

The author gratefully acknowledges the Yitpi Foundation for the grant which funded the writing of this essay.

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 1/03

PATPANGGA

(last edited: 12.8.2016)

Abstract

Patpangga is a Kurna word meaning 'in the south' or 'south place'. It might also have been used as a kind of place-name.

It seems to have been used (sometimes at least) as a general name for the southernmost area where Kurna-speaking people lived in the 1830s. This was roughly identified as Fleurieu Peninsula south of Sellicks Hill to Cape Jervis, and probably included the land eastward to the vicinity of the watershed of the South Mt Lofty Range, and possibly the south coast as far as Tunkalilla. However, the boundaries at first contact are not known exactly.

The people of this area were identified as *Patpa-meyunna* ('south people') by missionary Schürmann in 1839, and as 'the Patpunga tribe' by Protector Moorhouse in 1840. Their most-used campsites were at *Yangkalyilla* (Yankalilla) and *Yarta-kulangga* (Rapid Bay).

Like other compass directions, *patpangga* could easily be mistaken for a local place-name. For example, Interim Protector Wyatt thought that it was the name of Rapid Bay (but Rapid Bay was *Yarta-kulangga*: see PNS 5.04.01/07). John Morphett thought it was the name of Cape Jervis or Fishery Beach.

Patpangga was part of Kalunggu's statement of identity in 1837, in which 'the country where she came from' was Yankalilla Bay with its three rivers.

The spellings 'Putpunga', 'Putpangga' and 'Putpuniga', found in Tindale, are errors and have no historical credibility.

The Patpa railway station on the old Willunga line at Hallet Cove, and Patpa Drive at Sheidow Park (named later after the station), are not original Kurna place-names of the area. Patpa railway station was named by the Nomenclature Committee in 1946 (Nomenclature Committee Minutes Book, GNU: 107).

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| <i>Coordinates</i> | Latitude -35.497574°, Longitude 138.324051° (in the middle of the Patpangga area, near Tonto Rd & Yankalilla River; on probable traditional route from Hay Flat to Big Gorge [see PNS 5.02.01/02 Yangkalilla]). |
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Language Information

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|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Meaning</i> | 'in the south, south place' |
| <i>Etymology</i> | <i>Patpa</i> 'south' + <i>ngga</i> 'at, in, place of' |
| <i>Notes</i> | |
| <i>Language Family</i> | Thura-Yura: 'Kurna' |
| <i>KWP Former Spelling</i> | Patpangga |
| <i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i> | Patpangga |
| <i>Phonemic Spelling</i> | /patpangga/ |
| <i>Pronunciation</i> | "Patpangga" |
| <i>Pronunciation tips</i> | Stress the 1 st syllable. Every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'. |

Main source evidence

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| <i>Date</i> | Nov 1836 |
| <i>Original source text</i> | "There is a small and safe boat harbour, a little to the N.W. of Cape Jarvis, called by the natives ' Pat Bungar '. It was there I first landed on the main. Low hills slope down on all sides of the little bay, after crossing which there is level land... .. gradually sloping down into a valley... [which] winds... to the northward... and is open to the sea between high hills about two miles to the north of ' Pat Bungar '... A couple or three miles further up another valley opens to the sea." |
| <i>Reference</i> | John Morphett 1836, <i>South Australia: Latest Information from this colony, contained in a letter written by Mr Morphett, Dated Nov. 25th, 1836</i> , London, John Gliddon, 1837: 6-7. |
| <i>Informants credited</i> | "a couple of natives who were with us" |
| <i>Informants uncredited</i> | Probably Kalinga (Sally Walker) and/or Condoy?? |

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|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Date</i> | [May 1837] / Jan 1838 |
| <i>Original source text</i> | "Their name for Glenelg is Corvandilla [<i>sic</i>], which, being interpreted, means <i>good water</i> ; Adelaide, the city, they call Walinga: Ouhe-peringa [<i>sic</i>], Palbung [<i>sic</i> , <i>mistranscription of 'Patbunga'</i>], Morialbo [<i>sic</i>], Aldinge [<i>sic</i>], and Yankeedilly [<i>sic</i>], are all names of places in this neighbourhood." |
| <i>Reference</i> | Stephen Hack letter from Adelaide, 1 May 1837, <i>South Australian Record</i> , Vol.1 No.4 (13 Jan 1838): 29c. |
| <i>Informants credited</i> | |
| <i>Informants uncredited</i> | Kurna informants for Adelaide names; 'Patbunga' probably by personal communication from Morphett. |

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|-----------------------|---|
| Date | [May 1837] / 1838 |
| Original source text | “Their name for Glenelg, is Corrandilla [<i>sic</i>], which being interpreted means ‘good water’. Adelaide, the city, they call Wallinga. Onkeperinga, Oatbunga [<i>sic</i> , <i>mistranscription of ‘Patbunga’</i>], Morialta, Aldinga, Yankudilly [<i>sic</i>] are all names of places in this neighbourhood.” |
| Reference | Stephen Hack letter from Adelaide, May 1837, in Henry Watson 1838, <i>A Lecture on SA</i> (Gliddon, London): 18. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Kurna informants for Adelaide names; ‘Patbunga’ probably by personal communication from Morphett. |

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|-----------------------|---|
| Date | June 1837 |
| Original source text | “Said the country where she came from was called BAT.BUN.GER YANG.GAL.LALE.LAR. It is situate at the west point of St Vincents Gulf... It is on the sea coast; there is a long sandy beach with three rivers... MAN.NUNE.GAR is the name of the country where she was born.” |
| Reference | GA Robinson journal 2 June 1837, in NJB Plomley 1987, <i>Weep In Silence: A History of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement</i> , Hobart, Blubber Head Press: 445. |
| Informants credited | ‘KAL.LOON.GOO’ (Kalunggu) = ‘Sarah’ = ‘Charlotte’, who was the source of Robinson’s Kurna wordlist. |
| Informants uncredited | |

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|-----------------------|--|
| Date | May 1838 |
| Original source text | “District F has no section upon it worth taking of which I have any knowledge unless it might be thought worth while specially to request the Surveyor-General to mark off a section to include the Water Hole & Patbunga [or? on?] the Boat Harbor between Patbunga and Rapid Bay Cowieapinga...” |
| Reference | Samuel Stephens 1838, letter to John Morphett, Adelaide 14/5/1838, in ‘Reports received from Samuel Stephens’, South Australian Company 1838, BRG 42/51: 10. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | John Morphett? Stephen Hack? |

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|-----------------------|---|
| Date | [1837-9] / 1879 |
| Original source text | “ Patparno, Patpungga - Rapid Bay.” |
| Reference | List of place-names in W Wyatt [1837-9], ‘Vocabulary of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes’, in JD Woods 1879, <i>Native Tribes of SA</i> : 179. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Kurna informants including Mulla Wirraburka (‘King John’) |

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|-----------------------|---|
| Date | Jan 1840 |
| Original source text | “... the five tribes with which Europeans are in contact... 1. Inhabiting Muliakki... 2. The Wirra Tribe... 3. The Adelaide... 4. The Patpunga , or those inhabiting the southern coast from Mount Terrible to Rapid Bay, containing 90. These four tribes speak nearly the same language...” |
| Reference | Moorhouse Protector’s Report 14 Jan 1840, in Papers Relative to SA, <i>BPP: Australia</i> 7: 354. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Kurna informants 1839. |

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|-----------------------|--|
| Date | 1840 |
| Original source text | “ <i>Patpa</i> south.” “ <i>Patparta</i> southerly.” “ Patpangga to the south.” |
| Reference | Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, <i>An Outline of a Grammar...</i> |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaiitpinna, etc, 1838-40. |

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|-----------------------|---|
| Date | 1857 |
| Original source text | “ padbangga in the south.” |
| Reference | Teichelmann 1857, <i>Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect</i> (unpublished MS, transcribed by Jane Simpson 1994). |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaiitpinna, etc, 1838-44. |

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|-----------------------|--|
| Date | [c.1940] / 1993 |
| Original source text | “ Rapid Bay (Patapungga) ” |
| Reference | RM & CH Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> : 20, cp. map 330-1. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Albert Karlowan, Pinkie Mack and other Yaralde informants, 1930s-1940s |

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| Date | [1973] / 1977 |
| Original source text | “... Sunday 14 Aug 77. Found a letter of Aug 73 from a Mrs EJ Schmaal of Yankalilla, SA, unanswered. It referred to Putpuniga , a term in one of Dr Moorhouse’s reports to the SA Government in 1840. I was able to tell her in a letter I wrote today that this is probably Patpangga , also written as Putpangga , the name of Rapid Bay & also of the Southern clan of the Kurna, who lived around Yankalilla... my Tribes book, at p.73...” |
| Reference | Tindale, ‘Canberra & California journal’ Vol.4, AA 338/1/53/4: 7. |
| Informants credited | EJ (Jean) Schmaal |

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| Informants uncredited | Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 |
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Discussion: 'IN THE SOUTH':

FIRST RECORDS OF THE NAME:

1. Morphett's 'Pat Bungar' at the Cape:

On 22 September 1836 – at about the same time that Colonel Light's team further up the Gulf were obtaining the place-names 'Yatagolunga' (Rapid Bay) and 'Yanky-lilly' ((Yankalilla) – Light's Deputy Surveyor George Kingston and the energetic merchant John Morphett obtained what they thought was the name of a small boat harbour near Cape Jervis (today it is called Fishery Beach).

They had arrived at Kingscote from England only eleven days earlier. Like Light, they were soon disillusioned with KI and arranged to hire local Islanders with a whaleboat who would take them over Backstairs Passage and explore the mainland. They rowed a dinghy around to Hog Bay (today's Penneshaw), where they were joined by Islanders (almost certainly William Walker and his companion William Thompson) and a couple of 'natives' (almost certainly Sally Walker and her father Condoy).¹

When this mixed company arrived at the mainland, Kingston and Morphett were euphoric at the prospect of the wealth ready for them in this beautiful land. They "jumped overboard in the shallow water, and had a race for the shore".² According to Morphett's published letter, they had landed at "a small and safe boat harbour, [near] Cape Jervis, called by the natives 'Pat Bungar'".³ Today it is called Fishery Beach.⁴

¹ See my full analysis of this event in *Feet On the Fleurieu* (forthcoming 2015).

² GC Morphett 1936, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Morphett*, Hassell Press, Adelaide: 16.

³ Morphett 1837, SA: *Latest Information from this colony, contained in a letter written by Mr Morphett, Dated Nov. 25th, 1836*, London, John Gliddon, 1837: 6-7.

⁴ WHERE EXACTLY DID MORPHETT AND KINGSTON LAND ON 22 SEP 1836?

Throughout the 19th century the name 'Cape Jervis' was used as on the map by Flinders, referring to the entire Fleurieu Peninsula more often than to the Cape itself. Consequently the exact location of Morphett's landing has to be deduced from his detailed topographical description. Here follows his description (in italics) accompanied by my analysis of terrain (non-italics):

1. "There is a small and safe boat harbour, a little to the N.W. of Cape Jervis, called by the natives 'Pat Bungar'. It was there I first landed on the main". –

"N.W." is unaccountable, as there is no place northwest of the Cape which fits the ensuing description. Perhaps it is a publisher's error, or Morphett confused the geography when writing in haste a busy six weeks after the event. The 'small safe harbour' cannot be Rapid Bay, because on the next page he locates this by name "about eight miles up the gulf" from here. It has to be Fishery Beach, about 4 km south of the Cape. There are no 'safe' harbours between the Cape and Rapid Bay except (perhaps) Yoho Beach, which is totally enclosed by steep cliffs.

2. "Low hills slope down on all sides of the little bay," –

2. Hack's unlocated 'Patbunga':

Six months later the explorer Stephen Hack was familiar with Morphett's name 'Pat Bungar' and quoted it in a letter home, using his own spelling 'Patbunga'. He did not say where it was located:

*Onkeperinga, Oatbunga, Morialta, Aldinga, Yankudilly are all names of places in this neighbourhood.*⁵

Here the Gliddon printer in London misread his hand-writing; the 'O' is clearly meant to be a 'P', and is rendered so in the previous publication of the same letter in *SA Record*.⁶

3. Samuel Stephens' 'Patbunga' at the Cape.

The South Australian Company employed Samuel Stephens as their Colonial Manager. During 1838 he was busily exploring Fleurieu Peninsula to snap up the best land for his company before the opening of sales of 'Country Lands'. His correspondence at this time includes a letter to Morphett about 'District F' (the south-western tip of the Peninsula), in which he shows that he too was familiar with Morphett's 'place-name' and was using it a reference point:

This could apply either to Fishery Beach, or to the small haven inside the reef at the Cape just south of the lighthouse. But the latter was not very safe before it was protected by the breakwater. Fishery Beach was later used by the SA Company for a whaling station.

3. *"after crossing which there is level land..."* –

After crossing the 'low hills' from Fishery Beach, there is level land northward along Fishery Beach Road for about 3 km. (But between the Cape Jervis haven and the next valley there is less than 1 km of level land).

4. *"... gradually sloping down into a valley... [which] winds... to the northward ... and is open to the sea between high hills about two miles to the north of 'Pat Bungar'".* –

Travelling northward along St Vincent Drive and then McLeod Rd (east of Morgan's Beach), at about 2 miles (3.4 km) north of Fishery Beach the land slopes down into the valley of a small unnamed north-flowing creek, which emerges 'between high hills' at the same small beach as Tea Tree Creek. The mouth of the creek is about three miles north of Fishery Beach, not two; but in the whole southern Fleurieu this is the only such configuration with a northerly creek and adjacent low hills.

5. *"In the winter there must be a considerable stream flowing through it. I found there a deep hole with excellent water in it, which the sealers, who are well acquainted with that part, & a couple of natives who were with us, said preserved it all the year round".* –

There are several dams and a tiny wetland on this creek near the big bend of McLeod Rd; and the same on Tea Tree Creek as it approaches the same beach from the east.

6. *"A couple or three miles further up another valley opens to the sea, with a small perennial stream trickling down it".* – This must be the mouth of New Salt Creek, 6 km north of the Cape, known to Milerum as 'Watpardung' or in Tindale's writings 'Watbardok' (see PNS 5.04.02/02). As this is totally enclosed by steep cliffs, Morphett and Kingston no doubt came to it later in the whaleboat.

⁵ Stephen Hack letter, May 1837, in H Watson 1838, *A Lecture on SA* (Gliddon, London): 18.

⁶ *"Palbunga"* (sic) in *South Australian Record* 1(4): 29c. In both publications his letter is replete with mistranscriptions (see source tables above). From their arrival the Hack brothers (John and Stephen) were in touch with other leading capitalists such as Morphett. Stephen did not visit the southern regions himself until so two months after this letter.

District F has no section upon it worth taking of which I have any knowledge unless it might be thought worth while specially to request the Surv-Gen to mark off a section to include the Water Hole & Patbunga or the Boat Harbor between Patbunga and Rapid Bay Cowieapinga.⁷

4. Kalunggu's⁸ 'BAT.BUNG.GER' at (or in the context of) Yankalilla.

Far away from this busy carving up of her homeland, the abducted and exiled young woman Kalunggu had been rescued from the sealers by Tasmanian 'Conciliator' Robinson and joined his establishment on Flinders Island. When he interviewed her in June 1837, she gave him the following account of her origins:

Said the country where she came from was called BAT.BUN.GER YANG.GAL.LALE.LAR. It is situate at the west point of St Vincents Gulf... It is on the sea coast; there is a long sandy beach with three rivers... MAN.NUNE.GAR is the name of the country where she was born.⁹

The three place-names are *Patpangga*, *Yangkalyilla* (Yankalilla), and something like *Manungga*. From Kalunggu's description we can see quite clearly 'the country where she came from': it was Yankalilla Bay with its long sandy beach and its three rivers Carrickalinga, Bungala and Yankalilla.¹⁰ From other sources it is very likely that the original Yankalilla (*Yangkalyilla*) was at or near the mouth of the Yankalilla River at Lady Bay.¹¹ But we do not know where her birthplace *Manungga* is. Kalunggu's record here is quite independent of the first SA settlers and their perceptions of the country, as it is recalled from her life at home before she was abducted to Kangaroo Island in about 1826 and then to Bass Strait in about 1829.¹²

5. Wyatt's 'Patparno, Patpungga' at Rapid Bay:

⁷ Samuel Stephens letter to John Morphett Adelaide 14 May 1838, 'Reports of Country Lands', SA Company papers, BRG 42/51: 10. The 'Boat Harbour... Cowieapinga' is probably Yoho Beach.

⁸ Robinson gave her name as "KAL.LOON.GOO", which I have tentatively interpreted as 'Kalunggu'.

⁹ GA Robinson interview with 'Sarah' or "KAL.LOON.GOO", Robinson journal 2 June 1837 (NJB Plomley 1987, *Weep In Silence*, Hobart, Blubber Head Press: 445). Also reproduced in Amery 1996: 40.

¹⁰ Robinson muddies the waters of the location by writing that this 'country where she came from' was "at the west point of St Vincents Gulf"; also that she was "an aboriginal female of New Holland, the point opposite to Kangaroo Island, the west point of Port Lincoln" (Robinson interview with Kalunggu, 2 June 1837, in Plomley 1987: 445). The phrase about Port Lincoln makes no sense in the context of the rest of the interview. Amery has rightly argued that in 1837 this reference could only arise from Robinson's ignorance of SA's geography (R Amery 1996, 'Kurna In Tasmania', *Aboriginal History* 20: 42). 'West point of Cape Jervis' would have made some sense as a reference to Flinders' 'NW high Bluff' (Rapid Head); but Robinson does not use the name 'Cape Jervis' anywhere and perhaps did not know it. As Robinson knew it, 'Port Lincoln' meant the name applied by Flinders to the Bay there.

¹¹ See PNS 5.02.01/02.

¹² See Amery 1996, 'Kurna In Tasmania', *Aboriginal History* 20: 43-4; and my forthcoming *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

Dr William Wyatt was appointed Interim Protector of Aborigines in SA from 1837 to 1839. Having no government salary, he collected place-names and vocabulary when he was able in the gaps of his medical work. He obtained much of it during an overland foot journey from Adelaide to Encounter Bay in September 1837, a couple of months after his appointment. It was probably on

this trip that he recorded an entry which was later listed as a place-name in his published 'Vocabulary': "Patparno, Patpungga: Rapid Bay".¹³

First published in JD Woods' book *Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879), his wordlist continued to be readily available and became a standard reference for enthusiasts of ethnology and place-names.

6. The Dresden missionary linguists' *patpangga* 'in the south':

The German missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann spent much of the year 1839 in recording Kurna vocabulary such as *patpa* 'south' and *patpangga* 'in the south, to the south'.¹⁴ They never listed this word or any variant of it as a place-name. However, Schürmann did record that a "south tribe", whose members visited Adelaide a number of times in 1839, was known as "Patpameyunna" ('south people').¹⁵

7. Moorhouse's 'Patpunga Tribe':

When the first salaried Protector Matthew Moorhouse came to list the local tribes in the following January he included the word as a group identifier:

¹³ Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, 'Vocabulary of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes', in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 179. "Patparno" (otherwise unrecorded) probably represents *patpa-anna* '[going] towards the south' (cp. Teichelmann MS 1857 "*padbanna: to the south going*").

¹⁴ Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, *Outlines of a Grammar...*

¹⁵ C Schürmann diary 8, 12 Aug, 1 Sep, 25 Dec 1839, 12 Jan 1840, Evangelisch Lutherische Mission, Leipzig: Archival Record concerning Australia, microfilm MF 3701, Barr Smith Library. In the last entry (the only one which uses the Kurna word), the original "*Patpamejunna*" of the MS (my reading) has been transcribed as 'Putpameyunna' by the translator Spoeri, and published as such in EA Schurmann 1987, *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes*, Adelaide, Lutheran Publishing House: 84. Spoeri's 'y' is a correct interpretation (Schürmann used a Continental 'j' = our 'y') but his 'Putpa' is incorrect.

4. The *Patpunga*, or those inhabiting the southern coast from Mt Terrible to Rapid Bay, containing 90.¹⁶

He noted that this tribe and those at Port Gawler, the Para River and Adelaide “speak nearly the same language”, in contrast with that of the “Ramong Tribe” of Encounter Bay.

8. The 20th century:

After that there were no new primary records of the word. But over the years some misinformation accumulated.

Although Morphett’s, Wyatt’s and Moorhouse’s records were publicly available, their records of ‘Pat Bungar / Patpungga / Patpunga’ remained forgotten by society and academics alike for 70 years, and the linguistic work of the German missionaries for even longer. At last in 1909 the Royal Geographical Society of SA published two papers by senior public servant, historian and collector of Australiana, Thomas Gill.¹⁷ In one of them he quoted Morphett’s version of the name; in the other he quoted Moorhouse’s.¹⁸

Unfortunately the journal misprinted Moorhouse’s ‘Patpunga’ as “Putpunga”.

Beginning from this paper error, Tindale from the 1920s to the 1980s constructed a paper trail of misinformation about the word. Fortunately he accompanied it with a parallel trail which started from Teichelmann and Schürmann. Users of Tindale’s working documents – annotated maps and index cards – are left to deal with the contradictions as best they can.

THE NAME: *PATPANGGA*:

Here I need only follow the linguists and assert that the word is clearly in Kurna language; that *Patpangga* and *Padbangga* are correct spellings; and that it means ‘in the south’ or ‘south place’.¹⁹

¹⁶ Moorhouse Protector’s Report 14 Jan 1840, in Papers Relative to SA, *BPP: Australia* 7: 354.

¹⁷ For Gill’s biography see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gill-thomas-6382> [19/9/14].

¹⁸ Thomas Gill 1909a, ‘A Cruise in the SS Governor Musgrave’, *Proc Roy Geog Society Australasia, SA Branch*, Vol. 10: 98 (contains Morphett as quoted in Capper’s *South Australia*, 3rd edition 1839); T Gill 1909b, ‘Some Anthropological Notes on the South Australian Aborigines’, *ibid*: 221.

¹⁹ See Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840; Teichelmann MS 1857.

Spellings such as ‘Putpunga’, ‘Putpangga’ and ‘Putpuniga’ are found in Tindale’s archives but have no historical or linguistic credibility.²⁰

The spelling “Patapungga” is found once in Berndt, and probably represents Karlowan’s pronunciation in the 1930s-40s of what to him was a foreign word; for he was a Ngarrindjeri speaker.²¹ Here too the name is attached to Rapid Bay; but it is very doubtful that Karlowan said this independently of Wyatt’s record.²²

WAS IT RAPID BAY?

²⁰ ‘PUTPUNGA’, ‘PUTPUNIGA’, ‘PUTPANGGA’ AND ‘PATPADGAL’: A CAUTIONARY TALE FOR USERS OF TINDALE’S MAPS AND INDEX CARDS:

In the pursuit of place-names, even if we ignore the second-rate place-name publications it is still possible to waste a lot of time eliminating misinformation from the accepted anthropological authorities. Among these Tindale has unfortunately become notable in South Australian research because of the relative accessibility of his work notes at the SA Museum. We must take his notes seriously in case we turn up some genuine primary data; but much too often all we find is a chain of self-references and with uncredited or untraceable primary sources at the end of it.

Early in his career Tindale marked Gill’s spelling ‘Putpunga’ on one of his maps, without naming his source and without checking the original Moorhouse. No doubt intending to note the tribal location ‘from Mt Terrible to Rapid Bay’, he put an arrow attaching this name to Fleurieu Peninsula in the vicinity of Carrickalinga Hill. Later he copied this onto two other maps, including one which became a standard reference for him, ‘Map T’. During his project for a Gazetteer of place-names, nearly 60 years after the original marking, he transferred this information literally onto two Kurna place-name cards as “Putpunga – Carrickalinga Hill, Section 428 H of Myponga”, and again (here attributing it to the ‘Ramindjeri tribe’) as “Putpunga... Wattle Flat, Southernmost camp of the...” – fortunately he did not complete the sentence. (See Tindale annotated maps ‘N B Tindale’s early enquiries 1920-1930’, AA 338/15/2; cp. 16/2, 16/3, 24/121; Kurna place-name cards 609/1, 609/2 in AA 338/7/1/17).

All of this is disinformation, based entirely on a misunderstanding of his own early note. (The old entry looks like a piece of primary data from an unnamed informant, and Tindale in his early years did not always record the name of his informants).

Meanwhile in 1973 the Fleurieu chronicler Jean Schmaal wrote a letter to Tindale which according to him “referred to *Putpuniga*, a term in one of Dr Moorhouse’s reports”. Either Schmaal had an illegible copy of Gill, or Tindale had misread Schmaal’s writing. Tindale replied in 1977, saying that “*this is probably Patpangga, also written as Putpangga*” (‘Canberra and California journal’ Vol. 4, AA 338/1/53/4: 7). As it happens, the last word ‘Putpangga’ – his new misspelling of Wyatt’s ‘Patpungga’ – now allows the reader to confuse *patpa* with another Kurna word *putpa*, ‘rich, fertile’. All of these errors were faithfully transferred to another of Tindale’s cards, with “*Putpanga*” given as a variant of “*Patpanga*” (Kurna place-name card 595/5; η is a phonetic symbol for the sound *ng*).

One of his Kurna vocabulary cards re-spells it “*Patpanga*”. I presume that here he misread his own square bracket from “[*Patpanga*]” in a draft of his own 1987 essay on Tjirbruki (Kurna vocabulary cards AA 338/7/1/12).

The cards look very authoritative, often seeming to be meticulously referenced. But *none* of this above is real data, and it is all very misleading and time-consuming for anyone who has not already done a considerable amount of parallel homework. It illustrates why Tindale’s index cards must never be taken alone as authorities, but checked against his own and other original sources – if they can be found. Project researchers with short Council deadlines, beware!

²¹ Probably Karlowan introduces an extra ‘a’ here in order to negotiate the consonant cluster *tp*, which is very common in Kurna but rare in Ngarrindjeri (only six known morphemes contain it). Alternatively, if Berndt did not know the word *patpangga* from Teichelmann & Schürmann, he may have imagined this liminal vowel.

²² Karlowan may have said or agreed that ‘Patapungga’ was Rapid Bay, if he was Berndt’s source for the map entry (RM Berndt & CH Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*, Melbourne University Press: 330-1). But there are no other references to the name in material cited from Berndt’s informants. Karlowan seems not to have had it in his normal repertoire. Tindale did not record it from him in their sessions in December 1935 when they recorded place-names along this coast onto Tindale’s Hundreds maps (“Dec. 19th to 27th 1935 – Worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan... We placed put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide”) (Tindale hand-written notes in ‘Murray River Notes’ [Vol.1], AA 338/1/31/1: 197; cp. typescript SE of SA journal 2, AA 338/1/33/2: 285). Berndt’s map entry is too uncertain to count as a primary datum about place-names at first contact. Karlowan could have been responding to a question by Berndt about Wyatt’s record of ‘Patpungga’.

Patpangga and “Patparno” were taken by Wyatt to be variants of a place-name for Rapid Bay. Morphett and Stephens took *Patpangga* to be the name of a place 15 km further southwest, very close to the cape at Cape Jervis. Robinson’s record might attach *Patpangga* to Yankalilla, about the same distance northeast of Rapid Bay.

But we have different recorded Kurna names for these places: Yankalilla is *Yangkalyilla*,²³ Rapid Bay is *Yarta-kulangga*,²⁴ and there is perhaps a name for the Cape, though I suspect that the one recorded applies to the Peninsula as a whole.²⁵ We may conclude with confidence that if it was a place-name at all, it was not a site name for Rapid Bay (despite the reiteration of Wyatt’s claim in Tindale’s cards and other authors),²⁶ nor for any other small site.

COMPASS DIRECTIONS:

It is well known that in the early days of contact with traditional people, European ethnologists who point towards a place and ask ‘What is that called?’ are likely to be given a compass point, which they may then mistake for a place-name. This is probably what happened to Wyatt during his journey to Encounter Bay, as it is not recorded that he ever visited Rapid Bay in the years 1837-9 when when he was collecting language. Was *Patpangga* a place-name at all?

There are strong signs that *Patpangga* might be a partial exception to the compass rule.

Firstly, Morphett landing at Fishery Beach was presumably not pointing south when he asked ‘What is this place?’ He was as far south as they could go. Yet Sally or Condoy told him ‘*Patpangga*’.

Secondly, there are the implications of Kalunggu’s answer to a question asked by Robinson about ‘the country where she came from’: “BAT.BUNG.GER YANG.GAL.LALE.LER” (*Patpangga Yangkalyilla*), she said. It seems unlikely she was asserting that she ‘came from’ both Yankalilla and Rapid Bay. We know clearly that she was referring to Yankalilla Bay with its three rivers. Rapid Bay is separated from the ‘three rivers’ country by more than 10 km of steep coastal hills. Robinson seems to have thought the two words were part of the same name. He not only had no idea what they signified; he did not know SA at all, and included another utterly vague and

²³ See PNS 5.02.01/02.

²⁴ See PNS 5.04.01/07.

²⁵ See PNS 7/01/02 ‘Parrewarañgg / Parawa’.

²⁶ Concerning *Patpangga* as the name of Rapid Bay, Rob Amery (email 18/8/09) made an observation about the following linguistic record: “*wenendi to go, walk; used only by the natives of Yangkalya and Rapid Bay*” (Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840 under ‘wenendi’). Here the linguists refer to Yankalilla by its Kurna form, but to Rapid Bay only in English; probably signifying that although they knew the word *patpangga* they did not think of it as the name of Rapid Bay, and did not know any other.

misleading description of the location.²⁷ In pairing *Yangkalyilla* with *Patpangga*, she was probably locating *Yangkalyilla* within the larger mental map as internalized by the local Aborigines; implying 'This place is in the south part of the territory my people know', or even a formal generic usage, 'It's in The South Place'.²⁸

Thus *Patpangga* may have identified – perhaps generically named – a large southern area of the Fleurieu as perceived by all the local Kurna-speaking groups. For traditional people here there was nowhere further south except Kangaroo Island, and that was inaccessible and uninhabited. In a similar way, but with a much less clear geographical boundary, *Kawandilla* ('in the north, north place') was probably the regionally-used name of a rather large area around Adelaide.²⁹

We have records which enable us to become a little more exact about this by referring to the people as well as the place.

THE LAND OF THE 'SOUTH PEOPLE':

It is likely that the word meant rather more to Kalunggu than a mere topographical 'in the south'. She was probably implying three different aspects of her identity: 'I am a woman of The South, a member of the South People; I am also a *Yangkalyilla* woman; and I was born at *Manungga*'.³⁰

According to Protector Moorhouse, *Patpangga* was the regular name for a 'tribe' who lived in a specific area at the southernmost extent of Kurna-speaking country. He described the territory of these Southerners as he knew them at the beginning of 1840:³¹ "The Patpunga, or those inhabiting

²⁷ See my note above on 'west point of Port Lincoln' etc.

²⁸ Cp. in English 'West End', 'Northlands' (Qld 4350 and WA 6905), 'Westerway' ((Tas 7140), 'The Southeast' (a recognized region in SA), 'Southend' (SA 5280). Knight has a useful discussion of Aboriginal 'mental maps' of territory, which can be expressed in various ways according to birthplace, residence or clan language, without these being contradictory (James Knight unpublished Ph.D. thesis 2003, 'Testing Tindale Tribes', Ph.D. University of New England, NSW: 419ff).

²⁹ See PNS 1/02, and my unpublished 2009 paper 'Ask The Right Question', Australian National Placenames Survey Conference, Adelaide. "It is not clear what the point of reference is for *Patpangga* and *Kauandilla*... Jane Simpson suggested that these places [Rapid Bay & Glenelg] may be relative to the country of Kurna men who served as the main informants for T&S, Wyatt and others. Mullawirraburka's and Ityamaitpinna's country lay roughly midway between these two locations" (Amery 2002, 'Weeding Out Spurious Toponyms', L Hercus et al 2002, *The Land Is A Map*, Canberra, Pandanus Books: 169 n6). My interpretation focuses less on individuals but rather on the local collective 'mental mapping', based on the extent of the main group relationships. 'Our country' is where the people live with whom 'we' have most to do. For the Kurna speakers of the region of the southern Gulf St Vincent, there was an unmistakable southern limit (the Cape). But a northern limit was less clear: if the Adelaide people were Northerners, yet there were others north of them (e.g. the 'Wirra' and 'Mulliakki' peoples). I address this issue in PNS 1/02 *Kawandilla*.

³⁰ *Manungga* was "the country where she was born", but we do not know where it was. Probably it was a smaller site within *Patpangga*, perhaps within *Yangkalyilla*; or perhaps it was in other territory before she married and moved to *Yangkalyilla* with her husband.

³¹ Moorhouse Protector's Report 14 Jan 1840, in Papers Relative to SA, *BPP: Australia* 7: 354.

the southern coast from Mount Terrible³² to Rapid Bay”. There were 90 of them. North of Sellicks Hill the people were the “Adelaide tribe”, speaking “nearly the same language”.³³ His other three tribal identities are all named by place; the implication is that ‘Patpunga’ also names the territory as well as the tribe.

According to Schürmann this group was known as *Patpa-meyunna*, ‘south people’.³⁴ His diary in 1839 spoke often about them; they were allied with the Adelaide locals but often quarrelled with the *Mari-meyunna* (‘East Men’: the Peramangk of the Mt Lofty Ranges). Mullawirraburka (the well-known ‘King John’ of Adelaide’s native Location) was associated with them in some way. He was usually described as a leading man or ‘King’ of the ‘Adelaide tribe’;³⁵ but there is a hint that he was sometimes considered – or by 1839-40 had come to be considered – as one of the South Men: perhaps because he had acquired rights in the country “Maitpunga plains” (Myponga Valley) beyond Sellicks Hill.³⁶

The *Patpa-meyunna* were the people of the Fleurieu: the ‘Cape Jervis’ tribe identified by Colonel Light’s team in 1836 and by several Kangaroo Islanders before that.³⁷ These Southerners – and especially those of Rapid Bay, the southernmost regular campsite – lived on a peninsula, a *cul-de-sac*, aside from the main trade and travel routes of the region. The tracks wound over the range between Encounter Bay southeastward (where the Southerners had close relatives, frequently visited, who spoke a different language) and Noarlunga and Adelaide northward (where there were people who were of their own language group, but whom they visited less frequently before

³² The highest summit of Sellick’s Hill.

³³ KAURNA ‘TRIBES’, ‘HORDES’, ‘CLANS’, TERRITORY:

Tindale was committed to a definition of a much larger ‘tribe’, and adopted *Patpangga* as the name of the southernmost of what he called the ‘hordes’ or ‘clans’ who spoke Kurna. As far as anyone knows, he did not obtain the name *Patpangga* from any informant of his own, but merely adopted Moorhouse’s description while changing the category to ‘horde/clan’ in order to fit it into his own notion of a ‘tribe’ (see Knight 2003: 467-470 on the ‘clans and hordes’ which Tindale adopted for his 1987 paper on Tjirbruki). Tindale’s conception of ‘tribes’ and ‘hordes’ has not been accepted by most other anthropologists.

The borders mapped on this Fleurieu region by RM Berndt are a far worse fit with early data. He shows groups called “Lower Kona or Kurna” and “Ramindjeri” whose borders bear very little relation to any records from first contact (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 330-1; cp. 23). They clearly represent the vague outer limits of Karlowan’s knowledge as a Ngarrindjeri man in the 1940s – a time when this region had not been occupied by Kurna speakers for two or three generations.

³⁴ Schürmann diary 8, 12 Aug, 1 Sep 1839.

³⁵ In one dispute recorded in Schürmann’s diary, the South Men alleged that the East men had ‘boned’ Mullawirraburka’s brother. There is also one reference to the *Wonka-meyunna* (‘West Men’), who might be the same as ‘our people’, the Adelaide tribe (Schürmann diary 11 July 1839).

³⁶ Moorhouse Report 27 July 1840, in Papers Relative to SA, *BPP: Australia* 7: 355). Gara writes that “Schürmann used the term *P[aj]tpa-meyunna* for the Adelaide people”, and that “according to Schürmann Mullawirraburka belonged to the *P[aj]tpameyunna*” (T Gara 1998, ‘Life and times of Mullawirraburka’, *History In Portraits*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 95). But the references in Schürmann’s diary (or the translations?) are too ambiguous to be sure of either of those assertions.

³⁷ For the ‘Cape Jervis natives’ see e.g. Woodforde diary 16 Oct 1836; Cumpston 1986, *Kangaroo Island*: 127. See also my *Feet On the Fleurieu*. They were so named after the ‘Cape Jervis’ which Flinders had marked across the whole Peninsula.

settlement).³⁸ The name of Rapid Bay. *Yarta-kulangga*, probably means 'place of the separate country'.³⁹ Wyatt and the German linguists identified a separate Rapid Bay dialect of Kurna language.⁴⁰

Judging from Sally or Condoiy with Morphett, and from Kalunggu, *Patpangga* could also be used to identify their *territory*. Perhaps the word could be used as a synonym of *Patpa-yarta*, 'south country'.⁴¹

It is also clear that the 'Patpunga' territory indicated roughly by Moorhouse did not define the full extent of *Patpangga* land. Sally or Condoiy in 1836 considered Fishery Beach (southeast of Cape Jervis) to be within *Patpangga*, Both Tindale and Berndt quoted Karlowan in the 1930s as believing that in previous times the southeastern border of the Kurna with the Ramindjeri was around Tunkalilla Beach on the south coast of the Peninsula.⁴² But today it is impossible to be sure exactly where those eastern and southeastern limits of *Patpangga* were in 1836.⁴³

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End of Summary

³⁸ For evidence and discussion of pre-contact relations between Encounter Bay, the Fleurieu and Adelaide, see my forthcoming *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

³⁹ See PNS 5.04.01/07.

⁴⁰ See e.g. the note above about 'wenendi'; also Amery 2000, *Warrabarna Kurna!*, Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger: 81, 133-4. Of the four similar Kurna dialects which he knew, Moorhouse added, "*These modifications are not more than obtain in contiguous counties of England*" (Moorhouse report 14 Jan 1840).

⁴¹ "*Patparta*" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840); "*padbaarta (padbayata)* southerly" (Teichelmann MS 1857). They gloss this as "southerly", but it is a contraction of *patpa-yarta*, which literally means 'south country or land'.

⁴² Tindale annotated maps Hundred of Waitpinga AA 338/24/93, 'Map S' AA 338/16/8; Tindale 1974: 213; Berndt 1940, 'Some aspects of Jaralde culture', *Oceania* 11(12): 180-1. Other informants such as the Ramindjeri man Reuben Walker put the border many miles north up the Gulf coast (Walker in Tindale SE of SA journal Vol. 2 AA 338/1/33/2: 87, 149, 161, 186; cp. Berndt & Berndt 1993: 23, 330-1). This can only be as they had known it in the late 19th century, not as it was in 1836.

⁴³ Some of the place-names obtained at first contact along the south coast of the Peninsula are in Kurna language, some in Ngarrindjeri, some hard to classify. I hope to analyse them for this project eventually.