/2013)

#### Abstract

According to Tindale’s primary record in Milerum’s ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ in 1934, the name ‘Warabari’ was used for a cliff point, the ‘first’ south of Sellick’s Hill, where Tjelbruke made smoke signals.

Tjelbruke took revenge on members of another clan at an unspecified campsite nearby, and some of them dived off the cliffs and turned into various species of fish who frequented Aldinga Bay. With this connection, it is likely that the immediate area of the Point – with its steep cliffs above deep water and optimal view of Aldinga Bay – was used to look out for schools of fish heading north to the Bay, an excellent place for net fishing.

The name is probably Kurna in origin, but there is no evidence from early settlement times that the Kurna used it here, nor was any other name recorded then in the area between Sellick’s Beach and Myponga Beach. No meanings have been suggested for the name.

NOTE: ‘Warabari’ or *Wara-parri* must not be confused with the quite separate name *Warri-parri*, ‘wind river = Sturt River’, which has often been mispronounced and misspelt as ‘Warra’.

Tindale’s journal record of the ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ by Milerum in 1934 is a series of hand-written notes probably taken during the narration, with many incomplete sentences and abbreviations, and some geographical ambiguities. In using ‘Warabari’ here, he probably misunderstood Milerum, who allegedly also gave the same name in the same narrative for two other places in quite different hill country: the cave entrance where Tjelbruke buried his nephew, and also his cave exit. Both of these are said to be in the central Southern Fleurieu ranges.

Only the exit has other primary evidence to support it: it is almost certainly the same place as Milerum’s ‘Wataraberingg’ near Mt Hayfield (see PNS 5.3/4 Watarara-parringga and 7.1/1 Witawalang), making a specific mythical link with a fairly specific place. The Kurna may have used the original form of the name there.

The manuscript of the record also contains a number of marginal additions, all undated and mostly uncredited. These include ‘Witawali’ as an equivalent for ‘Warabari’ both times it is mentioned in the ranges, as above. According to one of Tindale’s cards, this came from another of his informants, Ramindjeri man Ephraim Tripp in 1940, who named the same burial cave in the *‘highest part of hill close to Cape Jervis’* as *‘Witawali’*, and connected it with Ngurunduri rather than Tjilbruki. However,

this name was also given by Milerum, in the form 'Witawalang', as being at or near a range site where Tjelbruke 'came out'. See PNS 7.1/1 Witawalang.

However, when Tindale published his composite version of the story in 1987, he suppressed most of these details, opting only for the alleged 'Warabari' near Myponga, and transferring it arbitrarily (or unawares) from the signal site to a nearby campsite where Tjirbruki wreaked revenge.

The Myponga cliff site could conceivably have been a second use of the same name; but this is not very likely, Tindale's primary records are too ambiguous to prove it, and there is no other supporting evidence.

<b>Coordinates</b>	-35.352936° Latitude, 138.43503° Longitude.
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### Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	Unknown
<i>Etymology</i>	Unknown
<i>Notes</i>	Probably a Ngarrindjeri adaptation of a Kurna name; but it is uncertain whether the name belonged here originally.
<i>Language Family</i>	Probably Yaraldic: 'Ngarrindjeri'.
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	Unknown
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	Unknown
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	Unknown
<i>Pronunciation</i>	" <u>W</u> ara- <u>b</u> ari"
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable; Secondary stress on the 3 <sup>rd</sup> ; Every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'.

### Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	1934
<i>Original source text</i>	"He (Tjel.) started from there [ <i>Kingston Park</i> ] walked... got round past Sellicks Hill 1 <sup>st</sup> hill point past there place called Warabari past Myponga round coast (big point, cliff). Made a smoke... [ <i>after men fled from Limi's camp and some became fish</i> ] Satisfied. Stopped there nephew dry enough. After rolled him up went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made way in caves. Went right in as not far enough in. Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called Warabari [ <i>inserted: Witawali</i> ] (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) and got good place there and put in cave. Instead of going back he made it wide enough for him to go on inside until he got right up on top of range at Warabari [ <i>inserted: Witawali</i> ]. He came out onto main range there looked down...." [circled note after end of story] "Change name Waraberi [ <i>sic</i> ] to Witawali within story".
<i>Reference</i>	Milerum 15/2/1934, 'Story of Tjelbruke', in Tindale 'SE of SA' journal Vol.2, AA 338/1/33/2: 48-50.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Clarence Long (Milerum)
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Ephraim Tripp 1940

<i>Date</i>	1935-6
<i>Original source text</i>	"The old man then carried his nephew's body to the beach at Sellick's Hill, where he noticed a fine bay, suitable for catching sea salmon at night-time. His tears brought a spring into being there. From Sellick's Hill he went along the coast, passing [ˈMaitpaˈŋa] (Myponga) on his left, and came to [ˈKarika:liŋˈga]..."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1936, 'Story of [Tji:rbuki]', in Tindale and Mountford, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 5(4): 501.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Albert Karlowan
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	c.1940
<i>Original source text</i>	"[from 'Ruwuru (near Aldinga)] He picked up his sister's son again and went on walking to a cave ( <i>peki</i> ) near Sellicks Beach. Then he walked with his burden to a swamp of <i>nguri</i> reeds near Karikalingga (Carrickalinga Hill)..."
<i>Reference</i>	Berndt and Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> : 234.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Karlowan
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	n.d. (?1980s)
<i>Original source text</i>	"Warabari - Highest part of hill close to Cape Jervis where Tjirbruke found a cave for the body of his nephew. In Ephraim Tripp's version the place is named Witawali and is attributed to Ngurunduri and not Tjirbruke. / Tindale ms SESA J 2:50 / Tindale from E. Tripp Sept 1940."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kurna place-name card 633.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Ephraim Tripp
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	1987
<i>Original source text</i>	"Then Tjirbruki left [ <i>Kingston Park</i> ], following the track of his <i>kari</i> [ <i>emu</i> ] along the coast... to [ˈWitawali] where the tracks turned inland. There, near Sellicks Hill, the old name of which has been forgotten, the tracks were lost... The old man then carried the body to [ˈWitawali] on the beach north of Sellick's Hill... Instead of continuing along the beach he turned inland and climbed over Sellick's Hill. He kept Maitpanga on his left and climbed another high hill (it may have been Mt Jeffcott or Black Hill). There he made a smoke signal. White smoke went straight up. People who were camped at a place called [ˈWarabari] saw the smoke and began to interpret its meaning:... The men saw that Tjirbruki meant mischief and all took headers into the water and turned into fish. Thus, in the sea off [ˈNgaldengga] today you will find [ˈngarak:ani] the gummy shark, [ˈlimi] the cobbler carpet shark, also [ˈŋeŋaraˈtawi] (the southern fiddler), and [ˈtul:aki], 'the long thin shark with the flag on it' (which we have not identified, although it perhaps is the cocktail shark...)."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings of Tjirbruki', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 20: 7a, 8b, 9a.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	n.d. (1987 or after)
<i>Original source text</i>	“Warabari - place name not localised but in the area around Mt Jeffcott or Black Hill where the Myponga Reservoir is now. It appears in the Tjirbruki story as a place of the Witjarlung clan about Myponga. Tindale ms. Tindale 1987:9.”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kurna place-name card 634/2.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

## Discussion: TJELBRUKE AT ‘WARABARI’, SELLICK’S:

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### 1. TJIRBRUKI and SMOKE SIGNALS – A HISTORY OF ‘WARABARI’ IN MILERUM and TINDALE.

#### 1a. ‘WARABARI’ IN TINDALE 1987:

‘Warabari’ is well-known from Tindale’s 1987 publication ‘The Wanderings of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kurna people of Adelaide’, In this version of the tale it is the site of a violent incident:



*While there [at Sellick's Beach], Tjirbruki began to think of further grudges and as he was passing through the pangkara of the Witjarlung families it disturbed him that they had failed to pass on the message of forgiveness to Kulultuwi and his other nephews. Instead of continuing along the beach he turned inland and climbed over Sellick's Hill. He kept Maitpanga on his left and climbed another high hill (it may have been Mt Jeffcott or Black Hill). There he made a smoke signal. White smoke went straight up. People who were camped at a place called [Warabari] saw the smoke and began to interpret its meaning:... Tjirbruki made other fires as he picked up the answering smoke, and continued to do so until he was close enough to hear the people shouting. It was the camp of the men [Limi] and [Ngarak`ani]... He untied his bundle of spears, taking as many as he could hold, and walked directly into the camp. A first spear he drove into Ngarakkani, another into [Denjara`tawi], a third into Limi, and the last one into [Tul:aki]. (Even in those days it was proper to spear people in the legs unless murder was the direct intention). The men saw that Tjirbruki meant mischief and all took headers into the water and turned into fish. Thus, in the sea off [Ngaldengga] today you will find [ngarak:ani] the gummy shark, [limi] the cobbler carpet shark, also [nenjara`tawi] (the southern fiddler), and [tul:aki], 'the long thin shark with the flag on it' (which we have not identified, although it perhaps is the cocktail shark, ). These fish became the ngaitji or totems of members of the Witjarlung clan of the Kaurna tribe. Any other people who were present when Tjirbruki took his revenge fled and turned into birds, leaving only the old man there, alone.<sup>1</sup>*

As a whole, 'Wanderings' is in fact Tindale's own synthesis of two different and sometimes incompatible versions of the story by Clarence Long (Milerum) and Albert Karlowan, with many details added from other informants who (as far as we know) did not mention Tjirbruki at all. Who said what to whom, and when, about 'Warabari'?

#### 1b. 'WARABARI' IN MILERUM 1934:

The earliest source was Milerum's original telling of 'The Story of Tjelbruke' on the Coorong "near [the] coast opposite Tilley Swamp on the evening of 14 February 1934".<sup>2</sup> These pages are Tindale's hand-written notes of the story made more or less while it was being told. There are three incidents relating to 'Warabari', as follows:

Carrying the body,

*He (Tjel.) started from there [Kingston Park] walked.... got round past Sellicks hill 1<sup>st</sup> # point past there place called Warabari past Myponga round coast (big point, cliff). Made a smoke...<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings of Tjirbruki', *Records of SA Museum* 20: 8b-9a.

<sup>2</sup> Tindale, SESA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 44-52.

<sup>3</sup> SESA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 48.

After the revenge,

*Left only Tj by himself. Satisfied. Stopped there nephew dry enough. After rolled him up went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made a way in caves. Went right in as not far enough in. Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there, carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called Warabari [inserted: Witawali] (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) and got good place there and put in cave. Instead of going back he made it wide enough for him to go on inside until he got right up on top of range at Warabari [inserted: Witawali] He came out onto main range there looked down Shut air hole where he came out...<sup>4</sup>*

These are the only primary records of 'Warabari' that I can find. Its geography is sketchily recorded and seems contradictory:

1. It is a cliff headland between Sellicks Hill and Myponga Beach, 'past Sellicks Hill 1<sup>st</sup> hill point past there... past Myponga round coast (big point, cliff)' where Tjelbruke 'made a smoke'.
2. It is 'way inland, a big hill there... (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis)' where Tjelbruke 'got good place there and put in cave', i.e. entered it with the body.
3. It is Tjelbruke's destination and exit, when he decided to 'go on inside until he got right up on top of range' and 'came out onto main range there'.

I have not found any record in Tindale which explains this or its relationship to the data from Walker and Tripp.

These difficulties are amplified by his two undated, uncredited notes which insert "Witawali" alongside Versions 2 and 3 of the name. Who said this, and when?

#### 1c. 'WITAWALI' and 'WARABARI' NEAR CAPE JERVIS:

Catalogued on another of Tindale's Kurna place-name cards is

*Warabari - Highest part of hill close to Cape Jervis where Tjirbruke found a cave for the body of his nephew.*

<sup>4</sup> SESA 2: 49 and 50.

This is clearly taken from page 50 of Milerum's 'Story of Tjelbruke' in 1934, a reference cited specifically on the card.<sup>5</sup>

It continues:

*In Ephraim Tripp's version the place is named Witawali and is attributed to Ngurunduri and not Tjirbruke,*

citing "Tindale from E. Tripp Sept 1940".

Thus it reveals the source of those puzzling insertions, but raises another puzzle: this hills location is a long way from Walker's 'Witawali' at Sellick's Beach.<sup>6</sup>

At the end of Milerum's 1934 story is a circled note: "Change name Waraberi [sic] to Witawali within story".<sup>7</sup> We gather from this that Tindale had decided at some time that Tripp's version of the name was 'correct', but are not told why. He did not follow up his own suggestion to 'change the name', nor is there any hint of a reason why he could feel justified in doing this. A reader who did not know the card might assume that Milerum had given the alternative; but it was not so. The insertion is applied only to the two Warabaris in the far south, not to the one at Myponga on page 48: about this one there are no more clues.

We can only hope that the insertions and the card reflect Tripp's usage rather than assumptions made by Tindale in the moment of field recording and so forever uncheckable. Tindale apparently did not notice (and certainly did not address) the problem of attributing 'Warabari' to both the cave entrance and the exit: not even when inserting Tripp's 'Witawali' alongside both; and this serves as a warning in our use of his materials.

There is no known primary record of what Tripp actually said about Witawali; unless perhaps this is the name missing from the only Tripp record that I have found anywhere in Tindale's journals. Between the last two pieces of Milerum's 'Story', is a "Note from Ephraim Tripp Sept 1940". It says:

*'Mat:ə`mari was son of Durunderi. He died at \_\_\_ [name omitted] and was spread out to dry in the native manner by Durunderi it was from this event that Jarildekald men learned how to smoke and dry their dead.*

No more: nothing indicates the location of the incident.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Tindale Kaurna place-name card 633.

<sup>6</sup> See PNS 4.4.1/4.

<sup>7</sup> SESA 2: 52.

<sup>8</sup> SESA 2: 51.

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1d. 'WARABARI' and 'WITAWALI' IN TINDALE AFTER 1941:

Over the four decades following the death of his only two informants who had mentioned Tjilbruki – Karlowan in 1940, Milerum in 1941 – perhaps Tindale realized that he could not now resolve the uncertainties and confusions in his notes, neither from the original records nor from his memory. As with his other place-names 'Witawatang' and 'Wituwatangk',<sup>9</sup> we can see a selection process at work in his cards and maps, especially when he began to compile a 'definitive and correct' version.

In one undated card 'Warabari' is faithful to its source in Milerum 1934 as the

*place where Tjirbruke lit fires to signal his successful killing of his sister's sons. On coast a big hill and cliff west of Myponga and south of Sellicks Hill was his signal station. / Tindale ms SESA 2:48.*<sup>10</sup>

In all versions of the story this necessarily happens some distance from the Witjarlung camp.

On one secondary map from 1968 or later, 'Witawali' is marked far south across Mt Rapid and southwestward, following Tripp.<sup>11</sup> But on two others it is at Sellick's Beach, following Walker.<sup>12</sup> As far as I know, Tindale never marked 'Warabari' on a map at all.

1e. TINDALE'S 'WANDERINGS' (1987): 'WARABARI' and 'WITAWALI':

Tindale did not publish most of the details from Milerum's account until 53 years after the Coorong trip. He wrote, "The [1987] account... has been brought together from conversations with men of four of the tribes over a long period from 1928 and 1964".<sup>13</sup> The men were Milerum (Tangani); Karlowan (Yaraldi); Walker (Ramindjeri); and Robert Mason for some Peramangk details in 1964;<sup>14</sup> and he also obtained a few totemic details from the Kurna woman Ivaritji in 1929. In fact the last three informants had said nothing about Tjilbruki, and only Milerum had named 'Warabari'.

'Wanderings' is a good story well told, with much confidence and seemingly no doubts. In his publication of Karlowan's account in 1936 it had been "*a legend of the people of Rapid Bay*". In 1987 he described it as "*a tale of the Kurna people of Adelaide*"; but in some respects this version is a story which he constructed himself.

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<sup>9</sup> See PNS 2/21 and 2/22.

<sup>10</sup> Kurna place-name card 634/1.

<sup>11</sup> Tindale annotated map County Hindmarsh, AA338/24/121.

<sup>12</sup> County Adelaide AA 338/24/107; 'Summary of Kurna Area, AA 338/16/8.

<sup>13</sup> Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjilbruki': 5.

<sup>14</sup> See 'Murray River Notes Vol. 2' AA338/1/31/2: 25.



It shows some signs of haste, such as a passage lifted verbatim from the 1936 Karlowan version and still crediting ‘another informant’ for ‘Janawing’,<sup>15</sup> as though the current essay had not already listed a large number of informants; and contains internal discrepancies such as two incompatible spellings for the alleged name of ‘Brighton’.<sup>16</sup>

But there are some more serious issues. Firstly, there are several discrepancies from the original information of the two main informants. Secondly, many details come from other sources which never mentioned Tjirbruki (including ‘Wiljauar’ which is demonstrably not part of any local tradition),<sup>17</sup> but he presents them as though they were an integral part of the original Tjirbruki story. And thirdly, some other details have been suppressed when they differ from his preferred version. It seems could not decide between a popular and a scholarly presentation, wanted to pack in as much as possible, but usually could not bear to go public with differing and competing versions of anything, even when that was clearly what he had. In this he seriously misrepresented Aboriginal traditions, and may have unwittingly added fog to some needless arguments.

In particular for ‘Warabari’:

(1) He misinterpreted Milerum’s Version 1 of ‘Warabari’, in which it was the site of smoke signals, and not a hill (this had been crossed out) but a “big point, cliff”.<sup>18</sup> In ‘Wanderings’ 1987, to make the smoke signals Tjirbruki “climbed another high hill (it may have been Mt Jeffcott or Black Hill)”; while ‘Warabari’ is the Witjarlung site where “people... were camped... [and] saw the smoke” in the distance.<sup>19</sup>

This was probably an honest mistake, though not supported by Milerum’s 1934 text or by any source at all. But now ‘Warabari’ was defined as this campsite and this only.

(2) He suppressed altogether the alternative location of Tjilbruki’s cave *entrance* – inland in the far-southern hills: ‘Warabari’ in Milerum’s Version 2, ‘Witawali’ in Tripp – in favour of the coastal cliff cave entrance ‘Janarwing’.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Tindale 1987: 9b.

<sup>16</sup> See PNS 2/22 “Wituwattingga”.

<sup>17</sup> See PNS 7.3/7 ‘Willyaroo’.

<sup>18</sup> SESA 2: 48.

<sup>19</sup> Tindale 1987: 9a.

<sup>20</sup> See PNS 5.4.2/1.

Perhaps the inland entrance was a mistake or misunderstanding which Milerum later corrected. If so, we are not told in any papers that I have seen so far. Perhaps there is some primary information about it in one of the 'Milerum Manuscripts'.

(3) He suppressed the 1934 *names* of Tjelbruke's *exit* site on the top of the range: another 'Warabari' (Milerum's Version 3), or 'Witawali' (Tripp); and also a "*Witawalang*" exit site from Milerum 1936. For a discussion of these, see PNS 7.1/1 'Warabari and Witawalang (Cape Jervis)'.

(4) He had changed his mind about 'Witawali' and decided to stick with Walker. As with 'Warabari', he defined and published 'Witawali' as one place only: in this case Walker's version near The Washpool on Sellick's Beach: perhaps it was simpler.<sup>21</sup>

#### 1f. TINDALE'S FINAL THOUGHTS:

After the publication, his card 634/2 merely quotes himself:

*"Warabari - place name not localised but in the area around Mt Jeffcott or Black Hill where the Myponga Reservoir is now. It appears in the Tjilbruki story as a place of the Witjarlung clan about Myponga. / Tindale ms. / Tindale 1987:9"*.

Over the five decades during which he was considering this material, Tindale's brief, ambiguous or unfindable primary records seem to have got him as confused as the attentive reader. We can sympathize with Knight's gentle plaint, "Given his reputation for organization... this might seem surprising".<sup>22</sup>

Tindale wrote that he had "supplementary discussions" with Milerum about the story, and that these, together with his "personal recollections", contributed to his 1987 version.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps some relevant details from those discussions may one day be found in the 'Milerum Manuscripts' (which I have not seen), to clarify the puzzles. Did Milerum identify his own 1934 statements about 'Warabari' as errors and correct them to the versions found in 1987? Did he also change his mind about Tjilbruki's exit site from 'Warabari' 1934 or 'Witawalang' 1936 to 'Wataraberingg' as in 1987? Or were these changes the work of Tindale's busy and sometimes unjustified secondary self-editing?

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<sup>21</sup> See PNS 4.4.1/4.

<sup>22</sup> James Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes*, Ph.D. thesis, Uni of New England, NSW: 495.

<sup>23</sup> Tindale 1987: 5b.

## 2. THE NAME 'WARABARI':

There is no evidence or likelihood that Walker, Tripp or Milerum knew the meaning of any Kurna morphemes other than the locative *-ngga* (perhaps and up to a point). Nor did they give glosses for this name; and for once Tindale has not done so either. Nevertheless, considered in itself, 'Warabari' (like 'Witawali') might perhaps be a Kurna word.

In the Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language of the three informants, *-war* is a suffix but there is no word *wara*; and there is no other known morpheme *bari* or *pari* except perhaps in the place-name 'Tāinbriangk' on the Onkaparinga River. This and the Myponga area are in Kurna country; and it is very likely that in both cases 'bari' represents Kurna *parri* 'river': though not with any awareness of the meaning. We know that Milerum thought "-beringgi" was a 'Southern Kurna' locative suffix, the equivalent of Ngarrindjeri *-angk*.<sup>24</sup> Even as a Coorong man he would have heard some other place-names on his side of Kurna country which end with *parringga* 'at the river', such as Ngangkiparringga, 'Bullaparinga', 'Kondoparinga', Murtaparringga, and probably Warriparringga.

In Kurna, 'wara' could be *warra* 'throat, voice, speech, word, language etc'. So was 'Warabari' originally *Warra-parri* 'river of the throat, speech or word'? From this source unsupported by any older evidence, there is no likelihood that it is so. Walker, Tripp and Milerum in the 1930s were separated from any original early Kurna-speaking source by two generations and a language barrier.

A 'river' site name in this area of very small intermittent gully streams seems inherently unlikely.

In 1934 when he gave this name, Milerum was sitting in his own country far away on the Coorong, not in Tjilbruki country where directions and distances could be made clear in an instant. He was trying to reproduce the sound of a foreign or hybrid language while telling "a long story which he had heard at Yankalilla when he was quite young in the early 1880s. The narrators then were using Rapid Bay talk and Milerum attempted to use terms he had heard at that time".<sup>25</sup> He may well have been speaking quickly. Tindale was hearing it all for the first time, and in the heat of a live narration he may have confused some references and geography.

In the light of Tindale's records – in which there is an apparent double attribution of 'Warabari' to hills inland 'near Cape Jervis', as well as to these cliffs (or is it a nearby hill inland?) – we cannot be sure that we have Milerum's authority that it belongs here south of Sellick's Beach. It looks too much like a misunderstanding, too much like hasty and confused reporting by Tindale.

<sup>24</sup> See Tindale, 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 29, 125.

<sup>25</sup> Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings': 5.

Without early Kaurna evidence it would be unwise to draw conclusions about any derivation for 'Warabari' in the context of *this* alleged location. Here it has no other support at all unless something turns up in the 'Milerum Manuscripts'.

Further discussion of its possible validity is therefore referred to the files for the 'other Warabari', where a strong case is made that the name is in fact a condensed narrative version of 'Wataraberinggi', a place inland in the southern ranges.<sup>26</sup>

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### 3. THE PLACE: A LOOKOUT FOR FISH?

The site of Milerum's 'first point past Sellicks Hill' is easy to locate on a Google-Earth website.<sup>27</sup>

Its steep cliffs above deep water, its optimal view of Aldinga Bay unobstructed by other points on the slowly curving coastline, and water available nearby in the gully a few metres to the east, make it a prime location for a lookout.

Karlowan told Tindale that Aldinga Bay was "a fine bay, suitable for catching sea salmon at night-time".<sup>28</sup> Milerum's 'Story of Tjelbruke' connected the high point not only with a smoke signal but with fish. Tjelbruke took revenge on members of another clan at an unspecified campsite nearby, and some of them dived off the cliffs and turned into various species of fish who frequented Aldinga Bay, though he did not mention the salmon.

With these surroundings and this story, it is very likely that the immediate area of the Point was used to look out for schools of fish heading north to the Bay; and it is a little surprising that Tindale did not compare it with other lookout sites. he had heard about them in general:

*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.*<sup>29</sup>

If it was a fish lookout, it would also have been visited often. The tracks to it would have been familiar and efficient.

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<sup>26</sup> See PNS 5.3/4 Wataraparringga.

<sup>27</sup> It is on Section 278 at the coordinates given on p.1 of this essay.

<sup>28</sup> Tindale and Mountford 1936, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501.

<sup>29</sup> Tindale n.d. [1980s], Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 44.

#### 4. A GEOGRAPHICAL OBSESSION:

##### TJILBRUKI'S ROUTE AND A CLIFF TRACK SOUTH OF SELLICK'S BEACH:

The majestic bare cliffs immediately south of Sellick's Hill are inaccessible to most of us today, and were alarming to the first surveyors:

*Here the Ironstone Range strikes the Gulf at Aldinga Bay, but the range does not die away... but continues along the coast forming bluff steep cliffs; with such breakneck ravines and gullies that on my once attempting to coast it down, I found my courage cooled, and took over the range to follow it down on the other side in Myponga.<sup>30</sup>*

##### 4a. DID TJIRBUKI TAKE THIS ROUTE?

In addition to the four items I listed in section 1e, there is a fifth in 'Wanderings' 1987 which is discrepant from Tindale's original sources: he fixed Tjirbruki's route southward from Sellick's Beach as an 'inland turn'. But in the original data it is not at all clear that this was the route, and there is good reason to think that this is *not* the route which Tjilbruki took in either Milerum's or Karlowan's version.

If any such route was ever given, it was by Milerum only, perhaps to be confirmed somewhere in the 'Milerum Manuscripts'. But it is not so in Karlowan's versions as recorded by both Tindale and Berndt, and these are the only versions we know for the Sellick's Beach episode.

All that Milerum 1934 asserts is that Tjelbruke "*got round past Sellicks Hill*"; he does not mention the Beach. Karlowan's original 1935 version of the route, as published by Tindale long before 'Wanderings', is a little more specific: after the spring is formed on the beach, "*From Sellick's Hill he went along the coast, passing Myponga on his left, and came to [Karika:liŋ`ga]*". Perhaps one might assume that he had 'turned inland' first, but this is not said by anyone and not necessarily intended. From Karlowan's perspective at Murray Bridge, "*the beach at Sellick's Hill*" was accurate enough.<sup>31</sup>

##### 4b. SELLICKS CLIFFS AND TINDALE'S "TRACK OF TJILBRUKE TO BRIGHTON":

There is a coastal route all the way from Sellick's Hill to Myponga Beach, occasionally precipitous in the gullies but quite possible for a foot-traveller. In fact Tindale himself had marked such a route on a map more than once.

<sup>30</sup> 'L.P.' [Louis Piesse] in *Observer* 13/4/1844: 7c.

<sup>31</sup> Tindale 1936: 501.

We can read the Tjilbruki story for its geographical and ecological aspects – as a mental map of how one may travel the land on foot and subsist from its resources on the way. Then it is quite natural to suppose that he followed major routes, known to those who were telling the tale and (among other things) instructing their juniors where to travel and what to look for. Routes would go where they needed to, not according to a simple formula. Tindale was using this approach when he wrote of the ‘inland turn’ in 1987.<sup>32</sup>

But Karlowan had told him originally that ‘from Sellick’s Hill [Tjirbuki] went along the coast’, and even from Congeratinga he ‘walked south... along the coastal cliffs, all the way to Cape Jervis’.<sup>33</sup> If one takes this text very literally, one might easily become fascinated by the unlikely possibility of a completely coastal route for Tjilbruki south to Cape Jervis along the line of awesome cliffs interspersed with a few beaches: perhaps even a route along the beach all or most of the way. I think the tantalizing marks on several of Tindale’s maps suggest that he mulled over this idea repeatedly for some time.

In fact Karlowan did not really hold that Tjirbuki kept to the coast throughout. For example, he told Berndt later that after passing Rapid Head Tjirbuki ‘carried the corpse up into the hills’, and only then ‘went down into a cave... near... Cape Jervis’.<sup>34</sup> But this account was not published until six years after ‘Wanderings’.

During or soon after his ‘*early enquiries 1920-1930*’, he marked on a small-scale map a “*Native track from Pt Elliott towards Adelaide*”.<sup>35</sup> It is not recorded who his informants were. He first met Milerum in 1931, Reuben Walker in 1934, and Karlowan in 1935, and the track may have originated early in his work with one or more of them; or perhaps it came from settler memories. It is obviously a very rough and approximate route, and its details vary in the hand-copy which he soon made onto another map. These first two versions both have it reaching the Gulf coast at ‘Myponga Jetty’ (the official name of Myponga Beach when the map was printed in 1912), though from different directions; and the earliest version has it continuing northward along the coast to Aldinga Bay.

A third version of it, “*old native track (short cut)*”, appears on a medium-scale map which he entitled “Tindale S Map: Summary of Kurna area” and used as a reference in some of his place-name cards in the 1980s. On this map the track approaches the Gulf via Sellicks Hill and reaches it at the water site ‘*Witawali*’ on Sellicks Beach. The difference is significant of a change in Tindale’s

<sup>32</sup> See PNS 4.4.1/04 ‘Witawali’ (Sellicks Beach).

<sup>33</sup> Tindale 1936: 501.

<sup>34</sup> Berndt and Berndt 1993: 234.

<sup>35</sup> Tindale annotated map ‘Southern Portion of SA’, AA 338/15/2, which according to the Museum Catalogue records “*sites visited from 1920 to 1930 with notes added by Tindale in the 1930s*”. He seems to have hand-copied this track rather inaccurately onto a later map, ‘Central SA’, AA 338/16/2; and again, even less accurately, onto ‘Tindale S Map: Summary of Kurna area’, AA 338/16/8.

thinking, perhaps a more accurate appraisal of the Hindmarsh Tiers route from Encounter Bay to Aldinga plains. But as is often the case, he gave no known justification for the change.

However, on this third map there is another track marked, which does use the coastal route from the south and joins the Port Elliot track at Sellick's Beach. It is labelled as "*track of Tjilbruke to Brighton c Karlowan*", and goes all the way to Brighton from the trig station called 'South of Mt Hayfield' near Parawa at the top of the southern Fleurieu ranges.<sup>36</sup>

We can infer that these were the familiar routes from Ramindjeri and Ngarrindjeri lands to Kurna lands, as remembered and probably used by Karlowan and Milerum and their families. It is very likely that Karlowan had some these in mind when describing the travels of Tjilbruki. The water on Sellick's Beach is shown as a key stopover when going southwest towards the Cape, as well as when going southeast towards Encounter Bay.

The route north of Carrickalinga appears to be an approximation of another very detailed red ink route with directional arrows, which is spread over three of his large-scale maps of Hundreds, omitting the stretch from the Onkaparinga to Hallett Cove, and adding a route from Brighton to Glenelg.<sup>37</sup> No marking or credit appears for this track on any of these maps, and the Museum catalogue says of it "author and purpose unknown". But because it conforms in general to the smaller-scale 'track of Tjilbruke' we may surmise that it has some connection; and because two of the maps include credits to Karlowan, we may also surmise that this informant may have had something to do with the route. We note too that it was only Karlowan who told how Tjirbuki created the beach springs from his tears on his journey south.<sup>38</sup>

On the Hundred of Myponga map this part of the track is expanded into a very specific and detailed route from the mouth of Mt Terrible Gully at Cactus Canyon, southward along the coastal cliffs past a site marked 'J' to Myponga Beach, then inland and around to Carrickalinga Head. A note tells us, "*From Carrickalinga Head to the point marked J the coast line is impassable at high tide*".<sup>39</sup>

How much of all the route markings from Parawa to Brighton did Karlowan tell him? and how much was Tindale's own speculation? On the Myponga map no informants are credited, and it is therefore doubtful that any of the Myponga Beach route information came from Karlowan or any

<sup>36</sup> Tindale S Map, AA 338/16/8.

<sup>37</sup> Tindale annotated maps, Hundred of Noarlunga, AA 338/24/72; Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97; Hundred of Myponga, AA 338/24/64; but no track appears on Hundred of Yankalilla, AA 338/24/101-2.

<sup>38</sup> Milerum's version has nothing to say about this, and (like Unaipon's informant) much about the emu hunt and the hero's revenge actions. Karlowan's Tjirbuki is a much milder character, and the tears are the main point of his versions.

<sup>39</sup> Hundred of Myponga, AA 338/24/64. The map itself was printed in 1910, but the annotations are not dated. The track is marked "[19-8-15]", but this cannot be the date of any excursion or informant of Tindale's (in 1915 Tindale was 15 years old and had not yet arrived in SA: P Jones 1995, 'Norman B Tindale: an obituary', *Records of SA Museum* 28: 159-160); nor of anything originally connected with Tjilbruki (the earliest account of Tjilbruki did not appear until 1930: 'Chirrbookie the Blue Crane', in W Ramsay Smith 1930, *Aboriginal Myths and Legends*, London, George G Harrap). Perhaps it is the date of an archaeological discovery located on the route. The point answering the description is probably at Google-Earth -35.358379° Latitude, 138.422692° Longitude (try [www.findlatitudeandlongitude.com/](http://www.findlatitudeandlongitude.com/)).

other Aboriginal informant. Did Tindale make a field trip to find this part of Tjirbuki's coastal route, which for a while served as inspiration as his understanding of Tjilbruki's journey developed? We await a detailed biography which might perhaps enlighten us.

#### 4c. SETTLER TRACKS:

The Sellicks cliffs may be inaccessible objects of landscape for us in our cars, but some of the early settlers knew them, travelled them on horse and bullock cart, inhabited and farmed them. Sections of them are actually fairly flat between the gullies.

Along these clifftops towards Myponga Beach the earliest maps show, immediately behind 'cliff' and 'sea', a 'road' (probably stretching a point!) which was probably soon to be used by settlers such as Heathcote who had property perched there.<sup>40</sup> These early roads were probably developed partly from Aboriginal foot tracks, partly from compromise with Section boundaries and the needs of vehicles.

As you descend the Sellick's Hill scarp on the main road amid a grand panorama of sea and bald grassy rounded hills, you see a track going from the south side of Mt Terrible Gully across the next few gullies southward. The military survey maps<sup>41</sup> and Google-Earth images show it leading off the Main South Road, crossing the next deep gully and leading to old small quarries, waterfalls and a pumping station on the third gully, within half a kilometre of the sea immediately east of a Point which is probably Tjelbruke's signal point.

From the other end – Myponga Beach eastward to section 538, halfway to Cactus Canyon – a road was still marked on GNU's maps as late as 1985.<sup>42</sup> This is the vicinity of Tindale's 'point J', and even foot travellers may have wanted to veer inland here to avoid the steep gully leading down from Mt Jeffcott.

#### 4d. FORGOTTEN FEET ON THE CLIFFTOPS:

These byways are probably what Karlowan was referring to in his account of Tjirbuki's route, and they also fit Tindale's record of Milerum's original account, "*past Sellicks Hill 1<sup>st</sup> hill point past there*", with the confusion of hill and point. Karlowan, more explicit, was probably explaining that the hero did *not* go on the more familiar old track eastward over the shoulder of Mt Terrible into the

<sup>40</sup> Baker 1840, Field Book 6: 58, 154[a]; cp. Diagram Book pages, Hd Myponga p.4.

<sup>41</sup> e.g. 1:50,000 Topographic Series 6527-II Yankalilla, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1979).

<sup>42</sup> Diagram Book pages 'map 2', Hd Myponga, GNU.



Myponga Valley and towards Encounter Bay; this would have put the Myponga Valley on his *right*, contrary to Karlowan's detail. Rather, he probably followed the recorded tracks on the seaward side of today's main road, taking to higher ground near Black Hill and Mt Jeffcott: thus keeping the Myponga Valley invisible behind the range on his left and heading for Myponga Beach. After that he no doubt turned inland again to avoid very difficult gullies before taking one of the ridges down to Carrickalinga, as on Tindale's map.

It may be this route which was used by the Aboriginal travellers remembered by Mr C Dickinson from Karlowan and Milerum's era. The people who sometimes lived in Aldinga Scrub

*came from the Lakes and Point McLeay across to Normanville then along the coast to Sellicks Beach, where they stayed a while spearing strongfish, mulloway and other fish of the reef. The natives were on their way to obtain rations of blankets, food and so on from Adelaide.*<sup>43</sup>

The evidence for these land uses all comes from Ngarrindjeri travellers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the land and the fish were the much the same as always, and there can be little doubt that the original Kurna-speaking inhabitants had put it to similar uses and shared much of this knowledge with their Ramindjeri visitors, relatives and trading partners.<sup>44</sup>

Like many other 'native tracks', this clifftop route was always going to be hazardous for vehicles and avoided by all but a few of the settlers. But it had been found and used by a fit people who were on foot, travelling light, and knew their way. When the destination is Myponga Beach it is several kilometres shorter than our current roads, which detour inland via the valley of the Myponga in order to minimize grades and roadworks.

It is strange that Tindale appears to have forgotten about it when he wrote up 'Wanderings' in 1986. This part of it came from the same man who gave the track details on his maps. Yet perhaps not so strange, in view of his busy life and the immense mass of detail in his archives to be assimilated without the benefit of digital search programs.

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*End of Summary*

<sup>43</sup> G Gardiner 1973, 'History', in E Wollaston (ed) 1978, *Aldinga-Sellicks Beach Scrub: a report...*, Education Dept of SA, : 11-12.

<sup>44</sup> The southern Kurna-speaking groups who inhabited Yankalilla and Rapid Bay until shortly after contact intermarried had ongoing close relationships with the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay, who spoke the quite different Ngarrindjeri language (see my history *Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On the Land*, forthcoming 2013).