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AUCKLAND MEETING
14th January, 1937.

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II. INTERPRETATION OF THE DRAWINGS AT BURRAGURRA AND YANGO.

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CERTAIN OBSERVATIONS ON ABORIGINAL ROCK CARVINGS IN THE WOLLOMBI DISTRICT, NEW SOUTH WALES.

BY

R. H. GODDARD.

[Abstract.]

The almost total absence of historical facts, relative to the aborigine of Australia, during the long ages that have passed since the continent was first peopled until the advent of the white man precludes the possibility of any satisfactory data upon which to trace their ancestry. We are therefore compelled to fall back upon the rock sculptures, cave paintings, and the language for the solution of the problem.

It is frequently felt that many of the sculptures and paintings of the Australian aborigine must have been executed with the intention of exercising an influence upon the minds of the aborigine: teaching the younger men to maintain traditional relationships and modes of conduct, in fact a religion, that bound them into closer unity and sound organisation.¹

The late Mrs. Rachel Milson as late as 1910 used to relate tales of the aborigines of the Wollombi District, who from time to time would leave their women and children camped down by the river and go off into the Devil Mountain "to be made men."

Some years ago Mr. Walter Enright gave it as his opinion that the Devil Mountain in the Wollombi District, possibly referred to Devil's Rock, or Burragurra, in the Parish of Burragurra, County of Northumberland, District of Windsor, N.S.W. This is a flat sandstone cap on a spur of the main dividing range between the Macdonald and the Wollombi. I therefore decided to investigate this area, and, accompanied by Mr. Enright and Mr. Carlyle Greenwell, we undertook an expedition to Burragurra early in August, 1935. Few persons ever visit this spot,

unless it is to hunt up straying cattle, and then the approach would be via Blaxland's Line, an almost forgotten road from the township of St. Albans-following the ridges to Fordwich. The aborigine probably made use of this track to go to and from this Ceremonial Ground at Burragurra long before John Blaxland formed Fordwich Station on the 8th March, 1831.

Accompanied by Matthew Deane as guide, our approach was from Mogo Creek, a rough climb of about 1,000 feet for four miles to the West, until we met Blaxland's Line. Following this in a northerly direction, we kept to the main ridges. At about six miles from Mogo Creek two large carvings of emu pads, as if travelling north, were observed, the measurements being six inches across the pad and eight inches to the centre spur. These pads are three feet apart and the grooving is one inch deep. Six inches to the North is a raised circular knob twelve inches in diameter; the knob is surrounded by a vein of iron forming the lip, and its centre is a kind of quartzite rock. Considerable weathering of the surrounding rock has left this knob elevated about five inches.

About a mile further up this ridge the track passes in a northerly direction across another sandstone outcrop, sloping away to the S.W. In the centre we observed two natural pot-holes eight inches apart and almost circular, that on the western extremity measuring eighteen inches in diameter and four feet deep. On the lower edge were several lines. It is postulated that these linemarkings or grooves would be made by the aborigines in grinding their stone axes, and from their position the markings appear to have some particular significance in respect to the water here.

Two wavy lines or troughs have been cut in the upper side—the familiar sign of the Karia—forming this pot-hole, and measuring twelve feet and fourteen feet respectively. (Plate I.) The second pot-hole, being the more easterly one, measured two feet in diameter and is twelve inches deep.

Mr. Enright informed us that he had it on the authority of Mr. Elliot, of Buttai, that the aborigine of this district in the early days had an intoxicating drink, made of wild honey and water, that was called Bool, and was drunk by the Karajis in their ceremonies.

On further examination of this area the initials J.B. were discovered carved in the rock, and evidently of considerable age.

It was conjectured that, as this track had been used by Blaxland in the early part of last century, it was quite possible the initials referred to John Blaxland, of Fordwich. This natural catchment had been improved by deepening with metal tools.

This was the only water we found during the day, and would in all probability be preserved by those early pioneers to refresh both man and beast on their travels to and fro.

At approximately eight miles from Mogo Creek, at the end of a spur of the range branching away to the West of Blaxland's Line, there appears a flat sandstone rock about an acre in extent, towering above the surrounding country. This is the Devil's Rock, or Burragurra. About five miles to the West is Yango Mountain, rising 3,345 feet above sea level, and beyond, a few points to the South-West, the Chimney Stack, or Tyan Peak, at Capertee can be discerned. Mount Werong is to the North, and beyond is Mount Merwin, or Howe's Mount.

There are some remarkable carvings depicted on Devil’s Rock, but owing to the heavy snow clouds hanging about it was not easy to discern them at first. Fortunately there was a break in the clouds for a short period, and with the lengthening rays of the sun the carvings showed up in sharp relief, long enough for us to make our records.

Our observation confirmed the stories which we had heard of the Devil’s Rock—that it was an aboriginal Bora ground, where the Karajis carried out their ceremonies in connection with initiation into manhood. There was no doubt as to the meaning of the carvings found. These carvings include an arrangement of several figures of men and animals, mundowa and emu tracks leading from one station to another.

Approaching from the East to West we observed the carvings of ten emu pads, each three feet apart, and leading to the first carved full-length figure, which has so weathered that its complete outline, apart from the trunk and snout, could not be traced. (Plate II.)

To the South is a group of carved emu tracks and foot pads.

—Ref. R. 841 Map, Land Titles Office.
—E. Giles, in his Journal of Explorations in Central Australia—Proc. A.A.A.S., VI, p. 138, mentions a drawing depicting a snake with its head apparently in a rock-hole, possibly having ceremonial significance—Collyboi, the guardian of waterholes.

surrounding a raised circular knob, similar to the one previously described. Three of these markings were joined together by a line running through them.

Two feet to the North-West of the figure first described is a carving, four feet in length, resembling a dog.

Four feet to the West is the first carving of three spirit pads, or mundowa, one inch deep, twelve inches long, and eight inches wide, travelling in a northerly direction; these pads are also three feet apart. The third pad forms part of another carving of a figure, measuring five feet to extremities.

This last figure corresponds to Mulla Mulla, the spirit of darkness. Three feet West of the last figure is the most striking figure carved at Devil’s Rock. Depicted in a sitting posture, with one arm outstretched to the North, it appears to have five eyes, and measures from the extremity of the foot to the upstretched hand four feet in length and is two feet three inches across. (Plate III.)

This figure probably represents the traditional Wa-boo-ee, the demon-spirit of the Wollombi tribe, who was supposed to have sprung from Devil’s Rock and landed on Yango, in the West (Yango, or Yengo dilla, meaning “caught by the foot,” or “stepping over”). Wa-boo-ee was of great stature—he thought nothing of stepping up to the sky for a change of residence and of throwing a few rocks, in the shape of mountains, down to the earth as stepping-stones. Wa-boo-ee controlled the seasons. Mr. Enright reports that he had it on good authority that there was also a mundowa carved on Yengo Mountain.

Heading away from the hand, towards the West, there are four more carvings of emu pads three feet apart. At seventeen feet distant there is another remarkable carving of a figure three feet six inches across. This figure has a curved snout and is in a squatting attitude; it appears to have three or four ears, or else the top “ear” depicts an emu pad carved at the apex.

Carvings of emu pads continue on beyond this figure across the whole face of the rock, the last emu pad being on an isolated rock in the scrub. These emu pads are also three feet apart and in line with Yengo Mountain.

At the third emu pad from this last-mentioned carving there is another carved emu track branching off at right angles and leading due North again. The carvings of eight emu pads were observed in this direction and were also placed three feet apart.

There is also yet another track of carvings leading away to the South-West from the outstretched hand of the figure representing Wa-boo-ee, forming four emu pads, three feet apart, to the carved figure of the traditional Moori—the spirit of life—measuring four feet in length, with five rays spreading from his head, and with arms outstretched, as in the former figure.

Three feet to the West is another carved figure two feet in length of the trunk, arms outstretched and fore-shortened legs.

Heading away to the South seven more emu pads were observed, also three feet apart. The most prominent rise in the ranges in this direction is Mount Wilson, with Mount Irvine just below its ridge. It might be mentioned here that there is a similar figure carved at Mount Irvine to the figure here depicted as Mulla Mulla already described.10

Reverting to Burragurra, there is, four feet to the North-West from the figure last described, a carving of a kangaroo, measuring three feet from head to tip of tail. Where normally the front paws should be there is carved what appears to be a bird’s leg and claws.

In the centre of the triangle formed by Wa-boo-ee, Moori, and the figure in a squatting attitude there is a carving of the Muron or U-sign—meaning life.11

Eight feet from the “Kangaroo” West are two carved Circles twelve inches apart and each twenty-two inches in diameter. Three feet to the South of the Circles is a carved emu pad, five inches in length, leading to another carving of a remarkable figure two feet in width.12 Owing to the disintegration of the rock, it is hard to discern the full outline, but the last figure resembles the figure first described in this paper.

Twelve inches further South is the carving of a short animal, which is probably representing a wombat. Six feet beyond are carvings of two more Circles, ten inches and eighteen inches in

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1 Kenyon—Art of the Australian Aborigine, p. 20.
2 Slater—Aboriginal Literature, p. 2.
3 Worsnop—referring to Sir George Grey’s Journals of Expeditions in Australia—describes a figure—Proc. A.A.A.S., Vol. VI, p. 158: “Its head was encircled by bright red rays something like the rays one sees proceeding from the sun . . .”
6 Kenyon—Art of the Australian Aborigine, p. 30.
diameter respectively. The carving of a small snake, twelve inches long, is also depicted nearby, as if travelling towards the Circle. 18

There are many other traces of carvings, but owing to the disintegration of the rock surface they could not be fully discerned, and, like most aboriginal rock carvings, they are lost for all time.

The possibility of Yengo Mountain being a connecting link with this interesting ceremonial ground induced us to go there. Transport was our main problem; rough mountain ranges, such as we had to face, could only be covered by sure-footed horses, and after some trouble we managed to obtain a sufficient number of mounts to transport our gear, as well as ourselves, from the nearest point that could be reached by car.

We set out early on the 25th January, 1936, and upon reaching Cagney’s Run, at Yango Creek, we loaded all our gear on the pack-horses and started upon our climb up on to the range towards Yango. Shortly after midday we reached Finchley Trigonometrical Station, where our guide showed us the direction of another spur of the range, branching off in a southerly direction towards Blaxland’s Line and Burragurra, and at some distance along the spur there were aboriginal drawings upon the rocks. We decided, however, that we had better press forward if we desired to reach our first stage by nightfall, and we left these carvings for our return journey.

At last we began to descend from the range into the rich pastures of Big Yango Valley, and at 5 p.m. we reached Forbes Hut, which had been fixed as our base camp.

Our next stage was the real climb up to the top of Yengo Mountain. Starting out early, we followed up Mountain Creek, and once upon the spur our track was fairly even over sandstone ridges for five miles. Yengo is a volcanic cap, and half-way up the mountain we had to dismount and lead our horses over the rough, broken basalt slabs until we reached the summit.

The formation of the mountain is geologically of more recent origin than that of the other basaltic peaks in the surrounding country, where the rock has disintegrated, leaving a covering of rich volcanic soils. Yengo, on the other hand, is covered with broken basaltic slabs, which are not disintegrated, and these are most difficult to traverse, for nearly a thousand feet to the summit.

18Worsnop refers to carvings in the rock at Nardoo Creek, Central Queensland, of Emus’ feet, snakes and boomerangs—Proc. A.A.A.S., VI, p. 143.

On reaching the summit we then realised that this mountain had been wrongly indicated as the site of a mundowa. No trace of a carving or a mundowa could be found, the rock not being suitable for carving. The tradition that Wa-boo-ee had stepped on this mountain from Burragurra, and had left his footmark, could not be confirmed. Wa-boo-ee, who controlled the seasons, could also be represented by the Sun, and since this mountain is due West of Burragurra, or the Devil’s Rock, the tradition may have arisen from the fact that the Sun was always seen to disappear behind Yengo Mountain from the Devil’s Rock.

After taking our bearings and exploring the top of the mountain, we began our descent, a task which proved even more difficult than the ascent, on account of the loose stones underfoot for our horses. Eventually we reached our camp well after dusk.

Our plans for the next day were discussed, and it was decided that by getting an early start we would be able to reach the Rock Carvings at the head of Yango in the day.

Breaking camp at dawn, we were soon in the saddle and well on our way before the heat of the day. The turn off on the track at Finchley, leading to the Rock Carvings, was reached about noon, and, riding along the top of the ridge separating the headwaters of the Yango Creek and a branch of the Macdonald River, we came quite suddenly upon a circular clearing of level land surrounded by low scrub at the edge of a sandstone spur of the range.

This appeared to be an old Bora ground, where the aborigines assembled for their ceremonies, the rock carvings being just beyond. The first carvings observed were two full-length emus, with a pathway between them, leading from the circular clearing to the main carvings on the smaller enclosure. These figures measured five feet from head to tail and one foot eight inches across the back. (Plate IV.)

Fifty feet to the South-East is a carving of a figure similar to that of Moori at Burragurra, with rays spreading up from the head; but in this figure there are eight rays instead of five; further, there are two boomerangs, one above the right hand, the other at the left foot, which do not appear at Burragurra.

This figure also has five eyes and something which appears to be a girdle round the waist; the length of the figure is eight feet. Twenty feet due South is a carving of a similar figure five feet long by one foot wide holding a boomerang in the right hand but without any rays spreading from the head. Touching its left
hand is a carving of another of these figures and continuing in a semi-circle for four feet is a carving of a similar figure measuring six feet in length by four feet in width.

The last figure appears to be lying across a coolimon or a shield. Two other similar figures complete a semi-circle. Continuing what appears to be the other half of a complete circumference in the intervening space before we reach the first figure there appear a line here and a line there; but the rock has weathered considerably and any figures that may have been carved here to complete the circle have almost disappeared. The carvings of three emu pads lead away to the South South-East in the direction of Burragurra and at approximately fifty feet to the East is a circle of one foot eight inches in diameter cut in the rock. 14

There are several other carvings, but, unfortunately, the weathering has so obliterated them that they cannot be followed except the form of a kangaroo, the outline of which follows the contour of the rock surface and is seen in bold relief.

Mr. Enright put forward the theory that possibly this ceremonial ground, which is undoubtedly much older than that at Burragurra, was abandoned at the beginning of the white occupation in this neighborhood in favor of Burragurra, a more remote and secluded location for the instruction and practice in their rites. It was also within easy distance of the Wollombi—meaning “the meeting.” Mitchell mapped this district as Corob-ere. 15

The established trade routes from the North and North-West traversed this part of the country, a part of the Comilroy, the boundaries of which appear to be involved somewhat in obscurity, different writers describing the boundaries differently.

Breton describes an aboriginal fight which took place at the Wollombi in which the Comilroy blacks were engaged. 16

The Wailalun, adjoining to the West, spoke a language understood by both the Comilroy and the Wailalun; they also preserved the old words and traditions that had been handed down. 17

The geographical formation of the surrounding country also shows this route as the natural one that would be taken by those passing to and fro to trade, maintaining relationships between different groups, joining in ceremonies or settling hostilities.

Blaxland, in his search for a track through to Fordwich as an alternative to the sea journey, via Newcastle and the Hunter River, would, it is submitted, be led by a native, who, naturally, going into strange country, would take the trade route in preference to going across unknown and possibly hostile country. Also Mitchell, in his explorations through to the North, would travel with his native guide along this aboriginal trade route into Queensland. 17 By checking his tracks and the existing stock routes running through to the Gulf Country from this district one can easily recognize the old trade route which followed up and down the rivers, even to the far North-West of the Continent.

Comilroi, Wolroi, Gumebal and Giroombl tribes 18 were known to pass up the Namoi; and likewise the Wailalun, the Castleraagh, to the Wollombi and Howe's Valley for certain ceremonies in which the several groups would assemble. Hence, we have these traditional sacred grounds with their “permanent records,” ideographs and venerated objects. The Karaji could read any “permanent records” into his own spoken dialect and the two tribes might well express the same symbol by totally different syllables, but all would interpret the symbol by the same or similar concepts. Symbols would teach the initiate, maybe, that there was a Supreme Being, that there were subordinate spirits both good and evil. The symbols could depict a lesson of a creation, or that of life and death, and his own relation to the Supreme Being. He might, perhaps, mix up his primitive tenets with many imaginings, but by natural persuasion his faith in the existence of God was ineradicable.

Burragurra to the aboriginal was as Glastonbury to Medieval England.

14 In the Macdonnell Ranges there is a rock shelter depicting the rising sun, emu's feet, branches of acacia, the usual snake, and a wheel-like sign—Proc. A.A.A.S., VI, p. 141. At Oraminna rock-hole, on the overland telegraph line, there are sketches of emu's feet, snakes and other mythical drawings—Proc. A.A.A.S., VI, p. 141.
17 Mitchell's Despatches of 1846.
18 Macpherson—Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales, 1904 (4), Pt. II.
The discovery of aboriginal sculpture on the rocks at Wollombi gives us first-hand knowledge of the aborigine as recorded by themselves, and these carvings prove that the Karaji had reached a stage of picture writing.

In these ideographs can be found the words "Obedience," "Fortitude" (or the order to go forward with courage), "Fidelity" (or watchfulness), "Fruitfulness" (or the propagation of life), and "Faith."

R. H. Matthews, the most prolific writer of ethnographical notes on the aborigine of Australia, says in "Rock Carvings and Paintings of the Australian Aboriginals" (1897) "most of the figures of animals were probably intended to represent the totems of different families, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some of the smaller drawings and nondescript devices are the result of idle caprice. The production of some of the larger groups—both of carvings and paintings—has been a work of immense labour, and it is unlikely that the natives would have taken so much trouble for mere amusement."

W. A. Squire, author of the "Ritual, Myths and Customs of the Australian Aborigines," says, "There can be no doubt some definite purpose brought them into existence as men, whose most trivial dances and actions had a fixed and important meaning, would evidently do nothing but what would serve a practical purpose, and purely decorative art would, under the circumstances, be scarce; but whatever their meaning was the aborigine of to-day has either forgotten or never knew. All these figures are the outcome of untutored taste, the awakening art unconsciousness of the savage trying to express itself for some vague purpose."

Since Sir George Grey discovered the wonderful rock paintings and carvings in the North of West Australia during his exploratory mission in 1840 they have been considered as aboriginal art with no definite meaning.

Professor Elkin, of Sydney University, who spent some time in anthropological investigation in the locality in 1927 and 1928, says that he "definitely established that the rock paintings in this locality have a definitely religious function." The principal motive for illustration, he says, is "a head with eyes and nose, but no mouth representing the principle of life."

The marking that seems to dominate the area at Burragurra is the emu pad (Dhinna-wan, Foot Strong or Strong Foot). Plates II and III. A certain myth has grown up concerning the emu. Professor Radcliffe Brown quotes Mrs. Parker regarding the Gowargy or Gaurage.

It was said to be an emu destitute of feathers that sucked down in a whirlpool anyone who bathed in one of its waterholes.

Tracks such as these were supposed, by the uninitiated, to be those of this monster, but they have nothing to do with the imaginary destructive and terrifying bird. The spelling of the word has been an attempt to set down "Guiye-ngaia." The fact that "guiye" means a fish has probably given rise to the idea that this emu was some sort of creature that lived in the water, but "Guiye-ngaia Curriarree" means "gladly I go onward (or follow) the footprints (or footsteps) of Dhinna-wan (the strong foot)."

Unless one is acquainted with the aboriginal story of the creation of man it is difficult to follow the teaching revealed in these sculptures. W. A. Squire has pieced the story together in "Ritual, Myth and Customs of Australian Aborigines," collating the stories he had been told, but the narrative is confusing and indefinite. I hope to make it clear by interpreting the words on the rock at Burragurra.

The story goes that Bhaiame first made two men, one of whom he called Boobardy (the word means father). He also placed one woman in the world, giving her the name Numbardy. He put the men into a deep sleep, from which they awakened in the prime of life. One of them refused to understand his circumstances and would not hill and eat the game. Boobardy, finding that the other man was dying, shifted his camp, taking with him his consort, Numbardy. Afterwards Boobardy went to the spot where he had left the other man dying, and, to his great surprise, found that he had vanished. Upon examining the ground he discovered a footprint and then came across others. It was a print of the right foot. Boobardy, developing the instinct of the tracker, followed the footprint until he saw his comrade walking ahead and called out to him, "Turrawula ngai dhurudi" ("Come
back, my friend”). But the nameless one who had left the footprints (since called Mundowa) pointed to the setting sun and said, “Yugar ngutta” (“Not I; I go that way”).

“Ngutta Ngintaba yur” (“I will go with you”), cried Boobardy. But the unknown figure went on until he came to a tree huge in girth and so tall that the foliage mingled with the clouds. Picking up a suitable stone he cut notches in the trunk of the tree and so climbed up, calling to Boobardy, “Turrawulla, Turrawulla, guiya ngaia kaoi” (“Go back, go back, I go onwards”). Boobardy turned to retrace his steps and on looking backward saw that the tree had vanished in a cloud of smoke. This beautiful tree is now the Southern Cross and the stars the notches whereby the spirits of the dead climb to Bhaiame. Notches on a tree are also pointed out as Mundowa.

This, briefly, is the aboriginal story of the creation and how man was brought into the world.

The presence of a second man in the Creation is a fantastic interpolation, probably introduced in order to not mention the name of Bhaiame—for the footprints and the notches have from time immemorial been referred to as Mundowa, meaning, “He who brought life from on high.”

Tradition says that Bhaiame, after making man at Marula, rested after his task. An identification in the rock used to be pointed out as the place where Bhaiame rested after his task of making man. Bhaiame, which means “Cut off to build,” apparently cut off one of his legs in order to make the man Boobardy (meaning Father: the Father of Mankind), and making him in his own image, left him with one leg only. That is why a single footprint is called Mundowa. It is the footprint of Bhaiame (Cut off to build), Mundowa meaning “He who brought living things (or life) from on high.” The truth of this is confirmed by the story written on the rocks. He brought living things from on high and then stepped back into the high regions from whence he came.

The disappearance of the Mundowa footprints is also explained in the story written on the rocks. He brought living things from on high and then stepped back into the high regions from whence he came.

The altered meaning of Bhaiame needs a little explanation in order to show how it moves from meaning “to build” or “cut out” into the phrase, “Cut off to build.” The Rev. W. Ridley quotes the Rev. W. W. Greenwood as saying that Bhaiame means “Build” and “Baiame” was a “Builder.” But he gives an alternate spelling, Bhaiame; and Bhi means “to cut.” Despite the reduction of the language to grammatic science the aborigine has a habit of shortening words and cramming a whole phrase into one word. The mingling of Baia with Bhi in a kind of verbal shorthand gave additional meaning to the word Bhaiame. He cut off, or chopped off, something to make man. He only shows one foot, the right, and Turramullan means “One Leg Living” shows the left. Bhaiame cut off his own leg for the purpose of making a living man. The point regarding Turramullan was not missed by the Rev. Ridley. In the inland parts of the country Dhurra, or Turra, means “thigh,” but in the coastal parts “Turra” means the whole leg, though they alternated it with Wolloma. That accounts for the various spellings of Turramullan. The word for leg alters a little in the various dialects: Dhurra, Durra, Turra, Tarra, and on the North Coast of New South Wales it became Taree. Whilst in some writings the man with one leg is referred to as Yarramullan. These dialectic changes are no different to those of other languages where people are highly civilised and are explainable.

One word about Bhaiame’s other name, Munu, which means “alive” or one who “gave life” or “brought life into the world.”

In the story of the creation no mention is made of the method adopted by Bhaiame in the making of Numbardy (mother), who, as the wife of Turramullan, was called Muni Burree-bean (giving life with the breasts). But as Mulla Mulla, wife of Wabooce (another name for Turramullan, whose name was not allowed to be mentioned outside the sacred circle), it appears from her name that she was lifted down alive from a high place, and so, instead of being made on earth, she came from the sky above, where Bhaiame dwells. There were eight children, four sons and four daughters.

Among the Wollombi aborigines, as previously mentioned, Turramullan was known as Wabooce, which can be interpreted variously as “the rain maker who brought the essential water from the sky by calling on Bhaiame.”

That he was one and the same person as Turramullan is shown in the picture at Burragurra, for he has but one leg and is indicated as the seed-sower from whence life springs. Plate III. There was a supposition that Wabooce presided over the day,
coming with the sunrise. (Moori Throoa: Life comes out). Whilst Mulla Mulla, his wife, presided over the night coming with the sunset (Moori Yaree: Life goes away). Here in these personages are represented the symbols of Life (The Sun) and Death (Darkness)—the transition showing that Numbardy (mother), who nourished us in life, still looks after us in death. The supposition that Mulla Mulla presided over the night is indicated by her name. Mulla Mulla means “life taken down by the hands,” or “lifted down.” It was said that Wabooee, as the sun went down, reached to the sky and set her down in his place.

The whole duty of man was summed up in these figures of Wabooee and Mulla Mulla. It was the great lesson learned.

The picture means: He who brought life into the world, set down man and woman and gave them the sacred means of propagating life.

There is another mark in the centre of the circle—Plate III—the horseshoe-like drawing, with the ends curled up like ears. This represents the tribal mark of the Murri—the top of the head—meaning Life (Muron).

There were three evil spirits. The first one met with was Yarree Yarwoo (Wurai Wurru), a sender of badness or illness, who concealed himself in a goli, or bag, and is represented by the carving without much form near the dog-like carving. Plate II. Wherever the shadowy outline of Yarree Yarwoo (Wurai Wurru) was placed the aborigine knew that it was a place to avoid.

The second was Mulleguni. The name Mulleguni means “catching hold of the living with great fingers,” and is depicted in the carving near the circles. Plate III. To the right of Mulleguni is the outspread figure of Bugnu, the third evil spirit, looking like a flying squirrel or phalanger, which attitude was characteristic of him swooping down on the blackfellows’ camps and devouring all the meat without cooking. The story goes that this spirit was an old fellow with a bald head, with the exception of a few grey hairs, which, however, are not represented in the carving and probably disappeared with the disintegration of the rock.

At the ceremonial ground at Yango is a partially weather-worn piece of sculpture and the picture story here presented is only a fragment. Plate IV. It represents Muri explaining the mysteries of life and death to the four sons of Daramulan, whose names were Murre, Kubbi, Ippai and Kumbo.

In my opinion, these carvings represent the higher teaching of the aboriginal culture. The circle, one foot eight inches in
PLATE III.
PLATE IV.