NOTICE OF GENERAL MEETING

The 8th General Meeting of the Society will be held at the Conservation Centre, 120 Wakefield Street Adelaide on

MONDAY 28th OCTOBER, 1985 AT 8.00 PM.

AGENDA

1. Apologies
2. Minutes of the Previous General Meeting:
   Minutes of the previous General Meeting held at the Conservation Centre on 23rd September, to be confirmed. A copy of these minutes is attached.
3. New Members:
   No new members were elected to the Society for this month.
4. Papers and Journals:
   Papers and journals received from other societies and organisations will be tabled at this meeting.
5. Business:
6. Speaker:
   Dr Peter Sutton, Head of the Division of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum will address the Society. The subject of his address will be:

   "The Proposed Lake Eyre Basin Project".

7. Supper will be served.

R. Allison,
Honorary Secretary
C/o The Conservation Centre
120 Wakefield Street
ADELAIDE SA 5000
An extract from the report entitled "The Legend Of The Muramura Darana;" the objective of which was to expand upon the meaning and function of elements within the J.C.Reuther Ethnographic Collection (S.A.Museum) in the context of the Dier; Aboriginal people of Cooper Creek, S.A., with reference to the Muramura Darana.


**THE LEGEND OF THE MURAMURA DARANA AND HIS MILIS AT KILLALPANINNA**

It is evident that the accounts entitled "Darana" and "Legend of the Muramura Darana" compiled by J.C. Reuther are sources of information which describe events that occurred at Lake Killalpaninna, the origins of Darana and his milis and their ceremonies. These narratives are continued to describe how Darana and his milis had journeyed up the Coopers Creek (on account of the drought), settled down on the shores of Lake Hope at a place also called Parakana, and the subsequent events which occurred there. Variations in the narrative exist, explained by the incorporation of the wimas or songs and their meanings in the account entitled "Darana," and the reference to the illustrations by H.J. Hillier which relate to objects serially numbered and described in the J.C. Reuther Ethnological Collection, in the account entitled, "Legend of the Muramura Darana."

Note: There are further accounts of the Legend, but these refer to Darana at Lake Hope.

34. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol. 10 pgs 166-218
35. R.M. - J.F.R. Vol. 11 pgs 176-201
36. Parakana - the place where Darana camped at Killalpaninna
37. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol 12 P.A. Scherer's P.N. 163
38. See "Hearts of the Muramura Darana" Part 7.
THE CEREMONIAL DECORATIONS OF DARANA AND HIS MILIS AT KILLALPANINNA

The legend of the mumura Darana describes the origins of Darana, his milis, and their ceremonies at Lake Killalpaninna, on Coopers Creek.

Darana and his milis after coming out of the ground at Kandrimoku, moved to Parakana, (near Lake Killalpaninna), on account of the severe drought. Here at Parakana an incident occurred in which the milis of Darana were maimed by the two Karaworas (eagle-hawks).

Ceremonies for the milis of Darana were performed in an area identified by the reference to two sandhills, Pirrilani (upon which the mission station is built) and Tjakuilani (to the east of the mission station).

These two sandhills were named after Darana's two dogs.

The Reuther Ethnographic Collection contains Toaa, which signify the direction to these locations and are named Pirrilani and Tjakuilani.

Also in the R.E.C. are model dogs composed of a resin (spinifex?) and decorated with white Kaolin, which were illustrated by H.J. Hillier.

Two of these ascribed to Darana were Pirila and Dundukurani.

39. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol.10 and 11
40. A place two or three miles above Lake Kaparamana - Kopperamana
41. Parakana (see map (fig. 3) and meaning of place name)
42. Killalpaninna (see map (fig. 3) and meaning of place name)
43. Pirrilani and Tjakuilani (see map (fig. 3) and meaning of place name)
44. Pirrilani (see fig. 4 and variant meanings)
45. Tjakuilani - see fig. 5 and meaning
46. Pirila - H.J. Hillier Illustration No. 496. See fig. 6 and description
47. Dundukurani - H.J. Hillier Illustration No. 490. See fig. 7 and description
This area is located on the eastern side, at the neck of the channel leading into Lake Killalpaninna from the Coopers Creek.48

Locations referred to on the map (fig. 3) and meaning of place names:

1. Site of the Lutheran Mission Station

2. Pirilana (male): piri = place, spot, space; a white spot on the forehead
   la = he, belonging to; na (from nanja) = "he"; la refers to the spot on the body, while na indicates the gender, meaning, "one with a white spot on the forehead". Darana's dog which had a white spot on its forehead ran about on this sandhill. He named it (i.e. the hill) Pirilana - meaning, "the dog with a white spot on its forehead".49

3. Tjakulani (female): tjaku = "black"; la (equivalent of an as in Australian); ni (from nanja) = "She", hence feminine gender. This word, bears reference to the muramura Darana's female dog. The place (known as) Tjakulani, is a sandhill in proximity to Pirilana. Darana gave it that name because here Pirilana's mate (bitch) ran about. Meaning, "the bitch with a black stripe on her back".50

Note: This meaning is at variance with that provided in reference to the Toa, Tjakulani.

48. See aerial photograph and map(fig. 3)
49. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol. 7 Aboriginal Place Names
50. See F.N. 49
4. **Parakana**: "the name Parakana is derived from parana (="to lie"). When someone lies on his back, so that the head occupies a more elevated position, the (term) then used is parakana. This place was so named because (according to legend) Darana's milis were lying down here one alongside of the other in rows. 51 (approximate location as indicated by H.J. Hillier on Reuther's Regional Map, S.A. Museum.)

5. **Darana**: (male) Dara = desert, dryness, drought; na (from nauja)= "he", meaning, "the demi-god of drought and desert. This was and still is the principal muramura of the Dieri tribe. He lived during a period of severe drought and implored the supreme deity for rain. The reason why the place was so named, was that Darana and his servants set up their camp here for some time. A sacred tree called Darana is still standing there to this day. 52 (Approximate location as indicated by H.J. Hillier on Reuther's Regional Map, S.A. Museum.)

6. **Lake Killalpaninna**: Andreas Ditana in an article entitled "A day in the life of a Dieri man before Alien Contact" 53, says, "I very much like to look down from this hill on to Lake Killalpaninna, made by the muramura Darana in the dreaming."

In his footnote 46, Berndt states, "The native name of Killalpaninna (or Ga'abanina) is Gilawilbi, Gilawalbanina or Gilawalbaninawilbi (gila, vulva; walanina, covering wilbi, hole) Lake Gilawalbaninawilbi where the Lutheran Mission was built

51. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol. 10/141. Also see variation in R.M. Vol. 7 - Aboriginal Place Names.
52. See F.N. 49
resembles in shape the female genitalia; the indent of land, consisting of tapering sand hills to the south of the Lake is called the gila or vulva; the sandhills surrounding the Lake are the "covering" or lips of the vulva, while the Lake itself is the wilbi or vagina. This Lake is associated with a female muramura who at one time met Darana. It was named by the latter, who stopped there some time."

7. Kutikutijiri: the name of one of one of Darana's servants.
   (approximate location as indicated by H.J. Hillier on Reuther's Regional Map, S.A. Museum.)

8. Two Sacred Trees: "It was here that Palakaltirina who like Kutikutitirina danced where the said tree stands bearing the same name."54

54. R.M. - J.G.R. Vol. 10/145
Toa: Pirrilaninani (Dieri Tribe) Stirling and Waite No. 274

"Description of Toas." provides a meaning: " to the white patch. Pirrila, meaning 'one who has a white patch on the forehead', was the name of the Muramura Darana's dog, which died on a sandhill. Hence the Toa represents a dog's head with a white streak on its forehead.

55. R.M.B. - J.G.R. - Vol. 12; 56

Fig. 4 TOA: PIRRILANINANI (DIERI TRIBE) S&W. No. 274
J.G.R. No. 160
H.J.H. No. 674

The dog's head is formed from white gypseous clay and a white patch is painted on the forehead extending over onto the back of the head in a V shape. The lower portions of the head are painted with red ochre and an eye is indicated on both sides with white clay. It is attached to a wooden stick coloured with red ochre.
Stirling and Waite provide a meaning:

"To Tjakula Hill. This hill has the shape of a dog's head, which the top of the toa represents. Upon this hill stood the murumura Pintanganina, whose dog, Tjakula ran down to an adjoining waterhole to drink." 57

The dog's head is formed from white gypseous clay and is painted with red ochre on its top, along the back and around the neck. A white patch is painted around the lower jaw and onto the neck. It is attached to a shaved wooden stick coloured with red ochre.

57. See F.N. 56.
Composed of dark brown resin and decorated with white pipe clay which has flaked off in parts.

Bibliography:
2. "A day in the life of a Dieri man before alien contact". Anthrpos Journal No. 48, 1953.
Fig. 3

Refer to aerial photograph of Kilallpaninna channel

To Etadunna

To Coopers Creek

5. Darana

4. Parakana

7. Kutikutijiri

1. Site of Mission Stn.

6. Lake Killalpaninna channel

3. Tjakulana

2. Pirilana

Fig. 3. KEY

Sand dunes covered with canegrass and needle bush (box polygonum)

area subject to inundation

clumps of acacia and wattle
NOTICE OF GENERAL MEETING

The 7th General Meeting of the Society for 1985 will be held in the
CONSERVATION CENTRE, 120 WAKEFIELD STREET, ADELAIDE
ON
MONDAY 23RD SEPTEMBER 1985

AGENDA

1. Apologies:

2. Minutes of the previous General Meeting:
   Minutes of the previous General Meeting, held in the Conservation
   Centre on Monday 26th August 1985, having been circulated in this
   Journal, to be confirmed.

3. Papers and Journals:
   Papers and journals received since the last meeting, from other
   societies and organisations, will be tabled at the meeting.

4. Business:

5. Speaker:
   Head of the Discipline of Visual Arts, Flinders University of
   South Australia, will address the Society. The title of his
   address will be:

   CONFRONTATION AND CO-OPERATION:
   The 1983 Rescue Excavations of Adelaide's Destitute Asylum.

6. Supper will be served.

R. Allison,
Hon. Secretary
c/o The Conservation Centre
120 Wakefield Street
ADELAIDE SA 5000
The 6th General Meeting for 1985 was held in the Conservation Centre, 120 Wakefield Street, Adelaide on Monday, 26th August, 1985 at 8 p.m. The Vice-President chaired the meeting and 12 members and friends were present.

1. Apologies: Val. Campbell; Margaret Nobbs; Rob. Allison; Joyce Hewitt.
2. New Members: The following new Member has joined the Society
   Ms Jane Jacobs
3. Minutes of the previous General Meeting:
   Minutes of the previous General Meeting, held Monday, 22nd July, 1985 having been circulated, were taken as read and confirmed.
4. Papers and Journals:
   Papers and Journals received from other societies and organisations were tabled at the meeting.
5. Business:
   No other business was discussed.
6. Speaker:
   Ms. Janet Delancy of the Classics Department, University of Adelaide gave an interesting, illustrated address to the Society, entitled: "Preparation for taking a student group to Sicily".
7. Supper was served and the meeting closed at 9.30 p.m.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

ANTHROPOLOGY SEMINARS: THIRD TERM 1985

| VENUE: | Room 3.140, South Wing Medical School, Frome Road |
| TIME: | 2.15pm on Tuesdays, unless otherwise specified. |

24 SEPTEMBER
NANCY MUNN
Title to be announced
Chairperson: Michael Nihill

1 OCTOBER
NANCY MUNN
Title to be announced
Chairperson: Lee Sackett

8 OCTOBER
MICHAEL BERRY (Social Sciences, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology)
International Finance, The State and Central City Development: Two Melbourne Cases
Chairperson: Roy Fitzhenry

15 OCTOBER
PETER MAYER (Politics, University of Adelaide)
By the Teeth: A Critical Review of James Scott's "The Moral Economy of the Peasant"
Chairperson: Barry Morris

22 OCTOBER
ROY FITZHENRY (Anthropology, University of Adelaide)
Love's Body and the Body Ritual: An Italian Case
Chairperson: John Gray

29 OCTOBER
ANDREW LATTAS (Anthropology, University of Adelaide)
Savagery and Civilisation: Towards a Genealogy of Racism
Chairperson: Tom Frost
The past few years have seen a growing interest in the aboriginal people who occupied the Adelaide area prior to European colonisation. Many secondary schools now include a study of the Kaurna in their curriculum. There is an increasing demand for excursions to visit the archaeological sites relating to this culture, at all levels of education.

The most recent manifestation of this interest has come in the form of the move by the Department of Sports and Recreation to create a walking trail along the coast, that takes in the sites of the mythical hero, Tjilbruke. It is proposed to mark these sites in an appropriate manner and it has been suggested that the trail should bear the hero’s name.

The story of Tjilbruke is one of the few legends for the Adelaide south coast, that have been preserved. Most people are familiar with the account of the death of Kulultuwi, Tjilbruke’s nephew, as a result of his transgressing a food tabu. The legend describes the smoking of Kulultuwi’s body amidst ritual attended by many people. Then the mourning Tjilbruke took up the body of his nephew and travelled southward along the coast, towards his own hunting territory at Rapid Bay. As he was overwhelmed with grief, periodically, he wept, his tears calling forth a spring of fresh water wherever they fell. These springs remain to this day - or at least to fifteen years ago. Finally Tjilbruke placed his nephew in a cave near Rapid Bay, and himself was transformed into the ibis known as Tjilbruke to the aboriginal people.

The legend was recorded by Dr Norman Tindale from Karloa, an Aboriginal from the Lake Alexandrina area (Jarildakald) and was included in an account of an unusual burial Tindale and Mountford had excavated south of Normanville. In explaining its inclusion he wrote:

It is quoted here because of its reference to the use of caves as burial grounds, and its setting within the district under discussion.

1 Tindale and Mountford, 1936: 500-501.
Subsequently the legend has been assumed to be one belonging to the Kaurna, the people in whose territory the sites mentioned, occur. In Robert Edward's booklet The Kaurna People of the Adelaide Plains the Tjilbruke account is referred to as "a local legend" and it is mentioned in more recent productions, The Kaurna and Aboriginal and Historic Places around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast.

Yet I question whether it is, in fact, a Kaurna legend. My reasons for this are two-fold. Firstly, the actual report of the legend is not from a Kaurna informant, but from a Lake Alexandrina man. Nowhere does Tindale suggest that the legend is part of Kaurna tradition.

Secondly, the account of the burial preparations and traditions are quite contradictory to those recorded by the early ethnographers for the 'Adelaide tribes': Teichelmann and Schürmann provide the earliest account.

Wadnawadna as in wadnawadna warra. By this term the natives understand the inquest held upon almost every deceased person when the cause of death is not very apparent. The body is carried about on a bier (tirkatti or kuinjowirri) on localities where the deceased had lately been living. One person is asking—"Has any person killed you where you have been sleeping? Do you know him?" If the corpse deny it then they go no farther; does it give an affirmative answer, the inquest is continued at that place. The negative answer is believed to be given, when the bier does not move round; the affirmative, when the bier is moved round, which motion the corpse itself is said to produce, influenced by Kuiny, who is hovering over the bier. If the murderer is present, then the bier spears him, i.e., goes against him, and a fight ensues.

1 Edwards, u.d.: 12.
3 Ross, 1934: 7.
4 Teichelmann and Schürmann, 1840: 51.
Cawthorne is the most respected of later ethnographers, having spent much of his youth in the native encampment near the river Torrens. He provides the following description of the Kaurna observation of death.

Amongst the Adelaide tribe, as soon as a person dies there is a general lamentation consisting of a loud cry made by the relatives and friends. The body is immediately wrapped up in the skins or clothing worn during life. In the course of a day or two it is placed upon the viralli, or bier, which is made of branches crossed so as to form radii of a circle, and an examination entered upon as to the cause of death. The bier is carried on the shoulders of five or six. One asks, "What person has killed you? Do you know him?" If the corpse says "No one," the inquest ceases, and the body is taken from the bier and buried in a grave six feet deep.

This later description follows Teichelmann so closely that it seems possible that it is, in part derivative, but it does add some significant additional details. Both accounts indicate that primary interment is standard practice.

Wyatt follows Cawthorn's account closely. Stephen's recollection of the funeral of the "queen" of the Adelaide tribe gives no suggestion of a period of mumification prior to the ceremony. Stephen gives detailed description of the preparation of the grave and the associated ritual before the bearers of the bier,

...marched straight to the open grave. After a short pause—not a word was spoken by any—a few pieces of bark and some leaves were placed on the bottom of the grave; the body was then gently lowered, leaves and bark were placed gently on it, and then the grave was filled with earth. With bark and boughs they built a little cairn over the newly-made grave, with its open side towards the east. The mourners camped that night not far distant. Next morning the eastern sun...[kissed]... the newly-made grave... a sign that she had reached the land of light and the rising sun.

1 Cawthorne, 1925: 73. From notes dated 1844.
2 Woods, 1879: 164.
3 Stephens, 1890: 495-6.
A much later account appears to contradict these much earlier reports. It is recorded by Tindale, when discussing the nature of Aboriginal campsites he mentions a

... site of the Kaurna people at Morphett Vale some miles south of Adelaide and the last place inhabited by them before final disruption, following the death of the father of Iwaritji, the last woman survivor of the tribe. It was here that her father's body was trussed, rubbed with red ochre, and smoked over a fire.

Having no other details it is difficult to analyse this evidence. Unlike the earlier accounts this related to the final phases of dislocation, and the Kaurna may already have come under influence from the of the more southerly and eastern people, which I will discuss shortly.

There is limited archaeological evidence that can be brought to bear on the question. Reports of Aboriginal burials are mostly brief, and almost always lack details of stratigraphy and associated cultural material. This is because, with the exception of Konaratti Cave, the burials have been uncovered by chance, during building or quarrying activities. On of the earliest reports of "burial places of the Aborigines" reports how

The grinding and scraping of the drays and vehicles has brought the bodies / ie. skeletal material/ to view on the present surface, and in many cases in a perfect state of skeleton...

They gredoubled up, the knees nearly to the chin.

Tindale's account of the burial at Pedler's Creek is the most complete published account.

On removing the sand it was seen that the remains, probably those of a male of middle age, lay on the right side with the knees and arms doubled up to the chin, so that the fingers were in front of the face.

In 1960 Tindale uncovered another burial, this time at an inland site known as Wadieila. Again it was a flexed burial with the hands close to the face.

1 Tindale, 1974: 55.
2 Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia: 33
3 Tindale, 1926: 10.
4 Tindale, 1960, 2.
Three years later G.L. Pretty conducted a rescue excavation of skeletal material disturbed during quarrying on a hillside at Hackham. One flexed burial was excavated from a horizon of grey sand overlying red.

All other recorded burials have been disturbed, and partial, but the similarity of the above accounts is striking and argues for uniform burial practices over the area in question. In all cases enough disturbance had already occurred to make it difficult to know whether the burials were primary, as the early ethnographic account suggest, or secondary interments following a period of mummification. The final disposition of the corpse appears to have been the same.

One fact that the reports of burial finds do make clear is that burials are located over a very wide area and do not seem to be concentrated in cemeteries. Nor are they confined to one type of landform. Thus we have the 1850 report of material at Noarlunga on the river flat, and many reported from the sandy beaches. Glenelg producing the largest number (thirteen) generally collected in the first thirty years of this century. Maslin's Beach, the Normanville Sandhills, Myponga, Aldinga Beach, Sellicks Beach and Rapid Bay have all produced fragmentary material. The Pedler's Creek burial already described comes from what is known to-day as Moana, and according to local informants was not the only burial amongst the sandhills there.

Because of the heavy clay, hill tops are not likely places for burials but there are reports of five burials at Maslins Beach Headland, and in 1915 a burial was reported at Haycock Point. These sites may be very early burials dating to the period of occupation often called the Kartan, which predates the formation of the present dunes.1

Whilst there is fairly restricted support for the smoking of Kaurna bodies, prior to burial, which makes the Tjilbruke account seem somewhat anomalous, this is not the case for the Aboriginal tribes of the lower Murray and the Coorong. In these areas this distinctive mode of burial is frequently remarked upon, and forms the subject of early illustrations.

1 Much of the work in compiling the section on burial records is based on work done by Chris Whipp and Rob Graham in 1979.
There are only two pieces of solid evidence of the Kaurna practicing the smoking ritual. The most reliable is from the K Nagaratti burial itself; Tindale is definite in stating that the body had been smoked prior to burial,¹ and like Kululuwi, it had been carefully placed in a cave.

The second piece of evidence is S.T. Gill's illustration of an "Elevated Tomb" at Myponga. Here a low platform is shown draped with reeds, adjacent to a watercourse. Whilst smoking is not shown, the platform resembles those illustrated for this purpose further east. Whilst artists are at times guilty of artistic licence, we should see, in this picture, further strength to the argument that smoking was not entirely unused by the Kaurna.

The fact that both examples occur at the extreme range of the Kaurna territory is telling. The people in this area would be much more likely to be influenced by the Lakes and Coorong tribes than those further to the north. The adoption of this mode of burial of the dead would be a prime example of such influence.

Tindale records,

A southern horde /of the Kaurna/
spoke a slight dialect at Rapid Bay.²

The development of linguistic differences is a strong indicator that the southern group was no longer identical to their northern kinsmen. It may not be without significance that Tjilbruke, himself, came from Rapid Bay.

If the theory I have put forward is correct, there remains the question: why would the almost hostile tribes of the Lakes area have a legend relating to the detailed geography of Kaurna territory? The springs occur fifteen to twenty-five kilometres apart: perhaps a day's journey for a travelling man. Could the legend be a travel guide for Lakes traders? Milerum, Tindale's Vandegald informant, spoke of travelling to Adelaide from the Coorong, with his family, in such journeys became feasible after the disruption of traditional Kaurna organisation.

The arguments against the Tjilbruke legend being a genuine Kaurna legend are not entirely water-tight, but there are certainly enough problems with the legend to warrant a very close look at it.

¹ Tindale, 1986: 498.
² Tindale, 1974: 213.
REFERENCES.


Teichelmann, C.G. and Schurmann, C.W., 1840, Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia, Spoken by the Natives in and for some distance around Adelaide. Adelaide.


Unpublished Items:

Graham, R., Untitled Paper on Burials Located on the Fleurieu Peninsula.


Tindale, N.B., 1955. "Campsite at Section 185, H.of Willunga at Native Place called Waldeila "Wallaby Place."" unpublished field notes, S.A. Mus Arch Documents.
LANGUAGE AS HERITAGE: **Vityurna** (dried meat) and other stored food among the Adnyamathanha.

(In this article Dorothy Tunbridge continues the series on 'Language as Heritage' to show that language may be a window on a dying culture. Words 'die' some time after their referent ceases to exist. If they can be 'captured' before this happens, they open the memory of those who know them, enabling not only the word itself to be recorded, but all that word signifies in its cultural context. They are, as it were, the 'last stand' of non-material culture. The next stage is extinction. In this article we look through the 'window' on food storage, and in the process get a glimpse into ethno-botany and the recording of culture and mythology by place-naming.)

It is well documented that aboriginal people in Australia were traditionally hunter-gatherers who lived from day to day off the environment, eating well in a good season, tightening the belt when things became difficult. Elkin was not mistaken when he noted that 'the food-gathering and hunting economy was hand-to-mouth everywhere in Australia. There was no hoarding' (Elkin 1979:44). That is to say, he made an accurate generalisation. It may be therefore surprising to learn that the Adnyamathanha did practise 'hoarding' - putting something away for hard times.

Hoarding is of particular interest in that it suggests that nomadism was somewhat limited: storing food requires a fairly stationary existence, or at the most, range over a limited area. The Adnyamathanha people have lived a basically sedentary life for well over a hundred years now. Although we can be fairly sure food storage was practised prior to that, we can at this stage only guess as to the extent of it. There is nothing in our evidence to suggest that it was ever practised on a big scale. Some game and certain vegetable foods (varlu and mai respectively) are known to have been stored.

1. **Vityurna**: dried meat

   The game chiefly used in the preparation of vityurna

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1 This is not as metaphoric as may be thought. Schürmann notes that the Port Lincoln people, the Parnkarla, who like the Adnyamathanha wore hair belts (known by the Adnyamathanha as urnari), would tighten their belts 'especially when they are hungry, for the purpose, as they say, of staying their stomachs, or of rendering the craving of hunger less painful' (Schürmann 1879:212).
was kangaroo (Macropus rufus), wallaby (Petrogale sp., generally P. xanthopus) and emu meat. The whole animal was not used, as there were taboos for certain people regarding the consumption of specific parts of some animals. For instance, there were taboos on kangaroo head, tail and leg (including the hip-bone), and on wallaby filet, tail and stomach fat. Those parts of the animal subject to any taboo would be cooked separately, and eaten within a day or two by those who were permitted by law to eat them. In this way people were not placed in a position of inadvertently eating something they were not permitted by law to eat, and suffering the consequences which were expected.

The method of preparing the meat for drying was described to the author in relation to drying kangaroo meat, but it would have been much the same for any animal. After the removal of those parts subject to a taboo, the kangaroo was cooked in the ashes with its skin on, in the usual manner. This involved digging a hole in the ground which was to serve as an oven (ilda). A fire was made in this, and when it had burnt down to hot coals, the kangaroo with its intestines etc. was placed on top of the coals, and more coals were placed on top of the meat. When the meat was cooked, it was removed from the ashes, laid on fresh green boughs, and dusted with bunches of leaves. The skin was peeled off, and the meat was cut up with a meat stone (varlu adnya) into manageable pieces. The meat was peeled off the bone in strips about 3-10 cms in length, and then placed somewhere to dry out, care being taken to keep the flies off it.

When the meat was completely dry, it was placed in a skin bag (yakutha) until it was needed. When it was taken out to be eaten, it was pounded between two large creek stones (vari adnya). It was then chewed, dry, when other meat was scarce. It was never reconstituted in any way. In recent times, under the influence of Europeans, salt was also used in the preparation of vityurna.

Vityurna was made quite commonly right up to the 1920s, Alice Coulthard being remembered as one person who used to make it. About the last time anyone remembers it being made was in 1925, at Mt. Serle.

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1 This method of cooking kangaroo is still employed today, although it may alternate with other (European) methods of cooking it also.
2. Nguri: Wattle gum

The storage of wattle gum is encoded in a place name in the Gammon Ranges National Park, Nguriyandharlanha, which means something like 'the special ground/place of nguri'. Nguri is the name given to edible gum obtained from several species of wattle: *Acacia oswaldii* (= ulka), *A. rivalis* (which has the same name as the gum, nguri) and *A. victoriae* (= min-ga).

Nguriyandharlanha is a very beautiful rocky gorge, the sides of which feature a number of caves (or overhangs), and is an important mythological site. In the myth, a certain being (whose name some people prefer not to have mentioned, so we omit it here) had eaten too much kidney fat from a possum he had killed down at Lake Frome. He was on his way up to the Gammon Ranges carrying a bag full of nguri. Because of his overindulgence, he became sicker and sicker as he went up the valley, and by the time he reached Nguriyandharlanha (known in English as Davis's Spring), he was very ill indeed, and could no longer manage to carry his bag of nguri. He therefore left it in one of the caves at the spring, for collection at a later date. (Tunbridge 1984)

Nguri was generally simply picked off the bark and sucked. Today it is still very much enjoyed. In times past, however, it was also stored (Mountford 30:65).

3. Mana / manatakata / awadi: manna, lerp

The terms *mana* and *manatakata* sound very much like the English 'manna' and 'manna tucker', the latter adding a syllable -ta, however. As far as is known at the time of writing, *mana* and *awadi* are semantically equivalent terms, *mana* being the term commonly used today. *Mana* is thought by speakers of the language to be a Yura Ngawarla word, but given the existence of the word *awadi*, plus the homophony of *mana* with the English word, it is undoubtedly borrowed from English.

There is a class of insects which extract juices from

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1 One of the treats for a visitor to the Nepabunna Aboriginal School is to be taken out to look for *nguri*.
2 The significance of the added syllable -ta is not known: it does not conform to normal reduplication patterns, although it could represent a similar mechanism (repeating the first syllable of 'tucker').
3 The English term is most commonly heard in relation to the 'manna in the wilderness' of the Old Testament. Given the strong mission influence in Nepabunna, it is very likely that the term was introduced from the Old Testament.
leaves, exuding some because they have obtained too much. Evaporation leaves a white sugary substance on the leaves, which if there is an abundance of it, may also fall to the ground. This is manna. Insect larva utilise the manna to form a canopy under which they live. This is lerp. As far as is known to date, the Yura Ngawarla terms above cover both 'manna' and 'lerp'.

Manka is a very popular Adnyamathanha food even today, although people say that there is not nearly as much available these days as there used to be (perhaps due to ecological changes which have been set in motion by the pastoral industry in the region over the last 130 yrs. or more, and the introduction of exotic flora and fauna).

In the Northern Flinders Ranges manka which here appears on the Red River Gum (Eucalyptus camaldulensis) was very common earlier this century around Mt. Serle and Angepena, for instance. People say they could get 'big rolls of it'. They would shake it off the leaves by hitting them with a stick, onto a sheet of clean calico. (In earlier times, a skin rug would have been used.) In a short time one could obtain a bucket full. It was then rolled up and placed in a bag. The bag used in the past, yakutha, was made of skin. Gum leaves (ulu) were placed in the bag with the manka to keep it moist. The bag was kept tightly closed, and from time to time the ulu were changed. The manka 'keeps for years' in this manner.

Manka from eucalyptus trees was eaten by other aboriginal people, including those of the lower Darling region. (Cribb & Cribb 1975).

4. Urtr: (Santalum acuminatum) quandong, native peach

The fruit of the urti tree is as popular today with white people as it has been traditionally with aboriginal people throughout the continent, including the Adnyamathanha. It is a small fleshy fruit, 2-3 cm wide and with a stone (urti muku) in the centre. Adnyamathanha people have traditionally eaten both the flesh and the kernel of the stone.

Mountford was told about the storage of urti by the Adnyamathanha during a visit he made to the region around the end of the 1930s. When the urti were almost ripe, a fairly high platform was built up below the tree and covered with branches, in order to collect the fruit as it fell. The platform was needed to prevent the emu from getting the fruit first, as urti are also eaten by this
bird.\footnote{Cribb and Cribb cite a report from the Kimberleys which suggests that the urti were eaten whole by emus, and that aboriginal people were able to collect the seeds after they were voided, to obtain the kernels.} The fallen fruit was dried and stored in a dry cave in a skin bag (yakutha). Later it was soaked in water to make a 'refreshing drink'. Presumably the reconstituted pulp and the kernel were also eaten. It seems that other aboriginal people also stored quandong fruit, as Cribb and Cribb note, this being 'an unusual practice for these people' - a point we have already noted.\footnote{Unfortunately Cribb and Cribb do not cite their source nor the name of the aboriginal people concerned.} (Cribb and Cribb 1975)

5. Vawa: grass seed

Mountford notes that Mitchell grass (Astrebla pectinata) was stored - presumably it was the seeds which were stored. Mitchell grass and a number of other grass seeds (and other seeds also) were winnowed on the curved wooden dish known as yardly, and ground between two grinding stones (wadla), then made into a damper and cooked in the ashes. It seems likely that the seeds were stored when there was an abundance, in a good season. Another reason for storing the seeds, at least for a brief period, would be that some of them would have been obtained at some distance from the camp, and the gatherers would have brought in all they could carry, whether it was going to be used immediately or not.

As we noted above, there is no evidence that people traditionally stored food on a large scale. That they stored it at all is worth noting, however, given the widespread belief that aboriginal people throughout Australia lived from day to day on whatever was at hand, with no thought for tomorrow. We can only speculate as to how recently the practice began. It ended early in the lifetime of today's elderly Adnyamathanha, as white man's 'rations' became increasingly available.
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