

Chapter 10 Kaurna Ancestor Being Tjilbruke Commemorations

Chapter Outline

Having discussed the phases in previous chapters, this chapter traces the development across the phases of the public space commemorations of the Kaurna Ancestor Being Tjilbruke and the commemorations' broader social impact, especially in relation to the fact that it is an Aboriginal Dreaming now overlaid by an urban area. It details the genesis of some significant Markers in order to understand the process of their commissioning, individual contributions and how and why the Markers came about. It outlines the nascent change in the wider social understanding of Kaurna and other Aboriginal people and culture to provide the broader contexts within which the Markers were being developed. It establishes the significance of the Tjilbruke Dreaming public commemoration process as part of Kaurna cultural renewal. The chapter concludes that the Markers, and the processes involved in their making, are part of re-inscribing an Aboriginal meaning into an urban landscape, and the evolution of contemporary Kaurna urban public space expression.

The Tjilbruke Dreaming

The Tjilbruke Dreaming is the best known Dreaming narrative of the Kaurna people and has become symbolic of Kaurna traditional heritage, the lore and law of Kaurna Country and the process of contemporary political and cultural renewal. The narrative had been recorded by Norman Tindale, the South Australian Museum anthropologist, from several non-Kaurna Aboriginal informants over a thirty-six year period from 1928 to 1964. A comprehensive account was not published by Tindale until 1987 when it was released as *The Wanderings of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kaurna People of Adelaide*. There had been three previous published versions of the Tjilbruke Dreaming and the names of the articles reflect the changing understanding of the narrative:

- . 1930 Smith, W.R. 'Chirr-bookie the Blue Crane' in *Myths and Legends of The Australian Aboriginals*
- . 1936 Tindale N. & Mountford, C. *Excavation of Kongarati Cave - Story of [Tji:rbruki]: a legend of the People of Rapid Bay*
- . 1972 Brunato, M. *Worra and the Jilbruke Legend*

Tindale (1985) described the Smith version as 'highly romantic, in the Grecian myth style'. It is also described by historian Tom Gara (1993:15) as 'a "Christianized" version of the myth, provided by David Unaipon, a noted Ngarrindjeri man.' The Brunato version utilised the Tjilbruke narrative as a backdrop to a fictional children's story on the adolescent activities of two Kaurna boys, named Worra and Parnar. Brunato acknowledged the anthropologists Charles Mountford and Robert Edwards for their research assistance.

Whilst the narrative is multi-layered and complex, the best known aspect of it is about the creation of fresh water springs along the coast south of Adelaide. An outline of the better known aspects of the Dreaming is given in a brochure for the public artwork *Tjirbruki Narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway* (City of Marion, n.d.a) and is reproduced here:

Tjirbruki Dreaming

The Dreaming is a complex and multi-layered story that tells of creation, the Law and human relationships. A brief summary of those aspects referred to in the artwork is given here.

Tjirbruki was an ancestral being of the Kurna people of the Adelaide plains, whose lands extended from Parewarangk (Cape Jervis) in the south to Crystal Brook in the north. Tjirbruki's much loved nangari (nephew) Kulultuwi, his sister's son, killed a kari (emu) which was rightfully Tjirbruki's but he forgave him for this mistake. However, Kulultuwi was subsequently killed by his two part brothers, Jurawi and Tetjawi supposedly for breaking the law. Tjirbruki, being a man of the law, had to decide if Kulultuwi had been lawfully killed. He determined Kulultuwi had been murdered. Tjirbruki avenged the crime by spearing and burning the two nephews, killing them. This happened in the vicinity of what is now called Warriparinga.

Tjirbruki then carried Kulultuwi's partly smoked dried body to Tulukudank (a fresh water spring at Kingston Park) to complete the smoking and then to Patparno (Rapid Bay) for burial in a perki (cave). Along the journey he stopped to rest and overwhelmed by sadness, he wept and his luki (tears) formed the freshwater springs along the coast at Ka'reildun (Hallett Cove), Tainba'rang (Port Noarlunga), Potartang (Red Ochre Cove), Ruwarung (Port Willunga), Witawali (Sellicks Beach), and Kongaratinga (near Wirrina Cove).

Saddened by these events Tjirbruki decided he no longer wished to live as a man. His spirit became a bird, the Tjirbruki (Glossy Ibis), and his body became a martowalan (memorial) in the form of the baruke (iron pyrites) outcrop at Barrukungga, the place of hidden fire (Brukunga – north of Nairne in the Adelaide Hills). Tjirbruki was a master at fire making.

This explanation was written in the late 1990s by the collaborative team who had produced the artwork (which included me) and is based on Tindale's 1987 version. This version has been reproduced elsewhere (Hassell, 2002; ACHM, 2009; City of Holdfast Bay, n.d.) as it has been made available through the Living Kurna Cultural Centre, Warriparinga. It now requires revision because some of the place names and spellings have been revised as part of the ongoing revival of Kurna language.

The Dreaming extends geographically from the Adelaide Plains, down the Fleurieu Peninsula, south of Adelaide, across to Rosetta Head/The Bluff near Victor Harbor and back up through parts of the Adelaide Hills to Brukunga near Mt Barker (Figure 10-1). It is to be noted that the Dreaming extends into the Country of the Ramindjeri (Rosetta Head/The Bluff) and Peramangk peoples (Brukunga/Adelaide Hills).

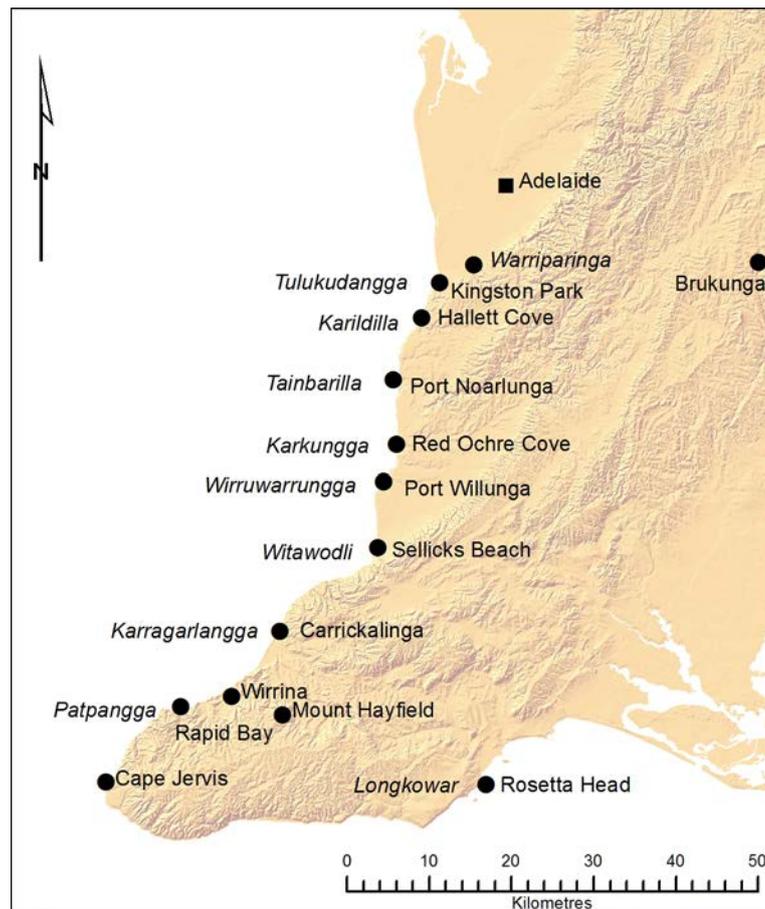


Figure 10-1 Tjilbruke Dreaming Sites

Examining the public commemorations of Tjilbruke and the Dreaming provides insights into the broader social history of Aboriginal public space inclusion in Adelaide and in particular that of the inclusion of Kurna. The Dreaming has been referred to in eleven Markers, both major and minor works, around metropolitan Adelaide. The *Three Rivers Fountain*, Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga, incorporates an ibis, which in the narrative is Tjilbruke's spirit, with the Aboriginal figure which represents the River Murray. It is not certain whether this was a deliberate reference to Tjilbruke but, as explained later, it appears to be likely.

Major Commemorations

The genesis of the major public commemorations of Tjilbruke is elaborated in detail to record, analyse and ultimately understand the processes of their commissioning, individual contributions, how and why the Markers came about and the impact of the social processes behind the works on the form and nature of inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the public space. In the paper *Just Art for a Just City* Sharp et al. (2005) argue that '... in the deployment of public art it is the processes through which it becomes installed into the urban fabric that are critical to inclusion'.

There are four major public commemorations of Tjilbruke, the first dating from the early 1970s. They are:

- . 1972 *Tjilbruke Monument*, Kingston Park
- . 1986 *Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Plaques*, ten locations along the Dreaming
- . 1993 *Yerrakartarta*, Hyatt Hotel Forecourt, off North Terrace, Adelaide
- . 1997 *Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway*, Warriparinga, Bedford Park

Tjilbruke Monument, Kingston Park, 1972

The *Tjilbruke Monument* (Figure 10-2) by sculptor John Dowie is located in the coastal suburb of Kingston Park and is the first public artwork in South Australia to acknowledge the Aboriginal Dreaming of a particular people or place. It is sited on a promontory overlooking a Dreaming site, a coastal fresh water spring known as Tulukudangga in Kurna.

It was commissioned by the local weekly newspaper, *The Sunday Mail*, in conjunction with the South Australian Museum. The commission followed a series of articles about the Kurna people and the Tjilbruke Dreaming by *Sunday Mail* journalist William Reschke in 1971 (*Sunday Mail*, 1971a, b, c, d; Reschke, 1972). Together with Robert Edwards, then Curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, Reschke formed the Tjilbruke Monument Committee. The aim of the commemorative project, which was to be funded through a public appeal for donations, was:

... to show generations to come the rich Aboriginal mythology that is our heritage. We want to honour the Kurnas. They did not last long after our forefathers came in 1836. The common cold killed them – and measles, chickenpox, and other white man’s ills ... The Premier, Mr Dunstan said: ‘This will be a most significant contribution to SA culture and tourism ... The Director of the Museum and Protector of Relics in SA, Dr. W. G. Inglis said: ‘There is no doubt this will be a first class way to preserve a rich legend that is South Australia’s own in a fashion that will provide enjoyment for generations to come’ (Sunday Mail, 13 February 1971a)

There was no recognised Kurna involvement in the commissioning process because at the time Kurna were presumed to be an extinct people. It was non-Aboriginal people recognising Aboriginal culture.



Figure 10-2 Tjilbruke Monument, Kingston Park, 1972, (John Dowie)

Over the two decades following the dedication of the Monument in 1972 a Kurna personal and public identity evolved. Georgina Williams (2006, pers. comm.) has said that the *Tjilbruke Monument* is a significant marker on her journey home to

Country, and of her developing cultural and spiritual ties with the land of her Kaurna ancestors. Like many Kaurna descendants of her generation she also grew up on Point Pearce Mission, Yorke Peninsula. After coming to live in Adelaide and becoming actively involved in Kaurna cultural and spiritual renewal, she found the *Tjilbruke Monument* to be a public recognition of her cultural heritage which could then be used to work towards recognition that Kaurna still existed and bring attention to their contemporary social challenges. She (Williams, 2007) further stated:

The generation before me used the Church as the gathering place to keep their reflections and their memories of our land alive. The Church was their gathering place. In the Bible they looked for the things that related to their own knowledge, their own land.

It was also the Christians, the non-Indigenous Christian people, who first started thinking about erecting monuments to local Indigenous people around Adelaide. There were non-Indigenous 'good spirit' people around like John Dowie who may or may not have been a Christian - I don't know! – but who was probably influenced by those kinds of beliefs anyway, and who began creating public art that reflected us back to ourselves. John Dowie probably realized that we had been badly done-by, and we felt that with sculptors and artists like him, the spirit of the land itself had spoken to them, and had taken their eye. Remember that at that time most non-Aboriginal people of John Dowie's age group believed that we Kaurna, the local people of the Adelaide Plains, no longer existed!

But people like John Dowie felt strongly about doing something for the Aboriginal people, and maybe they went to a place, sat in a place, or went walking by themselves and were inspired by that place ... they might have had a slight element of [being] do-gooders as well, but most importantly, they had a kind of spiritual awakening brought about by the land itself, and by the voices of that land. I attribute that to the power of our Ancestors, human, animal, insect and vegetable. So there was no negativity towards people like John Dowie commemorating us in their public art – we appreciated people like him. John Dowie does beautiful work.

Williams' sense of Dowie's influence is uncanny. Dowie (Lock-Weir, 2001:38) has described how the stones to form the *Tjilbruke Monument* were found in the Adelaide Hills. His description echoes Williams' sentiments about the power of the Ancestors and the voice of the land.

Finding the little stones for the model had been easy, but suitable fourteen-foot monoliths were rather more elusive. I ransacked the area within a sixty-mile radius of Adelaide and could find nothing. Time was racing by and something had to be decided. I had already searched and rejected the granite outcrops at Palmer (east of Adelaide), but with nothing better to turn to I decided we would have to make do with what was there ...

... I painted numbers on some of the least hopeless stones so that they could be identified when they were to be picked up, and the party set out toward Tungkillo looking for somewhere to have a picnic lunch. We pulled up at a pleasant spot but I had other things on my mind and wandered up the hill following a rabbit. It bobbed over a crest and so did I and there before me was

a whole landscape of wonderful stones. A dirt track led back from the Mannum road and there by the roadside was Kulultuwi. Just through a wire fence, clean and perfectly poised on a rock ledge for picking up was the thirteen-foot shaft that is (the) body of Tjilbruke, and alongside it the curious stone like a ski tip that became the his head just as I had imagined it. Nearly all the stones were lying in a radius of a few yards. How can one describe the thoughts and feelings that such a wildly unlikely event evokes? The worry and frustration, the reluctant decision forced on me not an hour before somehow to use those quite unsuitable boulders, the chance selection of our lunch halt, and my absurd decision to chase a rabbit. A change in any one of the links in the chain and it couldn't have happened.

Well, our hunt was over. One is tempted to say that Tjilbruke led us there. If he could turn into an ibis he could surely manage a rabbit.



Figure 10-3 Tjilbruke Monument, Collecting Stones, 1972 (Photo R. Edwards)



Figure 10-4 Tjilbruke Monument, Erecting Column, 1972 (Photo R. Edwards)

When developing the concept for the monument Dowie had travelled along the Dreaming Track 'to deepen what he called his immediate feeling for the myth and the Tjilbruke Appeal.' He said 'I find this tremendously exciting, especially exciting in fact because it is here. It is around us where we live today.' He later said 'In effect the whole monument was there, waiting for me to pick it up. It remains one of the strangest experiences of my life' (Kingston Park Development, n.d.). In May 1960

Dowie had also travelled with anthropologist Charles Mountford (1890-1976) to Jay Creek Aboriginal Reserve in the MacDonnell Ranges in the Northern Territory (Lock-Weir, 2001:83). This trip certainly influenced his first public space Aboriginal work in 1962, the *Piccaninny Drinking Fountain* (Figure 5-4), in Rymill Park, Adelaide.

The intent of the *Tjilbruke Monument* was to ‘remind South Australians of the Kurna people’s place in our State’s story’ (Reschke: 1972). This was indeed achieved but in ways perhaps not imagined at the time. The Monument was not just a reminder of the Kurna people, it was a contribution to the re-emergence of a living culture. The commemoration was ahead of its time in terms of the inclusion of Aboriginal culture in the public space. It was stated in March 1971 that ‘... for the first time in Australia we stand on the threshold of creating a worthwhile memorial to the proud people who owned the land before us’ (*Sunday Mail*, 6 March 1971). There was some journalistic embellishment in this statement in that there had been three precedents in Adelaide, let alone Australia: *The Rainmakers* (1965), O’Sullivan Beach; the *Three Rivers Fountain* (1968), Victoria Square; and the *Howie Memorial Aboriginal Statue* (1967), Walkerville. However, these three did not specifically mention Kurna and this monument was certainly the first which prompted a broader understanding of Kurna culture.

There was a broader dissemination of information about Kurna in conjunction with the *Tjilbruke Monument*. As well as *Sunday Mail* articles, the Education Department was to contribute:

South Australian schoolchildren will learn more of the Kurna people, their way of life and legends from next month. The Education Department will publish a special project supplement to the Education Gazette³⁶. It will be based on a paper by the curator of anthropology at the SA Museum, Mr Robert Edwards, and the Kurna story published in the Sunday Mail on January 16 (Sunday Mail, 1971b:87).

The national Aboriginal newspaper *Origin*³⁷ also published three articles on Kurna also written by Robert Edwards (Edwards, 1971) in February 1971, coinciding with the *Tjilbruke* appeal which it also supported.

In summary, Reschke and Edwards, along with the *Tjilbruke Monument* Committee, contributed significantly to the public’s engagement with the concepts of Kurna and the *Tjilbruke Dreaming* and sowed the seeds for the emergence of a Kurna public identity. It took the stepping forward of Kurna descendants in the 1980s to confirm that the Kurna were still extant and to extend the public understanding and imagination to include Kurna as a living culture.

Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Plaques, multiple locations, Jubilee 150, 1986

In 1986 South Australia celebrated its sesquicentenary, the Jubilee 150 year. A Jubilee 150 Board was established by the State government to plan and oversee the events of the year. Any individual or organisation could propose an event which could potentially be endorsed or receive financial support from the Board as part of

³⁶ The Education Gazette for 1971 and 1972 has been searched but the existence of a Kurna supplement could not be verified.

³⁷ *Origin* was a national Aboriginal newspaper published in Adelaide from mid 1969 to early 1972.

the celebrations. Several sub-committees covering differing social facets, including the Aboriginal Executive Committee, were established to consider proposals and coordinate the program. Events were held throughout the year culminating in the celebrations on December 28 1986, the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the colony in 1836.

The year was predominantly a celebration of the colonial history of South Australia with numerous commemorations of historical events celebrating the achievements of the Anglo-European settlers, including the staging of re-enactments. Overall, several thousand events or activities were held throughout the State. These were overwhelmingly a celebration of white history. However, a small number of projects (approximately thirty) of an Aboriginal nature were either considered, initiated or endorsed by the Board (Jubilee 150 Board, 1986). A very significant project was the commemorative marking of ten significant sites along the coastal section of the Tjilbruke Dreaming. The sites were marked with stone cairns and interpretive marker plaques. The marked sites, which are in Kurna Country, are collectively referred to as the Tjilbruke Dreaming Track.

The Tjilbruke Monuments Committee, which had remained quietly active after the 1972 *Tjilbruke Monument* commemoration, had been keen for there to be greater Aboriginal involvement and management in further commemorations. To that effect, in early 1985 the Tjilbruke Monuments Committee facilitated the formation of the Tjilbruke Track Committee, comprising predominantly Aboriginal people, and a transition of responsibility from one committee to the other took place (Tjilbruke Monuments Committee, various). The role of the new committee was to implement some form of commemoration of Tjilbruke during the Jubilee 150 year, building on proposals previously set out by the Tjilbruke Monuments Committee.

In December 1984 the Aboriginal Executive Committee recommended to the Jubilee 150 Board that the application for funding be supported. An initial concept was to erect a monument at The Bluff/Rosetta Head near Victor Harbor, the site where Tjilbruke's spirit left the earth to become the ibis. The idea was to commission an artwork that was complementary to the 1972 *Tjilbruke Monument* at Kingston Park. Georgina Williams, a committee member, argued for an alternative idea, that of marking several Tjilbruke sites along the Dreaming, to not only commemorate Tjilbruke but more importantly to 're-inscribe' Country through telling aspects of the Dreaming at the various sites to better reflect traditional story telling. The intent was to provide not only recognition of the Kurna Creation Ancestor and reveal another spirit of place but also to provide a contemporary Kurna presence within the physical public space of their own lands and in the public imagination (G. Williams, 2006, pers. comm.). This reflects the integrated nature of ethno-histories and ethno-geographies as outlined by Osborne (2001:4):

In this way specific ethno-histories are integrated into specific ethno-geographies. The continuity of peoples' connections with their lived-in worlds reinforces their identification with time and place and each other. Dislocation from such places erodes the material and spiritual connectedness of peoples. Not surprisingly, the struggle to maintain such material and abstract connections is a general component of many peoples' strategies of survival. ... Self-knowledge and personal identity cannot be reconstructed without place-worlds. Not merely neutral containers, geography, locale, setting, place –

whatever you wish to call them – are complicit in strategies of cultural survival.

The marking of numerous sites was a more challenging concept. The geographical extent and different land tenures (public and private land as well as Conservation Parks) of the sites of the proposed Markers meant working with, and gaining the support of six local councils (at that time Brighton, Marion, Noarlunga, Willunga, Yankalilla and Victor Harbor) as well as a private land owner and the then National Parks and Wildlife Service. In the end ten cairns were erected along the coastal section of the Dreaming (Figure 10-1) and the locations of the Markers is detailed below, with the contemporary Kaurna place naming given. Four other sites were considered but marking did not proceed: Kingston Park, the site of a spring; Mount Hayfield, inland from Rapid Bay where Tjilbruke emerged from his travels underground and created yellow ochre; The Bluff/Rosetta Head, near Victor Harbor where his spirit left the world; and Brukunga in the Adelaide Hills, the place which is Tjilbruke's body. The narrative contained on the ten plaques is not available in any single publication and is therefore given in Appendix E.

Marion Council (now City of Marion)

Site 1 Hallett Cove Karildilla, Reserve, Weerab Drive

Site 2 Hallett Cove Karildilla, foreshore, Heron Way (1st spring site)

Noarlunga City Council (now City of Onkaparinga)

Site 3 Port Noarlunga Tainbarilla, Corner Esplanade & Saltfleet Street (2nd spring)
(cairn is being relocated to a new site, 2011)

Site 4 Red Ochre Cove Karkungga, (3rd spring site) (cairn graffitied, plaque missing)

Willunga District Council (now City of Onkaparinga)

Site 5 Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga, Esplanade car park (4th spring site)

Site 6 Sellicks Beach Witawodli, Esplanade and Francis Street (5th spring site)
(plaque now missing)

Yankalilla District Council

Site 7 Carrickalinga Head Karragarlangga, foreshore, Gold Coast Drive

Site 8 Worrina Cove Resort, entrance forecourt (6th spring site) (plaque now missing)

Site 9 Rapid Bay Patpangga, foreshore

Site 10 Cape Jervis Parawerangk, lookout car park

Site 1 Hallett Cove Karildilla, Weerab Drive (Figure 10-5)



Figure 10-5 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Hallett Cove Karildilla

Unlike the other plaques this plaque is not titled The Tjilbruke Dreaming Track and does not have a site number on it. It was installed in 1987, some months after the dedication of the Track in December 1986. Archival records (OAA, various) suggest that Site 1 was to be at Kingston Park adjacent to the *Tjilbruke Monument*. The Kingston Park plaque did not proceed, most likely because the then City of Brighton did not agree with the authenticity and Aboriginal significance of the spring site below the Monument. The proposed wording for the Kingston Park plaque, which would have given an introduction to the narrative is provided in Appendix E.

Site 2 Hallett Cove Karildilla, foreshore, Heron Way (Figure 10-6)



Figure 10-6 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Hallett Cove Karildilla

Site 3 Port Noarlunga Tainbarilla (Figure 10-7)



Figure 10-7 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Tainbarilla Pt. Noarlunga. This cairn has been removed and is to be relocated.

Site 4 Red Ochre Cove Karkungga (Figure 10-8, Figure 10-9)



Figure 10-8 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Karkungga Red Ochre Cove
The plaque is now missing and the meaning of the stone therefore not apparent.



Figure 10-9 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track, Karkungga Red Ochre Cove ochre mine

Site 5 Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga (Figure 10-10)



Figure 10-10 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga

Site 6 Sellicks Beach Witawodli (Figure 10-11)



Figure 10-11 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Sellicks Beach Witawodli
The plaque is now missing and the meaning of the stone therefore not apparent.

Site 7 Carrickalinga Head (Figure 10-12)



Figure 10-12 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Carrickalinga Head Karragarlangga,
(Georgina Williams in picture)

Site 8 Wirrina Cove Resort (Figure 10-13)



Figure 10-13 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Wirrina Cove Resort

The cairn is located off the entrance drive to a holiday resort and its location is several hundred metres from the cove itself. The cove has been developed as a boating marina and its natural and Aboriginal cultural splendour is compromised because of this. The plaque is now missing and the meaning of the stone therefore not apparent.

Site 9 Rapid Bay Patpangga (Figure 10-14)



Figure 10-14 Rapid Bay Patpangga, Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker

There was another Jubilee 150 commemoration at Rapid Bay (Figure 10-15) to mark the landing there of the Surveyor-General, Colonel William Light on 8th September 1836 for his first survey of the mainland. The commemoration includes a replica anchor from Light's vessel, *The Rapid*, and was unveiled during a re-enactment of his landing. Light had first landed at Kangaroo Island where the settlers awaited his determination of the site of the capital: it was Light's responsibility to select the site for the colony.



Figure 10-15 Light's Commemoration, Rapid Bay, 1986

Rapid Bay has an early contact history which is not commemorated. Kaurna women were kidnapped from the area by the whalers and sealers operating on Kangaroo Island from the early 1800s, prior to official settlement (Amery, 2000).

Site 10 Cape Jervis Parawerangk (Figure 10-16)



Figure 10-16 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track Marker, Cape Jervis Parawerangk

In 2002 this plaque was graffitied with the words ‘typical Abo bullshit’. This graffiti shows the attitude of some in the community towards Aboriginal beliefs. The graffiti had faded and was illegible in August 2007.

Whilst the cairns are not at the exact locations of the six spring sites said to be created by Tjilbruke’s tears, the sites are all acknowledged by the cairns. Landscape changes over the period of colonisation have made it nearly impossible to locate all of the springs definitively. There is a seventh spring in the narrative, one which was not created by Tjilbruke’s tears (Tindale, 1987). It is the Tulukudangga spring at Kingston Park which already existed. This sometimes causes confusion about the number of springs created by Tjilbruke. This confusion is evidenced in the Tappa Iri Regional Agreement which misleadingly states ‘The Dreaming has seven special sites along its route – natural springs formed from Tjilbruke’s tears as he carried the body of his nephew for burial and rebirth’ (City of Onkaparinga, 2005:9).

The Marion, Noarlunga, Willunga and Yankalilla Councils not only cooperated but contributed to the financial cost of the Tjilbruke Trail project (OAA, various). The sites in the Victor Harbor Council were not utilised and the Brighton Council did not cooperate, as discussed later in this chapter. One cairn was on private land at Wirrina Holiday Resort, near Second Valley, but public access was readily available.

The coastal locations of the spring sites are at some of the most engaging seascapes/landscapes along the Fleurieu Peninsula, an area of great popularity with Adelaidians and visitors. The Dreaming Track has been colloquially known as the Caravan Park Dreaming as, until about twenty years ago, there had been caravan parks (or holiday shacks or camping sites) at or near all of the locations. This reflects a common human attraction to place and need for fresh water. As well as the springs that were once there, there are small streams at several locations, ready access to the beach along the sections of coastal cliffs, and shelter from the winds available nearby behind dunes or along river gullies. Caravan Parks are still located at Kingston Park, Rapid Bay, Wirrina Cove and Normanville (near Carrickalinga). They have been removed from Port Noarlunga and Port Willunga, as have the shacks from Hallett Cove. Their removal reflects a change in coastal management and the advent of greater coastal development.

Twenty-five years after the Jubilee 150, the material form of the commemoration is perhaps dated: a quarried stone with a metal plaque. This Western tradition of marker

plaques served a purpose at the time but contemporary Kaurna design and interpretative information could more effectively reflect the narrative of the Dreaming and potentially utilise other symbolic forms more representative of Aboriginal culture. The Tjilbruke Dreaming Forum, a body comprising Kaurna representatives and local government, was engaging in this issue before it disbanded in 2002 and no overall re-development of the Trail has occurred. The absence of three plaques leaves gaps in the narrative for anyone now following the Trail and the purpose of those remnant stones is largely unrecognised.

The 1986 Tjilbruke Dreaming Track commemoration marked a turning point in the political and cultural understanding of Kaurna as a still extant and living culture, and in the development of Kaurna self-identity and political activism. In 1989, just three years after the marking of the Track, in a report outlining the significance of other Aboriginal coastal sites, anthropologist Rod Lucas (1989:5) stated:

For a number of Aboriginal people the Sellicks Beach sites (together with the other marked locations on the Tjilbruke [sic] Track) are a symbol of the past as a place of origin. This past, which can be re-created by history and archaeology, has become the means by which people orient themselves towards the future.

Lucas (1989:8) continued:

The Washpool and Tjilbruke [sic] Spring sites at Sellicks Beach are a focus for the re-creation of symbols and the re-formation of values which derive from a specifically Aboriginal past. For their adherents, such symbols and values are thought to have a transformative power over the present and a beneficial effect on the future. They signal the revitalisation of Aboriginal culture.

As Osborne (2006:151) summarised:

The association of images of the past with concrete “places of memory” serves to materialize and reify abstract social conventions in everyday social discourse (Halbwachs, 1971, 1975, 1980). In this way storied places constitute commemorative landscapes made up of “landmarks” that provide spatial and temporal coordinates for remembering: that is an array of “particular figures, dates, and periods off time that acquire an extraordinary salience” (Coser, 1992: 223-224).

In 2007 Georgina Williams (2007a) spoke of the significance of the Tjilbruke Track plaques and said:

One of the big achievements of my life has been the public memorialisation of the Tjilbruke track – by placing plaques connecting the significant sites that Tjilbruke walked over ... The idea of ‘walking the country’ came to me first in the 1970s, from making a fire. I sat in front of that fire at night. It was behind my house in Old Noarlunga. It happened when I was sitting in front of that fire in Old Noarlunga – that’s where the spirit first came home to me, when my kids were with me. Later, we (myself and the kids) went to the Aldinga Scrub – and fire was part of our life, come rain or shine.

The idea to establish the Tjilbruke plaques, along the Tjilbruke trail to the south of Adelaide came later; it came from actually walking my country. It wasn't so hard because I got a lot of support from a lot of good people. To begin, I asserted my authority as custodian by asking people not to use sites like the Red Ochre Cove [an important Tjilbruke site] – I told them to use the other sides of the beach ... I would stand there naked, and just tell them to leave! I got known for that. I kept that up for a long time ... after all, we were the original 'nature people' so that's how I cleared the beach of unwanted people – I was a one-woman vigilante squad! And eventually the police came to invade my space, talking about 'that black gin over there', so I told them to clear off. But one of them became interested and asked me questions about what I was doing and why ...

John Dowie had already done something relating to Tjilbruke at Kingston Park, and there were ideas for others to create more Tjilbruke memorials ... but I said "No – if we are going to do this we need to put markers down for all parts of the Tjilbruke story, so that everybody will know that this belongs to us". So we recreated the Dreaming tracks of Tjilbruke, by mapping the country, showing the connections, telling the story for education purposes, both for our own people and for white people. A book was done too, showing the land relationships. This was done as part of the 150 Years Jubilee celebrations of South Australia in 1986. This was the first genuine acknowledgment of Kurna people's history as history by the South Australian Parliament, through the visionary Minister Suzanne Lenehan.

I believe that this Tjilbruke Track is probably the most subversive public art in and around Adelaide, because it shows Land-Law relationships, whereas the others tend to be visual images, statues, murals etc, without the accompanying stories. There are now Tjilbruke plaques linking Warriparinga to Kingston Park, to Hallett Cove, to Port Noarlunga to Red Ochre Cove, to Port Willunga, and also cairns at Rapid Bay and Cape Jervis, all representing different parts of Tjilbruke's journey.

All of the municipal Councils involved were very cooperative – it all just fell into place. Fred Kelly, the project worker at DOSA at the time, was great – I wouldn't have been able to do it without him. There were others too, including John Moriarty, Suzi Hutchins and the fabulous team who were on the Tjilbruke Committee – it was a very cooperative thing. When I say it has been one of the greatest triumphs of my life, this was not just for me personally, but for everybody. I had the job, but I wish that someone else had the job of bringing Tjilbruke home, because it took two decades or more - years of my life - from the first awakening until it was completed!

Williams' reference to 'subversive public art' aligns with what Taylor (2000:34) calls 'acts of subversive re-territorialisation' in the way Aboriginal people have 'cleverly negotiated' the 'white' territory of metropolitan spaces to make them their own.' The Tjilbruke Dreaming Track marking is the first public commemorative project where a person who at that time declared themselves to be a Kurna descendant, Georgina Williams, has been involved in the public commemoration of Kurna cultural heritage. Whilst other members of the Committee subsequently became more fully aware of their Kurna bloodline, at the time it was not common to

describe oneself as Kaurna. Williams had publicly claimed her Kaurna heritage. Steve Hemming (1990:135), a member of the Committee stated:

The power of decision making on the committee was given to “Kaurna” descendants and Georgina Williams (a “Kaurna” descendant) was employed ... on the research aspect of the project. Other “Kaurna” descendants involved with the committee included Doris Graham and Lewis O’Brien. The project, with the driving force of Fred Kelly (DAA) and Georgina Williams, organised markers at the relevant sites along the coast starting from the existing marked site at Kingston Park through to Cape Jervis.

In summary, the 1986 marking of the Track was enabled by the coming together of Aboriginal people to form the Tjilbruke Track Committee who, for the first time, were able to represent their culture in the public space. The celebration of the State’s founding, which had led to the destruction of Aboriginal culture, was used to facilitate a renewal of Kaurna culture. The marking is also the first collaboration between Aboriginal people and Local Government to commemorate Aboriginal culture in the public space, a practice that has continued and grown and is of great importance in achieving the public space inclusion of Aboriginal culture.

The next two significant Tjilbruke commemorations take the form of contemporary public artworks. They build on the growing awareness of Tjilbruke to which the 1986 marking had contributed.

Yerrakartarta, off North Terrace, Adelaide, 1995



Figure 10-17 Yerrakartarta, off North Terrace, 1995 (Pfitzner Milika, Van Der Byl et al)

Yerrakartarta (Figure 10-17) was commissioned in 1993, the International Year of Indigenous Peoples, and was dedicated in February 1995. It was designed by Aboriginal artists Daryl Pfitzner Milika (Kokotha) and Muriel Van Der Byl (Ngarrindjeri/Kaurna), and fabricated in conjunction with non-Aboriginal artists, Stephen Bowers, Jo Crawford and Jo Fraser. The work incorporates an amalgam of Dreaming narratives and art styles, including the x-ray style.

Although based on the Tjilbruke dreaming, it includes aspects of the Ngurunderi Dreaming of the Ngarrindjeri people of the lower River Murray/Coorong region. The name derives from the Kaurna word ‘yerrakartarta’ which means ‘scattered; at

random; disorderly; without design' (Figure 10-18). This is the first use of Kaurna language in a public artwork and the work acknowledges Kaurna Country through an onsite plaque.



Figure 10-18 Yerrakartarta, off North Terrace, 1995, Plaques Detail

Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway, Warriparinga, 1997



Figure 10-19 Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway, (S. Rankine, G. Malone, M. Worth)

This work (Figure 10-19) is located at Warriparinga, an open space reserve at Bedford Park in suburban Adelaide. Warriparinga is managed by the City of Marion in conjunction with Kaurna representatives. Warriparinga is one of the most significant Tjilbruke Dreaming sites left on the Adelaide Plains as, by an accident of history, an area of approximately sixteen hectares has not been consumed by urban development. The Sturt River, *Warri Parri*, runs through the site but from where it exits Warriparinga it has been turned into a concrete drain to the sea. In the Dreaming narrative it was in the locale of what is now known as Warriparinga that Tjilbruke killed (executed) the two offending nephews Jurawi and Tetjawi, who had killed (murdered) his other nephew Kulultuwi. Kulultuwi's body was being smoke

dried there before Tjilbruke took it to Tulukudangga, the spring at Kingston Park, from where he commenced his journey down the coast to enter the body.

The *Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway* design collaboration comprised Kurna artist Sherry Rankine and non-Aboriginal artists Margaret Worth and myself. The main intents of the artwork were to create a space for the Dreaming narrative to be told by the cultural custodians and for ceremony (that it also be a performative space). In a leaflet we, the artists, explain the artwork as follows:

The approach of the artists to interpreting the multiple layers of the project was to focus on the timeless source of knowledge and understanding that comes from the story of Tjirbruki. The artwork does not tell the story in a literal sense, it symbolically refers to parts of the story through the choice and use of materials from the lands of the Dreaming. The artwork creates its own spirit and speaks of the relationship between peoples and between people and the land. It considers the past, the present and looks to the future.

The basic form of the work, the forest of tree trunks, brings a spiritual presence and totemic power to the land at Warriparinga. The trunks speak of the clearing of the land in colonial times for agriculture and horticulture, and for the new Expressway in present times ...

A number of elements of the artwork warrant elaboration. The Kurna shield, made from stainless steel, not only advises that you are on Kurna land, ancient and contemporary, but also invites self reflection ... The stone, part of Tjirbruki's body, will gradually disintegrate now that it has been exposed to air and water and his body will return to the earth ...

The spread wings of the ibis are mounted at the apex of the tree symbolising the departure from the earth of Tjirbruki's spirit. The nearby burnt trees refer to Tjirbruki's means of punishing those complicit in the death of Kulultuwi.

By the river the tree trunks symbolising Tetjawi and Jurawi are also blackened by fire, the consequence of their wrong doing. Adjacent is the Kulultuwi tree, coloured white, symbolising death.

The coloured sands of the Red Ochre Cove area are used to mark features of the installation ... The flow patterns on the ground refer generally to the gully winds for which the area is known, as well as the flow of the river and of life...

As a gesture of belief in the future and the restoration of the land, seedling Karra (River Red Gum) propagated from local trees have been planted. Over the decades as the Karra grow they will dwarf the trunks which will gradually weather to grey, break down and return to the earth. In the future, decisions will need to be made by another generation about the tree trunks as they slowly decay – whether or not they will be replaced. The attitudes and aspirations of the community will then be reflected in their decisions. Nothing stays the same through time. The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and the relationship with the land, is continuously evolving. Decisions made by individuals, groups and government reflect the level of understanding and commitment to improving those relationships (City of Marion, n.d.a).

The siting of the artwork within Warriparinga was determined by the artists based on topography, relationships to other features, visitor entrancing to the site, and instinct. The later is important, it can perhaps be explained with further contemplation, but intuitive decision making is a factor in the locating of this type of commemorative artwork where there is a relationship to the land. On this occasion the artists had a choice, whereas the siting of many artworks is often predetermined to quite small and particular locations. This point is raised as it is an issue for consideration in enhancing Kurna self-determination in future public space inclusion.

The work was dedicated on 30 October 1997 by His Excellency Sir William Deane, Governor-General of Australia, in conjunction with Her Excellency Lady Deane, Aboriginal leader Dr Lowitja O'Donoghue, Kurna Elders Doris Graham and Vincent Copley, and Colin Haines, Mayor, City of Marion (Figure 10-20). In discussing who ought to represent non-Aboriginal people to dedicate the work, the artists proposed that, in terms of social and symbolic status, the most appropriate 'whitefella elder' was the Governor-General. To everyone's delight he accepted the invitation.



Figure 10-20 Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway Dedication Ceremony. L to R: Lowitja O'Donoghue, Colin Haines, Sir William Deane, Lady Deane, Doris Graham, Vincent Copley

Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway is an active space for Kurna cultural and spiritual renewal. It has been used as part of many forms of ceremony including funeral services and weddings. It is a place where visiting Aboriginal people are welcomed to Kurna Country and introduced to the Dreaming. Seasonal Spirit Fires, which burned continuously for seven days and nights four times a year, were initiated there by Georgina Williams and held for a cycle of seven years. The fire was for Kurna people, and friends, to gather around, tend, and share cultural and personal stories (Figure 10-21). Many affirming personal and cultural events, including Kurna learning about their own culture, occurred through this fire tending.



Figure 10-21 Georgina Williams with grandchildren at Spirit Fire

Fire from this site has been transported elsewhere for ceremonial and other purposes. The first transported fire was for a smoking ceremony in front of the Federal Court in Grenfell Street Adelaide in September 1999 when a determination on the legality of genocide in Australia was being handed down by the Court in Sydney and teleconferenced regionally. A group of Aboriginal people had sought the determination and the Court determined that whilst genocide is a universal crime under international law it was not a crime under Australian law as the Australian Parliament had not enacted any domestic laws in this regard. Another transported fire was for *Kurna Palti Meyunna*, the Opening Ceremony for the 2002 Adelaide Festival of Arts, held in Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga. Fires were lit and tended in the four city squares before being taken in procession to Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga where Aboriginal, and Indigenous people from other part of the world, performed to large audiences. More recently coals from the fire were transported to a hospital for a smoking ceremony for a terminally ill Kurna man. A vigil was maintained at the fire for several days in the last days of his life, a gesture of respect to him and part of the mourning process.

Langton (2002:256) has pointed out that in traditional Aboriginal culture:

The cultural map through which the landscape is reinscribed with cultural memories, regulations, and logic of the Elders is marked and memorialized through social experience.

New forms of ‘social experience’ are required in the urban space to complement traditional structures. Markers such as *Tjirbruki narna arra’ Tjirbruki Gateway* provide places where this can occur through the ceremony and cultural education that occurs there and its location at Warriparinga, a significant Dreaming site, a place of metaphysical inscription. As Langton (2002:257) outlined, the:

... land is inscribed by its spiritual affiliations – indeed, it is defined and identified by those affiliations. The land is always here, sensual, and experienced in its spirituality. In this sense, spiritual affiliations inscribe the land with meaning, directing human behaviour in the process; they are metaphysical inscriptions ... And because they connect and structure, spiritual associations condition responses in people.

One of the pivotal functions of *Tjirbruki narna arra'* is to refer to the land and its spiritual affiliations. How 'spiritual associations condition responses in people' is one of the great challenges in renewing culture, and a healthy involvement in and respect for culture, leading to broader social outcomes for Kaurna. The respect for the lore and law embodied in the Creator Being Tjilbruke is again a significant contributor to reawakening behaviour and respect, particularly for the younger urban generations.

Life lived in places is an encounter with mythical Beings whose creative energies imbue such places with particular characteristics, some dangerous and some protective and sustaining, depending on how one engages with them (Langton, 2002:257).

As well as Kaurna cultural and spiritual renewal *Tjirbruki narna arra'* is used for cultural education for primary, secondary and tertiary students, community groups (Figure 10-22, Figure 10-23), church groups, cultural tourists and others. It is often used as the first stop for cultural tours along the Dreaming Track.



Figure 10-22 Paitya at Tjirbruki narna arra', Reconciliation Week, 1998



Figure 10-23 Reconciliation Week gathering, Tjirbruki narna arra', 1998

When I lived at Warriparinga for four years, on many occasions I co-hosted visits by church groups and church schools, particularly from Catholic Education. *Tjilbruke*

Narna arra' Tjilbruke Gateway was used extensively as a place of cultural and spiritual education and personal reflection. One response is typical:

Indeed, the Kurna people's Tjilbruke Dreaming Trail touched my students in a way that no classroom study could. It was during a field trip along this trail that a turning point in our study of Aboriginal religion was reached – The students could sense the power of the land as we followed the trail of an ancient story from the Dreaming of the Kurna people of the Adelaide plains (Bowyer, 1998).

Another example of spiritual reflection is the Blackwood Uniting Church, which held a Church Picnic at Warriparinga in May 2008, and spent time at *Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway* as part of 'The Kurna Project' aimed at building 'links with our indigenous brothers and sisters' (Roundabout, 2008:1). These exemplars reinforce the value of the public commemorations of the Dreaming narrative, in making visible Aboriginal beliefs, as a way for groups to engage with Aboriginal spirituality and connections to Country.

Cultural ownership and maintenance of artworks such as *Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway* is another important consideration, something which sits outside of a normal Western based public space art practice. For this work, there has been an informal transfer of 'ownership', from the creators of the artefact, the artists who hold the legal copyright to the work, to Kurna cultural custodians and the community. In some ways the artists have become 'invisible' behind the artefact. This is at odds to normal practice, where the artist's reputation is publicly pegged to the artefact, but it is what the artists and the community wanted.

Cultural maintenance for this work has moved beyond the normal physical maintenance that may be required for an artefact. It is necessary to reapply coloured sands to ground patterns, re-burn two tree trunks which represent an action by Tjirbruki, reapply white ochre to a trunk which represents a death in the narrative, and apply ochres to a shield, mullabakka, carved into a trunk. This is done in collaboration with a male cultural custodian and young Kurna males (Figure 10-24, Figure 10-25). Part of the reason for doing this is to bring young Kurna males into the process of art making but more importantly it is done to encourage an inter-generational sense of cultural ownership and long-term cultural maintenance.



Figure 10-24 Tjirbruki narna arra' cultural maintenance, 2011



Figure 10-25 Tjirbruki narna arra' cultural maintenance, 2011

Tjirbruki narna arra' Tjirbruki Gateway has become a performative and educational space well beyond the expectations of the artists. The artwork is not just a memorialisation, it is, as its name suggests, a gateway to the Dreaming and a better understanding of Karna culture for all.

Other Tjilbruke Commemorations

There are eight other Markers which contain references to Tjilbruke. They are:
 . 1997 *Cultural Path* Signal Box Park, Rosewater (Figure 10-26)



Figure 10-26 Cultural Path, 1997, Signal Box Park, Rosewater (Local community)

. 1998 *Tjilbruke Dreaming Mural* O'Sullivan Beach Primary School (Figure 10-27)



Figure 10-27 Mural, Tjilbruke, 1998, O'Sullivan Beach Primary School (David Weetra)

. 1990s *Tjilbruke Dreaming Mural* Brompton Primary School (Figure 10-28)



Figure 10-28 Tjilbruke Mural, 1990s, Brompton PS (School community)

. 2006 *Warriparinga Walk Mural* Under Southern Expressway Bridge, Warriparinga, Bedford Park (Figure 10-29)



Figure 10-29 Warriparinga Walk Mural, 2006, Warriparinga (Jimmy C. et al)

These four Markers are not major works but reflect the way that the Dreaming is becoming part of the cultural landscape, particularly for younger Aboriginal people who were involved in their making.

. 2002 *Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi Recognising Kaurna people and Kaurna land* Adelaide Festival Centre. The Tjilbruke reference is in the form of a carved stone to represent the springs (Figure 10-30).



Figure 10-30 Tjilbruke, the Ibis Man, Kaurna meyunna, Kaurna yerta tampendi (T. Rosella, D. Siwes, E Karpany)

. 2007 *Towilla Yerta Reserve* Port Willunga (Figure 10-31)

The Tjilbruke reference is in the form of the pavement pattern which included a tear shape (Tjilbruke's tears formed fresh water springs) and incorporates interpretive signage referring to the Dreaming.



Figure 10-31 Towilla Yerta Reserve, 2007, Port Willunga Wirruwarrungga

. 2009 *Glow Taltaityai* Walter Morris Drive, Port Adelaide (Figure 10-32)

The Tjilbruke Dreaming reference is through the use of the ibis and the emus.



Figure 10-32 Glow Taltaityai, 2009, Port Adelaide (M. Nikou, J. Milanovic) (photo City of PAE)

. 2009 *Tulukudangga Spring Access Walkway*, Kingston Park.
 This is the most recent interpretive marker for the Dreaming (Figure 10-33).



Figure 10-33 Stairway and Signage, 2010, Tulukudangga Kingston Park

Cultural and Social Significance of the Tjilbruke Markers

The 1986 Tjilbruke Track commemoration assisted Kaurna in the development of a sense of, and spirit of, achievement which is of import in developing a public self confidence as well as a public presence. Georgina Williams, a leading advocate and activist for Kaurna and broader Aboriginal causes for many decades, has outlined the sense of pride and enhanced self-identity gained in the commemorations of Tjilbruke. Following the de-missionisation and the development of urban living from the 1960s onwards, the renewal of the narrative as a living entity has been pivotal in Kaurna reconnecting to Country in a physical, cultural and spiritual sense.

The traditional Aboriginal landscape can be described as a ‘psychic terrain of internalized symbolic meaning’ (Osborne, 2006:153) but this meaning has been severely dislocated through colonisation and missionisation and is now often obscured by urban development. The Markers have become a contemporary form of place-making utilising traditionally inscribed meaning. Whilst some people have the ability to read the traces of traditional knowledge and Story still embedded in Country, most Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are assisted in their knowledge of place by reference to these Markers. The cultural narrative that is embodied in Tjilbruke dates back for potentially thousands of years. It inscribes and ascribes a way of life and identity. As Kaurna descendants seek to recapture or renew aspects of the law and the lore that will assist in contemporary urban living, contemporary forms of commemoration are required to add to or provide entry points to that symbolic meaning. As Osborne (2006:153) pointed out ‘... abstractions of identity are often narrated in mythic narratives that are grounded in iconic sites.’ As Williams (2002:1) outlined about her role and the significance of Tjilbruke:

I represent a gathering force for a spiritual renewal of the Peace Law of Tjirbruki which lies in the spirit of the land at Warriparinga and other places along the Ancient Journey of the Dreaming Song of our Ancestor Being Tjirbruki.

The Markers can be understood as mnemonic cultural artefacts, to assist in story telling and cultural interpretation by the Kaurna cultural custodians and others. The lore is no longer narrated in the pre-European traditional way, Aboriginal children’s

schooling in the urban area is part of the dominant culture's schooling system. Their visual and lived worlds are not that of their ancestors, with vast spaces and horizon lines, and of specific places that nurtured cultural identity, law and livelihood. Time is not spent at length in places of ancestral cultural meaning, the Tjilbruke sites are not part of an existence based on seasonal movement and time spent in deep engagement with place. Thus the Markers serve as a new form of 'evidence' of the story of place and the lore, they become a focus. As Taylor (2000:32) has pointed out '... for Nyungahs (Aboriginals), the recovery and assertion of a relationship between place and cultural identity is paramount and well documented'. The Markers work as 'messages' in a contemporary enculturation process.

The commemorations and representations of the Ancestor Being Tjilbruke are not just part of the dominant culture's politics of representation, they are something more essential. They are about the renewal of a dormant culture, an expression of faith in a past, a cultural heritage and a future by and for Aboriginal people. The commemorations are a contemporary tangible presence of an oral and landscape inscription tradition. This is part of the cultural adaptation for which Aboriginal peoples have been renowned – most notably in the way they adapted to climate and cultural changes over eons. As Williams (2002:2) outlined, when speaking of Aboriginal people coming to terms with Western structures:

*My personal journey of recovery has involved me in attempting to adjust mentally to being a white Australian, which I was unable to do. I then began to **adapt** rather than **adopt** western things that I could use as an Aboriginal person living in the new environment of 'urban life'.*

And the Markers are not only 'messages' for Aboriginal people, they make available an Aboriginal meaning to a wider audience. From my own non-Aboriginal perspective, the Tjilbruke narrative is now part of my story of place as I live in the lands of the Dreaming and respect it and its lore as one way of knowing place. On many occasions I, a non-Aboriginal, have narrated aspects of the Dreaming at these marked sites or utilised images of the artworks as an introduction or backdrop to tell stories of an Aboriginal Adelaide. As summarised in the report *Tjilbruke Dreaming Tracks Project–Towards a Management Framework*, commissioned by the Tjilbruke Dreaming Forum:

Tjilbruke (Tjirbruki) has a relevance for all people. He shows Indigenous and non-Indigenous people how to live in right relationships with each other and the land. As a peace-maker and law-giver, his influence is much needed in our society today. Respecting the places he created and managing them so his power is available today is the challenge of the Tjilbruke Dreaming Tracks Project. Our response to this challenge as Indigenous and non-Indigenous people will be the basis for conciliation - an opportunity to walk together for the first time in mutual trust and respect (Hassell, 2002:v).

The Markers have become part of an enculturation process for the whole community, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal. As Lewis O'Brien has (2007:204) stated:

We've got people today who still feel the strength of the Tjilbruke Dreaming, and the intrigue it has to offer both non-Indigenous and Aboriginal people at the springs and the different sites along the trail. That's why people like Bill Reschke and the artist John Dowie formed the Tjilbruke Committee many years

ago. They wanted to protect these sites. They eventually put up a monument at Kingston Park of a sculpture of Tjilbruke holding his nephew Kulultuwi, which is lovely.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the cultural and spiritual significance of the public commemorations of Tjilbruke for Kaurna, and the introduction and acceptance of the Tjilbruke narrative as part of the cultural heritage of place for Adelaidians. The narrative, as evidenced by the commemorations identified, has entered the public imagination as part of the story of place for Adelaide and the region.

The first Tjilbruke commemoration, the *Tjilbruke Monument*, 1972, initiated by a group of non-Aboriginals through the Tjilbruke Monuments Committee can be considered to be the first act of reconciliation³⁸ in the public space in Adelaide with a broad public involvement through the *Sunday Mail's* informal Aboriginal cultural education activities and public fundraising appeal to commission the Monument. This predated, or indeed led, the emergent reconciliation process between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people which did not become a major national initiative until the Decade of Reconciliation which commenced in 1991.

The Markers, combined, provide a diverse contemporary form of commemoration and a significant contribution to re-inscribing the narrative upon Kaurna Country as part of urban based cultural renewal. As Kaurna cultural renewal continues I can only imagine that the Tjilbruke representations will evolve further a form of civic inscription which is built on the traditional landscape inscription. This will further bring the law and lore of Tjilbruke to a non-Aboriginal audience and be another reinforcement of the fact that the incoming culture occupies Kaurna Aboriginal land and that cultural conciliation can advance through the public realm.

³⁸ The term Reconciliation is popularly accepted as describing the movement and actions of bringing Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people together. Some prefer the term 'conciliation' on the basis that there had never been a coming together.