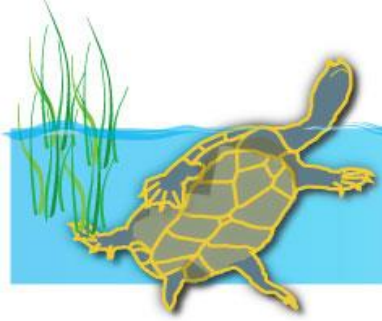


**INQUIRY INTO WATER NSW AMENDMENT
(WARRAGAMBA DAM) BILL 2018**

Organisation: Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association

Date Received: 3 October 2018



The Chair
Legislative Council Standing Committee on State Development

Dear Chair

**Proposed *Water NSW Amendment (Warragamba Dam) Bill 2018* and the impact of
Warragamba Dam on the Gundungurra Cultural Landscape**

The Gundungurra people have an Indigenous Land Use Agreement (ILUA) over the area that will be inundated if the proposal to raise Warragamba Dam wall proceeds. The Gundungurra ILUA was signed in 2014 by the Gundungurra people and all relevant Government agencies and NSW Ministers and it was Registered with the Native Title Tribunal in February 2015. The agreement covers about 6942 sq km, approx 8km south of Lithgow and approx 18 km north of Goulburn.

I represent the Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Incorporated on the Gundungurra ILUA Consultative Committee. The Gundungurra ILUA states that:

14.22 “Any acts carried out within the Agreement Area will be done so consistent with the identification and management of Aboriginal objects and places.”

The Amendment Bill will go against the intent of the ILUA given the likely inundation of our Country and damage to our cultural heritage if the dam wall is raised.

The objects of Schedule D to the Gundungurra ILUA are

“2.1 (a) to outline an arrangement between the Participants for the protection and conservation of Aboriginal heritage and cultural values within the SCA Lands, National Park Lands and BMCC Lands.

2.1 (b) to achieve greater input by the Gundungurra People into management programs of the SCA, OEH and the BMCC relating to the protection and conservation of the SCA Lands, National Park Lands and BMCC Lands.”

The Amendment Bill goes against the objects of the ILUA as it will NOT protect and conserve our Aboriginal heritage and cultural values.

The ILUA states that:

“16.1 OEH, SCA and the Forestry Corporation of NSW shall use all reasonable endeavours to notify the Consultative Committee when tenders are publicly sought for a work, service or consultancy to be carried out in relation to land and waters within the Agreement Area.”

We were shocked to learn at a Gundungurra ILUA Consultative Committee meeting in November 2017 that contractors had been engaged by Water NSW (formerly SCA) to carry out the archaeological works in our Agreement Area for the Environmental Impact Statement for the proposal to raise Warragamba Dam Wall, without providing an opportunity for GAHAI to tender.

The Amendment Bill has been brought to Parliament before the EIS is finalised. If the proposal goes ahead our Aboriginal Cultural values, heritage and song lines will be again impacted and destroyed. My people were displaced to make way for the original Warragamba Dam with the flooding of Lake Burragorang. More of our Gurrangatch and Mirrigan Creation Story and many more of our sacred sites all along the rivers, creeks and valleys will be under water and lost to all people, for all time.

The Burragorang Valley is a highly significant homeland within Gundungurra Country and for our nearby neighbours the Darug and Dharawal peoples. Gundungurra people acknowledge that culturally and historically our community held a long and respectful relationship with Burragorang through our kinship and social relationship with the landscape. Before the loss of the old camps in Burragorang, for countless generations Gundungurra families visited their relatives and extended kin who were part of the Gundungurra community.

With European colonisation of the Burragorang Valley, then the Warragamba Dam a number of generations back, Gundungurra people feel significant loss of our homelands, our Country and our culture which is deeply entwined in this significant place. Gundungurra people also experienced dispossession from Burragorang and subsequent disbursement to distant places.

Due to the colonisation of the Burragorang Valley and the displacement of the rightful owners, the Country and all that survives in it including cultural heritage is quite well preserved. However, the proposal to raise the Warragamba Dam wall will destroy what remains of the culture in the Valley that has existed since time immemorial. The further flooding of the Burragorang Valley will forever hide under the waters the cultural and spiritual connection that Gundungurra people hold to this important part of the Country, their heritage and a creation story significant to all people.

Most significantly the further flooding of the Valley through the proposal to raise the Warragamba Dam will erase the tangible aspects of the creation story of the Burragorang, the Gurrangatch and Mirrigan story, the knowledge of how the valley and rivers were made handed down over countless generations of Gundungurra people. To destroy the landscape which embodies this dreaming story, through the flooding of the Valley, will continue to destroy Gundungurra culture and the spirit of the people, but also all other Aboriginal people in the region that are interconnected to this story, and how it relates to the creation of their own Countries through these ancestral beings.

Yours sincerely

Aunty Sharyn Halls
Secretary
Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Incorporated

3 October 2018

Gundungurra Cultural Landscapes – Creation of the Wollondilly and Coxs Rivers and other Sacred Sites.

The following represents an overview of sites of Gundungurra cultural significance throughout the Gundungurra creation story or creation Songline, 'The Journey of Gurangatch and Mirrigan'. This story was recorded from Gundungurra people by self-taught Anthropologist Robert Mathews (1841-1918), being first published in 1908 (R. Mathews, 'Some Mythology of the Gundungurra Tribe', *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, Vol. 40, 1908: 203-206). The story documents the creation of two of the main rivers throughout Gundungurra Country, the Wollondilly and Coxs River with several of their associated tributaries such as the Kedumba and Jenolan Rivers. It also documents the creation of landscape features along the Great Dividing Range.

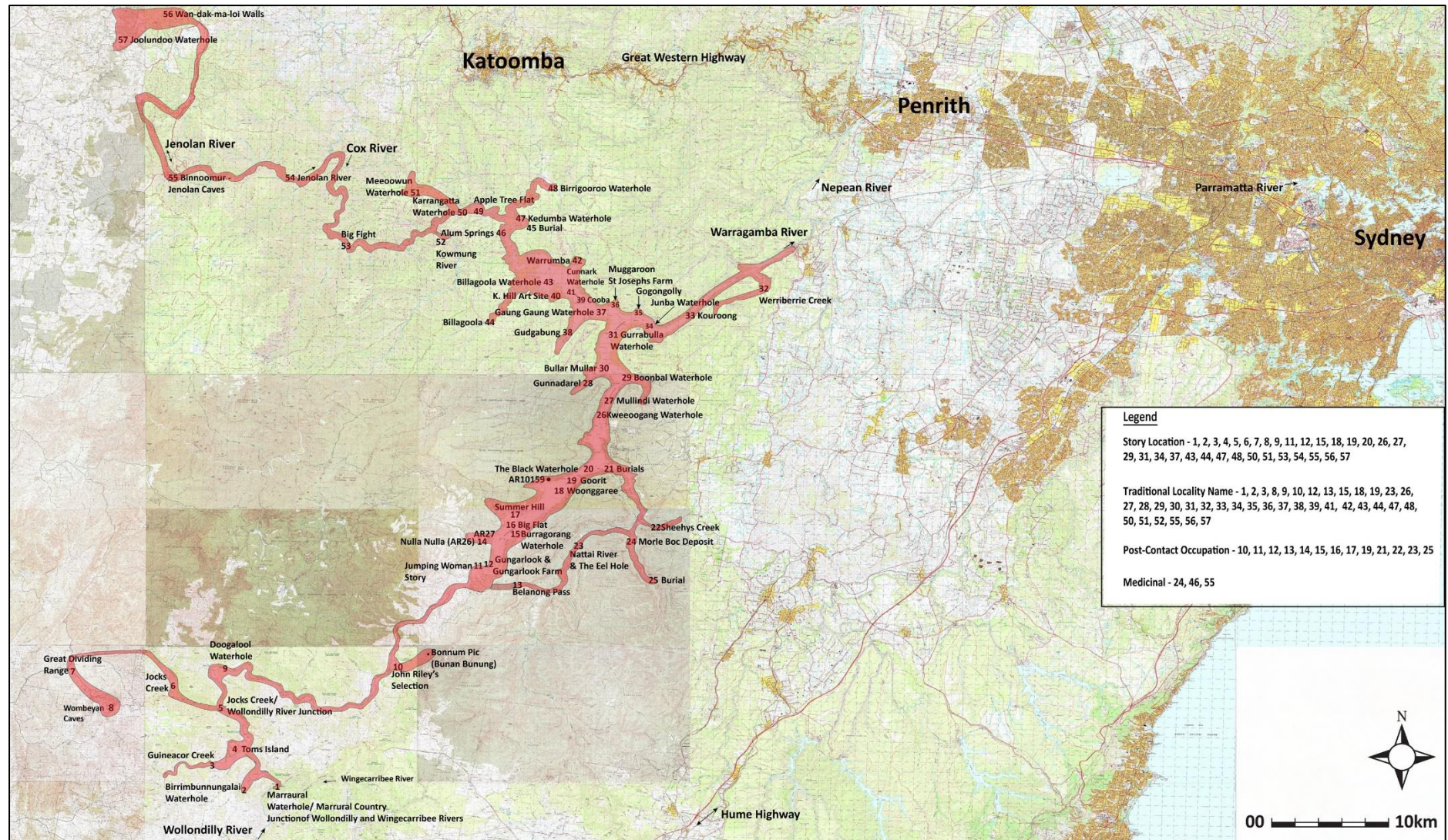
Gurangatch and Mirrigan were Ancestral figures (*Burringilling*) whose main creative activities occurred during the Gundungurra Dreaming (*Gununggulung*). The *Burringilling* had super-human strength and were said to be very clever, to be able to make rivers and other 'natural' features, even cleave mountains. Gurangatch was described as being 'like a gigantic eel' (Russell 1914: 23) and Mirrigan the hunter as a tiger cat (quoll). The story outlines the epic pursuit of Gurangatch by Mirrigan and the creation of the main watercourses through the mountains by Gurangatch during his flight.

Various special landmarks in the story occur throughout the Wollondilly and Coxs River catchments, created by either Gurangatch or Mirrigan, or through their interactions with one another. Landmarks associated with Gurangatch are generally waterholes where his spirit still resides. A number of these are now under the stored waters of Lake Burragorang, however, areas associated with the fringes of these localities remain intact. Several localities remain outside the Lake Burragorang and Burragorang Valley area. Landmarks created by Mirrigan include other types of natural features such as the potholes located on top of Wombeyan Caves and the sandstone escarpments at Mt Bindo on the Great Dividing Range. Although there are defined features, localities and sites which are important landmarks in the creation story, the areas linking these places forms an integral and inseparable part of the creation narrative. The areas between specific landmarks were also created by the actions and interactions of the two main characters of the story.

The story travels for over 170km and is one of the closest intact Aboriginal creation stories on the doorstep of a major city in Australia.

The 'Journey of Gurangatch and Mirrigan' is the central focus for this document. Accompanying the text are nine maps. Map one displays the entire area of the creation story, from *Murraural* Waterhole at the junction of the Wollondilly and Wingecarribee Rivers, to *Joolundoo* Waterhole on the western side of the Great Dividing Range near Hampton. Maps 2-9 display further detail outlining various stages of the narrative and are accompanied by explanatory text. In addition to the published account of the story, Mathews recorded other notes regarding this and other stories which he collected from Gundungurra people (Mathews, R.H. Unpublished notebooks: N.L.A. MS8006/3/10). Citations from his unpublished notes are from this folder. Included are several other areas of cultural significance associated with the passage of the story. It is stressed that this is an overview and not all Gundungurra sites and places of significance are included in this document.

This document has been prepared by archaeologist Michael Jackson on behalf of and with the assistance of members of the Gundungurra community.



Map 1: Map showing the creation story, 'The Journey of Gurangatch and Mirrigan' and other Gundungurra Sacred Sites

Map 2 – *Murraural* Waterhole to Jocks Creek (Hanworth and Barrallier 1:25K topographic maps)

1. ***Murraural* Waterhole:** The 'Journey of Gurangatch and Mirrigan' is a largely intact creation story or 'Songline' from the Gundungurra community which documents the creation of large sections of the Wollondilly and Cocks Rivers, associated tributaries and hinterland. One of the many significant landmarks in the story is the deep waterhole located at the beginning of the story, called '*Murraural*'. *Murraural* is at the junction of the Wollondilly and Wingecarribee rivers. The surrounding country was also known as *Murraural*. *Murraural* was the resting place of one of the *Burringilling* (Ancestors/Creation Hero) called Gurangatch. The early lines of the story as recorded by R. H. Mathews refer to Gurangatch as 'partly fish and partly reptile': *Murraural* is possibly derived from the Dharawal word for fish, '*maarra*', the site being located towards the southern boundary of Gundungurra and Dharawal Country and the two languages having many words in common (Barrett 2015: 8). The following excerpt is from the opening paragraph of the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story:

Gurangatch used to lie in the shallow water near the river bank in the middle of the day to sun himself. One day Mirrigan the tiger cat, a renowned fisherman, who searched only for the largest kinds of fish, happened to catch a glimpse of Gurangatch's eye which shone like a star through the water. Mirrigan tried to spear him but he escaped into the centre of the waterhole, which was of great depth. Mirrigan then went into the bush a little way off, and cut a lot of hickory bark, millewa in the native language, and stacked it in heaps under the water at different places around the lagoon, in the hope of making Gurangatch sick, so that he would come to the surface. (There are long, thin slabs of stone still lying in layers on the banks of waterhole which are said by the natives to be the sheets of hickory bark put there by Mirrigan to poison the water). The poisoned water made Gurangatch very uncomfortable, but the solution was not strong enough to overcome such a large fish as he...Mirrigan went into the bush to cut more hickory bark to increase the nauseating power of the water, but as soon as Gurangatch saw him going away he suspected what he was after and commenced tearing up the ground along the present valley of the Wollondilly, causing the water in the lagoon to flow after him and bear him along.

The above excerpt introduces the main protagonists of the story and emphasizes that Gurangatch tore up the land to allow the waters of to flow after him and form the channel of the Wollondilly River. I.e., He created the course and the flow of the river. The junction of the Wollondilly and Wingecarribee rivers is very rocky and shallow and if this has been the case throughout European occupation of the region, it could not be the exact location for the waterhole that was referred to in the above description. However, the waterhole on the Wollondilly River immediately above the junction (extending to within a few metres of the Wingecarribee River entrance) fits the description above. The southern half of the pool is the deepest pool or 'lagoon' along a substantial stretch of the Wollondilly River in this area. Slabs of rock can be partially seen around the edges of the pool (the hickory bark placed by Mirrigan) and large fish are regularly observed jumping out of the water here.

2. ***Birimbunnungalai* Waterhole:** The following excerpt from the story details the creation of *Birimbunnungalai* Waterhole:

He [Gurangatch] went on forming several miles of river channel, and then he burrowed or tunnelled under the ground for some distance at right angles, coming out again on a high rocky ridge on one side of the valley where there is now a spring or water catchment, known to the white people as 'Rocky Waterhole', but is called by the natives Bir-rimibun-nung-a-lai, because it contains birimbunnungs or sprats. (The natives maintain that there must be a subterranean passage from Rocky Waterhole to the Wollondilly because sprats are found there as well as in the river). Gurangatch raised his head above this waterhole and shoved out his tongue which flashed like lightening. From this elevated point of observation he saw Mirrigan starting from along this trail.

The lightening flash from Gurangatch's tongue was said to be a signal to Gurangatch's friends at Jenolan Caves, over 65kms away. The location of *Birimbunnungalai* is on the western side of the Wollondilly

River in the vicinity of series of unnamed creek-lines or Dry Creek. Discussions with staff of the nearby River Island Resort indicated that they knew of a spring opposite their property (west), high up above the river in the catchment of Dry Creek or nearby drainage line (2016-17). The *Birrimbunnungalai* area occurs west of Archies Island. This area would have afforded Gurangatch with a view back towards to see Mirrigan take off in pursuit. *Birrimbunnungs* or sprats have been identified as Freshwater Herrings (Smith 2009: 147).

3. **Guineacor River:** The following excerpt describes the next stage of the journey:

Gurangatch then returned along his burrow or tunnel to the Wollondilly where he had previously left off and continued making a canal for himself. When he reached what is now the junction of Guineacor river he turned to the left and made a few miles of channel of that stream. Coming to a very rocky place which was hard to excavate, he changed his mind and turned back to the junction and resumed his former course.

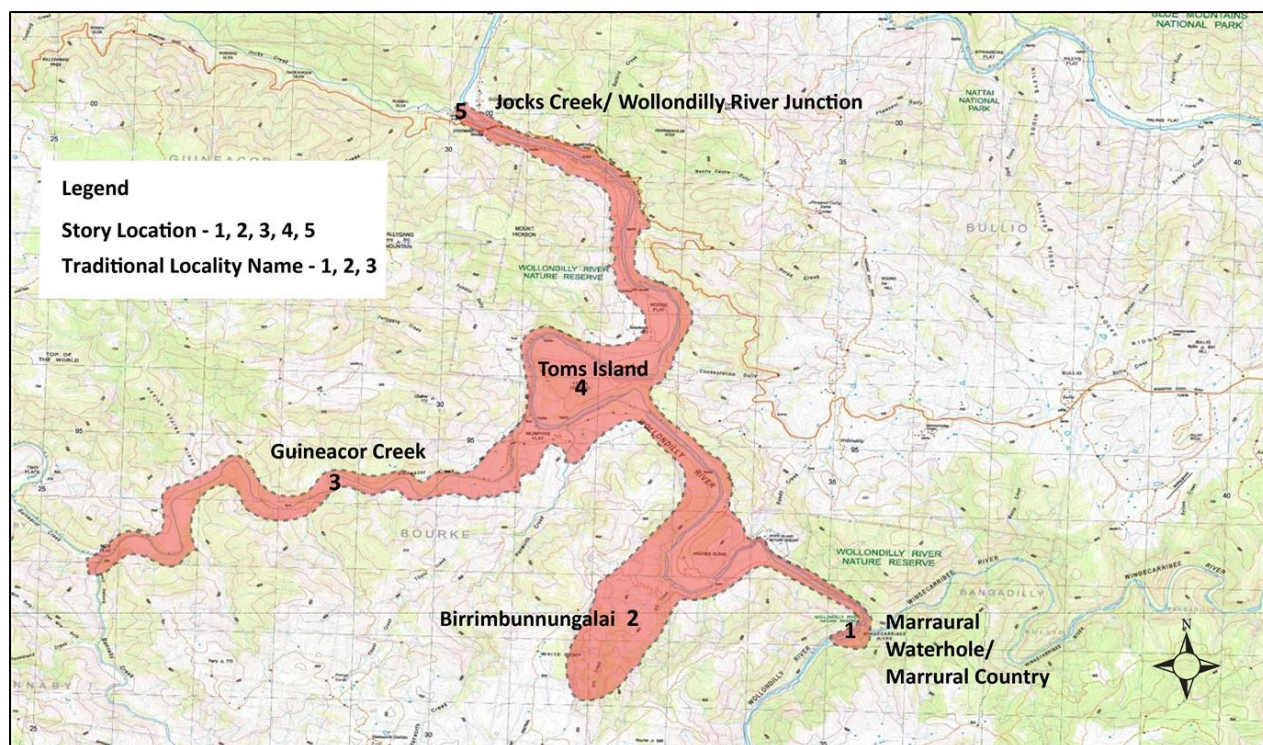
The lower reaches of Guineacor Creek contain an extensive, north-facing river flat area. This would have been a traditional occupation area with its warm aspect, riverine occupation zones, permanent water and level occupation areas. Gurangatch turned back along Guineacor Creek when the going became too difficult due to the rocky nature of the creek-bed. It has been suggested that the rocky area along the creek is within the vicinity of where Guineacor Firetrail occurs (Bob Simpson personal communication, 2016). In Mathews' unpublished notes about this section of the story he says that Gurangatch '*went half a mile up Guineacor Creek and made a big hole and turned back*' (Mathews unpublished notes: 19). Gurangatch's Guineacor River waterhole is not named but it is likely that he created it first before going the several miles up the river to the rocky place before turning back as the published narrative describes.

4. **Toms Island:** Gurangatch had difficulty excavating in the Toms Island area opposite Guineacor River and made a big loop in the river 'which almost doubles back upon itself...'

He had some difficulty in getting away from this spot and made a long, deep bend or loop in the Wollondilly which almost doubles back upon itself at that place.

5. **Wollondilly River/Jocks Creek Junction:** The next stage of Gurangatch's journey saw him excavate the channel of the Wollondilly River down to the junction of Jocks Creek.

When Gurangatch got down to where Jocks Creek now embouchures with the Wollondilly, he turned up Jocks Creek excavating a watercourse for himself.



Map 2: Murraural Waterhole to Jocks Creek

Map 3 – Jocks Creek to Wombeyan Caves (Barrallier, Richlands, Mt Armstrong 1:25k topographic maps)

6. **Jocks Creek:** Gurangatch creates Jocks Creek by making the water flow uphill behind him:

...he turned up Jocks Creek excavating a watercourse for himself. Being a great magician he could make water flow uphill as easily as downhill. On reaching the source of Jocks Creek...

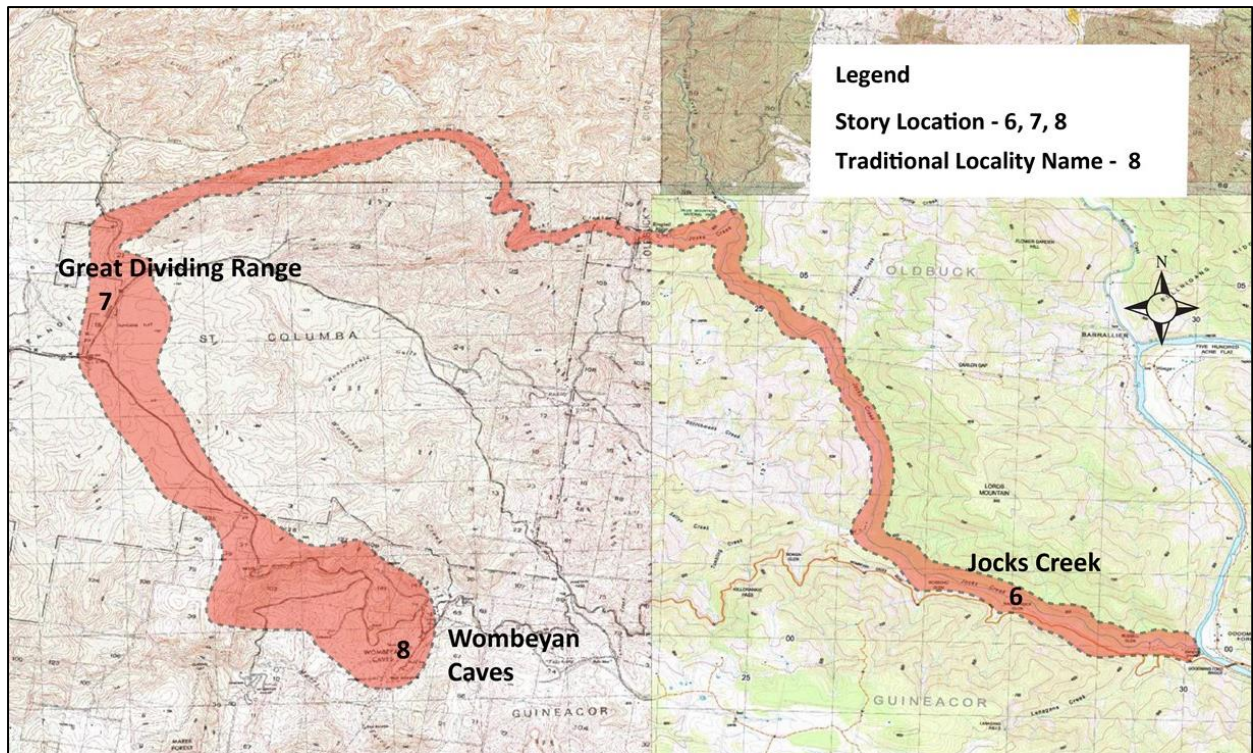
7. **Great Dividing Range:** Gurangatch burrows under the Great Dividing Range from the source of Jocks Creek to Wombeyan Caves:

...On reaching the source of Jocks Creek, he burrowed under the range, coming up inside Wambee-ang caves, which are called Whambeyan [Wombeyan] by the white people, being a corruption of the Aboriginal name.

8. **Wombeyan Caves:** Gurangatch hid in Wombeyan Caves (it is not stated that he created the caves). Mirrigan followed the watercourse created by Gurangatch and caught up to him at Wombeyan Caves but did not wish to go into the subterranean passages. Mirrigan created some of the features of the caves as follows:

Mirrigan did not care to go into any of the subterranean passages, therefore he went up on top of the rocks and dug a hole as deep as he could go then prodded a long pole down it as far as it would reach, for the purpose of frightening Gurangatch out of his retreat...not succeeding in his purpose with the first hole, he dug another and still another and shoved the long pole down each one as before. There are several weather worn pot holes on top of the Whambeyan caves, still, which are said to be those made by Mirrigan on that occasion.

The pot-holes on top of Wombeyan Caves created by Mirrigan are likely an explanation for the origin of dolines. Dolines form across karst landscapes as funnel shaped depressions in the ground, possibly in areas of underground subsidence collapse, or where solution has dissolved limestone in a solution basin.

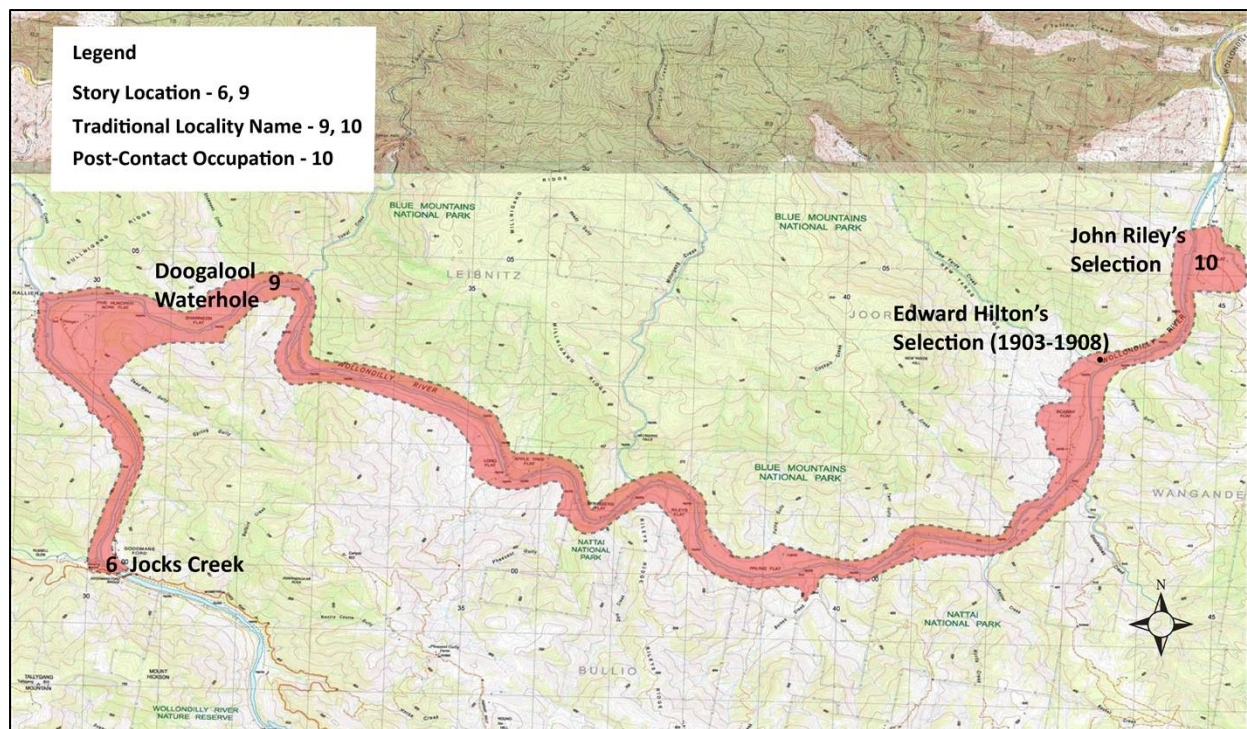


Map 3: Jocks Creek to Wombeyan Caves

Map 4 – Jocks Creek to Burnt Flat (Barrallier 1:25k topographic map)

9. **Doogalool Waterhole (also spelt Doogoolool):** In Mathews' notes he refers to 'Doogalool' as one of Gurangatch's Waterholes above the Wollondilly Bridge (along with 'Gunggalook' Waterhole). This puts it in the stretch of the Wollondilly between *Gunggalook* Waterhole (see No. 12 below) and Jocks Creek. A place where a watercourse disappears for a time under bedrock was called *Doogalool* (Smith, personal communication c.2010). From Mathews' notes: '*Mirrigan overtook Gurungaty at Shaneens [Shawneens] corner. They fought all the way down to Coxs River...*' Shawneens Corner is between where Murruin Creek and Tomat Creek enter the Wollondilly River junction, so the waterhole is likely to be in this area. Mirrigan's family ran away in terror from the oncoming sound of Gurangatch's approach near here.
10. **John Riley's Selection at Burnt Flat:** Gundungurra man John Riley (1859-1929) had a selection here from 1890-1904. He was the first Aboriginal man in NSW to acquire and hold a Conditional Purchase (Smith 2017: 291). His site was below *Bunan Bunung* (Bonnum Pic), a traditional meeting ground (Smith 2017: 48, 331 – see Map 5). Gundungurra man Edward Hilton had a nearby selection at New Yards Creek (1903-1908) where Walter Riley and Annie Hilton lived.

Bunân is the Gundungurra word for the initiation ceremony. Not merely confined to the initiation process, *Bunân* refers, in a broader sense, to the 'common law' binding together Aboriginal groups across south-east Australia (Brown, 2015, personal communication). *Bunân* relates to life balance and is the primary law ensuring harmony at an intertribal level. John Riley held a corroboree at Burnt Flat on Boxing Day 1900 (Smith 2017: 292). *Bunung* is the word for 'ashes' referring to the coal seam below Bonnum Pic which once caught on fire (Smith 2017: 285). Gurangatch and Mirrigan fought in this area creating the features of the Wollondilly River.



Map 4: Jocks Creek, Doogalool Waterhole and John Riley's Selection

Map 5 – Burnt Flat to Nattai River (Nattai, Burrangorang 1:25k Topographic Maps)

11. **Jumping Woman Story Location:** A large cliff which marks the location of a Gundungurra story concerning a 'Jumping Woman'. There are two versions of the story from the Riley Gundungurra family (Kazan Brown, personal communication to the author 2018). Also, a location where kangaroos were hunted by driving them across the river (Smith 2017: 287).
12. **'Gunggalook' Waterhole and Gungarlook Farm:** One of Gurangatch's waterholes and the name of the farm adjacent to it on the western side of the river. Gundungurra woman Annie Sherritt applied for a conditional purchase of the land in 1890 (Portion 61, Parish of the Peaks) (Smith 2017: 255). It was granted as Aboriginal Reserve 14937 in 1891. Annie was granted Permissive Occupancy in her own name in 1892 although Smith suggests she didn't move there permanently but continued to live at Byrnes Creek in the area of Aboriginal Reserve 26 (2017: 255). The Riley Gundungurra family settled at Gungarlook after 1903, staying there until the flooding of the valley for Lake Burrangorang.

Mathews recorded the following regarding *Gungarlook*: '*above Wollondilly bridge: Doogoolool, gung-galook*' (Mathews unpublished notes: 23). John Joseph Riley (1859-1929) named AR14937 'Ghungarlook' after the location of Gurungatch's '*Gungarlook*' waterhole (Smith 2017: 292). Two possible meanings to the name were recorded as 'White Faced Heron' and 'echo' with members of the Riley family suggesting it is the latter (Kazan Brown 2018, personal communication, Smith 2017: 292). The Riley's were the last Gundungurra family to move out of the valley prior to its flooding under the stored waters. Their family history of connection to this area and the wider Burrangorang Valley has been documented by members of the family such as Ivy Brookman, in collaboration with historian Jim Smith (e.g. Smith 2017, 2010).

This location has traditional/ historical and ongoing Aboriginal cultural significance. There are several traditional camping sites in the area known by the Riley family, grinding grooves and rock art sites including a site with a large serpent drawing. This drawing, according to Gundungurra descendants is

likely a representation of Gurangatch (Kazan Brown, Sharyn Halls 2018. Ivy Brookman, who lived at *Gungarlook*, communicated to Kazan Brown that she believed it could only be a depiction of Gurangatch). Gungarlook Waterhole is one of the waterholes in the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story which is currently not under the stored waters of Lake Burragorang. *Gunggalook* is also the location for post-contact Aboriginal Reserves 14937 (1891-1954) and 40798 (1906-1954).

13. **Belloon Pass (Belonong):** A traditional pass between Gungarlook/ Wollondilly River and the Nattai River valley (Smith 2017: 287, 302, 329).
14. **Aboriginal Reserve 26 – Nulla Reserve and Aboriginal Reserve 27:** Aboriginal Reserve 26 (1878-1928) was located on the north side of Byrnes Creek and at one time it was the largest Aboriginal camp in the Burragorang Valley area (Smith 2017: 48-49). The Reserve was part of a land claim in 1872 by Gundungurra men Billy Russell, George Riley, Sammy Hassall and Charles Jellick (Sherritt) (2017: 44). It was called the 'Nulla Nulla' camp, after one of the Gundungurra *Burringilling*, 'Nulla Nulla' who features between this location and the Nattai River area. The Nulla Nulla camp was located close to Burragorang Waterhole, a waterhole which would have been created during Gurangatch's journey and used by another Ancestor, the 'Giant Kangaroo' (*Burru-gorang*) who hid there in the Dreaming (*Gun-yung-gulung*). Many Gundungurra descendants today are related to people who lived at the Nulla Nulla Reserve. Gundungurra man Billy Russell (c.1835-1914) had Aboriginal Reserve 27 (1878-1928) to the north-east of AR26.
15. **Burragorang Waterhole and 'The Big Flat':** Billy Russell (Werriberrie) gave an extensive description of the meaning to the name Burragorang. '*Burru-bug-ga-ra-bang. – Kangaroo great or big [from burru – kangaroo and gorang – large], and again in Bulla-Bulan – two Gods, - it was in the large waterhole of the Wollondilly at Upper Burragorang that this Kangaroo managed to escape for a time his pursuers'... 'Burru-ga-rang'... 'and referring to the great kangaroo's place (of escape)'*' (Russell 1914: 14). Smith gives a detailed account of the historical references to the location of Burragorang Waterhole (Smith 2017: 16-18) which is downstream from the junction of the Wollondilly River and Byrnes Creek towards Tonalli River.
16. **The Big Flat':** The Big Flat refers to traditional occupation areas adjacent to Burragorang Waterhole. The Big Flat begins above the Byrnes Creek and Wollondilly River junction, extending downstream on the Wollondilly River to just north of the Tonalli River (approximately 5km long adjacent to the Wollondilly River). Billy Russell said, '*As a young boobal (boy), I was then camped with my people on the Big Flat, which was then called Burru-ga-rang; there was about 50 or 60 of us camped about through the valley'*' (Russell 1914: 16).
17. **Summer Hill:** The Summer Hill property was located near the Tonalli and Wollondilly Rivers junction and incorporated part of 'The Big Flat' area. Members of the Riley Aboriginal family lived at Summer Hill, maintaining connections to the true location of Burragorang from traditional times through to European occupation of the Valley. As with their association to New Yard Creek, Burnt Flat, *Gungarlook* and Byrnes Creek, their connections remain unbroken and links to these areas continue to the present day.
18. **Woonggaree Waterhole:** Mathews' notes describe Gurangatch and Mirrigan as fighting '*at Cooper Creek (native name Woonggaree). The Gurungaty knocked Mirrigan about – These two made the rock flat and slippery and it is now called "Slippery Rock" by the whitefellows'*' (Mathews unpublished notes: 20). Elsewhere he mentions '*Woonggaree or Slippery Rock'*' (23). Cooper Creek does not appear on any maps of the area although Kooloo Creek is a tributary of Bob Higgins Creek entering the Wollondilly just upstream of the general area for the *Woonggaree* and *Goorit* Waterholes. Mathews may have misheard Kooloo as Cooper when scrawling his notes and the traditional name of Kooloo (Cooper?) Creek may have been taken from the location of *Woonggaree* Waterhole adjacent to it.

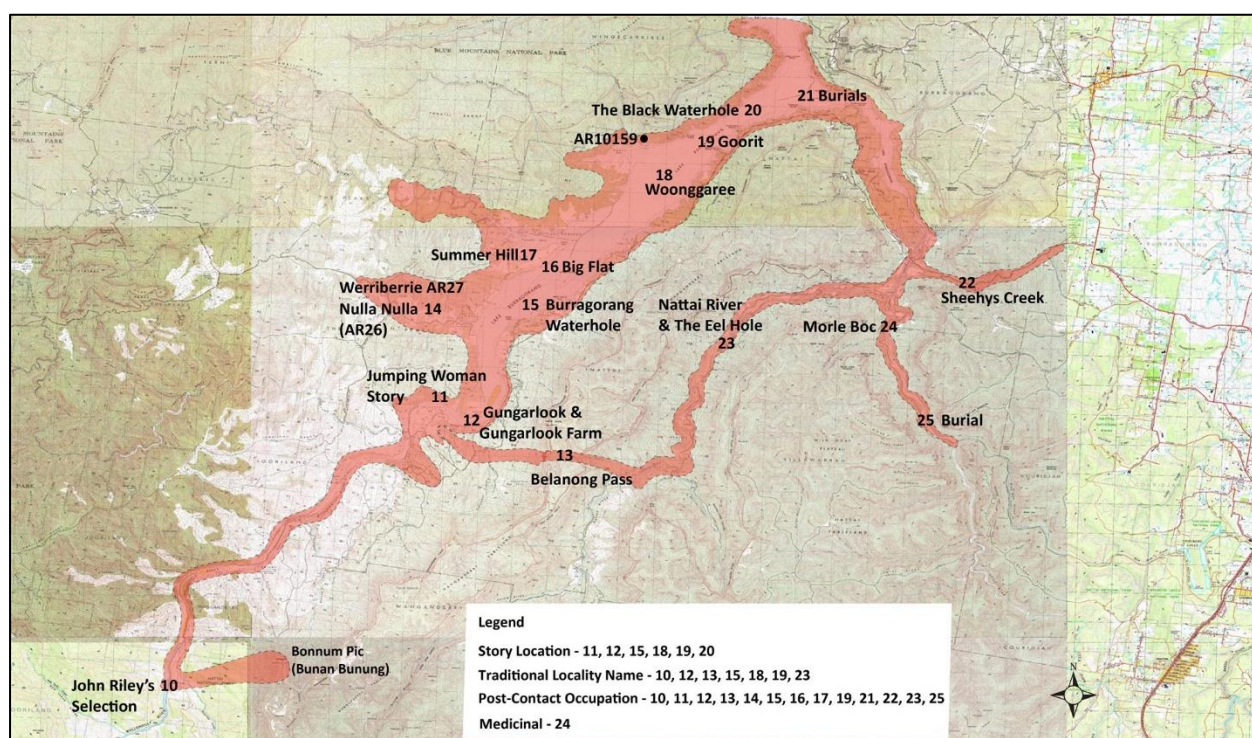
19. **Goorit Waterhole:** Gurangatch created *Goorit* Waterhole between *Mullindi* Waterhole and *Woonggaree* Waterhole. *Goorit* is upstream of *Mullindi*, Mathews' notes saying '5 miles from the Hills pub' and elsewhere, '3m above convent' (Mathews unpublished notes: 19, 23). *Goorit* is likely to be between Bob Higgins Creek and the Nattai River junction. Post-contact Aboriginal Reserve 10159 (1889-1891) was located near *Goorit* Waterhole, on the western side of the river. St Paulinus church was to the east of *Goorit*. This was the location where a speech was given by Gundungurra man John Riley (1859-1929) to Archbishop John Bede Vaugh (1834-1883) in 1874 (Smith 2017: 76-77). A possum skin cloak was presented to the Archbishop at the same event.
20. **The Black Waterhole and Waratah Rock:** Refers to a large waterhole on Gurangatch's journey, which is the location for a Gundungurra story regarding an Ancestor called *Nulla Nulla*, whom the Nulla Nulla Reserve (AR26) was named after. Mathews recorded a snippet of this story which involves '*dhulmang*' a small possum and '*Nyammir*', a black spider and *Nyammir's* dog (Mathews unpublished notes: 16). Another source refers to the waterhole as the place where *Nulla Nulla* washed himself (Smith 2017: 252).

'Waratah Rock' is the name referring to a large boulder in the hinterland of the Black Waterhole (to the south-east). The rock has a shelter on the western and northern facing sides with rock art consisting of white hand(s) stencils, faint black pigment lines and a possible red anthropomorphic figure ('dancing figure'). An imprint in the rock is in the shape of a waratah flower. The rock, shelter and rock art feature in a Gundungurra story about the Waratah flower which is known by members of the Riley Gundungurra family.
21. **Gundungurra Burial Sites:** Important burial sites with the graves of Burragorang Aboriginal leaders occur near the junction of Nattai and Wollondilly Rivers (Smith 2017: 251). Scar trees in this area were recorded and removed by Robert Etheridge in 1914 (Etheridge 1893). Burial sites continue upstream on the Wollondilly River to below Mount Kamilaroi. This area possibly has the largest known concentration of Gundungurra burials. A ceremonial ground was located on the northern side of the Wollondilly/Nattai River junction behind guesthouse, 'Burragorang House' (2017: 305).
22. **Sheehys Creek:** The Sheehys Creek corridor was a known traditional route for Aboriginal people between the Cumberland Plain and Burragorang Valley. The Sydney or Camden Aboriginal man Gogy knew the route and showed it to Barrallier in 1802, however his knowledge of the route may have come from a brief period that he lived in the Burragorang Valley, prior to his trip with Barrallier (Barrett 1995: 109). Another Aboriginal guide, Boodbury, accompanied John Warby and Major Mitchell through the area in 1815 (1995: 109). Boodbury, may have been Aboriginal man 'Badbury' who had accompanied Barrallier in 1802 across the Burragorang Valley (1995: 115).
23. **Nattai River and 'The Eel Hole':** Barrallier established his camp or 'Depot' called 'Natai' in 1802 at the site of the current chapel at the Wooglemai Environmental Education Centre, on the south-west watershed of Sheehys Creek. Given that he called it 'Natai' after the Aboriginal name for the area, this location may have encompassed the territory of the Gundungurra speaking Nattai group which extended to the country encompassing the Nattai River (Mitchell in NR PoM 2001: 28). The meaning ascribed to the word Nattai is 'water' or 'sweet water' (NR PoM 2001: 27), although the Gundungurra word for water is *ngaadyuung*. Gundungurra man Myangarlie is associated with the Nattai area and was known as a 'chief' or leader in that area (Smith 2017: 134).

'The Eel Hole' refers to a large waterhole just downstream of the junction of the Nattai River and Whitegum Creek (1905 Parish Map). Eel-holes were associated with the resting places of Gurangatch, for example, '*Junba*' Waterhole downstream from the junction of the Wollondilly and Coks River. *Junba* is the Gundungurra word for very large long-finned eels. Although the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story does not document Gurangatch creating the Nattai and Little River catchments, Gurangatch or 'Gurungatys' were known to occur in other areas outside the main story such as Bents Basin (Gulguer)

and the Macquarie River. It is highly probable that the Eel Hole on Nattai River is one of his residing places.

24. **Morle Boc Deposit:** Along the western bank of the Little River, Gundungurra descendants know of an extensive outcrop of limestone seeping over the Permian sandstone bedrock. This is a rare mineral deposit with medicinal properties, known to Gundungurra people as '*Morle Boc*'. *Morle-boc* has been demonstrated to contain natural antibiotics (Smith in Stockton 2009: 149). The origins of *morle-boc* were connected to a Gundungurra Ancestor called *Gareem*, the 'God' of sickness and health (2009: 149). There is a long pool located directly below the Little River limestone deposit which has blocks of limestone eroding into it. It is likely to have a high alkaline content and journeys to this and nearby pools would have been undertaken to bathe in or drink its healing waters.
25. **Burial:** Burials of one of the Gundungurra Riley's and possibly children related to the Darug Lock family on the O'Brien Farm (needs further enquiries with Gundungurra descendants as to exact location).



Map 5: John Riley's Burnt Flat Selection to Nattai River

Map 6 – Nattai River to Billagoola Waterhole (Burraborang, Bimlow 1:25k topographic maps)

26. **Kweeoogang Waterhole:** Gurangatch created *Kweeoogang* Waterhole in the stretch of the Wollondilly between *Mullindi* Waterhole and the junction of the Nattai and Wollondilly Rivers. The name likely derives from the Gundungurra name of the Noisy Miner bird, called *que gang* (Smith 2009: 104).
27. **Mullindi Waterhole:** Gurangatch created *Mullindi* Waterhole '*near cave paintings*' along a stretch of the Wollondilly River (Mathews 8006/3/10: 23). Elsewhere in Mathews unpublished notes he notes that '*Deep Water is Mullindi*' (8006/3/10: 20) and that Gundungurra warriors would bathe in the waters of '*Mullindee*', before going on a *Pirrimbir* (revenge) expedition (24). The cave paintings refer to a shelter site near *Mullindi* with red hand stencils, known by the name of *Murrolunggulung*. Gatherings of

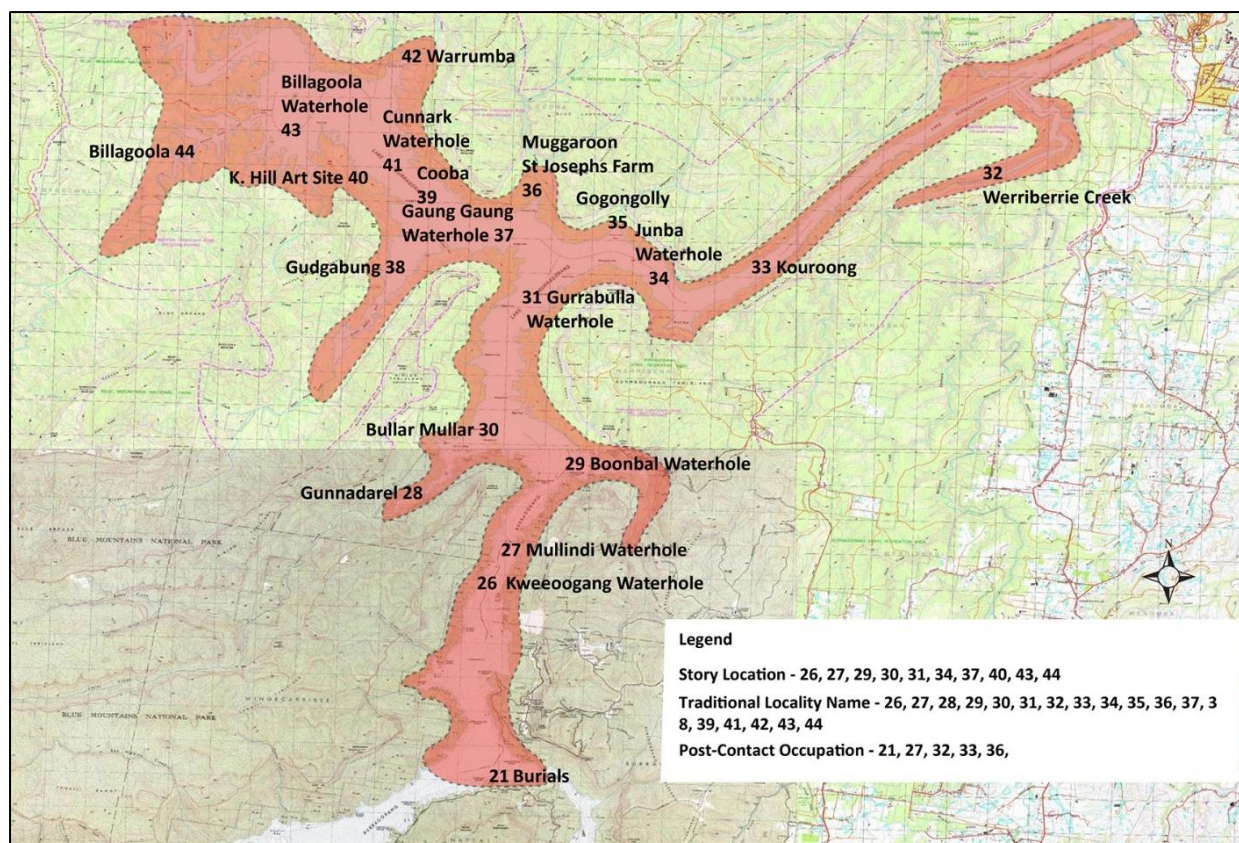
Aboriginal people from the Shoalhaven and Goulbourn districts, with Burragorang Aboriginal people occurred adjacent to *Mullindi* Waterhole (Smith 2017: 304).

28. **Gunnadarel:** The Gundungurra name for Lacey's Creek. A *Murrolunggulung* shelter (hand stencil site) occurs in lower *Gunnadarel* Creek.
29. **Boonbal Waterhole:** Mathews wrote a list of the Wollondilly waterholes in the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story, in order, placing *Boonbal* Waterhole between *Gurrabulla* and *Mullindi* Waterholes (Mathews 8006/3/10: 23). Smith's research (2017) locates the waterhole near where Brimstone Gully enters the Wollondilly River. Deep waterholes are often associated where clear mountain rivers join the flow of a larger course, scouring out the channel of the main river or depositing gravels and silt which back up the waters on the upstream side of the junction. Brimstone Gully was a traditional route out of the Burragorang Valley to the Oakdale area for Gundungurra people and is the location of another Gundungurra story regarding the creation of the Waratah flowers (Barrett 1995: 105). Brimstone Gully also has significant rock art sites with images linking it to places further north in Gundungurra country (such as Ripple Creek).
30. **Bullar Mullar:** *Bullar Mullar* derives from the Gundungurra placename originally recorded as *Bimmillo* fronting onto Lacey's Creek (Barrett 1995: 23-26). Today it is spelt as Bimlow. The meaning of *Bimmillo* is 'a devil place' (1995: 122).
31. **Gurrabulla Waterhole:** Gurangatch's last waterhole on the Wollondilly section of his journey and close to its junction with the Coxs River. *Gurradhulla* is the Gundungurra name for river or watercourse junctions (Mathews 8006/3/10: 19) and considering the proximity of this waterhole to the junction of the two main rivers in the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story, likely the origin of the name '*Gurrabulla*'.
32. **Werriberrii Creek:** Gundungurra name for *Werriberrii* Creek derived from Gundungurra name for tree fern (*Cyathea australis*). *Werriberrii* Creek is significant as Gundungurra Elder Billy Russell was born on the banks of *Werriberrii* Creek (c.1835-1914) and took his traditional name from the name of this locality. Billy Russell is one of the main Gundungurra informants for much of what we know regarding Gundungurra traditional culture and post-contact survival.
33. **Kouroong:** Gundungurra name for narrow section at western end of the Warragamba gorge. The name means, 'old skeleton or bones' (Smith 2009: 101). A fierce battle took place between Coxs River Aboriginal people and 'Wild Blacks of the tops' in 1844.
34. **Junba Waterhole:** Mathews records *Junba* Waterhole on the Coxs River, upstream from the junction of Wollondilly/ Coxs River junction (between *Gaung Gaung* and *Billagoola* Waterholes – Mathews 8006/3/10: 23). *Junba* may be another name for *Cunnark* Waterhole, both names referring to the presence of a waterhole with eels. *Junba* is the Gundungurra word for Long-finned Eel, also recorded as *Yumba*, 'big black eel'. Smith's research located *Junba* Waterhole as in the Warragamba River section of the Burragorang Valley (Smith 2009: 104).
35. **Gogongolly Creek:** Refers to the traditional Gundungurra name for a fern species found in the Gogongolly Creek. Possibly Maidenhair fern spelt as '*googah*' which has a similar root to original recording of the name – '*googongali*' (Smith 2009: 100).
36. **Muggaroon – Pocket Creek and St Josephs Farm:** *Muggaroon* is the Gundungurra word for Yabby (*Euastachus australiensis*), which are numerous in Pocket Creek. Pocket Creek is a major Gundungurra pathway to the Kings Tableland plateau, Erskine Gap and central Blue Mountains plateau area.

St Joseph's Farm and Aboriginal Reserve 17023 (1892-1924): Location for Aboriginal farm run by Catholic Church and Aboriginal Reserve 17023, St Josephs near the junction of Pocket Creek and Coxs

River. This area was home to many Aboriginal people, from Gundungurra and other groups. This has been extensively documented in various publications mostly by Jim Smith but also Dianne Johnson and Jim Barrett (Smith 2017, Johnson 2006, Barrett 1995)

37. **Gaung Gaung Waterhole:** Gurangatch created *Gaung Gaung* Waterhole, 'a little way above Pocket Creek junction' (Mathews 8006/3/10: 23). *Gaung* a version of the Gundungurra word for excrement. This would refer to bird excrement, usually found in abundance at locations where water birds have their fishing perches adjacent to waterholes.
38. **Gudgabung – Green Wattle Creek:** The traditional name for the creek. Billy Russell (1914: 19) mentions a place called 'Gudga-bung in Green Wattle Creek'. Refers to a lagoon on the creek, possibly the name of the creek itself and the region around the junction of Green Wattle Creek and Coxs River (Smith 2009: 98).
39. **Cooba:** Gundungurra name for Stringybark tree, *Eucalyptus eugenoides*. The area opposite *Gudgabung* Waterhole likely had large stands of stringybark.
40. **Kerswell Hill Rock Art Site:** A significant rock art site with red dancing figures – a special type of image occurring across a widespread area of Gundungurra Country – white hand stencils, numerous grinding grooves and stone tools. Close to 30 sites across the region are currently known to have examples of the red dancing figures demonstrating that this site is part of a network of related sites, each one forming a significant part of the cultural landscape. There are thousands of stone tools in the area, ochre nodules and axe grinding grooves. It is located adjacent to a known white and yellow ochre deposit which valley residents used in their houses and are likely the source for the white and yellow hand stencils at the site. Aboriginal woman Mary Longbottom lived near the ochre source which she traded for tobacco with valley settlers (Smith 2017: 211). An area near the site called Hunts Flat is reported to have been a camping and ceremonial location (2017: 211).
41. **Cunnark Waterhole:** Gundungurra name for 'Mud or black eel' (Russell 1914: 26) (short-finned eel). Gurangatch was described as 'something like a gigantic eel' by Billy Russell (Russell 1914: 22-23). It is possible *Cunnark* Waterhole referred to a resting place of Gurangatch (see *Junba* Waterhole below).
42. **Warrumba:** Refers to Pearce's Creek, a traditional route for Gundungurra people to Kings Tableland and the central Blue Mountains plateau. 'Ba' means 'place of', with the recorded meaning of *Warrumba* being 'a big tortoise' (Eastern Long-necked Tortoise). I.e., Pearce's Creek is the place of the big tortoise.
43. **Billagoola Waterhole:** Gurangatch's waterhole formed at or just below the junction of Coxs River and Butchers Creek. *Billagoola* refers to 'the black shag' (Mathews 1908: 206), or Great Cormorant. *Billa* likely refers to the *Belar* tree, *Casuarina cunninghamii* and *goola* is possibly a generic name for water birds such as 'diver, shag, cormorants' (Smith 2009: 96).
44. **Billagoola Creek (Butchers Creek):** Gurangatch 'travelled some distance' (Mathews notes say 'a few miles') up *Billagoola* Creek, which is lined with numerous stands of *Belar* trees.



Map 6: Nattai River to *Billagoola* Waterhole

Map 7 – *Billagoola* Waterhole to Jenolan River (Bimlow, Jamison Kanangra and Jenolan 1:25k topographic maps)

45. **Burial site of Tommy Bundle:** Oral histories recorded by Max Hill from former Kedumba Valley resident Les Maxwell (1916-2000) refers to the possible location in this area along the Coxs River (in a gully known as 'Myrtles Gully', full of Myrtle trees) for the grave of Aboriginal man Tommy Bundle (died 1910).
46. **Alum Springs:** Consists of a shelter site with a medicinal spring. The Gundungurra name for alkaline cave water was *morle-boc* which has been demonstrated to contain natural antibiotics (Smith in Stockton 2009: 149). The origins of *morle-boc* were connected to a Gundungurra Ancestor called *Gareem*, the 'God' of sickness and health (2009: 149).
47. **Kedumba Waterhole and Kedumba Waterhole Occupation:** Spelt by R.H. Mathews as '*goodoombar*', Kedumba Waterhole was Gurangatch's waterhole located at the junction of Kedumba River and Coxs River. It is the true location for 'Katoomba'. Kedumba means the following:

A place where the Kadoomb fern grew. Kadoomb a large fern growing in the sandy banks of the creek in quantity the young frond of which baked in the native fashion and used as cabbage also a kind of mucilaginous food or starch like food was made from the roots (Bennett, unpublished notes in Smith 2009: 93).

Kedumba Waterhole Occupation: At 'Kedumba', there are a series of sites associated with Gurangatch's journey including three rock art sites, several occupation shelters, at least two grinding groove sites and a possible burial area. There is an open site on the southern side of Kedumba Waterhole.

48. **Birrigooroo Waterhole:** *Birrigooroo* means ‘reeds growing along creeks’ and is possibly the name of Gurangatch’s Waterhole on Reedy Creek, a tributary of Kedumba River. Gurangatch travelled from Kedumba Waterhole along Kedumba River where he ‘turned up Reedy Creek where he made a deep waterhole with reeds around the edges’ in which he rested (Mathews unpublished notes: 23). The majority of Gurangatch’s side trips outside the Cox and Wollondilly River courses were on major side creeks. Reedy Creek is one of the rare times throughout the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story where Gurangatch creates a secondary tributary. Another significant feature of Reedy Creek is that it is the location of one of the last surviving large stands of *Eucalyptus benthamii*, known to the Gundungurra as *Durru-m-by-ang* (Russell 1914: 12).

49. **Apple Tree Flat and Cedar Creek:** Gurangatch ‘worked his way for some distance’ through Kills Defile on the Coxs River past a large open campsite at the junction of Cedar Creek and Coxs River. This junction marks a diversion along Gundungurra Pathways through Cedar Valley to the Ruined Castle/ Jamison Valley area. Cedar Creek holds several significant rock art sites, one of which held the *burrage* or ‘nose bone’ of an important Gundungurra Elder, Myangarlie (c.1792-1858).

Morle Boc Deposit: Within Cedar Creek catchment there are several sandstone shelters with limestone deposits, known as *morle boc* to Gundungurra people (see No. 24 above). Water testing of Cedar Creek by Blue Mountains City Council (BMCC) has proven that the limestone deposits have significantly raised the alkaline content of Cedar Creek compared to other Blue Mountains streams (up to 10x the usual amount for Blue Mountains watercourses) (St Lawrence, personal communication 2018). Traditional links to Cedar Creek catchment may have revolved around journeys for healing in the alkaline waters of the area.

Apple Tree Flat: Apple Tree Flat, opposite Cedar Creek was a major camping location adjacent to Gurangatch’s *Karrangatta* Waterhole. There is a hand stencil (*Murrolunggulung*) site behind *Karrangatta* Waterhole. It is possible that the naturally cleared nature of the area, adopted by Europeans for farming, was produced by traditional land management through traditional burning practices. Kazan Brown has mentioned that Gundungurra man Ernie Riley lived at Apple Tree Flat prior to World War 2 (Kazan Brown, personal communication 2018).

50. **Karrangatta Waterhole:** ‘*Karrangatta* is name of hole opposite Meeoowun [Waterhole at Medlow Gap]; the water is always moving and swaying’ (Mathews unpublished notes: 24). *Kurang* is the Gundungurra word for clouds (Russell 1914: 26). Gurangatch created *Karrangatta* Waterhole at a significant junction in his journey. From here he burrowed underground under the Black Dog Ridge area to emerge at Medlow Gap where he created *Meeoowun* (Mouin) Waterhole. This ‘shows the way’ between Cedar and Megalong Valleys, a significant shortcut to the winding route of the Coxs River around the Wild Dog Mountains. Gurangatch doubled back from *Meeoowun* to continue creating the Coxs River.

51. **Mee-oo-wun Waterhole:** Gurangatch burrowed underground from *Karrangatta* Waterhole near the junction of Little Cedar Creek and Coxs River in the vicinity of the Black Dog Ridge area to emerge at Medlow Gap where he created *Meeoowun* (Mouin) Waterhole. This ‘shows the way’ between Cedar and Megalong Valleys, a significant shortcut to the winding route of the Coxs River around the Wild Dog Mountains. The story as recorded by Mathews for this section reads as follows:

Gurangatch then journeyed back to the Cox, up which he worked his way for some distance and formed the waterhole Karrangatta. In order to dodge his enemy he burrowed underground, coming out on Mee-oo-wun mountain, now written Muo-in, where he made a deep hold or spring, which is even now a menace to the white mans cattle on account of its narrowness and great depth. Returning to Karrangatta Waterhole...

In his unpublished notes Mathews has the following regarding *Meeoowun* Waterhole:

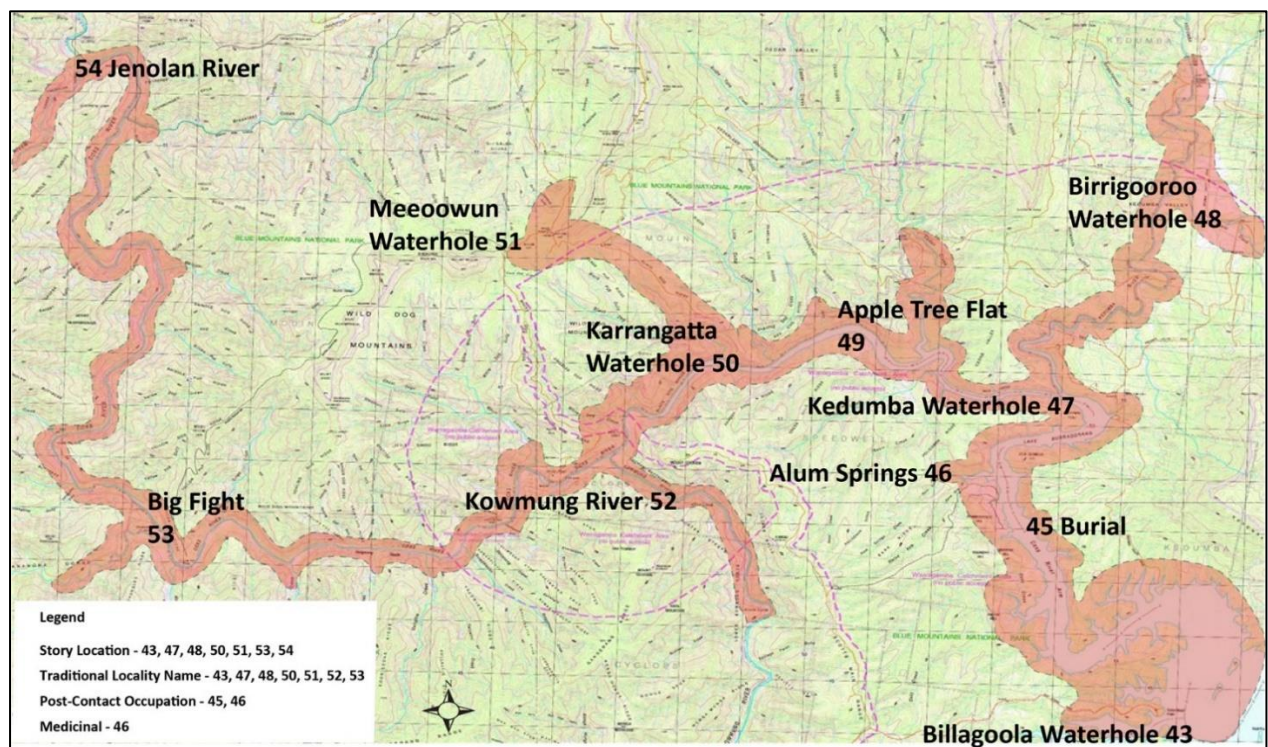
Going up the Cox River, goodoombar, meeowuñ is a hole on the side of a hill as per map. This is a very deep, bottomless hole and is said to have been a trap or pit used by gurungaty.

52. **Kowmung River:** Gurangatch journeyed passed the junction of Coxs and Kowmung Rivers. Kowmung means 'scum on the eyes' (Science of Man 1899), also recorded as *gummung* (Smith 2009: 90).

53. **Koo-nang-goor-wa, location of a 'Big Fight':**

'Returning to Karrangatta Waterhole, he made his way up to the junction of Koo-nang-goor-wa, corrupted to Konangaroo [Kanangra], where he and Mirrigan had another fierce encounter'.

This fight created the features of junction of Coxs River and Kanangra Creek and is a location where Mirrigan overtook or caught up to Gurangatch.



Map 7: Billagoola Waterhole to Jenolan River

Map 8 – Jenolan River to Jenolan Caves (Jenolan 1:25k topographic map)

54. **Jenolan River:** Gurangatch journeyed up the Coxs River to Harrys Creek (Jenolan River), where he made his way westwards to Jenolan Caves, known to Gundungurra speaking people as *Binnoomur*. At Jenolan Caves, Gurangatch met his friends and relatives who were 'other Gurungatys' (Mathews unpublished notes: 18). Elsewhere, Mathews records other friends of Gurangatch including 'Bũnyak a water dog who feeds G. Wagur, watches and coils around a man. Murrino-gudamang half man & half turtle – large emu-like animal lives in water' (unpublished notes: 23).

Gurungatch journeyed on up the Cox [River] to the present junction therewith of Harry's Creek [Jenolan River]. He then excavated the valley of Harry's Creek till he came to Bin-noo-mur, the present Jenolan Caves, where he had the good fortune to meet with some of his relations.

Gurungatch, suspecting that Mirrigan was still chasing him was escorted by his friends away from the caves over the Great Dividing Range. Meanwhile, Mirrigan arrived close to Binnoomur;

...but was very tired and lay down on a little hill to rest himself. When he revived he searched about the caves and found tracks of where Gurungatch had been staying and also the tracks of how he had been taken away...

There are several 'little' hills close to Jenolan Caves on the eastern side, with a possible candidate for *Mirrigan's* resting position being the first hill north-east of the caves adjacent to the Six Foot Track. Other possibilities include Mount Inspiration north-east of the caves and west of Jenolan Caves Road.

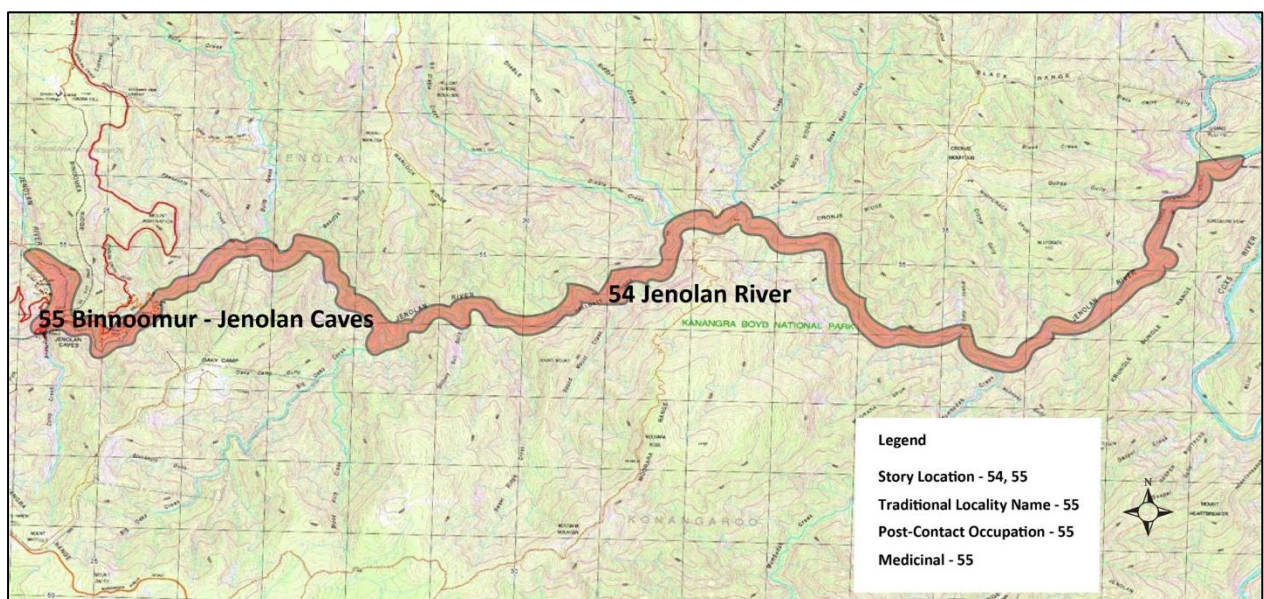
55. **Jenolan Caves:** Known as *Binnoomur*. Jenolan Caves was one of the resting places of Gurangatch where he met his friends, although in a shorter version of the story located in Mathews' unpublished notes, *Mirrigan* catches him at Jenolan Caves. Jenolan Caves has other significant cultural features and associated stories including '*Walga the Sparrowhawk*' (*Accipiter cirrocephalus*). Mathews' recording of the story is as follows:

A lot of natives were out in the bush searching for wallabies and came to a place on top of a large rock, where they all stood together, gazing about them. A round piece of the rock suddenly gave way under their feet and nearly all of them fell down into a narrow cavity. The rock then closed again above them and shut them in. Various people went and tried to rescue them from their imprisonment but without success. At last Walga, the Sparrowhawk struck the rock with a large boondee, splitting it from top to bottom, so that all the men escaped from the trap. This rock is called "the Devil's Coach House" by the white people (Mathews unpublished notes: 18).

The split in the rock made by *Walga* can still be seen today in the top of the Devils Coach House. Gundungurra Elder Billy Lynch (1839-1913) was recorded in 1896 as explaining the following regarding traditional knowledge and use of *Binnoomur*:

The old natives knew the caves. They penetrated them as far as the subterranean water, carrying in sick people to be bathed in this water, which they believed to have great curative powers. Sick people were carried there from considerable distances' (Lynch in Hobden, 1896).

As mentioned above for locations 24 and 46, the Gundungurra name for alkaline cave water was *morle-boc* which has been demonstrated to contain natural antibiotics (Smith in Stockton 2009: 149). The origins of *morle-boc* were connected to a Gundungurra Ancestor called *Gareem*, the 'God' of sickness and health (2009: 149). This suggests that *Gareem* was an important Ancestral figure in the Jenolan Caves area, perhaps even in Gundungurra stories regarding the origins of the caves themselves, or cave water.



Map 8: Jenolan River to Jenolan Caves (*Binnoomur*)

Map 9 – Jenolan Caves to Joolundoo (Jenolan, Hampton 1:25k topographic maps)

56. **Wan-dak-ma-lai Walls:** Gurangatch was taken away from Jenolan Caves by his friends to Joolundoo Waterhole. The story follows Mirrigan, who had *'arrived close to Binnoomur, but was very tired and lay down on a little hill to rest himself'*. After seeing that Gurangatch was getting assistance from friends, Mirrigan decides to get help from his friends and relations. Mirrigan notices the tracks of Gurangatch leading away from the caves. These tracks could be the course of the Jenolan River through McKeown's Valley. Several dolines occur through the valley which may have been created by Gurangatch, or conversely by Mirrigan (as occurred at Wombeyan Caves when Mirrigan shoved a long pole down to try and catch Gurangatch below). Mirrigan follows Gurangatch over the Great Dividing Range and builds a large sandstone wall (western side of Mt Bindo – Smith 1992: 63), in order to prevent Gurangatch from escaping back over the Range to his *'old haunts'*.

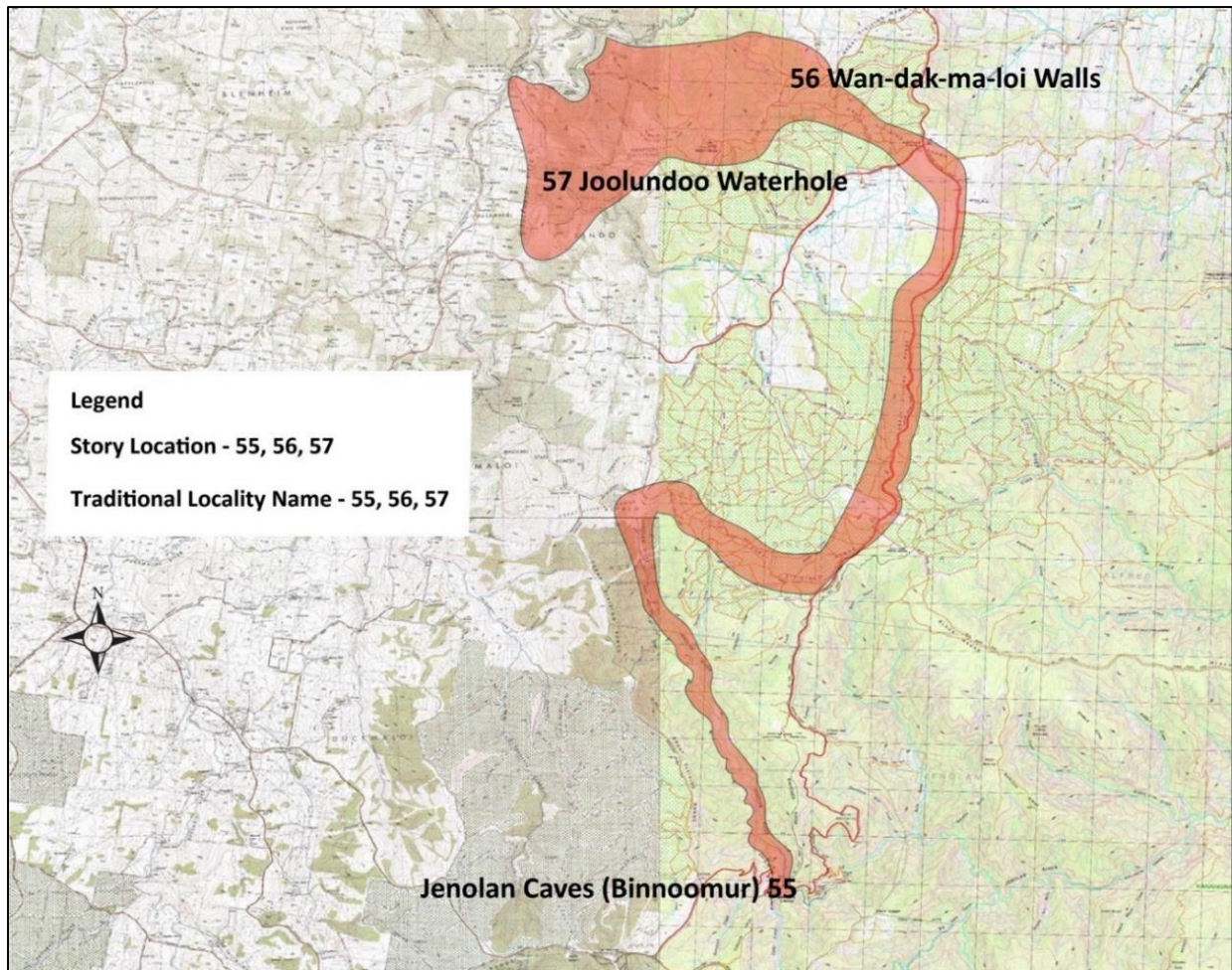
He consequently set to work and built a precipitous wall of rock, Wan-dak-ma-lai, corrupted by Europeans to Duckmulloy, along the side of the range between the caves and Joolundoo. (A precipitous sandstone escarpment, consisting of huge blocks of rock, layer upon layer, is still pointed out as the wall built by Mirrigan).

57. **Joolundoo Waterhole:** Gurangatch was taken over the Great Dividing Range by his friends, *'into a deep waterhole, called by the natives, Joolundoo'*. Phillipa Gemmell-Smith documents the location of Joolundoo in her report 'Thematic History of Oberon Shire' (March 2004: 16). She cites the Lithgow Mercury 1907, July 26th Edition and an article about having a post office at Jellindore:

'...this name being the aboriginal one for the "big hole" on Duckmaloi River, quite close to River View House. Mr E. Dwyer, who is a native of this spot, relates how he remembers his parents telling him, as a child, that the blacks from west and from Hartely, camped at times about 45 years ago, close to the Duckmaloi bank, on the big flat and hold a corroboree. These tribes of blacks called this enormous sheet of water there 'Jellindore' (Lithgow Mercury, 1907, July 26th page 3).

Also cited is a Mick O'Connell from Duckmaloi, *'whose family came to the district in the 1880s, recalls being told as a child that the Waterhole on the Duckmaloi River at Dwyers' old place was called Jellindore. "Jellindore meant 'big water hole in Aborigine language'. They used to travel to the coast from the west when it was dry (drought) and they used to camp there on their way there and back'* (Gemmell-Smith, 2014: 16). Gemmell-Smith places the Jellindore locality around the current Duckmaloi Road.

Joolundoo marks the final waterhole, resting/hiding place of Gurangatch and the scene of the final encounter between Mirrigan and Gurangatch, where Mirrigan succeeds in capturing and feasting on part of Gurangatch. It is the final location in the Gundungurra account of the 'Journey of Gurangatch and Mirrigan'.



Map 9: Jenolan Caves (*Binnoomur*) to Joolundoo

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