Chapter 8 Adelaide’s Aboriginal Cultural Markers: Phase 5

Chapter Outline
This chapter documents and contextualises the extant and manner of public space Aboriginal representation in Phase 5, termed Kaurna Country, in detail to record the particulars of the Markers and their origins and demonstrate the delineation between and characteristics of the phases. The phase, which occurs in the period since the mid 1990s is characterised by the specific recognition of the Kaurna people in the public space in Adelaide and a greater involvement, through cross-cultural collaborations, of Kaurna people expressing their cultural heritage and identity in the public space. Fifty-two Markers have been identified in this phase and are presented in the categories I have determined to better illustrate the development in the style and range of Markers in this phase. Many Markers are discussed in detail to document the rich Kaurna public space narrative that is evolving and to illustrate the evolution of the understanding of Kaurna in contrast to the early phases of pan-Aboriginal understanding and recognition.

As this phase is contemporaneous with Phase 4 it includes some of the characteristics of Phase 4, Australia’s Decade of Reconciliation leading up to the centenary of federation in 2001 and the greater involvement of government agencies in commissioning works. It differs from Phase 4 because it marks the move from pan-Aboriginal recognition to specific recognition of an Aboriginal cultural group. This separation is also important as it marks an Aboriginal cultural group starting to influence the way its culture is represented in the public space and control its cultural production. It is a claim not only to visibility in the public space but an evolving claim to the space itself and is the foundation for Phase 6.

Phase 5. Kaurna Country: mid 1990s to the present
The specific recognition of Kaurna people, the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide region; an evolution from recognition of generic Aboriginality.

This phase of specific recognition of the Kaurna illustrates the evolving understanding and more complex level of Aboriginal public space inclusion. It is part of the evolution from the dominant culture recognising or allowing Aboriginal culture into the public space and an Aboriginal cultural group making claim to the space itself. This is not an overt political action by Kaurna themselves; many others are involved and support this process. It is a dual process of recognition by others, particularly government agencies, and Kaurna evolving their contemporary sense of self and claim to a symbolic space and presence. It is a process of incremental change that does have a political undertone. Public space inclusion is symbiotic with other political and cultural claims.

As with Phase 4, the Markers are discussed by categories rather than simply chronologically to illustrate how the Markers are evolving and who is involved. In Phase 5, six Markers are classified as major artworks, ten as secondary artworks and three as community artworks. Commemorative markers (10) and interpretive signs or trails (11) are a particular characteristic of this phase and this type of text-based, image rich descriptive marker facilitates access to the specifics of Kaurna culture unlike the generic nature of Phase 4. Another characteristic of this phase is public artworks (6) which are not specifically about Kaurna or Aboriginal culture but include Kaurna language, or a contemporary reworking of Kaurna language, as...
recognition of the Kaurna people. A significant development which occurs in this phase is the emergence of Kaurna recognition in public space design. This takes the form of six public parks or reserves, each of which contain a significant Kaurna component, and the redevelopment of a major cultural precinct, Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga which I shall discuss in detail because of its significance.

I have located fifty-two Markers which represent this phase. Whilst the majority of the Markers are discussed below, several of the Markers are further discussed in following chapters to illustrate specific themes and issues. As the Markers are discussed by classification, and some in other chapters, a chronological list of all Markers in this phase is provided in Appendix D.

**Major Artworks in Phase 5**

In this phase, six Markers are classified as major artworks. They are as follows.

**Yerrakartarta, North Terrace, Adelaide, 1995**

*Yerrakartarta* (Figure 8-1), commissioned in 1993 and dedicated in February 1995, is the first work of this phase. It acknowledges Kaurna country, contains the first use of Kaurna language in a public artwork and references the Tjilbruke Dreaming as well as a Ngarrindjeri Dreaming. The overall design of the artwork is by Kokatha Aboriginal artist Darryl Pfitzner Milika in collaboration with Ngarrindjeri/Kaurna artist Muriel van Der Byl. It was fabricated in collaboration with several non-Aboriginal artists. Pfitzner Milika understood the protocols of working in another cultural group’s Country and consulted Lewis O’Brien about the artwork. The artwork was commissioned as one of several significant public artworks for a city precinct redevelopment in the early 1990s, the Adelaide Station and Environs Redevelopment (ASER). It is located in a lower ground courtyard off North Terrace adjacent to the Adelaide Railway Station and nearby to an international hotel. Whilst this is a major work in terms of scale and narrative, from my experience it is not a well known work because of the ‘tucked away’ nature of its location. It is substantially screened from North Terrace because of its lower ground level and sits outside of the main cultural precinct of North Terrace which is further to the east. 1993 was the International Year of Indigenous Peoples and whilst that was known during the commissioning process, the timing of the commission was coincidental rather than intentional (Darryl Pfitzner Milika, 2009, pers. comm.).
**Tjirbruki narna’ arra The Tjirbruki Gateway, Warrriparinga, 1997**

*Tjirbruki narna’ arra The Tjirbruki Gateway* (Figure 8-2) was commissioned in 1996 by the City of Marion and the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association (KACHA) and dedicated in October 1997. The artwork was commissioned to ‘(1). Act as a memorial and teaching symbol for Tjirbruki. (2). Act as a gateway/sign to the Tjirbruki Trail. (3). Act as an entranceway/sign to the Warrriparinga Interpretive Centre’ (City of Marion, 1996). It is a collaborative work by Kaurna artist Sherry Rankine and non-Aboriginal artists Margaret Worth and me. The work was funded through a partnership between the Australian Local Government Association and the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation *Local Councils Remember Memorial Program*. The Program was:

... designed to establish appropriate memorials to recognise and commemorate people and events associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander matters which need to be remembered in a formal way at the local level ... to promote the reconciliation process between indigenous and wider communities at the local level (City of Marion, 1996).

Figure 8-2 Tjirbruki narna arra’, 1997, Warrriparinga (S. Rankine, G. Malone, M. Worth)

*Tjirbruki narna’ arra* is located at Warrriparinga, an area of land of particular significance to Kaurna as part of the Tjilbruke Dreaming and as a cultural site, being a traditional gathering area with burial sites in the vicinity. Located in suburban Bedford Park, by accident of history it was never completely built over during the urban development of Adelaide. It is now a Council reserve which is jointly managed with the Kaurna (initially KACHA). One objective of Warrriparinga is ‘To assist the Kaurna Heritage Committee to raise awareness and appreciation of Aboriginal Kaurna culture, heritage, dignity and legitimacy amongst the Kaurna and the community in general’ (City of Marion, 1996). The role of this work in relation to achieving that objective and its status as a significant Tjilbruke marker are discussed in Chapter 10.

**Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kaurna people and Kaurna land, Adelaide Festival Centre, Adelaide, 2002**

*Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kaurna people and Kaurna land*, 2002, (Figure 8-3) was commissioned by the Graham Smith Peace Trust in association with the Adelaide City Council and the Adelaide Festival Centre (AFC). The project was assisted by Centenary of Federation funding. The work is the result...
of a collaboration between non-Aboriginal artist Tony Rosella, non-Kaurna Aboriginal artist Darren Siwes and Kaurna artist Eileen Karpany. It is located in the forecourt of the Adelaide Festival Centre and because of its location it is a high profile work. In tandem with the public artwork a booklet was produced to interpret the sculpture and provide a walking trail guide to other Kaurna public artworks and significant Kaurna sites in the city.

Figure 8-3 Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kaurna people and Kaurna land, 2002, AFC (T. Rosella, D. Siwes, E. Karpany)

The artwork caused some division within the Kaurna community because of its cultural content and the stone used, which is from Ngarendjerri Country. This is recognised in the booklet *Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi* Walking Trail Guide:

> It is recognised that Kaurna people, like all groups of people, have diverse views. Several have totally supported and helped greatly in the process of this project. Some Kaurna people wanted aspects of their language, their names and references to particular traditions included, others did not. Some have concerns about the stone used in the sculpture coming from outside their country (Department of Education and Children’s Services, 2002:36).

This debate is a necessary part of developing protocols for Aboriginal public space symbolic expression. The preparation of project briefs that preference Aboriginal protocols and the enabling of greater Aboriginal determination of the process and outcome of projects is a key issue in Aboriginal self-determination in the public space. This research has focused on discovering and documenting what representation exists and, within the length of this thesis, it is not possible to discuss these issues in detail. It is mentioned to indicate that some representations can still be problematic as ways to adequately and appropriately represent Aboriginal culture in the public space evolve. De Lorenzo (2005) discussed the challenges of public space representation and summarised for one work, *Reconciliation Place*, in Canberra, that ‘The failure in this project to match theory with practice can be attributed to the process of realisation’.

*Yitpi Tukkutyaparrundaiendi Dancing Spirits*, FMC, 2004

*Yitpi Tukkutyaparrundaiendi Dancing Spirits* (Figure 8-4) was commissioned by the Arts in Health Program at the Flinders Medical Centre (FMC), Bedford Park. Its intent is to acknowledge Kaurna custodianship of Country and provide a ‘welcome to Country for healing’ for Aboriginal people from elsewhere who are receiving...
medical treatment at the hospital. It is by Karl Telfer and me. The work was deliberately set in a treed environment and designed to be symbolic as well as provide a contemplative space with limestone and redgum flow patterns that serve as seating. Symbolically it depicts the sun (female) and the moon (male) dancing around a traditional kuri dance stick. There are almost always people, particularly Aboriginal, sitting in the area when I have visited.

Figure 8-4 Yitpi Tukkutya Parrundaiendi, 2004, (K. Telfer & G. Malone)

Glow Taltaityai, Port Adelaide, 2009

Glow Taltaityai (Figure 8-5) was commissioned by the City of Port Adelaide Enfield as one of a series of public artworks to be part of the urban renewal of an area around the Port River. This artwork is by non-Aboriginal artists Michelle Nikou and Jason Milanovic. The project brief whilst providing a background on Kaurna culture did not specifically call for Kaurna recognition and the Kaurna were not included amongst the five key stakeholder groups. (City of PAE, 2008). The artists chose to reference aspects of the Tjilbruke Dreaming by the use of the emu and ibis as motifs. This was endorsed by the project management committee which included an Aboriginal representative but did not include a Kaurna representative.

Figure 8-5 Glow Taltaityai, 2009, Port Adelaide (M. Nikou & J. Milanovic)
The work is named *Glow* as it is manufactured with a coloured substance that glows lime green in the dark. Whilst this is seen as attractive to many, particularly children, I am aware of contrary opinions within Kaurna. It is seen as an inappropriate use of aspects of the Dreaming narrative, that it is cultural kitsch and a cultural appropriation by non-Aboriginal artists.

The intent of a project brief and project management is crucial in commissioning public artworks. In this case, because Kaurna inclusion was peripheral and not the prime intent of the project brief, it is most likely that a number of appropriately experienced artists and cultural custodians did not submit an Expression of Interest for the project. The project brief was general in nature.

Whilst I do not argue that this work is a fatal breach of cross-cultural protocols it is questionable as to why the artists, who do not have a track record of working cross-culturally but who are probably well meaning, have referenced a Kaurna Dreaming narrative without including a Kaurna representative in the design collaboration. For Kaurna, there is a sense that having had their land taken from them, they do not also want their culture to be taken and used by others primarily for their own benefit, particularly when there is a commercial gain and career recognition involved, as in this commission. Williams (2002:3) has alluded to this issue of appropriation in her reference to the protection of ‘Indigenous commodity in culture’:

> ... a true ability for sustainable cultures of Indigenous peoples requires an acknowledgment through the legal system, for example, the protection of Indigenous commodity in culture, intellectual property and use of Indigenous languages for geographical naming.

It may be argued that the inclusion of the Kaurna reference contributes to the community recognition of Kaurna culture. But I counter argue that there was no Kaurna endorsement or ownership of the cultural content (i.e. no culturally authorised use of the narrative and the lore that it contains, and no copyright ownership by Kaurna of this utilisation), and no mentoring of Kaurna artists/people in the public art process. In addition, this was a $200,000 project and there was no economic benefit to Kaurna.

*Bulto Ityangga Traces, Lochiel Park, Campbelltown, 2009*

*Bulto Ityangga Traces* (Figure 8-6) was commissioned by the Land Management Corporation as part of the Lochiel Park Green Village urban development in suburban Campbelltown. The development incorporates a large area of urban forest, wetlands and open space and is located adjacent to the River Torrens/Karrawirraparri. The artwork is by Kaurna artist Karl Telfer, non-Aboriginal sculptor Greg Johns and me. It is integrated into the landscape, the landforms and plantings comprising part of the work and its components have been aligned to distant landforms to enable ready reference to the Kaurna cultural mnemonic of the Mount Lofty Ranges. The artwork is intended to be a story-telling place which builds on what Taylor (2000:33) explained as:

> Traditions such as story–telling continue to weave together cultural memory, place and identity, thus relocating and repositioning highly adaptive local Aboriginal cultures within urban landscapes.
In summary, these six larger scale public artworks, located in a variety of types of public space, reflect the development of sculptural forms to represent a culture which did not have a sculptural tradition. They are part of renewing culture, although some outcomes can be seen as problematic. An informed and open critique of Aboriginal public space artworks is still evolving. Five of the Markers were undertaken as cross-cultural collaborations blending aspects of both cultural traditions and evolving a contemporary form of urban ‘monumental’ expression for Kaurna and other Aboriginal people. The other was by non-Aboriginal artists. All bar one of the Markers were commissioned by government agencies, and that work at the Festival Centre commissioned by the Graham Smith Peace Trust was in association with local government.

**Secondary Artworks in Phase 5**

In this phase there are ten artworks which I have classified as being secondary artworks. Four are sculptural/functional works and six are murals and are discussed in those categories.

**Secondary Artworks in Phase 5 – Sculptural/Functional**

*We Have Survived, Mile End Wall, Mile End, 1998*

The *Mile End Wall* utilises part of the urban infrastructure, a wall dividing a housing estate from a major roadway, as the substrate for an artwork which interprets the history of the inner western suburb of Mile End. The locality, now largely residential, formerly had a high concentration of light industry, including brick works, and various aspects of its history are depicted in the wall. The wall includes a bas relief bronze sculpture of a Kaurna family titled *We Have Survived* (Figure 8-7) by Kaurna artist Sherry Rankine in collaboration with non-Aboriginal sculptor Janette Moore. It is now largely concealed by tree and shrub growth in the locality.
City Sites Seats, Heywood Park, Unley Park, 1999
This functional artwork in the form of bench seats (Figure 8-8) was undertaken as part of an ongoing youth public art project City Sites, managed by Carclew Youth Arts Centre, where young artists are mentored and given opportunities to participate in public arts practice. The artists for this project were Narisha Cash, Tony Wilson and Maria Bar-Bara. The two seats acknowledge Kaurna land and that Heywood Park was a Kaurna camp site. Heywood Park includes a second Kaurna Marker, discussed below.

Pods, Karra Kundo, River Torrens/Karrawirraparri, Thebarton, 2001
Located on the banks of the River Torrens/Karrawirraparri at Thebarton, Pods (Figure 8-9) by non-Kaurna Aboriginal artist Mark Blackman, illustrates the Kaurna naming and use of riparian zone plants. Karra Kundo, a Kaurna naming, was a river care and cultural interpretation project initiated by the University of Adelaide, which has a research campus adjacent to the site. Karra Kundo was undertaken as a collaborative project between the local community, the local council and the University. I developed the cultural interpretation concept structure for the project in the late 1990s.
Text, Textiles and a Coil of String, State Library, Adelaide, 2003

Text, Textiles and a Coil of String (Figure 8-10) is an artwork in the entrance foyer of the State Library on North Terrace by non-Aboriginal artist Kay Lawrence and graphic designer John Nowland. This artwork has been classified by me as secondary as it was not commissioned as a Kaurna acknowledgement but does include a Kaurna reference. Part of the artwork, a suspended plant fibre ellipse (Figure 8-11), is based on a Kaurna string game. Another component, outside the main entrance, incorporates a welcome by Lewis O’Brien in the Kaurna language engraved in a pavement flagstone. It reads in English ‘First I welcome you all to my Kaurna country, and next I welcome you to the State Library of South Australia. My brothers, my sisters, let’s walk together in harmony’. The welcome is repeated in both Kaurna and English as part of an explanation of the artwork in the foyer.
Secondary Artworks in Phase 5 - Murals
Of the murals in this phase, two, at Brompton Primary School, and O'Sullivan Beach Primary School, refer to the Creation Ancestor Tjilbruke and are discussed in Chapter 10. The other four murals are outlined here:

Mural, Gilles Plains Primary School, Hillcrest, 2004
This mural (Figure 8-12), by Tauondi College, includes the text ‘Ngai wangandi marni nabudni Kaurna yertaanna. First let me welcome you all to Kaurna Country’. Like other murals by Tauondi this mural features generic Aboriginal motifs. However, unlike other murals, this one includes a specific Kaurna reference.

Mural, Celebrating Culture and Tradition, SA Folk Centre, 2004
Celebrating Culture and Tradition (Figure 8-13) on a wall of the South Australian Folk Centre at Thebarton is by aerosol artist Jimmy C. It includes a depiction of the contemporary Kaurna dance group, Paitya, founded by Karl Telfer who is also Artistic Director. The group performs at a wide variety of public and official events, including greeting visiting dignitaries. The troupe introduces younger boys to traditional dance and public performance as depicted in the mural (Figure 8-14). The inclusion of Paitya in this mural depicting the notion of folk music recognises Kaurna culture and performance as being part of the traditional and contemporary cultural expression of this place.
**Mural, Warriparinga Walk, Bedford Park, 2006**

Initiated by the City of Marion and located under a motor expressway bridge which was subject to on-going graffiti attacks, the *Warriparinga Walk* mural was painted by ten Aboriginal youth from the southern suburbs with mentoring by aerosol artist Jimmy C and cultural guidance from senior Kaurna people. The mural was launched by the Hon. John Hill, Minister assisting the Minister for the Arts, during an open day which attracted 300 people. The objectives of the mural, in part, were to:

- **Develop respect and understanding between young people, the community and the heritage of Warriparinga.**
- **Create and promote further awareness and understanding of diverse cultural art forms with the Living Kaurna Cultural Centre.**
- **Create respect and understanding between community and young people involved or at risk of being involved in graffiti vandalism and to utilise art at a street level to develop mutual respect** (City of Marion, n.d.).

**Mural, Bukki Yellaka Iamo Tarkarri Making Old Tracks New Again, Outer Harbor Train Station, 2008**

This highly decorative mosaic mural (Figure 8-16) by non-Aboriginal artists Tamara Molloy, Ben Resch and Katrina Power was undertaken with students from Tauondi College. It is quite an elaborate story telling mosaic which recognises the Narungga and Ngarrindjeri language groups as well as Kaurna. It is accompanied by an
interpretive panel (Figure 8-17) explaining the relationship of the three groups and that their descendants comprise a high proportion of the Aboriginal population of the area, which is part of greater Port Adelaide.

Figure 8-16 Bukki Yellaka Iamo Tarkarri Making Old Tracks New Again, 2008 (T. Molloy, B. Resch, K. Power)

In summary, these secondary artworks of Phase 5 occupy a diverse range of locations, utilise a variety of art styles, and were commissioned by a range of organisations, predominantly government. The works are by Aboriginal artists alone as well as being the result of cross-cultural collaborations. Aboriginal youth are also being involved to a greater extent in expressing their cultural heritage which contributes to their cultural identification and personal identity.

Commemorative Markers in Phase 5
Commemorative Markers are a distinguishing characteristic of this phase as they speak of the Aboriginal culture of this place. Ten commemorative Markers which acknowledge the Kaurna or a particular Kaurna person, place or event, have been located in this phase. For several I give the information contained to illustrate the types of content. Descriptions of the Markers follows.
**Kaurna Acknowledgment Plaque, Flinders Medical Centre, 1996**

This plaque (Figure 8-18), located in the central courtyard of the Flinders Medical Centre, was unveiled on 3rd April 1996 by Her Excellency the Honourable Dame Roma Mitchell, Governor of South Australia, in conjunction with Phoebe Wanganeen and Rosemont (Rose) Dixon, ‘Tribal Elders of the Kaurna People’(wording from plaque). Phoebe Wanganeen was one of the Aboriginal artists who participated in the painting of the Suzanne Ward mural in 1978 (Phase 2). Rose Dixon attended several meetings of the Tjilbruke Track Committee when it continued its broader cultural activities after the dedication of the Track in 1986 (Phase 3). The plaque ‘records the Kaurna Aboriginal people as the traditional owners of this land and commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the Flinders Medical Centre.’ The small plaque marks the emergence of a trend to include Kaurna in a more formal way in the Western tradition of marking places and events through bronze or brass plaques. The Flinders Medical Centre, since 1996, has commissioned two further Aboriginal public art projects, *Yitpi Tukkutya Parrundaiendi* (2004-this phase) and *One Place, One Future* (2007-Phase 4).

![Figure 8-18 Kaurna Acknowledgment, 1996, Courtyard, FMC](image)

**Kaurna Acknowledgment Plaque, Cultural Walk, Norwood, 1998**

This plaque (Figure 8-19) was commissioned by the then Corporation of Kensington and Norwood as one of a series in a local cultural walk. The Kaurna plaque reads:

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ABORIGINAL LANDS
THE DREAMTIME
“We are born of the earth and belong to the land. The wisdom of our ancient
tribes is a celebration of the sustaining force of nature.” Balarinji Australia
THE KAURNA TRIBE
The district of Kensington and Norwood lies within the tribal area of the
Kaurna people. The Kaurna people’s timeless relationship with the plains
based on their dreamtime stories shaped a complex set of social, cultural and
spiritual beliefs and practices.
Within three decades of European settlement in 1836 the Kaurna tribe had
been decimated. They had been dispossessed of their lands and beliefs. They
had no immunity to the foreign diseases carried by European settlers and
epidemics of measles and scarletina proved fatal.
As a final gesture of reconciliation the Corporation of Kensington and
Norwood acknowledges the impact of white civilization on the cultural
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traditions and spiritual beliefs of the Aboriginal people and their right to their lands.

Although relatively recent, the plaque is only the second by a local council to acknowledge Aboriginal people. It follows Trees of Peace, 1988 (Phase 3). The plaque is quite open in outlining the impacts of colonisation on Kaurna. It was dedicated as part of Sorry Week in May 1998. John and Ros Moriarty of Balarinji Design Company, an Aboriginal design firm, assisted in the plaque’s design.

Figure 8-19 Kaurna Acknowledgment Plaque, Cultural Walk, 1998, Norwood

**Former Native School Establishment Plaque, Migration Museum, 1999**

In 1845 the colonial government established the Native School for Kaurna and other Aboriginal children to replace that in the Native Location Pilta wodli. In 1851 many of the children were transferred to Poonindie Mission near Port Lincoln, Eyre Peninsula, which led to the school’s closure in 1852. The School was located in what is now the site of the Migration Museum, Adelaide. One wall of the school building remains standing and has been incorporated into a Museum building. The Marker (Figure 8-20) commemorates the school and the Kaurna people.

Figure 8-20 Native School Marker, 1999, Migration Museum

**Pilta wodli Former Native Location, North Parklands, Adelaide, 2000**

Located in the North Parklands the Native Location Pilta wodli (Possum house) (Figure 8-21) was a site to house Kaurna and other Aboriginal people in the early years of colonisation. It was established by William Wyatt, the Protector of Aborigines, in 1838 on a site on the north side of the River Torrens/Karrawirraparri,
opposite the site of the Adelaide Gaol. Two German Lutheran missionaries, Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schurmann, sent by the Dresden Mission Society, arrived in Adelaide in 1838 and in 1839 established a school for Kaurna children at the Native Location (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989:3). The Society had only been established in 1836, the same year as the colony of South Australia, and this was a significant early undertaking. In 2011 the Society and South Australia both celebrated 175 years since foundation. A delegation from South Australia, including Kaurna descendants, participated in the Society’s commemorations in Germany. At the Native Location the missionaries learnt, researched and recorded the Kaurna language and also taught the children in Kaurna, their first language (Osborne, 2000:8). As linguist Rob Amery and Georgina Williams stated (2002:263):

\[
\text{Pilta wodli is a particularly important site, for it was here that almost everything we know of the Kaurna language was recorded. At this site we also see the beginnings of policies in South Australia which separated Aboriginal children from their families – policies that gave rise to the ‘stolen generations’}. \]

The development of the Marker was undertaken by the South Australian ‘Bringing Them Home’ Committee, and was financially supported by the Lutheran Church and the City of Adelaide. It was dedicated on the second anniversary of National Sorry Day, 26 May 2000.

\[\text{Figure 8-21 Pilta wodli Former Native Location, 2000, Adelaide}\]

\[\text{Mullawirraburka Acknowledgment Paver, Migration Museum, 2000}\]

Mullawirraburka, also known as ‘King John’, was a leading Kaurna figure in inter-cultural relations after colonisation and featured prominently in early dealings between Kaurna and the colonists. The Migration Museum’s Settlement Square includes a mosaic of pavers with names of early settlers and later immigrants. The pavers are included by individual sponsorship. One woman, when including her forebears, noted the absence in the mosaic of recognition of Kaurna as the original occupants of the land and sponsored the inclusion of a paver commemorating Mullawirraburka (Figure 8-22). Mullawirraburka died in 1845 but unfortunately his date of death is incorrectly given as 1843\(^{31}\) on the paver at the Migration Museum.

\[^{31}\text{The Migration Museum was informally advised of this error by Kaurna linguist Rob Amery several years ago, and again by me, but as yet it has not been addressed.}\]

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Kaurna Acknowledgment Plaques, University of South Australia, 2000

Included on the stones of the University of South Australia’s reconciliation statement (Phase 4) is an additional plaque by the Students Association acknowledging that ‘the USASA [University of South Australia Students Association] Office on this campus occupies Kaurna land’. The exemplar below (Figure 8-23) is at the City West Campus.

Kaurna Pangkarra Acknowledgment Plaque, Heywood Park, 2000

This plaque (Figure 8-24), located in Heywood Park, Unley Park, was donated by the local Member of Parliament, the Hon. Mark Brindall, on behalf of the people of Unley, with the support of the City of Unley. The plaque was added to an existing c1920s column which acknowledges the colonial and early urban history of the park area. It is an unusual example, in Adelaide, of an Aboriginal acknowledgement being added to an existing colonising monument.
The Kaurna Pangkarra plaque (meaning Kaurna Country or land) reads:

Kaurna Pangkarra

This plaque recognises the Kaurna people, the traditional land owners of the Adelaide Plains.

Local Government recognition is part of the Reconciliation process. We should preserve the traditions of as many cultures as we can for future generations.

The existence of a plaque does not ensure ongoing cultural recognition. In September 2010 the elected council of the City of Unley withdrew its recognition of the Kaurna people as the traditional owners of the Adelaide Plains from its council meetings and official events. The Kaurna recognition was replaced with a generic Aboriginal acknowledgement (Bachmayer, 2010:11). This change was in response to lobbying by a small group of people who support a claim by some Ramindjeri people that their lands extend to the Adelaide Plains. This is a claim that is not generally recognised and has not been recognised through a Native Title claim. Lewis O’Brien described the decision as dangerous. ‘They say they’re recognising all Aboriginal people, but what they are doing is rubbing you out’ (O’Brien in Bachmayer, 2010:11).

Kaurna Shield, Gateway to Adelaide, Glen Osmond, 2000

The Gateway to Adelaide was a major roadway and precinct redevelopment to provide a ‘gateway’ to Adelaide from the South Eastern Freeway. The precinct outcome, comprising stone walls of multiple forms, a feature fountain and a major sculptural work, was conceived by a multi-disciplinary design team. The Kaurna recognition, in the form of a relief of a Kaurna shield carved in a stone wall (Figure 8-25), is almost invisible to the passing traffic. It is accompanied by a small plaque which reads ‘This is the shield of the Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains’. This small inclusion in such a major project lacks substance and appears tokenistic.
In a more unusual commemoration, or acknowledgement, of Kaurna, three members, past and present, of the Kaurna dance group Paitya are represented in a pictorial glass panel located at a terminal gateway. The panel (Figure 8-26) is one of a series located at each gateway depicting South Australian culture and places. Whilst the suite of panels mainly relate to tourism promotion, the Paitya panel provides an Aboriginal acknowledgment not previously included in the former terminal which this building replaced. I have included this work in this commemorative category as it is not a public artwork per se but is part of including or recognising Kaurna in the physical and social fabric of place in Adelaide.

Doris Graham was a prominent Kaurna figure who died in 2004. The plaque commemorating her (Figure 8-27) is located in Elder Park adjacent to the Adelaide Festival Centre and is in quite a prominent position. This recognition of a recently deceased Aboriginal person in such a prominent place is an unusual tribute. The Marker was designed by non-Aboriginal artist Annabelle Collett with input from the Graham family and sponsored by the City of Adelaide.
In summary, these ten commemorative Markers have been initiated by a cross section of the community ranging from individuals to local government and state government authorities. Although most are not highly visible they add to the community understanding of specific places as also having a Kaurna story, pre and post colonisation, as well as commemorating particular Kaurna individuals. This later acknowledgement adds to the understanding of a community being comprised of individual people and in the same way that many individuals from the incoming culture are commemorated, so too are individual Kaurna people. The inclusion of further Kaurna individuals, past and present, into the public space narrative can only add to a more complete understanding and humanising of the people and culture.

**Interpretive Markers in Phase 5**

Interpretive Markers, along with Commemorative Markers, are also a distinguishing characteristic of this phase as they speak of the Aboriginal culture of this place and together provide a preliminary public space narrative about Kaurna culture. There are eleven Kaurna interpretive Markers in this phase:

**Warruparinga Interpretive Trail, Warruparinga, 1999**

The *Warruparinga Interpretive Trail*, 1999 (Figure 8-28) was initiated by the City of Marion in partnership with the Kaurna Aboriginal Community Heritage Association (KACHA) as part of the Warruparinga project. The signs, which were in both and Kaurna and English, were placed at several locations throughout Warruparinga. The Trail has now been lost because some of the signs were vandalised and others were stolen, most likely for their scrap metal value. Another Trail *Tappa Wodliparri*, 2002, at the Kaurna Park Wetlands, Burton, has also been vandalised and is now lost. These are the only Kaurna Markers that have been lost through senseless acts. Their scale, materials, location and possibly their cultural content seem to have combined to make them vulnerable. Both Trails were located in large well-treed public parks where there was little public scrutiny, particularly after dark.
In 1997 the Adelaide City Council was one of the first councils to sign a Reconciliation Statement. As part of its Reconciliation Vision Statement, Council acknowledged the prior occupation of the land by the Kaurna people and sought opportunities to recognise Kaurna heritage through physical features in the city (ACC, n.d.). An outcome is the Kaurna or dual naming of 29 parkland locations that surround the city and the dual naming of five city squares after Kaurna women from the colonial period, Mogata, Tangkaira, Wauwe, Kudnarto and Ivaritji. There is no interpretive signage for this latter naming. The first naming was officially endorsed in March 2000 and the last in March 2003. Interpretive Markers (Figure 8-29) have also been progressively installed in each park.

The Parklands are a colonial construct and the Kaurna naming is not of a traditional nature. The naming includes Kaurna language neologisms for contemporary functions. For example, a netball park is named Wikaparndo Wirra from wika ‘net’, parndo ‘possum skin ball’ and wirra ‘forest; park’. The park containing the Adelaide Aquatic Centre is named Padipadinyilla which means ‘swimming place’. As Amery and Williams (2002:262) stated:
While few of these names are original retentions, the names applied do give a Kaurna perspective and serve to remind us of an Indigenous heritage through the names of prominent leaders known to have frequented the area, and the names of Indigenous plants that formerly dominated the landscape.

Caution is required in that the naming is not a traditional Kaurna cultural naming but a translation of post-colonisation and contemporary functions into the Kaurna language. The use of such naming is sometimes contested within the Kaurna community.

**Yunggullungalla Garden Interpretive Sign, Christies Beach HS, 2000**

Yunggullungalla, which translates as ‘to give bountifully’ came about through a partnership between the City of Onkaparinga and several community groups, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and the Christies Beach High School. The interpretive sign explains that ‘Yunggullungalla is a sustainable Indigenous medicinal garden set in the grounds of Christies Beach High School. The garden features seventy species of native plants, significant for their application by Indigenous people for medical and cultural purposes’.

![Figure 8-30 Yunggullungalla Garden Marker, 2006, Christies Beach HS](image)

**Gibson Street Historical Markers, Bowden, 2001**

Initiated by the City of Charles Sturt as a Centenary of Federation project, the Gibson Street Historical Markers Project gives details of the post-settlement activities in Gibson Street, Bowden, one of the earlier subdivisions for housing and industry close to the new town of Adelaide. Whilst not large in scale, the Kaurna acknowledgement (Figure 8-31) is part of a trend to include pre-settlement history as part of the interpretation of the social fabric of place.
Kaurna People Interpretive Signs, Hillcrest Oakden Walking Trail, 2001

Initiated by the City of Port Adelaide Enfield, the Hillcrest Oakden Walking Trail is similar to the Gibson Street Markers where there is reference to Kaurna as part of a local history and was also undertaken as a Centenary of Federation project. Of the thirteen signs comprising the trail, five have a reference to Kaurna (Figure 8-32).

Tappa Wodliparri Interpretive Trail, Kaurna Park Wetlands, 2002

Initiated by the City of Salisbury in conjunction with the Kaurna Aboriginal and Community Heritage Association (KACHA), the trail provided interpretive signage at several sites along walking tracks in the Kaurna Park wetlands at Burton (Figure 8-33). The onsite markers were supported by a comprehensive nineteen page colour resource pack on Kaurna history, language and culture, as well as indigenous plants and their use by Kaurna. The project was also supported by Centenary of Federation funding. Unfortunately the interpretive signage was vandalised and has, over time, been removed. A photograph has not been located. The council is planning to renew the trail in another form in the future (Pledger, 2009, pers. comm.).
Kaurna Cultural Heritage Trail, Port Adelaide, 2003
Initiated by the Port Adelaide Visitor Centre in conjunction with Tauondi College, the Trail provides interpretive Markers at six locations around the upper reaches of the once mangrove lined Port River, a prime traditional Kaurna habitation site. The Trail has been utilised for guided cultural tours provided by Tauondi College.

Marni Naa Budni Kaurna Wauwa-anna Welcome to the Kaurna Coast, Marion Coast Park, 2006
Initiated by the City of Marion in conjunction with the local Kaurna community, the Markers (Figure 8-35) provide information on the environmental and cultural heritage of the coastal area. They were developed by community artist Barbary O’Brien and Kaurna representatives and are located at six coastal sites as part of the Marion Coast Park at Marino and Hallett Cove.
**Black Diamonds & Pearls - Kaurna Marker, Port Adelaide, 2009**

The Marker (Figure 8-36) is part of an interpretive trail in the Port Adelaide State Heritage Area initiated by the City of Port Adelaide Enfield. The Marker incorporates an audio story by Lewis O’Brien and Kaurna language. It was designed by artist Trevor Wren.

**Tjilbruke Dreaming Interpretive Signs, Kingston Park, 2009**

This Marker (Figure 8-37) is located adjacent to a fresh water spring site, Tulukudangga, which is part of the Tjilbruke Dreaming. The Marker is comprised of four signs addressing different aspects of the Dreaming narrative.
The remaining interpretive Marker is the *Kaurna Cultural Markers* project commissioned by the City of Charles Sturt which is in progress (images not yet available). The project will provide several Markers throughout the council area and will utilise a sculptural form based on a Kaurna artefact to provide a support to present the text, which will be a diverse and rich narrative of Kaurna culture. The project is being undertaken by Karl Telfer and me. The Council has also engaged us to undertake research from primary and secondary sources to support and give greater depth to the narrative.

In summary, the eleven interpretive Markers about Kaurna culture reflect the growing awareness that Adelaide is on Kaurna Country and that cultural interpretation is also specific to place rather than speaking more broadly of Aboriginal culture. The Markers were mainly undertaken by local governments in partnership with Kaurna representatives. The interpretive Markers are in a variety of locations and cover various aspects of cultural practices, from plant use to traditional habitation sites. As part of the social fabric of place, they provide readily accessible information about Kaurna culture and act as a small counter to the numerous interpretive markers about non-Aboriginal sites and cultural heritage that exist throughout major cities. The content of the markers is evolving in complexity and the approach adopted by City of Charles Sturt to commission cultural research as well as the physical markers recognises the need to present sound cultural information in public space story telling.

In summary interpretive and commemorative markers are a form of place marking that has wide spread application in the Western tradition usually in the form of plaques and interpretive signage. This tradition has largely been continued with the Aboriginal narrative and only a few Markers have a form or aesthetic that is more readily recognised as being related to an Aboriginal narrative. There was little Aboriginal involvement in the earlier Markers of this type; it was non-Aboriginal organisations making a statement. There has also been little Aboriginal input into the design and style of this type of Marker, something which is appropriate in telling an Aboriginal narrative. Since the mid 2000s this has started to occur with *Marni Naa Budni Kaurna Wauwa-anna Welcome to the Kaurna Coast*, 2006, which used a Kaurna shield shape as the base form, an exemplar.

The twenty-two interpretive and commemorative Markers located is a small number within the geographic and cultural space of Adelaide. Many more can be added over
time to provide for a greater depth and breadth of Kaurna public space cultural presentation. Used with cultural sensitivity and good design, these types of Markers offer a contemporary mechanism for the telling of stories for a once oral based cultural tradition.

Community Artworks in Phase 5
Three community artworks that acknowledge Kaurna have been located. As outlined in Phase 4, this style of artwork has been more utilised for pan-Aboriginal recognition. This could be because Adelaide has a broad range of Aboriginal cultural groups represented in its population who can participate in community artworks, as compared to specifically including Kaurna people.

**Turning Circle, Kurruru Pingyarendi Community Garden, 2002**
The Kurruru Pingyarendi Community Garden, Gilles Plains, was established in 2000 as a reconciliation project at the Gilles Plains Community Campus and in 2002 the *Turning Circle* (Figure 8-38) was added. Indigenous fauna with Kaurna naming has been represented within a spiralling ground pattern. Mosaic, a medium which is readily suited to community participation, has been utilised. The community art project was coordinated by non-Aboriginal artist Andrew Stock and landscape architect Paul Herzich, a Kaurna descendant. The Kaurna naming Kurruru Pingyarendi translates in English to ‘the turning circle’.

![Figure 8-38 Turning Circle Kurruru Pingyarendi, 2002, Gilles Plains](image)

**Kuranye Metitya Dreaming Trail, Largs Bay Primary School, 2007**
The *Kuranye Metitya Dreaming Trail*, 2007 (Figure 8-39), at the Largs Bay Primary School, combines an indigenous plant garden with a mosaic mural path and sculpture. The Marker has an onsite acknowledgement sign which reinforces the value of community artworks. In part it states:

*Our entire student population, along with many parents, staff and community members have been actively involved in the development of the garden and committed to the success of the project. This has developed a true sense of ownership and belonging for all members of our school’s community.*
Inclusion of Kaurna Language in Phase 5

A new form of public space inclusion that has evolved recently is the inclusion of Kaurna language as part of public artworks where a Kaurna acknowledgement was not the primary intent of the artwork. The language was almost lost and is not widely used, being spoken semi-fluently by only a few people. The use of Kaurna language, along with the naming of some other artworks in Kaurna, has been facilitated by the formation of Kaurna Warra Pintyandi, the Kaurna language group, coordinated by linguist Dr Rob Amery at the University of Adelaide. The group provides advice on the use of Kaurna language. Kaurna Warra Pintyandi member Lewis O’Brien (2007:226) stated of its activities:

*A large part of our meetings is taken up with the many requests we get from artists, musicians and other people or groups wanting to use the Kaurna*
language in some way, whether it be in an exhibition, installation, song or naming some institution or other. We give the permission to use certain Kaurna words or phrases, and correct anything they may have wrong in the language they are proposing. I guess it is good that so many people are interested in using our language in public places, but it is important they consult our language group first. This also allows us to keep track of our language and its use in public.

Kaurna Warra Pintyandi is recording the use of Kaurna language in any public space situation, including the naming of geographic locations and features, buildings or properties, education programs, plaques and other acknowledgements. The artworks in this phase which utilise Kaurna language range from small local works to major public artworks. The five Markers are as follows.

**Ground Mosaic, Dew Street, Thebarton, 1997**

The ground mosaic (Figure 8-41) located in the ‘Corner Park’, Dew Street, Thebarton, was undertaken by the Thebarton Community Arts Network (TCAN). Whilst the community art work focuses on the post-colonial aspects of the local history it includes a few Kaurna words, continuing TCAN’s Aboriginal inclusion begun in the Cawthorne Street Mural in 1993. The park is located in an area of land that was selected by Colonel William Light, founding Surveyor-General, as his land holding.

![Figure 8-41 Mural, Mosaic Ground, 1997 Park, Thebarton (TCAN)](image)

**Peace Pole, Wills Court, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1998**

Presented by the World Peace Prayer Society, Japan, the Esoteric Sciences and Creative Education Foundation and the University’s Office of Professional and Continuing Education, the Peace Pole (Figure 8-42) presents peace messages in four languages. In Kaurna it states ‘Bilyonirna yertangga’ meaning ‘may peace prevail on Earth’.

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32 A public access database on this broad usage of Kaurna language is in development (early 2010) and will become part of the Kaurna Warra Pintyandi website, www.adelaide.edu/kwp/. This website will also show the geographic distribution of the use of language. Information gained as part of this PhD research has been provided to that database.
Transitions, Adelaide Railway Station, 2002
A component of the artwork Transitions, by non-Aboriginal artist Hope Lovelock Deane, is greetings to train travellers in several languages. Located on the platform pillars it includes a welcome in Kaurna ‘Marni naa budni Kaurna yertaanna/Welcome to Kaurna land’ and the question ‘Wanti ninna? Where are you going?’ (Figure 8-43).

Talking Our Way Home, Elder Park, Adelaide, 2005
Talking Our Way Home, by non-Aboriginal artist Shaun Kirby, is a major public artwork located in the Torrens Lake at Elder Park. It is not specifically an artwork to recognise Kaurna but includes Kaurna language in a bankside text component of the artwork (Figure 8-44).
True North, Hawksbury Park, Salisbury North, 2005

True North (Figure 8-45), an entrance statement to an urban development in Adelaide’s northern suburbs, designed by artists Bridgette Minuzzo and Adrian Potter, included a small component of Kaurna language ‘Bultonarri perko wanggandi Placenames tell a story’. The structure was demolished by a car in 2008 and has not been replaced.

In summary, the use of the Kaurna language assists in bringing the language to a broader public and provides an intrinsic acknowledgement of the Kaurna people.

Public Space Design in Phase 5

An emerging trend in this phase is the collaborative design of public spaces by landscape architects, artists and Kaurna representatives. Such projects provide a new method of expression for the Kaurna and allows the design of a larger area of space with multiple components to reflect various aspects of Kaurna culture, as compared to a stand alone artwork or other marker. Seven examples, the first dating from 2003, have been located in this phase. I will discuss the latest, Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga, in detail to elaborate on the maturing and significance of this type of recognition.
**Mikawomma Reserve, Woodville Gardens, 2003**

The first project located of this type was the Mikawomma Reserve (Figure 8-46), Woodville Gardens, opened in 2003 and part of a large scale urban redevelopment project. The principal design artists were Bridgette Minuzzo & Adrian Potter. Design input was provided by Kaurna representatives and several other artists, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal, assisted with particular components. There are many sculptural, interpretive and landscape components to this work in addition to that illustrated here. Mikawomma is a traditional Kaurna name for the plains between what is now the location of the city of Adelaide and Port Adelaide and the reserve is located in that region.

![Figure 8-46 Mikawomma Reserve, 2003, Woodville Gardens (B. Minuzzo, A. Potter et al)](image)

**Site Lines-Connecting Lines, P. Wesbroom Reserve, Gilles Plains, 2005**

Site Lines, Connecting Lines (Figure 8-47), located at Gilles Plains in a local park in a new housing development, is a collaborative work, undertaken by artist Andrew Stock and landscape architect Paul Herzich. The work is integrated into the landscape design of the park.

![Figure 8-47 Site Lines, Connecting Lines, 2005, Peter Wesbroom Reserve (A. Stock, P. Herzich)](image)

**Taikurrendi, Christies Beach Coast Park, Christies Beach, 2005**

Taikurrendi, Christies Beach Coast Park (Figure 8-48), located on the foreshore at Christies Beach in the southern suburbs of Adelaide, was developed by the local council, the City of Onkaparinga. The Park provides a seaside landscaped area which incorporates the Christies Beach Surf Life Saving Club. The Park includes a significant Kaurna component in its design and interpretation (Figure 8-49, Figure...
There is some disquiet within Kaurna that some of the cultural narrative presented is misleading. This does not detract from the use of public space design but points to the need to learn from errors and ensure accurate cultural content. How misleading cultural information came to be included in this project, and others, was researched and surfaced a complex range of issues about contemporary cultural renewal and presentation, and public space design processes. The length of discussion required to fully elaborate these issues prevented them from being presented as part of this thesis and will be pursued elsewhere. Taikurrendi was designed by landscape architecture firm Hemisphere Design with several Kaurna representatives.

Figure 8-48 Taikurrendi, Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005

Figure 8-49 Taikurrendi (detail), Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005

Figure 8-50 Taikurrendi, Interpretive Sign, Christies Beach Coast Park, 2005
Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, Old Noarlunga, 2006

Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve (Figure 8-51) is a local park adjacent the Onkaparinga River in the small township of Old Noarlunga, now part of Adelaide’s extended southern suburbs. The park was developed in 2006 by the local council, the City of Onkaparinga, and Planning SA, a state government authority. It is located on the site of the former historic Horseshoe Inn which was destroyed by fire in 1988. The design of the Park seeks to bring together the European history of the site along with the Kaurna cultural associations with the locale. The Park includes design elements constructed from materials salvaged from the destroyed Inn and a contemporary interpretation of a Kaurna wodli or shelter (Figure 8-52). There is interpretive signage for the European and Kaurna histories (Figure 8-53) of the region and the site. Unfortunately there is some inaccurate Kaurna cultural information included as out-dated reference material was used. I make comment on the need for good research and sound cultural material in later chapters. The reserve was designed by Outerspace Landscape Architects with Kaurna representatives.

Figure 8-51 Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, Old Reynella, 2006

Figure 8-52 Wodli based shelter, Winnaynee Horseshoe Inn Reserve, 2006
Towilla Yerta Reserve, Port Willunga, 2007

*Towilla Yerta Reserve* (Towilla - soul, spirit; Yerta - earth, country) (Figure 8-54) is a small scale landscaped area at Port Willunga, a popular south coast beach, developed by the local council, the City of Onkaparinga, and completed in May 2007. Port Willunga, or Wirruwarrungga to Kaurna, is a significant site in the Tjilbruke Dreaming, it being the location of one of the fresh water springs created by Tjilbruke’s tears. The Towilla Yerta Reserve landscape design utilises field limestone, a material of the region, to give a particular local sense of place quite effectively. There is reference to the Tjilbruke Dreaming within the design through a tear shaped paving pattern (Figure 8-55) and interpretive information regarding the Tjilbruke Dreaming incorporated on plaques inserted into two stones (Figure 8-56). Again, unfortunately, some of the reference material used for this presentation was out-dated which led to inaccurate information being used as well as the use of the Ngarrindjeri, rather than Kaurna language. The reserve was designed by landscape architects Hemisphere Design with Kaurna representatives.
Lartelare, New Port, 2009

*Lartelare* is an urban park at New Port, developed by the Land Management Corporation and the local council, the City of Port Adelaide Enfield, as part of the urban renewal of a former industrial area around the Port River. The Park commemorates Lartelare (also known as Rebecca Spender), the 19th Century Kaurna woman who was born at that location (formerly known as Glanville) in 1851. The park was designed by landscape architects Taylor Cullity Lethlean in conjunction with the Brodie family, descendants of Lartelare. It features a contemporary interpretation of a wodli (shelter) and interpretive components throughout the park (Figure 8-57).
There is a new public canvas at hand, with the redesign of Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga underway. The Square is considered to be the geographic and civic heart of Adelaide (Cameron, 1997:21, ACC, 2008:6), although its status as the civic heart has waxed and waned overtime. Over the last decade there has been a political and cultural discussion on the need for a redesign to meet contemporary functional, cultural and symbolic needs. The last major redesign of the Square occurred in the 1960s and the Three Rivers Fountain (1965) (Figure 5-9) was installed as part of that process. In the early 2000s a redesign was commissioned by the City of Adelaide but the design proposal by Adelaide based landscape architects Taylor Cullity Lethlean was not implemented for political reasons. The Council again commissioned Taylor Cullity Lethlean to prepare the regeneration master plan.

The redesign brings to the fore the inclusion of Kaurna significance. I am going to discuss the space in terms of it being a place of significance to Kaurna, any other Aboriginal inclusion follows on from that primary cultural recognition. The understanding or designation of the locale as a significant Kaurna space allows Kaurna to welcome and include other Aboriginal people in that space in their own way on their Country. Other civic spaces do not necessarily have the same dual cultural meaning as Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga and this warrants particular
courtesy by both non-Kaurna and non-Aboriginal alike. If and how other Aboriginal inclusion occurs is another stage of discussion.

Since the redesign proposal in the early 2000s, the recognition of the Kaurna cultural landscape has advanced. It is now better understood (and accepted in most quarters) that the site of Adelaide is of significance to Kaurna people not only as part of their Country but in particular as part of the Red Kangaroo Dreaming (Tarnda means red kangaroo, Tarndanyangga means place of the red kangaroo). There is a strong and largely accepted argument that Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga has a particular cultural significance to Kaurna as part of that Dreaming (Foster, 1990:82, Harris, 1999:30, Lumen, 1982:10-12). The dual naming in 2003 of Victoria Square as Tarndanyangga, the place of the red kangaroo, under the Geographical Names Act, 1993, is reflective of this. Tarndanyangga is sometimes now referred to as ‘the heart of the kangaroo’ as a symbolic gesture, as in Victoria Square being the ‘civic heart’. Despite the overlay of the capital city the Kaurna significance remains, as explained by Lewis O’Brien (2007:203):

There is no way that an important Dreaming trail can be ignored, or simply wiped out by whiteman’s developments. Even if they change the landscape and remove all the trees, it is still there. Tarndanyangga is living proof of that – in the middle of the city at Victoria Square. There we have a major site of the Red Kangaroo Dreaming trail. It has always been a meeting place for Aboriginal people, and still is.

The Adelaide City Council Reconciliation Committee (n.d.) has noted its function as a meeting place:

Victoria Square Tarndanyangga has been a principle and preferred central meeting place for Aboriginal people since European settlement. It is a place where traditional and non-traditional people would come upon arrival to the city in order to catch up with news and information about family and friends.

The same geographic space has two potentially competing value systems and cultural meanings but there need not be a competition, a collaboration and a cultural synthesis is possible, which in itself can reflect a maturing of cross-cultural relationships. When a site has competing claims, evidence or justification of those claims is called for. The evidence is most often derived from the historical record in conjunction with contemporary argument. The cultural significance of Victoria Square to ‘whitefellas’ is axiomatic. The significance of Tarndanyangga, the Kaurna meaning, has required elaboration. But this is not necessarily straightforward. The historical record of the Kaurna/Aboriginal significance of place is scant and the bringing together of threads of Aboriginal knowledge is not readily facilitated. The knowledge may be scattered, with some knowledge, or the ability to interpret it, held by Aboriginal custodians along traditional songlines; in this case, custodians who live in the far north or west of South Australia. The bringing together of detailed anthropological, historical and contemporary understandings can be a resource and time demanding process and is not readily seen as part of a landscape design process. There is a tacit expectation that the anthropological record is already complete, that the research has been done and knowledge is full. But this is not necessarily so, it is often only when attention is focussed on a place that the need to more fully know the Aboriginal cultural heritage becomes apparent. Aboriginal cultural relevance of place has been a ‘sleeper’, a non-entity, for most of the colonising period.
A greater Kaurna recognition and design collaboration is occurring through Karl Telfer being part of the design team in conjunction with structured Kaurna community consultation as part of the design process. I have made some contribution to aspects of the design, working collaboratively with Karl (and the landscape architects). To date this has been on the schematic structural form and the ethos of a Kaurna relationship underpinning the design outcome; that is, that a Kaurna cosmology be included as an integral part of structural design and not be an ‘add on’ or designated for ‘a sculpture’ in a set aside section. I have also advised on the significance of the Aboriginal representation in the *Three Rivers Fountain*. The removal of the fountain was an option under consideration.

In May 2010 the *Victoria Square Tarndanyangga Regeneration Master Plan* (Figure 8-58) was released for public comment and consultation. The design incorporates a significant and integrated Kaurna component. A Kaurna Centre of Culture and performance space (Plan Item 14), to be known as Mullabakka, will be a major structural and cultural feature in the Square. It is set centrally in the Square in a mosaic garden which will incorporate indigenous plantings. The ovoid shape of the arbours (Plan Item 11) reflects the shape of an Aboriginal shield or carrying dish. The statue of Queen Victoria is to be relocated from its central position to the southern section of the Square (Plan Item 18). Other colonial statues in the Square are also to be grouped there ‘in conversation’ with each other. The *Three Rivers Fountain* is to be relocated to the northern section of the Square and set in a new water feature (Plan Item 1). This location will be more prominent from the north which is the central area of the city and has a stronger visual, and symbolic, relationship with the General Post Office and Town Hall, two significant Adelaide colonial buildings nearby. The two existing flagpoles for the Australian and Aboriginal flags are also to be relocated adjacent to the fountain (Plan Item 17), again a prominent position.

Some Kaurna see the siting of Victoria Square and cultural overlay by Surveyor-General, Colonel William Light in 1837 as an early recognition of their utilisation of the site and their cultural landscape. A non-Aboriginal perspective is how can a city square, a colonial space, have such a defined Aboriginal significance? But Aboriginal definitions of space and place are not confined to Western cartographic conventions. In that sense the exact overlay of meaning to a very precise cartographic location, a city square, is less relevant. As Aboriginal academic Marcia Langton (2002:255) elaborated, when discussing tradition affiliations to particular areas of land:

> ... places are marked in the first instance not through physical inscriptions, but through kin and story ties that inscribe the self in place and place in the self. That is, places are inscribed through metaphysical relationships and are experienced through relationships with the emplaced Story Beings who gave rise to the original clans ancestors. In this sense, both sense of place and rights to place are marked by ancestral connections passed down through Indigenous law, not simply through humanly created physical signposts.
This cultural affiliation is demonstrably so for Adelaide and Tarndanyangga because of the presence of the kangaroo dreaming or totem. Cities are sedimentary in nature, they are built up layer upon layer over time. Metaphorically digging ‘below the surface’ of the urban space reveals the Aboriginality of place and, as is stated in the Aboriginal lexicon, ‘always was, always will be’ an Aboriginal place. Aboriginal space is also oppositional to the gridded space created by colonisation, such as in Adelaide. As Morris (2001:93) pointed out:

(This) grid was one of the technical and symbolic foundations of colonial attempts to bring European modernity to the new world. An urban form widely employed in the creation of Australian cities, the grid calmed the anxieties of nervous settlers by transforming hostile landscapes into culturally recognisable environments; a strange land was inscribed with a more familiar face.

The creation of this ‘more familiar face’ for the settlers was laid over and hid the already existing Kaurna meaning. What is of import is that Victoria Square is of high
symbolic and cultural value to the incoming culture and Tarndanyangga is of high symbolic and cultural value to Kaurna culture. They happen to be the same geographic space. It is a bi-cultural symbolic landscape. The latest redesign of Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga has presented the opportunity for a coming together of cultural traditions to move towards a common future. It is part of the rebalancing of Adelaide’s civic spaces and public commemorations, moving away from a structure that is more representative of the colonising process to one that is post-colonial by including Kaurna as both an ancestral and contemporary culture of this place with rights to have an effective role in the redesign of the space. I am optimistic that the final design implementation after the consultation, approval and funding process (it is a $100 million project) will retain the Kaurna cosmology and sense of place embedded in it.33

In summary, the cross-cultural collaborative design of urban and civic spaces, as outlined above, based on an ethos of Kaurna cultural inclusion has particular merits and advantages. Such design is not a land claim, it is a cultural claim and this can be more freely expressed through good design collaboration. Designers, artists and cultural custodians have to respond to a project brief set out by the commissioning authority, but their skill, or their professional brief, is also creativity and symbolic expression. The design and artefacts produced can gain further public and cultural recognition and meaning over time, a process of allowing a broader public to come to terms with or accept the change in cultural recognition and status. This is the case with two early Markers identified, The Rainmakers (1965) and The Tjilbruke Monument (1972), which both now have a strong place in an urban Aboriginal identity. This design process and outcome is also a contribution to the returning Kaurna diaspora’s re-affiliation with their lands within the contemporary construct of the city.

**Centenary of the Federation of Australia, 2001**

Phase 5 included the centenary of the federation of Australia, celebrated in 2001. There was no significant public artwork commissioned in Adelaide to explore the impact of Federation on Aboriginal people or their response to it. However, several Markers were assisted by Centenary of Federation funding as mentioned above. Without further detailed research into the provenance of the Markers concerned I am unable to conclude if the relationship between the projects and the Centenary of Federation was coincidental or causal. However, a general observation which can be made is that the Centenary of Federation (2001) celebrations were more inclusive of Aboriginal people than the SA Jubilee 150 (1986) or Australian Bicentennial (1988) celebrations.

There was one other significant outcome of the Centenary of Federation celebrations, the building of the *Living Kaurna Cultural Centre* (LKCC) (Figure 8-59) at Warriparinga, opened September 2002. The building, costing over one million dollars, was funded through the Centenary of Federation program and is the result of a collaboration between the Kaurna Aboriginal Heritage and Community Association (KACHA) and the City of Marion. The Centre was designed by Phillips Pilkington

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33 In the final months of completing this thesis I have been called upon to contribute to the design development of Mullabakka, the Kaurna Centre, as to what the cultural content, vision and means of presentation will be. A substantive research and cultural mapping project is planned to support the cultural presentation. Various digital media are to be utilised to provide a contemporary and adaptable form of communication.
and Habitable Places Architects in association, in conjunction with Kaurna representatives including Georgina Williams. The building provides an exhibition space, Kaurna interpretive gallery, meeting/cafe space and office. The design of the roof shape is based on the spreading wings of Tjilbruke, the ibis. The use of totemic representations, based on Creation Ancestors and animal totems, is a theme identified by Mallie & Ostwald (2009:5) in the design of building forms to represent Aboriginal culture. Examples they cite are the Brambuk Living Cultural Centre (1990) in the Grampians National Park in Victoria and Uluru-Kata Tjuta Aboriginal Culture Centre (1995) near Uluru in Central Australia.

The two major Aboriginal buildings in Adelaide, Tandanya, the National Aboriginal Cultural Institute, and the Living Kaurna Cultural Centre are both outcomes of funding provided by Australian government commemorative programs.

![Figure 8-59 Living Kaurna Cultural Centre, 2002, Warriparinga](image)

**Summary**

From the tentative de facto recognitions of Kaurna in the 1960s, it took until the mid 1990s for a broader public recognition of the Kaurna people as the traditional custodians of the Adelaide region to evolve. Over the fifteen year period since then, over fifty Markers have been achieved through public artworks, commemorative and interpretive markers and public space design, providing a diverse and increasingly rich narrative about the Kaurna and their culture. It is noted that the cultural content of some works is problematic but an in-depth discussion of this problem is outside the scope of this thesis. This issue only became evident once the works were located and is deserving of further research and corrective action in collaboration with Kaurna cultural custodians.

The wide range of Markers identified in Phase 5 is part of inscribing the urban landscape with Kaurna cultural memories. Taylor (2000:32) has outlined ‘… how central the nexus of memory, place and cultural identity is to any decolonising practice. It is all about reclaiming space’. The Markers are part of Kaurna making claim to the psychological and cultural space of Adelaide and the re-enlivening of their culture in their lands. The Markers contribute to the evolution of a contemporary Kaurna Aboriginal Adelaide, in which contemporary forms of place making are evolving for the urban Kaurna to build on the identity and narratives traditionally inscribed in the land for Aboriginal peoples. Of note in this phase is the collaborative design of public spaces, mainly parks and reserves, providing an extended capacity for Aboriginal cultural presentation and story telling. In addition
to the cultural memory and reflection of self the Markers provide for Kaurna, they are an ongoing contribution to the broader community’s understanding that they are on Kaurna Aboriginal land and, as such, are part of a ‘long time’ cultural continuum on this land. It was the Kaurna people’s misfortune to occupy the best land available for colonisation purposes. It is a small gesture to recognise that the wealth of Adelaide, symbolised in its cultural precincts and other spaces, was created by the dispossession of Kaurna and others.

A wide range of government agencies, other organisations and individuals have commissioned the Markers to acknowledge Kaurna. Again, the reconciliation process, commemorative events and broader political and legal events, outlined in the previous chapters, have assisted the process of public space inclusion. Kaurna people have assisted with, or collaborated on, the majority of the Markers providing a new form of cultural expression within urban cultural renewal, part of their ongoing cultural, spiritual and political renewal in their ancestral lands, which has included Kaurna language revival. However, full management and determination of Markers is yet to occur but the trajectory set by the previous phases suggests that another phase, Phase 6, will occur and that phase will be characterised by Kaurna management and control of the commissioning process and cultural content of the public space presentation of their culture. This proposed and predicted phase is discussed in the next chapter.