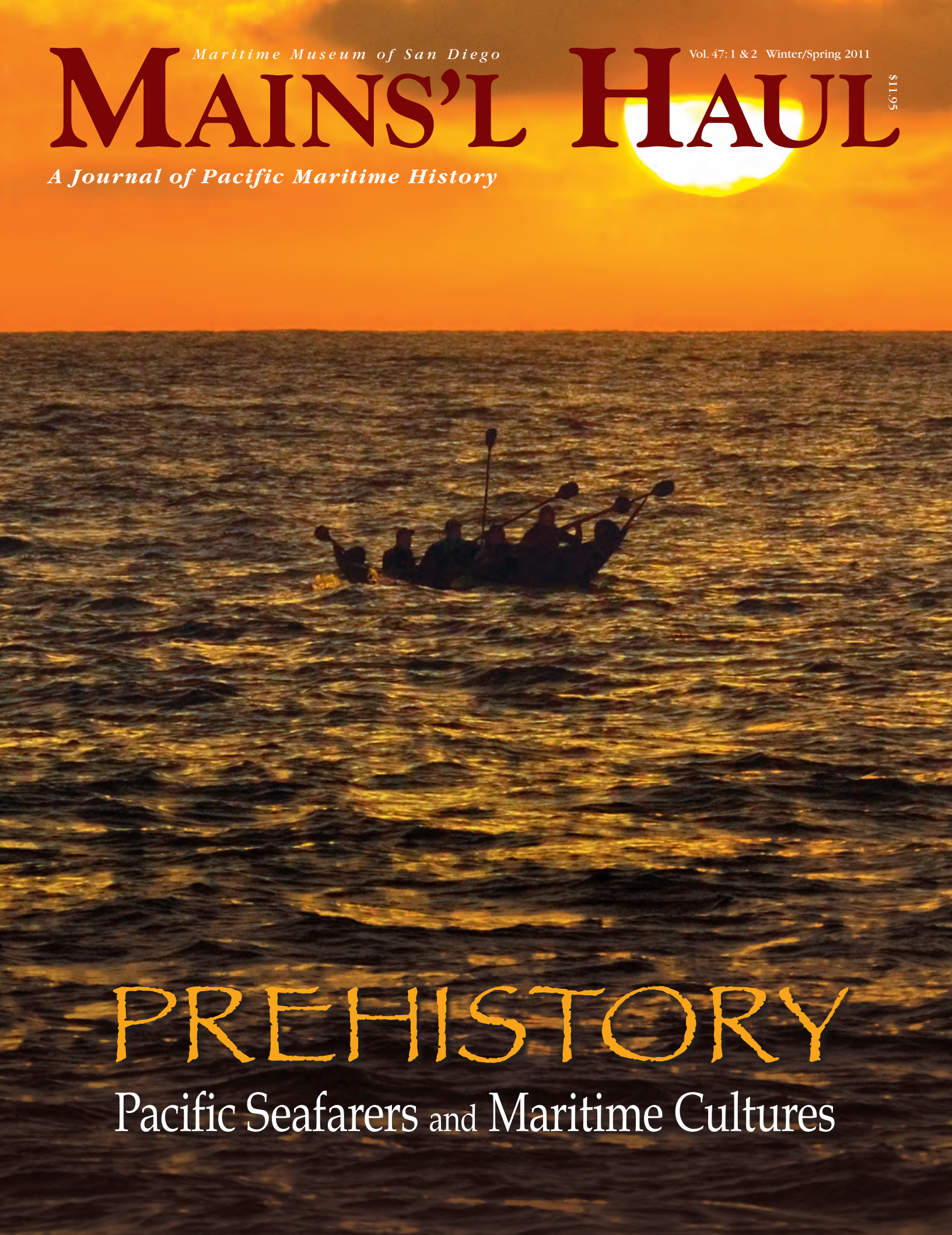
Maritime Museum of San Diego

MAINS'L HAUL

Vol. 47: 1 & 2 Winter/Spring 2011

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A Journal of Pacific Maritime History



PREHISTORY

Pacific Seafarers and Maritime Cultures

Inside Front Cover:

The Cave of Chimneys **(above) on San Miguel Island is one of many Holocene sites visited and studied by archaeologists. The ruggedness of the Island's coastline, with the constant battering by wind and waves, made such caves a necessary shelter from the elements for early inhabitants. This issue of** *Mains'l Haul* **provides insight from noted archaeologists into the** *Prehistory* **existence of** *Pacific Seafarers and Maritime Cultures*. **This remarkable collection offers a view into our distant past not often glimpsed, let alone interpreted for our understanding.**





Front Cover:

This stunning photo by Robert Schwemmer evokes a sense of timelessness, conjuring an image of early Pacific Seafarers.

In reality, it commemorates an actual Chumash crossing in 2007 from Channel Islands Harbor to Santa Cruz Island, with a crew of Chumash paddling the tomol *Elye'wun* **(the Barbareño Chumash word for swordfish). For the history of the building of the original Chumash tomol** *Helek* **in 1976, followed by the building of** *Elye'wun* **in 1997, see** *Mains'l Haul: Pacific Time Machines,* **V.41:Nos. 2 & 3, Spring/Summer 2005.**

All photos Courtesy of Robert Schwemmer,
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MAINSAIL HAUL – An order in tacking ship bidding, "Swing the main yards."

Maritime Museum of San Diego

MAINS'L HAUL

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PREHISTORY

Pacific Seafarers and Maritime Cultures



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FROM THE HELM

by Ray Ashley, Ph.D.
President and CEO
Maritime Museum of San Diego

For generations, there have been legends of a Spanish sailing ship located somewhere out in the desert to our east. What it looked like, how it could possibly have gotten there, and why anything was left of it after centuries of exposure formed the corpus of mystery usually associated with fantastic tales. And as is usually the case, no teller of the tale had actually laid eyes on it or had photographed it, but had heard of it from someone who had talked to someone else, who heard it in turn from some prospector, or explorer, or hiker who had stumbled upon it but died, disappeared, or moved on without ever revealing its location. Like many such legends, the image conjured is equal parts romantically compelling and impossible to believe, virtually insuring its ephemeral immortality. Yet, as the result of a recent expedition I can now report that there is, in fact, a Spanish ship in the desert, or rather the image of something that all of those who took part think is a ship. There is no way to know what ship it is, true enough, but there is at least an intriguing possibility that it is the one we have been imagining for so long, the one now about to return in full form, and thus a direct link to someone who saw it in that distant time of first contact with his or her own eyes.

Our Museum's project of building the galleon *San Salvador*, Cabrillo's ship of discovery, is only the most recent in a long series of conjectural representations. The image of the ship appears in the center of the Seal of San Diego; in the floor mural of the City Hall atrium she is portrayed sailing into San Diego Bay in 1542, and another impression forms the iconic representation of Cabrillo National Monument. Sculptural impressions of the vessel are strewn about Balboa Park, a large scale interpretation of her hull forms the media center of the Point Loma Branch library, every year fourth graders throughout California compose artwork in which she appears, and her image graces the crest of the USS *San Diego,* one of the U.S. Navy's newest warships. For San Diego and for other California ports, *San Salvador* embodies the



provenance of our relationship with the sea, first contact between European and Native American peoples of the U.S. west coast, and a dramatic counterpoint to the conventional understanding of American history purely as an Atlantic World phenomenon of western expansion, rather than a more complex story which includes the irresistible allure of the Pacific. Like the *Mayflower* or the Jamestown ships, *San Salvador* is the repository of our origin story.

So it is with some irony that for a ship so profusely depicted in recent years, we have virtually no evidence of what she looked like from any contemporary images. In producing a design from which our museum will reconstruct the vessel in full scale as an operational sailing ship, we have drawn upon contemporary builders contracts, records of litigation, shipbuilding treatises, engravings and paintings, nautical chart illustrations, votive models left in churches, the excavation and analysis of various contemporary shipwrecks, and voyage narratives. Most of these primary source references derive not from *San Salvador* herself but from contemporaries that we surmise were comparable, because no image, model or plans of the *San Salvador* were known to survive in any library, archive, museum, or private collection in the world. Because all of the main primary source documentary accounts of this ship and the voyage she made have also disappeared, we have no impressions at all of this ship by someone who had actually laid eyes on her, no direct tangible connection of any kind to the ship that we have embraced for more than a century as the embryonic incarnation of our community.

Or so we thought, but we might have been looking in the wrong place.

This illustration, by Richard Schlecht, depicts the first European contact along the western seaboard between arriving Spanish ships in 1542 and the native inhabitants of San Diego. To date, any representation of the *San Salvador* is at best conjectural, as we have virtually no evidence of what she looked like from any contemporary images.

From An Account of the Voyage of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, *Cabrillo National Monument Foundation, San Diego, CA., 1999.*







All photos by Maggie Walton, MMSD, and Ted Walton/Ted Walton Photography

Officers from the U.S. Border Patrol, archaeologists from the U.S. Bureau of Land Management and National Park Service rangers were among those who supported the effort to reach the secluded petroglyph.

This foreboding landscape suggests the ruggedness of the terrain over which the small team of historians, historical site managers, archaeologists, two photographers and the author traversed in order to glimpse the "desert ship".

Some months ago we became aware of the tribulations of a journalist who hiked for three days across the desert and into a box canyon reputed to contain a plethora of ancient Kumeyaay rock art compositions. For the journalist it was a harrowing if not ill-advised journey because the area is isolated, frequently used by smugglers, difficult in terrain, hot in the day and very cold at night, and almost devoid of water. Though the trip provided a spectrum of revelations and horrors, including signs of ancient habitations, sacred sites and artifacts, and the desiccated remains of human predecessors along the trail, it ultimately proved a crushing disappointment. For though the canyon revealed its promised examples of rock art, it wasn't what the journalist had expected or hoped for. Rather than saber tooth tigers and mastodons, somewhat in the vein of the Lascaux caves, instead he reported his disillusionment in finding "only the image of a sailing ship."

For those of us who have been trying to conjure an impression of *San Salvador*, this came as an electrifying bit of news. With alacrity the Maritime Museum of San Diego and our partners in the National Park Service resolved to mount an expedition. We spent several weeks planning, investigating various routes to the site, and trying to determine modes of transportation. The latter is not so simple because the site is located within an immense wilderness area where no vehicular traffic is allowed, indications from topographical maps and satellite imagery confirmed that the terrain is every bit as challenging as our source indicated, and consultation with the U.S. Border Patrol suggested also that the place was just as dangerous from prospects of unwanted human encounters. In the end, we also partnered with the U.S. Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Border Patrol in forming a multi-agency expedition to document the

petroglyph, forming a group composed of historians, historical site managers, archaeologists, photographers, and last but not least, an impressive contingent of armed escorts from the three federal agencies who would be in constant communication with sources of rescue or reinforcements.

As the site itself is fragile and unprotected (in fact, is has already been lightly vandalized from insertion of unrelated graffiti at some time in the recent past) and efforts by others to visit the site are discouraged in the strongest possible terms by BLM, I'm obliged to keep to the precedent of the legend in not revealing any specifics of getting there, except to say that we managed to determine a much shorter route at the expense of worse terrain. Once into the canyon it became evident why it may have served as a pathway for communication and trade and still does: the canyon is secluded, has many defensible locations, it has water – within the canyon repose a series of oases linked by easy trails – and the area is evidently replete with a variety of useful plants and types of stone adaptable to tool-making. On our way in we found ample signs of long use in times past: mortars ground into horizontal rock surfaces and increasingly numerous abstract and geometrical compositions typical of regional rock art, most of them so faded from age as to be barely perceptible in the mid-morning light.

After passing several examples of rock art we finally came upon the image we were looking for. It was stunning. Unlike the others it was prominent, meaning more recent: the natural oxide patination that gradually fades such images over the course of many hundreds or thousands of years had not affected this one to the same extent as the others. Because of the geologic pace of this process, there is no way to date the image within any historical timeframe except to say that it is much more likely to be historic rather than prehistoric. Because there were examples of graffiti present, we could also say by comparison to those that it was not recent. Unlike other images in the canyon and the preponderance of Southwest rock art elsewhere, the images of the composition were representational: anthromorphs (human figures) and three objects, two of which



Above: The rock ravine posed one of the greater challenges in the trek with a steep two-hundred foot drop to the bottom.

Below: Evidence of Kumeyaay habitation was ever present along the trails that wound deep into the heart of the remote wilderness.

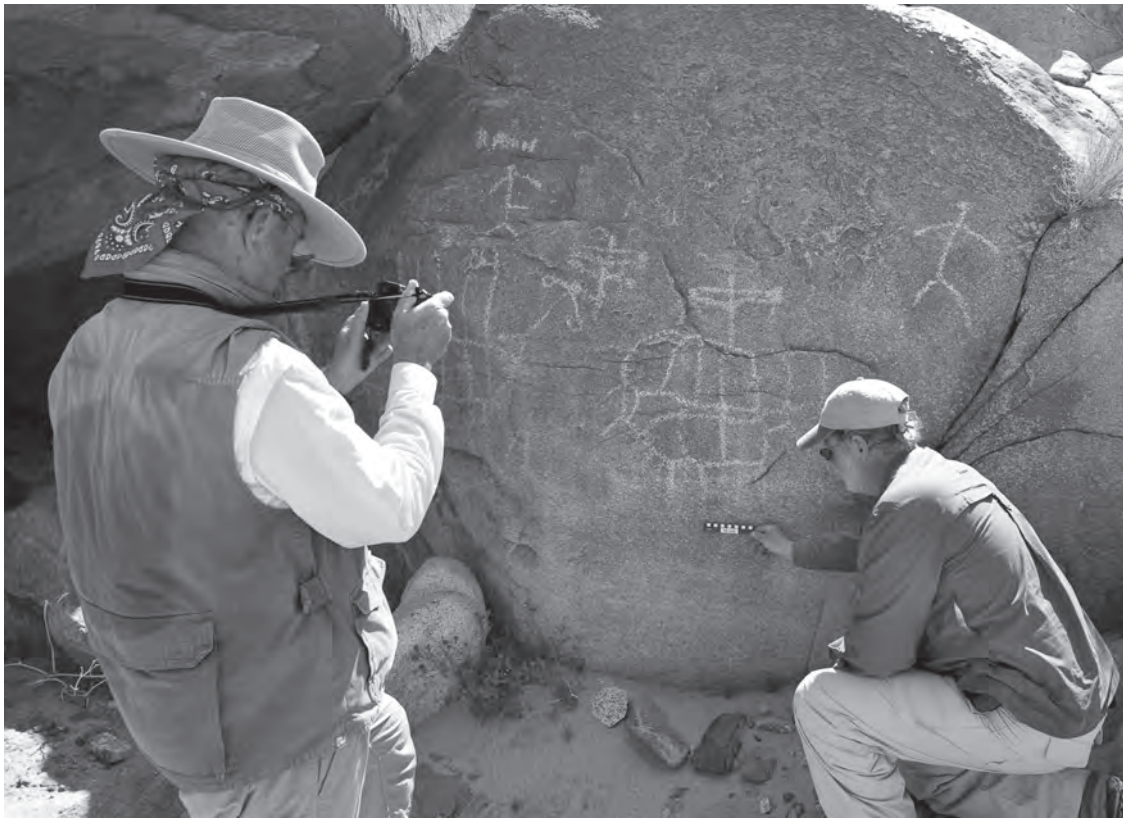




After miles of treacherous hiking, the possibility of coming upon a rock drawing of a ship seemed ever more remote.

looked strikingly like sailing ships and a smaller one as a possibility. There were no captions of course, so there is no way to know if they are indeed ships or if they present a kind of cross-cultural Rorschach test in which we see in them what we hope to see rather what the artist had in mind. And indeed, if they are ships there is no way to know what ships they may be. However, with the Rorschach possibility as a caveat, if they are indeed ships, and the artists intentions were representational, then they look a lot more like ships of the exploration age than anything which came after, and that leaves three possibilities: the expedition of Francisco Ulloa in 1539, the expedition of Sebastian Vizcaíno in 1602, or the expedition of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542. And, if we may steer further down our speculative course, Ulloa's expedition failed to reach Kumeyaay territory and by Viscaino's time, such an encounter would not have seemed a shockingly unprecedented event, if that is what this is supposed to depict.

And, of course, we don't know that it is. However, articulate accounts of first contact with western cultures from the standpoint of native observers are among the most rare and precious of primary source accounts. They often constitute impressions for which there are simply no words in native vocabulary, and what is related to the western observers often comes out as an attempt to render the experience into terms of common understanding: the newcomers might be perceived as flesh and blood people well enough, but in reference to their strangeness, the most valid comparisons may lie with ghosts, supernatural beings, or figures returning from legend, perhaps because traditional narratives allow few other possibilities. In historical western accounts, these possible analogies often seem to be



Archaeologist Dr. Jim Cassidy and Museum President Ray Ashley marvel at the images in the rock canyon, before measuring and documenting the captivating drawings. All agreed that the rock petroglphs could indeed be interpreted as depictions of sailing ships. It is not hard to imagine that along this migratory corridor, the Kumeyaay might have left messages on sign-posts alerting their neighbors as to what they had seen as they made their seasonal migration from the coastal regions to the mountains.



taken literally, as though the newcomers believe themselves thought of by native observers to be actual ghosts, gods, or legendary figures. Such ambiguities are not necessarily an attribute of visual impressions though, for here it becomes technically possible to represent something for which there are no words or norms or traditions and to signify the date for an event that has no precedent or cycle. One simply depicts what one sees to the best of memory, and if what one has seen is unprecedented, then the image looks like no other.

So, if this is indeed a Spanish ship and it is from one of the earlier expeditions, then it constitutes the earliest primary-source graphic representation of an historic event in American history. Moreover, it would also be a representation of a maritime event by people who themselves used the sea and whose ancestors, this issue of *Mains'l Haul* argues, arrived by sea thousands of years before. But even if it's not, our fanciful speculations of what it might be brings to mind an important non-fanciful consideration. The Spanish, who sailed these waters in the sixteenth century were explorers and inventors of a new world, but they were not its discoverers. That honor falls to the seafaring peoples who preceded them by thousands of years and who inhabited the land and used the sea in ways that sustained their complex culture through all the intervening eons. It also contradicts a Eurocentric and oft-referenced lapse in history between the first appearance of California on European maps and its occupation by the Spanish beginning in 1769, in contrast to the presumed continuity of the first European settlements on the U.S. Atlantic seaboard beginning several generations after Cabrillo's voyage. In California there was really no such lapse, for there were people here all the meantime and their descendants are with us still, a vital part of the society we have become and perhaps the true recorders of the moment when that history began.

In other words, perhaps an American history does not begin at Jamestown or Plymouth. Perhaps it began when Spanish seafarers and Kumeyaay took first measure of each other, both to commit their experiences to the historical record. Perhaps one of these primary source accounts survived after all, in the most unlikely of places, and in a way that almost suggests that the ship we are building at Spanish landing was anticipated symbolically long before we ever imagined, waiting patiently for almost five hundred years. Perhaps American history begins with a ship in the desert.

The Deep History of Pacific Seafaring



by Jon M. Erlandson, Ph.D.



Photos from inside front cover by Robert Schwemmer, Maritime Heritage Program, West Coast Regional Coordinator, NOAA

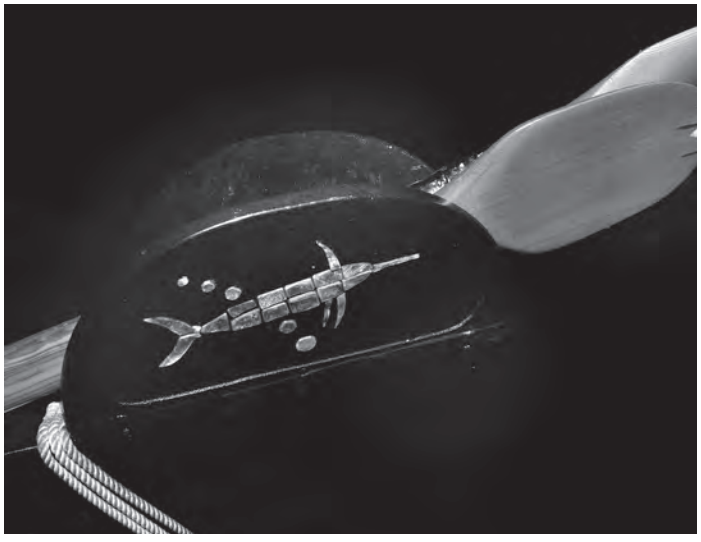
Introduction

For those who live along North America's west coast – swimming, sailing, fishing, and surfing in the waters of the Pacific – the history of seafaring and coastal settlement should be of great interest. Most Pacific Coast residents probably have some idea that maritime peoples plied these waters for millennia past. Some may remember bits and pieces from grade school or local museums about Pacific Coast Indian tribes, Cabrillo's famous voyage of exploration in 1542-1543, or the local history of whaling, fishing, or shipbuilding industries. Others may have read books or magazine articles about such topics or seen recent documentaries that hint at major changes in our understanding of the antiquity of seafaring and human settlement in the Pacific. For too many, however, a deeper history of seafaring in the vast expanse we now call the Pacific Ocean is largely lost in the rush of modern living.

For most of the twentieth century, boats, seafaring, and maritime societies in the Pacific (and around the world) were thought to be very late developments in human history, limited to the last 10,000 years or so (Bass 1972; Greenhill 1976; Johnstone 1980; Osborn 1977; Yesner 1987). This is just four-tenths of one percent of the 2.5 million years our genus (*Homo*) has existed and the last 5 percent of the time we (*Homo sapiens sapiens)* have graced the earth. If our ancestors didn't fish or forage along coastlines, cross water barriers, or colonize islands for 2.49 million years, how did they spread around the world? How and when did humans colonize the coastlines and islands of the Pacific?

The answers to these questions have changed in recent decades, and much of what I learned about the archaeology of seafaring as a college student in the 1970s and 1980s now appears to have been wrong. More recent summaries by archaeologists and maritime historians now recognize a deeper history for coastal adaptations, human seafaring, and maritime migrations (Anderson et al. 2010; Bailey 2004; Erlandson 2001, 2002; McGrail 2001). Why did scholars misinterpret the antiquity of maritime peoples for so long? The answer lies in the fundamental problem

Jon Erlandson was born and raised in Southern California and Hawaii. He earned his B.S. (1980), M.S. (1983), and Ph.D. (1988) degrees from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and has spent most of his career studying the archaeology of maritime peoples on California's Channel Islands, the Pacific Coast, and around the world. He has taught at the University of Oregon for the past 20 years, where he is a Professor of Anthropology, Executive Director of the Museum of Natural and Cultural History, senior editor of the *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology*, and one of the world's experts in the archaeology of seafaring and maritime peoples. His 2008 book, *A Canyon Through Time*, summarizes the human and natural history of Tecolote Canyon west of Santa Barbara, where the Bacara Resort was built.

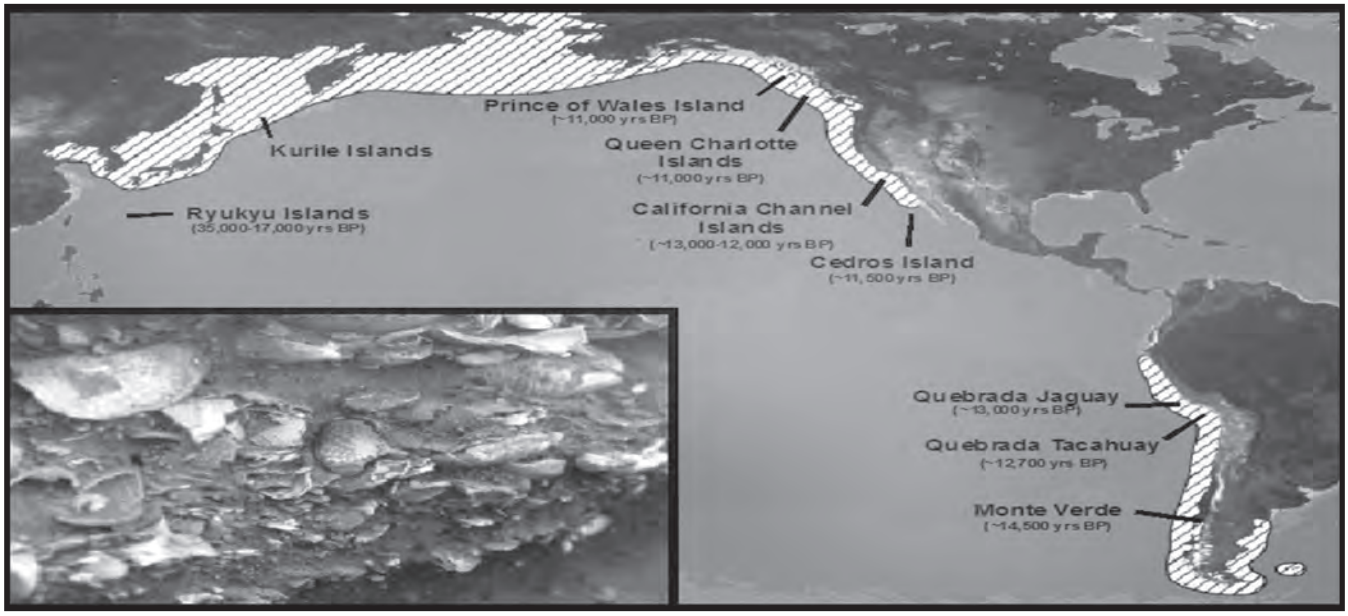


that humans evolved and spread around the world during the Pleistocene (~1.8 million to 11,000 years ago), a period dominated by heavy glaciation and dramatic changes in global sea-level and coastal geography. Bailey et al. (2007) estimated that sea-levels were 50 meters (164 feet) or lower than present during 90 percent of the Pleistocene. Unfortunately for those interested in the deep history of seafaring, we live in an interglacial period when sea levels are relatively high (and still rising!), leaving most ancient coastlines deeply submerged and far offshore.

In this brief essay, I provide some archaeological background to the maritime history of the Pacific. I show that seafaring and coastal economies have much deeper histories than once believed, that the Indo-Pacific may be the primary hearth for long-distance voyaging, and that the Pacific was the scene of some of the most amazing maritime migrations in human history. I have written extensively about these and related topics elsewhere (see Erlandson 2001, 2002, 2010a, 2010b), where a wider range of original sources are available to interested readers.

Origins of Seafaring

Although the oldest boat remains are less than 10,000 years old, a growing body of evidence has emerged in recent decades for a relatively early development of seafaring in the Pacific (see Anderson et al. 2010). In Island Southeast Asia, it now appears that *Homo erectus* reached the Indonesian island of Flores (and possibly Timor) by ~750,000 to 800,000 years ago, after saltwater crossings as much as ~20-30 km long. These voyages may have been accomplished on relatively simple rafts and there is little secure evidence for seafaring by *Homo erectus* (or archaic *Homo sapiens)* elsewhere in the world. Media reports in 2010 of possible Acheulean handaxes on the Mediterranean island of Crete may alter that situation, but the fact that *Homo erectus* never settled Australia suggests that marine voyaging capabilities were limited until the appearance of anatomically modern humans (AMH; see Erlandson 2002).



The "kelp highway," shows the modern distribution of kelp forest ecosystems around the Pacific Rim and the location and age (in calendar years) of early archaeological sites. Adapted from Erlandson et al. 2007; original drafted by M. Graham; inset shows mussel, abalone, and sea urchin shells from a shell midden on San Miguel Island.
Courtesy of the Author

Evidence for early seafaring by AMH is much more compelling and widespread, involving the dispersal of humans across a number of significantly larger water barriers, especially in Eastern Asia, Australia, New Guinea, and Melanesia. During glacial periods, the geography of Southeast Asia, New Guinea, and Australia was transformed as lower sea levels exposed broad expanses of now submerged continental shelves and connected many modern islands into larger land masses. Even in full glacial times the larger landmasses known as Sunda (continental Southeast Asia) and Sahul (Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea) were separated by a series of deep straits, however, with strong currents creating a major biogeographic barrier. Crossing from Sunda to Sahul through the islands of Southeast Asia was a formidable journey that sometimes took early seafarers over the horizon and beyond the sight of land.

Until the 1970s, it appeared that humans did not reach Australia until near the end of the Pleistocene. Since then, archaeologists have extended the antiquity of human settlement in Sahul to 33,000 years ago, 40,000 years ago, and now ~50,000 ± 5,000 years ago (see Anderson et al. 2010). Crossing from Sunda to Sahul required multiple voyages, some of them at least 80-90 km long (~43 nmi or more). For a decade or two, some scholars clung to the idea that the peopling of Australia was accidental, but the discovery of Pleistocene shell middens in western Melanesia dispatched any reasonable doubts about the deliberate nature of such voyaging. Settlement of the Bismarck and Solomon islands from about 40,000 to 30,000 years ago involved several additional voyages beyond those required to reach Sahul. Colonization of the Solomons required voyages of at least 140 km and possibly 175 km (Irwin 1992). By ~20,000 years ago, Melanesian seafarers also reached the Admiralty Islands, a voyage of 200-220 km, 60-90 km of which would have been completely out of sight of land. These early Melanesian sites, located along shorelines with very steep bathymetry, remained near the coast even during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM) when sea levels were ~125 meters (~410 ft.) lower than today. Recent research on the islands between Sunda and Sahul is also providing additional evidence for Pleistocene seafaring in the islands of Wallacea between Sunda and Sahul, including a shell midden with numerous tuna bones from Jeramalai Cave on East Timor dated to about 45,000 years ago (Anderson et al. 2010).

Further evidence for Pleistocene seafaring by AMH comes from Okinawa and other Ryukyu Islands off the East Asian Coast. Located between Taiwan and Japan, which were both connected to the Asian mainland during LGM, the Ryukyu Archipelago is separated from Asia's continental shelf by deep oceanic straits. Human bones from Yamashita-cho, Minatogawa, and other caves on Okinawa and Miyako islands have been

dated between about 35,000 and 17,000 years ago. Colonizing Okinawa and Miyako required voyages up to 75 km and 150 km long, respectively (Erlandson 2002). In Japan, evidence for Pleistocene seafaring also comes from obsidian artifacts originating from a volcanic flow on Kozushima Island—located ~25-30 km off the Honshu Coast during the LGM, which have been found in ~25,000 to 30,000-year-old Japanese sites. This places competent mariners in the cool waters of the North Pacific early enough to have contributed to the initial colonization of the Americas (Erlandson 2002, 2010a,b). From northern Japan the Kurile Islands stretch to the northeast like stepping stones to Kamchatka and the southern shores of Beringia. Whether Pleistocene seafarers followed this route remains to be seen and the evidence that could resolve the issue, like so many questions related to the evolution of maritime adaptations, lies submerged (and largely unstudied) on the continental shelves of the North Pacific.

A Kelp Highway? From Asia to the Americas

Twenty years ago, most scholars thought that Native Americans were descended from terrestrial hunters who marched from northeast Asia through the frigid plains of Beringia, then down a long "ice-free corridor" connecting Alaska and the Yukon to the heartland of North America. These intrepid hunters were thought to have arrived about 13,000 years ago, spreading rapidly through the uninhabited continental interior in search of mammoths and other large mammals, leaving a trail of Clovis points, kill sites, and campsites behind them. In this scenario the Pacific Coast was largely irrelevant to the Pleistocene colonization of the Americas since it wasn't thought to have been settled until several millennia after the megafauna were hunted to extinction and people were forced to adapt to coastal habitats and 'inferior resources' such as fish and shellfish.

The alternative coastal migration theory (see Erlandson 1994, 2002; Cassidy, this volume) lurked in the shadows of American archaeology for decades. Discovery of the ~14,000-year-old Monte Verde site in Chile and the 14,300 year old Paisley Caves in Oregon has elevated the coastal migration theory to the forefront of current debate about how and when the Americas were colonized, especially after geological research suggested that the ice-free corridor may not have been passable until after about 14,000 years ago. It now appears that the Northwest Coast route opened a millennium or two earlier than the ice-free corridor and that the diversity and richness of coastal ecosystems after the LGM may have created a "kelp highway" that facilitated a maritime migration from northeast Asia into the Americas (Erlandson et al. 2007). A coastal route around the Pacific Rim – linear, entirely at sea level, and without major geographic barriers – featured similar types of shellfish, fish, seabirds, sea mammals, and seaweeds, as well as terrestrial plants and animals from adjacent landscapes.

The coastal migration theory has also gained credibility as increasingly older sites have been found along the Pacific Coast of the Americas. These include a growing number of Paleocoastal sites from California's Northern Channel Islands (e.g., Arlington Springs, Daisy Cave, Cardwell Bluffs) dated between 13,000 and 11,400 years ago (see Erlandson 2007; Erlandson et al. 2008; Johnson et al. 2002). These sites currently provide the earliest evidence for systematic seafaring, island colonization, and marine hunting, fishing, and shellfish collecting in the New World.

Polynesians in the Pacific

As impressive as these Pleistocene maritime migrations were, they were limited to coastal waters or islands that could be reached via sea crossings of roughly 200 km or less. Significantly longer voyages, such as those involved in the settlement of the remote islands of the Indo-Pacific, appear to have been limited to the past 4,000 years or so. These longer oceanic voyages may have posed technological and logistical challenges that could not be overcome until more sophisticated boats were developed, along with the agricultural products needed to survive on more remote and biologically depauperate islands.

Below: A decorated Lapita potsherd, diagnostic of Lapita archaeological sites in New Guinea, Melanesia, and western Polynesia dated between about 3,500 and 3,000 years ago.

Photo adapted from Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand: http://www.teara.govt.nz/



One of the best examples of such fully oceanic migration involves the dispersal of Austronesian-speaking peoples from Southeast Asia into island archipelagos scattered through the vast expanses of the Indian and Pacific oceans. In an area spanning nearly half the globe – from Madagascar to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and beyond – archaeological, linguistic and genetic data illuminate one of the most amazing migrations in human history. The origin of Austronesian peoples is still debated, but probably involved maritime agriculturalists moving out of Southeast Asia ~5,000 to 6,000 years ago. One branch of Austronesians moved westward along the south coast of Asia and the east coast of Africa, traveling as far as Madagascar by about 2,000 years ago. Roughly 3,500-4,000 years ago another group of Austronesians settled the thousands of islands of Micronesia, including the Palau, Mariana, Caroline, Marshall, Kiribati, and Tuvalu islands (Kirch 1997). A third branch, marked by a trail of distinctive decorated ceramics, is known as the Lapita dispersal.

Lapita sites in New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Solomon Islands date between ~3,500 and 3,200 years ago. Shortly thereafter, Lapita peoples began to colonize more distant island groups in Melanesia, reaching the Santa Cruz Islands after a voyage of nearly 400 km (~216 nmi), then the Vanuatu Islands and New Caledonia. By roughly 3,000 years ago, Lapita peoples reached Fiji after sailing 850 km against the prevailing winds and currents. Sailing still further east, Lapita peoples also settled Tonga, Samoa, and nearby islands. A millennium or so later, between about 500 and 1200 CE, a maritime radiation of fully Polynesian peoples resulted in the settlement of virtually every habitable island of remote Oceania. This rapid migration of Polynesian peoples included voyages of up to 2,000 km and the human colonization of some of the most isolated islands on earth, including Hawai'i, Aetoroa (New Zealand), and Rapa Nui. Archaeological and genetic (DNA) evidence suggests that Polynesians also made contact with Native American peoples along the Pacific Coast of South America ~3,500 km east of Rapa Nui, transmitting the Polynesian chicken to the Americas and carrying American sweet potatoes and gourds back to Polynesia. Jones and Klar (2005) even proposed that Polynesian seafarers contacted Native peoples of the southern California Coast, but the evidence for such contacts remains controversial.

Conclusions

Archaeological evidence for the deep history of seafaring in the Pacific has expanded dramatically in the past 20 years, extending the antiquity of the earliest sea voyaging to as much as 800,000 years. Roughly 50,000 years ago, seafaring appears to have expanded significantly in scope and sophistication with the appearance of AMH in Island Southeast Asia, leading to the first human colonization of Australia, New Guinea, western Melanesia, and the Ryukyu Islands. These Pleistocene seafarers may have continued moving along the shores of the Pacific Rim, reaching North America roughly 15,000 years ago and South America at least 14,000 years ago. Seafaring took another great leap forward after about 4,000 years

ago, when maritime agricultural peoples equipped with catamarans, sails, and domesticated plants and animals ventured into the remote Pacific to settle thousands of islands of Micronesia, eastern Melanesia, and Polynesia. These ancient maritime migrations to Australia, the Americas, and the Pacific, accomplished with Stone Age technologies but with great courage and human ingenuity, represent three of the most significant migrations in human history. Unfortunately, with global warming and sea-level rise accelerating, the archaeological records of these amazing maritime migrations and cultures is increasingly threatened by coastal erosion (Erlandson 2010c).

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The Southern California Coast at the End of the Last Ice Age



By Paul Porcasi and Judith F. Porcasi, Ph.D.

People first immigrated across the Bering Strait into western America at least twelve thousand years ago. These early Native Americans are termed "Paleoindians" or "Paleoamericans," and they found a coastal landscape markedly different from what we have today. The last Ice Age marked the end of the Pleistocene epoch and ushered in the present-day Holocene. Yet great quantities of seawater remained stored in immense ice fields in both the northern and southern hemispheres. As a result, the sea level was relatively low. The ocean surface was about 61.5 meters (33.6 fathoms) below its present level. Because of this, the coast of California was dotted with several more islands than we see offshore today. Some of them are now underwater. A larger expanse of the mainland coast was exposed as well, shortening the distance between the mainland and the islands. These conditions played an important role in the first peopling of western America.

Coming into California

The coast of central and southern California was first colonized during the Terminal Pleistocene, 12,000 to 13,000 years ago (Dixon 1999; Erlandson 2002; Erlandson *et al.* 1996, 2007; Fagan 2003; Moratto 1984). There is human bone evidence of this fact from Santa Rosa Island just off the Santa Barbara County coast (Johnson *et al.* 2002, 2007). The initial colonizers may have arrived in the New World in small family groups or in substantial numbers, during a short period or over several millennia. They came from one or several homelands in Western Asia (Bortolini *et al.* 2003; Eshleman 2002; Eshleman *et al.* 2003; Hey 2005; Seielstad *et al.* 2003). Access to the coast with its diverse mix of marine and terrestrial resources set these Paleoindians apart from their contemporaries who moved into and colonized the continental interior. These early coastal dwellers are now termed "Paleocoastal" Native Americans.

Passage from Asia across the Bering Straits into what is now Alaska and British Columbia is a generally accepted route for the initial peopling of America (e.g., Dalton 2005; Erlandson *et al.* 2007; Madsen 2004). This immigration probably took two routes. In one route, clan groups may have trekked across a "landbridge" exposed by low sea levels or receding ice sheets. The other route may have been by some type of watercraft guided along the coastline (Dixon 1999; Erlandson *et al.* 2007). With the lower sea level conditions, both types of immigration were feasible. The landbridge provided both a path into North America as well as migratory herds of large mammals that could be harvested along the way. The mariners could have navigated along the coastline or used off-shore "stepping-stone" islands to move from north to south. Both marine and mainland resources were available for subsistence. Some islands were joined into a "super island," and the mainland coast itself jutted farther westward into the Pacific toward the coastal islands. Because of the lower sea level, the mainland coast and islands provided substantially more landmass for settlement and gathering natural resources necessary for prehistoric life.

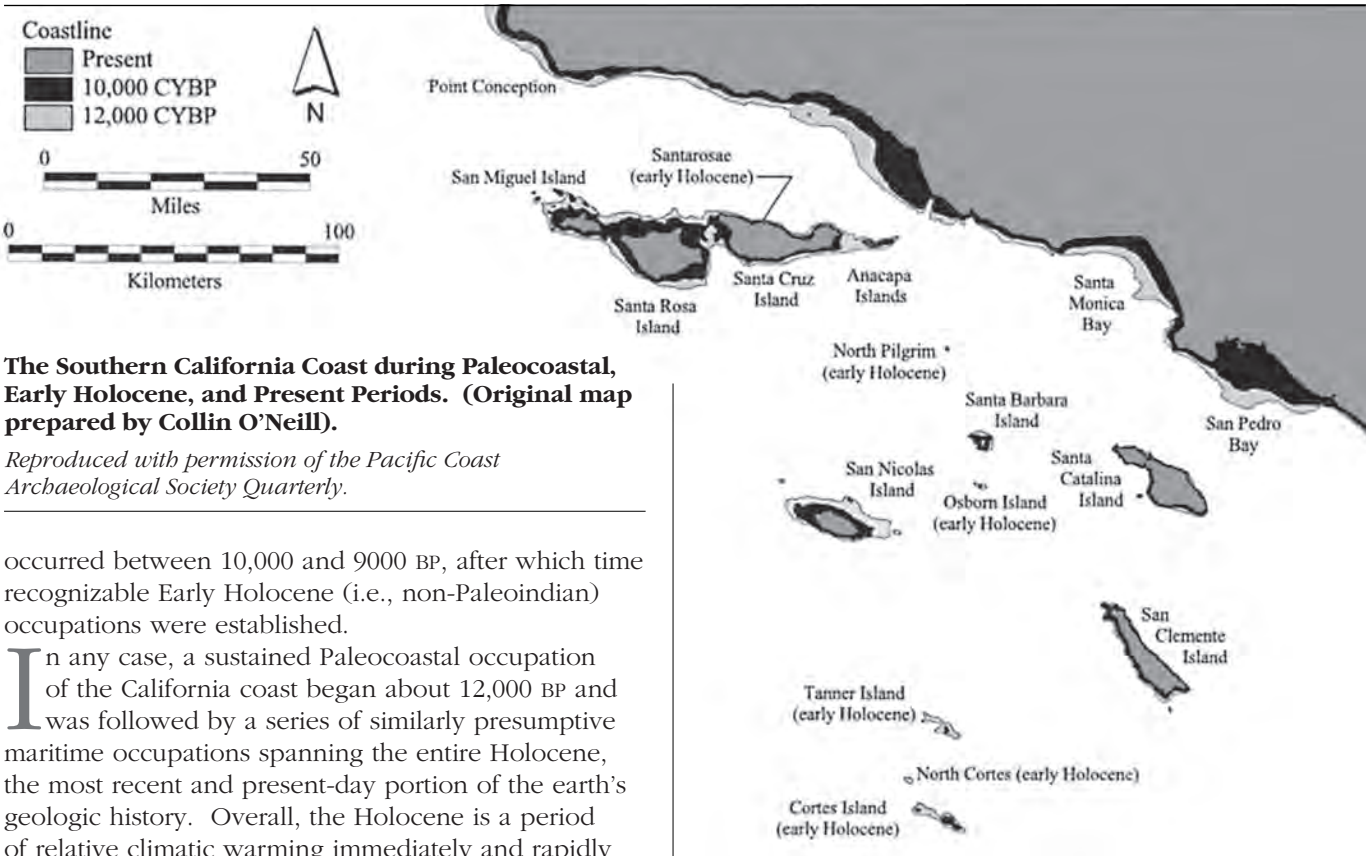
The Immigration Timeframe

California prehistory is usually segmented into three Holocene periods based mainly on major ecological and climatological characteristics. These segments are (1) the Early Holocene from 10,000 to approximately 6,650 years before present (BP); (2) the Middle Holocene from 6650 to about 3350 BP; and (3) the Late Holocene after 3350 BP (Erlandson 1997). There is now, however, good evidence of human occupation of the California coast by 12,000 BP (Johnson *et al.* 2002, 2007). These earlier occupations by Paleocoastal Native Americans now characterize the Paleocoastal Period.

The precise timing of the transition from the Paleocoastal Period into the Early Holocene is not entirely clear, but it is reasonable to assume that it

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Judith F. Porcasi received her Ph.D. in Archaeology from the University of Leicester (UK) in 2008, and she also has an MA in Anthropology from California State University, Northridge, and a Certificate in Archaeology from UCLA. She has been working in Southern California and Channel Island archaeology since 1989 and is currently a Research Fellow at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA. With a specialization in zooarchaeology, she is now researching the faunal remains from a number of archaeological sites on Santa Catalina Island.



The Southern California Coast during Paleocoastal, Early Holocene, and Present Periods. (Original map prepared by Collin O'Neill).

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occurred between 10,000 and 9000 BP, after which time recognizable Early Holocene (i.e., non-Paleoindian) occupations were established.

In any case, a sustained Paleocoastal occupation of the California coast began about 12,000 BP and was followed by a series of similarly presumptive maritime occupations spanning the entire Holocene, the most recent and present-day portion of the earth's geologic history. Overall, the Holocene is a period of relative climatic warming immediately and rapidly following the series of glacial episodes that made up the Pleistocene. We now know, however, that the Holocene has been far from stable over its 12,000 years. Mayewski *et al.* (2004) found that around the globe as many as six significant, rapid climate changes occurred between 9000 BP and the recent times. These changes included polar cooling, tropical aridity, modification of atmospheric circulation, and increased moisture in certain parts of the tropics. Recent research indicates that sea level is still rising slowly as a result of global warming during the present portion of the Holocene (Parry 2008). The localized effects of these changes on the California coast are the subjects of ongoing scientific and archaeological research (e.g., Cannariato *et al.* 1999; Kennett and Kennett 2000).

The Channel Islands

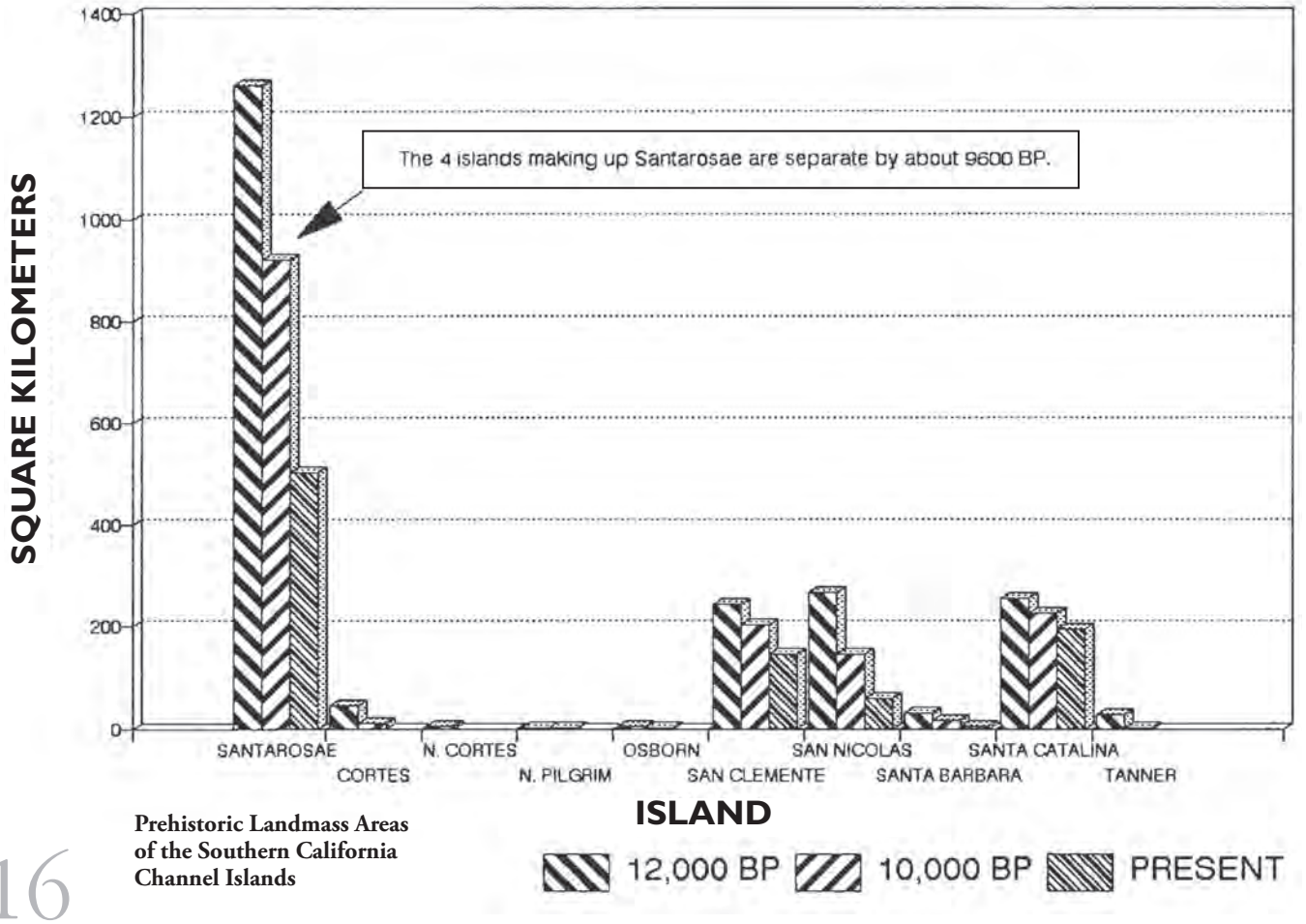
The illustration above presents the Southern California coastline and Channel Islands during the Paleocoastal and Early Holocene periods, as well as the current position of the coastline as of about 5000 BP when sea level more or less stabilized. Today, the Southern California Channel Islands consist of a northern archipelago comprised of San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, and the clustered Anacapa Islands and a southern archipelago comprised of San Nicolas, Santa Catalina, San Clemente, and tiny Santa Barbara Island.

At the end of the Ice Age, the islands of the northern archipelago were linked together into a single super-island called "Santarosae." Santarosae was 2.5 times larger in terms of landmass than the combined northern islands are today. This landmass was a mere 9 kilometers (less than 6 miles) from the mainland coast of what are now Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties. Today this distance is 23 kilometers (about 14 miles) from the coast.

By about 11,000 BP the Anacapa Islands became separated from Santarosae as the sea level rose. By 10,000 BP, the larger islands making up Santarosae (San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and Santa Cruz) began to be separated by rising sea level. Santa Cruz Island separated from Santarosae about 9800 BP, and by about 9600 BP both Santa Rosa and San Miguel separated. Santarosae no longer existed as a single island. Overall, rising sea levels prior to 5000 BP reduced the landmass of the northern archipelago from approximately 1259 square kilometers 12,000 years ago to about 506 square kilometers today.

The islands of the southern archipelago are more distant from each other than the northern islands and were never connected to each other or to the mainland. Nevertheless, they too were considerably larger and closer together at the end of the Ice Age. San Clemente Island was 1.7 times larger than it is at present, San Nicolas was 4.6 times larger, and Santa Catalina was 1.3 times larger. Santa Barbara Island, which is only 3 square kilometers today, was about 30 square kilometers 12,000 years ago.

A speck of land, called North Pilgrim Island, was exposed above the sea surface approximately midway between the northern and the southern archipelagos. For prehistoric mariners this would have provided an important landfall and navigational aid for travel between the archipelagos. Osborn Island was exposed and centered within the triangle formed by San Nicolas, Santa Barbara, and Santa Catalina Islands. It was of fairly good size (4 square kilometers). There were also small islands offshore of San Nicolas, Santa Catalina, and San Clemente Islands. South of the southern archipelago, a small grouping of islands known as Tanner Island, and two additional islands (North Cortes and Cortes) (Porcasi *et al*. 1999) spanned some of the distance into what are now Mexican waters. From there, additional coastal islands provided a continuing trail southward along the coasts of Central and South America. These smaller islands (North Pilgrim, Osborn, Tanner and the Cortes Islands) are now submerged.



Prehistoric Landmass Areas of the Southern California Channel Islands

The Coastal Mainland

The mainland coast also had significant changes over the past twelve thousand years. The large embayments we know and enjoy today, such as San Pedro and Santa Monica Bays, developed between 10,000 and 5000 BP, resulting from both rising sea levels infilling shoreline foothills and from a series of complex coastal erosional patterns. Before that time, the coastline was somewhat straighter along its length. However, a large coastal prominence projected approximately 8 kilometers (5 miles) farther west today from what is now the San Pedro area. It was only 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from there to Santa Catalina Island. The Anacapa Islands were only about 9 kilometers (6 miles) from the Santa Barbara County coast. Today these islands are more than 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the mainland.

The southernmost California coast, San Diego County, also was subject to sea level rise during the Terminal Pleistocene and the Early Holocene. At 12,000 BP sea level there was 50 meters (164 feet) below its current level. In general, however, the southern portion of the coast experienced less drastic incursion of the sea over time than did northern portions of the coast (Jones 1991). This is because of the broad undersea coastal shelf in this area. Where the shelf is wide, a given sea level rise inundates much more land area than where the shelf is steep and narrow, for example, along most of the Southern California Bight. As sea level continues to rise today, additional coastal and island landmass is being slowly inundated.

Tracking the Coastline Changes

We use 12,000 and 10,000 years before present as benchmark dates for shoreline reconstruction because they represent a generally accepted period for earliest Paleocoastal occupation and for the Pleistocene-to-Holocene interface. These coastline patterns are based on sea level curves developed by dating coral samples from the Barbados Islands against melt water from the Greenland ice field (Fairbanks 1990). The dating was done by both radiocarbon (^{14}C) method and the advanced nuclear methods of thorium (^{230}Th) dating (Bard *et al.* 1990, 1993). These dates are further calibrated against tree-ring dating (dendrochronology) (Berger 1983). **Table 1** summarizes the coastline sea level depths relative to the current sea level at several points in time. The 9000 BP date relates to data from the Eel Point Site on San Clemente Island (Porcasi *et al.* 2000; Raab *et al.* 2009), and the 7500 BP date relates to data from the Little Harbor Site on Santa Catalina Island (Raab *et al.* 1995).

Table 1. Depths Below Present Sea Level

Years Before Present	Sea Level Depth Below Present Surface
12,000	- 61.5 m
10,000	- 34 m
9000	- 25 m
7500	- 15 m

The Early Coastline and Human Occupation

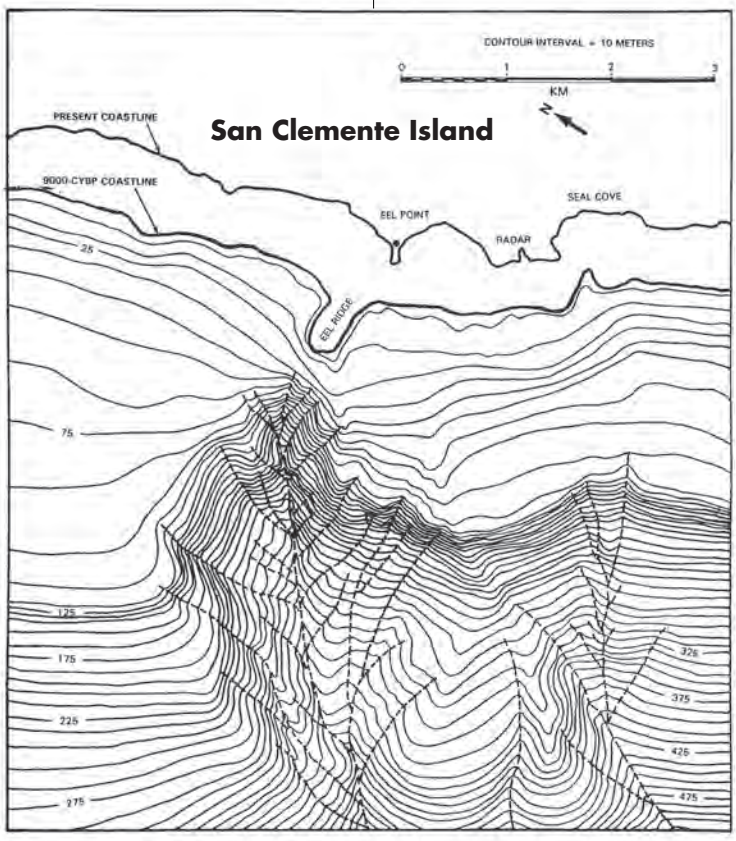
An understanding of prehistoric California shorelines bears on a number of questions related to the peopling of the Americas. These questions include the following:

1. Who were the first immigrants into the Western Hemisphere and where did they come from?
2. How and when did they get here?
3. Where and how did they establish their first communities?
4. What resources sustained them?
5. How did they adapt to their new mainland and/or island environments?
6. How and where do we find evidence of these early communities?

Archaeological research along the coast has provided brief glimpses of what these earliest immigrations and settlements might have been like and how these Paleocoastal people may have sustained themselves. First of all, there is good evidence that the first people to come into the Western Hemisphere derived from several areas of western Asia (Bortolini *et al.* 2003; Karafet *et al.* 1999; Kemp *et al.* 2007). Much of this evidence is based on genetic tracking of the various coastal populations of North, Central, and South America. Secondly, it is likely that there were marine immigrants as well as pedestrian immigrants. For many years the possibility of a coastal migration was discredited. It was assumed that the ice fields would have blocked any navigation, or that the early immigrants had no seaworthy watercraft, or that they could not have found enough resources along the way to sustain themselves. Now, however, such an immigration path is well accepted (Erlandson *et al.* 2007). It is especially interesting that the earliest human remains in California are found in the northern Channel Islands rather than on the mainland.

This partial human skeleton has been dated to about 13,000 BP (Johnson *et al.* 2002, 2007), and attests to the use of watercraft from the time of the first occupation. The mere presence of island communities during the Paleocoastal Period and Early Holocene attests to the use of seaworthy craft and a highly developed maritime adaptation.

Some Paleocoastal and Early Holocene groups may have been highly mobile, moving along the coast or between the islands and the mainland. Other groups may have become quite sedentary or settled in environments rich in resources. There is a growing body of data indicating that the Paleocoastal islanders, perhaps due to their traditional maritime skills, were adept at exploiting all forms of marine resources (there were no native terrestrial animals on the islands). The islanders used plants such as kelp or sea grass. They gathered easily collected shellfish and captured migratory and resident birds, a wide variety of fish, sea mammals such as sea lions and seals, sea otters, and even dolphins (Glassow 2005; Porcasi and Andrews 2001; Porcasi and Fujita 2002). Paleocoastal people living on the mainland coast had access to terrestrial resources such as deer, elk, rabbits, badgers, or even rodents, and combined these with marine resources in their diet (Jones *et al.* 2008).



Eel Point, Eel Ridge, and Eel Ridge Canyon during the Early Holocene.

Used with permission from the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly.

Archaeologists have found, however, that the use of these resources fluctuated over time, perhaps in response to localized climatic changes, fluctuations in prey availability, population movement, or even short-term over-exploitation of the most easily obtained prey species. One of the most important environmental changes that may have been involved in dietary changes over time was the temperature of upper levels of sea water. The type and quantity of marine resources is dependent on the temperature of the sea surface. Cool water upwelling from the depths tends to increase marine productivity (e.g., Martínez-Garcia *et al.* 2009), while warm water episodes tend to limit and change the nature of the marine ecosystem. Just as today we are aware of the impact of events such as *El Niños* along our coast, the early Californians would have been affected by the changing marine environment and ecosystems. It would have been necessary for them to adapt their lifeway to such changes over time. Archaeologists have also found that over time, fishing and hunting technology and techniques became specialized for exploiting certain resources (e.g., Cassidy *et al.* 2004).

The Eel Point site on San Clemente Island is an excellent example of the impact of shoreline change on settlement patterns (left). At about 9000 BP Eel Ridge was above water and projected about 1.24 kilometers (less than 1 mile) west from the known archaeological site where people settled. This was a short walking distance from the site, but it still provided direct access to marine resources. The western tip of Eel Ridge was only 0.27 kilometer (less than a quarter of a mile) from the head of Eel Ridge Canyon, which is the only break in the undersea shelf surrounding the island. At 9000 BP the head of this submerged canyon was only 30 meters (about 100 feet) below the surface. Presently it is beneath 55 meters (180 feet) of water. The proximity of Eel Ridge to this canyon during the Early Holocene made this rocky promontory an excellent location for harvesting pelagic fauna such as large fish and dolphins that had traveled through the canyon toward shore. At 10,000 BP Eel Ridge would have stood only 200 meters 656 feet) from the head of

Eel Ridge Canyon, and at 12,000 BP Eel Ridge would have been at the very brink of the undersea canyon.

In short, over time Eel Ridge became increasingly inundated and the submarine canyon became less accessible to occupants of the Eel Point site. The same would be true of many other Paleocoastal and Early Holocene occupational sites. Those sites that were directly on or very near the shore would have been the first to become submerged. Thus, much archaeology from the earliest sites has been lost. Nevertheless, California's remaining Paleocoastal and Early Holocene sites are revealing their secrets.

Summary

The sea level rise discussed in this article was a uniform, worldwide phenomenon. We have reviewed how this affected the Southern California coast and its earliest occupants. But not all coastlines around the globe changed in the same manner. Certainly rising sea level accounts for the greatest change in Holocene shorelines, but other geological events also played a role in changes along specific areas of the shoreline.

While rising sea level gradually drowned some of the landmass previously exposed during the Pleistocene, in other areas of the world the opposite was true. For example, in polar areas that had been deeply buried under heavy ice during the Ice Age, the landmass actually rebounded upward as the load of ice partially melted into the oceans. Tectonic uplift and subsidence also affected certain coastal areas. Complicating the picture for islands is the fact that rates of uplift differ because each island is on an independently mobile structural block with unique geological history and rates of motion. The primary motion along the Southern California coast is uplift, with rates varying from 0.15 meter per 1000 years at Newport Beach to 10 meters per 1000 years farther north along the Ventura County coast. Overall, however, the average rate of uplift in the region is between 0.2 and 0.4 meter per 1000 years. Thus, here in California the coastline is at the same time subject to the effects of both rising sea level and moderate uplift.

The California coastline will continue to change due to natural global conditions. But clearly the human population has equally significant effects – some good and some destructive – on the coast and its islands. The coastline is no longer what it was during the Paleocoastal Period and the Early Holocene. Its future will be decided by modern coastal occupants, by the individuals and agencies using coastal resources, and by environmental caretakers.

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Evidence of Prehistoric Native American Seafaring



by Jim Cassidy, Ph.D.

Introduction

Considerable debate has taken place regarding the possibility of multiple avenues of population expansion into the New World from Asia. In addition to traditional land-based models, a hypothesized role played by early seafarers has received greater attention and support in recent years. However, specifics as to the timing and characteristics of early seafaring activities have yet to be well developed.

Some time ago, Knut Fladmark (1978) argued for a maritime-based entry of people across the Bering Sea and southward along the coast of North America. However, this idea was generally rejected on both empirical and theoretical grounds. First, on empirical grounds, it was argued that there were few, if any, coastal sites that could be firmly dated to the late Pleistocene/early Holocene transition (approximately 12,000-9,000 years ago). At that time, the use of radiocarbon dating was only beginning to be systematically applied to the archaeological record and it was assumed that the few known coastal prehistoric sites all dated to recent times. However, during the last few decades a multitude of early sites have been confirmed in both coastal and insular settings that extend back to the end of the last Ice Age, around 10,000 years ago, and geographically span the entire northern Pacific Rim.

The second objection is based on a number of early theoretical assumptions. First, it has been argued that coastal marine resources such as shellfish and near-shore fish were only exploited late in prehistory after terrestrial resources began to fall short of the needs of an expanding land-based population (Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984). Associated with this idea was the assumption that change took place gradually on a culture-wide basis after millennia of experimentation. Finally, the rationale for explaining why coastal adaptations evolved late in time, and in a gradual manner, was based on early ecological assumptions that marine resources were generally inferior in terms of caloric value and size (Yesner 1987). It was also assumed that hunting from a watercraft was far less efficient from a cost-benefit rate of return perspective when compared to hunting land mammals.

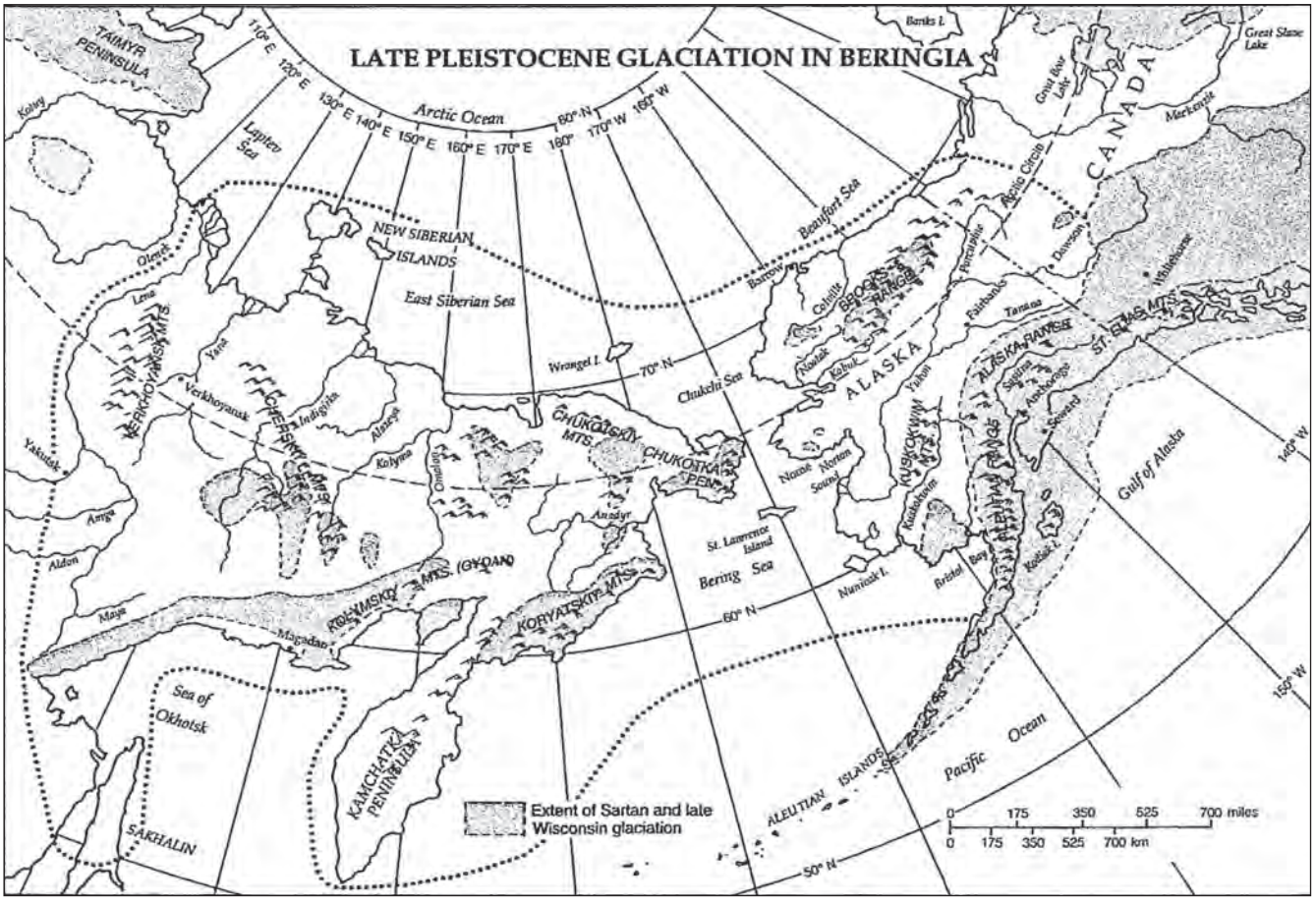
More recent research has brought all of these assumptions into question. It is now accepted that marine resources are fully comparable in nutritional value to those found on land (Erlandson and Colton 1991). Further, rather than acting as casual collectors of easily accessed coastal resources such as surf-fish and shellfish, early mariners were skilled hunters who actively targeted larger sea mammals, such as seals and even dolphins (Porcasi and Fujita 2000). More recent theoretical perspectives proposed by behavioral ecologists argue that individuals have always had the capacity to rapidly adapt to challenging conditions. This human ability to innovate during periods of heightened environmental stress is one of the hallmark characteristics of our specie and has been central to our ability to enter and expand throughout the entire breadth of the New World since the last Ice Age.

Evidence of Early Seafaring

In recent decades a significant number of coastal excavations in Alaska, the Northwest Coast, the California Coast, and even coastal South America, have yielded an ever-increasing number of radiocarbon dates that either coincide with or predate the Mammoth hunters of the Clovis Culture. In recent years the idea of a Paleo-Coastal tradition has been supported by the identification of more than a hundred southern California coastal sites that date to the terminal Pleistocene/early Holocene transition (12,000-8000 years BP).

Support for these ideas is drawn from evidence of late Pleistocene maritime migrations across temperate Pacific waters to Australia and New Guinea approximately 50,000 years ago (Groube et al. 1986;

Dr. Jim Cassidy's research has emphasized the prehistoric development of maritime cultures across the north Pacific Rim. This included study of mariners who resided on San Clemente Island over 8,000 years ago. He has conducted field research on the northern coast of the Sea of Japan and in the Russian Far East. This examined the transition of early mariners from hunter-gatherer-fishermen to Bronze Age complex societies in Northeast Asia. Dr. Cassidy has organized a number of international symposia and lectured on the unique evolution of maritime societies. He has published numerous articles, served as Scientific Editor for the journals *North Pacific Prehistory* and *California Archaeology*, and has recently co-authored a book entitled *California Maritime Archaeology: A San Clemente Island Perspective*. Jim is presently employed as an archaeologist with the Department of the Navy, and volunteers as a Research Associate for the Maritime Museum of San Diego



Late Pleistocene glaciation in Beringia (West 1996:3)

Roberts et al. 1990), Melanesia 35,000 years ago (Allen and Kershaw 1996), Okinawa 32,000 years ago (Matsu'ra 1996), and Japan 25,000 years ago (Oda 1990). It has been noted that if late Pleistocene cultures possessed the ability to use watercraft, then they could have leapfrogged along the Kuril and Aleutian Island chains of the arctic north Pacific and reach the New World prior to the Last Glacial Maximum 22,000 years ago (above). However, these ideas have not addressed the fact that there are presently very few archaeological sites known to exist above the 50-degree North Latitude in Europe, northern Siberia or the Americas at such an early date (Straus 2000; Workman and McCartney 1998; West 1996). In contrast to the paucity of support for the peopling on the America's prior to the Last Glacial Maximum, there is clearly a substantial amount of data emerging in support of the rapid spread of maritime adapted cultures all along the north Pacific Rim shortly after the Pleistocene/Holocene transition.

Sea level rise of almost 400-feet since the last Ice Age, with the resulting coastal erosion and silting in of all the river channels empting into the Pacific Ocean has resulted in the destruction of the vast majority of early coastal and island sites. In spite of this, the development of intensive surveys and the systematic application of radiocarbon dating techniques had identified many more early Holocene marine sites than previously thought possible. This has now led to a more optimistic view that many more are yet to be discovered. A number of early insular sites have already been found in the Gulf of Alaska, such as the Anangula site on Ananiuliak Island that dates to 10,000 years before present (Laughlin and Aigner 1966), Hidden Falls on Baranof Island dating to 9,500 years ago (Davis 1996), Ground Hog Bay on the Chilkat Peninsula at 9,200 years ago (Ackerman 1968), On Your Knees Cave on Prince of Wales Island at 9,200 years ago (Dixon 1999), and numerous sites on the Queen Charlotte Islands that date to between 9300-8300 BP (Fedje and Christensen 1999).

Numerous island sites dating to this time period have also been identified on the California Channel Islands. These include Daisy Cave on San Miguel Island that dates in excess of 12,000 calendar years (Erlandson et al. 1996), Arlington Springs on Santa Rosa Island at about 13,000 years BP (Johnson et al.1999), Punta Arena on Santa Cruz Island at 8,400 years age (Glassow 2005), and Eel Point on San Clemente Island that dates between 8,000 and 10,000 years ago (Cassidy et al. 2004; Raab et al. 1994). All of these sites date between 13,000 and 8,000 years before present and necessitated the use of watercraft to cross open bodies of water of up to 60 miles. Not only does this reflect a widespread distribution of insular maritime locations, but also demonstrates that these were not casual or short-lived occupations by unsophisticated mariners.

Seafaring vs. Littoral Environments

If we wish to propose the possibility of "maritime migrations," then a number of considerations must be addressed. First and foremost, a definition of what is meant by "maritime migration" must be agreed upon, and to my knowledge that has not been accomplished. Numerous treatises in the literature have explored the general concept of "migration" and associated processes involving the movement of populations into new and previously uninhabited areas (Anthony 1990; Beaton 1991). As Burmeister (2000) points out, however, the identification of migrations in the archaeological record, as opposed to other processes of culture change, is among the most difficult tasks we face.

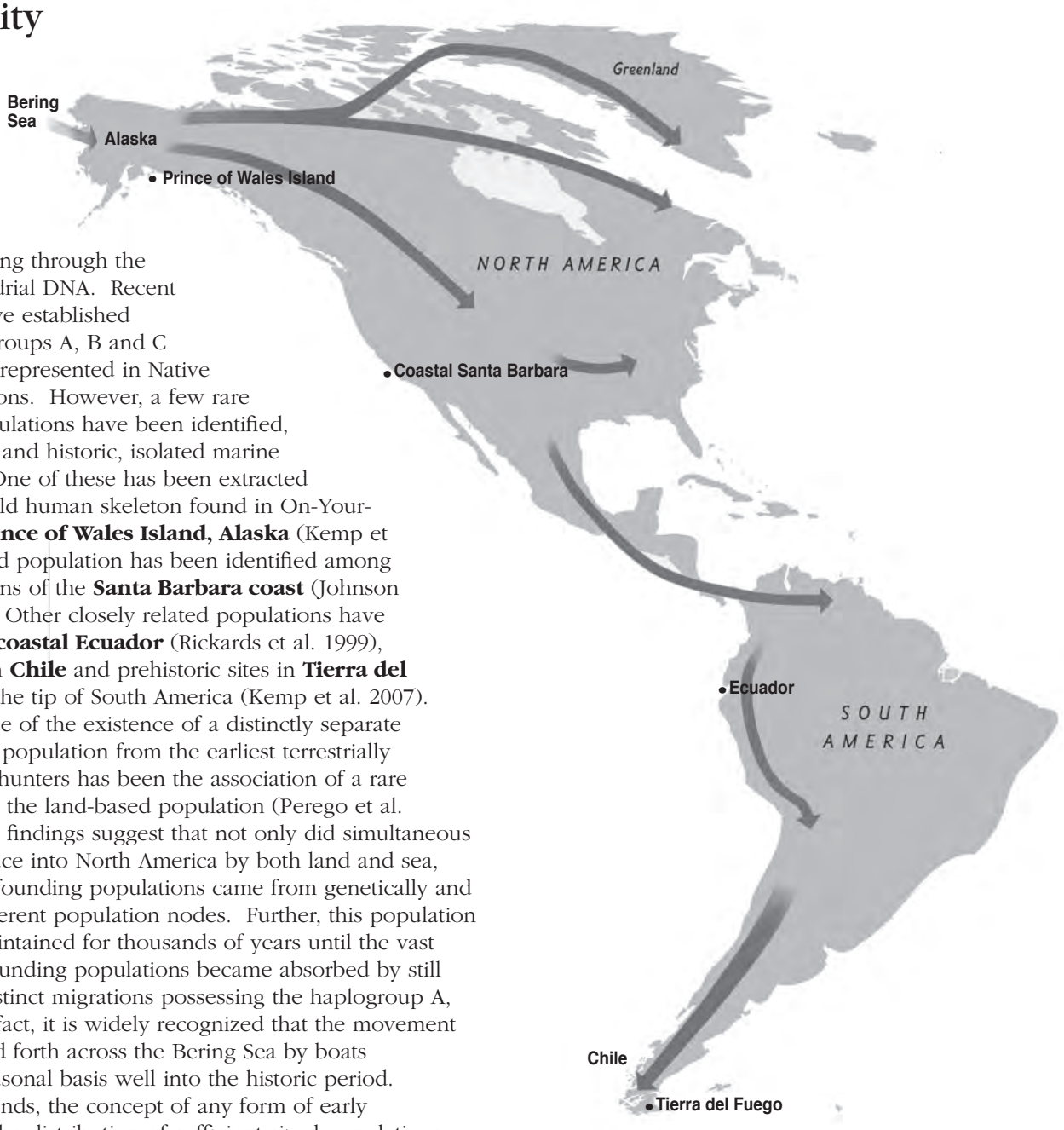
However, in the case of insular island locations this task is made somewhat easier through the necessary assumption that "seafaring" (i.e. the use of watercraft) must have been involved. Thus, we may define "maritime migration" as the use of seafaring technology to occupy new coastal locations by people who primarily subsist on marine resources. This suggests that seafaring groups should represent a qualitatively distinct adaptation from coastal collectors who simply took advantage of easily accessed littoral resources. The ability to construct seaworthy watercraft, and pilot them in open-waters, presumes a significantly more complex mode of social organization and command of technology than that found among generalized land-based foragers (Kelly 1995). In order to evaluate these ideas we must address the technological challenges posed by open water conditions for the use of watercraft. Even today, to say nothing of during the Last Glacial Maximum, the challenges posed in northern latitude regions in the form of frigid temperatures, high precipitation, low visibility, high energy winds and related wave amplitudes, and forceful currents all pose life-threatening challenges for people involved in any proposed maritime passage.

A presumption that maritime migrations occurred across the north Pacific during the Pleistocene/Holocene transition requires us to consider what the marine environment must have been like at that time. First, we must recognize that the Bering Sea would not have existed at that time and that the Bering land bridge served to block the flow of frigid waters of the Beauford and East Siberian Seas from contact with the warmer north Pacific. This would have also served to significantly alter, and perhaps moderate, the flow of currents and seasonal storm patterns. Recent research, contrary to previous assumptions, have established that rather than being blocked by massive glaciers the north Pacific shoreline was lined with exposed peninsulas and islands that would have provided refuge for maritime adapted people (Dixon 1999; Fedje and Christensen 1999).

Conditions in the more temperate waters to the south would have been considerably less challenging, but still must have been taken seriously. If we accept that the long-term occupation of island sites required repeated seafaring ventures between the islands, and from the islands to the mainland, then it seems reasonable to assume that these hearty mariners possessed significant knowledge pertaining to the construction and operation of reliable watercraft, as well as the natural elements encountered during open water voyages.

Mitochondrial DNA and Reproductive Sustainability

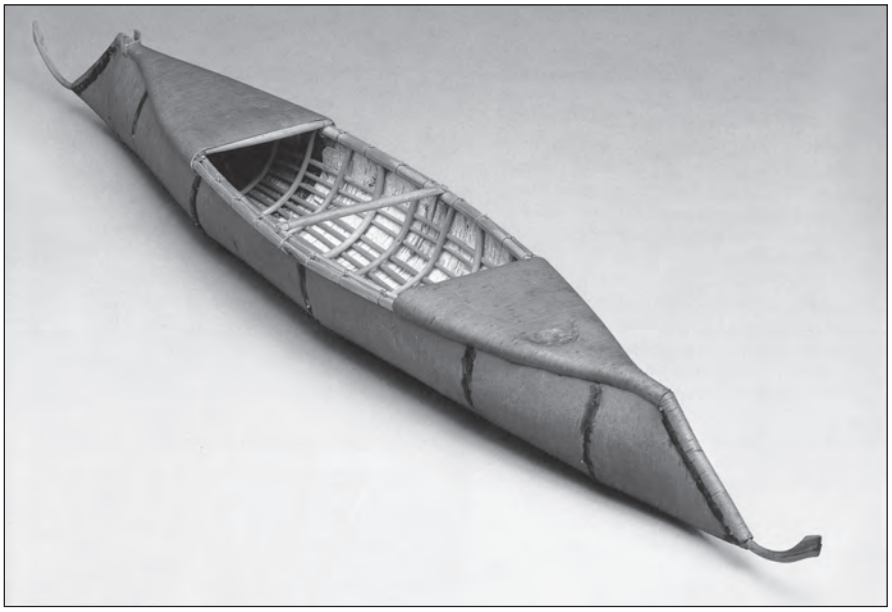
Proof of the existence of maritime populations, that were biologically distinct from terrestrial migrants, is presently emerging through the study of Mitochondrial DNA. Recent mtDNA studies have established that haplo blood groups A, B and C are predominately represented in Native American populations. However, a few rare haplogroup D populations have been identified, in both prehistoric and historic, isolated marine related contexts. One of these has been extracted from a 9200-year-old human skeleton found in On-Your-Knees-Cave on **Prince of Wales Island, Alaska** (Kemp et al. 2007). A second population has been identified among the Chumash Indians of the **Santa Barbara coast** (Johnson and Lorenz 2006). Other closely related populations have been identified in **coastal Ecuador** (Rickards et al. 1999), as well as southern **Chile** and prehistoric sites in **Tierra del Fuego**, located at the tip of South America (Kemp et al. 2007).



Above: Rare haplogroup D populations are identified in these geographic locations. (Arrows indicate path of prehistoric migrations.)

Further evidence of the existence of a distinctly separate founding maritime population from the earliest terrestrially adapted big-game hunters has been the association of a rare haplogroup X with the land-based population (Perego et al. 2009). All of these findings suggest that not only did simultaneous migrations take place into North America by both land and sea, but also that their founding populations came from genetically and geographically different population nodes. Further, this population separation was maintained for thousands of years until the vast majority of both founding populations became absorbed by still later genetically distinct migrations possessing the haplogroup A, B and C traits. In fact, it is widely recognized that the movement of people back and forth across the Bering Sea by boats continued on a seasonal basis well into the historic period.

On logical grounds, the concept of any form of early migration implies the distribution of sufficient sized populations to maintain reproductive viability, minimally defined as approximately 175 individuals (Birdsell 1968; Wobst 1974). Since the known terminal Pleistocene/early Holocene maritime sites ranged from small ephemeral artifact scatters to band-sized settlements it must be assumed that they were incapable of independently maintaining reproductive viability over the long span of time reflected by radiocarbon dates without regular contact with other groups. This means that the use of watercraft to visit other nearby groups for the purpose of social interaction and obtaining mates must have occurred on a regular and ongoing basis. This also suggests that the maritime populations viewed themselves as distinctly different and separate from the terrestrial populations and avoided inter-marriage between the two groups.



Left: The unique style of this "Sturgeon-Nose" bark canoe is thought to have originated along the Lower Amur River in the Russian Far East and spread to the North American Northwest Coast (Jennings 2004:107).

Native American Watercraft Technology

Obviously, if pre-8,000 year old watercraft were preserved in the archaeological record, then the reliance on indirect data for the reconstruction of seafaring would be unnecessary. However, in the absence of direct data, what can be inferred are the technological elements that would be necessary for watercraft design in order to sustain the prolonged occupation of insular locations. As discussed above, the design of such watercraft would necessarily need to address significant open-water challenges from storms, winds, waves and swells, currents, sea surface temperatures, and substantial distances between landfalls. These elements alone would eliminate the use of simple coastal crafts, such as rafts and dugout canoes as viable candidates, which are difficult to either steer or maintain upright in rough waters.

From a technological perspective, effective open-water watercraft must conform to very specific design requirements. Above all, watercraft must maintain buoyancy and stability. Buoyancy is achieved through the displacement of water with a near watertight hull, while craft stability is achieved through a relationship between buoyancy and the craft's center of gravity (Steffy 1994). Further, the displacement of water, minimization of wind drift, maintenance of directionality and the ability to cut through waves and maintain a relatively even plane all require a craft based on a modified "V" hull design. This generally implies the construction of a keel that runs along the bottom of the boat to provide both strength and flexibility. The bow, and the stern to a lesser degree, should be pointed and curved to increase the crafts hydrodynamics and speed. The gunnels should be sufficiently high to prevent swamping by waves, and must be separated from each other enough to permit the placement of crewmembers and cargo.

The manner in which watercraft developed in specific





Above Left: Walrus skin Umiak from western Alaska (Adney and Chapelle 1983;177).

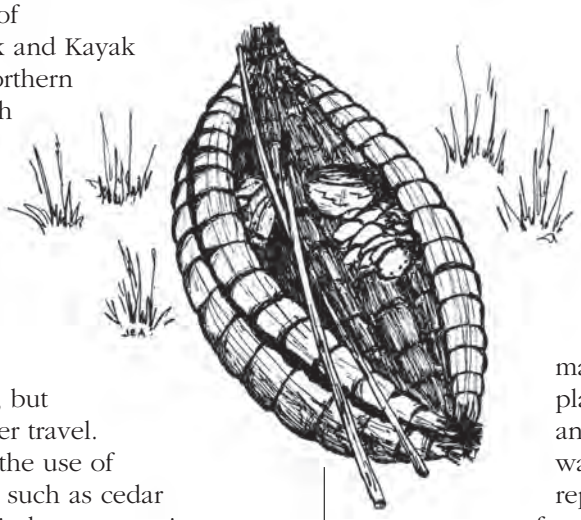
Left: Nunivak Island, Alaska Kayak (Adney and Chapelle 1983;199).

Right: Canoe seen by La Perouse in Lituya Bay on the Northwest Coast in 1786 (Emmons 1991:86).



locations would have been controlled by the geography, available resources and culture history of the craftsmen. The construction of bark canoes have been largely limited to locations where appropriate species of trees were available, such as birch, beach or spruce, and have been most effectively used in river locations (above).

The apparent association of skin boats, such as the Umiak and Kayak of North America, to frigid northern waters may be associated with the absence of trees and the abundance of sea mammal skins. The use of solubility animal fat as sealants may not have proved as effective in more temperate waters.



Left: Illustration of a five bundle balsa canoe utilized by the Chumash Indians of Santa Barbara, and Gabrielino Indians of the Los Angeles and Orange County coastal areas, California (Arnold 2001:14).

Most dugout canoes were of similar shape and size as bark or Kayak canoes, but restricted in use to calmer river travel. Oceangoing dugouts require the use of sufficiently large tree species, such as cedar or redwood that would permit the construction of high gunnels to avoid swamping by waves.

Balsa boats are directly associated with estuarial locations where long reeds are readily available. However, Balsas become saturated after a few days use and require frequent drying out periods and the repair or replacement of damaged reed bundles. The Chumash Indians of the Santa Barbara coast would construct three bundle crafts for estuaries and near coastal use, but would install additional bundles to form gunnels for travel to the nearby Channel Islands (Hudson and Blackburn 1979:335).

Finally, plank boats can be fabricated into composite structures wherever sufficient straight-grained woods free of knots, such as cedar and redwood, can be found. These materials could then be split into planks, bound together with twine, and caulked with asphalt to form watertight composite crafts. These represent the most complex form of watercraft constructed and used by Native Americans at the time of Spanish contact with Alta California. Plank canoes capable of holding from three to over twenty people were built by the Chumash and Gabrielino Indians to support various transport and commercial needs between the California mainland and the Channel Islands (McCawley 1996).

In addition to the availability of appropriate natural resources and technological know-how, the tools found in the archaeological assemblages of



Right: Photograph of the *Helek*, a replicated Chumash Indian plank canoe known as the *tomol* (McCawley 1996:124).

sites provide some clues pertaining to the types of watercraft construction activities that took place. The construction of bark canoes might be associated with wood cutting implements for stripping the bark from trees and punches to make the holes to lash the craft together. Skin boat construction should be associated with tools employed in the skinning, splitting and scraping of animal hides. Dugout canoes are commonly associated with the presence of axes and adzes for heavy woodwork. Reed boats may be accompanied with the presence of knives to cut the reeds and lashing materials. Plank canoes would necessitate the presence of wedges for splitting wood, scraper-planes, perforating implements, caulking chisels and abraders. While this list is by no means comprehensive, it illustrates how through a systematic examination of archaeological tool assemblages, accompanied with replication and use-wear experiments, we might advance our understanding of how and what types of watercraft were constructed in prehistory.

Conclusions

I have suggested that seafaring activities placed specific demands upon the dispersal of people from Northeast Asia, across what is now the Russian Far East and into the New World. These events and routes of migration would have placed very specific demands upon processes of social organization, group and individual knowledge, and technological skills. This, in turn, may have resulted in the development of qualitative differences between generalized terrestrial foragers who exploited easily accessed littoral resources and truly maritime people. These early seafarers possessed the ability to construct composite forms of watercraft, control sophisticated technological knowledge pertaining to boat construction, as well as the distribution of resources obtained through their use.

Anyone who has ventured upon the ocean knows that there is no such thing as simple seafaring. Unsupported assumptions of accidental strandings on islands, or that simple crafts such as rafts and dugout canoes could have sustained long-term occupations on distant islands amounts to "urban myths." On the contrary, the accumulating evidence reveals a pattern of widespread settlement of coastal and insular locations during the terminal Pleistocene/early Holocene transition. These highly mobile foragers were fully dependent upon the procurement of marine resources for survival, and commanded the technological skills to construct, maintain and pilot reliable watercraft in open waters on a regular basis. The late Pleistocene/early Holocene transition was a period of ameliorating climatic conditions and increasing resource abundance that provided great opportunities for accelerated processes of independent invention and related individual aggrandizement through increased mobility and the colonization of new territories.

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The Alutiit: Maritime People of the Dynamic North Pacific Coast of North America



By Patricia L. McClenahan, Ph.D.

Introduction

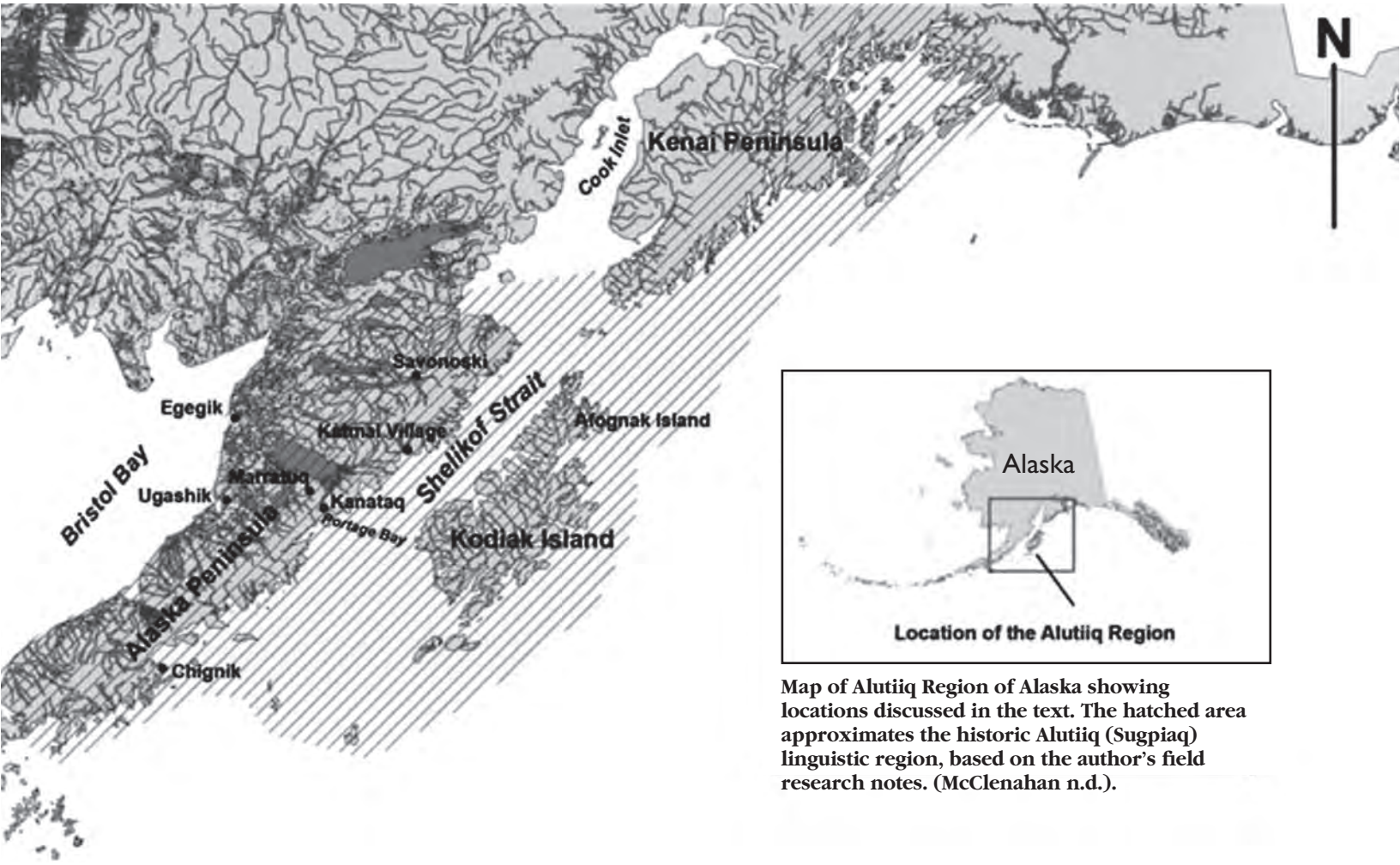
Northern Pacific Ocean waters are among the most dynamic, productive, and dangerous in the world. Inhabitants of the north Pacific coast of North America are a maritime people, and have been from prehistoric times. The northernmost Pacific people of Alaska, the Alutiiq or Sugpiaq speakers, live in parts of the Kenai Peninsula, Cook Inlet, the Kodiak islands and the Alaska Peninsula, at the southernmost extent of the Arctic ecosystem (Damas 1984; CAFF 2001). In this region, prehistoric and historic-era aboriginal people used a variety of particular adaptations to cope with their extreme environment. Keen subsistence hunting, fishing, and foraging skills, an abundance of specialized tools and strategies, and specialized methods of transportation and trade are required to live and subsist here. Those plying the north Pacific waters today, even with their modern equipment and sophisticated technology, find it a dangerous and challenging place.

The North Pacific Coast Central Alaska Peninsula Region

The north Pacific coast of the central Alaska Peninsula and the Alutiiq people who lived there prehistorically and historically have not received as much in-depth study as the other Alutiiq regions, probably due to the remoteness and difficulties in access. Many Alutiit live in the same areas today as their prehistoric and historic ancestors, for example, the Kenai Peninsula, the Kodiak Island group, and the Chignik villages of the lower Alaska Peninsula, Alaska. However, today much of the north Pacific Coast of Shelikof Strait is uninhabited because it is remote, and people moved to communities where transportation, schools and other services were available, and where the richest subsistence opportunities presented themselves.

For example, the Chignik River is large enough and long enough to sustain substantial salmon runs, whereas the Kanataq River is short and in some years it is shallow. Only a few salmon run in the Kanataq River,

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Map of Alutiiq Region of Alaska showing locations discussed in the text. The hatched area approximates the historic Alutiiq (Sugpiaq) linguistic region, based on the author's field research notes. (McClenahan n.d.).

although other fish such as Dolly Varden are present year-round. Chignik villagers, who still live in a viable community, have been able to fish adjacent to their village in the summer and dry and store salmon for the winter. It was economically more feasible for Kanataq folk to travel inland to Marraatuq, Lake Becharof, or Egegik for salmon fishing and drying, where stocks were much more plentiful. Today, Kanataq is deserted.



Above: Portage Bay, Central Alaska Peninsula Pacific Coast. In the background is Kanataq Lake (Central Alaska Peninsula Archaeological Project 2001 NSF OPP-0102687).

The Regional Setting

The Alaska Peninsula Pacific coast is fjorded to some degree in certain locations. Protective bays and inlets are scattered intermittently along the coast. They are remnants of a glacial past and subsequent sea level rise at the close of the last glacial period. Portage Bay and Chignik Bay are two examples of locations that provide all of the necessary physical elements to favor human habitation.

The historic and prehistoric village of Kanataq in Portage Bay is situated at one such location. The village was located on both sides of the Kanataq River where it drains the lake. The beach at Portage Bay is a "catcher beach". Large amounts of driftwood collect on the beaches. Violent storms have deposited storm-driven materials to the north banks of the river and beyond (above).



Right: Western Portage Bay (Central Alaska Peninsula Archaeological Project 2001 NSF OPP-0102687).

Along much of the coast, cliffs abut the ocean. Where there are beaches, it is only a short distance from the water to the abruptly-rising spine of the volcanically active Aleutian Range of mountains that separates coastal lowlands from the Bristol Bay Coastal Plain.



Middle: This rock cliff and water-worn grotto along the western Portage Bay shoreline dwarf the author (Central Alaska Peninsula Archaeological Project 2001 NSF OPP-0102687).

In the summer, the lowland interior of the Alaska Peninsula is a maze of meandering rivers, streams, tundra bogs and marshes. Travel on land here during the warm months requires the use of a series of trails and boat portages.



Right: Bristol Bay Coastal Plain (Central Alaska Peninsula Archaeological Project 2001 NSF OPP-0102687).



Above: Alutiiq bidarka or qayaq (kayak). Peter Kewan's bidarka on the beach in Afognak, Alaska, ca. 1910.
Helen J. Simeonoff Photographs. Courtesy of the Alaska State Library Historical Collections.

Prehistoric and Historic Methods of Transportation

During prehistoric times, coastal and inland dwelling people depended heavily on expertly and cleverly crafted boats for transportation and for obtaining many of their subsistence resources. Boats were key to life at sea and on land.

A great deal has been written about historic Alaskan boats. Those in the Alutiiq area were constructed in a similar manner as those of people of other areas of Alaska, with some distinctive features that made them readily recognizable. Alutiiq bidarkas (kayaks), which may date back to as much as 5,000 years ago, were constructed with one, two, or three hatches for passengers to sit (Zimmerly 2000:3 and 31). They were slender crafts made of wooden ribs and stitched hide covers. The prow was distinctive in its prominent upswept forked form, which apparently has two specific functions. The lower part of the prow cuts the water, and the upper part is a flotation device that helps maneuver the boat under rough ocean conditions. This type of boat could even land on the rocks on the beach without being destroyed (Steinbright, ed. 2001). The remarkable prows were obviously utilitarian, but they probably were also a way to identify friend or foe from a distance.

Construction materials were specific to this region. According to Zimmerly, kayaks of this region were more heavily built, had a greater beam and the gunwales came together in a point at the stern…. Ribs were let into the underside of the gunwales, carefully avoiding any location where there was a deck beam (2000:29-30).

The type of wood used in the kayak frame and the animal skins used for boat covers varied from ecosystem to ecosystem, depending on what was available. It was reported that Chugach kayaks had frames of hemlock, with stem, stern, and cross pieces made of spruce. Hemlock is a stronger wood than spruce (Zimmerly 2000: 35-36). The central Alaska Peninsula Pacific coast has a tundra vegetation regime rather than the spruce forests of the Kenai Peninsula and the Kodiak islands. A wide variety of wood was available as driftwood, some of which may have been

useable for boat parts. Otherwise, people may have had to trade for wood or travel to areas that had forests.

In the instance of one Kodiak kayak, whale baleen was used to lash the ribs to the stringers. Seal skins were seamed together with a specialized waterless stitch so as to be completely waterproof at sea (Zimmerly 2000: 32). The crafts were required to be sufficiently seaworthy to conduct sea mammal hunting and fishing activities in the North Pacific Ocean and the Shelikof Strait, some of the most dangerous waters in the world. They had to be able to travel along the coastlines from village to village, and make the crossing between the Kodiak Islands and the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula, a distance across open ocean of approximately 30 miles. Additionally, boats had to be able to navigate shallow rivers and streams for inland travel, fishing, terrestrial mammal hunting, and gathering terrestrial resources such as bird eggs and berries.

Prehistoric and Historic Village Site Selection

It is fascinating how historic and prehistoric people on the North Pacific coast selected sites for houses and boat haulouts, particularly with respect to the environmental and subsistence factors that were involved. Additionally, during late prehistoric and historic times there were issues of warfare and competition to take into consideration (Moss and Erlandson 1992:73; Dumond and VanStone 1995: 97-99).

When people selected habitation sites, they considered many of the factors we do today. At the same time, they had to contend with other issues that we might find surprising, viewing them as we do from our insulated modern lives.

A major concern of inhabitants of the Alaska Peninsula Pacific coast was the safe storage, launching, and landing of their oceangoing watercraft. The type of beach, whether it was rocky or sandy, was a factor taken under consideration. In this region beaches are dynamic, quickly removed by a major storm and subsequently re-deposited by another. While sandy beaches might be preferred for landing kayaks, they were not always available. Prevailing winds are from a different direction at different times of the year, and so a site that had more than one option for safe boat launching was preferred.

Tides and wave activity both affect the ability of a craft to land safely. Some secretive little sites were located on islands behind rock arches that could only be accessed by boat during particular tides. Sites that were shielded from the view of an enemy approaching from the sea were favored, as were those offering quick access to a variety of options for escape in times of emergency.



Right: Bidarka on the beach at Chignik, Alaska, 1909.
Flamen Ball Photograph Collection. Courtesy of the Alaska State Library Historical Collection.



The Alutiit stored dried salmon and other food caches on stilts to discourage bears and other scavengers from stealing winter supplies. The time period of this scene was 1913 or earlier. In this instance an Alutiiq kayak was stored beneath the caches (McClenahan n.d.).

Another primary concern of Pacific coastal residents was proximity to subsistence resources. The term "subsistence resources" refers to food, water, and other vital non-food resources obtained by hunting, fishing, gathering, and trading. Food resources people sought first were those which would provide the greatest nourishment among the resources available. They were the most plentiful, allowing for an opportunity to store surplus items for the winter. They required the least amount of effort for the greatest energy return. They were valued for providing variety in the diet, and they allowed the opportunity for enough people to live together to help one another. On the central Alaska Peninsula, salmon, caribou, and sea mammals are and were primary resources. Historically, people turned to secondary resources such as bears when primary resources failed. A wide variety of ocean and tundra resources, including cod, shellfish, a variety of seaweeds, herbs, berries, rabbits, ptarmigan, sea bird eggs, and migratory waterfowl are among the foods available seasonally on the north Pacific coasts.

Trade flourished in prehistoric times; however, prehistorically and historically until the American Period the Alutiiq people did not participate in a cash economy but they had a subsistence economy. Flexibility was key to this kind of economy. This direct relationship with the animal and plant resources they sought was a primary factor in deciding where to live.

Abundance or scarcity of primary resources was a determining factor in how many people could live together in one location. It also required that people be ready to relocate if necessary when primary and secondary subsistence resources failed. A delicate balance was maintained between not over-stressing the resources upon which people depended, while being close enough to other villages to make visiting possible. Here at the southern edge of the Arctic ecosystem, resources are more plentiful and less scattered than they are farther north. Fewer acres of territory are required in which to hunt, fish, and gather than are necessary in the Northern Alaska regions. In the case of the villagers of historic Kanataq, they spent late fall, winter, and early spring in the village, where stored food, driftwood for fires, warmer winter temperatures, and an ice-free bay sustained them. In the spring and fall, village members hunted inland for caribou and gathered spring birds' eggs. In the summer months many dispersed to join friends, other family members, and hunting or trading partners in locations such as Kodiak, Maarratuq, Egegik and Ugashik to fish for all five species of salmon and to take a variety of inland resources. Huge amounts of salmon were dried and stored in pits, in side rooms in multi-roomed houses, and in above-ground wooden caches on stilts away from predators for use throughout the winter months.

A third set of factors in habitation site selection was the ready availability of fresh water. Houses tended to be situated adjacent to freshwater streams, often at the confluence of a lake and a stream. It was observed at Portage Bay and inland at sites on Lake Becharof that fresh water seeps can often be found

just outside the walls of semi-subterranean houses. Water from the seeps did not appear to have intruded into the houses themselves, which were situated in well-drained sediments. This type of house, much of it located beneath the ground surface, comprised of one to several rooms constructed of wood and/or sod with an arctic entryway to trap cold air, was easily heated. It often had a low rounded profile that withstood wind, and even the occasional tsunami, very well. On the coast, the house was situated where it provided a view of the ocean and the surrounding terrain. While cooking may have taken place outdoors during the summer, it appears from archaeological evidence and observation of environmental factors that these houses were inhabited year-round in the central Alaska Peninsula region. Tents and other light above-ground structures are not practical in the central Alaska Peninsula environment. Not only do powerful storms roll in from the sea, but katabatic winds arise in the Aleutian Range and thunder down both its northern and southern flanks in forceful gusts that can reach 60 miles per hour or more.



Brown (grizzly) bear (Ursus arctos horribilis) on Kanataq beach (Central Alaska Peninsula Archaeological Project 2001 NSF OPP-0102687).

Conclusion

Today the Alutiit generally live in larger villages and cities, and take part in either the cash economy or in a mixed cash and subsistence economy. Many of the traditional types of equipment and gear have been replaced by modern counterparts. Kayaks were used into the 1930s in the Alutiiq region and perhaps later; however, the traditional kayak has been replaced by a variety of modern watercraft.

In spite of these changes, today members of the Alutiiq communities are recording stories about their past, and Alutiiq artisans are studying museum specimens while working to reconstruct replicas of these wonderful boats that served the Alutiiq people so well for thousands of years.

Acknowledgements

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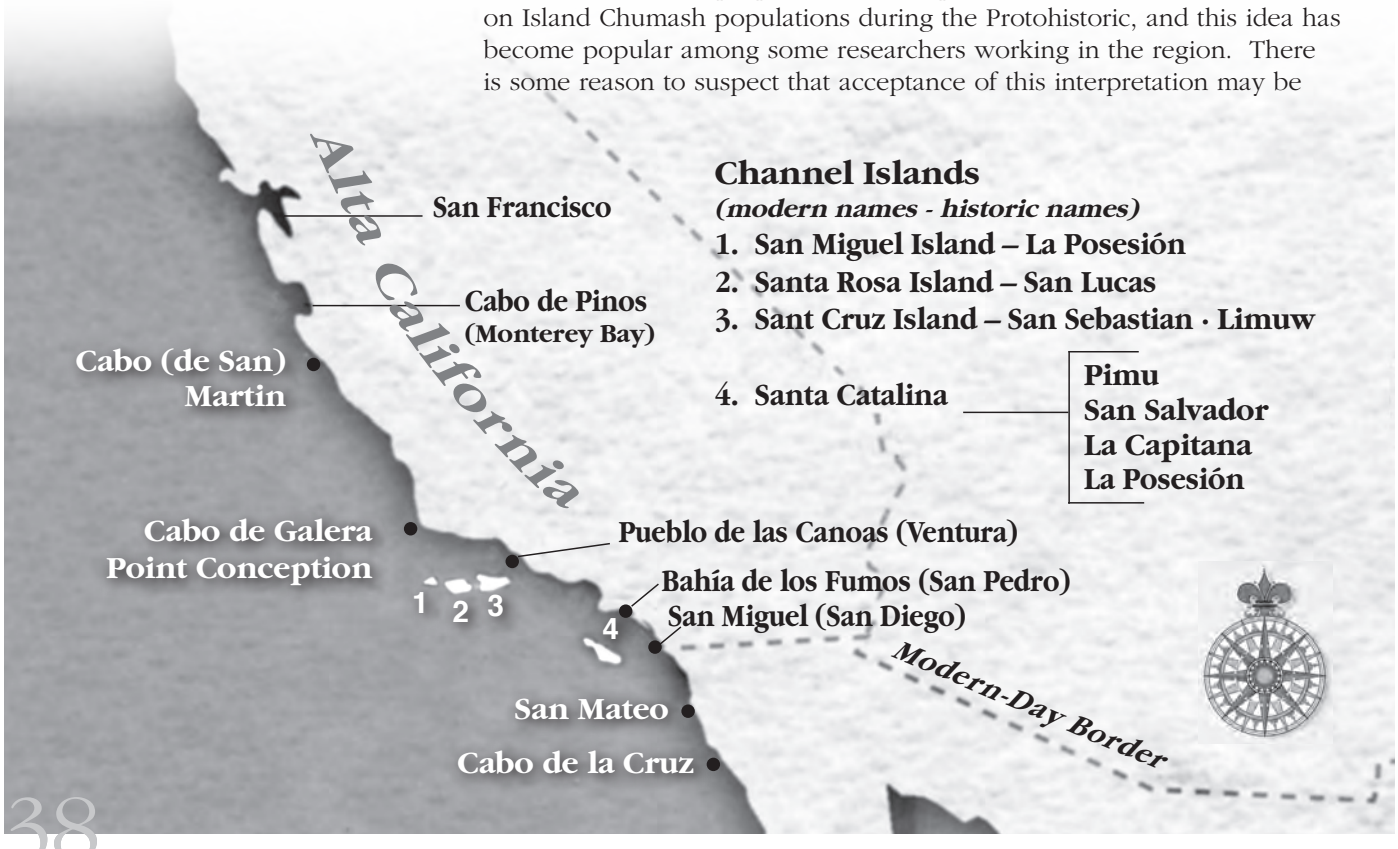
The Earliest European Contacts with the Chumash Islanders[1]



by John R. Johnson, Ph.D.

Introduction

The end of continuous Chumash occupation of the Northern Channel Islands came almost three centuries following their first contact with Europeans. Anthropologists and historians refer to the portion of this era prior to the establishment of the first missions in Alta California as the "Protohistoric," encompassing the years between 1542 and 1768. The most extensive written records pertaining to this period derive from the voyages led by Cabrillo (1542-1543) and Vizcaíno (1602-1603), and there appears to have been virtually no contact after these voyages took place. Because so few direct descriptions by Europeans pertain to this period, the answers to questions regarding how Chumash life may have been affected by these early contacts must derive from the discipline of archaeology. Some archaeologists have proposed that European diseases may have taken a toll on Island Chumash populations during the Protohistoric, and this idea has become popular among some researchers working in the region. There is some reason to suspect that acceptance of this interpretation may be



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premature, so this review has been written to examine the extant evidence and critically evaluate the data that has been offered in support of the Protohistoric Pandemic Hypothesis.

Cabrillo's Voyage

The earliest European encounter with the native inhabitants of the Channel Islands took place during the Spanish exploration of the California coast by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542-1543. In sailing northward from San Diego Bay, Cabrillo visited Santa Catalina and San Clemente islands, which he named for two of his ships, *San Salvador* and *Victoria*. He then crossed back to the mainland, moving up the coast to a large Ventureño Chumash ranchería that was named "Pueblo de las Canoas" because of the many plank canoes seen there. This ranchería was probably the large coastal town of *Muwu* at Mugu Lagoon, although both *Humaliwo* (Malibu) and *Shisholop* (Ventura) have been suggested as alternative locations. Cabrillo then crossed over to the Northern Channel Islands on 13 October 1542 for the Spaniards' first encounter with the Chumash islanders. As the historian Harry Kelsey has noted:

> **The main narrative of the expedition is almost hopelessly confusing and repetitious at this point, having been derived from several sources, each account somewhat different than the other. The seeming contradictions are probably due to the fact that the various islands and the towns on the mainland were visited on different days by various vessels in the expedition. As a result, what purports to be a list of village names in the narrative for 15 October is really a composite of several lists, with a good deal of repetition. The same holds true for a second list of that date, as well as the list dated 1 November, one following comments made for 3 January 1543, and one dated 12 January. For more than a century historians have disputed the exact locations of these places** [Kelsey 1986:147-148]**.**

The original logs kept by members of Cabrillo's expedition have been lost to posterity; however, a composite account copied from at least five different journals was prepared by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta under orders of the viceroy following the return of the ships to the port of Navidad on the west coast of Mexico. Lacking familiarity with California geography, Urdaneta managed to confuse the various lists of Chumash and

Gabrielino placenames recorded by various chroniclers (Kelsey 1986:169-170). For example, the Chumash name *Limu* (Santa Cruz Island) appears to have been confounded with the Gabrielino (Tongva) name *Pimu* (Santa Catalina Island). As Kroeber pointed out, two separate lists of village names are given for *Limu*, one of which likely refers to rancherías on Santa Catalina Island (Kroeber 1925:555). Careful textual analysis of the original Urdaneta manuscript (Kelsey 1986:169-170) and J. P. Harrington's linguistic analysis of rancherías named in the narrative (Harrington 1924; King 1975) have cleared up some of the confusion surrounding the sequence of the expedition's movements along the Santa Barbara Channel (Kelsey 1986:147-153).

Cabrillo returned to the Channel Islands towards the end of November after a brief exploration of the California coast north. He appears to have stopped at Cuyler Harbor, San Miguel Island to repair the ship's launch. The traditional assessment of most historians and anthropologists has been that the entire expedition then wintered at this spot; however, Harry Kelsey, author of the most definitive biography of Cabrillo, has argued convincingly that Santa Catalina Island was actually the place where the expedition appears to have made their stopover until mid-January. During this period, Cabrillo fell and suffered broken limb bones during a fight with the island's inhabitants, eventually dying from his injuries. Testimony later recorded from two of Cabrillo's men stated that the island where he was buried was *La Capitana*, thus connecting it with

Cuyler Harbor, San Miguel Island

Photo by Robert Schwemmer, Maritime Heritage Program, West Coast Regional Coordinator, NOAA



Santa Catalina; because that island had been named *San Salvador* after his *Capitana* (flagship) (Kelsey 1986:157-159; Pourade 1962:22; Wagner 1929:72). The debate as to where Cabrillo died and was buried has been further complicated by the discovery of a lichen-covered slab of sandstone collected in 1901 near Skunk Point on Santa Rosa Island. When this artifact was cleaned in the 1950s, it was noted to contain an inscribed cross and the initials "JR," as well as an incised anthropomorphic petroglyph presumably added by the native islanders. Because Cabrillo was known as Juan Rodríguez by his contemporaries, the initials "JR" suggested to some that this artifact may have been his gravestone (Heizer 1972). If it is, then it had likely been carried from his original gravesite on either Santa Catalina or San Miguel islands.

After Cabrillo's death and burial, the expedition resumed its voyage of exploration, reaching northern California by the end of February before returning to the Santa Barbara Channel region. While stopping at San Miguel Island, two youths were taken on board to be brought back to Mexico and trained as interpreters in case a return voyage was contemplated. The expedition arrived back at the port of Navidad on 14 April 1543, nine months after embarkation (Kelsey 1986:161).



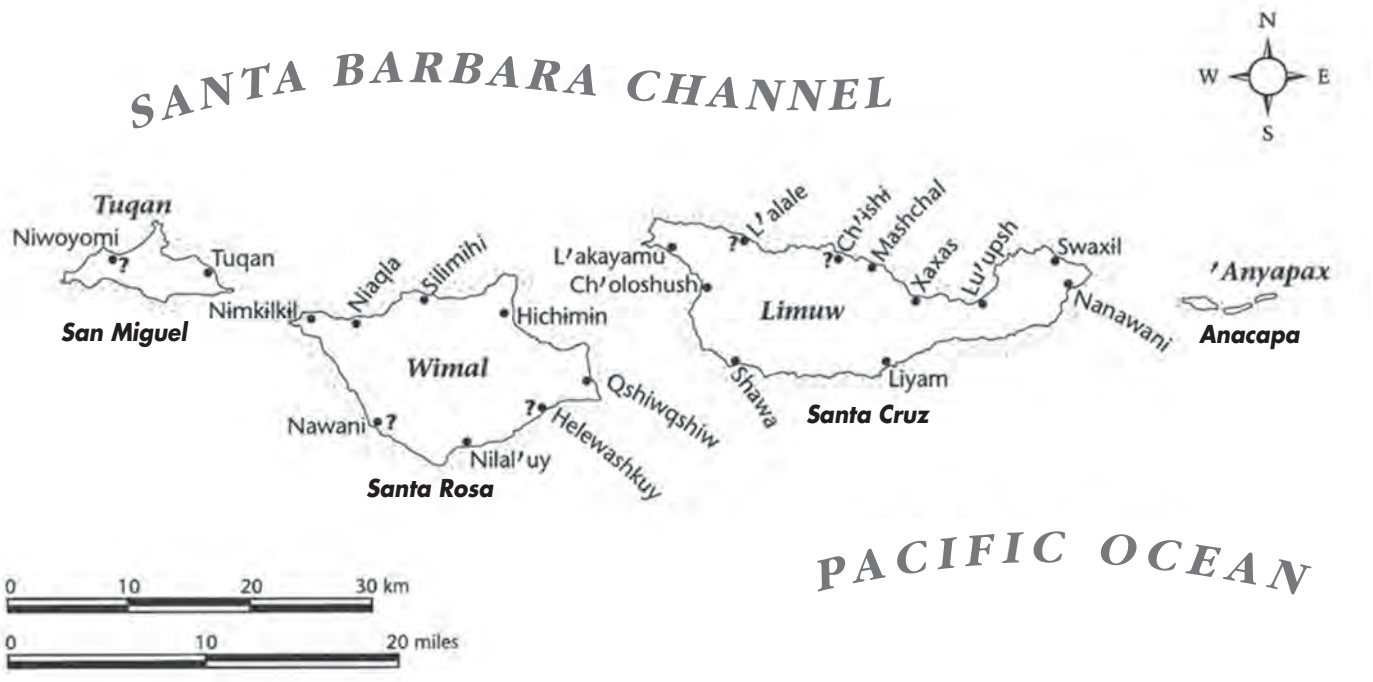
This inscribed stone was found on Santa Rosa Island in 1901 and has been the object of much speculation and research regarding its authenticity as a grave-marker for Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo.

Protohistoric Contacts after Cabrillo

Some have speculated that Francis Drake may have had contact with Chumash islanders in 1579, and it is certain that the Channel Islands were sometimes sighted by Manila Galleons passing by during their return from the Philippines to ports on the west coast of Mexico (Johnson 1982:16-18; Wagner 1929:114-117, 1937:411, 447). Despite the potential for there to have been sixteenth-century encounters with Europeans after Cabrillo, there is no documentation for any actual contacts until 1595. Following the loss of his ship in a storm at Drake's Bay, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño and his crew traveled southward along the California coast in the ship's launch. The Spaniards spent three days passing by the Northern Channel Islands and traded with some Chumash fishermen for fishes and a small seal while anchored off of the southeast side of Santa Rosa Island (Wagner 1929:162).

Following Cabrillo's voyage, the most extensive record of Protohistoric contact with Chumash islanders comes from Sebastián Vizcaíno's visit in December 1602. After spending the last four days of November on Santa Catalina Island, Vizcaíno's two ships entered the Santa Barbara Channel (named by him on St. Barbara's Day, December 4), where they made contact with the native inhabitants of Santa Cruz Island who came out to meet the Spaniards in their plank canoes. Two principal diaries document these encounters, one by Vizcaíno and the other by the missionary Fr. Antonio de Ascención (Bolton 1963:83-90; Wagner 1929:235-239). A rough sketch map of the Channel Islands resulted from the voyage. This map refers to Santa Cruz Island as *isla de gente barbada*, documenting that it was the custom of at least some Chumash men not to remove their facial hair (Hayes 2007:20; Mathes 1968:93; Wagner 1929:238).

The journals kept during Vizcaíno's visit indicate that perhaps only six days were spent around the Northern Channel Islands, and contact with Island Chumash was relatively limited because heavy seas prevented the ships from approaching too close to shore. It is evident that trading took place, and it is interesting that the Santa Cruz islanders had received advance word from the Gabrielino inhabitants of Santa Catalina Island that Spaniards were on their way before the latter arrived. Fr. Ascención's



The map of the Channel Islands show locations of Island Chumash towns that existed during the Mission Period. A number of these appear to have been occupied during the time of Cabrillo's visit in 1542-1543 and throughout the Protohistoric Period.
Courtesy of the Author

diary records that the Spaniards were surprised to discover that fragments of China silk were in possession of the Island Gabrielino residents of Isthmus Cove. The Spaniards surmised that these came from a shipwreck, but had to depart before they could be shown its location. Rather than coming from a wreck, these pieces of silk most likely came from trade with Cermeño's crew eight years earlier, as A. K. Brown has suggested (2001:16). The alternative possibility that the silk came from a galleon wreck seemed plausible thirty years ago, when a putative sixteenth-century galleon wreck was reported in deep water off of Santa Catalina Island (Johnson 1982:20-21; Walker and Hudson 1993:21); however, this find has not been substantiated archaeologically nor has alleged documentary evidence been produced.

Although the Channel Islands were sometimes seen from a distance, no further direct contacts between Chumash islanders and Europeans appear to have taken place for the next 166 years after Vizcaíno's exploration. The only brief sightings that have been documented were those by a Spanish exploring expedition which found itself between two of the islands at dawn in 1606, and a French merchant ship that described what appears to have been San Nicolas Island in 1709 (Brown 2001:24-26). In neither case, does there appear to have been interaction with island inhabitants. Some have suggested that the Manila galleons would have been major sources of contagions introduced to California Indian populations, which then could have spread to Chumash peoples (e.g., Erlandson et al. 2001:14-15; Walker and Hudson 1993:21); however, it is the considered opinion of most historians who have reflected upon the question that contacts with any indigenous groups were few and far between. Although Manila galleons continued to make an annual east-to-west crossing of the Pacific Ocean north of the equator, they appear largely to have avoided direct landfalls on the California coast, heading south to Acapulco once signs of the mainland were observed. The Spaniards believed that contact with cold winds in the northern latitudes invited scurvy, so ships were instructed to avoid sailing north of 36° or 37° North Latitude (Brown 2001:24-25, 28-29; Wagner 1937:94, 114, 139).

Impacts of Protohistoric Contacts

From the foregoing review of known protohistoric encounters with Europeans, it would seem that impacts on indigenous island societies were slight, resulting only in exchanges of native foods for objects of European manufacture. One historian has suggested that Vizcaíno's descriptions of "white or blond" youths on Santa Catalina Island implies that Cabrillo's men had contributed a genetic component to the native population when they wintered on the island sixty years earlier (Kelsey 1985:497). Beyond a few trade goods and perhaps some miscegenation, the most popular hypothesis pertaining to protohistoric impacts is that disease epidemics followed early Spanish contacts and led to a dramatic demographic decline on the Channel Islands. In particular, this possibility has been championed by Erlandson and colleagues (Erlandson and Bartoy 1995, 1996; Erlandson et al. 2001). It has even been suggested that reconstructions of California Indian societies based on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century ethnohistoric documents are inherently flawed because protohistoric pandemics had drastically reduced populations in the centuries preceding the first Spanish land expedition in 1769 (Preston 1996, 2002). Because the protohistoric pandemic hypothesis has gained a certain degree of acceptance among archaeologists working in California, it is worthwhile critically examining the evidence offered in its support.

The most thorough review and analysis of contacts between European seafarers and California Indians during the Protohistoric Period is by Lightfoot and Simmons (1998). These authors consider five maritime expeditions that interacted with native peoples on the California Coast, three of which (Cabrillo, Cermeño, and Vizcaíno) visited the Channel Islands. They point out that given the relatively small size of the Spanish crews, diseases such as influenza, smallpox, and measles would have already exceeded their incubation periods, having worked their way through the available onboard human carriers long before the ships had reached Alta California from ports in Mexico. The most likely source for disease transmission would have been from venereal diseases carried by crew members who may have had sexual contact with native women. Cabrillo's men especially were present among the Channel Islands long enough for such relations to occur. Although some bioarchaeological evidence of venereal syphilis exists from a cemetery on Santa Rosa Island (CA-SRI-2B), it is unclear whether the two individuals with indications of this disease date to the Protohistoric Period or to the subsequent Mission Period when syphilis was known to have been more prevalent (Rick 2004:273-274, 2007:249; Walker et al. 2002:297-299). To date, no other Chumash burials have been identified with clear evidence of venereal disease, which casts some doubt on the hypothesis that syphilis had a major impact on native populations prior to the Mission Period.

The authors who propose that protohistoric pandemics decimated island populations rely primarily upon numbers of radiocarbon-dated components of excavated archaeological sites in their analysis. Based on a sample of 215 calibrated radiocarbon dates distributed in 100-year intervals, these authors note that there is a marked decline in the number of dated components following Cabrillo's visit in 1542 (Erlandson et al. 2001). Although the authors admit that their sample may not be representative, they fail to mention what is perhaps a major source of bias in their results. Most archaeologists tend to conserve funds by dating only those occupation layers for which there are no obvious time-sensitive artifacts.

This is especially true when glass trade beads or other objects of European manufacture are present, but it is also the case for distinctive Olivella bead types dating to the Protohistoric and Mission periods. As a result, it is unlikely that an index based on radiocarbon-dated components would accurately represent the number of excavated components dating to the most recent periods of site occupations.

Conclusion

In view of the extant evidence, it is clear that demographic impacts on Island Chumash populations during the Protohistoric Period have not been demonstrated. Even if epidemics followed the visits of Cabrillo or Vizcaíno, populations have a tendency to rebound, as has been demonstrated in epidemiological studies among indigenous South American groups (Black 1975:517). Although the likelihood of major demographic impacts from diseases spread by early voyages has been questioned, analysis of mission burial records for the Chumash region does indicate that occasional disease epidemics would spread northward from colonized portions of Mexico prior to the actual settlement of Baja California. For example, a measles epidemic appears to have spread northward from Baja California at the very end of the Protohistoric Period. A "notch" in the Chumash population pyramid, as reconstructed from mission records, indicates that the age cohort born in the decade of the 1760s had fewer than expected survivors. The fact that the population pyramid was otherwise what would be expected from an indigenous population and that there had been population recovery after this measles epidemic argues against the hypothesis that there were long lasting demographic impacts to Chumash populations prior to the Mission Period (Johnson 2000; Walker and Johnson 1994).

Notes

1. This article, slightly revised, comprises a portion of Chapter 3, "Chumash Islanders at European Contact" by John R. Johnson in *Channel Islands National Park Archaeological Overview and Assessment,* edited by Michael A. Glassow, report submitted to Channel Islands National Park, Ventura. It is reproduced here with permission of Ann Huston, Chief of Cultural Resources, Channel Islands National Park.

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Getting to Know Daisy Cave



by Don P. Morris
Illustrations by Susan H. Morris

"It belongs in Alaska, not California," a Coast Guardsman once remarked of San Miguel Island, the westernmost island in the Channel Islands chain. This string of four islands is the partially submerged remnant of Santarosae, the massive island that stretched all the way to Anacapa Island, comprising all the land exposed at the height of the past glacial maximum, 100 meters below present sea level. Its shoreline at the height of the last Pleistocene glaciation, 20,000 years ago, encompassed roughly 500,000 acres, about ten times the extent of the present island of Santa Rosa.

Since that time the ocean has risen, creating the now separate islands of Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, and Anacapa, that, together with San Miguel Island, comprise the northern Channel Islands and the bulk of Channel Islands National Park.

Protruding into the Pacific Ocean beyond the shelter of Point Conception, San Miguel Island, contoured by ever present winds, presents a rounded sleek appearance to the approaching traveler, who soon becomes aware of the wind's constant presence. Volcanic rocks resist erosion by both wind and water and provide prominent headlands like Hoffman and Bay Points along the northern shoreline. Within Bay Point lies Daisy Cave.

Daisy Cave appeals to anyone traveling on San Miguel Island, as I realized on my first visit to the site. As I crept around the wind-blasted cliff into its sheltering confines, I immediately thought, "I am going to remember this place if I ever have to spend the night out." Combined with its location on a steep shoreline that has migrated very little during rising Holocene sea levels, the Daisy has been a great place to seek refuge for thousands of years, a sheltering haven on an island renowned for its blasting winds.

The most sheltered portion of the site is **Cave A**, a forty-foot relic sea cave. Its inner reaches remain calm in any kind of weather. Flanking Cave A to the east is an open rock shelter which saw extensive occupation. A midden extends from the shelter and the cave down slope to a vertical sea cliff.

Today the site is renowned for its evidence of human occupation during the Early Holocene. Its situation on a remote island demands that we accept that early migrants to the New World possessed some sort of watercraft capable of making the challenging passage from the mainland at a time when they were thought to only possess the skill to hunt mammoth and other Pleistocene mega fauna. It now appears that early inhabitants had a taste for seafood as well. With the ability to cross challenging stretches of ocean, it leads one to consider that early peoples might well have followed the coast down into North America from Beringia, the land now submerged beneath the Bering Sea.

This information from Daisy Cave did not come easily or quickly. The chronicle of successive research efforts at the site shows an often rocky, twisting path to knowledge, often beset with daunting logistical, transportation, and financial concerns.

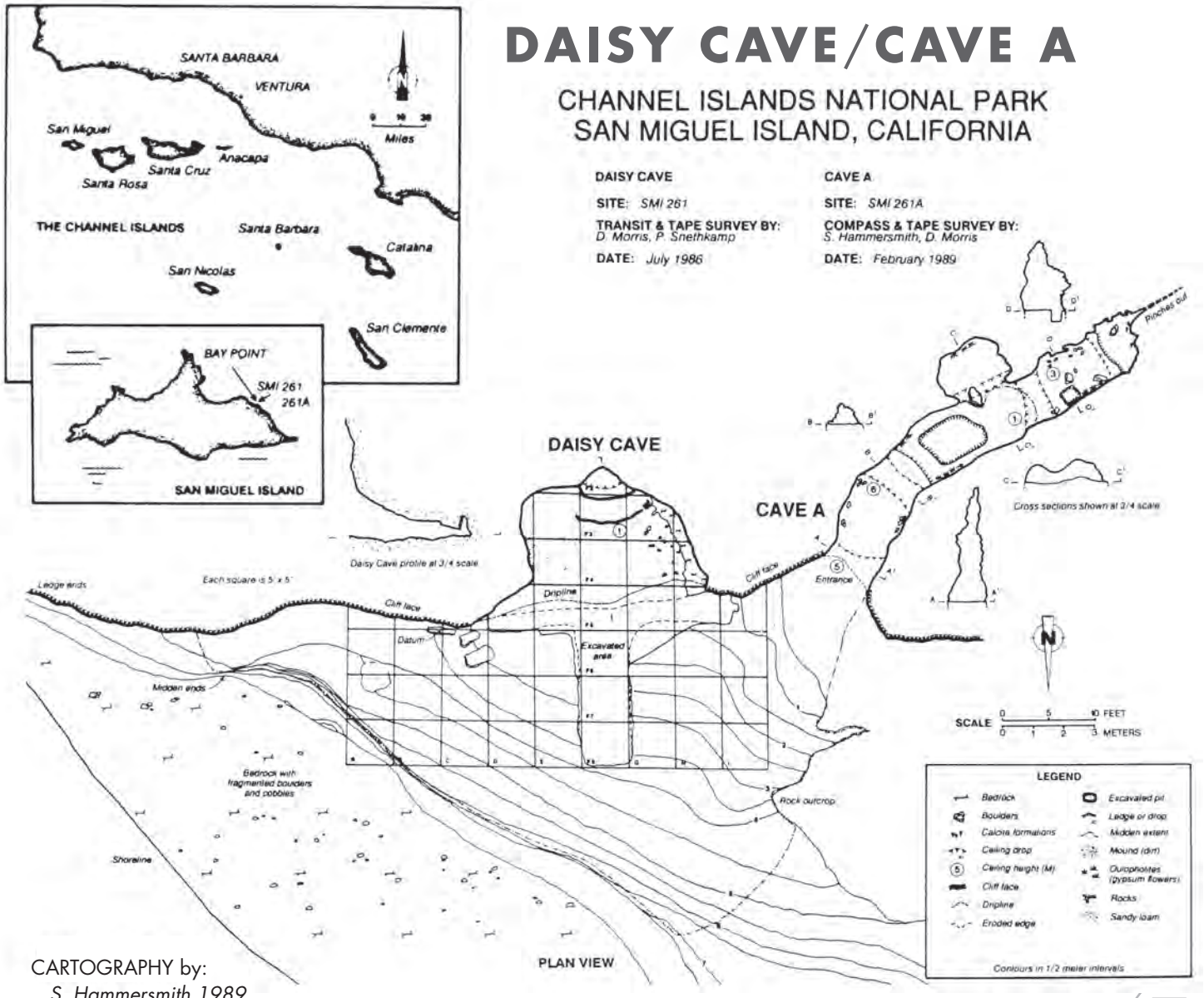
Unfortunately, the first excavations at Daisy Cave were not scientific in nature. Nineteenth-century ranchers on the island favored the Cave as a picnic locality, and they may have created the scene evident to the first archaeologist to work at the site, Charles Rozaire, who began excavations at the Daisy in 1967, and noted that numerous burials at the site had been disturbed. Early archaeological expeditions at the close of the nineteenth century may have also contributed to the confusion.

Prior to digging at Daisy Cave, Rozaire had completed, at the behest of the U.S. Navy, an extraordinarily comprehensive archaeological survey of San Miguel Island in the 1960s. His base of operations was the early twentieth-century ranch house, at the time lapsing into a state of genteel disrepair. The base camp was reached by plane, utilizing a dirt strip adjacent to the ranch house, the result of naval operations on the island, which had functioned as an aerial bombardment range during the Korean War. Just to add to the excitement, there was unexploded ordinance present on the island.

Working at Daisy Cave involved a round trip walk of four to five miles, mostly cross country with no established trail, and no facilities at the site.

Don Morris came to Channel Islands National Park in 1985, after working at many Park Service areas in Arizona and New Mexico. During his tenure at the Park, he worked on many projects there, from very early material research like that found at Daisy Cave to historic shipwrecks. He was fortunate in making many fine discoveries, the best among them being his wife, Susan, thereby demonstrating that not all archaeology is sheer drudgery. He is now retired in Ventura, California.

Susan Morris has been doing cartography and illustration for archaeology, geology, and paleontology projects in the Channel Islands since 1987. She received her Certificate in Archaeology from UCLA in 1993, following time spent in the publishing industry and UC program administration. Susan has directed archaeological research on Santa Rosa Island, as well as published and given presentations on cave-associated archaeological sites of the Channel Islands. Her current research project is an educational web resource to be hosted by Channel Islands National Park, comparing the real events surrounding the Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island with those depicted in the award-winning children's book, *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, by Scott O'Dell.



CARTOGRAPHY by:
S. Hammersmith 1989

It can be a wonderful trip, but after a grueling day of digging, the hike back to camp can make for a rough ending to a long day.

Occasionally, the logistical support was sketchy. Rozaire and his crew were once marooned on the island for four extra days, required to revive the aboriginal practice of foraging shellfish from the tide pools, simply because someone in the Navy had forgotten about their trip. Even today, carrying extra food to the island is a good idea since bad weather often alters one's departure plans.

Rozaire excavated extensively at Daisy Cave, removing material from the "shelter" portion of the site and trenching through the deposits lying outside the shelter, as well as digging within the cave portion of the site. Here he encountered a number of disturbed burials, the result of previous unknown exploration at Daisy Cave. In accord with the general practice at the time, material was collected in five and ten arbitrary centimeter levels. In his final report, Rozaire dated the earliest portion of the site to around 3,000 years ago on the basis of the artifacts found within the deposit. He noted the presence of some earlier artifacts, but did not consider them to be significant.

One problem (in retrospect) was the lack of radiocarbon dating. The research budgets of the 1960s simply did not include funds for this relatively new technique. Rozaire attempted to obtain free dating at the UCLA radiocarbon laboratory, but this effort never yielded results.

Here matters rested for several years. Daisy Cave was regarded as a relatively late site with very good preservation — Rozaire had recovered over four-hundred pieces of cordage as well as a quite remarkable bead-making kit from the uppermost layers, but its chronology seemed to be rather unremarkable.

By the 1980s Dan Guthrie, who as a graduate student had analyzed some of the animal bones from the midden, became intrigued by the presence of a Pleistocene mouse (Peromyscus nesodytes) and another Pleistocene form, a vampire bat (Desmotus stocki). Something was amiss if these forms had truly persisted on the islands until 3,000 years ago. He asked the National Park Service in 1986 for permission to conduct further sampling at Daisy Cave. This time radiocarbon dating was definitely included in the budget.

By the time logistical support had improved there were fairly regular administrative flights to the island and additional charters were available for a price. The first "ranger station", a 10' x 12' wall tent, was replaced in 1985 with a station constructed around two forty-foot long shipping containers. Although this arrangement would later be cited to Congress as a prime example of inadequate NPS housing, it was pretty lush at the time. It provided the ability to take hot showers (you heated the water on the stove first) and you could prepare your morning gruel out of the wind.

Guthrie partnered with Pandora Snethcamp in 1986, who was conducting research for the National Park Service, the agency now charged with the management of the island as a part of the newly created Channel Islands National Park. Also involved was the new archaeologist for the park (the author). The trenches left by Rozaire greatly facilitated further excavation and analysis. Radiocarbon samples were secured from the cultural strata that were now clearly evident.

The results were radically different from the original age estimate. In fact, all the radiocarbon samples dated older than the earliest estimated date of 3000 BP. Down deep in the midden, from a stratum exposed earlier, an abalone shell yielded a date greater than 10,000 years old. In classic fashion, this finding raised at least as many questions as it answered. Was this very old abalone shell truly associated with human occupation?

Snethcamp was not able to conduct additional work at the site, but she recommended a newly minted Ph.D. at UCSB, Jon Erlandson (see pgs. 8-13), who had worked with early material on the southern California mainland. In due course, a "get acquainted" trip to San Miguel Island developed.

I have fond memories of that trip. Like a kid with a great, new toy, Jon jumped into additional work at Daisy, digging carefully in the older material just outside the shelter and recovering some remarkable material, including a shapeless blob of cordage that turned out to be the remnants of the oldest sandal recovered on the West Coast (it dated between 9,800 - 8,600 years ago).

The earliest levels of the site were almost as old as the Clovis culture on the mainland — the classic big game hunting group in North America. The inhabitants at Daisy Cave were not eating mammoth, but were subsisting on seafood. Requiring a boat of some sort to reach the island and well adapted to the coastal environment, they contrasted sharply with mainland big game hunters.

Additional work by Erlandson and his students have shown that Daisy Cave is not unique on San Miguel Island. Additional sites older than 8,000 years are known to exist on the northwest coast, the south coast and the east end. Some of these are the lowest strata in previously recorded sites, and some are extremely subtle and brand new.

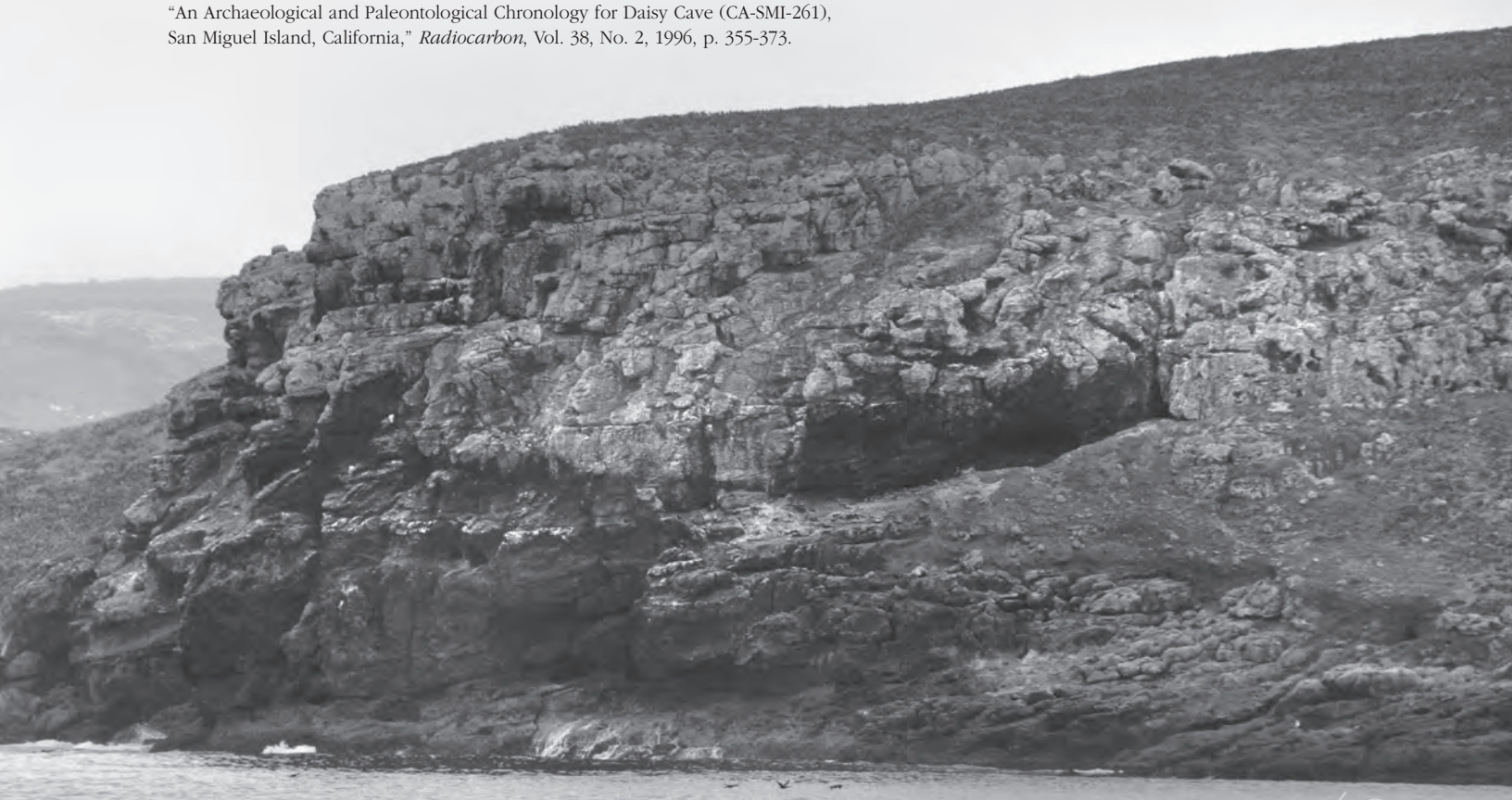
Work on San Miguel Island is now facilitated by a new ranger station, put into service in 1999. The guest quarters alone are about the size of the previous ranger station and provide very good accommodations for workers on the island. What a difference! One can return from the field, cook a meal and clean up and comfortably review work, polish up notes, and plan the next step in a field project, followed by sound and restful sleep. The weather and isolation of the island still remain and work on San Miguel at the Daisy, and elsewhere, will remain adventurous.

Notes

For an in depth review of the findings at Daisy Cave see:

Jon M. Erlandson, Douglas J. Kennett, B. Lynn Ingram, Daniel A. Guthrie, Don P. Morris, Mark A. Tveskov, G. James West and Phillip L. Walker, "An Archaeological and Paleontological Chronology for Daisy Cave (CA-SMI-261), San Miguel Island, California," *Radiocarbon*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1996, p. 355-373.

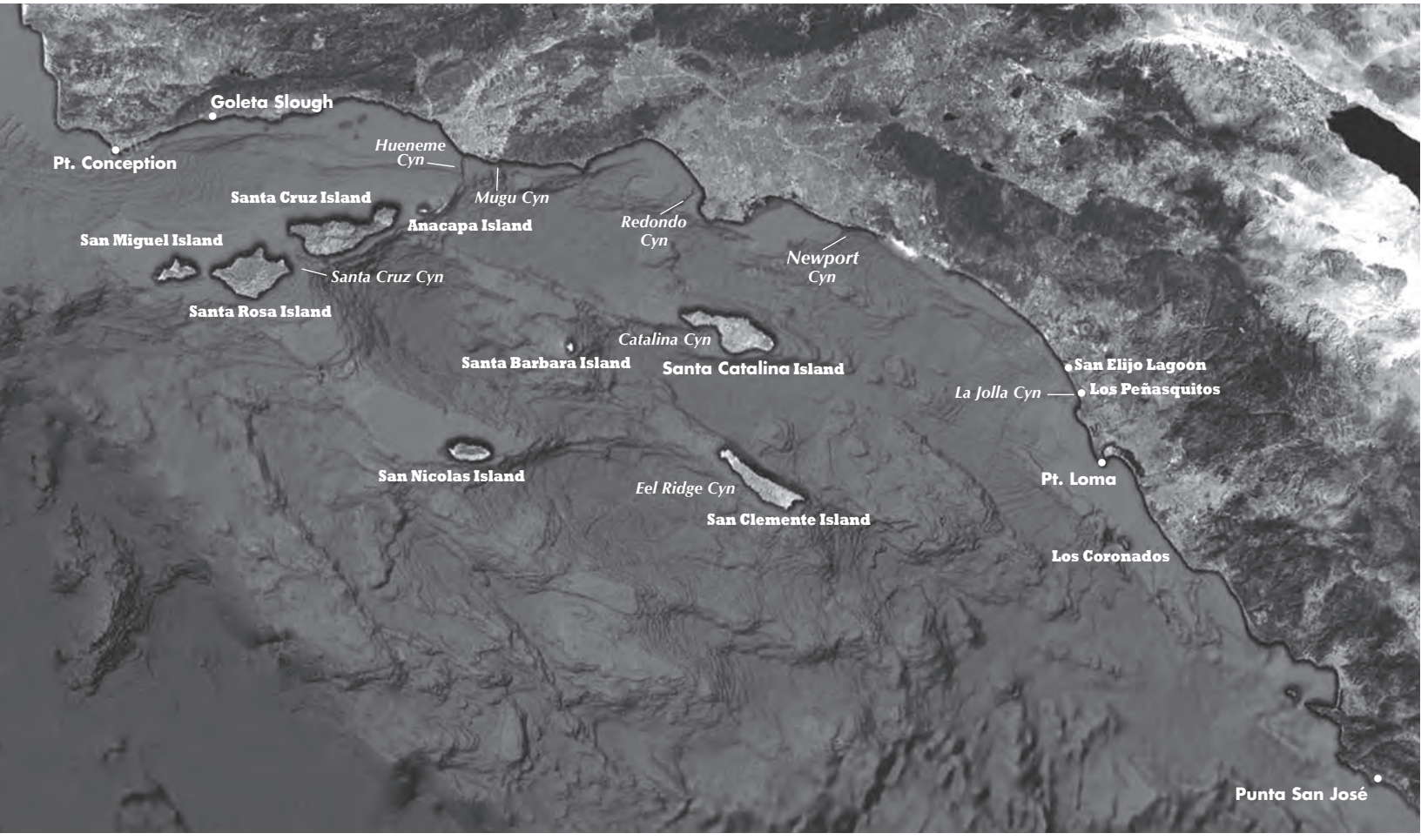
Daisy Cave
Photo by Robert Schwemmer, Maritime Heritage Program, West Coast Regional Coordinator, NOAA



Land of the Lagoons: The Holocene Maritime of San Diego County



By Patricia M. Masters, Ph.D.



The Southern California Bight showing bathymetry, the California Islands, and the mainland coast.

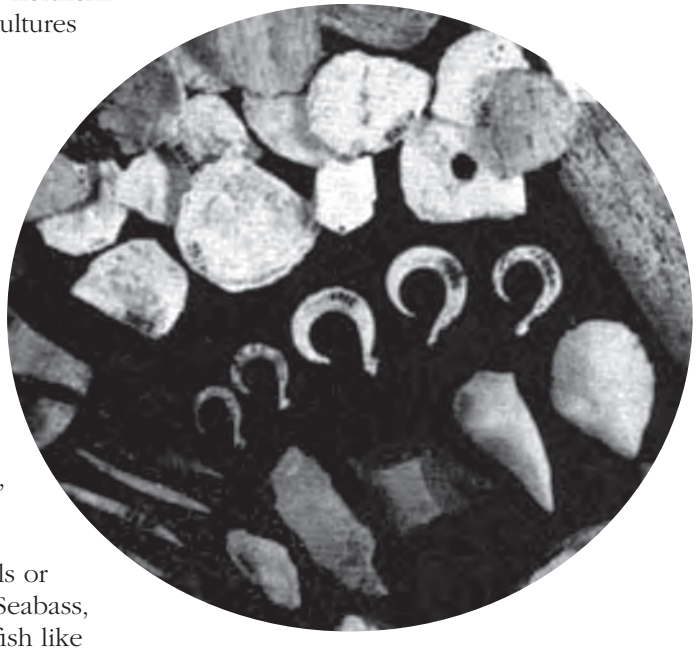
Introduction

At the time of Spanish contact, the native people of coastal San Diego County were accomplished watermen – plying small tule balsas as they fished the kelp beds, shallow rocky reefs, submarine canyons, and bays. Their villages clustered along the coast wherever streams intersected tidally-flushed lagoons such as the Tijuana Estuary, San Diego Bay, Mission (False) Bay … all thirteen lagoons of San Diego County. These coastal settlements represented the local expression of a Holocene-long tradition of marine resource use and seafaring that can be traced back to the earliest record of the peopling of California near the end of the Pleistocene. The focus of this paper is to place San Diego County's maritime adaptation within the context of similar prehistoric specializations in the Southern California Bight and relate its development to the evolving morphology of the coast during the past 10,000 years of sea level rise.

Patricia M. Masters, Ph.D. **With a background in Anthropology and Biology, Dr. Masters has enjoyed research and publishing in biogeochemistry, environmental organic chemistry, and prehistoric marine archaeology. She co-edited the book, *Quaternary Coastlines and Marine Archaeology*, and contributed to a coastal modeling project at Scripps Institution of Oceanography by reconstructing the evolution of the southern California coast over the past 10,000 years from archaeological data and she has provided content for the website http://coastalchange.ucsd.edu**

Maritime History in Southern California

Maritime societies inhabit coastal zones, make a living from marine resources, and use seaworthy boats. This array of cultural adaptations appeared early in California prehistory (Erlandson et al. 2007). Between 10,000 and 8,500 years ago, Paleo-Coastal peoples were living on the islands and mainland coast, harvesting marine shellfish, fish, sea otters, pinnipeds, and seabirds, and traveling in tule balsas or other watercraft. They wove basketry and nets from sea grass and created shell beads for ornaments and trade. The earliest appearance of fish hooks in North America, bi-pointed bone gorges, comes from the northern Channel Islands by the end of the Pleistocene (ibid.). Maritime cultures persisted, with regional specializations, into the historic period.



The San Diego Maritime

The beginning of the Mission period in 1769, despite its ultimately tragic consequences for native people, offers the first written accounts of a vibrant local maritime culture. As Junipero Serra commented, "The natives…live well on various seeds and on fish which they catch from rafts made of tules and formed like canoes, with which they venture far out on the sea." (Carrico 2008:19)

This focus on marine resources was a sound economic strategy given the richness of the rocky shore, kelp beds, and many tidally-flushed lagoons along the San Diego County coast. High densities of mussels, rock oysters, limpets, barnacles, abalone, and smaller gastropods and seaweeds were found in rocky intertidal areas. They could be harvested with minimal effort and provided protein as well as shells for working into tools or ornaments. Shallow rocky reefs also provided habitat for White Seabass, Pile Perch, Moray Eel, and Yellowtail. The lagoons yielded shellfish like oysters, clams and scallops, a variety of fish that could be speared or trapped with seines or nets, migrating birds, eggs, and tules for building canoes and thatching homes.

The lagoon mouths, particularly at ebb tide, made efficient launch sites for accessing offshore rocky reefs and kelp beds, areas of high biological value that are still popular fishing localities today. Many of the same species are found in both locales: Giant Seabass, Rockfish, sharks, Yellowtail, perch, Kelpbass, Bonito, Jack Mackerel, Black Croaker, and Sheephead among others. Line fishing, nets, and traps could be used from the canoes.

Submarine canyons were another feature of the southern California coast utilized by native people. These fault-controlled features cross the

In this view of the La Jolla embayment from Blacks Beach south toward Point La Jolla, note the end of Scripps Pier marks the approximate location of the 5000-6000 BP shoreline at 15-20 ft below present sea level. The head of Scripps Submarine Canyon opens in 60 feet of water off the beach in the foreground. The rocky intertidal area north of the pier is the rubble left by cliff retreat following the latest sea level rise.

Photo by Neva Sullaway

Opposite Page: A cobble mortar with basal hole and cord grooves.

Courtesy of the Author

continental shelf and intersect with the coastline at numerous locations throughout the Southern California Bight (see map pg. 50). The most prominent submarine canyon in the San Diego region is an extension of the Rose Canyon Fault and penetrates the La Jolla embayment with two heads: the southern La Jolla branch opening in forty feet of water off La Jolla Shores and the northern Scripps branch opening in sixty feet of water north of Scripps Institution of Oceanography.

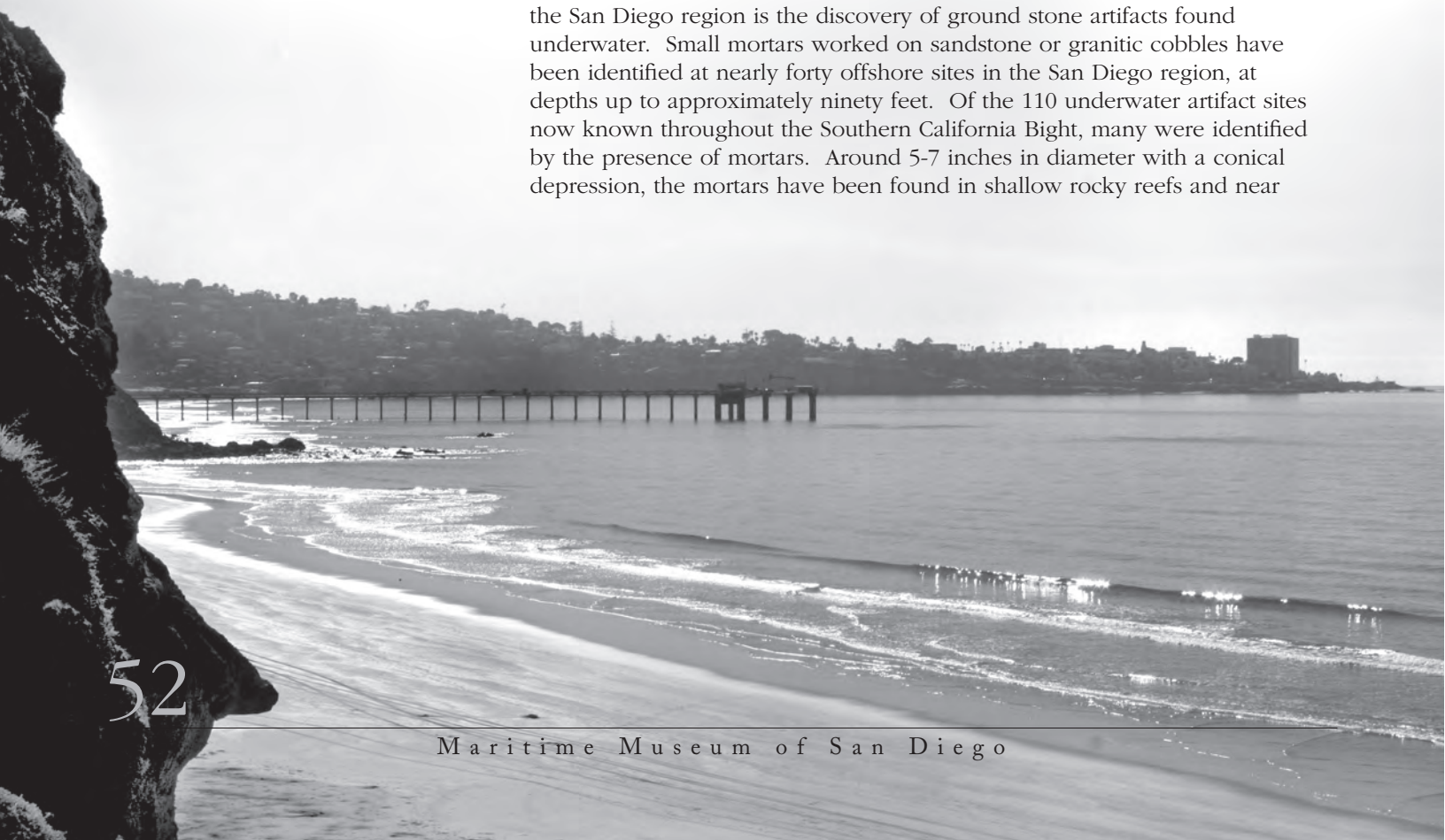
By providing deep-water habitat close to shore, the submarine canyons offered another valuable fishery to native seafarers. Wave refraction over the canyon heads also created low wave conditions conducive to launching canoes. The heads of La Jolla Submarine Canyon could be accessed by boat from major prehistoric village sites that are located around the La Jolla embayment and five miles to the north in the vicinity of Los Peñasquitos Lagoon.

Antiquity of the San Diego Maritime

The remains of mid-water and kelp bed species of fish like Skipjack, Bluefin Tuna, Albacore, and Sardine in coastal archaeological sites are one line of evidence that date the use of watercraft and open water fishing in the San Diego region. The middle to late Holocene Spindrift site at La Jolla Shores (Mark Roeder pers. comm.) and the Late Period village of Ystagua (Roeder 1983) at the head of Los Peñasquitos Lagoon (Soledad Valley Estuary) contain remains of rocky reef and offshore species of fish. A date of 5,900 years from the Scripps Estates Associates site on the sea cliff near UC San Diego is associated with bones of the pelagic tuna and barracuda, supporting an early use of boats and advanced fishing technology in the middle Holocene (Hubbs et al. 1965:107).

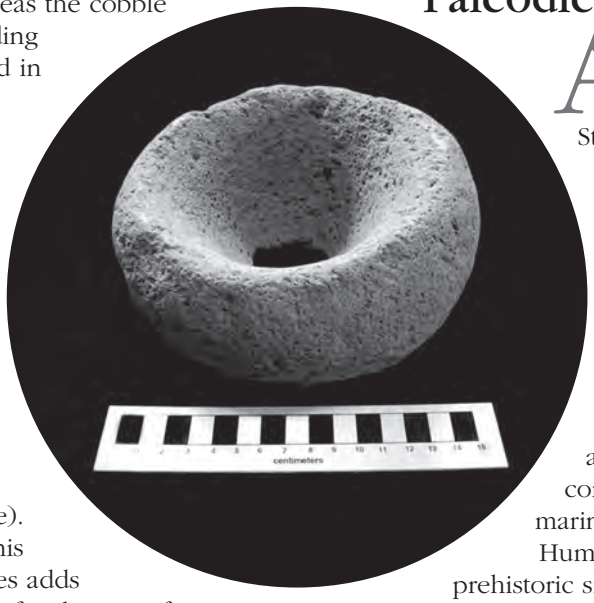
Mysterious Marine Mortars

The second line of evidence for mid-Holocene maritime activity in the San Diego region is the discovery of ground stone artifacts found underwater. Small mortars worked on sandstone or granitic cobbles have been identified at nearly forty offshore sites in the San Diego region, at depths up to approximately ninety feet. Of the 110 underwater artifact sites now known throughout the Southern California Bight, many were identified by the presence of mortars. Around 5-7 inches in diameter with a conical depression, the mortars have been found in shallow rocky reefs and near



lagoon mouths, kelp beds, and within the heads of the La Jolla Submarine Canyon. The largest concentrations of the underwater mortars occur off the mouth of San Elijo Lagoon at the Solana Beach reef and La Jolla Shores where hundreds have been described. Scattered mortars are also found at many locations throughout the Point Loma and La Jolla kelp beds. The cobble mortar differs from the bedrock mortars seen in hill country near oak groves. The latter were used for acorn processing whereas the cobble mortars are too small for pounding acorns and have yet to be found in terrestrial sites in the region.

In the Santa Barbara region, small mortars first appear in datable terrestrial contexts 5,000-6,000 years ago (Kennett 2005:85). If the San Diego mortars are of similar age, sea level was around 15 feet lower than present. That depth would mean the shallow reefs were intertidal at that time, but the kelp beds thrived in approximately their present locations (see next page).



The La Jolla Beach and Tennis Club (BTC) site at La Jolla Shores adds additional radiocarbon evidence for the age of this underwater artifact. Today, a cobble reef extends along the shore at a depth of 15 feet. It lies on dark grey clay layers laid down in the ancient lagoon that extended from the BTC grounds seaward toward the head of La Jolla Canyon. Before 5000 BP, the rocky coast was covered with cobble beaches that built cobble spits across lagoon mouths.

The cobble spit at the BTC site, conveniently located near the prehistoric Spindrift village site, provided raw material for the sandstone mortars – the cobbles visible underwater there today are indistinguishable from the hundreds of mortars that have been found scattered among them. It is possible that this "factory site" supplied the mortars used by ancient fishermen in the kelp beds of La Jolla and Point Loma. Peat collected from the lagoon clay outcropping at twelve feet below present sea-level dated to 4000 BP, consistent with the estimated age of the mortar tools.

Given their association with rocky reefs, kelp beds, or submarine canyon locales in the San Diego region, I have hypothesized that the mortars were used in fishing activities (Masters and Gallegos 1997, Masters and Schneider 2000). One potential use is in chumming for fish in kelp beds where it would be impractical to use fishing nets. Perhaps mortars also may have been used as baited weights for fish traps suspended from the canoes. Some of the sandstone mortars were worked so heavily, the base was worn through and they were repurposed as net weights with cord grooves visible on the edge of the basal hole (inset).

Paleodiet Reconstruction

A third line of evidence takes the San Diego maritime back to the early Holocene. Stable nitrogen and carbon isotope compositions of bone collagen have been used widely to reconstruct the diet of prehistoric human populations. The ^{13}C and ^{15}N content can distinguish terrestrial versus marine food contributions to paleodiets with isotopic compositions appearing heavier in individuals consuming higher trophic level marine organisms.

Human skeletal remains from prehistoric sites on the sea cliffs onshore of Scripps Submarine Canyon in La Jolla range in age from 9,600 to 7,700 years old. In ongoing analyses, seven well-preserved burials have yielded stable isotope compositions consistent with a diet based predominantly on marine food resources (Masters and Schoeninger, n.d.).

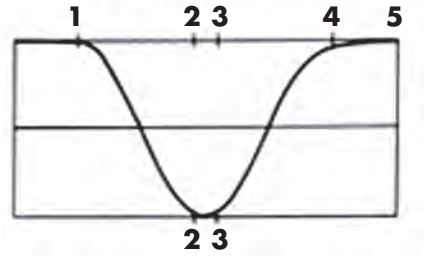
The bone collagen nitrogen isotope ratios of the La Jolla burials are similar to published values for coastal peoples from the Mesolithic of Denmark, salmon fishers of the North Pacific Coast, Eskimo marine mammal hunters of Greenland, and Chumash inhabitants of the late prehistoric village of Muwu (Schoeninger et al. 1983) as well as Late Period people on Santa Cruz Island (Walker and DeNiro 1986) and early Holocene populations from Monterey Bay (Newsome et al. 2004).

The Maritime of the Southern California Bight

This local tradition can be contrasted with the other two seafaring groups to the north – the Chumash of the Santa Barbara coast and the Gabrieliño of the Orange County coast. The territory of the Chumash

Coastal Evolution

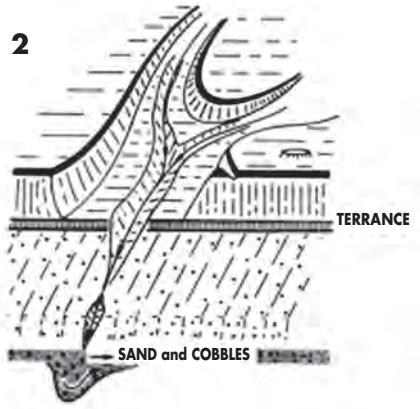
Coastal Response to Sea Level Change



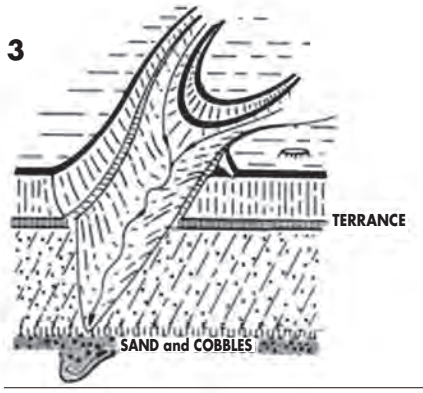
Sea Level 1:
Interglacial Highstand



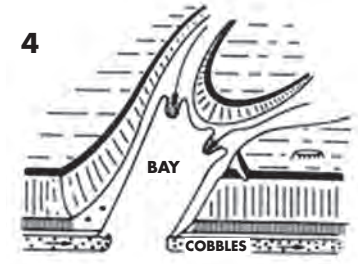
Sea Level 2:
Glacial Lowstand



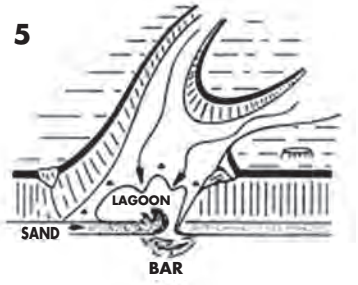
Sea Level 3:
End of Glacial Lowstand



Sea Level 4:
Deglaciation Rapid Rise



Sea Level 5:
Interglacial Highstand Today



Modified from Inman 1983.

1. Sand beaches usually form at high seastands, and the last interglacial highstand 125,000 years ago brought wide, perennial sand beaches to the southern California coast.

2. During the last glacial period around 20,000 years ago, sea level stood about 400 feet below present and streams cut deep valleys as they crossed the exposed shelf. The power of streams to transport erosion materials was increased by the steeper gradient between the mountainous watersheds and the lowered sea level.

3. Coarse materials like cobbles and boulders were washed to the coast, and the deltas formed by these materials were gradually dispersed by waves and currents to build cobble beaches along the coastline.

4. As the glaciers melted and sea level rose rapidly, rocky coasts were submerged and estuaries expanded up the stream valleys. Estuarine habitats of the Early Holocene (11-8,000 years ago) were rich environments teeming with fish, birds, and shellfish. Sediments were now deposited in the heads of the embayments, leaving the open coast with cobbles and rocky intertidal habitats.

5. When sea level rise slowed around 8-6,000 years ago, waves began cutting the present shore platform, and sediment brought to the coast during floods formed the first sand beaches. The estuaries became tidally flushed lagoons with sand and mud flats. Rocky intertidal and shallow reef habitats were buried by sand as the littoral cells' transport mechanisms were established.

Coastal Ecology Changes in the Holocene

We know the Southern California coast in the Early Holocene looked different from today's shores. Shellfish remains from early prehistoric sites 7,000-9,000 years old are heavily weighted to mussels and other rocky habitat species. Later in the Middle Holocene, bay species of scallops and clams become prevalent, and sand beach species like Pismo clam and bean clams also appear.

This transition from rocky to sediment-covered coast is also predicted by geomorphological response to sea level rise (Inman 1983). Following the last Ice Age around 20,000 years ago, sea level rose from about 400 feet below present level and with a few brief pauses began to approach present sea level around 6,000 years ago. During the rapid rise, the ocean was transgressing across an eroded, rocky shelf. Only within the last 5,000 years did stream sediments fill the lagoons of the San Diego region and move out along the coast in "rivers of sand" driven by longshore currents and waves. Radiocarbon dating of archaeological shell remains has verified that rocky to sandy coast transition (Masters 2006).

With the development of sand beaches, much of the biomass of the coast was lost. Tidally flushed estuaries and rocky intertidal habitats can be as much as ten times more productive as a sandy coast (Lieth and Whittaker 1975). The lagoons also declined in resource value as silt and mud deposited. By the Late Period, tidally flushed lagoons still existed at San Diego Bay, Mission Bay, and periodically at some of the smaller North County lagoons.

continued from pg. 45

included the northern Channel Islands of San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, and Anacapa. Into the early Holocene, they were connected as one landmass known as Santarosae with only six miles separating Anacapa from the mainland at Point Hueneme, the traditional Chumash voyaging route to the islands (Fagan 2003:116). With few terrestrial resources on the islands, the Chumash sited primary villages and satellite camps for optimal access to shellfish processing, fishing, and hunting sea mammal and seabirds (Kennett 2005). When the rocky habitats and small estuaries of the western Santa Barbara coast were closed out with sediment soon after 7,000 years ago (Masters 2006), use of the islands intensified. Although the earliest archaeological evidence of plank boats (*tomols*) dates only to 2,000-1,500 years ago, the resource base, the population density on the islands, the traffic and trade with the mainland – all imply that sturdy seaworthy boats were in use by at least 5000 BP (Fagan, 2003:122).



Author photographing in situ mortar at the La Jolla BTC underwater site.

The Gabrieliño sphere of influence extended from the southern half of Santa Monica Bay to the Newport Coast and included Santa Catalina, San Clemente, Santa Barbara and San Nicolas Islands. This maritime culture included the dolphin hunters of the Little Harbor site on Santa Catalina and the makers of an unusual rectangular shell bead that has been traced through the southern islands, adjacent mainland sites, and into the western Great Basin as far north as central Oregon (Byrd and Raab 2007: 220). The remarkable middle Holocene Nursery site on San Clemente Island contains at least 18 pit house floors that probably represent the earliest maritime sedentism in California (ibid.:221). An 8,000-year-old tool kit for working wood suitable for canoe planks has been described from Eel Point on San Clemente Island (Cassidy et al. 2004).

As Fagan (2003:119) has aptly observed, an 8500 BP date at the Eel Point site is compelling evidence that plank boats were reliably voyaging to the Santa Catalina Islands in the early Holocene. "No one in his or her sane mind would have taken even a large tule that far offshore." Given the greater voyaging distance to the southern islands and the incentive of steatite quarries as well as rich marine resources, Fagan has proposed the intriguing idea that plank canoes were first developed not by the Chumash ancestors in the northern islands, but for southern Channel Island voyaging by the early inhabitants of the adjacent mainland coast.

Tying the Lines of Evidence Together

Archaeological evidence from the San Diego coast indicates that fishing, shellfish collecting, and sea mammal hunting were early marine adaptations practiced by the region's first inhabitants close to 10,000 BP. Kelp bed and rocky reef fishing were still prominent seafaring activities during the middle Holocene, 6,000-4,000 years ago, and these cultural traditions persisted into the Mission Period. By the early 1800s, native people were being displaced from the coast, abandoning their villages and maritime lifestyle.

Boat-building technology in the San Diego region appears to have been limited to the tule balsa. Although Kumeyaay may have traded with the Gabrieliño for plank boats, there is no evidence that the watercraft were manufactured locally. Tule balsas were capable of transiting to the nearby Los Coronados Islands south of San Diego Bay, but they are less likely to have voyaged to Santa Catalina Island or beyond. Furthermore, a northerly countercurrent in the open waters between San Diego and the southern islands would have made the passage impractical even in fair weather.

Coastal Evolution

By geographic good fortune, there were more lagoons concentrated in the San Diego region relative to any other part of the California coast through the middle Holocene. Sea level rise since the end of the last Ice Age created thirteen lagoons or estuaries along the eighty-two miles of coast between San Mateo Point and the international border (one every six miles). These deep embayments offered a rich littoral environment that was not degraded by sedimentation until the latter part of the Holocene (Inman 1983; Masters and Gallegos 1997; Masters 2006) [see pg. 54]. The region's early inhabitants

made good use of bountiful marine resources readily available in nearshore waters and the littoral zone without the need to undertake hazardous island voyages.

In contrast, the western Santa Barbara coast between Point Conception and Goleta Slough had many small productive estuaries early in the Holocene, but they were lost to sedimentation around 7,000 years ago. Following this habitat loss, population increased on the northern Channel Islands, and a dietary diversification was reflected in the appearance of mortars and pestles as well as intensified fishing (Kennett 2005:85). These cultural adaptations were possible due to the proximity of the northern islands with their valuable marine resources.

Lacking accessible, habitable islands, prehistoric people of the San Diego region focused on abundant bay and nearshore resources that allowed them a thriving maritime subsistence throughout the Holocene in this "land of the lagoons." Like the middle Holocene diversification of subsistence activities in the northern Bight, the maritime people of San Diego adopted new tools (circular fishhooks, small mortars) to intensify their marine fishing activities. In return, they could maintain year-round villages (maritime sedentism) at Ballast Point in San Diego Bay (Gallegos and Kyle 1998), Spindrift at La Jolla Shores, Ystagua near Los Peñasquitos Lagoon, and possibly Kalauma at San Elijo Lagoon. At the Spindrift site, early excavations revealed circular pit house floors with whale ribs used to support domed roofs, a style also known from San Clemente Island. Able to exploit and intensify rocky reef, kelp bed, and mid-water fisheries with the use of tule balsas and more advanced fishing technology, the San Diego maritime tradition survived into the contact period.

Illustration of the Eel Point site on San Clemente Island by artist Jacqueline Vail. Note the domed structures supported by whale rib bones and the plank canoe.

Courtesy of the Museum of Anthropology, California State University, Fullerton.



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Kumeyaay and the Ocean

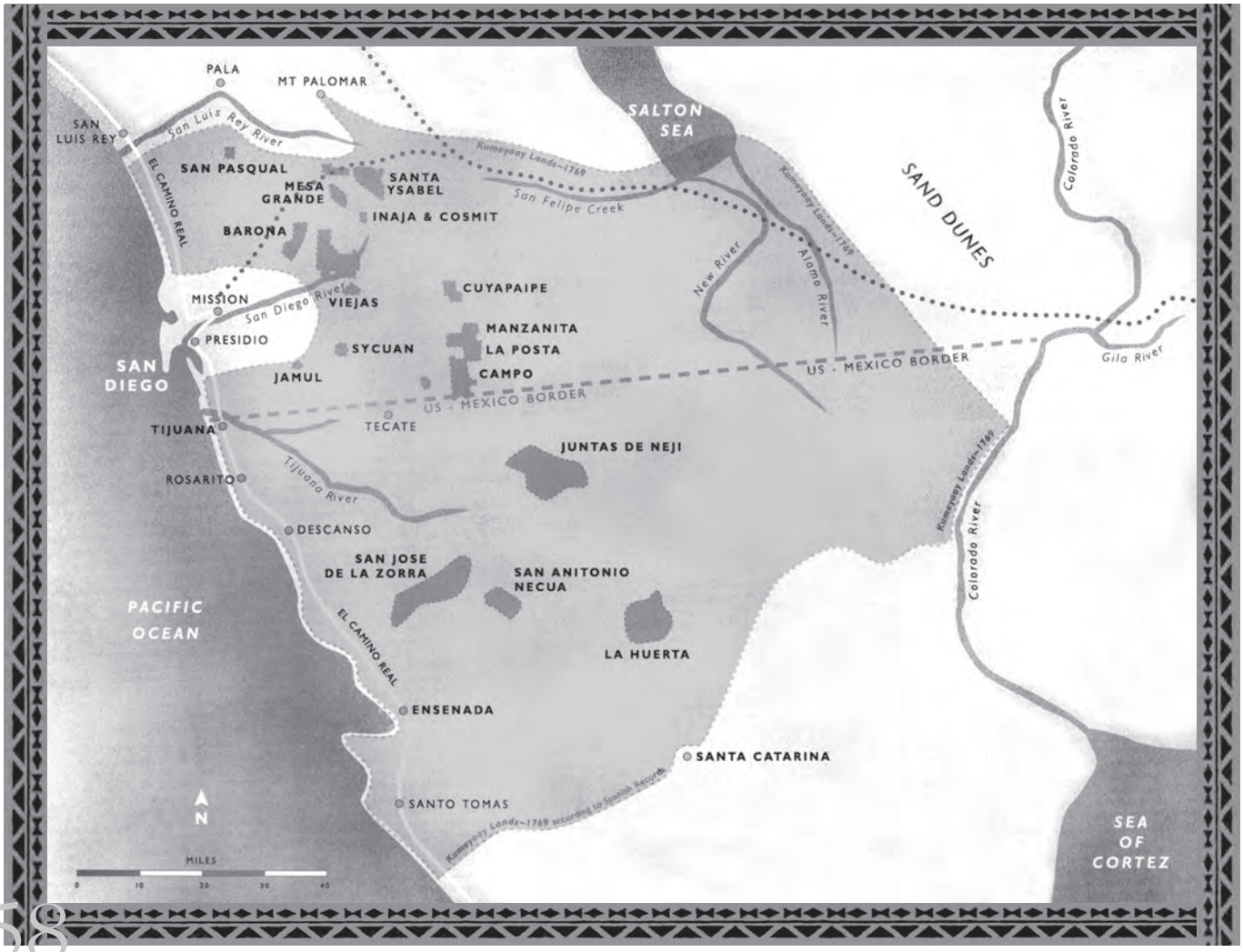


tule canoe

By Louis Guassac, Kumeyaay Historian, Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians

Introduction

For thousands of years the Kumeyaay have occupied an area approximately seventy-five miles north and south of the current international border separating the United States and Mexico. Prior to the arrival of Shoshone speakers, Kumeyaay and Chumash people shared areas north of the San Luis Rey River.



The shaded land area designates the Aboriginal Territory of the Kumeyaay Diegueño Nation (Prior to 1769)
Courtesy of the Author

Louis Guassac **is a member of the Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians. The Mesa Grande Band is one of eighteen federally recognized Bands in San Diego County. Of the eighteen Bands, twelve are known as Kumeyaay/ Diegueño Indians. Mr. Guassac has worked with the tribal communities for over twenty years and has been elected by the Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians to the position of Kumeyaay Historian. In this capacity, Guassac has worked closely with the late Dr. Florence Shipek, whose landmark work researching the Kumeyaay has significantly expanded our modern-day understanding of the prehistory and history of the Kumeyaay.**

Mr. Guassac has also worked closely with Dr. Patricia Masters of Scripps Institution of Oceanography, whose work is also presented here (see pages 50 - 57).

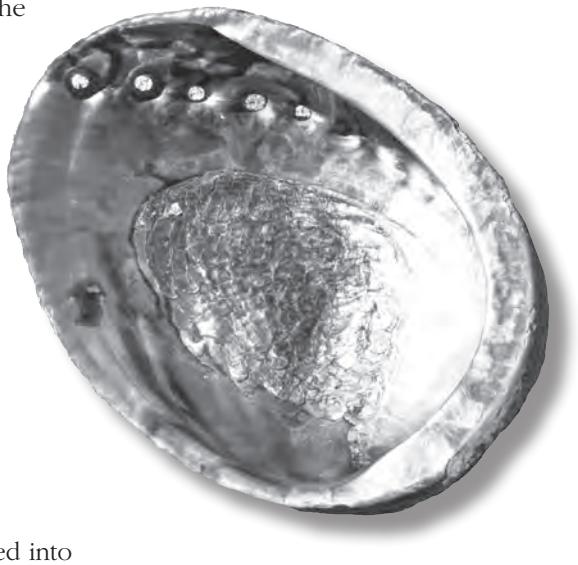
While maintaining his livelihood as an electrician and electronics technician, Mr. Guassac has been an independent consultant to the Sycuan Band of Kumeyaay advocating for Tribal Government self-sufficiency. He has also served as Executive Director of the Base Realignment & Closure Act (BRAC), constructing the Master Plan for community reuse and evaluating environmental issues, ultimately framing a 500 million dollar proposal for the reuse of the San Diego Naval Training Center (now the thriving community of Liberty Station).

Currently, Mr. Guassac is the tribal coordinator for the Kumeyaay Border Task Force and is responsible for resolving issues related to "pass and re-pass" for Baja California Kumeyaay. Among his ongoing special projects, Guassac works in several areas of Kumeyaay/Diegueño Unity, and he has established the first Kumeyaay/Diegueño Land Conservancy as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization.

Kumeyaay use of the Ocean areas was both permanent and seasonal during the early periods (12,000 - 9000 BP). Kumeyaay relied on the Ocean areas for sustenance and living. During this period of time, I understand the land went out several miles from where the sea level is today and would have provided an abundance of food resources, as well as a warmer climate during these periods.

Kumeyaay oral history speaks of these times and is embedded in the songs used by Kumeyaay today. [Guassac is a Bird Singer and therefore continues to pass on the oral history and traditions.] It is our desire to share from our perspective our use of the Ocean, in addition to the coastal research conducted by Dr. Florence Shipek and Dr. Patricia Masters.

Cobble Mortars/Bowls have been found extensively off the coast from Tijuana to Point Conception. Approximately 100 sites have been found and identified with a variety of characteristics. The areas that exist today along the coast are actually the inland areas of the earlier period. It is the desire of Kumeyaay Bands, who have for generations shared the Ocean areas, until the time of contact, to remember this period of time, before the imposition of the foreign lifestyle, to remember the Kumeyaay and their traditional Ocean lifestyle that was conditioned by the environment. Winter for Kumeyaay was the time to leave the high mountain areas and travel by following their water resource to the Ocean from the mountains. Summer and Fall were the times when Kumeyaay/Luiseño families stayed at the Ocean areas. It was traditional that Kumeyaay never made claim to Ocean front areas and they were always shared by the Kumeyaay clan.



By the time contact arrived to the shores of Alta California (Point Conception to Tijuana), Indian people had use of the Ocean areas for thousands of years, primarily the Luiseño Indians and the Juaneño. According to Kumeyaay traditional oral history, the Luiseño were aggressive people. But they did not battle over use of areas, rather an effort was made by Luiseño men to marry Kumeyaay women, moving Luiseño families into a new clan. These types of inter-relations were repeated over time and this effort moved into Kumeyaay and Chumash areas. Today we share our aboriginal territory with Luiseño people, and in regards to ancient remains or artifacts, Kumeyaay have a standing agreement that if objects or remains are older than two thousand years, Luiseño will advise Kumeyaay about the find.

Ocean lifestyle for Kumeyaay was practical and a learning experience, perfecting the use of resources from the Ocean, as well as the ceremonial use of creatures from the Ocean that were abalone, of which there were an abundance. Abalone was used in an important ceremony for Kumeyaay. It was also noted that certain shells were worked on by Kumeyaay and were used as a form of currency among themselves, and also for trading purposes. Kumeyaay/Luiseño used the Ocean resources and actually made trips to the islands just west of the mainland, now known as the Los Coronados Islands. Kumeyaay/Luiseño use of the Ocean was active during the contact with the first Europeans [Spanish accounts from the first contact period tell of Kumeyaay use of their tule reed canoes, going far offshore, out of sight of land (Carrico 2008)].

It is also important to acknowledge Dr. Patricia Masters and her work with the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. Dr. Masters' interest was studying the ancient shorelines, so her work involved diving in kelp beds and rocky reefs along the San Diego and Santa Monica coast where prehistoric artifacts had been reported. She began mapping the sites and her inquiries led her to [ethnographer] Dr. Florence Shipek, a trusted person working with the Kumeyaay people. Dr. Shipek provided insight into researching possible Kumeyaay uses of these maritime artifacts.

Today, many anthropologists interpret the Kumeyaay use of areas by dissecting our growth stages into years of materials found and then by depicting our growing stages, telling us we are all different people. This argument about classification will continue, but for the Kumeyaay/Luiseño, we know our history and roots. We do not live without growth of the use of Ocean resources, and our history tells us of the changes that occurred with the Ocean, and how we were forced to use new resources for survival. Our oral history also tells us that we were and still are the same people – the Kumeyaay/Luiseño.



Several early observations recorded by the Spanish Missionaries, circa 1769, noted that the natives fished far out to sea in rafts made of tule.

Kumeyaay Use of San Diego Bay and Point Loma

The Kumeyaay occupied Southern California and Northern Baja California for more than 10,000 years before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1769.

The Kumeyaay northern boundary began at the coast, extended along the crest south of the San Luis Rey River, then inland to Rodriguez Mountain. From there it turned north across the river (slightly below Henshaw Dam), up Palomar Mountain's southern slope to the peak, then down the eastern slope to the low divide crossing Warner's Valley and to the drainage divide north of the San Felipe Valley. The boundary followed this divide across the southern end of Salton Sea to the sand dunes west of the Colorado River, then south to meet the river below the present Mexican border. The boundary then ran southwest to the Pacific along the mountain divide south of Santo Tomas Mission.

San Diego Bay, the largest bay, was on the north central coast of the Kumeyaay nation. It was heavily used for fishing, both by the local bands with permanent homes around the bay, and by visiting Kumeyaay from inland, and it was occasionally visited by traders from the Colorado River and beyond (Quechan, Cocopa, Mohave, O'o'Tam, Paipai) and whoever Kumeyaay married. Traders from northern neighbors also came – Cupa, Cahuilla, Kawhaay (Luiseño), among others. Kumeyaay deemed it "national (federal lands)": [The areas now called] Point Loma, Mission Beach, the Strand and Silver Strand (including Coronado and North Island). This meant that all Kumeyaay bands - coastal, mountain and desert - came regularly for fishing, shellfish harvesting, salt and salt marsh plant harvesting. They participated in the harvest of foods and medicinal plants above and on the tidelands,



Sage

Right: In *Her Autobiography – An Account of Her Last Years and Her Ethnobotanic Contributions,* **Delfina Cuero identified many plants used by the Kumeyaay. Among them was Sage, commonly found along the coast today. Called "Kuchash," Delfina explained:** *Grind leaves and use fresh as poultice on ant bites or boil and use for tea when ill; boil and bathe in it for measles. It was dried and used as a tobacco for smoking also* **(Shipek, Cuero 1991).**



Map showing where Kumeyaay villages were once located in San Diego County. Many of the place-names survive today.

From the MMSD Copley Collection, illustrations from Richard Pourade's The History of San Diego – The Explorer. *The Union-Tribune Publishing Co., San Diego, CA, 1960.*

and offshore of Point Loma. All participated in the harvest, therefore all participated in the controlled burning of land along the Point to increase food supplies for humans and animals. They also experimented by planting desert and mountain food and medicinal plants at the coast and on Point Loma.

Spanish and American records, and testimony from Kumeyaay who fished the bay between 1850 and 1910 (Shipek, Cuero 1991), and whose grandparents had fished the bay and Ocean, indicate that Kumeyaay fished from dugout canoes or reed balsa canoes, and from the shore. In the bay, they speared dolphins, seals, very large seabass and other large fish. They went by canoe to the Coronado Islands for seals, sea otters, and bird eggs. They also regularly fished in the offshore kelp areas. Depending on the fish they sought, the Kumeyaay used spears, lines and hooks, dip nets, fish traps and large seines that took several men to manage. Spanish records state that the men fished both in the bay and far out to sea in the small tule craft (Carrico 2008). Fish remains in the surviving portion of the Ballast Point archaeological sites confirm that Kumeyaay regularly fished the kelp beds and nearshore Ocean and in San Diego Bay (Gallegos and Kyle 1998).

According to the Kumeyaay elders, some fish they had formerly caught in the bay were between forty and 200 pounds. They caught grunion by hand on the beaches, and used nets and weirs for small fish. They fished

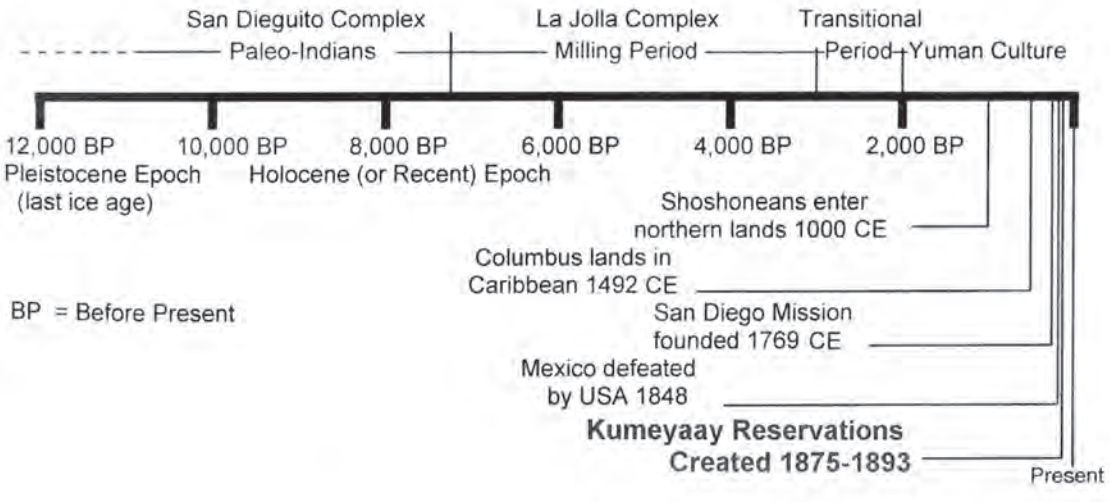
the bay and harvested plants and shellfish from the mudflats between Point Loma and Old Town until about 1910. They also speared seals both for their meat and for their fur. A seal skin was the preferred rear apron of the so-called double apron type of skirt worn by the Kumeyaay women and girls.

The Kumeyaay always gathered shellfish from bay shores: as mud flats grew near shore, they dug in the mudflats at low tide for shellfish and a "mudworm" as they called it (Shipek, Cuero 1991). In the mud tidal area between Cosoy (Presidio and Old Town) and the edge of Point Loma that graded into land, various salt marsh plants were regularly gathered for food, medicine and for salt. Many root plants were dug, some taken, the clumps were divided and reset so all would grow more prolifically (Ibid.). Spanish records also note the digging of shellfish for food. They describe the coastal houses as made of the marsh reeds. The Spaniards also noted the abundance of game birds in the marsh areas which were used by the Kumeyaay: migratory ducks and geese, as well as local species were in the marsh; at the marsh edges were doves and quail.

In fact, the cemetery and refuse excavation at Mission San Diego revealed that during the early Mission period, the people depended upon rabbits, fish and other local game for food. Cattle and sheep bones are non-existent until the end of the Mission period (Carrico, 2008).

Each reed area was spot-burned from yearly to every three years, depending upon the species wanted in each area. Nesting, shelter and food plants for local and migratory birds were burned before the birds arrived to use them. Thus fresh food and nesting areas were managed for birds. The same management on the shore and Point was used to create food and denning areas for other game. According to the Spanish records, the area around Cosoy (Presidio) teemed with game, rabbits, small animals, as well as numerous deer and antelope herds, and mountain sheep were in the near-coastal mountains (Ibid.)

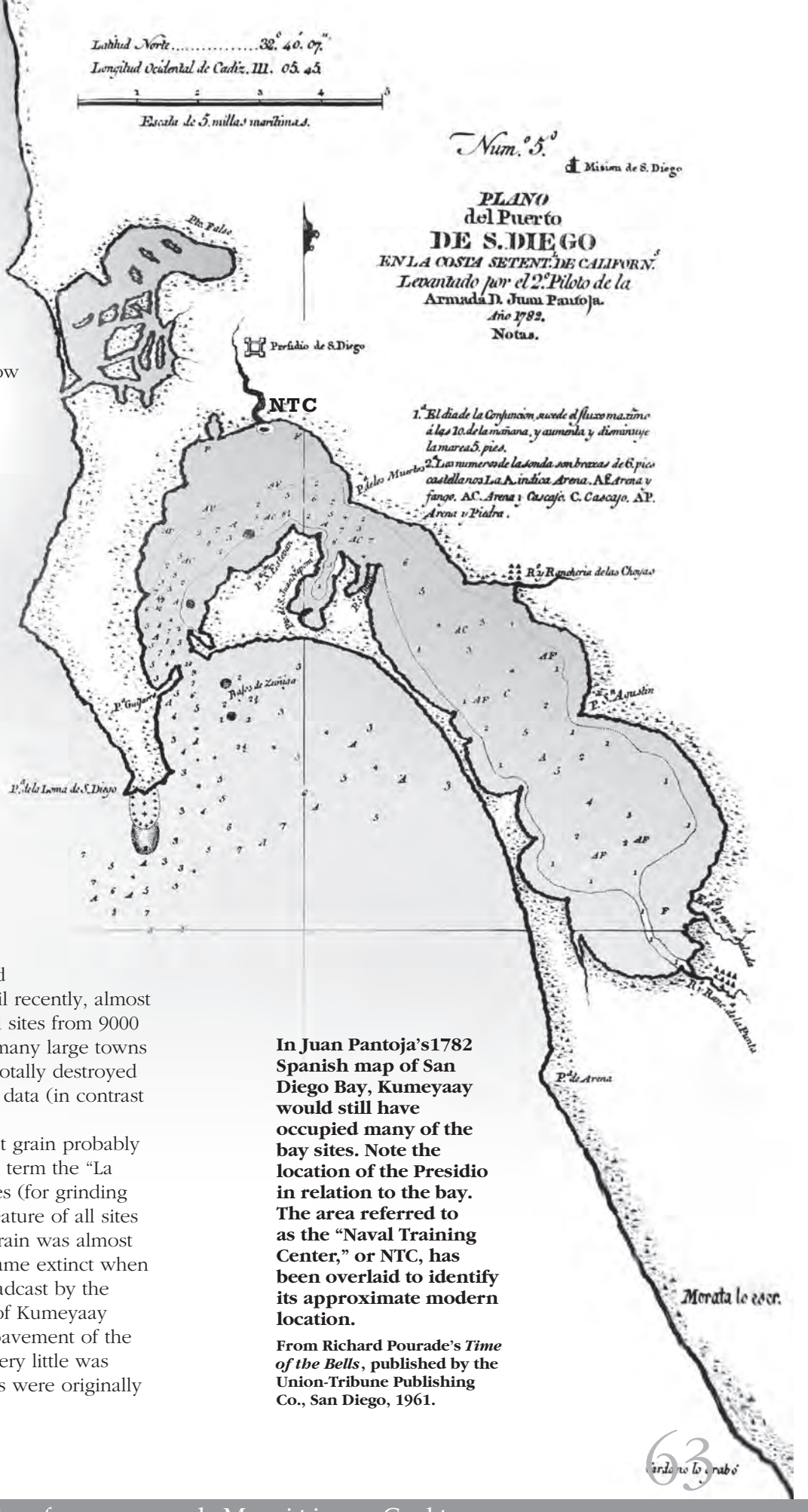
Before 10,000 years ago, the bay was dry land crossed by several rivers leading to a much lower ocean (see Dr. Masters illustrations pg. 54). There are undoubtedly sites now under baywater and silt. A choice location was below the heights of the western hill [Point Loma] and beside the river, which drained across to the southwest (what is now the edge of the bay and under the fill area of the Naval Training Center). Kumeyaay ancestors watched the ocean rise as the climate warmed, and saw the original coastal land disappear under ocean water. They watched the alongshore currents



develop the sandbar, Silver Strand, from the sand and silt brought by the Tijuana and Otay Rivers. The end of the Pleistocene and melting ice caused the ocean to rise over 400 feet between 12,600 and 7,000 years ago. Most living sites earlier than 7,000 years ago are under the Ocean, along the bay edge, or below valley fills developed as the Ocean rose and shortened the rivers drop to Ocean level. Slower flowing rivers dropped their silt loads in the valleys. "Surface surveys" by archaeologists do no locate such buried material. At the Naval Training Center, for example, all pre-7000 BP cultural material is well below the filled land and lawns, while the 17th through 20th century material is just below the fill and lawns (Carrico, Pigniolo 1995).

By 7,000 years ago the bay existed with marshes forming near the river mouths. The Kumeyaay lived on or near the present shoreline, with sites on Point Loma and around the bay. Due to the early development of San Diego City and lack of archaeological research until recently, almost nothing is known about the coastal sites from 9000 BP to 1700 CE. Later sites, such as many large towns seen by the Spaniards, have been totally destroyed with no recovery of archaeological data (in contrast to documentary data).

Development of the now extinct grain probably started early in what archaeologists term the "La Jollan" culture period. Basin metates (for grinding hard oily seeds) are a prominent feature of all sites by 7,000 years ago. By 1769, this grain was almost the size of a grain of wheat. It became extinct when seed was no longer saved and broadcast by the Kumeyaay. After 7000 BP remains of Kumeyaay use are also under the lawns and pavement of the western portion of NTC, because very little was bulldozed when the older buildings were originally erected (Ibid).



In Juan Pantoja's1782 Spanish map of San Diego Bay, Kumeyaay would still have occupied many of the bay sites. Note the location of the Presidio in relation to the bay. The area referred to as the "Naval Training Center," or NTC, has been overlaid to identify its approximate modern location.

From Richard Pourade's *Time of the Bells*, published by the Union-Tribune Publishing Co., San Diego, 1961.



Two distinct time periods are captured in these illustrations of San Diego and the Bay: the Mexican Period 1822-1846 (below), followed by the arrival of the Americans in 1846 (above).
From the MMSD Copley Collection

Between 4,000 and 2,000 years ago, the Kumeyaay learned to process acorns for food. It is a complex process because nuts must be dried, ground, and the flour leached to remove tannic acid. As oily nuts, they are pounded in a mortar with a pestle rather than ground with metate and mano [different tools].

By 2,000 years ago, the Kumeyaay had begun experimenting by planting acorns in every environment. They continued their use of fish and shellfish. Also they were using tar, collected from the San Diego beaches, as an adhesive [and for waterproofing]; some have been dated to 7000 BP and



identified as from an offshore San Diego seep (Carrico pers. com.).

The early Spaniards described Point Loma as covered by large oaks. The trees were cut by the Spaniards and early Americans for processing cowhides and also for fuel for cooking and processing whale blubber for oil. Louis Rose, of Roseville and Rose Canyon, had a large tanning factory located where he had plenty of oaks for his factory. The oak pollen in the Ballast Point site excavated by Westec (Gallegos and Kyle 1998) matches the Spanish description of Point Loma. The Spaniards also described the Point as "pasture" [that is, the native grain and annuals dotted with trees or shrubs (the chaparral plants)]. They were all part of the plant husbandry-fishing-hunting economy of the Kumeyaay (with corn agriculture limited to the mountains and desert).

During the Spanish period, the Kumeyaay were forced to become the labor force for the Spanish Missions, soldiers and settlers. They performed all the labor of the colony, and built all the structures. During the Mexican period [1822-1846], except for those whose original land was in the immediate vicinity of the Presidio and Old Town, the Kumeyaay were free. Only those directly at the Mexican pueblo were laboring for the Mexicans (Shipek 1987)

After the Americans arrived, the Kumeyaay were forced to labor for the newly arrived settlers and were the only labor force for San Diego. The majority of the Kumeyaay land resources continued to be destroyed by both the Spaniards and the Americans. The antelope disappeared entirely; the deer disappeared from coastal areas. As the Kumeyaay were no longer able to control-burn each area as needed, the plant food, bird and small game resources became scarce and surface erosion increased as chaparral grew larger. Emergency foods that grew in drought years were eaten by sheep and cattle. Cattle, sheep and horses overgrazed the land and plows exposed many valley lands to erosion of the good soil. Post-1850 records indicate that, in addition to working for Louis Rose, Kumeyaay men were stevedores, road builders, Derby Dyke construction workers, railroad construction crews and performed all the labor of pre-1920 San Diego starting with the arrival of the Spaniards. They made and carried the adobe's foundation boulders and roof beams. Kumeyaay did



Old San Diego - 1826



This rare photo was taken in 1912 at Coronado. By that time, for the most part, the Kumeyaay had been driven away from their Ocean existence.
Courtesy of the San Diego History Center

all the unloading and loading of ships at Ballast point and later at Horton's Wharf in New Town. The whaling industry used Kumeyaay as seamen and whalers, and ashore to dry out the blubber (Carrico 2008). A large permanent Kumeyaay community remained on Point Loma in the marshland edges until about 1910. By 1930, the Kumeyaay had slowly been replaced by other laborers in the city, but many still lived on the undeveloped mud flats of both bays. The Kumeyaay used the food of the mudflats and reed edge of Naval Training Center portion of San Diego Bay, until it was filled in sometime after 1910. The Kumeyaay used the mudflats, salt marsh and wet meadow of Mission Bay through the 1930's according to Kumeyaay whose families walked from mountain reservations to dig for shellfish in the mudflats and fish in the bay, while living around the edge among the reeds (Shipek, Cuero 1991).

The plant communities that the Spaniards described were the result of several thousand years of plant husbandry – planting acorns for oaks, and moving desert and mountain plants to coastal environments. Desired marsh plants were increased by seeds or root divisions and cultivated around roots. Early descriptions indicate that the San Diego River Valley was managed by controlled burning, broadcasting seed of the grain and leafy annuals combined with spaced planting of managed grape vines. Spanish descriptions of mesas and slopes indicate the same managed

environment. The Kumeyaay planted seeds or cuttings, as appropriate, for the particular trees and shrubs wanted.

The plant husbandry system covered Point Loma, the marshes, mudflats and the rest of their territory. Under oaks, Kumeyaay broadcast the annual grain and greens after yearly burning. They managed rivers opening to the bay as the fresh water marshes led to salt marshes and mudflats. Over the slopes they spaced a variety of shrubs among the grain. These included medicinal, food and technological material resources.

Conclusion

The arrival of the Spaniards and active mission control system along the coast was followed by the Mexican period in which the Kumeyaay regained control of their resources and held Mexicans to the small pueblo, now known as Old Town. However, in 1846, the Americans led by General Stephen Watts Kearny entered through San Pasqual Valley where they were attacked by Mexican cavalry. The Kumeyaay of that valley aided Kearny by harassing the edge of the Mexican forces. After the battle, they guided Kearny to San Diego where he met the American fleet. For their aid, Kearny promised the Kumeyaay that their land would always be safe – a promise that was never kept. Instead, most of their land and resources were taken from them (Shipek 1987; Miskwish 2007). For more than eighty years, the Kumeyaay and other San Diego County Indians provided the only labor force for this county, but many still starved to death because only the workmen were fed and their families starved.

In addition to their land, the Americans slowly cut the Kumeyaay away from another major resource, San Diego Bay, with its salt marshes, food resources, beaches, naturally occurring oil tar, and Ocean. This ended the Kumeyaay's careful management of fish and shellfish resources and of food and nesting areas of the entire native bird and animal populations, and it signaled the end of the Kumeyaay's traditional Ocean lifestyle.

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Authors and photographers alike contributed to an issue dedicated to an epoch "before the written word." Through their vision and their science we can now glimpse, much to our amazement, ancient maritime migrations and cultures.

With Gratitude, Neva Sullaway, editor



Photo by Robert Schwemmer

For a further introduction to Kumeyaay History visit the following San Diego-area Museums:

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www.baronamuseum.org

Maritime Museum of San Diego
Kumeyaay Village within
the *San Salvador* building site
www.sdmaritime.org



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www.missionsandiego.com

Mission San Luis Rey
www.sanluisrey.org

Museum of Man
www.museumofman.org

San Diego Archaeological Center
www.sandiegoarchaeology.org

Serra Museum of Presidio Park
www.sandiegohistory.org

Tecate Cultural Center
Tecate, Baja California
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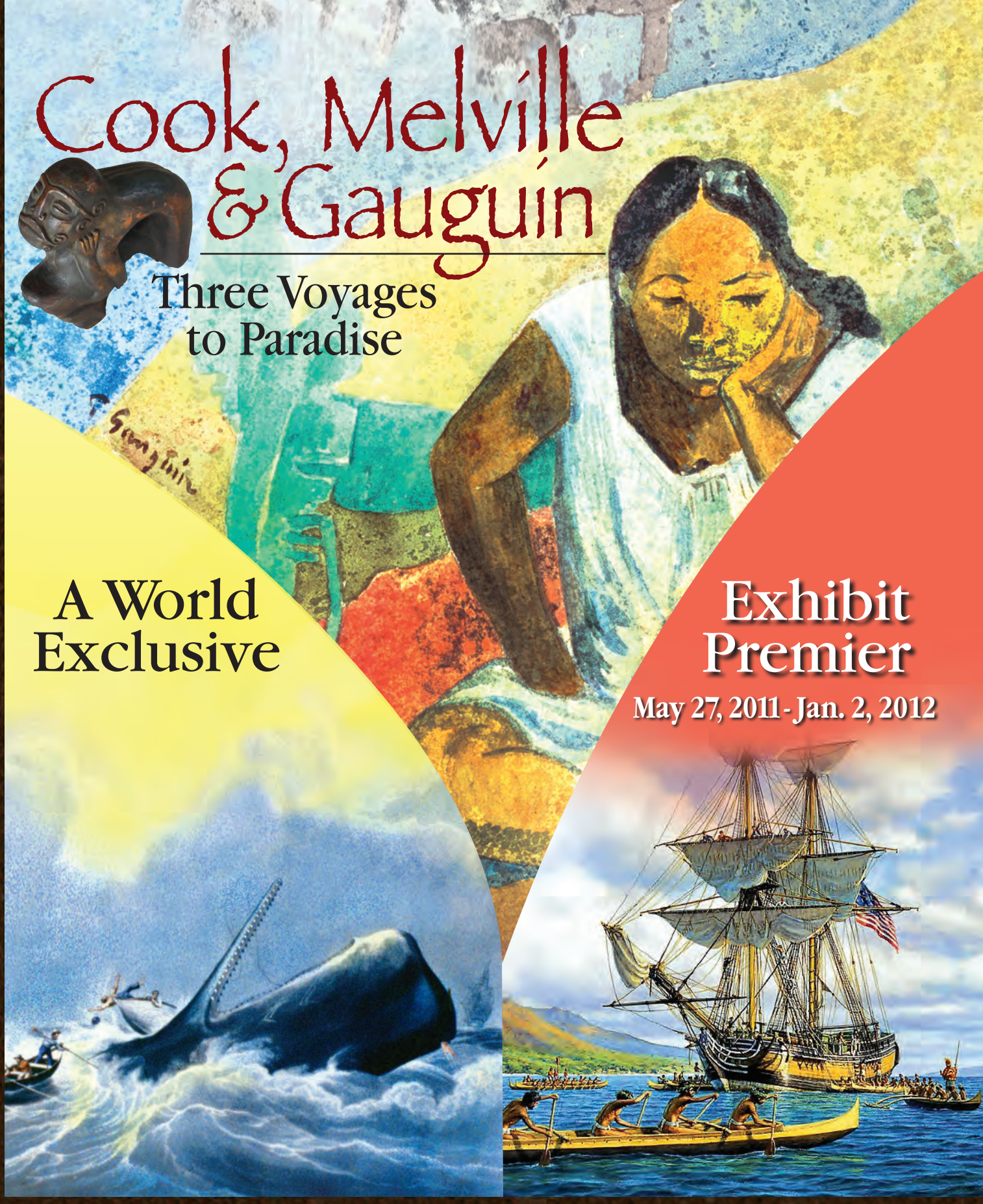
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Cook, Melville & Gauguin

Three Voyages to Paradise



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Cook, Melville & Gauguin







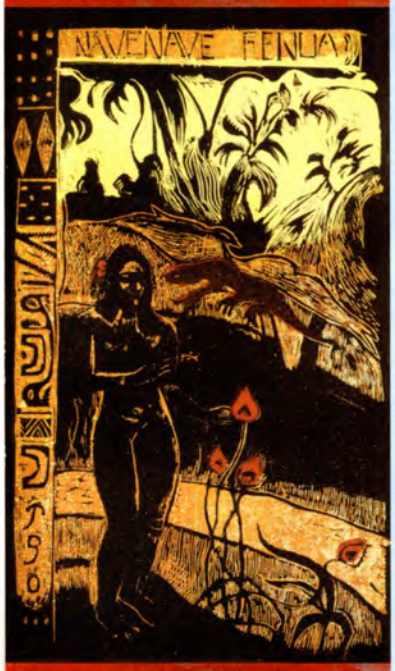
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Three Voyages to Paradise





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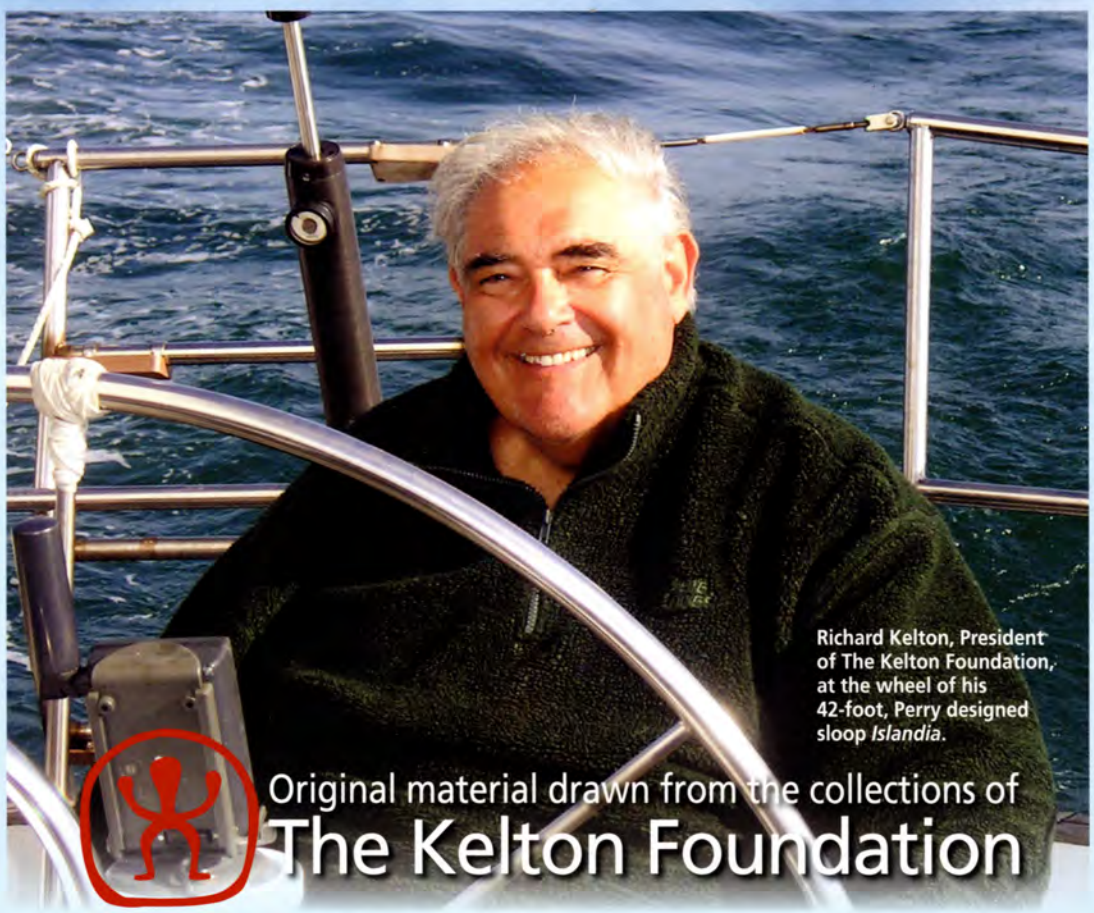


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Richard Kelton, President of The Kelton Foundation, at the wheel of his 42-foot, Perry designed sloop *Islandia*.

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The Kelton Foundation was founded in 1982 as a non-profit charitable organization. The Foundation's primary activities involve ethnographic, scientific and artistic investigation of human culture. The Kelton Foundation uses its collections to mount exhibits, lends its objects and art to other institutions and assists scholars in research regarding topics pertinent to its holdings. The Foundation has loaned objects to and/or mounted entire exhibitions at over thirty museums in connection with over sixty exhibitions worldwide. The Foundation has also sponsored and operated thirty-one scientific expeditions throughout the world in subjects of its interest.

The Kelton Foundation maintains the largest private collection of Australian Aboriginal Art in the United States, spanning the last 100 years, as well as maintaining one of the world's largest private collections of Paul Gauguin material, maritime art and instruments. The Foundation also maintains one of the largest private collections in the United States of China Trade art and artifacts along with a major collection of Pacific art, artifacts and voyaging materials. Foundation holdings also encompass a substantial collection of ethnographic materials from Central America's Cuna Indians, as well as significant holdings of the art of Paul Jacoulet and California plein air artists.

Cook, Melville & Gauguin
Three Voyages to Paradise

is unique as a Maritime Museum offering, the exhibit material is more likely to be found in the collections of a major Fine Art museum. Fifty-four works by Paul Gauguin anchor the exhibition, including original oils, watercolors, and engravings along with the largest display of Gauguin sculpture on exhibition anywhere in the world. Added to this are original voyage paintings created by the official expedition artists who sailed with Captain Cook: William Hodges (1744-1797), who was aboard *Endeavour* on Cook's 2nd Voyage of Discovery and John Webber (1751-1793), who visually documented the 3rd voyage while aboard *Resolution*. The Hodges oils, in particular, are unique in that they represent the first ever views of the South Pacific through the eyes of a classically trained European landscape artist. Additionally, there is a wide selection of Pacific voyaging materials, art and artifacts, including Australian Aboriginal Art.

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MAINSAIL HAUL – An order in tacking ship bidding, *Swing the main yards.*

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Cover: The *Nave Nave Faruru* wood carving, owned by The Kelton Foundation, is guarded by Gauguin's carved doorway panels inscribed with *Maison du Jouir*, or house of sensual delight. These panels are held at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

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Cook, Melville & Gauguin
Three Voyages to Paradise
Treasures of The Kelton Collections

FROM THE HELM

by Ray Ashley, Ph.D.
President and CEO,
Maritime Museum of San Diego

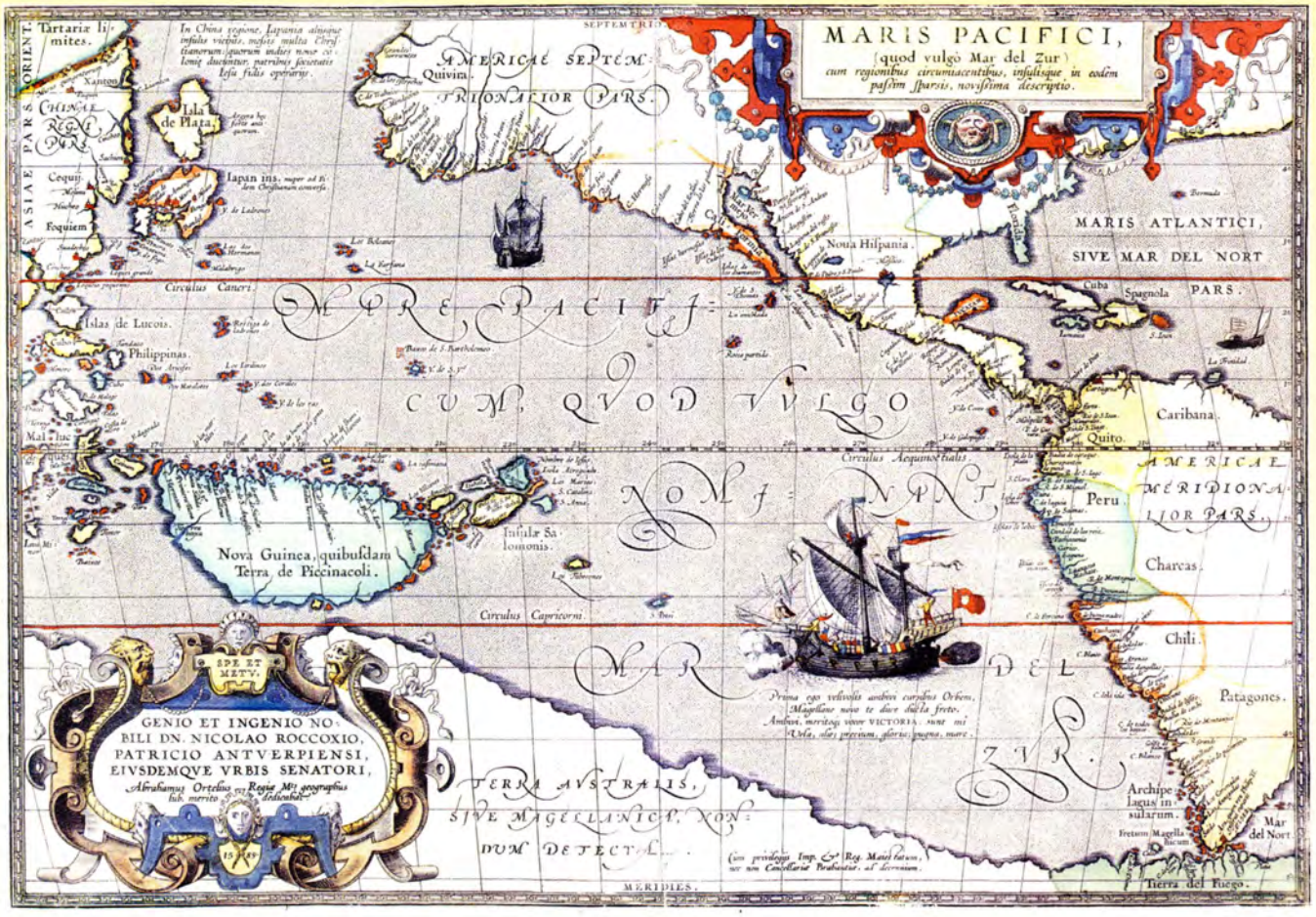
For most people, regardless of their nationality or background, there exists some conventional definition of earthly paradise. It is typically an island setting with dramatic vegetated landscapes garnished with waterfalls, surrounded by an azure lagoon and bounded by a fringing coral reef on which the sea forever sounds a calming rhythmic beat. The weather is temperate, the water warm, there is always plenty of food easily obtained; the inhabitants are friendly, relaxed, uninhibited, healthy, happy, and attractive. The sunsets are always beautiful. The place might be anywhere in the tropics, but the most likely setting for this fanciful setting is somewhere in the South Pacific. If we do insist on giving it a name, Tahiti might be the foremost candidate.

Yet it was not always so. Although every culture imagines the attributes of its "perfect place," for most cultures of the world before the Enlightenment these varied as widely as geography itself; the world then was not so connected by the Enlightenment's rational domination of collective perception and transcendent archetypes. The tropics were thought (by Europeans) to be dark places rife with dangerous miasmas and disease, inhabited by savage cannibals, treacherous and violent. The Pacific itself was, for Westerners, the very heart of darkness, an impression reinforced by voyage accounts of unrivaled suffering, death, and disaster ranging from Pigafetta's account of Magellan's 1519-1522 voyage to the circumnavigation of George Anson 1740-1744, in which both expeditions lost 90% or more of their complement.

Against the history of the world's greatest ocean as a vast, empty, deadly, and dark place, three voyagers won enduring fame through reinventing a Pacific in the

The first printed map devoted to the Pacific (by Abraham Ortelius, Antwerp, 1589) reflects the sixteenth-century view of the Pacific. With Magellan's *Victoria* as the focal point, the ominous sense of the world's greatest ocean as a vast, empty, deadly and dark place prevails.

From the MMSD Exhibit *Mapping the Pacific Coast*



collective imagination of humanity as the location of earthly paradise: the explorer Captain James Cook and the artists and naturalists who sailed with him, the author and seaman Herman Melville, and the post-impressionist artist Paul Gauguin. Each of these individuals conducted their voyages in times of great social change reflected in the philosophical and artistic movements of their times, reached mass audiences possessing unquenchable appetites for adventurous travel, romantic settings, and exotic circumstances, and seemed to satisfy a universal urge to imagine society as a more simple, noble, and perfect version of itself when transposed into a natural setting of endless beauty and bounty – a return to Eden. But paradise so envisioned was not a static construct. The three voyages also served as their own separate act in an ongoing morality play and commentary on the corrupting course of social progress: paradise found, paradise exploited, and paradise lost. With time, the world of noble savages encountered by Cook slowly and fatally converged in surrender to the forces of rationalism that the Enlightenment unleashed, painted by Gauguin as a ruined paradise tormented by a dark past.



Captain James Cook

Voyages Prior To Captain James Cook

The early modern age began when Christopher Columbus set out for China by crossing the Atlantic, only to happen onto islands, and then an entire continental landmass, heretofore unsuspected by Europeans. As the extent of this landmass began to emerge, it also became evident that it formed an impediment to any direct westerly route to China. Even indirect western routes into the far ocean were problematic, blocked to the north by polar ice and to the south by horrific sea conditions. Supposing one could finally get into the Pacific by sailing west as Magellan did, the subsequent voyage crossed emptiness so vast as to be dangerously impractical.

However, once the Spanish established themselves in the New World with a presence on both coasts and a windfall of gold and silver with which to trade with China, they began to explore oceanic sailing routes with newfound interest. Finally, in 1565, Andrés de Urdaneta cracked the code of the winds and managed to establish a return route to the Americas from the Philippines, linking China, the Philippines, the Americas and Europe within one global trading network. Thereafter, Spanish exploration of the Pacific ceased as they shifted focus onto developing and defending their trade monopoly of the Pacific. Subsequent voyages into the Pacific from Europe often took the form of military raids and piratical exploits against the Spanish empire by seafarers of other European nations. Some of these expeditions explored new territory while looking for plunder, but they also generated many tales of hardship, disappearance, and death.

Following the Seven Years' War, 1765-1763, England sent a 24-gun frigate named HMS *Dolphin* on two successive expeditions into the Pacific, presumably looking for new territories, but also to challenge the Spanish monopoly by demonstrating the ability of a ship to navigate that ocean without recourse to bases. Though her captains were ordered to demonstrate such a capacity by sweeping the Pacific in a search for new discoveries, and particularly to search for the great undiscovered continent believed to be lurking in the southernmost reaches of the Pacific, concerns about scurvy's effects, after being at sea too long, caused both of them to head straight across without dallying about. On her second time around, however, *Dolphin* did happen upon the island of Tahiti and returned to Europe with stories of a place which sounded like earthly paradise. At that time, the leading "big science" project of the day involved an international effort to observe the transit of the planet Venus across the sun's face from various locations scattered about the earth, from which it was believed possible to determine the various proportions and dimensions of the solar system. When, midway through planning a voyage to send astronomical observers to some undetermined Pacific location, the *Dolphin* returned with tales of the mysterious island – the destination for this new expedition was defined. The next ship would sail to Tahiti.

The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook, RN, 1728-1779

Captain Cook is justifiably known as the foremost explorer in history, not for astonishing discoveries of unknown continents as with Columbus, or "firsts" such a Magellan's circumnavigation, nor by combining exploration with dramatic exploits as with Francis Drake, but because his voyages embodied the Enlightenment ideals of rationalism, observation,

and a pursuit of knowledge which transcended national or personal interests. Cook is also closely associated with Pacific exploration and was the first European navigator to demonstrate an ability to roam its vast expanse at will; his crews seemingly impervious to the ravages of scurvy and errors of navigation that had either destroyed or devastated the expeditions of many of his predecessors. This oceanic capacity brought Cook into intimate contact with places and peoples heretofore unsuspected by Europeans and for the first time such experiences were recorded by an onboard contingent of naturalists and artists, who had been specifically embarked for the task of gathering and organizing information. The European cultural context for this received knowledge was also key to its impact, with its emphasis on natural systems and classification, classicism tending toward romanticism in art and poetry, and as a counterpoint to the dark side of urban civilization, and philosophical tendencies to view human nature as pure and noble when found in a natural state. When Cook and his crews stumbled upon spectacular island settings with their complex societies untainted by contact with civilization, such encounters seemed to offer new information about human nature that validated assumptions of Enlightenment philosophy. Heretofore, Eden and the heroic period of the ancient world could only be imagined or resurrected from fragments. To the astonishment of Europeans, Cook had stumbled upon island variations of those mythic settings existing in the here and now and brought home with him the most comprehensive representations of that world imaginable.



after Nathaniel West
Joseph Banks
Mezzotint
22 x 15 inches
1773
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Cook's First Voyage, 1768-1771

James Cook was a minor noncommissioned officer in the Royal Navy with a wide reputation for seamanship, experience in command of merchant colliers and other small vessels, a mathematical bent, and competence as a surveyor and cartographer. Because the ship chosen for the voyage was a converted collier and a minor command, it seemed an appropriate match. Subsequently, Cook was commissioned as a Lieutenant and HM *Endeavour* ultimately gained the same measure of immortal fame as her captain, as one of the great exploration ships of history.

When she sailed for Tahiti HM *Endeavour* carried the prominent naturalists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, accompanied by the artist Sydney Parkinson. Before succumbing at sea, Parkinson produced over a thousand images of the peoples, plants, animals and landscapes encountered during the circumnavigation. Though the astronomical observations ultimately proved disappointing and there were few geographical discoveries other than the eastern coastline of Australia, the novelty of a purely scientific mission, the success of new techniques in navigation, cartographic survey, and naval health, the extensive spectrum of specimens collected, the exotic descriptions of romantic island settings and exotic peoples living in a pre-industrial state created an immediate sensation upon *Endeavour's* return. Britain's expanding printing industry soon rendered these impressions into mass market phenomena, establishing a lucrative market for exploration and travel narratives and a fashion for rationalism.

Cook's Second Voyage, 1772-1775

Considered a hero by the Royal Navy and the scientific establishment, Cook was promoted to Commander and sent out again, this time with two former colliers: HMS *Resolution* and HMS *Adventure*. His mission was to search far to the south for the mythical southern continent *Terre Australis Incognita* (deemed by some necessary to balance the land mass of the earth) and to establish its existence, or lack thereof, once and for all. As before, Cook carried academic naturalists, as well as the artist William Hodges, and though his track meandered extensively through Antarctic seas, Cook also found time to revisit the idyllic island scenes of his first voyage. The first circumnavigation to employ a chronometer, this voyage was conducted with unprecedented precision in navigation and survey, accumulated many hundreds more specimens, observations, and images, and though no new continent materialized (at one point Cook actually got within a few miles of Antarctica before ice blocked his path), he returned to international acclaim as the foremost explorer of his age. With accounts of his voyages becoming the best-sellers of their day, accepted by elite society as an intellectual luminary, and showered with rewards and attention, Cook was promoted to Captain and provided a prestigious and well-paid administrative position as Director of Greenwich Naval Hospital. Ultimately, that steady and predictable existence proved too tedious for his adventurous temperament to endure.

Cook's Third Voyage, 1776-1779

Only one great challenge remained from the early Age of Exploration: discovery of a navigable passage connecting the Pacific to the Atlantic across the top of North America. Though there had been many failed attempts to penetrate the Northwest Passage from its eastern end over the centuries, no one had made the attempt from the Pacific, nor was there even any comprehensive geographic understanding of the northwest coast of America. Captain James Cook returned to service once again for this greatest of all challenges, setting out again in HMS *Resolution*, along with HMS *Discovery*, a new consort. As before, naturalists formed the intellectual core of the expedition and the artist for this voyage was the classically trained John Webber. In route to the Northwest Coast, Cook stopped once more at Tahiti and some of his other familiar and beloved tropical settings and then sailed on to discover the Hawaiian Islands, the last of his Eden-like discoveries. Cook then explored the Northwest Coast of North America, but finding the season too advanced to attempt the passage itself, he resolved to winter in Hawaii. Initially, Cook was received in formal and spectacular style by the Hawaiians, but as time wore on the cultural differences and the high cost of hosting and provisioning Cook's ships began to wear on relations between the Hawaiians and the Europeans. It was probably with considerable relief that the Hawaiians watched Cook sail off for his second attempt at the Northwest Passage, only to respond with dismay when he returned within days to repair storm damage. Dismay soon turned to animosity and then escalated to conflict, at which point Cook resorted to a familiar practice of taking high-ranking hostages as a means of insuring compliant behavior. This too got out of hand, Cook's shore party was stormed by an angry throng of islanders, and Cook himself was killed. The voyage continued in pursuit of its mission, but without success before the ships returned home. News of Cook's death in such dramatic circumstances at the hands of the same people, who otherwise seemed to worship him, only served to strengthen his reputation and highlight the exotic setting of the fatal episode.



William Hodges
Matavai Bay, Island of Otaheite
Oil on canvas created on Cook's 2nd Voyage of Discovery
19 ¾ x 25 ¼ inches, c. 1775
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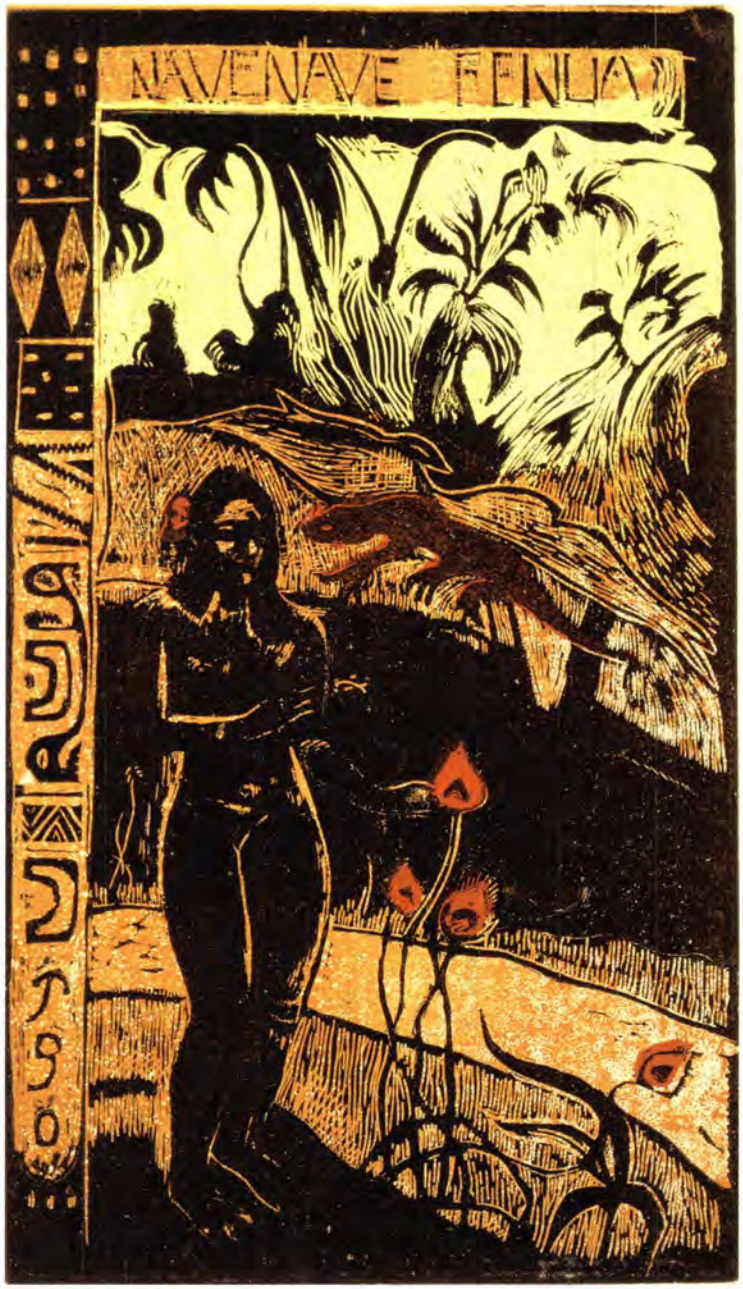


William J. Huggins
South Sea Whale Fishery • Aquatint on paper • 17 ¼ x 22 ½ inches, 1825
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Herman Melville, 1819-1891

Born into a family of New York merchants, during early adulthood Herman Melville interspersed a career as a surveyor, teacher, and civil servant with voyages into the Pacific as a seaman on whaling ships and men-of-war. It was in the whaler *Acushnet* that Melville first heard the story of how another whale ship named the *Essex* was rammed and

sunk by a gigantic, enraged sperm whale, a tale he was later to expand into one of the greatest of American novels, *Moby Dick*. However, in his own time Melville was far more famous for his travel accounts of voyages to romantic Polynesian islands in the *Acushnet* and later the frigate USS *United States*. In *Typee*, the most famous of these, Melville described how he jumped ship in the Marquesas to take up life as a beachcomber among the islanders and pursue a romantic relationship with Fayaway, a beautiful native girl who tended to wear "the garb of Eden." *Typee* was an overnight best seller. Subsequent books, along the same themes *Omoo* and *White Jacket*, established Melville as one of America's most popular authors, until devastating reviews of *Moby Dick* ruined his literary career and forced him back into civil service to earn a living. At the height of his popularity, Melville's sea tales of voyages and island paradise captured the imagination of American audiences also enchanted by mass produced lithographs illustrating islands and whaling scenes and the publically accessible native art, artifacts, and specimens contained within collections of the philosophical societies in all the great American port cities (these collections would one day become America's first museums). Melville was, however, also a careful observer and commentator on the negative influence of Western society on island peoples, including the ravages of disease and the cultural dissolution associated with commerce, nationalism, alcohol, firearms, Christianity, and missionary zeal. Paradise, in Melville's accounts, was present, but vulnerable and under assault.



Paul Gauguin
Nave Nave Fenua
Ink on heavy Japon paper • 14 x 15 inches, 1893-1894
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Paul Gauguin, 1848-1903

Born into a French-Peruvian literary family, Gauguin began his working life as a seaman and pilot's assistant in the French merchant marine and navy before starting a family and adopting the career of a stock broker in Copenhagen. Increasingly obsessed with a need for artistic expression, he ultimately abandoned his family to live (including nine weeks with Vincent van Gogh) an indigent existence as a painter and sculptor. Disillusioned with Europe and seeking a tropical paradise that would be both artistically inspirational and inexpensive to live, Gauguin worked for a short while as a laborer on the Panama canal, before sailing first to Martinique and then to the distant Pacific islands of Tahiti and the Marquesas where he devoted himself to the painting, sculpture, and alleged sexual exploits that established him in the role of tortured artistic soul in paradise. Gauguin's imagery has become inseparable from modern concepts of island paradise, including a complex interweaving of Polynesian and Christian themes of tragedy, sacrifice, redemption, eroticism, and primitive spiritualism. Gauguin's paradise may be beautifully illuminated by his bold colors and shapes, but its illumination comes from the afterglow of a sunset descending into endless night, haunted by the varua's (ghosts) of a dark past.

Cook, Melville & Gauguin

Three Voyages to Paradise

On two decks of the *Berkeley,* including the new climate controlled area, visitors will come face to face with the artifacts, period native and Aboriginal Art, master works by the painters who accompanied Cook, the instruments and charts he used to render experiences into rational terms, art and artifacts drawn from the time of Melville, and finally, a comprehensive collection of original Gauguin material that along with seldom seen paintings, comprise the largest collection of sculpture by Gauguin on display anywhere in the world. The endpoint of this voyage is the American debut of the enigmatic sculpture *Nave Nave Faruru*, a previously unknown work being exhibited for the first time in this country. In terms of Gauguin material alone, this presentation compares with the current exhibit, *Gauguin: Maker of Myth,* which just concluded at the Tate Gallery of Modern Art in London and is currently at the National Gallery in Washington, DC. Obviously, for our museum, this exhibition is a major step. To mount one of the world's great art collections, to tell the story of great voyages, and to drive the story home by presenting it on ships is an unprecedented experience.



John Webber engraver unknown
Sandwich Island Canoe with Paddlers in Gourd Masks
Hand-colored engraving
10 x 16 inches
c.1784
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Original material drawn from the collections of The Kelton Foundation

The Maritime Museum of San Diego

The Maritime Museum of San Diego is extremely proud to offer an exhibit of such high caliber and I would like to extend our gratitude to The Kelton Foundation, not only for allowing their collections to be exhibited aboard our ships, but for their generous support of this extraordinary exhibit.

— Ray Ashley

Cook, Melville & Gauguin

Three Voyages to Paradise



William Hodges
View of Vaitepiha Bay, Tahiti
Oil on Canvas
13 ¾ x 20 ⅛ inches
c. 1773
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

By Marcus De Chevrieux
Exhibit Curator

When James Cook and HM Bark *Endeavour* rounded Cape Horn and entered the Pacific in January of 1769, an entire hemisphere was about to be added to European knowledge of the globe. The existence of the Pacific had been known for more than 250 years, since Balboa's discovery in 1513, and the great ocean had already been crossed by vessels of Spanish, Dutch and French Explorers. As European Navigators landed at the scattered islands of the Pacific, they discovered an enchanting world unlike anything they had seen before, and whose inhabitants seemed to possess an innocence belonging to an earlier age of mankind.

These Tropical Edens were beautiful beyond dreams to a ship's company that had been cooped up for months within the confines of an eighteenth-century sailing vessel. Seamen returning to Europe provided tales of an Earthly Paradise, where "Noble Savages" existed idyllically in conditions that were peaceful, natural and pure, living without intrusive government, and containing only simple societies with no great distinctions of wealth or social status.

Cook's explorations would put much of this newfound paradise on the map and at the same time provide Europeans with a receptacle for their hopes, frustrations and desires. The thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment could now fully envision a world where property ownership and economic competition were not a factor, and, even more enticingly, where life was free of the sexual controls permeated by Western morality. The islands seemed to prove that Utopia actually existed, instead of being a philosophical dream.

The earliest European voyages into the Pacific, beginning with Ferdinand Magellan in the sixteenth century, for the most part, missed the larger island groups and fleeting contact with islanders was largely hostile. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the islands and their inhabitants started to become known to Europeans. Lack of precise navigational techniques had caused numerous early island discoveries to be imprecisely charted, many being discovered and lost again repeatedly. At the time, little emphasis was placed by Europeans on scientific inquiry, resulting in haphazard observations and erroneous descriptions of both people and places.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Europe had entered the Age of Enlightenment with new significance placed on understanding the natural world and humankind's place in it. Philosophers and scientists stressed the value of global exploration. In 1768, James Cook departed Britain in command of the HM Bark *Endeavour* on a three-year expedition to the Pacific. His main objective was scientific—to make telescopic observations of the transit of Venus from the island of Tahiti. He later sailed westward, first to New Zealand, which he circumnavigated, then to the eastern coast of Australia. Cook's three voyages were primarily exploratory and investigative. His considerable navigational and geographic accomplishments were accompanied by an unprecedented inquiry into the natural history of the regions he explored.



John Webber
Webber Portrait of Captain James Cook
Oil on canvas board
14 ⅜ x 11 ½ inches
c. 1782
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



The 1570 *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (Map of the World) by Abraham Ortelius shows the "Great Southern Continent". This misconception resulted from calculations of the landmass of the Northern Hemisphere and the theory that there must be an equivalent mass and weight in the south in order to balance the earth on its axis.

During Cook's first voyage, he spent over four months at Tahiti in preparation for the astronomical observations that were the primary goal of the expedition. This was the first extended social interaction between Europeans and Pacific Islanders since Spain's ill-fated attempts at colonization more than 150 years earlier.

Cook was not a discoverer of new lands as much as he was a skilled leader of three landmark scientific expeditions. Cook traveled over 120,000 miles on his three voyages, circumnavigating the world twice, and establishing new sailing routes to Australia. He explored most of the Pacific basin, accurately documenting the positions of numerous island groups and charting long stretches of the North American coastline. He penetrated the Bering Strait and determined that there was no navigable Northwest Passage.

Terra Australis Incognita, the great Southern Continent initially theorized by the Ancient Greeks and sought after by ocean explorers for centuries, first appeared on Mercator's 1569 map as *Continens Australis*, a huge landmass dominating the entire southern portion of the world. Cook, being the first to actually cross the Antarctic Circle (which he did on three separate occasions), concluded that any land in "the Southern Polar regions" was perpetually icebound and inhospitable. He was first to determine the Great Southern Continent did not exist. Many maps of the time showed New Guinea and New Zealand co-joined with Australia. Cook did not discover Australia, but documented its true shape by circumnavigating New Zealand's North and South islands, charting Australia's eastern coastline and verifying the existence of the Torres Strait between Australia and New Guinea, accurately charting the island continent's precise profile and geographical position.



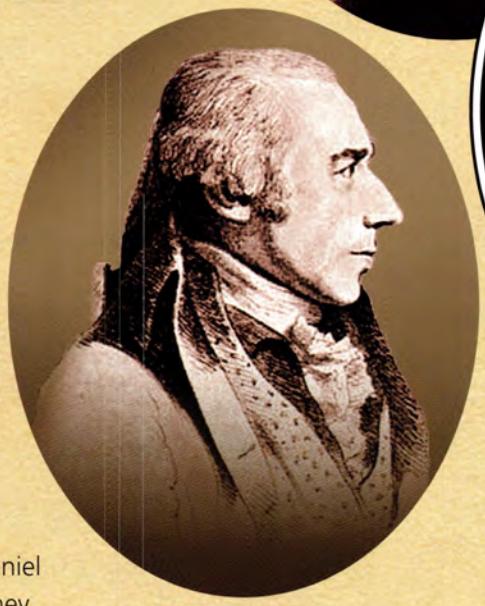
Joseph Banks



John Webber



Sydney Parkinson



William Hodges

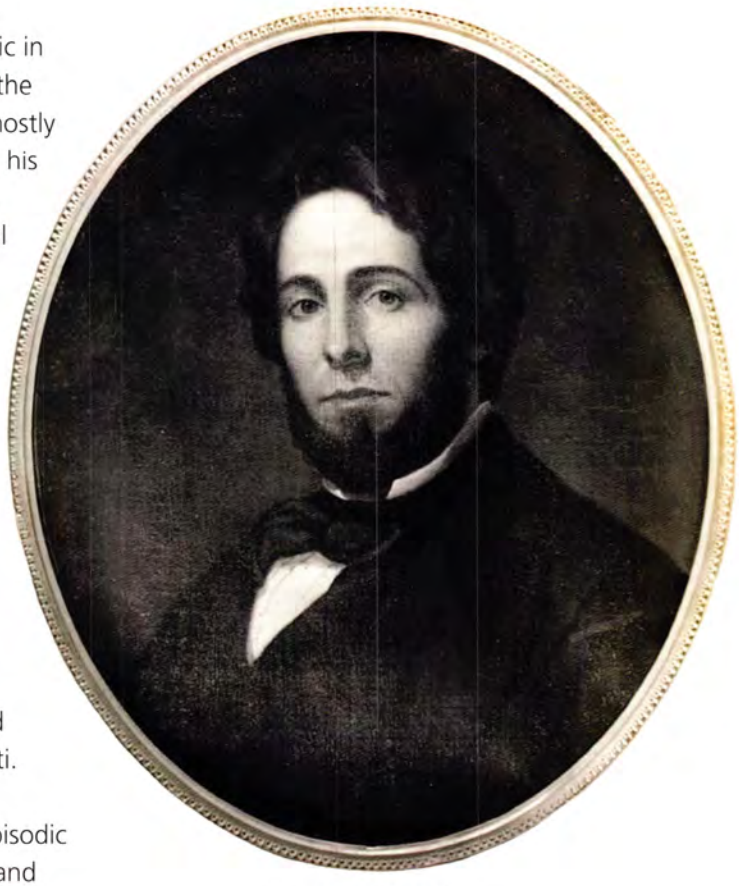
Cook assimilated and put into practice much of the new mathematics and science of his day. By proving the accuracy of the Harrison chronometer, for example, he settled the immense problem of calculating longitude. By promoting healthy living conditions and diet aboard his ships, he did much to preserve the health and lives of his crew. His methods are credited with effectively eliminating the dreaded scurvy from aboard his vessels.

Cook and his fellow travelers recorded in great detail the people and places they encountered. Scientists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, along with professional artists Sydney Parkinson, William Hodges and John Webber, provided Europe with its first intellectual and visual conceptions of the Pacific.

Yet within a century of Cook's voyages, the people of the Pacific islands had been decimated by deprivation, disease and the total collapse of their culture. Two subsequent visitors to the South Seas who witnessed and recorded, in different media, the death throes of Polynesian culture were Herman Melville and Paul Gauguin. If Cook introduced the South Pacific to the Enlightenment, Melville wrote of its Exploitation, and Gauguin painted its Eulogy.

In the eighteenth century, a large number of Europeans questioned the ethics of disturbing this reportedly unspoiled paradise. By the mid-nineteenth century, most visitors to the Pacific were more interested in *bêche-de-mer* (sea cucumber), whale oil, copra, and strategic military bases, along with a growing interest in the islanders as a source of cheap labor.

Herman Melville visited the South Pacific in the early 1840s and would introduce the Pacific Islands in literature. Although mostly remembered for his whaling epic *Moby Dick,* his first two somewhat autobiographical books, *Typee* and *Omoo* are what brought him initial fame. Both are mostly fictional travelogues based on his adventures in Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands. In July 1842, along with a shipmate, Melville deserted the whaleship *Acushnet* in the Marquesas Islands. They sought refuge in the Valley of the *Typees,* a dominant local tribe who were reputed to be cannibals. Here they lived almost idyllically for four months. However, Melville became bored by his vegetative existence and grew increasingly fearful that the friendly Typees might prove to be cannibals. Making his escape, he joined another whaleship and made his way to Tahiti.



Herman Melville

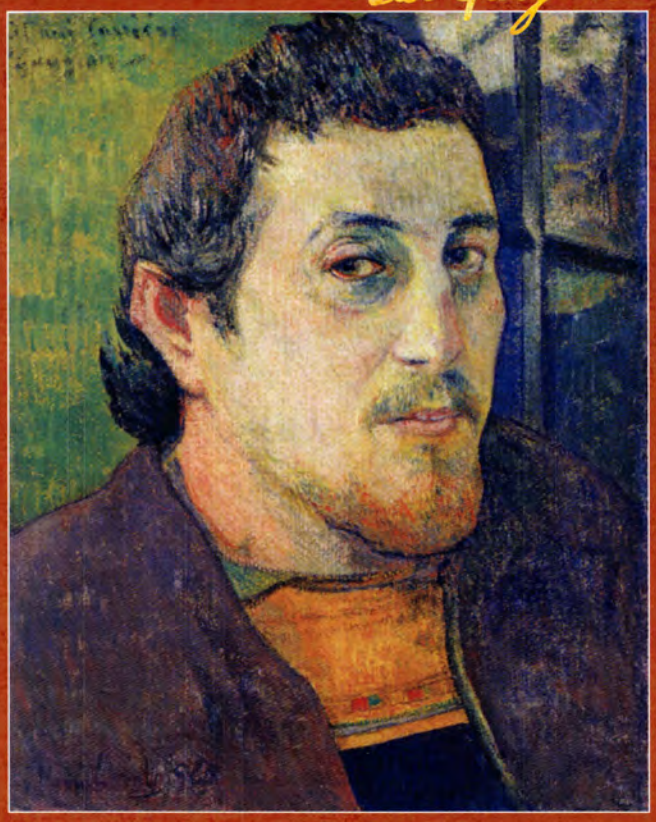
Omoo, which takes its name from the Marquesan word for vagabond, is a loose, episodic description of Melville's wanderings in Tahiti and further experiences aboard whalers. It is in a lighthearted vein, though it hits hard at missionary despoilers of the Pacific paradise and other civilizing forces that Melville saw as superficial, exploitative, and destructive. Starting where *Typee* leaves off, *Omoo* repeats the pattern of shipboard dissatisfaction, of a desertion that represents a symbolic attempt to escape civilization, of initial romantic adventures, and of eventual rejection of Rousseauistic primitivism.



Paul Gauguin

A generation later, when Paul Gauguin sailed from Marseille for Tahiti on 1 April 1891, he was primarily seeking two things: a liberating personal Eden and a newsworthy stage from which he could pitch the next phase of his career. He was confident of finding a terrestrial paradise with natives living in sensual harmony with nature and their ancient deities. But the reality was painfully different. The Tahiti he encountered wasn't as glamorous as he envisioned. By the nineteenth century, traditional Tahitian culture had gradually been smothered by Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries and by French colonial administrators.

Dismayed, Gauguin devoted the next twelve years to recreating in paintings, sculptures and engravings this paradise lost – in his mind, an idyllic world of naked maidens, lush landscapes and mythic spirits. The images he captured and sent back to Europe showed a brightly colored pastoral of flowers, exotic women and mystic ceremony. Yet while Gauguin went native, taking teenage mistresses, wearing local dress and building his own beachcomber's hut, his ultimate purpose was to impress the art world back home. And he did, although posthumously. Through his use of color and his expropriation of primitive art, he eventually earned himself a place alongside Cézanne and van Gogh as a precursor Modern art.



Paul Gauguin
Self-Portrait for Carrière,
c. 1886



1891 photo of Paul Gauguin



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
Mask of Tehamana
Bronze casting from original Pua Wood carving
7 ⅞ x 12 ⅜ inches
c. 1959 (from 1892 orginal)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Paul Gauguin Seafarer



Paul Gauguin was a professional seaman for six years, from 1865-1871. Between the ages of seventeen and twenty-three he spent three years in the Merchant Marine and three years in the French Navy. As with many young men who venture to sea for the first time, it was not a career choice as much as a dream of escape and adventure. In December 1865, a seventeen-year-old Gauguin signed on as a trainee officer aboard the 600 ton,

Merchant Marine:

Luzitano was the first ship Gauguin served aboard.

Lloyd's listing for ***Luzitano:*** 3M Bark, 654T x 150'L x 30'1"B x 19'3"D
Built: Lormont, France, 1867, and sailed out of Le Havre in the 1880s.

Merchant Marine:

Le Chile

Gauguin served aboard *Le Chile* as a second mate 1866 -1867 and sailed to South America.

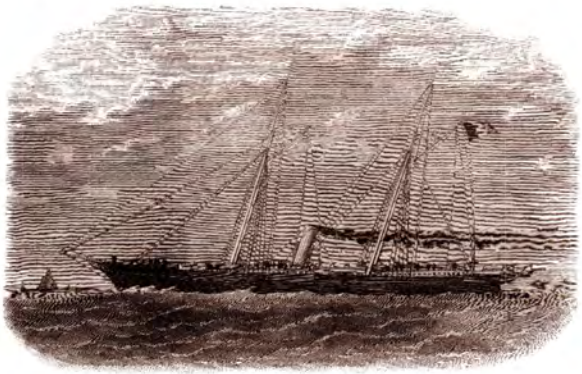


Characteristics: Liner
Length: 148 meters / width: 14.6 meters / gross tonnage: 6,489 / displacement: 7,725 tons
Passengers: 129 • 1st class / 149 • 2nd class / 689 • 3rd class
Propulsion: a steam engine alternative to triple expansion heating coal boilers - 14 Belleville
Power: 6000 CV Speed: 16.9 knots/two fireplaces plants.

Merchant Marine:

Jérôme Napoléon

As a nineteen-year-old Merchant Marine seaman third class, Gauguin served aboard the yacht *Jérôme Napoléon* from 1868 to 1871, primarily in the Mediterranean.



The picture (left) from the *London Daily News,* 19 September 1866, shows her schooner-rigged with topmasts. If Gauguin served in the 1870's, it would have been on this schooner.

An earlier quote from *Harper's Weekly*, 16 August 1861, describes the vessel as bark-rigged:

We publish on this page a picture of PRINCE NAPOLEON'S YACHT, the Jerome Napoleon, now lying in this port, where she arrived on 27th. She is about 1200 tons measurement, and is propelled by a screw, with an engine of 300 horse power. She is handsomely modeled, and is rigged as a bark. In place of the usual white streak there is a wide gilt band around the ship. Her crew consists of 150 persons. The seamen are dressed in the blue of the French navy with neat tarpaulin hats. Servants wear the Imperial livery.

L'Oceanien

Paul Gauguin was a passenger on board *L'Oceanien* in 1891, on his first voyage to Tahiti. The route was Marseille to Sydney, then he was aboard the Naval ship *Vire* from Sydney to Papeete.



Characteristics: Passenger cruise ship
Length: 130.75 m / width: 12.7 m / gross tonnage: 4,162 /displacement: 5,900 tons
Passengers: 90 • 1st class / 44 • 2nd class / 75 • 3rd class and 1200 berths in 'tween deck (steerage).
Propulsion: compound / 3 cylinders heated by 8 coal-fired boilers, converted to triple expansion 1895
Power: 3400 CV 4000
Speed: 15 knots and 16 knots after 1895, 2 fireplace plants

three-masted bark, *Luzitano,* outward bound on a fifteen-week voyage to Brazil. He would make two voyages from Le Havre to Rio de Janerio aboard this vessel and it was in her fo'c'sle that Gauguin first heard his shipmate's tales of the edens that existed in Polynesia and the South Seas.

According to his letters, Gauguin was not particularly enamored of life at sea. The cramped living conditions, hard work and low pay were not fulfilling his romantic notions of life at sea. He seems to have stayed with it merely for a lack of anything else to do. In late 1866, he was serving as second mate on the steam-sailer *Le Chile*, a ship twice the size of *Luzitano,* on a thirteen-month voyage to Iquique, Peru, and back.

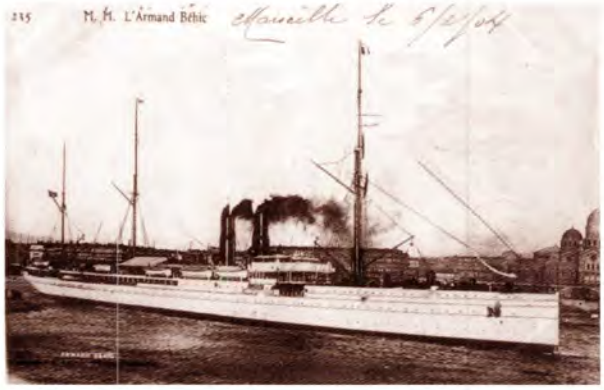
In January 1868, aged nineteen, he enlisted in the French Navy. His first duty was as a seaman third class aboard the Royal Yacht *Jérôme Napoléon* cruising the Mediterranean and Black Sea. During the Franco-Prussian war, the yacht's name was changed *to Desaix* and Gauguin remained aboard, seeing several actions in that conflict. At war's end, *Desaix* was ordered to Toulon, where Gauguin, for all intents and purposes, promptly deserted and his military career concluded with the final notation on his record: *provisionally stricken off as missing without any news.*

— **Marcus De Chevrieux**

The French Cruiser *Duchaffault*

Gauguin left Tahiti for Noumea, New Caledonia, on the *Duchaffault* before joining the *Armand Behic* for his return to France in 1893.

Bourayne class, built at Brest Naval Yard in 1872. Third class unprotected cruiser.
Wooden bark-rigged vessel of 1350 tons displacement 204' 7"L x 34'1" B x 16'D.



L'Armand Behic

It was aboard this vessel that Paul Gauguin returned to France in 1893 from Noumea, New Caledonia.

Characteristics: Passenger ship
Length: 152 m / gross tonnage: 6,635 / displacement: 10,300
Passengers: 172 • 1st class, 71 • 2nd class, 109 • 3rd class and 234 berths (steerage)
Propulsion: heated steam coal / double fireplace

L'Australien

On 3 July 1895, Paul Gauguin sailed aboard *L'Australien* from Marseille to Sydney on his second and final voyage to Tahiti.

From Sydney to Auckland he sailed aboard *Tarawera.*

From Auckland to Papeete, Gauguin was aboard *Richmond.*

L'Australien

Characteristics: Liner
Length: 152.6 meters / Width: 15 metres
Gross tonnage: 6,376 / Deadweight tonnage: 5,000 / Displacement: 10,300
Passengers: 172 • 1st class, 71 • 2nd, 109 • 3rd and 234 berths 'tween decks
Propulsion: a machine auxiliary heated by 12 Belleville coal boilers
Power: 7000 CV
Speed: 17.5 knots



Mawhera/Croix du Sud

This is the vessel Gauguin sailed aboard on his last voyage, for his final move from Tahiti to Hiva Oa, in the Marquesas, in 1901.

Mawhera/Croix du Sud 1885-1902

Built in 1883 by H McIntyre & Co, Paisley, Scotland, ***Mawhera*** was a ship of 554 tons. ***Mawhera*** was acquired when Union Company purchased the Black Diamond Line in 1885. She was chartered to the French authorities in Papeete in 1901 for trade to the Marquesan Island and under the name ***Croix du Sud*** was wrecked on Apatiki Island in 1902, while on passage from Fakarava to Kaukura.



Paul Gauguin

Sculptor of Myth and Mystery



after Paul Gauguin
Self-Portrait as Oviri
Bronze
14 x 13 1/4 inches
c. 1926

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By Richard Kelton

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Paul Gauguin

Sculptor of Myth and Mystery

While Paul Gauguin is primarily renowned as a painter, in fact he was also a sculptor throughout all of his lifetime. He considered sculpting as central to his artistic life.

Gauguin demonstrated that he was capable of producing fine traditional sculptures such as in his early marble busts of his wife and son (Brettell 2005, pp.75,77) and in his mid-career portrait bust of Madame Louise Schuffenecker. (catalog #139) However, most of his sculptures are suffused with symbolic meaning. Particularly with respect to his sculpting, Gauguin stated that he wished to deform reality to express himself "mysteriously – in parables".[1]

His earliest known carving efforts were at the age of six on the long sea voyage from Peru to France in late 1854, or early 1855. His mother, who had received artistic training herself, encouraged Paul to devote some of his shipboard time to woodcarving.[2] Thus, he may have been a sculptor before he was a graphic artist.

Gauguin himself recounted another early sculpting incident.

I was whittling one day with a knife, carving dagger handles without the dagger, all sorts of little fancies incomprehensible to grown people. A good woman who was a friend of ours exclaimed in admiration 'He's going to be a great sculptor!' With untypical modesty he added, Unfortunately the woman was no prophet.[3]

The pleasure he found in his sculpting activities was expressed in a June, 1890, letter from Brittany which Gauguin wrote to Emile Bernard,

I am relaxing by doing wood carving.[4]



This is an example of one of a series of prints made from Gauguin's three-dimensional Christ Cylinder.

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Gauguin frequently considered himself primarily a sculptor. After Gauguin had returned to France from his first Tahitian trip, he was very discouraged by the failure of his paintings to sell. He took solace from this disappointment by falling back on his high opinion of himself as a sculptor. As he wrote to Daniel de Monfreid from Brittany in October/ November of 1894:

> ***I have come to an unalterable decision – to go and live forever in Polynesia.***
>
> ***I shall return to Paris in December, and busy myself entirely with selling my collection, no matter at what price – everything. If I succeed I shall leave in February. Then I can end my days in peace and freedom, without thought of tomorrow and this eternal struggle against idiots. . . .***
>
> ***Farewell to painting unless as an amusement; my home will be in wood-carving.*** [5]

The magnitude of his work as a sculptor is evidenced by the fact that, over the years, in addition to his early marble statues, Gauguin sculpted in wax, plaster, wood, and ceramics. He made over 100 significant ceramic works, of which approximately 60 are still known to exist, and sculpted at least 140 known carvings in wood. His wooden works included three-dimensional objects, important relief carvings, and "inverse" relief carvings in wood blocks from which he made prints. He was proud of these "wood engravings." As he wrote to Daniel de Monfreid, with reference to his Tahiti works:

> ***I am sending you a small series of wood engravings. I want to have an exhibit of pictures as well as of engravings and drawings for the World's Fair. Though they are done on any sort of wood, with my eyes growing weaker all the time, still I think they stand out forcibly from the ordinary dirty craft – but they are very imperfect. Yet I think they are interesting as art.*** [6]

The creation of these woodblocks incorporated both his skill as a sculptor and as a draftsman.In his artistic mind there was no sharp distinction between his "inverse carvings"of wood blocks for printmaking and his three-

dimensional sculptures, because he, and his artistic associates, occasionally made prints from his three-dimensional works as well as from his wood blocks. An example is one of a series of prints made from his three-dimensional Christ Cylinder. (left)

Conversely, some of his wood relief carvings were quite flat. As Christopher Gray points out with respect to Gauguin's *Manao Tupapau,*[7] (catalog #115) this carving was likely a woodcut that Gauguin transformed into a relief. Gray points out: *The idea of the relationship between woodcut and wood carving may have influenced the very flat carvings which began to appear among Gauguin's works at this time.* [1892]



The carved relief *Papa Moe* (Mysterious Waters, right) is another example of the close relationship between Gauguin's work on woodblocks and on his sculptures. Made in France in 1894, between his two Tahitian sojourns, the relief depicts a young woman drinking at a spring. Describing Gauguin's technique Christopher Gray points out:

> *In the main panel of Papa Moe, as in a woodcut, the original surface of the wood is the dominant plane, which has been cut away to produce light and shadow. Also characteristic of the woodcuts is the use of the texture of the cut of the gouge to produce areas of an indeterminacy suggestive of an atmosphere of mystery. In Pape Moe, Gauguin has used this device on the upper right-hand part of the panel, where the forms are hardly realized at all as sculpture, but rather as line, tone and texture.....Taking the main panel as a whole, one is struck by the general dependence on visual effects rather than the usual sculptural emphasis on tactile values. Though this tendency has been apparent in some of Gauguin's sculpture from the early 1880s on, it is stronger here, and marks the development of an attitude toward sculpture that is particularly characteristic of his later work in Tahiti and the Marquesas.*[8]

Whenever one looks at a Gauguin woodblock print, it is important to remember that behind that print there was a block of wood that Gauguin had sculpted. Examples of the sculptural quality preserved in his printing of the woodblocks are *Auti Te Pape* [9](catalog #119) and *Mahana Atua.*[10] (catalog #122)



Marble statue by Gauguin of his son, Emile.

The importance with which he regarded his sculptures is demonstrated by the fact that, in 1879, when he first exhibited with the Impressionists in their Fourth Exhibition [in Paris], the only artwork with which he was represented was a marble statue of his son, Emile.(Brettell 2005 p.75) (left)

The critic, Edmund Duranty, remarked on his submission describing it as a "small agreeable sculpture, the only one in the show." (*Ibid*, p. 253, and see Sweetman 1995, p. 90.) Undoubtedly encouraged by this review, and so significant to him was his work as a sculptor that Gauguin included sculptural material along with his paintings in the three succeeding Impressionist Exhibitions of 1880, 1881 and 1882.

Gauguin's introduction of symbolism and mystery into his sculptures began early in his career as demonstrated by the two sculptures he made of a Parisian woman. The first was a wax statue, probably made in Paris and influenced by Degas. Only a single plaster version and multiple bronze castings now survive the wax original *Le Petite Parisian.* (catalog #143)

The similar wooden statue, *Dame en Promenade,* was made in the countryside of Pointois, in the company of Pissarro, who sketched Gauguin carving this piece. This was one of the two sculptures that Gauguin exhibited in the Sixth Impressionist Exhibition of 1881.

Often some of his most elaborate and symbol-filled sculptural efforts were non-commercial items produced for his own satisfaction. Early examples are his *Narcissus Fan Handle* and its associated, complex *Resurrection Sarcophagus-like*

Casket (catalog #151) that he made in 1884-85 as gifts to his wife.

During his Brittany period, when Gauguin was producing some of his most transitional Brittany paintings and was considering leaving for Tahiti, he produced many sculptures and three-dimensional ceramic works suffused with symbolic meaning.

Two of these were large relief panels carved in 1889-1890: *Be in Love and You will be Happy* [11] and *Be Mysterious.*[12] (right) The price he assigned to these carvings evidenced the relative importance he considered them. While he offered his current paintings at 300 to 600 francs, he priced the carved panels at 1,500 francs each.[13]

In developing the first panel, he wrote Emile Bernard:

It is also the best thing I have ever done in sculpture, and the most strange...[14]

As highly as Gauguin had regarded his first panel, he believed that the second panel he created, *Be Mysterious,* was even better. In September, 1890, he wrote Emile Bernard with reference to the new work,

I'm very pleased with it. In fact I don't think I've ever done anything as good before.[15]

His own high opinion of his sculpting efforts of this Brittany period was appreciated by a small group of critics. Féix Fénén, a distinguished French critic, recognized Gauguin's eminence as a sculptor in a back-handed compliment, saying in May of 1891, *He is more a maker of statues than a painter, and we have to admire his sculpture.* [16]



Be in Love and You will be Happy



Be Mysterious

Since carving was always an important part of his life, he carved many practical objects in his surroundings just for functional use including canes and armoires.

In addition to the flat relief works Gauguin produced during this Brittany period, he also produced a number of symbol laden three-dimensional objects. In November 1898, he wrote a letter discussing his transformational paintings and sculptures to Theo Van Gogh, who was then his primary art dealer, stating *that his recent paintings and sculptures were concerned with suggestions and evoked fantasies.*[17]

In 1894, Charles Morice, a poet and friend with whom Gauguin was collaborating on his *Noa Noa* manuscript, described Gauguin's Parisian studio:

> *...he loved to have around him the song of bright colors; on his walls...on his windows...on his furniture, which he carved and painted.*[18]



Gauguin similarly decorated his Tahitian residence, writing to his friend Daniel de Monfreid in February, 1898:

I am sending you a rather poor photograph of my double house. The one on the left I use exclusively as a studio. I've made it attractive with carved decorations.[19]

Gauguin confirmed his pleasure in doing this type of work saying:

Windows, furniture, faience, etc... my real aptitudes are for these things rather than for painting in the strict sense of the word.[20]

His exposure to Polynesian art provided an additional stimulus to his sculpting activity. In Tahiti he was carving wood before he was painting.[21] His spontaneous response to this new stimulus was recounted by his friend Je'not. Shortly after Gauguin's arrival in Tahiti, he showed Je'not some photographs of tattooed Marquesans, and then took a plain wooden native bowl owned by Je'not, *examined it, turning and returning it, then all at once, without preparation, choosing a tool, he started to carve it... When he worked Gauguin was silent and even deaf.*[22]

Gauguin sold only two important wood carvings in Tahiti. However, these brought a desperately needed 300 francs.[23] Neither of the two carvings that Gauguin sold in Tahiti is in any of the known collections. They have been considered "lost." One of these two carvings is likely the wooden statue now known as *Nave Nave Faruru,* which is fully discussed in the accompanying article in this publication (see pages 28-83).

These two carvings were done almost a year before the major series of Tahitian carvings that he carried back to France, and described as "from tree trunks." In the 1893 Durand-Ruel exhibition, he catalogued them as *Les Tiis* (The Gods). Therefore it is not unreasonable to expect that the 1892 works made for sale in Tahiti differed in style from the later ones made in 1893, which he carved to take back with him to France.

In March of 1893, Gauguin's letter to Daniel de Monfreid described this later commercial Tahitian sculpting activity:

I have about fifty canvasses that will perhaps make you gasp, as many of them are better than this study. Just now I am carving some barbaric bibliots [trinkets] from tree trunks. I have a bit of iron-wood to bring back that has just about put my fingers out of commission, but I am pleased with it.

One of these later carvings, *Après-midi d'un Faune*, he gave to his friend, the leading Symbolist poet Stephane Mallarme'. (below) This one is in Mallarme's home, now a museum outside of Paris. Among the other "bibliots" he brought back with him to Paris from Tahiti are: *The Idol with a Shell* (catalog #145), *The Idol with a Pearl* (catalog #146), *Hina and Fatu and Taaroa* (catalog #135), the *Christ Cylinder* (catalog #129) and the *Mask of Tehamana* (catalog #142).



FRONT BACK RIGHT LEFT

Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani

Après-midi d'un Faune • Bronze, brown patina, 13 ½ x 5 ½ inches

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The Tahiti sculptures proved unsalable in Paris. Despite the lack of buyer's interest, Gauguin's high regard for the sculptures remained undiminished. He wrote to his friend Daniel de Monfreid from Tahiti on his second return there:

> ***Speaking of the sculpture, as there is very little of this work, I don't want it to be scattered, or to go into the possession of people who would not care for it. And it would give me great pleasure if you would accept (not as a present, but as a proof of my friendship) all the wood-carvings from Tahiti.***[24]

Gauguin's Polynesian sculpting activity was not limited to works for sale. He also carved extensively solely for his personal enjoyment. As he wrote Monfreid in November 1896:



> ***I'm beginning to get better, and am taking advantage of it by doing a lot of work, sculpture. ... I strew it all over the grass. Clay covered with wax. First it's a woman, a nude, then a superbly fantastic lion playing with its little one. The natives, who know nothing of wild animals, are very much excited over it. Just imagine, the Cure did everything possible to make me take in the lady who wore no clothes. The judge laughed in his face and I sent him properly about his business. Ah, if I only had the money that is owing me, my life would be extraordinarily calm and happy.***[25]

In 1898, the engineer Jules Agostini described Gauguin's Tahitian home:

> *Taking the path closest to the shore, one soon sees a statue, some fantastic wood carvings and a house with a thatched roof, where, like a new Robinson* [Crusoe], *an artist has come in search of rest.*[26]



In 1901, when Gauguin moved to Atuona in the Marquesas Islands, he again felt impelled to surround himself with his carvings. He decorated the house he built with a massive door frame inspired in part by that on a Maori *wharenui* (Great House), carved it with Polynesian-derived faces and figures, and enhanced his décor with carved statues. (above) In his book *Intimate Journals (Avant et Après),* Gauguin describes two of the statues he carved, and their symbolic references:

> ***To cut two superb pieces of rose-wood and carve them after the Marquesan fashion was child's play for me. One of them represented a horned devil*** **[The figure was named *P`ere Paillard,* (see pg. 24) and had a tree and a snake on its back, representing the Garden of Eden]*, the other a charming woman with a flower in her hair. It was enough to name her The'r`ese for everyone without exception, even the school children, to see in it an allusion to this celebrated love affair*** **[between a French Catholic priest and a young Tahitian maiden].**[27]

The importance Gauguin attached to his three-dimensional creations throughout his life is evidenced by his frequent inclusion of them in his paintings.

While Gauguin created sculpture throughout his career and at every stage of his artistic development, his general recognition as a great sculptor came only belatedly. During his lifetime, with rare exceptions, Gauguin's sculptures were "virtually unnoticed." (Shackelford & Fréches-Thory 2004, Isabelle Cohn, p. 71.)



Gauguin had vainly shown them for sale at the Durand-Ruel gallery in 1893 as *The Tiis* (God-like beings, or The Gods). Later, they were included in his post-mortem exhibit in 1906, at the Salon d' Automme, and again at the Galerie Charpenties in 1938. The first, and I believe only show devoted to "Gauguin as a sculptor and carver" was presented in 1928 by the Museé du Luxembourg." "For the mainstream public, [it] was a complete revelation." (Shackelford & Fréches-Thory 2004, p. 297 by Isabelle Cohn.)

However, it was not until 1951, forty-eight years after the artist's death, that the French national museums were given Gauguin's Tahiti statues, and only in 1969, did they become part of the French national collection. (Shackelford & Fréches-Thory 2004, p. 75, fn. 69 by Anne Pingoet)

Other recognition of the importance of Gauguin's sculpture also occurred in the 1950s. In 1952, the French museums purchased the carved panels from Gauguin's Marquesan *House of Pleasure,* and in 1957, Boston's Museum of Fine Arts acquired his major carved panel *Be in Love* and *You will be Happy.* (Shackelford & Fréches-Thory 2004, p. 75 by Anne Pingoet)

However, so important were his sculptures to Gauguin's self-image during his life, he requested of Monfreid that his great ceramic statue *Oviri* be placed on his grave:

> ***The large ceramic figure (Oviri) that did not find a purchaser, while those ugly pot-boilers of Delaherche sell very high and go into museums. I should like to have it here for the decoration of my garden and to put upon my tomb in Tahiti. This means that as soon as you can get the money from a sale to pay for the cost of packing and freight, I should like you to send it to me. Then my little place here will be complete.***[28]

The original was sold before his request could be honored, however, today, in the small cemetery of the remote Marquesan Island town of Atuona, a bronze cast of *Oviri* stands as guardian over Paul Gauguin's last remains, a monument to his genius as a sculptor.

Notes

1 Private letter written to his close friend, Georges-Daniel de Monfreid, Pielkovo 1992, p. 57, Letter XXVIII, October 1897.
2 Sweetman 1995, p. 27.
3 Gray 1963, p. 2, from Paul Gauguin *Avant et Apre's*, Facsimile edition, Copenhagen, 1948, p. 193.
4 P. 144 from *Letters to His Wife and Friends* reported in Anne Pingeot's article "Sculpture of the First Voyage," p. 70, footnote 37, Shackelford & Frèches-Thory, 2004.
5 Letter XV, p. 56, Pielkovo 1992.
6 Letter XLVII, p. 127, Pielkovo 1992.
7 Gray 1963, #108 at p. 240.
8 Gray 1963, p. 64.
9 Kornfeld 1988, #16.
10 Kornfeld 1988, #31.
11 *Soyez Amoureuses et vous Serez Heureuss*, Fall, 1889, Gray 1963, p.195, #76, 97 x 75 cm, 38 ¼ x 24 in.
12 *Soyez Myste'rieuses*, Winter, 1890, Gray 1963, p.207, #87, 73 x 95 cm, 29 x 37 ½ in.
13 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, p. 191.
14 Gray 1963, p. 42, quoting Malingue *Letters* LXXXVII.
15 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, p.190 translating from *Malingue*, 1949, CXII.
16 Félix Fénén, *M. Gauguin, Le Chat Noir*, 23 May 1891, reprinted in *Oeuveres Plus Que Complètes*, I, ed. Joan U. Halperin (Geneva: Droz, 1970), p. 193, reported in Anne Pingeot's article "Sculpture of the First Voyage," in the *Gauguin Tahiti* catalogue.
17 Thomson 2010, p. 156, at footnote 38, citing Cooper, Douglass (ed) *Paul Gauguin; 45 letters a' Vincent, Theo, et Jo van Gogh*, Lausanne & The Hague, 1983. Letter 22, pp. 159, 161, 169. 20 or 21 November 1889. At that time Theo, Vincent's younger brother, was manager of the Boulevard Montmarte gallery of Boussod et Valadon, an international art dealership. Theo promoted Gauguin's reputation and sold his works when Gauguin desperately needed this assistance. Between December 1887 and October 1890, Theo's gallery was responsible for the sale of 11 paintings and several ceramics, netting Gauguin over 3,300 francs. Even after Vincent's suicide, Theo continued to actively promote Gauguin's art until Theo's untimely death.]
18 Quoted in Eisenman 1997, p. 98.
19 Letter XXXI, p. 95, Pielkovo 1992.
20 Letter #132, p. 174 to Daniel de Monfreid, Tahiti, August, 1892, Malingue 1949.
21 Gray 1963, p. 56.
22. Gray 1963, p. 56, referencing footnote 12: Jé not, *"Le Premier séjour de Gauguin à Tahiti "* pp.121-22.
23 Malingue 1949. Letter #132, p. 174 to Daniel de Monfreid, Tahiti, August, 1892.
24 Pielkovo 1992. Letter number XLVIII, October, 1900. pp 130-131. Monfried's wife eventually gave the wood carvings to the French Government. They are all now on display at the Musee d'Orsay.
25 Malingue 1949, Letter number XXI, p 75, November, 1896, Second Tahiti stay.
26 Eisenman 1997, p. 99.
27 Gauguin, *Intimate Journals (Avant et Après)*, Translated by Van Wyck Brooks, KPI, London, 1985, p. 39. The statues are Gray 1963, #136 and #135, respectively.
28 Pielkovo 1992. Letter number XLVIII, from Tahiti, October, 1900. p131.

Paul Gauguin's Nave Nave Faruru

(Pleasurable Lovemaking) Statue Rediscovered



Attributed to Paul Gauguin
Nave Nave Faruru
(Pleasurable Lovemaking)
Wood carving
14 x 15 inches
1892

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By Richard Kelton

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Introduction

Many years ago, on one of those typically perfect days in paradise, I was walking down the main waterfront street in Papeete, Tahiti, and wandered into a small curio shop. There, in a dark corner under a table, I noticed a modest-sized wooden statue. In response to my inquiry, it was brought out for inspection. The sales person and the proprietor told me that it was from Tahiti, but they did not know the name of the sculptor. All of us then assumed he was a native of Polynesia.

On another of those typically perfect days in paradise in August 1892, Paul Gauguin penned a letter to his friend in Paris, Georges-Daniel de Monfreid, and stated:



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Happily, I have made supreme efforts here to stave off the evil day. I have recently made two wood carvings, which I managed to sell for 300 francs, and so I can stay here another three months.

Those two statues have never been identified, and no other statutes are known to exist that would fit the description contained in Gauguin's letter.

After years of study and research, I am now convinced that the statue I acquired in the Papeete curio shop was one of the two statues I made and sold by Gauguin in 1892. I believe that in it he symbolically incorporated:

a. his autobiographic relationship with the two principal Tahitian women of his first stay in Tahiti,

b. the Judeo-Christian Biblical story of Adam and Eve,

c. the Polynesian myths of Creation by the Gods Hina and Taaroa,

d. the reincarnation concepts of the Gods Fatu and Hina,

e. and the Polynesian myths of the origin of the licentious Society by the Gods Oro and Vairumati.



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Nave Nave Fenua and Te Faruru: The former means "Delightful or Pleasurable Land", with an overtone of sexual connotations. The latter literally means "To tremble" or metaphorically, "To Make Love."



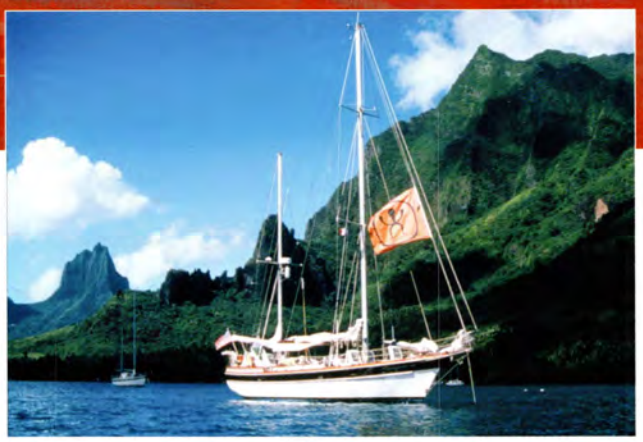
Summary

The name bestowed on the statue derives from titles Paul Gauguin gave to two of the woodblock prints in his *Noa Noa* suite: *Nave Nave Fenua* and *Te Faruru*. The former means "Delightful or Pleasurable Land", with an overtone of sexual connotations. The latter literally means "To tremble" or metaphorically, "To Make Love." Both images had great significance to Gauguin, for he repeated them many times. The former contained the representation of Tehamana, Gauguin's principal female companion during his first sojourn in Tahiti, and the latter image was frequently associated with the *upaupa* orgiastic rites of the Ariori Society's religious celebrations. The name was selected for this rediscovered Gauguin statue because both associations are embedded in the symbology of the statue.

1. The circumstances of its discovery are consistent with the possibility it was made by Gauguin:
   a. It was found in Tahiti.
   b. Its history and maker were unknown to the vendor.
   c. It had an old patina.
2. Gauguin was known to have sold two wood carved statues in 1892 in Tahiti for 300 francs. These statues have never previously been identified. At the same time he wrote that he made this sale, the profile of *Nave Nave Faruru* began appearing in his paintings, and paint flecks in colors matching some of these paintings are found in the protected wood pores of the statue.
3. Profiles or other symbolic references to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue appear in more than 15 other works by Gauguin.
4. The statue differs in style and content from traditional Polynesian-made objects.
5. The subject matter of the statue is consistent with Gauguin's oeuvre.
6. The style of the statue is consistent with other works by Gauguin, including its Peruvian associations, its distortions for symbolic purposes, and its stylistic carving details, including the rosetta pattern.
7. The *Nave Nave Faruru* statue was "signed" by Gauguin and, even if not signed, he produced many unsigned works.
8. No other artist has been identified as a likely creator of the statue.

The following is the accumulated information I acquired over the years after I acquired the statue that led me to the conclusion that the statue was made by Gauguin in 1892.

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Above: Richard Kelton took anthropologists and ethnographers on expeditions to remote islands in the South Pacific aboard his 47-foot cruising ketch. It was in Tahiti that Kelton came upon the wood sculpture now known as *Nave Nave Faruru*, which led him into an indepth study of Gauguin's life and works..

Preliminary facts regarding the purchase of and investigations regarding the *Nave Nave Faruru* Statue:

The first few years after I acquired the statue, I diligently searched for a Polynesian sculptor who may have created the statue. Like Diogenes carrying his lamp seeking an honest man,[2] I carried photographs of the statue wherever I went seeking the statue's creator.

At that time I had a 47-foot cruising ketch based in Papeete with which I took anthropologists and ethnographers on expeditions to remote islands. Over these years we visited most of the Polynesian Society Islands, the Tuamotos and the Marquesas. I showed the statue's photographs to all the many sculptors I encountered throughout this area, and none claimed authorship of the statue or knowledge of anyone they knew who might have created it. In Tahiti my search included contacting experts at the ethnographic Museum of the Isles and at the Gauguin museum. The only suggestion was of a possible Chilean sculptor residing in Tahiti, but contacting him provided only a negative response.

I was fortunate to be able to attend the South Pacific Festival held in Papeete one of the years I was there. From islands all over the South Pacific, native dancers, singers, artists and sculptors gathered there to exhibit their talents and creations. I inquired of all the artists and sculptors I could contact. No one there was able to provide any information about the possible sculptor of the statue in my photographs.



Finally, because I perceived a resemblance of the faces in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue to faces in Gauguin's paintings, and even though I had no knowledge at that time of the nature and extent of Gauguin's three-dimensional works, I began to speculate that Paul Gauguin was a possible creator of the work. I mentioned my thoughts to a friend, Robert Sawyer, an art dealer residing in England. He directed me to the *Catalog Raisonne* of Paul Gauguin's sculpture, written by Christopher Gray.[3] This opened a door to a new area of research. My first encouragement in Gray's work was the similarity of the male face on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, especially its eyes, nose and mouth, to the faces Gauguin had carved on an obscure work — the arms of a settee which had been located in the Hotel Gloanec in Pont-Aven.[4]

I was particularly encouraged to read Gray's prediction that since Gauguin produced a large amount of sculpture in Tahiti that has "been lost," it gives "rise to the hope that of such a quantity of material a few pieces may still survive that will someday be discovered."[5] In fact, two long "lost" Gauguin statues have surfaced and have been auctioned within the last five years.

Thus encouraged, I embarked on years of study of Gauguin's life and works. I read everything I could find of his writings and perused publications containing illustrations of all his known paintings, prints, watercolors, drawings, sketchbooks, monotypes, ceramics and sculptures. I read many biographies of his life and catalogs of exhibitions of his works, and visited museums all over the world to examine his original creations. This research led down many blind alleys, but also to many discoveries.





Above left and right: The arms of a settee carved by Gauguin that had been located in the Hotel Gloanec in Pont-Aven.

The existence of over fifteen images of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in other works by Gauguin:

Knowing Gauguin as well as I had come to know him, I was sure that if this previously undocumented wooden carving I had been researching for many years had, in fact, been made by him, he would have included it in at least one of his paintings. I did as Gauguin admonished, *Study the silhouette of every object; distinctiveness of outline is the attribute of the hand that is not enfeebled by any hesitation of the will.*[6]

Nave Nave Faruru



What, Are You Jealous?

With a sudden burst of insight and mounting excitement, I discerned *Nave Nave Faruru*, disguised, but unequivocally present, in one of his most famous paintings, *What, Are You Jealous? (Aha oe Fei)*. Having once seen how he represented the statue here in profile, I was able to also find it represented in many of his other paintings and graphic works. This to me was final, positive proof that I had found an important, previously undocumented statue made by Paul Gauguin during his first stay in Tahiti.

A detailed analysis of the profile of the three-dimensional shape covered by the pareu in *What, Are You Jealous?* confirms that it is the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The actual size of the statue in relation to a real human figure conforms to that of the shape in the painting in relation to Gauguin's painted human figure. Also, the plane of the shape in the painting in relationship to the plane of the beach in the painting is in the proper relationship to the plane the statue would have if it were under the pareu. In addition, the arch painted on the pareu in the painting echoes the arch of the statue under the pareu, and the flowers painted on the red pareu suggest the existence of the features on the faces of the male and female figures in the covered statue. Finally, Gauguin placed his signature directly over the form of the statue in conformity with the arched shape of the underlying statue.





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The existence of the profile of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in this painting is not likely a coincidence, because Gauguin documented the fact that he painted this painting at the same time he created and sold the two "lost" statues. In the same letter that he reported to Monfried he had sold the two statues, he stated:

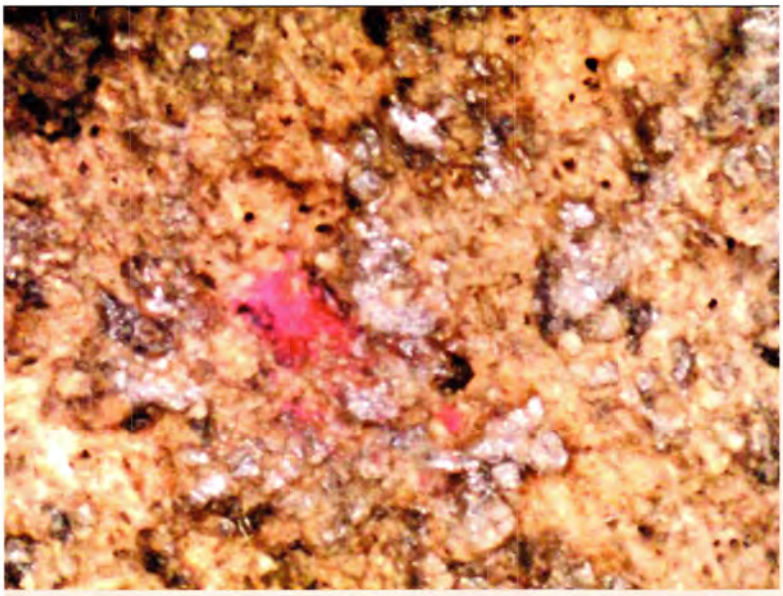
> ***I have recently done a fine nude, two women by the side of a stream. I think it is my best thing to date.***[7]

While he did not specifically identify this painting by name in this letter to Monfried, his reference to this painting is unmistakable, both by its content, and by the fact that when he sent a group of his paintings (to his wife Mette) for sale in Europe, he listed their proposed sales prices, and the price for *What, Are You Jealous?* was second highest in price only to his later painted *Manao Tupapau* (The Spirit of the Dead Watches).[8]



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No commentator writing about the painting, *What, Are you Jealous?* has ever discussed the shape of the pareu because no one was aware of the existence of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. As a Gauguin scholar, Richard Brettell, skeptically said to me, "I always wondered what was under that pareu." No one with whom I have discussed the statue has suggested the name of an alternate maker. This discovery was to be the first of over fifteen images of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue that I have found in other works by Gauguin.

Additional confirmation of the close relationship of the statue and Gauguin's painting is the presence of tiny spots of red, white and magenta colored paint in the pores of the unfinished wood on the underside of *Nave Nave Faruru*, and in some other rough protected areas. These are the same colors found in the painting. (left) This suggests the likelihood that the statue was present in Gauguin's studio while he was working on *What, Are You Jealous?*[9]

Gauguin's intent to emphasize the symbolic importance of the object covered by the red pareu is confirmed by his deliberate placement of his signature in an arched shape over the arch in the red pareu. (below) The preponderance of Gauguin's signatures on his paintings are horizontal in shape and are located in one of the upper or lower corners of his paintings. Whenever he departs from this convention, it is to use his signature to designate an object that has particular symbolic importance. An analysis of forty-six paintings, which Gauguin made and signed on his first Tahitian visit that are listed in Wildenstein's 1964 catalog, discloses that eighteen were signed at the lower left, twenty-one were signed at the lower right, and two were signed at the top left. These signatures were conventionally made, parallel with the top and bottom of the painting. It is obvious that any departure from placing his signature horizontally in a corner was not typical. There were only five variations from the standard pattern: One signature was in the middle on the right and four were in the middle near, but not necessarily at, the bottom. In all of these five non-typical cases, the signature appears to be over "hidden" symbolic features.[10]





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Auti Te Pape

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Still another confirmation that Gauguin's use of this shape in *What, Are You Jealous?* was not accidental, and that he considered it an important symbolic object in relationship to the adjacent figure, is the fact that frequently when he reused this same woman's figure in other art works, the same shape appears adjacent to the figure in that art work. Examples include the woodblock print, *Auti Te Pape (By the River),* (right) from his *Noa Noa* suite of prints,[11] the oil painting, *Nave Nave Moe (Joie de se Reposer)* [12] and his watercolor monotype of *What, Are You Jealous?* [13]

Gauguin only ceased associating the statue with the pose of this woman after his second return to Tahiti. (below) I believe that the woman adjacent to the statue in *What, Are You Jealous?* originally represented Tehamana.



Nave Nave Moe



When Gauguin returned on his second trip to Tahiti Tehamana had married, and was no longer his "woman." Thus the sexual implications of associating the statue with the *What, Are You Jealous?* pose no longer seemed appropriate to him. Tehamana had been supplanted by Pahara, who is shown as the second woman, who Gauguin portrayed in the Melancholie pose he had previously associated with Tehamana.

While Gauguin had painted erotic loving couples in his private journals, like *Ancien Culte Mahorie* and *Noa Noa*, it was obvious from *What, Are You Jealous?* that he was loathe to do this in his more public works. It would have subjected him to too much public criticism at a time when he was seeking support for his art work both in seeking commissions and selling finished paintings. He kept his erotic materials private. As quoted in *Gauguin Tahiti* p. 333, note 24, "Lénore, who, several years earlier [before Gauguin's death], had mimeographed Gauguin's newspaper *Le Souire*, later recalled the colonists' scandalized reactions to the erotic works" [in the estate sale of Gauguin's Marquesan belongings].[14]



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Once discovering that Gauguin was not representing the statue in his works in its recognizable erotic form, I looked for other "hidden" references to the statue, and found many. The covered *Nave Nave Faruru* statue also appears in a watercolor Gauguin pasted into his *Noa Noa* manuscript.[15] (left) Here the statue is under a blue pareu. The adjacent figure, whose pose is similar to the woman in *What, Are You Jealous?*, is attributed to a Greek Bacchus.[16] The Bacchus identification is confirmed by Gauguin's placing a grape vine adjacent to the figure. The symbolism of Bacchanalian revels in association with the lovemaking couple in the statue is appropriate. In this watercolor the statue is shown from a different perspective than in *What, Are You Jealous?* It is a frontal view, with the Bacchus figure placing his hand over the covered face of the woman in the statue. The existence of the faces on the covered statue are suggested by the designs on the cloth. This two-dimensional representation of the statue in the watercolor from a different perspective than in the oil painting again demonstrates Gauguin's familiarity with the three-dimensional shape he is representing beneath the cloth covering.

Gauguin also illustrates the veiled *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in two watercolors, two drawings and one oil painting in connection with his written account in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* of the Polynesian myth of the creation of the *Ariois* society by the Gods Oro and Vairamuti. Gauguin embraced the myths and religions of the world's diverse cultures and infused them into his works of art. He is generally recognized as the first modern artist to have drawn on designs from "primitive" sources, but unlike most of his successors, he not only emulated the designs from these sources, but studied and incorporated into his artworks the beliefs of the cultures from which he borrowed the superficial designs. He then combined these myths and religious beliefs with those of other cultures to form a multi-cultural philosophical world view in the body of his creative works.

Nowhere was this more evident than with respect to his exposure to Polynesian lore. This mythology was generally unknown in the West, but Gauguin sought to study and express it in his creative endeavors. Around



March 1892, Auguste Goupil, a prominent Papeete lawyer, plantation owner and businessman, loaned Gauguin the book *Voyage aux Iles du Grand Ocean* (1837) written by J. A. Moerenhout.[17] Based on this book, Gauguin wrote *Ancien Culte Mahorie* (c. 1892), an illustrated compendium of Polynesian mythology. This compendium included the Polynesian myth of Oro and Vairumati. He later copied this myth into his book *Noa Noa*, and there included a close recreation of illustrations he had produced for *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. Gauguin also incorporated much of this Polynesian mythology in his artworks, including *Nave Nave Faruru*.



The relevant myth recounts that Oro, the God of War and one of Polynesia's principal deities, after diligently searching for a mortal to wed, saw the beautiful Vairumati on the island of Bora Bora. He requested his sisters to seek her consent to becoming his wife. She agreed, and, descending on his rainbow from his abode in the sky, Oro came to Vairumati's bedchamber to consummate their relationship.



In *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, Gauguin depicts Oro walking through trees on the way to Vairumati's home.[18] In the drawing, Gauguin partially obscures the face of Oro behind a tree which hides some of the distinguishing details that are on the head of the statue, but the basic similarity of the shape of their heads, their hooded-like appearance, and their eye details are unmistakable. (top right)

In an accompanying watercolor, Gauguin depicts the two lovers in Vairumati's bed, with the two pillows symbolically representing their heads.[19] He whimsically paints his own hat on a shelf above them to symbolically link the relationship between the Gods with his own relationship with Tehamana.[20] (above right) To the viewer's right of the tropical fruit-laden table in the foreground, Gauguin has again unmistakably painted the profile of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. Here, under a blue pareu, he has shown the statue from a perspective that differs from either of the two foregoing views. The statue faces right with its left side toward the viewer. From this side, the semi-circle portion of the incised snake design on the back of the statue would be visible. In a detail that again confirms the identity of the statue situated beneath the blue covering cloth, Gauguin painted a yellow semi-circle design on the covering cloth in exactly the position that it appears on the back of the underlying statue. Obviously, the copulating couple in the statue's design is totally consistent with this bedroom scene, for as Gauguin's written account of the myth states, "and divine in their grace and strength they offered service to love."[21]



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Paul Gauguin
Feu de Joie (Fire of Joy)
Oil on Canvas
12 x 18 inches
c. 1892
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Feu de Joie



Nave Nave Faruru from below



Outline highlighted



Nave Nave Faruru cropped



Cropped & outline details highlighted



Cropped Nave Nave Faruru colorized



Gauguin concludes his pictorial account of the Oro-Vairumati myth Gauguin concludes his pictorial account of the Oro-Vairumati myth in his oil painting *Fire of Joy.*[22] (upper left) There Gauguin painted the profile of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue from still a different perspective. After the couple had enjoyed each other's company for "many moons," completed the development of the *Ariois* Society, and Vairumati advised Oro that she would soon bear him a son, Oro told Vairumati, "The fullness of time has come, and I must leave thee. Immediately he changed into an immense pillar of fire, which majestically rose in the air above Perirere, which is the highest mountain of Bora Bora. There he disappeared from the view of his weeping wife and the astonished people." Later Vairumati joined him and was "ranked among the Goddesses."[23] The watercolor Gauguin painted in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* depicts this event quite literally with Oro shown turning into the pillar of fire. (above) However, in his oil painting *Fire of Joy,* Gauguin symbolically incorporates the full story of this event. A marae (Polynesian temple for the worship of the gods), similar to the one he portrayed in *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, is shown on the hill in the distance, the fire is more conventional, and Oro and Vairumati, mated in the embrace of the statue, are shown rising together into the firmament. In his watercolor of the bedroom, Gauguin concealed the statue under a blue cloth with a yellow floor behind it. In *Fire of Joy* the color relationship is maintained, with the statue represented in profile as a blue cloud against a yellow sky. Since the statue is seen viewed from below as it rises into the sky, and its perspective is again different from any of its other representations, Gauguin's knowledge of its three-dimensional shape is again demonstrated.[24]



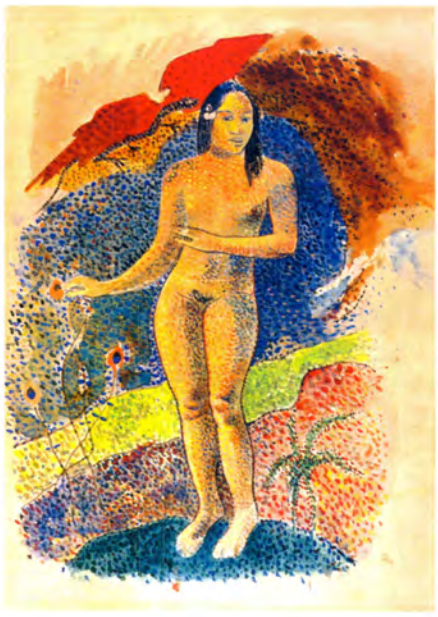
Gauguin combined *Nave Nave Faruru's* association with the *Ariois* Society's licentious revels in the painting *Arearea No Varua Ino.*

The ocean beyond the hill would be proper in a Tahiti setting, (as well as in a Breton one), although the palm trees on the skyline confirm it's the Tahitian locale. Fire is a part of Polynesian religious fêtes (as Gauguin portrayed in an oil painting and a woodcut, the latter named *Mahana No Verua Ino)*, and is also associated with Oro's ascent into the sky, as Gauguin had illustrated in *Ancien Culte Mahorie*.

The *Fire of Joy* painting was purchased from Gauguin by his artist friend Maxime Maufra (1861-1918), who was an avid supporter of preserving Breton culture. Maufra would have recognized and appreciated the symbolic cross-cultural linkage of Polynesian and Celtic-Christian religions and their "pagan" ceremonies and the universalism of religious beliefs and practices that Gauguin incorporated in this painting. Belinda Thomson wrote in a personal communication dated March 17, 2008: *Bonfires (known as* feux de joie*) were regularly lit at Breton pardons, after the day's festivities.* Joanne*, a guidebook from the 19th century, talks about a particularly important one occurring at the church of St. Jean-du-Doigt, a well-known centre for pilgrimages*. In 1895, the same year that Maufra purchased this Gauguin painting, Maufra painted the church at St. Jean-du-Doigt, perhaps catalyzed by this Gauguin painting he had purchased.

Gauguin combined *Nave Nave Faruru*'s association with the *Ariois* Society's licentious revels in the painting *Arearea No Varua Ino (Sous l'Empire du Ravemant,* Under the Control of the Wild Spirits, 1894). (above) Near the center of the painting, the statue is incorporated, camouflaged in red, the same color he had used for this purpose in *What, Are You Jealous?*[25] He even symbolically suggests an ejaculating penis. Above the waves, overseeing all the activity in the painting, is a disembodied head with a blue face, symbolically representing Gauguin, himself. In the foreground are two women similar to those depicted in his 1892 Tahitian paintings. In the background are a man and woman performing the erotic Tahitian hula-like dance seen in *Upaupa* and its related prints. The participants are thus giving homage to the idol representing Hina-Vairumati, frequently painted in association with these revels. The diagonal tree relates this painting to a similar revel in the nighttime in a *Noa Noa* series print given by him a similar name, *Mahana No Verua Ino*,[26] and his 1892 Tahitian oil painting of the same nighttime subject.[27] These earlier works relate the symbolism in *Arearea No Varua Ino*, including *Nave Nave Faruru*, to the time when the statue was created.





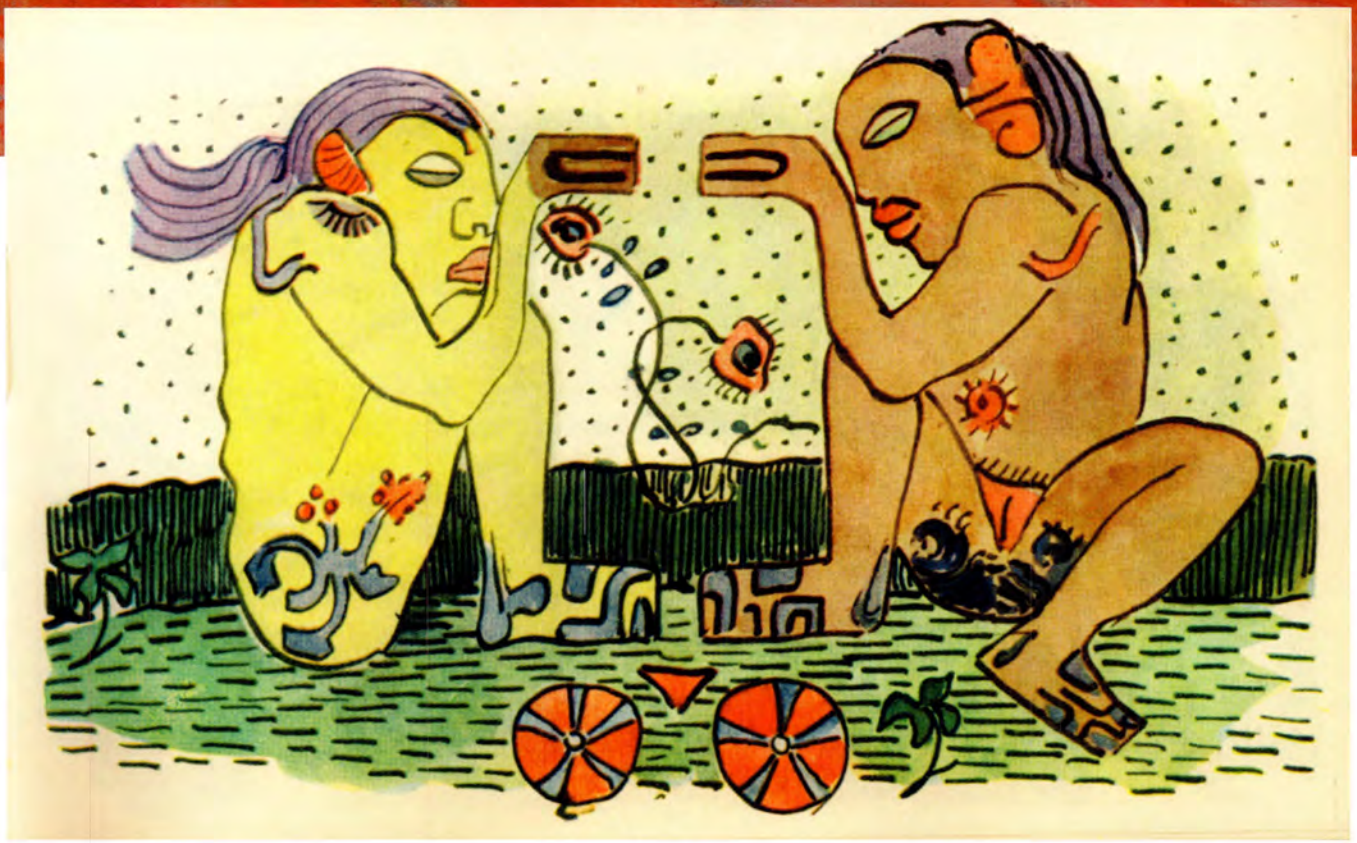
Te Nave Nave Fenua







The *Nave Nave Faruru* statue also appears in its obscured state in two watercolor variations of Gauguin's symbolically important 1892 oil painting *Te Nave Nave Fenua* (The Delightful "Pleasurable" Land).[28] In the version owned by the Musée Grenoble[29] the woman's figure is in the same orientation as the original oil painting (top left), but the *Noa Noa* version is a mirror image of the original.[30] (lower left) In both watercolors, Gauguin represented the distinctive profile shape of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in blue behind the woman's figure. The faces of the figures loom through a veil of color. The red-winged, serpent-dragon-snake symbol is located in the same position on the profile of the obscured statue's back as the snake is inscribed on the statue. Gauguin also linked the profile shape of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in these watercolors with his prior use of this shape in other works by "dressing" it in the same blue color he used to obscure it in the Vairamuti bedchamber watercolors he painted in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* and *Noa Noa*, in the Bacchus *Noa Noa* watercolor, and in the oil painting *Fire of Joy*. The woman's face and arched body are suggested in the red-colored shape, a color similar to that he used to conceal the entire statue in the paintings *What, Are You Jealous?* and *Arearea No Varua Ino (Sous l'Empire Ravemant,* Under the Influence of the Wild Spirits).



Significantly, Gauguin also linked these watercolor paintings with the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue by painting this same aphrodisiac plant on the partial representation of the statue which he painted on the back cover of his book *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. There he symbolically superimposed the plant over a shape of the male's buttocks part of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. (above) Gauguin emphasized this association with the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue by coloring blue the curved shape on the book's cover. This is the color he had used over the statue in at least six other concealed symbolic representations of the shape of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, including on the watercolor paintings. The suggestively shaped plant is in the same relative position on the buttocks of the statue as is the man's penis if x-ray viewed. He also included the aphrodisiac plant and used a similar penis-suggestive flower design on the image of Fatu in his watercolor with Hina at page 13, folio 7 Recto 13 of *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. (left) Gauguin repeated this Fatu image in *Noa Noa* at Louvre MS. p.55, folio 30 recto, bottom.



Eryngium Plant

Gauguin further confirmed his intent to link the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue with the watercolors by juxtaposing the eryngium plant he painted on the buttock and genital areas of the concealed statue that he put on the back cover of *Ancien Culte Mahorie* in precisely the same location he had placed it on his Grenoble and *Noa Noa* watercolor versions of *Te Nave Nave Fenua*, where the profile of the statue is more completely portrayed.

By thus symbolically linking the copulating couple in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue with Tehamana, the woman in the *Te Nave Nave Fenua* paintings, Gauguin commemorated his pleasurable lovemaking with his principal Tahitian consort on his first Tahiti trip. She is positively identified in the oil painting by the six toes on her left foot, a detail not repeated in the watercolors.

Paul Gauguin





Gauguin symbolically links her to Venus, the classical Goddess of love, by the pose frequently used for Venus by prior artists. Gauguin may have appropriated it from Cranach, for whom he had great admiration, and from whose work he had often obtained inspiration. (left)

By placing Tehamana in the Garden of Eden with the serpent-snake icon, Gauguin also incorporated in this woman's figure the symbolism of the Judeo-Christian mother of all humanity, Eve. This same figure first appeared as Eve in the small oil painting of his mother as Exotic Eve, which he made in France shortly before he left for Tahiti. (lower left) In that painting the symbolism of the Garden of Eden is unmistakable, with a serpent coiled around a tree. He repeated this association on the statue *Nave Nave Faruru* by carving on the back of the male figure a tree-like spine around which curls an incised snake. (below) Missionaries, explaining the appearance of the biblical snake to Tahitians living in a snake-free land, described the snake as a lizard without legs.



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Barbra Braun has also identified: *Another example of Gauguin's use of serpent imagery associated with Eve that seems to be derived from Pre-Columbian prototypes as on a carved wooden cane in the Metropolitan Museum collection* (inv no. 67.187.45) *from the same period* (see Gray, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 80, p. 199). *A serpent coils around the cane's shaft and just above it, at the top of the cane, is a naked female figure in a caryatid position whose head is inclined in a sabot that resembles a Pre-Columbian headdress. On the other end of the design, the serpent issues out of the mouth of the frog in standard Pre-Columbian fashion. Gray, ibid, points out this creature resembles a lizard on a Peruvian pot that was in Gustave Arosa's collection* (as pictured in Demmin, 1867, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, p. 1067).[31] This association not only reinforces the snake-serpent relationship, but also the importance of Peruvian influences in Gauguin's works.

Gauguin's Polynesian Eve, however, is free from the Judeo-Christian doctrine of original sin. In the watercolors and oil painting, Gauguin's Tehamana-Eve is actively seeking sexual enhancement by reaching for





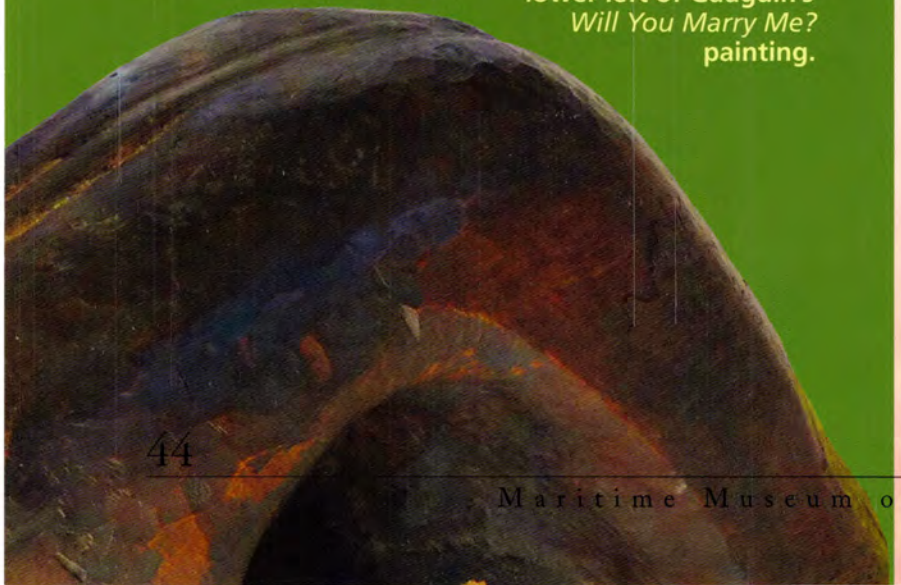
the thistle-like aphrodisiac plant, eryngium, whose properties were known as far back as the ancient Greeks. Albrecht Durer had used this plant for similar symbolic meaning in his engravings *The Little Fortune*, 1495, there denoting luck in love,[32] (upper right) *The Young Woman Attacked by Death (The Ravisher*, 1495),[33] and in his oil painting, *Self Portrait at 22*, where he is holding the eryngium in his hand as a symbol of his sexual potency and fidelity.[34]

Gauguin's Tehamana figure also has Buddhist symbolic connotations deriving from figures depicted in a Borobudur temple relief that Gauguin had seen at the Exposition Universal in Paris and of which he had photographs.[35] (left) An early use of this Buddhist theme was on a ceramic pot. (below)





Note the shape of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in the lower left of Gauguin's *Will You Marry Me?* painting.



In *Noa Noa* he credits Tehamana as being the source of his knowledge of Polynesian mythology, which in fact derived from Moerenhout's book.

Thus, he symbolized his autobiographical amour as the archetype of a Polynesian Goddess, the Greek goddess of love, the primal Eve, and possessing either the aura of the Buddha, or perhaps he thought of the Borobudur figure as representing the sensuality of a Far Eastern Goddess. This female figure, which he links with the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, symbolically embodies all of these elements as an expression of Gauguin's universalist views of religion and culture, and emphasizes the statue's symbolic component of his pleasurable lovemaking with Tehamana. As he wrote in *Noa Noa:*

And now that I love her without suspicion and love her as much as I admire her, I murmur these words of Buddha to myself,

By kindness you must conquer anger; by goodness evil; and by the truth, lies.

That night was divine, more than any of the others, and the day rose radiant.[36]

With the aid of a Gauguin signpost, I discovered in Gauguin's painting *When Will You Marry?* another hidden reference to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. There it appears in the lower left corner as what, at first impression, looks like a rock. However, closer analysis shows it to be the rear end of the statue viewed from above and the left side of the statue. The distinctive heads of the man and woman are outside the viewer's lower left

side of the painting. The relationship of the rock-like image to the rear of the statue is demonstrated by the cropped view of the statue. (lower left page 44)

The first clue to this interpretation was the location of Gauguin's signature, which is distinctively placed directly on the object. Conventionally, Gauguin signs his paintings at one of the corners of his painting and parallel with its top and bottom. As discussed previously, whenever Gauguin departs from placing his signature at one of these conventional locations, he is signifying that the object on which he has placed his signature has special symbolic meaning. Given the painting's title, possibly Gauguin is suggesting that he had a romantic relationship with one or both of the women depicted in the painting, and that one or both of them hoped to have a more permanent relationship with him.



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Confirming Gauguin's intent to have the "rock" symbolize the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in *When Will You Marry?* is the correspondences with his painting *What, Are You Jealous?* Both paintings were made during the same time period, have two women as the subject matter, have potentially related questions as their title, contain the statue in a hidden form, and have Gauguin's signature distinctively placed on the object to identify it as a symbolic one.

Gauguin's portrayal of only the rear end of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue is similar to his portrayal of the "butt" of the statue in his watercolor on the back cover of his book *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, as discussed previously in more detail.



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Translated: "Little trinkets (statues) of Tahitians: to the gentleman from Marolles, as a good (proper, well paid) souvenir (memento, remembrance, reminder) of our interview (discussions) about the works of the Maories [sic]."

Another Gauguin painting which authenticates his creation of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue is his delightful collage, *Petittes Babioles Tahitiennes (Little Tahitian Trinkets).* (left) It consists of watercolor and pastel images of at least two different young women. The image on the viewer's left side is on a separate paper pasted on the underlying support. Three views of one or two additional women and a "green man's" face are on the viewer's right of the underlying support. The inscription on the work reads:

Petittes Babioles Tahitiennes: a Monsieur de Marolles Comme un Bon Souvenir de notre entrevue chez le Maories

Paul Gauguin 1892

Translated: *Little trinkets (statues) of Tahitians: to the gentleman from Marolles, as a good (proper, well paid) souvenir (memento, remembrance, reminder) of our interview (discussions) about the works of the Maories* [sic].

The first indication of the relationship of the watercolor to the statue is the identity of the man to whom Gauguin inscribed the work, "Monsieur de Marolles." Gauguin's love of playing with words resulted in a mystery. This is not a proper name, for there is no such named person in all of Gauguin's known circle of acquaintances in Tahiti. Gauguin had disguised the identity of the recipient of this watercolor, as he wrote in *Racontars de Rapin*, his 1903 retrospective view of art:

My words wish to say this, but they also say that.[37]

The designation "Monsieur de Marolles" is not the name of a person, but the designation of the locale from which the recipient of the painting came. Like Alexandre Dumas' *The Count de Monte Cristo*, Gauguin was identifying a Gentleman from the location of Marolles. There are three communities called Marolles in France. Two are in the vicinity of Paris: Marolles-en-Bris, southeast of central Paris near Parc de Gros Boix and east of Villeneuve Saint George, and Marolles-en-Burepoix, south of central Paris near the present airport of Bretigny. The third Marolles is Marolles-les-Braulets, a small village in the south of France at 48°15'N and 19°E, north of Le Mans and south of Alecon in Main.

The most likely designee is August Goupil, a wealthy lawyer, businessman and plantation owner, who lived in Tahiti near Mateaia, where Gauguin also lived. Goupil was born in France, and was probably from one of the two Marolles in the Paris area. He fits the description of the rest of the inscription as a person with whom Gauguin discussed the "Maories". Around March, 1892, Goupil loaned Gauguin the book *Du Voyage Aux Iles du Grand Oce'an* written by J. A. Moerenhout, from which Gauguin extracted his information about Polynesian (Maori) mythology.[38]

Goupil shared Gauguin's interest in the traditional art of the Tahitians, he had befriended Gauguin and was known to have purchased items from him, including a rifle with a carved stock and a carved wooden mask of Pahura, Gauguin's principal lady on the second voyage.[39] Goupil provided occasional jobs for Gauguin, and on Gauguin's second visit, he hired Gauguin to give drawing lessons to his daughters, and commissioned him to paint his youngest daughter's portrait, which he later sold. Gauguin reciprocated by giving Goupil's wife an attractive, inscribed, fan-shaped painting derived from his 1892 oil painting *Te Matete* (The Market),[40] an act which further supports the likelihood that Gauguin had also given Goupil the inscribed watercolor, *Petittes Babioles Tahitiennes*.

Because of these facts, I believe it most likely that Goupil was the purchaser of the two statues Gauguin sold about the time this watercolor was made in Tahiti in 1892, one of which was *Nave Nave Faruru*, and that this watercolor was probably given to him by Gauguin in appreciation for Goupil's help. However, even if this is an incorrect identification of "Monsieur de Marolles", an analysis of the watercolor itself establishes the existence of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

Indications of the relationship between the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue and the watercolor are the latter's inscription relating it to conversations about the "Maories" and its title, *Petittes Babioles Tahitiennes*. "Babioles" is the word Gauguin used to describe his carvings in general. In a July 1892 letter to his wife Mette, Gauguin wrote from Tahiti:

> ***I have by now 32 canvasas, a fair number of drawings and sketches, a few carved knick knacks (bibelots).***[41]

Also in a letter to Daniel de Monfreid from Tahiti dated March 31, 1893, in connection with statues he made near the end of his first Tahitian stay, Gauguin wrote:

> ***Just now I am carving some barbaric bibelots (trinkets) from tree trunks. I have a bit of ironwood to bring back that has just about put my fingers out of commission, but I am proud of it.***[42]

Thus, the title of the work, *Petites Babioles* (baubles or trinkets) *Tahitiennes,* identifies it as related to Paul Gauguin's small Tahitian statues, and this watercolor likely describes the subject matter of he two statues which Gauguin had written to Monfried that he had sold in August, 1892.



Many of the details in the watercolor associate it with the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The most obvious indication of the existence of the statue and its relationship to this watercolor is the supine woman with her erect breasts and her hair draped over the pillow on which her head rests. Under the pillow in the watercolor is the Tahitian word *taoto*, which in Tahitian means "to sleep" or "to sleep with." "To sleep with" is precisely the activity portrayed in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The adjacent small face of the woman, which seems in orgiastic ecstasy, confirms this interpretation. Gauguin used the same Tahitian word, *taoto*, in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* to describe the mating activity of the Tahitian Gods.[43] He borrowed this use from Moerenhout's description of the creation story where *Ta'aroa*, the main creation God, "sleeps with" Hina to create the lesser Gods.



As in the statue, the face of the man with whom she is sleeping is above her. This face is represented by the "green man" plant-like symbol that symbolizes Gauguin's head. (upper left) It is located in the same relative position to the woman as is the male's head, seen from the frontal view of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The symbolic use of a face in a plant was a well-known device known as "The Green Man". Gauguin would have seen examples of Green Men faces in numerous churches, including plant faces in Pont-Aven's Tremelo Church (far left), and the Notre Dame Cathedral. (below left) Among the many examples of Gauguin's depicting a green man face on statues are on the base of the statue *The Black Venus* (Gray 1963, #91, pp. 212-13), between the figures on the central lower part of the Taaroa side of the cylinder of *Hina and Taaroa* (Gray 1963, #96, p. 222), in the 1889 watercolor *Cows in a Landscape*,[44] and on the *Square Vase with Tahitian Gods on Four Sides*, which includes the figures of Hina and Fatu (Gray 1963, #115, pp. 249-51).







Hina and Taaroa cylinder

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In the lower left corner of one side of his *Square Vase with Tahitian Gods on Four Sides,* (lower left) Gauguin sculpted what appears to be a plant, but its two leaves are eyes in a single full frontal face, and the stalk is the nose, similar to the design in the *Hina and Ta'aroa* cylinder. However, on the left and right of the nose-like stalk there are also two faces in profile. The one on the viewer's left and facing left has a downturned mouth. On the viewer's right of the stalk, the eye in the full face becomes the eye in a modest-sized Polynesian style face in profile, facing away from the stalk. Gauguin borrowed this multiple imagery style from typical Marquesan designs.

He also put a green man face in trees in such paintings as *Te Fare Maorie (The Maorie House*, 1891, W #436); *Te Raau Rahi* (*The Grand Tree*, W #437); *Haere Mai Venez (Come Here!* 1891, W #447); *Cabane solus Les Arbes* (1892, W #482) and two *Noa Noa* woodblock prints (Gue'rin 1980, #47 and #17 and Kornfeld 1988, #13 III).

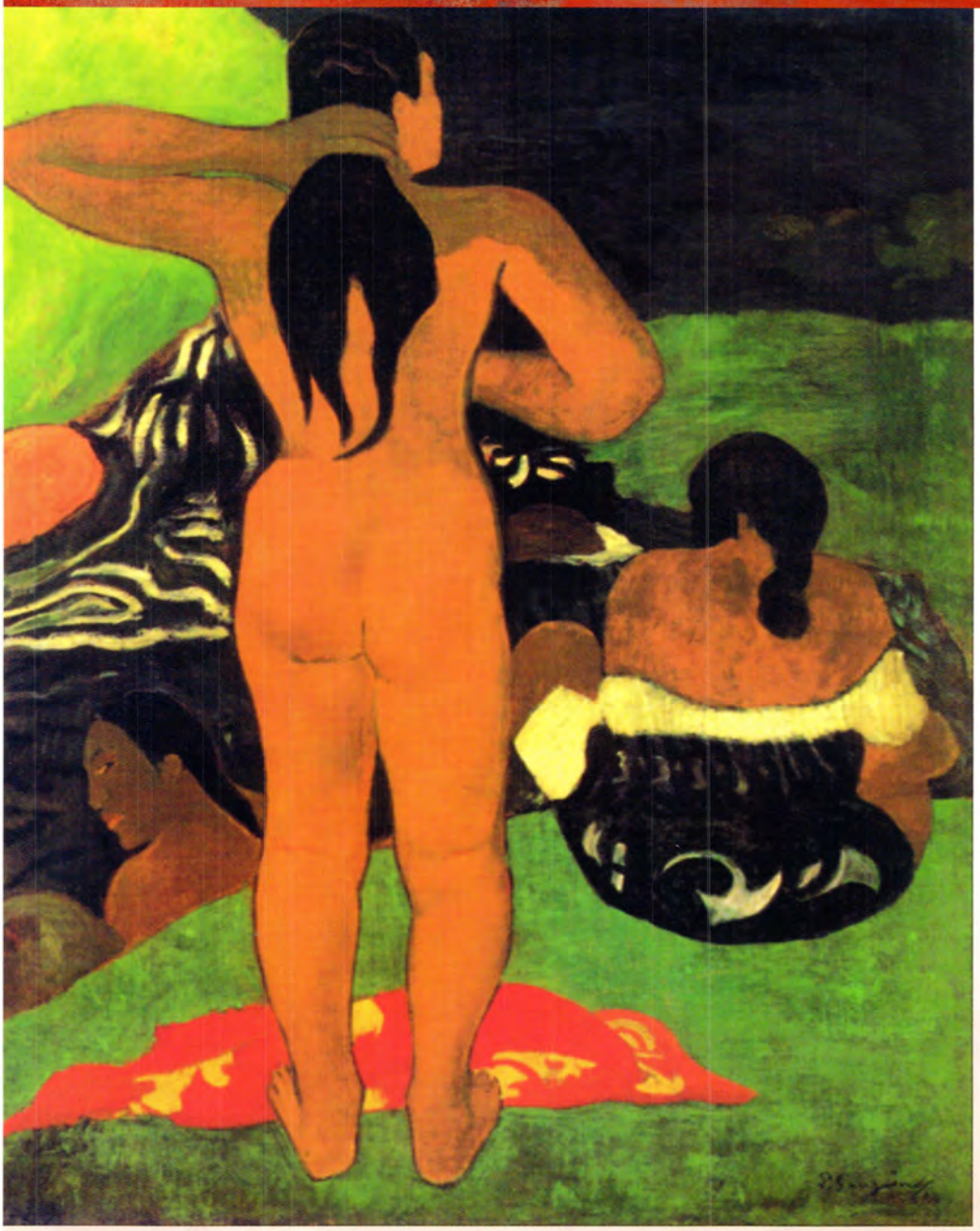




Te Fare Mahorie (1891, W #436) (upper right) probably shows the house in which Gauguin was living. In front is a breadfruit tree in which Gauguin's face is displayed in the leaves. It is notable that Gauguin frequently emphasized the tree in the paintings by including reference to it in the paintings' titles. He may be also identifying other houses in which he lived by the association of his face in the adjacent trees.



In the background of the painting *Haere Mai Venez (Come Here!)* (right), is a stand of bare trees which resemble a three-masted ship with a suggestion of its hull in the underbrush — symbolically ready to provide the means to fulfill the command of the title of the painting. Was the entreaty, "come here" directed to his wife or an artist friend?



In the watercolor *Little Tahitian Trinkets,* the words "opu opu" are on the original support adjacent to the lowest figure. The Tahitian-English Dictionary[45] states that the alternate definition of the word "opu" is "to arise, such as the sun rises". This is certainly a logical association since immediately above the words are depicted the supine woman and the picture of a woman rising up. The figure of this upright woman also appears in Gauguin's painting *Tahitian Bathers in the Stream*. (left)

His delight in bathing was described in an autobiographical passage in *Noa Noa* regarding his relationship with Tehamana:

How good it was in the morning to seek refreshment in the nearest brook, as did, I imagine, the first man and the first woman in Paradise.

[i.e., Adam and Eve].[46] This literary reference to Eden is another symbolic association with the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue's snake and tree trunk. The large figure shown at the bottom on the viewers left may be a sketch of Tehamana. Her posture is related to the seated figure in the painting *What, Are You Jealous?* Thus, all the figures in the watercolor are related to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, and confirm its existence and time of creation.

A further extended analysis of Gauguin's art would reveal the relationship of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue to additional works by him, including the three woodblock prints in the *Noa Noa* series entitled *Auti Te Papa*, Nave Nave *Fenua* and *Te Faruru*; a pencil drawing of a lovemaking couple related to the latter print, appended to a blank page located between two pages in the *Noa Noa* Manuscript, both numbered 46; and concealed images in his paintings *Vairamati Tei Oa*, *Te Au No Ariois Aka (The Seed of the Ariois), Matamua (Olden Times) and Parahi te Marae (There is the Temple, 1892).*[47] [48]

The following facts regarding Gauguin's other images confirm that Gauguin was the creator of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue: **A.** Gauguin included the profile of *Nave Nave Faruru* in so many of his other art works **B.** since the profiles were represented correctly from so many different perspectives, Gauguin had to know the shape of the underlying object, and **C.** details on the covering colored "mask" accurately represented details on the underlying statue.

The statue differs on style and subject matter from traditional Polynesian-made objects:

On the back of *Nave Nave Faruru*, Gauguin has incised a snake coiling around the male figure's backbone. The backbone is exaggerated to symbolically represent the tree in the Garden of Eden. Since there are no snakes in Polynesia and none in Polynesian art, it is unlikely that a Polynesian artist would have created a statue with this design or one containing a symbolic reference to the Garden of Eden. No Western artist, other than Gauguin, has ever created a similar symbolic design using the backbone of a man to represent the tree in the Garden of Eden.



The Polynesian-style eye is depicted as rounded and open-eyed, not slit as in the statue.

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Also the Polynesian style for depicting the eyes of figures is totally different from the slit-eyed presentation in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The Polynesian-style eye is depicted as rounded and open-eyed, not slit as in the statue. In addition, the Polynesian treatment of the mouth, as can be seen in the preceding referenced images, is in a straight line, not grimaced, as in the statue. Thus, this statue does not conform to these typical elements of Polynesian style. They are additional indications that the creator was not a Polynesian carver.

Also Gauguin distorted the Marquesan-style designs on the sides of the male's face in the statue. These are traditional *moko* designs which derive from Polynesian facial tattoos. The specific style of the design at the ears and the mouth is called a *kowhaiwhai* (pronounced ko-fai-fai) type *moko*. The shape represents an embryo, embodying the potential life force.[49] This is a logical use by Gauguin on a statue of a copulating couple. There are four representations of this design on the statue, but one is incomplete and not symmetrical to the other three. Since this design has such special symbolic importance to the Polynesians, it is unlikely that a Polynesian artist would have carved a statue with a deviation from the prescribed form and asymmetrically carved one of the four repetitions of the design. Gauguin, however, had an intentional purpose for this deviation, which is discussed below in relation to his "signing" the statue.

Furthermore, there are no examples of Polynesian carvings with the flat carved facet evident in the style used by Gauguin in *Nave Nave Faruru*.



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While the lifestyle of the Polynesians was licentious, there were no erotic carved coupling figures made by Polynesian artists in Polynesia comparable to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. This was particularly true since the advent of the missionary era. In fact, the prudish missionaries often defaced the genitals of the old traditional nude god figures, and tried to suppress Gauguin's carving of even less erotic, but nude, figures of women.

The very sophistication of the work is non-native in origin. Thus, even though the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue contains some Polynesian-like designs, such as the *moko* design, there are sufficient variations from traditional Polynesian works to prove that this work was not of Polynesian origin.

All of the foregoing facts further mitigate the likelihood that the statue was carved by a Polynesian artist. Not only does this work depart from traditional Polynesian forms in these significant ways, but also the changes from the Polynesian style point to forms used by Gauguin in his other works.

The subject matter and style of *Nave Nave Faruru* is in Gauguin's oeuvre:

A. Gauguin's lifestyle and his interest in Polynesian mythology contributed to the creation of the *Nave Nave Faruru*.



Portrait of Gauguin's wife, Mette

Gauguin's artistic works were generally autobiographical and grew out of his current life situation. His lifestyle in Polynesia was in keeping with the subject matter of this statue. He manifested this lifestyle by producing erotic art, as detailed in Section B.

Gauguin was not secretive about the women with whom he had significant sexual relationships. He provided a symbolic marker in his paintings indentifying the most important of the women with whom he

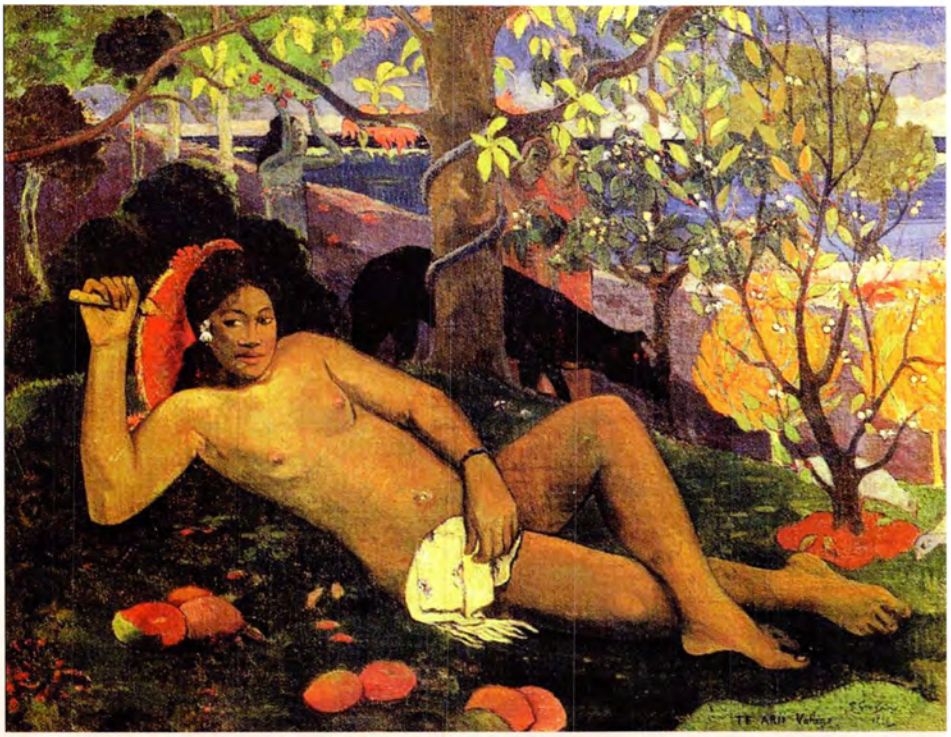


The Market



Tehamana is portrayed holding an island-made woven pandanus fan as if it were a crucifix.

slept by placing fans in their hands. Images of some examples begin with a portrait of his wife, Mette, made in France in 1884. In his Polynesian period, he so identified Titi in the painting *The Market*, where two women are holding their official health certificates as though they were fans





(pg. 52). Tehamana (above left) is portrayed holding an island made woven pandanus fan as if it were a crucifix. In the painting *Te Arii Vahini* (The King's Woman,1896, above), Pahura, his consort during his second Tahitian stay, is holding a circular woven fan behind her head like a halo. Tohotaua (left), who was in the Marquesas while Gauguin was there, is holding an elaborate feather fan with a red, white and blue rosette signifying a reference to liberty as obtained by the 1789 French revolution.[50]

Pahura, Gauguin's consort during his second Tahitian stay, is holding a circular woven fan behind her head like a halo.

This symbolic marker also applies to fan-shaped paintings made by Gauguin, after his first painted fan in the hand of a woman (his wife Mette) in 1884. Except for the first seven examples made either before he came to, or while he was at Copenhagen, in virtually every fan-shaped painting, at least one of the women in the painting is likely a woman with whom he slept. This is uniformly true as to the four fan-shaped paintings based on images from his first Tahitian sojourn.[51]

He was immersed in the sexuality of the Tahitian women he portrayed in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. As he recorded in his book *Noa Noa* on p. 20:

> ***But the amorous passion of a Maori courtesan is something quite different from the passivity of a Parisian cocotte – something very different! There is a fire in her blood, which calls forth love as its essential nourishment; which exhales it like a fatal perfume. These eyes and this mouth cannot lie. Whether calculating or not, it is always love that speaks from them....***

At the time *Nave Nave Faruru* was created Gauguin was living happily with Tehamana. The subject matter of the statue grows out of this relationship as well as those with other Tahitian women. His pleasure was expressed in his *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

His sexual activity was later expressed in the name, *Maison du Jouir* (House of Pleasure), which he carved above the door on the house and studio he built for himself on the island of Hiva Oa in the Marquesas. The title referred especially to sexual activity. Inside the walls were covered with pornographic photographs that he had bought at Pont Said on the way out from France.[52] Explicit drawings and "paintings of sexual anatomy hung almost everywhere."[53] The downstairs of the house had a sculpture studio.[54] He had carved a walking stick whose handle had a virile phallus.[55] The bishop who arranged for Gauguin's burial was shocked by his works and reportedly destroyed a number of them which the priest considered indecent.[56]

Also, Gauguin took pride in expressing what he described as his savage nature. As he wrote to Charles Morice in a 1903 letter from the Marquesas shortly before his death:

> ***You were mistaken when you said one day that I was wrong to say that I am a savage. It was nevertheless true: I am a savage. And civilized people feel it: because in my works there is nothing that surprises, that baffles, if it is not this 'savagery despite myself.' This is why it is inimitable. The work of a man is the explanation of this man.***[57]

In addition to his personal relationships with Tahitian women, at the time *Nave Nave Faruru* was created Gauguin was also seriously studying Polynesian mythology, stimulated by his access to Moerenhout's book. He expressed this interest in his artistic works.

Gauguin was particularly empathic with the account of the Ariois Society. This group practiced religious rites throughout the Polynesian Islands, which involved licentious dancing and sexual behavior. Gauguin considered the amorous epic "one of the most important spiritual treasures that I had come to Tahiti in search of."[58] The missionaries took the lead in suppressing this society. *Nave Nave Faruru* and Gauguin's other representations of sexual activity were his artistic voice of protest, supplementing his writings, to the attitudes which the missionaries and colonials imposed on the Tahitians' traditional behavior, and constituted his affirmation of the licentious behavior of the Ariois Society. He also illustrated their nighttime revels in the painting *Upaupa* and its successor woodblock print,

Mahana No Varua Ino, and daytime celebrations in which women play music and dance around a giant tiki statue in *Matamua* (*Olden Times*) (1892, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza).

As an indication of the amorous nature of the festivities, the loving couple that Gauguin illustrated in his woodblock print *Te Faruru* appears in *Upaupa*, *Mahana No Varua Ino, Day of the Gods,* and *Matamua*.

Thus, the subject matter of the statue dealing with both sexual activity and Polynesian mythology was clearly within Gauguin's oeuvre.

By contrast, even though the Polynesians engaged in licentious behavior, this subject matter was not depicted in traditional Polynesian art either before or after missionary influence.

B. Gauguin depicted copulating figures in paintings and carvings in addition to those in *Nave Nave Faruru*.



Gauguin manifested his lifestyle by producing erotic art. His erotic subject matter can be traced as far back as his 1889 Brittany relief carving, *Be in Love and you will be Happy.* There a small detail in the upper center shows a copulating couple in an animalistic posture. Illustration of this behavior was repeated in his Tahitian-made *Afternoon of a Faun* cylinder carving, where the animalistic form of copulating was identified with Bacchanalian Faun revels. This statue was made about the same time as *Nave Nave Faruru*.

Gauguin produced other Tahitian-based art works depicting copulating couples. These include a watercolor in his book *Ancien Culte Mahorie* at p. 46, folio 24 verso, which he later reproduced with minor modifications in his *Noa Noa* manuscript at p. 75, folio 41 recto.

Gauguin wrote and illustrated *Ancien Culte Mahorie* about the time that he wrote his letter of August 1892 to Monfreid stating that he had sold two statues for 300 francs and the time that *What, Are You Jealous?* was painted.[59] This helps confirm the date of the statue's creation to the fall of 1892.

Another copulating couple appears in the painting *L'ibis Bleu (The Blue Ibis)*,[60] which was painted in 1892, about the time of the letter of August 1892, to Monfreid and the time that *What, are You Jealous?* was painted.

Thus, at the time that Gauguin was creating *Nave Nave Faruru* he was also depicting copulating couples in his other artwork.

Other examples of Gauguin's depicting loving couples include his woodblock print, *Te Faruru (Here we make love)*, for the *Noa Noa* series. This couple appeared as a detail in the 1891 Tahitian made painting *Upaupa*. This painting also was the basis for a *Noa Noa* series print. The *Te Faruru* couple also appeared in the painting and print, *Day of the Gods*, and a sketch inserted in *Ancien Culte Mahorie*.

By contrast, even though the Polynesians engaged in licentious behavior, this subject matter was not depicted in traditional Polynesian art either before or after missionary influence.

Gauguin was directly influenced by Peruvian pre-Columbian ceramics.





C. The Peruvian influence demonstrated in *Nave Nave Faruru* is evidence of Gauguin being its creator.

One of the critical issues to prove is that the work is not likely to have been made by some artist other than Gauguin. No artist, especially any active at that time and in the Pacific, has ever drawn inspiration from Peruvian erotic pots as a catalyst for producing an original work of art. However, Gauguin was very familiar with Peruvian pottery forms and, prior to going to Tahiti, had used Peruvian motifs frequently in his ceramics, paintings and other images.

He had spent his early childhood in Peru, living with his Peruvian relatives with whom he was related on his mother's side of the family. He returned there as an adult, and frequently referred to himself as a "Peruvian Savage."

Not only did he have access to Peruvian art materials in museums in Peru, France, Spain, England and other countries, but his mother, his uncle and his guardian all had personal collections of Peruvian pottery. Merete Bodelsen, writing about Peruvian influences on Gauguin's works in general, said:

Pre-Columbian art had been familiar to Gauguin since his youth, thanks especially to his guardian Gustave Arosa's collections and publications, and we find him using motifs from this distant civilization in early drawings (1874) and wood carvings (1881). And when he began to make ceramics in 1896 it was to the forms of this art in particular that he turned in order to break away from the European tradition of pottery.[61]

In 1889, Gauguin wrote to his then dealer, Theo Van Gogh:

You know that I have Indian blood, Inca blood in me and it's reflected in everything I do. It's the basis of my personality; I try to confront rotten civilization with something more natural, based on savagery. [62]

Gauguin's association with his Peruvian background was so strongly evident to his closest friends and supporters that "Homage to the Brilliant Franco-*Peruvian* (emphasis added) Artist, Gauguin" was the title of the exhibition organized

in Paris in December 1926, by the association Paris-American Latine, on the initiative of Paco Durrio and Georges-Daniel de Monfried.

Gauguin's pre-Tahitian works with Peruvian influence include:

Merete Bodelsen 1964 figure Numbers: 83, *The Woman with the Snake Belt* ("From a Peruvian portrait vase"); 33, *Portrait Vase of a Breton Girl;* 43, *Portrait Vase of a Woman*; and 80, *Self- Portrait Jug*. As Francios Cachin described the jug:

The shape of the piece is not unlike that of the traditional toby jug, or of the Peruvian pots with which Gauguin was familiar from the collections of his mother and of his tutor, Gustave Arosa. Gauguin liked to call himself an 'Inca' or an 'Indian' which this object most definitely resembles in form and in feature."[63]

Bodelsen commented: *It is not surprising that Gauguin, who felt himself to be half Indian, should have taken the Inca portrait-vases as a starting point for his self-portrait.*[64]

Many of Gauguin's paintings of his Brittany period also incorporate images of his Peruvian-influenced ceramics.

In addition to Gauguin's use of Peruvian motifs in his art prior to his first Tahitian trip, his book *Ancien Culte Mahorie* demonstrates this influence in his Polynesian works. This book was written and illustrated about the same time Gauguin created the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. In the book he not only incorporated symbolic references to this statue, but drew other images that were directly influenced by Peruvian pre-Columbian ceramics. In particular, on page 35, there is a drawing of a God with an exaggerated penis whose design has clear Peruvian ceramic antecedents.[65] (see page 55) The extreme similarity, unusual form, and clear correlation between the drawing of the exaggerated penis figure and Peruvian ceramics conclusively demonstrates Gauguin's reliance on this source for his artistic creations at the very time and in connection with the very subject matter that the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue was created. It is further demonstration of the connection between Gauguin and the *Nave Nave Faruru* Peruvian-inspired statue. Gauguin was to replicate in his ceramic statue of *Oviri* the image of the enlarged vagina in the back of the head of the female God.







The *Nave Nave Faruru* statue itself resembles Peruvian erotic pots in erotic subject matter, general design and specific details. The shapes of the eyes and the grimacing mouth are distinctly Peruvian and not Polynesian. Even the hard semi-circular pillow under the woman's head in Gauguin's statue echoes the Peruvian designs.[66] The following details in the illustrated Peruvian pots disclose their stylistic relationship to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue:

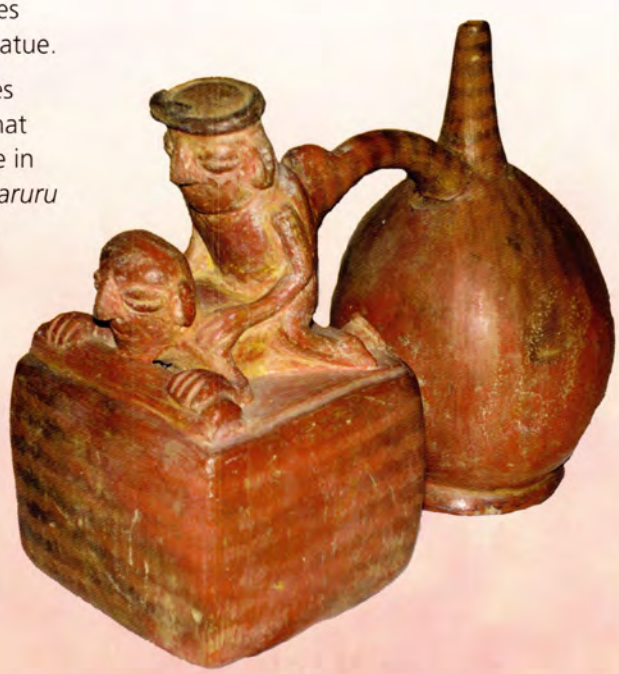


a. (left) The arched female body is reminiscent of the female's posture in Gauguin's *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, as is the shape of the head and the typical Peruvian grimacing mouth.



b. (right) The relative position of the figures resembles that in Gauguin's statue.

c. (left) The figures are in a posture that closely resembles those in Gauguin's *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. Other similarities include the shape of the head, the grimacing mouth, and, as in all the pots, the arched pillow.



d. (lower right) The slit eye treatment in the early pot design is particularly comparable to that used by Gauguin in his statue.

One of the most detailed analyses of Gauguin's Peruvian antecedents is by Barbara Braun 1993.[67] Her trenchant comments unequivocally demonstrate the close relationship between Gauguin and Pre-Columbian Peruvian art as she transits the various stages of his artistic development. They are worth quoting at length:

> *It's often forgotten that Gauguin had Peruvian ancestry and spent his formative years in that country. In fact, he remained fascinated with this 'Indian' side of his identity all his life. In his earlier crafts, particularly his little-known ceramic pieces, but also in his paintings, right to the end he empathized strongly with his exotic origins. This sense of identification informs his personality and attitudes to life, as well as the practice of his art.*[68]

You must remember that two natures dwell within me: the Indian and the sensitive man,

Gauguin wrote to his wife, Mette, in February 1888, adding,

The sensitive being has disappeared and the Indian now goes straight ahead. [69]

> *The third group of Gauguin ceramics, heralded by a self-portrait vase probably made in late 1888 or early 1889, is far more sculptural than previous efforts.... The influence of ancient Peruvian ceramics is stronger than ever. A comparison between the self-portrait vase and a Moche portrait bottle, a hallmark of classical Moche art, shows its unmistakable prototype, even down to details of physiognomy, facial expression, and the head's angle of inclination.... Gauguin's vase unmistakably reproduces his own features, testifying to his by now complete identification with the "other" in the guise of an ancient Peruvian Indian.*[70]
>
> *Gauguin's primitivizing paved the way for the others in myriad ways.... His association of the female and the exotic primitive with sexuality, procreation and death was specially seminal. Many of the themes and preoccupations of the Tahitian and Marquesan years found preliminary expression in his little-known ceramics. Inspired by a style of ancient Peruvian (Moche) pottery whose iconography is saturated with sex and death, they amplified this imagery to express personal obsessions with dangerous sexual impulses that violated rigid Western norms.*[71]
>
> — Barbara Braun

Gauguin's unique status as the preeminent early exponent of Pre-Columbian Peruvian art validates the claim that he alone could be the creator of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

D. Distortion for symbolic purposes, as in Nave Nave Faruru, was a component of Gauguin's art.

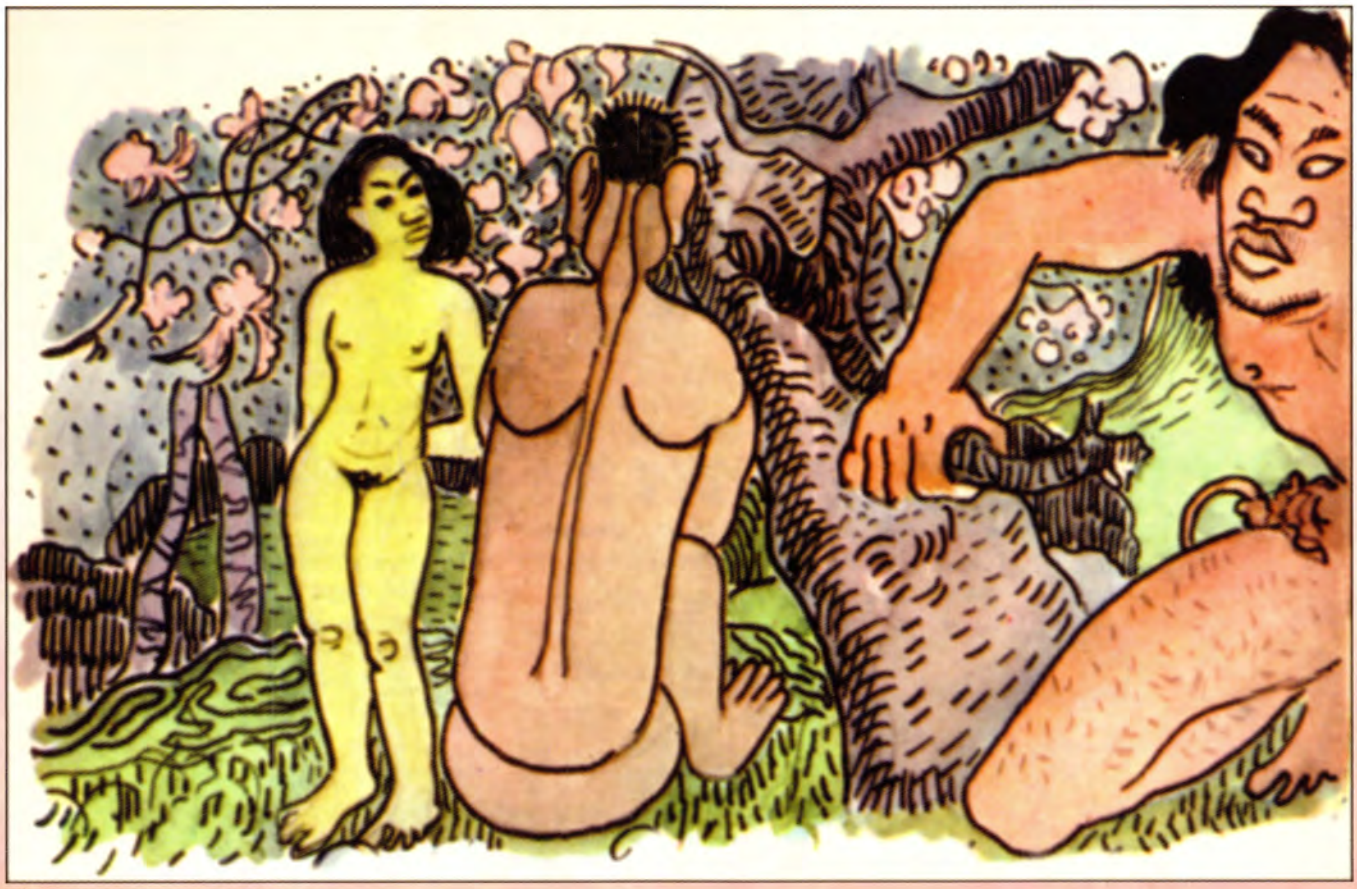
There are three symbolic features that are so sophisticated and so related to other works by Gauguin that they conclusively demonstrate that the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue could only have been created by him.

One can gain insight into Gauguin's artistic mind from a candid private letter he wrote to his close friend, Georges-Daniel de Monfreid:

> ***I can see that you are in a productive vein; and of sculpture! Admit now, that it's either very amusing and quite easy, or very difficult. Very easy if one thinks only of nature, very difficult if one wishes to express oneself a bit mysteriously – in parables – to search for forms. What your friend, the little sculptor from the South [Pacific], would call, deforming.***[72]



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1. The first feature that Gauguin transformed was the spine of the man in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue into a symbolic tree. Gauguin made this same distortion on the back of a God in a watercolor he painted in *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. The watercolor was made about the same time as *Nave Nave Faruru*. Then, on the back of the statue, he subtly engraved the shape of a snake coiling around the "tree", an association he had used frequently in past paintings. [73] (See pg. 42) He considered this snake detail so significant that when he painted the statue covered by a blue pareu in the watercolor of Vairumati's bed chamber in *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, he transferred that part of the snake design, which would have been visible on the statue's back, from the underlying statue to the surface of the pareu as a semi-circle pattern.[74]

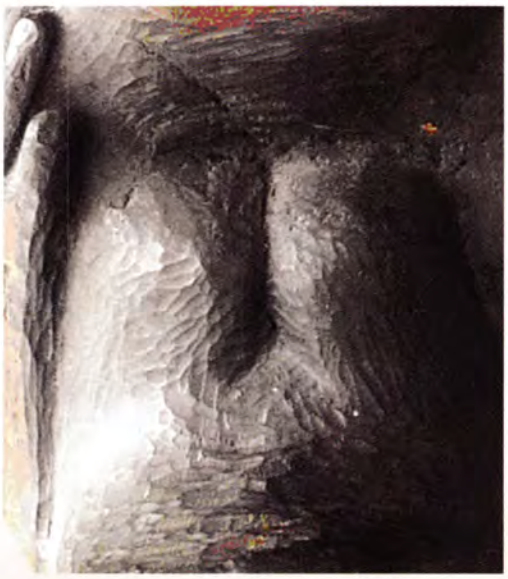


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The use of this classic symbol of the Garden of Eden symbolically gave the figures in the statue one of their meanings: the sexual union of Adam and Eve, from which begat the entire human race. In a later statue, *Pe're Pillard* (Father Lechery, above), Gauguin also used this juxtaposition of a tree and a snake on the back of a male figure to designate the licentious behavior of Bishop Martin, a priest who was seducing young Marquesan women members of his congregation.

2. The second distinctive feature is the distortion of the breasts of the woman as observed from the front of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. It is obvious that these enlarged and upright breasts are not realistically portrayed on a supine woman. This distortion is precisely the type of creativity that Gauguin used in many other works of art, and represents the technique that he had recommended in his letter to his friend Daniel de Monfreid.

Whenever Gauguin departs from representing reality, it is for a symbolic purpose. Here he used the exaggerated breasts to symbolically represent the important mythological discourse between the Polynesian gods Hina and Fatu. The latter insists that man must die. Humanity does not possess immortality. However Hina, representing matter and spirit, is eternal and she asserts that through her will arise the infinite evolution of life. Gauguin recorded this mythological conversation in his books *Ancien Culte Mahorie* and *Noa Noa*.[75] He also visually memorialized this event in his statue cylinder of Hina and Fatu, and even more graphically in his woodblock print, *Te Atua* (The Gods, below). Gauguin considered this image so important that he included this print in his *Noa Noa* suite of woodblock prints, and also pasted a copy of it in his book *Noa Noa*.





The image of the conversing couple is seen on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in the distorted shape of the upright breasts that Gauguin carved. Even the arch of the enclosure over the couple in the print is suggested in the statue. Only Gauguin would have conceived of and effectively executed the carving of this distortion on a statue. By this artistic device, Gauguin symbolically incorporated into this statue a fundamental question he portrayed in his cylinder and woodblock print, and which he pondered from his early theological education until his dying days, and that is, "Whither are we going?"

3. The third distortion for symbolic purposes is the asymmetry of the female face. This is discussed in detail below in the next section, "The statue's female face."

Albert Aurier, the symbolist critic, wrote about Gauguin in *Le Symbolisme en Peinture: Paul Gauguin*, published in *Mercure de France* 2 (March 1891). He stated that paintings can be *more than a faithful and exact reproduction of objective reality*. The artist sees objects *only as signs, letters of an immense alphabet that only the genius knows how to read.* Therefore, he concluded: *the artist will always have the right to exaggerate, attenuate, and distort these directly signifying elements (forms, lines, colors, and so forth), not only according to his individual vision, his subjectivity (as happens even in realist art), but also according to the requirements of the idea to be expressed.*[76]

This combination of complex symbolic elements embedded in the statue, which are directly related to their use in other works by Gauguin, is extremely strong evidence that he was the creator of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

E. Gauguin practiced secrecy, often hiding his erotic images.

When Gauguin created his first Tahitian works he was concerned about establishing a reputation as a responsible artist so he could obtain commissions and sell his paintings. Gauguin "hid" his *Nave Nave Faruru* statue under covers because of his belief that it would be too offensive to the public he was trying to impress at that time.

When he returned to Tahiti on his second visit, he was less concerned about the opinion of the local citizens. But even a crude statue of a naked woman he erected in his garden in 1896 brought wrath down on him. The local priest, Father Michel, was thwarted in his efforts to have the statue clothed and was advised that he would be guilty of trespassing if he exercised his threat to "tear the thing down with his bare hands." In response he ranted "against the artist from his pulpit," and encouraged his congregation to keep away "from this dangerous anarchist."[77]

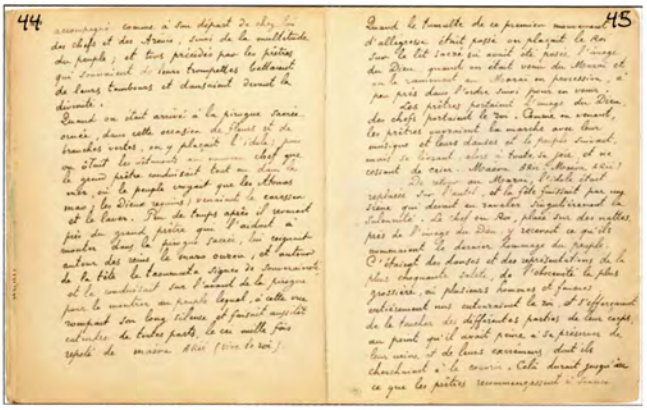
Gauguin's concerns about public reaction to his erotic materials were also confirmed after his death in Atuona, Marquesas. When his private possessions were exposed to public view and assembled for future auction to pay his creditors, clerics and civil authorities burned a substantial amount of them as being pornographic. The Catholic Bishop Joseph Martin, who Gauguin had satirized in his statue *Pe're Paillard* (Father Lechery), wrote to his mission in France: *The only noteworthy event here has been the sudden death of a contemptible individual named Gauguin, a reputed artist but an enemy of God and everything that is decent.*[78] Even at the public auction in Atuona the gendarme Claveire, who was conducting the auction, smashed a phallic-appearing carved cane as it was being offered for sale calling it a piece of "filth."[79]

This narrow-minded attitude persisted in Papeete when fifteen cases of Gauguin's belongings arrived there. That auction was under the direction of Receiver of Registry Fees, Emile Vermeerch. Since he had little knowledge of the value of Gauguin's work, he consulted a painter, Charles Alfred Le Moine, who had studied at the Beaux-Arts in Paris and had recently arrived in Tahiti. Le Moine, who painted in a conventional realistic style, had little appreciation for Gauguin's work. He advised Vermeerch that "some of the drawings and carvings were either unfinished or 'unhealthy'" and should be discarded.[80]

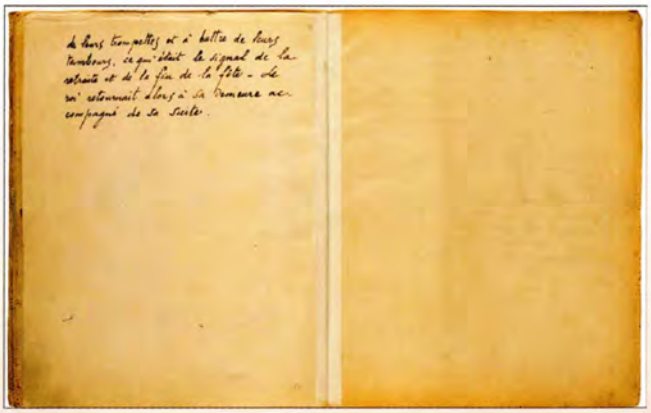
In this social environment, it is understandable why Gauguin concealed the details of *Nave Nave Faruru* in his paintings, even when he wanted to include its symbolic meaning in them. The obscured symbolism would only be known to him and his intimates.

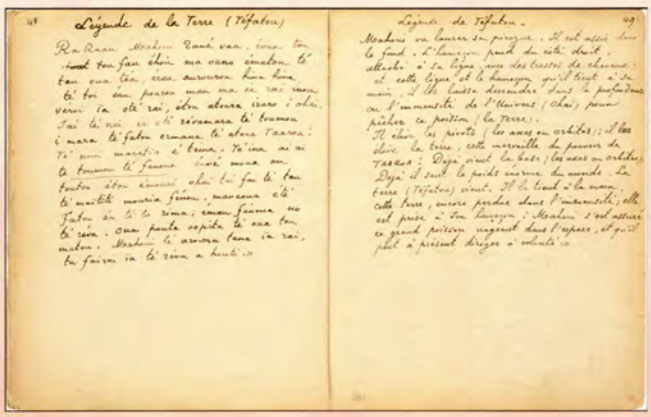
Consistent with his "masking" of the graphic reproductions of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, Gauguin ingeniously concealed the watercolor of a copulating couple he had painted on page 46 of *Ancien Culte Mahorie* because he believed that the image was too sexually explicit for general public presentation.[81]

Paul Gauguin









The top of his original page 46 had some text and the lower part of the page had an explicit drawing of the sexual union of the Gods Taaroa and Hina. This was clearly the original page 46 because it had page numbered 45 with text on its reverse side. He then decided to obscure the image by inserting a new page 46 with the same text as on the original page numbered 46, but without the image of the copulating couple which was on the original page 46. The new page 46 was clearly intended to overlay the original page 46, because its reverse was blank — it did not have a page 45 on the reverse. It was intended solely to serve as a cover for the doubled page 46. This enabled Gauguin to move from the original page 45 to the new censored page 46, (which had the identical text as the erotic page 46), by turning two pages at the same time and skipping the hidden page that had the erotic drawing. In the Louvre manuscript of *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, a drawing of a loving couple had been appended to the blank page facing the original page 46. If this *Te Faruru* drawing had been placed there by Gauguin, it would also have been covered by the inserted page.

Gauguin's hiding of erotic material in this manner was no accidental variant, but a deliberate practice. At page 35 in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* he uses precisely the same method to hide his Peruvian inspired erotic design of a God figure with an enlarged penis in front of an enlarged vagina. The first page numbered 35 (folio 17 recto) has text only. The verso is an unnumbered blank page. Facing the blank page is a second page numbered 35 (folio 18 recto). This page has the same text as the preceding page 35, but on the lower part of the page Gauguin had drawn the male figure representing Taaroa with a huge penis, similar to Peruvian ceramic examples. On the verso of Gauguin's second page 35, the text continues sequentially on page 36, from either of the pages numbered 35. Thus, in exhibiting the book, by turning two pages at once, Gauguin could go from the inoffensive first page 35, directly to page 36 and never display the hidden second page 35 with its highly charged erotic drawing. It appears that subsequent to the creation of the exaggerated penis design, Gauguin bound into the book the leaf that is folio 17 that contains the first page 35 with text only and is unnumbered and blank on its reverse side. This provided the cover for the erotic drawing.



Gauguin's practice of covering other sexually explicit artworks, much as Gauguin had elected to cover his *Nave Nave Faruru* statue when its profile was incorporated in his paintings and prints, further confirms *Nave Nave Faruru* as his own work.

F. Technical details demonstrate that Gauguin was the sculptor of the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

1. Stylistic similarities exist between the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue and other Gauguin carvings, including flat faceted and gouge-shaped chisel marks, and a rosetta pattern.

The carving style is Gauguin's. The hand of the artist rarely lies. The similarity of the carved facets Gauguin carved on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue compared to those on portions of his other statues is additional evidentiary support for the fact that Gauguin created the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

A carving technique characteristic common to the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue and many other works by Gauguin is the use of a series of adjacent flat carved facets to create round areas on the statue. Gauguin also used a closely spaced series of semi-circular gouge tool marks to round his carvings. Both of these techniques can be readily observed in the photograph of the top of Gauguin's statue *Hina and Te Fatu*. (top right) The characteristic flat facets evident on the rounded surfaces of the *Hina and Te Fatu* statue are evident all over the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, and the gouging technique is evident on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in the upper frontal area on the man's head. (right)

Among the other carvings which also demonstrate this flat facet technique are *Roi le Furie*, the *Christ Cylinder*, the forehead area of the face on the front of *Idol With a Pearl* (and other areas on it as well), the back of the head of *Pierre Paillard (Father Lechery),* and on *Saint Orang*. This statue also has a raised backbone which differs from, but is reminiscent of, that on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue, and slit eyes that are very reminiscent of those on that statue.

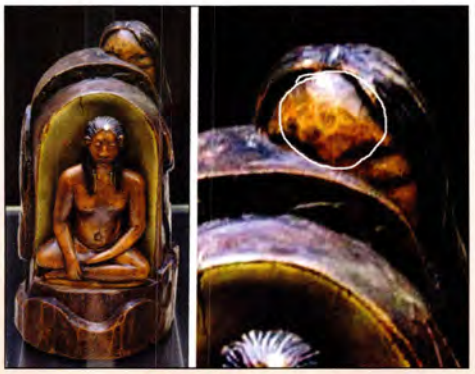
In association with his gouges and flat facet carving style, Gauguin often created a very distinctive pattern, which I refer to as the "rosetta" pattern, because it is similar to, but not exactly the same as, the classic rosette form, and because it helps unlock the mystery of who created *Nave Nave Faruru,* just as the Rosetta Stone solved another great mystery — the deciphering of Egyptian Hieroglyphics. The rosetta pattern consists of a central carved flat facet surrounded by a circular series of flower petal-like flat facets creating a flower-like design. It is visible on many known works by Gauguin including head and torso of the pre-Tahiti period *Roi Le Furie,* which Gray denominates *The Old Woman*, the tops of the Tahitian period *The Christ Cylinder*, the *Hina-Fatu-Taaroa Cylinder,* and the top, front and side of the *Idol with a Pearl*, and on the post-Tahiti, Marquesan period, statue of *Saint Orang*.



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Roi le Furie © 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Idol With a Pearl
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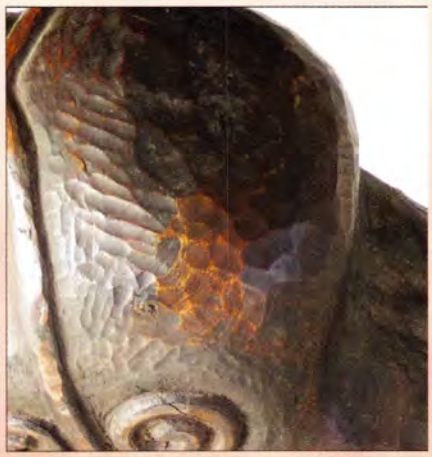


Saint Orang









This distinctive rosetta pattern is also found on the head, back, and side of the male and female figures on *Nave Nave Faruru*.

Whether done intentionally or virtually unconsciously, it provides a distinct marker of his handiwork. It is such a significant link between the hand and mind of the creator of the other known Gauguin works and the creator of *Nave Nave Faruru* as to constitute irrefutable proof that it was Gauguin's hand and mind which created *Nave Nave Faruru*. The rosetta pattern is as distinctive to Gauguin's sculpture as are the dots in Georges-Pierre Seurat's (1859-1891) paintings and the brush strokes in those of Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890). It is difficult to believe that it was only coincidental that Gauguin repeated similar flower-like patterns on the red cloth pareu with which he clothed the statue in his painting *What, Are You Jealous?"* Also this pattern mimics the pattern of flowers Gauguin deliberately carved on such of his early works as the *Narcissus Fan Handle* (see Kelton 2005 article *Symbolism Embedded in Early Art Works by Paul Gauguin* in *Ordrupgaard Focus*), and *Luxurie*, which has both an intentional flower and the rosetta carving pattern.

Another characteristic that *Nave Nave Faruru* shares in common with many of Gauguin's statues is that some part of the statue, often the base, is left largely uncarved and is shaped with only large rough strokes of the carving tool or not carved at all. This feature is on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue beneath the head of the woman, on her body (note also the several rosetta patterns on this image of the statue), and under the man's body. Pre-Tahiti examples of this feature on his other works include the back of *Roi le Furie*, (The Old Woman) Gray 1963, #77, p.16; *Bust of Meyer de Haan*, Gray 1963. #86, p.206; and *La Luxurie*, Gray 1963, #88, p. 208. Tahiti-made statue examples include *Idole a La Perle*, Gray 1963, # 94,p. 217; *Cylinder decorated with a Figure of Hina*, Gray 1963, #95, pp. 220-21; *Hina and Te Fatu*, Gray 1963, # 96, p. 222; *L'Après-midi d'un Faune,* Gray 1963, #100, pp. 228-29; and the *Christ Cylinder*, Gray 1963, #125, pp. 268-69. Marquesan-made statue examples include *The'r`ese*, Gray 1963, #135, pp.286-87 and *Saint Orang*, Gray 1963, #139, pp. 289-290.]

It is also probable that *Nave Nave Faruru*, *Hina and Te Fatu*, and his other Tahitian carvings, were made by the same carving tools. Charles Stuckey has pointed out that, *Gauguin clearly intended to make sculptures as soon as he arrived in Tahiti, and he had brought carving tools with him from France in order to do so.*[82] It is likely that he had the same tools available to him for all of his carvings made during this period. His wood-working tools were still with him in the Marquesas, and his friend, the Protestant Pastor Vernier, purchased them at Gauguin's posthumous auction.[83]

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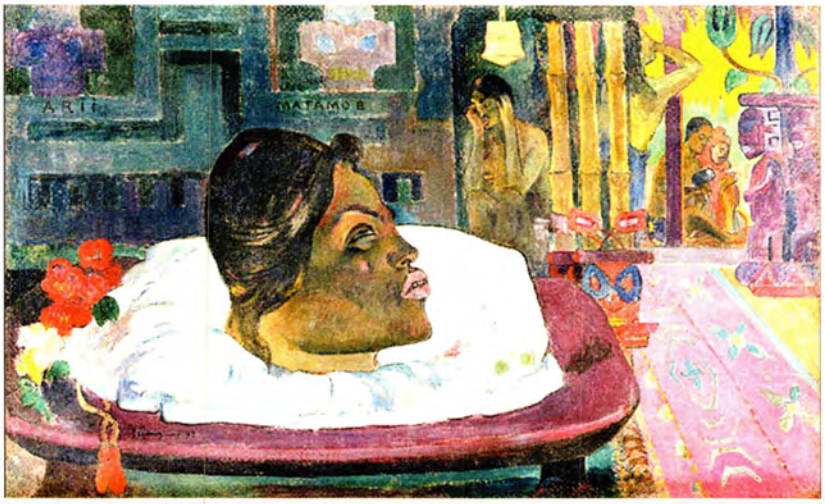




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The Royal Head

2. The profile of the male head has antecedents in Gauguin's works.

The profile of the male head on *Nave Nave Faruru* shows the close association of this statue with other works by Gauguin. (above) As early as his 1881 wax bust of his son Jean Gauguin, he evinced his proclivity for a backward inclined head.[84] A Tahiti made example is the head that Gauguin painted in *The Royal Head*. The close association between this head and the one in the statue is even more apparent in the sketch Gauguin made preparatory for the painting. (right) In the drawing its coil of hair on the forehead is mimicked in the statue. The painting and the drawing were probably based on dried heads of Maoris whose tattooed *"moko"* designs are similar to those on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. As discussed earlier, the profile of the head is also related to the Polynesian God Oro, as drawn by Gauguin in *Ancien Culte Mahorie.*











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The profile of the male head on *Nave Nave Faruru* is also remarkably similar to that on the woodblock print Gauguin made for the title of one of the issues of *Le Sourire* (The Smile), a newspaper series he published during his second stay in Tahiti.

This head design was so firmly integrated into Gauguin's symbolic lexicon that its likeness continued to appear in numerous other works by Gauguin, many of which deal with personal sexual licentiousness, such as the head of the man in the door lintel of his "House of Pleasure" home in the Marquesas. Also a similar head appears in the context of a Polynesian God in the late woodblock print *The Gods*. In addition to the profiles, the rendering of the eyes, noses and mouths of the god-like figures are similar to those on the statue.

The head in *Nave Nave Faruru* also shares the backward receding or inclined face characteristic of many of Gauguin's paintings and ceramics, not only in the images discussed above, but also in many made prior to his first Tahiti sojourn. This is also a characteristic of many Peruvian ceramic heads.[85]

3. The statue's male face contributes to the conclusion that *Nave Nave Faruru* was made by Gauguin.

The male *Nave Nave Faruru* face has clear antecedents in the Peruvian ceramics that inspired the general shape of the statue.[86] In addition the face seems autobiographical as compared to a drawing and two portraits made by Gauguin. (above)



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4. The statue's female face confirms that *Nave Nave Faruru* was made by Gauguin.

The interesting face of the woman on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue is difficult to see because of its position on the statue. However, it is dramatic, and totally within Gauguin's style. (above) It presents a typical Gauguin mystery and distortion for symbolic purposes. The face appears to be asymmetrical and each side seems to represent a different person. I believe that Gauguin merged the two faces of his then current amours into the face of the woman on *Nave Nave Faruru*.

To reverse Gauguin's merger of the faces, and discern the two separate women he incorporated in *Nave Nave Faruru*, one must create a new mirror image (See upper right) from the original statue (See upper left) by flipping the original horizontally, cutting the mirror image in half, and then putting each half of the mirror image alongside its source in the original. Immediately, two faces emerge. (See bottom two faces) The one on the lower left has a broad face with high eyes which resembles Tehamana. The second, on the lower right, is a narrow-faced woman similar to the second face Gauguin frequently displayed in many paintings such as *What, Are You Jealous?*. This face may be that of Gauguin's earlier amour, Titi.

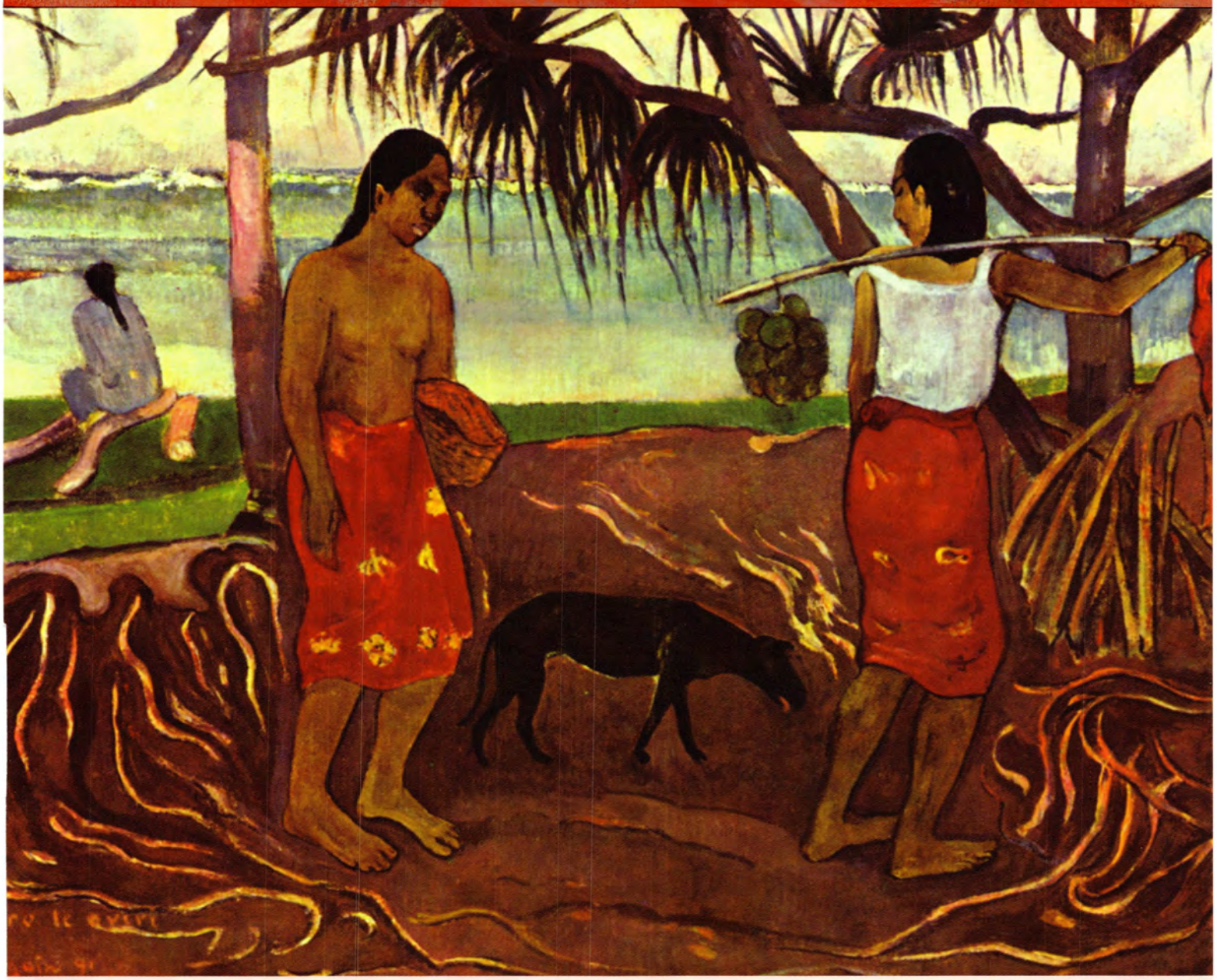
Gaugun's intent to create two faces on the statue can be determined by several clues he provided. On a cylinder statue he made about the same time, *Hina and Te Fatu* are on one side and *Hina and Taaroa* are on the other. Hina is particularly significant because she is a Goddess who "slept" with *Taaroa* in Polynesian mythology, as recorded by Gauguin in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* and as he represented them in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. However, the two Hina figures on the cylinder statue each have a different face. One is narrow and the other is wider with high eyes.

A second clue that two separate faces were incorporated by Gauguin on the statue is the hairline of the woman. It comes to a point in the middle of her forehead. This is often referred to as a "widow's peak," which in folklore designated a woman who would be widowed at an early age. The widow's peak hairline was thought to resemble the mourning hood worn by widows in medieval times. In fact, this deviant hairline is genetically determined, and seems to be largely absent in Polynesia. It is virtually non-existent in any of Gauguin's women's faces, except in this statue. Whenever Gauguin departs from depicting reality, it is for symbolic purposes. Here I believe he is suggesting that the point in the center of the hair designates the division of the face into two separate faces, one on either side of this centerline. The resultant half-arch over each half-face resembles the arch shape over the Buddha in Gauguin's statue *Idol with a Pearl*, and over each of the three separate sections in his *Noa Noa* series woodcut, *The Gods* (*Te Atua*).

A third clue to the duality of the faces is found in some of Gauguin's paintings. *What, Are You Jealous?* presents two of the women that were in Gauguin's sexual life. The faces on his two women have the same two different, but comparable shapes as the Hinas.[87] In this same period he painted many oil paintings and the watercolor *Little Tahitian Trinkets* with only two women whose face shapes suggest the same variation.

Perhaps the most instructive painting is variously titled *I Raro te Oviri,* or *Tahitians sur la Plage,* (pg. 71) which is generally assigned to 1892, the time Gauguin created *What, are You Jealous?* and *Nave Nave Faruru*.[88] The painting *I Raro te Oviri*, has a dog, which symbolically represents Gauguin in his Tahitian paintings, between the two women. One woman is stocky with a wide face and high eyes (Tehamana). The other is slender, her face appears narrow, her hair style (with its strands trailing off to her right) is identical to the narrow-faced woman in *What, Are You Jealous?*, and half of the woman's face in *Nave Nave Faruru*, and similar to the slight supine woman in *Little Tahitian Trinkets*. The Tahitian title of the painting literally means "under, below or submissive to *Oviri*."[89]

The name *Oviri* in the painting's title has many meanings in Gauguin's works.[90] The most relevant meanings relating to this painting with the two women is that the women are submissive or "under" Gauguin (*Oviri*, the Savage), and the fact that *Oviri* was the name of a popular Tahitian song. This song had so much signficance to Gauguin that he copied it into his book *Noa Noa*. The song described a man (himself, the Savage *Oviri*) who loved two women. I believe he represented both of them on the one female face in *Nave Nave Faruru*, which was made about the same time as he painted this painting.



Another important example of Gauguin's interchangeable use of these two women's, faces is in his important painting *Te Nave Nave Fenua* (The Delightful Land).[91] There the finished painting had the high eyes and broad face which Gauguin identified as Tehamana by showing the six toes on her left foot. However, this was not his original conception. As Charles Stuckey pointed out:

> *The head of the figure in Te Nave Nave Fenua also must have had considerable importance for Gauguin. This head differs from the head in the full scale transfer drawing that he used to develop the painting. Recent radiographic analysis of the painting reveals a head, corresponding to the one in the drawing, beneath the present head.*[92]

He had substituted Tehamana's head for that of his prior amour.



Also, while in Tahiti, Gauguin made a watercolor of a copulating couple in his book *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. This image resembles the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in that the woman's hair lies in a single strand to her right, and the face has the wide high-eyed character of one side of the statue. However, when Gauguin later repeated a similar image of the copulating couple in his book *Noa Noa*, and Tehamana was no longer his romantic partner, he changed the face to a narrower one with slightly different features, and this different woman is now wearing a bracelet. This demonstrates the significance he attached to the face of the person who he is portraying in the act of love.

This sophisticated treatment of the woman's face in *Nave Nave Faruru*, embodying two recognizable faces from Gauguin's other works, is further evidence of his creation of the statue.

5. The slit eyes on the statue are in Gauguin's style. The slit eye treatment found on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue is not derived from any traditional Polynesian source.

The typical Polynesian rendering of the eye is distinctive. It is raised, rounded and does not have a central slit. (See pg.51) The portrayal of the slit eyes on *Nave Nave Faruru* is a style Gauguin independently used in many of his art works originating before he first arrived in Tahiti. Early examples include an 1881 wax bust he made of his son Jean,[93] works made in Brittany such as the upper right face in the relief carving, *Soyez Mysterieues*[94] (left), the *Bust of Meyer de Haan* [95] and Gauguin's *Carved Settee Arm.*[96] (See page 32)

It was also a style he continued to use after he first arrived in Tahiti, and even later when he went to the Marquesas. On his first Tahitian sojourn, he used slit-eye treatment in watercolors in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* at p.13, folio 7 recto (repeated in *Noa Noa* at folio 29 verso). He also included it in god-like figures such as in the carved *Cylinder Decorated with the Figure of Hina*[97] and the painting *The Royal Head* and its associated drawing.[98] During his last stay in Polynesia, he included this eye style in such examples as the woodblock print *Te Atua II*,[99] the carving *Saint Orang*[100] and on some of the faces carved on panels of his *Maison du Jouir* (House of Pleasure).

Gauguin was familiar with the traditional Polynesian carving style of the eyes. The tiki-like figures he carved on the lower register of his statue, *Idole a La Cocquille* [101] are in Marquesan style with eyes lacking the slits. But this was a conscious copying of a Polynesian work, and not an expression of his individualistic style. He did not restrict his own inventions, sometimes even combining varying eye rendering styles on the same carving, such as the contrasting eye treatment in the two faces on opposite sides of the *Cylinder with Two Figures.*[102]

The fact that *Nave Nave Faruru* has Gauguin's distinctive slit- eye treatment further confirms that it is his creation.

6. The grimacing mouth on the statue is in Gauguin's style. Another characteristic feature on *Nave Nave Faruru* that is similar to authenticated Gauguin sculptures is the downturned lips – a grimace. This is found on Gauguin's pre-Tahiti *Carved Settee Arm,*[103] (See page 32) on his first Tahitian sojourn-made male god-like figures such as in the carved cylinder *L'apres-Midi D'un Faune (The Afternoon of a Faun),*[104] the painting The Royal Head and its associated drawing,[105] (See pages 67) and on the woodblock print *Te Atua* II made on his last stay in Polynesia.[106] As discussed above, this Gauguin grimacing mouth feature was not Tahitian,[107] but is found in Peruvian art.

7. *Nave Nave Faruru* shares stylistic characteristics with Gauguin's other three-dimensional sculptural figures. Gauguin's ceramic and wood creations took many forms. There were pots, reliefs, masks, cylinders, and three- dimensional figures. *Nave Nave Faruru* was neither the first nor the last of the three-dimensional figures he was to create. There were many such figures in ceramics. In addition to his pre-Tahiti three-dimensional wood figures, his cylinder carvings and *Nave Nave Faruru*, he created various three-dimensional wood carvings during his stays in the South Pacific, including the Buddha figure he inserted into his *Idol with a Pearl* (Gray 1963, #94, pp.217-219), The *Mask of Tehamana* (Gray 1963, # 98, p. 224-225), *Bust of a Tahitian Girl* (Gray 1963, #101, p. 280), *The Leper* (Gray 1963, # 138,p. 291), *Pe're Paillard* (Gray 1963, # 136, p. 288) and *Saint Orang* (Gray 1963, #137, p. 289).

In addition, there was a large statue of a nude woman, whose arm gesture was reminiscent of *La Luxurie*, which he made of clay, covered with wax and erected in front of his house in Tahiti[108] and innumerable other carvings that were destroyed. Gray reported that Lenore, the guardian of the cemetery in Papeete, stated: *that Gauguin carved every thing, no matter what*, and on the artist's leaving Tahiti he gave him *some statues, but having no use for them, he used the wood to make a pig sty, where they promptly rotted away.*[109] *Also Gauguin's Tahiti house `was surrounded by tikis carved by the painter.' Because they had frightened the new owner at night, he had the tikis, as well as trunks of papers, carried out and dumped into the sea beyond the reef.*[110]

Nave Nave Faruru shared another characteristic with known Gauguin wood carvings. Like virtually all of the three-dimensional carvings Gauguin made throughout his career, the carvings exhibit a respect for the original shape of the material from which they were made, and some of the original surface is usually left unworked, even if it is only the base. This is evident, for example, in the flat back of *Roi le Furie* (Gray 1963, # 77, p.196, *The Old Woman*), the rectangular beam shape of his Copenhagen made *Sarcophagus-like Resurrection Casket* (Gray 1963, # 8, pp.120-121, *Wooden Box with Carved Reliefs of Ballet Dancers*), *La Luxurie* (Gray 1963, #88, pp 208-209*), Bust of Meyer de Haan* (Gray 1963, # 86, pp. 206-07), the cylindrical shapes of many of his Tahitian carvings, the form of his *Horned Head* (Gray 1963, #A13, p. 310) and The *Mask of Tehamana* (Gray 1963, #98, pp. 224-25). Much of the natural shape of the material was retained by Gauguin in *Nave Nave Faruru*.

While almost all of the carvings Gauguin brought back to France from Tahiti were cylindrical in shape, he had access to more complex shaped carving material. In his book *Noa Noa*, Gauguin recounts his search, with a native Tahitian man, to the interior of Tahiti to collect proper wood for sculpting. They located and chopped down "a magnificent tree which had to be destroyed to get a branch suitable to my desires." In the process of destroying the tree he also:

> ***Well and truly destroyed indeed, all the old remnant of civilized man in me. I returned at peace, feeling myself thenceforward a different man, a Maori. The two of us carried our heavy load cheerfully, and I could again admire, in front of me, the graceful curves of my young friend – and calmly: curves robust like the tree we were carrying. The tree smelt of roses, Noa Noa. We got back in the afternoon, tired. He said to me: 'Are you pleased?'***
>
> ***'Yes' – and inside myself I repeated: 'Yes'.***
>
> ***I was definitely at peace from then on.***
>
> ***I gave not a single blow of the chisel to that piece of wood without having memories of a sweet quietude, a fragrance, a victory and a rejuvenation.***[111]

I like to think that Gauguin, when carving *Nave Nave Faruru,* was holding those romantic thoughts.

The Nave Nave Faruru Statue was "signed" by Gauguin, and even if not signed, he produced many unsigned works.



It is not surprising that the statue is not conspicuously signed. Gauguin went to great lengths to avoid its obvious attribution to him by hiding it in his paintings. A conventional signature would proclaim it as his creation.

Gauguin had frequently run into social trouble among the more conservative members of society in Tahiti because of his sexually explicit works, and, in his earlier years there, he was trying to establish a reputation as a respectable citizen that would allow him to earn a living from the sale of his paintings. On his second sojourn in the Pacific he asserted his independence more flagrantly.[112]

However, Gauguin did "sign" this statue in two ways. First, as discussed, when he painted the statue concealed under a red pareu in *What, Are You Jealous?*, he put his signature directly on top of the hidden statue, and made his intent even more explicit by curving his signature to match the design inherent in the statue. (right) He again departed from his conventional painting signature location in *When Will You Marry?* by placing his signature on top of the disguised statue in that painting to identify the disguised statue in that painting.



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Secondly, he prominently placed his initials within a design element on the male's face on the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The initials are included in one of the four *kowhaiwhai* type *moko* designs on the sides of the male face at the ears and mouth of the statue.[113] These designs replicate the tattoos on the faces of Polynesian men.[114] (right)

The shape is that of an embryo, embodying the potential life force. This type of mark is given only to people of a high rank, appropriately used by Gauguin on the statue's face of the male figure, who symbolically represents such important males as the Polynesian creation gods Taaroa and Oro, as well as Adam and Gauguin, himself.

As previously noted, three of the four *moko* designs are symmetrical. The fourth repetition does not match the other three. It is unlikely that Gauguin would have accidentally changed as sacred a design as this *kowhaiwhai*. Whenever Gauguin departs from reality, it is invariably for some special symbolic purpose. Here it is to "sign" the statue by incorporating his initials.







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On many other known Gauguin works, he "signed" them with obscure initials. Among those which have his hidden initials are the following:

1. A cane decorated with Polynesian motifs, where the ears of a figure represent the initials.[115]
2. A watercolor in *Ancien Culte Mahorie* where the initials are in ear of the figure on viewers right.[116] (See pg. 41)
3. A woodblock print of Hina where the initials ꟻ Ꟶ are in one ear and an "O" is in the other. (middle left) However, in this work, Gauguin has also included, possibly as a later addition, his more formal initials ꟻ Ꟶ O.[117]
4. A woodblock print of a *Head of a Reclining Man* (Christ After Hans Holbein) where the initials ꟻ Ꟶ are in the ear of the man in a design very similar to that in the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.[118]
5. A vignette for a letterhead which has two birds and initials ꟻ Ꟶ that appear in a flower-like design.[119]
6. A carved gun stock with the hidden disguised letters *Paul*. Here the letters are in sequence, but separated from each other by elements in the design. Before his death, Gauguin had sold this work to M. Grelet in the Marquesas.[120]
7. In Gauguin's relief carving *The Peace and the War* Gauguin's initials are "hidden" in the leaves of a tree.[121]
8. In two other statues, Gauguin carved only the initials ꟻ and Ꟶ and separated them from each other. In *Saint Orang*, [122] the two initials are on opposite buttocks, and in the *Cylinder with Two Figures*,[123] the two initials are separated by a crouching figure.
9. In the print with the head of a horned devil,[124] only the initial ꟻ is distinct, although a Ꟶ may be formed by the adjacent plant design at the lower corner to the viewer's right.
10. In his drawing of a woman who had been branded by missionaries with an 'A" on her cheek for being an adulteress, Gauguin hid his initials in the design of this "A", in part to assert his outrage at the missionaries' action.





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While it is likely that Gauguin placed his disguised initials on the face of the statue, even if he did not intend to sign it in this manner, the statue would join at least twenty-four other authenticated carvings, ceramics and works made by Gauguin that do not have his signature or initials. While he intended some of these works to be kept as personal objects, or to be given as gifts, significant others were intended for commercial sale. Unsigned carvings include the important *Mask of Tehamana* [125] and the *Bust of a Tahitian Girl* [126] and the *Mask of a Polynesian Woman who may be Pahura.* [127] Many unsigned paintings can be found listed in *Wildenstein I* including *Fire of Joy and The Red Hat.* Another of Gauguin's masterworks of a more erotic and personal nature is also unsigned. This is the sensual painting *Aita Tamari Vahina Judith Te Parari* (The Child-Woman Judith is Not Yet Breached).[128]

Unsigned prints reproduced in *Kornfeld* 1988 include the following: (a) #29, *Manao Tupapau (Watched by the Spirits of the Dead)*, pp. 134-35; (b) #30, reverse side of woodblock *Manao Tupapau*, pp. 138-39; (c) #33, *A Fisherman Drinking Beside His Canoe*, pp. 148-49; (d) #36, *Woman Picking Breadfruit and Oviri*, pp. 156-57; (e) #39, *Young Maoris*, pp. 162-63; and (f) #52, *At the Black Rocks*, pp. 200-01. There are also a number of unsigned monotypes, including the *Head of a Marquesan Girl.*[129]

Conclusion: The circumstantial evidence is convincing that Gauguin carved the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue.

Additional circumstantial evidence is provided by the following undisputed facts:

1. The statue exists, and no plausible creator other than Gauguin has been suggested by anyone
2. It was found in Papeete, Tahiti.
3. When offered for sale no information was available as to its creator, eliminating the possibility that some fraudulent claim was made by the vendor or that its source was from a forger.
4. When acquired it had a substantial layer of soot on it, as if it had been a long time in a room that had an open cooking or other fire.

All of the preceding material constitutes circumstantial evidence to support the conclusion that Paul Gauguin was the sculptor who created the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue. The following material is an explanation of circumstantial evidence derived from internet postings:

Circumstantial evidence is one or more facts that can be used to infer another fact. Circumstantial evidence usually accumulates into a collection of facts, so that each piece of evidence corroborates the other pieces, which become a web of corroborating evidence. Together they support more strongly the inference that the ultimate factual assertion is true. The test is whether the accumulated circumstantial factual evidence, by reason and experience, is so closely associated with the fact to be proved that the fact to be proved may be inferred from the existence of the circumstantial evidence.

A popular misconception is that circumstantial evidence is less valid or less important than direct evidence. Direct evidence is popularly, but mistakenly, considered more powerful. Many successful criminal prosecutions rely largely or entirely on circumstantial evidence, and civil cases are frequently based on circumstantial evidence. University of Michigan law professor, Robert Precht, has pointed out that:

Circumstantial evidence can be, and often is much more powerful than direct evidence. In practice, circumstantial evidence has an advantage over direct evidence in that it is more difficult to suppress or fabricate. Eyewitness testimony is notoriously inaccurate at times, and many persons have been convicted on the basis of perjured or otherwise mistaken testimony. Good strong circumstantial evidence can be a far more reliable basis on which to determine a verdict.

In a court of law no distinction is made between the weight given to either direct or circumstantial evidence. Circumstantial evidence is generally admissible in court unless the connection between the fact and the inference is too weak to be of help in deciding the case. The United States Supreme Court has stated that "circumstantial evidence is intrinsically no different from testimonial [direct] evidence" (Holland v. United States, 348 U.S. 121, 75 S. Ct. 127, 99 L. Ed. 150 [1954]). Thus, the distinction between direct and circumstantial evidence has little practical effect in the presentation or admissibility of evidence in trials.

The ultimate question is whether the series of circumstantial facts are, by reason and experience, so closely associated with the fact to be proved that the fact to be proved may be inferred from the existence of the circumstantial evidence. I believe that the foregoing circumstantial evidence is sufficient to support the inference that Gauguin created the *Nave Nave Faruru* statue in 1892, but every viewer is a member of a jury who may or may not concur with my decision.

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NOTES

1 Tahiti, August 1892, letter 132, Malingue 1949, p. 174. In a footnote to this letter Malingue writes, "Daniel de Monfreid, born in 1856, was the faithful correspondent and trustworthy agent, who looked after all Gauguin's business while he was in the South Seas. A good painter, he was rarely influenced by his friend. He was called the 'Captain,' because he loved the sea and owned a sailing boat." Op. cit. supra at p. 173.
2 From internet Answers: Diogenes (ca. 400-ca. 325 B.C.), a Greek philosopher, was the most famous exponent of Cynicism, which called for a closer imitation of nature, the repudiation of most human conventions, and complete independence of mind and spirit.
3 Gray 1963
4 Gray 1963, #85, pp. 204-5. The exact date the settee was carved is unknown, but the settee was from the Hotel Gloanec, in Pont-Aven. Since Gauguin stayed there on and off between July and mid-October 1886, and then, after his return from Martinique, on and off from January 1888 to July 1890, it must have been created in these time spans. I believe that they symbolically represent Greek-like masks of comedy and tragedy.
5 Gray 1963, p. 68
6 Gauguin's Intimate Journals 1936, p. 72
7 Tahiti, August 1892, letter 132, Malingue 1949, p. 174
8 Tahiti, 8 December 1892, to Mette, Letter 134, Malingue 1949, pp. 176-78
9 It seems likely that Gauguin used only one type of paint that he had brought with him from France. In his letter of June 1892 (around the time *Nave Nave Faruru* was created) he wrote Monfreid, "I have covered 40 canvasses with Le France and Co's colors." Pielkovo 1992, Letter IV, p. 19. In his later Letter X, April-May 1893, he wrote "Thank you for the paints. I still have a few left, and I will not need any more." Op. cit. supra, p. 30
10 Other examples of this practice are on the painting *When Will You Marry?* which is discussed in more detail below, and in the Self-Portrait he made in Copenhagen in 1858. See the author's discussion of Gauguin's diagonal signature on the diagonal wooden beam in his Copenhagen Self-Portrait. Kelton 2005, p. 19
11 Kornfeld 1988. 16 IIB Gauguin included at least four other sculptures, or elements from them, in other prints in the *Noa Noa* series.
12 W #512 (1894)
13 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, #208, p. 367
14 Rene'e Hamon, Gauguin, le solitaire du Pacifique, Viogt Freres, Paris, 1939. See Section IV. E. for a more extended discussion of Gauguin's need for and practice of secrecy.
15 *Noa Noa*, p. 185, folio 96 recto, Louvre Manuscript
16 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, p. 278, footnote 6
17 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, p. 207
18 *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, p. 25 top, folio 13 recto, Louvre Manuscript and *Noa Noa*, p. 73 top, folio 40 recto, Louvre Manuscript
19 In August Strindberg's letter to Gauguin, which Gauguin used to publicize his 1895 painting sale at the Hotel Drouot in Paris, Strindberg commented that "symbolism" was "a very unfortunate name for so old a thing as allegory" and referred to the paintings of Puvis de Chavannes as containing "allusions." Gauguin's Intimate Journals 1936, p. 46.
20 In the *Noa Noa* reprise of the *Ancien Culte Mahorie* image, Gauguin does not include his own hat.
21 Gauguin 1957, p. 118
22 W #493
23 Op. cit. supra. pp. 121-22
24 See pp. 221-223 , *Fire of Joy;* Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalogue 1988
25 He made this painting while staying in Pont-Aven at the Maison Gloanec, after he had returned to France.
26 Kornfeld 1988. 19-4B
27 *Upaupa*, (Fires of Joy), W #433
28 W #455
29 Musée Grenoble #2227
30 *Noa Noa*, p. 69, folio 38 recto, Louvre Manuscript
31 Braun1993, p. 91, footnote 43. A caryatid is a supporting column sculptured in the form of a draped female figure.
32 *The Little Fortune*. Albrecht Durer, 1495. The Kelton Foundation Collection. See discussion at Strauss 1972, #7, p. 14
33 Strauss 1972, #2, p. 4
34 Musée du Louvre. Dated 1493, this portrait is the earliest known self-portrait in European Art produced as an independent painting. The German name for the eryngium means "man's fidelity." Web Gallery of Art. www.wga.hu/html/d/durer/1/01/index.html. The painting was not acquired by the Louvre until after Gauguin's death, so it can not be certain that he saw this portrait.

35 See Figs. 60 and 61, Bodelsen 1964, p. 88 and Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalogue 1988, p. 186. Gauguin's earliest use of this Buddhist figure was on a jar with a figure of a girl, which also included other Buddhist symbols. Bodelsen 1964, Fig. 62, p. 69
36 Gauguin 1957, p. 145
37 Translated and quoted in Wadley 1985, footnote 23 at p. 146
38 As to Goupil's role in providing Moerenhout to Gauguin, see Field 1977, p. 75, and Wadley 1985, p. 109 footnote 6. The full quotation from page 131 of the Louvre Manuscript of "*Noa Noa*" is translated in Wadley 1985 at page 112: "I complete the lesson (about Polynesian mythology) from Tahura (Tehamana) with the help of documents found in the memoir of the former consul, Moerenhout. I am obliged to Monsieur Goupil, settler in Tahiti, for access to this publication."
39 Sweetman 1995, pp. 289, 310 and 434-35. Gray states that Goupil was the likely purchaser of *Mask of a Polynesian Woman* (Pahura). Gray 1963, #129, p. 275.
40 Image at *Gauguin Tahiti*, p. 312, Cat. 91. The Whitehead Collection, New York, image courtesy Achim Moeller Fine Art, New York.]
41 Malingue 1949, Letter 130, Tahiti, July 1892, p. 172
42 Pielkovo 1992, p. 29, Letter IX, 31 March 1893
43 *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, p. 4. He also used the equivalent French word, "Dormait," p. 11, Op. cit. supra
44 W #343, illustrated in Wadley 1985, p. 147, Fig. 102. Wadley points out that "one of the pollarded willows takes on a silhouette remarkably like his (Gauguin's) own unmistakable profile."
45 Tahitian and English Dictionary 1851, 1988
46 Gauguin 1957, pp. 74-75
47 Dario Gamboni has written about similar "potential images" of copulating couples among the foliage of Gauguin's painting *Parahi te Marae*. Gamboni, Dario, *Primitivism and Modern Art,* Proceedings of the XXVII Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte Orientes–Occidentes: El Arte y la Mirada del Otro, (Veracruz, 9-14 November 2003), Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico. He designates "potential images" as "images that are suggested by the artist but which depend on the beholder's participation to become actual."
48 See Gamboni 2002, pp. 18-20 and passim. He says that the importance and consistency of this strategy in Gauguin's art deserve a full study, for which his present essay is a preparation. I have discussed this subject at length with Professor Gamboni and share his observation that "Gauguin used ambiguous, multiple and to some extent hidden images" in many of his works. See also Kelton 2005, pp. 11-29 and Kelton 2007, pp. 124-149.
49 Personal communication from the New Zealand Maori ethnographer, Epu Brown
50 See detailed discussion of this painting by June Hargrove, Hargrove 2006, p. 554
51 Zingg 1996, Fans numbered 19-22]
52 Danielson 1966, p. 254.
53 Prather & Stuckey 1987, at pp. 310 and 330, per Guillaume Le Bronnec who reported from informants
54 (ibid)
55 (ibid)
56 Wildenstein and Cogniat 1972, p. 71
57 Malingue 1949, p. 240, Letter 181, Atuana, [sic] April 1903
58 Quotation from Gauguin, *Noa Noa* (1893), Maurer 1998, p. 152
59 Merlhès 1984, pp. 176-78, Gauguin's letter No. 134 dated 08 December 1892 to his wife lists *What, Are You Jealous?* as one of a group of paintings that he had sent back to France to sell.
60 W #496
61 Bodelsen 1964, p. 98
62 Letter from Gauguin to Theo Van Gogh, November 20 or 21, 1889 quoted in Thomson 1993, p. 111.
63 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, #64, p. 125
64 Bodelsen 1964, p. 111
65 This Peruvian-inspired image is discussed in more detail in Section IV. E. of this Article regarding secrecy.
66 The Peruvian pre-Columbian stirrup pots were used for the consumption of a native beer and were often included in burial goods. Their style was made in the Moche and related cultures along the Peruvian west coast from around 50 BC to 550 AD. They have been well represented in museums and private collections. Erotic art was not uncommon in these cultures, where these figures may represent fertility objects or the celebrations of life's joys, and an affirmation of them in the after life.
67 Braun 1993
68 Braun 1993, p. 52
69 Malingue 1949, p. 23
70 Braun 1993, p. 73
71 Braun 1993, p. 295
72 Pielkovo 1992, p. 57, Letter XXVIII, October 1897
73 See for example Breton Eve, W #333
74 p. 25 of *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. See this Article fig.18
75 Gauguin based his account on that in *Du Voyage Aux Iles du Grand Oce'an* written by J. A. Moerenhout.
76 Dorra 1995, pp. 198-201
77 Sweetman 1995, pp. 435-36
78 Sweetman 1995, p. 536
79 Sweetman 1995, p. 538
80 Sweetman 1995, p. 540

81 Gauguin did not duplicate this procedure to obscure the similar image in his personal manuscript of the book *Noa Noa*, possibly because he considered it a private document, or because by the much later time that this manuscript was completed he no longer cared who he shocked. For example, during his first visit to Tahiti in *Manao Tupapa* (W #457) he painted Tehamana in bed, but she is face down, and Gauguin wrote to his wife that he did not want the painting to seem indecent. (Malingue 1949, Letter CXXXIV). By contrast, in the comparable painting *Nevermore* (W #558), made in his second Tahiti sojourn, he painted his amour, Pahara, blatantly and sexually full-frontally nude. In his home in the Marquesas, he had pornographic photographs on his walls, and commented that he was happy to have the photos keep those people away who would be scandalized by them since he did not care to see them. *Gauguin's Intimate Journals* 1936, *Avant et Après*, p. 10
82 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, p. 250
83 Sweetman 1995, p. 538
84 Fonsmark 2005, p. 8, Fig. 13
85 Braun 1993, p. 73
86 See images in this Article Fig. 54 and discussion of Peruvian influences on Gauguin's statue in Section IV. C. For similarity with Gauguin's face, see *Self-Portrait Near Golgotha*, 1896, W #536.
87 See Fig. 7
88 *I Raro te Oviri* was in his inventory by the time he wrote letters to Monfreid and his wife on 8 December 1892. Letter VI, 8 December 1892, Gauguin 1957, p. 25; and to his wife, Letter 134, Malingue 1949, pp. 176-78.
89 Tregear 1891
90 He applied the name "Oviri" (Savage) to himself, and to an enigmatic stoneware statue he crafted and requested to be placed on his grave when he died in the Marquesas.
91 W #455
92 Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalog 1988, pp. 269 and 272
93 Fonsmark 2005, images at cover and p. 4, Fig. 1 and p. 8, Fig. 13
94 See also Gray 1963, #87, p. 207
95 Gray 1963, #86, p. 206
96 Gray 1963, #85, pp. 204-05
97 Gray 1963, #95, p. 221
98 See *Noa Noa*, Louvre Manuscript, p. 59, folio 32 *recto*
99 See p.437, Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalogue 1988, *Te Atua II*
100 Gray 1963, #137, pp. 289-90
101 Gray 1963, #99, pp. 226-27
102 Gray 1963, #102, p. 232
103 Gray 1963, #5, pp. 204-05
104 *Afternoon of a Faun*. Gray 1963, #100, p. 228-229
105 See *Noa Noa*, Louvre manuscript, p. 59, folio 32 *recto*
106 See p.437, Gauguin Washington-Chicago Catalogue 1988,*Te Atua II*
107 Gray 1963, p. 228
108 Gray 1963, #119, p. 250
109 Gray 1963, p. 68
110 Gray 1963, p. 63
111 Sweetman 1995, pp. 317-18
112 As reported in Shackelford & Frèches-Thory 2004, p. 333, note 24, "Lenore, who, several years earlier [before Gauguin's death], had mimeographed Gauguin's newspaper *Le Souire*, later recalled the colonists' scandalized reactions to the erotic works" [in the estate sale of Gauguin's Marquesan belongings.] (See Renee Hamon, Gauguin, le solitaire du Pacifique, 1939.)
113 See this Article fig.75
114 Information provided in personal communication by Epu Brown, a New Zealand Maori ethnographer.
115 Gray 1963, #117, pp. 253-54
116 *Ancien Culte Mahorie*, p. 13, folio 7 *recto*, Louvre Manuscript
117 Kornfeld 1988, #32, pp. 146-47. See also Shackelford & Frèches-Thory 2004, p. 216
118 Kornfeld 1988, #37, pp. 158-59 and Gray 1963, #125c, p. 270
119 Kornfeld 1988, #75, pp. 260-61. See also Gauguin's letter to Charles Morice dated July 1901. Schackelford & Frèches-Thory 2004, #175, p. 228
120 Gray 1963, #141, p. 296
121 Gray 1963, #128, p. 274
122 Gray 1963, #137, p. 289
123 Gray 1963, #102, p. 232
124 Kornfeld 1988, #48, pp. 190-91
125 Gray 1963, #98, pp. 224-25
126 Gray 1963, #101, pp. 230-31
127 Gray 1963, #129, p. 275
128 W #508
129 See pp. 224-225, Gray 1963; #98 *Head of a Marquesan Girl and Mask of a Woman* p. 244, Gray 1963 #112. Also see Gauguin's images without signatures illustrated in Field 1973.



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William Hodges
A Waterfall in the Tuauru Valley, Tahiti
Oil on panel
30 inches x 48 5/8 inches
c. 1791
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Cook, Melville & Gauguin,
Three Voyages to Paradise

seeks to illustrate the diverse experiences of these three South Sea icons and provide the visitor with an opportunity to view original art and artifacts associated with each. The exhibition, presented by The Maritime Museum of San Diego and drawn from the extensive collections of The Kelton Foundation, runs from May 27, 2011 through January 1, 2012.

Unique as a Maritime Museum offering, the exhibit material is more likely to be found in the offerings of a major Fine Art museum. Fifty-four works by Paul Gauguin anchor the exhibition, including original oils, watercolors, and engravings along with the largest display of Gauguin's three-dimensional works on exhibition anywhere in the world. Added to this are original voyage paintings created by the official expedition artists who sailed with Captain Cook: William Hodges (1744-1797), who was aboard *Endeavour* on Cook's 2nd Voyage of Discovery and John Webber (1751-1793), who visually documented the 3rd voyage while aboard *Resolution*. The Hodges' oils in particular are unique in that they represent the first views ever of the South Pacific through the eyes of a skilled European landscape artist. We have also included a distinctive selection of Australian Aboriginal Art.

This exhibition represents a major undertaking by The Maritime Museum of San Diego. Requirements to care for the irreplaceable icon objects on loan from The Kelton Foundation presented some extraordinary challenges in terms of security, conservation, and establishing acceptable environmental controls in the unusual exhibit space on the lower deck of a one hundred and thirteen-year-old ferry boat. The idea for the exhibition was originally presented to me several years ago by my long-time friend and associate Ray Ashley, President of the Maritime Museum of San Diego. As the Senior Curator for The Kelton Foundation, I saw a unique opportunity to present a variety of objects drawn from several of The Foundation's diverse collections. Upon finding time in an extremely active worldwide exhibition schedule, Dr. Richard Kelton, president of The Kelton Foundation and one of the world's most celebrated art collectors, enthusiastically endorsed the project. It is with sincere appreciation for Ray Ashley's vision and Richard Kelton's lifetime passion for collecting and maintaining such an eclectic collection of beautiful and historically significant material that we have undertaken to mount this exhibition.

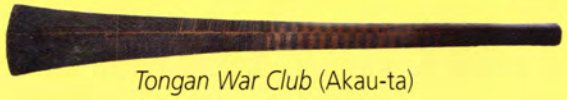
— Marcus De Chevrieux, Exhibit Curator

Original material drawn from the collections of The Kelton Foundation

The Maritime Museum of San Diego

The Journey Begins

Polynesian Culture (Tongan Group) **1**



Tongan War Club (Akau-ta)

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **2**



'U'U Marquesan Trade Style War Club

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **3**



Coconut Shell Water Container

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **4**



Anthropomorphic Canoe Prow

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **5**



Tapuva'e (Stilt Step with Protective Deity Figures)

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Coronet (paekaha)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

6 Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group)



Canoe Prow Ornament
(nguzu nguzu)
Wood,
shell inlays
11¾ x 6 inches
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

7 Melanesian Culture (Solomon Group)

Nguzu Nguzu were fastened just above the waterline on the prows of war canoes (tomako). They represented spirits who protected the canoes from accidents at sea and exercised a malign influence on the enemy under attack.



Society Islands Basalt Adze Head
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

8 Polynesian Culture (Society Group)



Shell Adze head
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

9 Polynesian Culture (Tuamotu Group)



Ornate container carved with Deity Faces
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

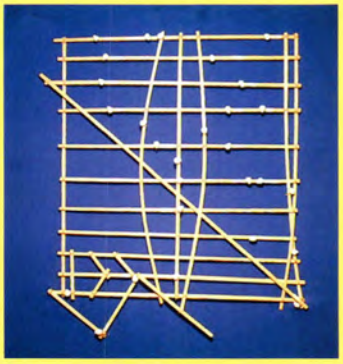
10 Maori Culture (New Zealand)

Maori Culture (New Zealand) **11**



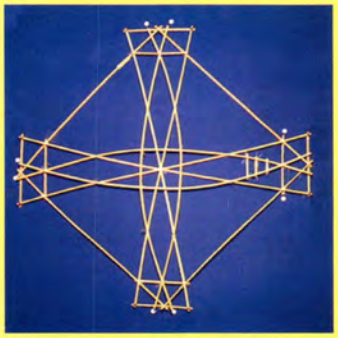
Feather (Treasure) Box
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Micronesian Culture (Marshall Group) **12**



Majaro Island Stick Chart
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Micronesian Culture (Marshall Group) **13**



Matang Stick Chart
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Melanesian Culture (Fiji, New Hebrides Groups) **14**



Lapita Pottery Shards
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Aboriginal Culture (Australia) **15**



Engraved Shell Pendant
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Axe with European Steel Blade
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

16 Maori Culture (New Zealand)



Lucknor Island Turtle Bone Adze
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

17 Micronesian Culture (Caroline Group)



Mangaia Island Ceremonial Adze
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

18 Polynesian Culture (Cook Group)



New Guinea Adze
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

19 Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)



Fijian Elbow Handle Adze
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

20 Melanesian Culture (Fiji Group)

Melanesian Culture (Fiji Group) **21**



(small) *Throwing Club*

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Melanesian Culture (Fiji Group) **22**



Throwing Club

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Melanesian Culture (Solomon Group) **23**



San Cristobal Island Curved-head War Club

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Maori Culture (New Zealand) **24**



Replica Canoe Bailer

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Melanesian Culture (Trobriand Group) **25**



New Guinea Canoe Bailer

© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paddle-shaped War Club
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

26 Polynesian Culture (Samoan Group)



Umboi Island Steel-bladed Adze
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

27 Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)



Namuka Island "Cigi" (Head Rest)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

28 Melanesian Culture (Southern Lau Group)



Maori Ceremonial Canoe Paddle
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

29 Polynesian Culture (New Zealand)



Ornate Carved Maori Flute (koauau)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

30 Polynesian Culture (New Zealand)

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **31**



Replica Marquesan War Club
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (New Zealand) **32**



Maori Treasure Box
Wood, shell inlays
12 x 20 ¾ inches
c. 1850
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group) **33**



Marquesan War Club (u'u')
Carved Toa Wood
77 x 7 inches
19th century
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Micronesian Culture (Solomon Group) **34**



Cuttle-Fish Bone Shark God
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Maori Culture (New Zealand) **35**



Flute (putorino)
Wood
19 x 2 inches
c. 1850
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Ceremonial Spear
(Taiaha)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

36 Maori Culture (New Zealand)



Pair of Carved
Large Wooden
Male and Female
Figures
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

37 Polynesian Culture (Marquesas Group)



Rapa Nui Male Figure
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

38 Polynesian Culture (Easter Island)



Maker unknown
Marquesan
Tattooed Warrior
Engraving
22 x 16 inches
c.1813 from
1804 original
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

39 This striking image was created during the 1803-1806 voyage of Adam Ivan (Johan) von Krusenstern aboard the British built, Russian naval vessels *Nadezhda* (450T) and *Neva* (370T). The engraving depicts a distinguished warrior, armed and tattooed, in Nuku Hiva during Krusenstern's stop there in May 1804. Krusenstern wrote that only the high priests and royalty were tattooed from head to foot as shown in this example. The lower on the social scale, the fewer the individual's tattoos.



Sepik River Canoe Prow
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

40 Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)

These four prints were prepared from watercolors by John Cleveley after original drawings made by his brother, James, who was a ship's carpenter on the expedition. Each of the four images shows *Resolution* and *Discovery* at anchor in the Society and Sandwich Islands. The settings are ideals of Pacific beauty and show interaction between the European crews and the islanders

41



John Cleveley
engraved by
Francis Jukes
Four Views: Huahine, Moorea, Matavai Bay, Hawaii
Aquatint
17 x 23 ½ inches
c. 1787

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Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)

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Trobriand Island Canoe Prow

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Polynesian Culture (Society Group)

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Umete of Queen Pomare IV

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Polynesian Culture (Society Group)

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Penu (Pounder)

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Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)

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Trobriand Islands Canoe Decoration

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Melanesian Culture (New Guinea)

46



Sepik River Canoe Prow

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Australian Aboriginal Culture
Donny Woolagoodja, Leah Umbagai, Mildred Mungulu, Margaret Mungulu, Gudu Mungulu, Gabriella Doby
Wanjina Ungud Spirits
Acrylic on canvas • 2007
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

47 This culturally important work was painted by a collaboration of senior tribal artists of the Mowanjum Community. This painting is a cultural map of the major belief systems of the Mowanjum. The Mowanjum people, from Kimberley in the northern part of Western Australia, share their beliefs about the magnificent Wanjinas, cloud and rain spirits who, during the Dreamtime, created the landscape and its inhabitants. Every person has an Ungud spirit created by the Wanjinas that is an animal or a plant. Wanjina are highly revered by the Aboriginal people because they gave the law, culture and language. The Wanjina paintings have common colors of black, red and yellow usually on a white background. Common composition is with large upper bodies and heads that show eyes and nose, but typically no mouth. This work depicts the three main Wanjinas, Namarali, Wannalirri and Rimmijmuddu, which reflect the three language groups of the Mowanjum people: Worroa, Ngarinyin and Wunambul, who are the primary believers in Wanjjina as the supreme creators. In the background are included all Ungud animals and several other important law aspects.



Australian Aboriginal Culture
Bobby Bardjarai Nganjmirra
Ngalyod (Rainbow Serpent)
Ocher and Pipe Clay on Stone • 1975
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

48 This painting features a giant Rainbow Serpent, *Ngalyod*, giving birth to babies. *Ngalyod* is much feared by the Aboriginal people at Oenpelli. He sleeps during the Dry Season in freshwater billabongs in the escarpment country. When it is time for the Wet Season, he leaves his resting place and goes up into the sky. The vapor from his breath forms storm clouds, and loud growls from his mouth roll across the sky to make thunder. Then he flicks his tongue and lightning shoots across the sky, sometimes striking the people down on Earth, or splitting trees. When he darts his tongue into a storm cloud, torrential rains descends onto the Earth. His face sometimes resembles that of a kangaroo, a buffalo or a crocodile. His body and tail are often those of a crocodile, but he can change shape at will. Footprints of Bobby appear in this work, being a very old form of communication found in the escarpment, the white pipe clay around Bobby's feet was sprayed by his cousin, Djwaida.



48.1

People from Macassar, now Ujungpandang in Sulawesi, visited the north of Australia for hundreds of years fishing for trepang (sea cucumber) and trading with the Aborigines. These visitors contributed to the language, art, economy and genetics of the northern aborigines. The contact left its mark on both sides. These Indonesian voyagers visited from the Kimberleys to Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Macassan contact with the aboriginals of the north had a profound effect on their cultures and the visits are still remembered through oral history, songs and dances and paintings on rock and bark. This Australian bark painting depicts a Macassan prau (boat) with its traditional rigging and mat sail. A trepang (sea cucumber) covered shoal is represented in the upper left. The style of this painting is unique to the Aborigines of Groote Eylandt (Island) in the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Australian Aboriginal Culture
Macassan Prau
Ochres on Eucalyptus Bark
30 ½ x 18 ½ inches
1973
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



48.2

Djambuwal (Thunder Man) lived in the Dreamtime and is the male founding ancestor of northeastern and central Arnhem Land. He is the creator of the clouds, storms and thunder and also Dhwa children, the Yuthu, who descend from the sky in raindrops to become human beings. The spears in the background of the painting represent lightning strikes.

Australian Aboriginal Culture
Djambuwal (Thunder Man)
Natural Earth Pigments
on Eucalyptus Bark
37 x 18 inches
1975
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Marquesan Tiki Figure
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

49 Reproduction, Museum of the Isles, Tahiti



John Webber
Portrait of Captain James Cook
Oil on canvas
c. 1782
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

50 This painting is similar to a 1776 portrait of Cook painted by Webber on the outward bound portion of the third voyage aboard *Resolution* and is believed to have been created by the artist at a later date. Webber was appointed as draftsman on Cook's third voyage. He was also carried on the ship's books as an able seaman, in order to earn additional pay. During the four-year voyage, Webber created some two hundred high quality drawings, beyond expectations, documenting Cook's final voyage. Upon his return to England, Webber was elected to the Royal Academy and made a comfortable living as an artist, until his death from kidney disease, in 1793, at age 43.



William Hodges
Vaitepiha Bay, Tahiti
Oil on canvas
c. 1773
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

51 This view must be considered one of William Hodges most distinctive, immediate and powerful topographical images executed during Cook's second Voyage of Exploration to the Pacific. Hodges made two visits to Tahiti as the official artist on board *Resolution,* during Captain Cook's 2nd voyage. On 16 August 1773, *Resolution* arrived at Vaitepiha Bay from New Zealand to take on food. Scholars have been sharply divided over which of Hodges' smaller oil paintings were executed on site during the voyage, or done back in London after his return. This painting is beyond any doubt a voyage painting created by Hodges aboard *Resolution*. The concern to recapture atmospheric qualities is a conspicuous feature of all Hodges voyage works. In this initial study, Hodges bathes the landscape in a tropical sun, highlighted in the glinting spears carried by the warriors in the middle ground. However, their presence together with the reed hut framed by the swaying palms, also displays a concern with the islander's material social circumstances.

52

This is a rare and highly important oil by William Hodges. This painting is considered to be the earliest of three views on this subject and the original small compositional study done on the voyage in 1773. Hodges was selected by the Board of the Admiralty to accompany James Cook on his second voyage (1772-1775). Of the various artists who accompanied Cook on his voyages, Hodges is considered by far the most original talent. The ships *Resolution* and *Adventure* reached the Society Islands on 12 August 1773. Cook first anchored at Vaitepiha Bay at Tahiti, before proceeding for the first of two second-voyage visits to Matavai Bay on the island's north shore. The two visits add some difficulty in determining which paintings Hodges may have created on each occasion. The tropical character of Tahiti presented Hodges with a unique set of visual problems in portraying his central interests of the atmosphere, light and color of the islands, elements quite different from any he had experienced before. Hodges was the first to present to the Western public the brilliant color of the tropical South Seas. His neo-classical approach maintains the tone, color and mood of his subject focusing on general effect rather than detail. The significant historical and ethnographic information included in his work emerges almost as a by-product of his classical landscape technique. The limited color range might be ascribed to difficulties with mixing pigments or to the artist's stated "want of proper colors." Four slightly different versions of this painting are known to exist. This perspective, in its angle of shoreline and relative distance from the far mountains, is similar to the other three with the same native canoes and figures at left and right. However, additional native craft of various types fill in the center of this painting. This view looks easterly across Matavai Bay to Point Venus and shows some remains of the embankments of Fort Venus, Cook's base camp on the first voyage. In the distance is the volcanic peak Orohena.



William Hodges
Matavai Bay, Island of Otaheite (Tahiti)
Oil on canvas
c. 1773
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

53

Endeavour was originally launched at Whitby in 1764, as the *Earl of Pembroke*. The ship was built as a coal collier, a common type of coastal cargo vessel constructed using no actual plans, only the builder's knowledge of the required attributes. Her designation "bark" or more correctly "cat-bark" was a description of her hull shape, as opposed to the term's later use to describe a three-masted ship's rig type. This vessel was selected to carry James Cook on his first scientific voyage of exploration into the Pacific (1768-1771). *Endeavour* was manned by a crew of ninety officers and seamen plus twelve Royal Marines. Also on board was a small scientific contingent consisting of two naturalists, an astronomer and two artists to document plant and animal specimens and visually record new discoveries.



L.D. Taylor
Model of H.M. Bark Endeavour
Wood
31 x 25 inches
c. 1950
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Nathaniel Dance
engraved by
Bartolozzi
Omai, a Native of Ulaietea (Raiatea)
Engraving
21 ½ x 13 inches
1774
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

54 "O" in Polynesian is a prefix meaning "it is". Omai's name was actually just "Mai", but when asked his name the native replied "O" Mai', meaning, in Tahitian, "it is Mai", and the name stuck (the same mistake occurred in much of the early naming of people and places throughout Polynesia. The name of the Tahitian King Tu, later known as Pomare I, was first translated by the English as being "Otoo". ("Owyhee" for "Hawaii" is another example). Omai, a native of the island of Ulaietea (now Raiatea), about 90 miles west of Tahiti, proved a social sensation when he traveled back to England on *Adventure,* one of two ships of Captain Cook's second Pacific voyage. On Cook's first voyage in 1768, Omai met Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, the naturalist and artist aboard Cook's *Endeavour*.

When Cook returned in 1773, Omai signed on as an able seaman aboard *Adventure* for the return voyage to England. Omai arrived in London where he was taken to the home of Joseph Banks, who became his protector. Omai was granted an audience with the King, who presented him with a sword and arranged for him to be paid an allowance while he was in England. There followed visits to the opera, theater, dances, the opening of parliament and a host of other social and official functions. In 1776, when Cook embarked on his third and final voyage, Omai returned home aboard *Resolution*.



Unknown
O'mai
Engraving
1774
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

55 A smaller engraving showing a head and shoulders view.



John Webber engraved by Fessard
Mort Tragique du Capitaine Cook
Printer's Proof engraving
13 ½ x 11 ¾ inches
c. 1789
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

56 This is a printer's proof of a French edition of *The Death of Cook*. The inscribed legend reads: *Mort Tragique du Capitaine Cook le 15 Janvier, 1779; Sur la cote d'Owhy-hee l'une des Isles decouvertes par le Navigateur Sandwic*h. (Tragic Death of Captain Cook January 15, 1779, on the side of Owhy-hee one of the islands discovered by the navigator.) John Webber, the artist on Cook's final voyage, although not an eye witness to Cook's death at Kealakekua Bay, painted the most well-known version of the event, which became an engraved print that was distributed widely. Most subsequent versions are based on Webber's account.



James Cook
engraved by Durexit
Carte de l'Hemisphere Austral (Southern Hemisphere Map)
Engraving
22 x 21 ½ inches
c.1775
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

57 This map is a French southern polar projection for the French edition of Cook's first voyage. The map was drawn by Bernard Durexit and shows the routes of earlier explorers, including Abel Tasman's route of 1642 and Dutch West and North Coast discoveries.



Lewis Pingo
Silver issue of The Royal Society Memorial Medal
Silver medal
43 mm (D)
1784
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

58 This is The Royal Society's formal memorial to James Cook. It is one of 322 silver specimens. The medal was also struck in both gold and bronze versions. 22 in gold, 322 in silver and 577 in bronze. All Fellows of the Royal Society were entitled to a free bronze medal, while silver and gold issues were available by subscription only and some reserved only for presentation. Joseph Banks personally supervised the minting and distribution of the Cook medal as a personal tribute to coincide with the publication of the narrative of the tragic third voyage.



Cook, Banks, Parkinson, et al.
Bank's Florilegium
Copper plate engravings
31 x 26 inches
c. 1778
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

59 Examples from the first complete edition of the 738 engravings of plants collected on Cook's first voyage, in which Banks collected over 800 previously unknown plant specimens. Engraved over a 13-year period under Bank's supervision, these engravings were never published until this edition was authorized by the British Museum in 1979.



John Webber engraver unknown
Sandwich Island Canoe with Paddlers in Gourd Masks
Hand-colored engraving
10 x 16 inches
c.1784
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

60 This original engraving was published in Cook and King's, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean,* in 1784. It has been hand-colored at an unknown date. It is based on a drawing made by Webber on Cook's second visit to Hawaii, during which the explorer was killed in January, 1784.



John Webber
engraved by Noble
Man of the Sandwich Islands with his Helmet
9 x 7 inches
c. 1784
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

61 This engraving from the Webber original is also identified as *Portrait of the Chief Kana'ina,* described by King as "one of the finest men I ever saw." King also stated that the ceremonial feathered cloak and helmet, "in point of beauty is perhaps equal to that of any nation in the world." The similarity in shape and style of this helmet and cloak, when compared to those worst by early Spanish soldiers, has led to much speculation regarding early (pre-Cook) Spanish influence in Hawaii



John Webber
engraved by Noble
Man of the Sandwich Islands in a Mask
Engraving
8 x 6 ½ inches
c. 1784
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

62 The mask is a gourd helmet surrounded by fern fronds, and from which hang narrow strips of cloth resembling a beard. It could be an imitation of a type of helmet worn by bearded Spaniards, who may have called at the Hawaiian Islands in the course of their explorations prior to Captain Cook's arrival.



attr. John Webber
Man and Woman of the Sandwich Islands
graphite drawing
5 x 7 inches
c. 1786
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

63 This pair of images was drawn separately on a single sheet of paper. Both appear as plates in the 1784 edition of Cook's Third Voyage. Both are reversed from how they appear in the printed versions. They are considered to be examples of the most striking portraits done by Webber on the third voyage. The man, who wears a feathered cloak and helmet is identified as the chief, Kana'ina, one of the expedition's closest allies during Cook's stay at Kealakakua Bay. The woman is unidentified.



Various
Cook Memorabilia
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

64 The personal items viewed here were handed down through the family of James Cook's sister Margaret. The two memorial medals, one in silver, and one in bronze, were struck by the Royal Society in 1784. The *Resolution* and *Adventure* medal was struck by Matthew Boulton in 1772. Two thousand of these medals were struck in bronze and distributed by Cook to inhabitants of the islands he visited. The gilded version seen here was Cook's personal copy. The old English pattern desert spoon, hallmarked "London 1750" and engraved with Cook's initials accompanied him on his voyages. Also displayed is an oil painting of Cook's coat of arms. These arms were granted to the family in 1785. At the center is an azure shield bearing two golden "polar stars." Between them is a map of the Pacific Hemisphere upon which is superimposed the tracks of Cook's voyages. The crest is an arm vested in the uniform of a Captain in the Royal Navy, whose hand holds the Union Jack. The arm is encircled by a wreath and the motto: *Nil Intentatus Reliquit* (He Left Nothing Unattempted).



Benjamin West
engraved by John Raphael Smith
Sir Joseph Banks
Mezzotint
22 x 15 inches
1788
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

65 This is a particularly fine mezzotint portrait of Joseph Banks after the famous original by Sir Benjamin West that Banks sat for in December of 1771. Banks is shown draped in a native cloak and surrounded by Polynesian artifacts he collected during the voyage, including clubs, a paddle and a feather-handled basket. Banks is shown here at the age of 29, only four months after his triumphant return to England. It is the first "authentic" portrait of Banks, and one which Banks himself regarded as one of only three satisfactory likenesses of him to be printed.



Alexander Shaw
Catalog of Tapa Cloth Collected on Cook's Voyages
Tapa specimens tipped into leather bound volume
8 ½ x 6 ¾ inches
1787
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

66 This is a rare First (and only) Edition containing 36 specimens of tapa cloth collected on Captain Cook's three voyages. Captain James King (1750-1795) was responsible for collecting the tapa cloth contained in this work, while traveling with Cook on his voyages. Compiled and published for a few friends and subscribers by Alexander Shaw, only about 30 copies of this volume are known to exist. Tapa is the Polynesian word for bark paper or cloth. It is made primarily from the inner bark of the mulberry shrub. Other trees providing the raw material include the fig tree and the breadfruit tree. The technique is ancient and is directly related to handmade papers. The earliest fragments of Polynesian tapa have been found at Huahine and date to about 850 AD.



John Webber
various engravers
Death of Cook Folio
16 Engravings
Various sizes
1779-1789
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

67 These are the earliest engraved portrayals of Cook's death in various prints based on John Webber's original painting.



William Hodges
Waterfall in the Tuauru Valley, Tahiti
Oil on canvas
30 x 49 inches
c. 1791
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

68 On Cook's second voyage, while anchored at Matavai Bay, Hodges ventured inland on 4 May 1774 at the recommendation of George Forster, who described: *a place where the hill on the east side formed a perpendicular wall, not less than 40 yards high, beyond which it had some inclination, and was crowned with shrubberies to a great height. A fine cascade fell from this fringed part along the wall into the river, and made the scene more lively, which in itself was dark, wild and romantic*. In this previously unknown panel, painted near the end of his life, Hodges depicts a Tahitian landscape with a classical figure group on the right, overlooked by a cloaked figure. Hodges has used the sunlight and shadow to emphasize his emotional content of the painting. The woman's image on the far left is "spotlighted" by a shaft of sunlight. The group on the right is also similarly highlighted.



Richard Rowland
Hadley's Quadrant
Ebony Ivory, Brass
c. 1760
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

69 The quadrant is a very simple instrument of medieval origin used to determine the altitude of a heavenly body. It takes it name from its shape, which is a quarter of a circle. The curved edge is divided from 0 to 90 degrees. In 1731 John Hadley, an Englishman, and Thomas Godfrey, an American, simultaneously invented a mariner's quadrant that made it possible to obtain accurate observations of celestial bodies. The instrument was similar to the sextant in common use in more recent times.



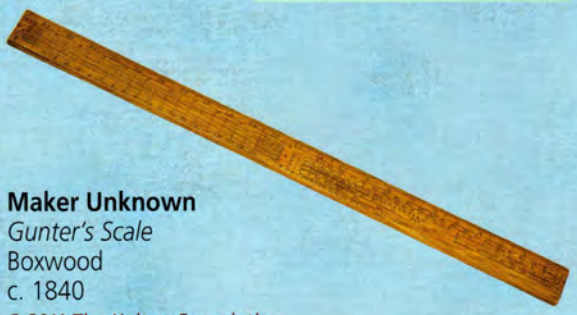
Maker Unknown
Parallel Ruler
Ebony, Brass
1850
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

71 Parallel rules were used to transfer a course or bearing from its location on the chart to the chart's compass rose by "walking" each leg alternately across the chart. The degrees of the transported course, or bearing, could then be read from the compass rose. The reverse procedure was used to transfer a heading or bearing from the compass rose to a distant part of the chart.



Maker Unknown
Half-hour Sand Glass
Glass, wood
c. 1780
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

72 The sand glass is an instrument to measure relatively short intervals of time by the length of time taken for the sand to run from the upper to the lower bulb. Since this time measuring device was not affected by the motion of the ship, they were used on ships from the 14th century until after the development of reliable portable watches in the 19th century. The normal watch on a ship was four hours. At the end of each watch the off-duty crewmen would replace those previously running the ship. Each half-hour the sand glass was rotated and restarted, and the ship's bell was struck once for each half-hour of the watch. Thus the watch ended at eight bells.



Maker Unknown
Gunter's Scale
Boxwood
c. 1840
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

73 This boxwood Gunter scale was used like a slide rule. It has scales of logarithms placed end to end. Instead of sliding, dividers are used to multiply and divide. It was devised by Edmund Gunter in 1607. Before the calculation and printing of logarithmic tables, a navigator had to make complicated mathematical calculations to work out a position from his celestial sights. The Gunter scale was a great aid to simplify these calculations, as well as solving other mathematical problems in navigation.

74

In addition to its use for steering the ship, the azimuth compass was used to determine compass deviation from True North using the direction of the sun and to determine the bearing of distant objects sighted through the vanes. This type of steering compass was the first to be patented. This design uses a permanently magnetized steel needle invented by Gowan Knight. George Adams (1704-1773) was an instrument maker to both the King and the Honorable East India Co. This compass has the East compass point decorated as well as the North compass point. An instrument of this type was used by Captain Cook on his Voyages of Discovery.



George Adams
Azimuth and Steering Compass
Wood, metal, glass
c. 1770
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

75

Lodestones were made of magnetite, a rare, naturally magnetized mineral ore (Fe3o4). They were used at sea for re-magnetizing compass needles, a custom referred to as "refreshing the needle." This was required from the invention of the compass in the 12th century until the development of the permanently magnetized needle around 1760.



Maker Unknown
Silver Mounted Lodestone
Magnatite, silver
c. 1700
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

76

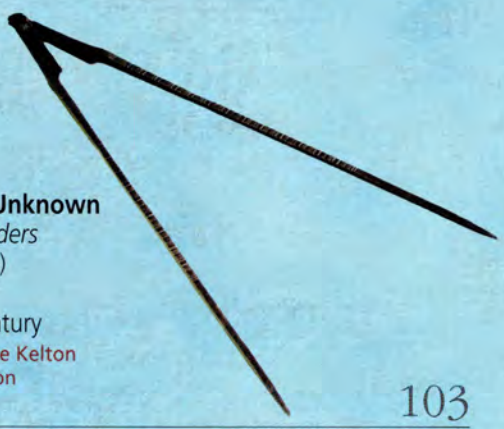
This is an example of the very first rolling parallel rule. The ivory inch scale is divided by tenths. One side is beveled downward to touch paper for readout or pencil plotting. The other side is beveled upward for ink drawing. The roller arm has two milled brass wheels with ivory readouts in tenths of inches and geared to drive a central pointer reading against an enameled dial divided likewise into tenths of an inch. Its original wood case is bound in fish skin and lined in green velvet. The case is fitted with three brass catches. This is the sophisticated mechanical readout version of the rolling rule invented by A.G. Eckhardt of London in 1771 (British patent #985). He apparently left the patent with Peter Dollond. When used with care, the ruler permitted rapid two-dimensional plotting of points on a graph. It is most rare.



Peter Dollond
Mechanical Rolling Rule
Ebony and Ivory
c. 1771
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

77

Probably Dutch, these dividers are finely hand-shaped with a four-leaf hinge and an attractively shaped head and scalloped decoration running down both legs. This is an unusual, well decorated pair of dividers of primitive iron craftsmanship.



Maker Unknown
Iron Dividers
(charters)
Iron
18th century
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation





Pedro Freire
Portuguese Presentation Box Compass
Brass and painted wood
Dated 1789
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

78 The interior of this box is embellished with hand-painted decorations in a remarkable state of preservation. The bottom has floral designs. The inside has eight original paintings and features portraits of *Vasco Da Gama, Discoverer of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope; Infanted Heriq* (Prince Henry), *Discoverer of first lands that Portugal discovered from Europe to the East; Chritov Colon* (Christopher Columbus), *First to America and Discoverer of the West Indies* and *Bartolam Dias* (Bartholomew Diaz), *Discoverer of the East India.* Beneath the explorers and their titles is inscribed: *America, Africa, Asia* and *Europa*. This elaborate compass was probably prepared for someone associated with the Portuguese navigational school. The inclusion of the images and elaborate title given to Prince Henry and the reference to Portuguese rivers flowing into the Atlantic suggest a strong nationalist association. It is unlikely that such an elaborate compass was intended for hard use at sea, notwithstanding its gimbals. Rather it was probably presented to and used by a philosopher scientist on shore, who may have used its sighting ability to determine the azimuth of the sun and stars. This would also account for its remarkable state of preservation.



Thomas Jones
Reflecting Circle
Brass and silver with ebony
c. 1820
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

79 The reflecting circle was devised in the 1750s by the German astronomer, Tobias Mayer, in order to measure wider angles through the use of a circle of 360 degrees, instead of the arc of 120 degrees as in the sextant. He proposed its use to take lunar distance sights (measuring the angle between the moon and another celestial object), the only astronomical method of determining accurate longitude in the absence of an accurate chronometer. A number of improvements were made to the circle, notably in 1787 by the Chevalier de Borda (1733-1799), as a result of which it was given the alternative name of the Borda circle. Edward Troughton also added to the instrument by giving it three index arms with verniers, so that three alternate readings could be taken at different points of the circle.



John Uring
Hadley's Quadrant
Mahogany, Boxwood, Ivory and Brass
c. 1760
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

80 This early quadrant, made shortly after Hadley's patent expired in 1747, exhibits features common to most early examples. First, is its large size. This enabled the index arc to be engraved and read with more accuracy, especially before the use of ivory or metal arcs allowing for finer lines to be engraved. Second, it has two sighting locations – one on either arm. The normal forward observation was taken with the right sight. This instrument has only a 90 degree arc on the index. The development of the larger arcs eliminated the need for the second sighting position, which was used to take backsights. Third, is the use of the diagonal scale for dividing the increments of the index scale. Theoretically very accurate, in practice this index proved difficult to read.

This "T" Frame Quintant has a silver scale that reads from 2 to 147 degrees of arc, or roughly one fifth of a circle. The instrument is signed *Ramsden London* on the cross-bar and numbered 1147 on the reverse side. Jesse Ramsden (1735-1800) was one of the premier instrument makers of his time. In the course of his apprenticeship, Ramsden worked for John Bird (1709-1776), the maker of the first sextant. His instruments were carried by Captain Cook and Humbolt on their scientific Voyages of Discovery.

81



Jesse Ramsden
T Frame Brass Quintant
Brass and silver
c. 1790
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

The "T" frame inset on this Sextant has 5 to 155 degrees on its silver scale. Edward Troughton (1753-1836), a founding member of the Royal Astronomical Society, and one of the most important makers and designers of instruments, patented this form of sextant in 1788. The limb was formed of strips of plate, in duplicate, the two joined together with turned brass pillars. This type of sextant, termed the Troughton type, was being made as late as 1830, and used much later. It was featured in Winslow Homer's notable painting *8 Bells*.

82



Edward Troughton
Double Framed Pillar Sextant
Brass, silver
c. 1770
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

The arc on this sextant is inscribed "Sewill, Liverpool." It has a silvered scale, vernier, magnifier, three telescopes, two sets of filters, mirrors and a rosewood handgrip. It is in a fitted case bearing an ivorite plaque announcing: *Maker to the Royal Navy, Liverpool*.

83



John Sewill
Lattice Framed Sextant
Brass, silver
c. 1850
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

The Dip Needle is a compass pivoted to move in the plane containing the magnetic field vector of the earth. It will then show the angle which the magnetic field makes with the vertical. The needle must be accurately balanced so that only magnetic torques are exerted on it. Some texts suggest that the dip angle be measured twice, with the poles of the needle reversed by re-magnetization between trials, and the results averaged. Some instruments allow the needle and circle to be rotated to allow use as a compass. In other words, it measures the vertical component of the earth's magnetic field in the same way a compass needle indicates the horizontal component. A similar instrument made by Nairne was used by Captain James Cook on his second and third voyages. Cook and his scientists observed the dip of the needle at various positions on the earth's surface and several references appear in his journals.

84



Maker Unknown
Dip Needle
Brass
c. 1880
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Martin Au Temple
Graphometer
Brass
c. 1760
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

86 The graphometer (Chinometer) is a basic surveying instrument for measuring angles or bearings between two points. More than one sight can be taken to obtain a position by a fix or triangulation. This information can then be drawn on a chart or charted information can be compared to the visual sighting. The graphometer can also be used vertically to measure altitudes. To facilitate this use the instruments has a ball and socket joint to its mount. The graphometer was first described by Philippe Danfrie (d.1616) in Paris about 1597. It remained in use for over 200 years. It was frequently carried on ships for hydrographic surveying on landfalls.



Ludwig Theodor Muller
Pocket Universal Equinoctial Dial
Brass
18th century
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

87 The pocket equatorial dial, which may have been of Chinese derivation, met universal time-telling requirements in an elegant, small package. They were very popular during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This dial can tell time anywhere in the world when properly adjusted. The dial plate (hour ring), on which the sun's shadow is cast, must be set parallel with the equator. The folding latitude arc of 0 to 90 degrees permits the dial plate to be adjusted to the proper angle. The angle is the co-latitude, which is found by subtracting the latitude from 90 degrees. The gnomon pin can be pivoted below the plane of the dial plate to show time in the winter when the sun is below the celestial equator.



Francois Antoine Jecker
Theodolite
Brass
c. 1800
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

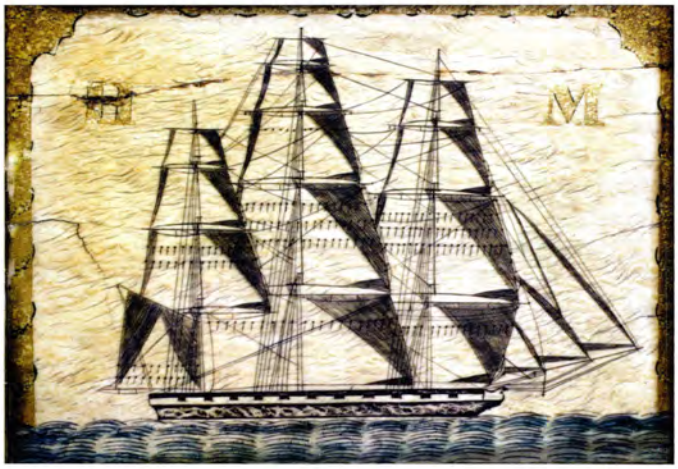
88 The theodolite is a precision instrument for measuring angles in the horizontal and vertical planes. Theodolites are mainly used for surveying applications. A theodolite consists of a movable telescope mounted within two perpendicular axes — the horizontal or trunnion axis, and the vertical axis. When the telescope is pointed at a target object, the angle of each of these axes can be measured with great precision, typically to seconds of arc. Captain Cook carried a specialized version of this instrument called a 'transit' in his mission to record the transit of Venus on his first voyage.



Mark Myers
Hancock off Lahaina
Watercolor on paper
2000
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

89 The Boston brigantine *Hancock* is greeted by native craft as she comes to anchor at the island of Maui in 1791. *Hancock* was typical of the American fur-trading vessels active in establishing the early trade routes linking the Pacific Northwest, Hawaii and China. These early trading voyages would later help to justify America's claims to sovereignty over these areas. *Hancock* sailed from Boston, in November 1790, bound for the rich sealing and otter grounds in the Pacific Northwest arriving in Hawaiian waters during the spring or early summer of 1791. The brigantine then sailed north and east, arriving off the Queen Charlotte Islands on 14 July 1791. In October, Hancock was back in Hawaiian waters bound for Canton with a cargo of seal and otter pelts. In 1792, after successfully marketing her cargo in Canton, *Hancock* departed China in the winter of 1793, returning home to Boston via the Cape of Good Hope.

An Extraordinary Discovery ~ a Melville Treasure





Edward Burdett
Scrimshaw owned by Herman Melville
Inked engraving on Sperm Whale panbone
c. 1832
Loan courtesy **The Vallejo Maritime Gallery, Newport Beach**
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Edward Burdett is considered America's first master scrimshaw artist. He is the earliest known maker of American pictorial scrimshaw yet discovered. Hailing from Nantucket, Burdett created his scrimshaw while serving aboard various whale ships during the 1820s and 1830s. Examples of Burdett's work are extremely rare, probably numbering less than three dozen. His career was cut short in November 1833, when, in close pursuit of a harpooned whale, he became entangled in a whale line and was yanked overboard and drowned. Herman Melville, whose *Moby Dick* character Ahab (who lost his life in the same fashion as Burdett), once owned this piece of Burdett's scrimshaw.

Created circa 1832, less than a year before Burdett's tragic death at age 27, this panbone plaque is distinguished by the painted initials **H** and **M**. Forensic analysis has determined the initials were painted at a later date by a different artist. The provenance of this work has traced it to *Arrowhead*, Melville's home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. It is highly likely that Herman Melville, inked his initials onto this scrimshaw plaque. Melville frequently used just his two initials as his signature and marked many of his personal possessions this way.

After thorough research and authentication by the Scrimshaw Forensics Laboratory, at the Kendall Whaling Museum, Director Dr. Stuart Frank has noted: *Opinions appears to be unanimous. Some of the greatest skeptics, and even the Melville biographers, are now convinced. This is a most extraordinary discovery.*

Additional information regarding the history of this object may be obtained by contacting the **Vallejo Maritime Gallery in Newport Beach**.

90

This portrait was made for export by an unknown Chinese artist. It is the only known painting of a Polynesian in China Trade Art. The objects shown appear to have characteristics from a number of Polynesian (and possibly Micronesian) cultures. The comb appears Samoan, the motifs on the Tapa cloth, Tongan, and the fan, Micronesian. It is possible the objects were provided by the artist in his studio and that he posed the woman with them for the portrait – a common practice seen in many 19th-century studio portraits.



Yee Chong
Chinese Export Portrait of a Polynesian Woman
Oil on canvas
11 x 9 inches • c. 1850
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

91

These seven watercolors are early views of western interaction in Polynesia. The eighth image is a newsprint lithograph showing the French Colony settlement at Papeete. The artist, S.R. Lock was an officer in the Royal Navy believed to have been attached to the French Consulate.



S.R. Lock, RN
Group of 7 watercolors of Tahiti
Watercolors on paper
6 x 9 finches
c.1837
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Maker unknown
Builder's Lift Model of the Whaleship Petrel
Made up of wooden lifts
17 x 66 inches
c. 1853
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

92 The *Petrel*, 350 tons and 107 ft long, was built at Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1853, and owned by Charles H. Gifford and William A. Beard. She was reregistered as a bark in 1864, in New Bedford. She had an active whaling career for almost forty-two years. Her first whaling voyage was in 1853 to the North Pacific under Captain Moses Tucker. Between 1854 and 1880 her primary hunting grounds were in the Indian Ocean. The model is made up of ten carved wooden lifts and is a shipwright's tool used for reproducing the curved lines of a vessel's hull into templates for fabrication.



Benjamin Russell
Ship on the North-West Coast Cutting in her last Whale
Lithograph
16 ¼ x 25 inches
1848
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

93 The hoisting of a right whale's baleen-filled upper jaw creates an interesting and dramatic centerpiece for this narrative portrait. An unusual detail is the porpoise flukes attached to the end of the whaler's jib boom. This was believed to bring the ship good luck, but it may also indicate her last whale and the completion of the voyage. This image also depicts the ship in two views showing successive events, which was a common practice in 19th-century ship portraiture.

William J. Huggins
engraved by Duncan
South Sea Whale Fishery
Aquatint
17 ¼ x 22 ½ inches
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



94 This engraving, by William J. Huggins, depicts the New England whaleships *Amelia Wilson* in the center and *Castor* shown in the distance to the far left. The image illustrates the whaleboats from both ships in the foreground engaged in the perilous task of hunting Sperm whales off the Island of Bouro in the Maluku Islands, Indonesia. Aboard the *Amelia Wilson,* whalers are shown "cutting in" and preparing the blubber for the try works, where it will be boiled down to make whale oil. This engraving was conceived and prepared primarily as an educational media to illustrate the process of whaling.



William John Huggins
engraved by Duncan
South Sea Whale Fishery II
Aquatint
18 x 24 inches
1834
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

95 This informational engraving is a representation of boats attacking a sperm whale and is based on descriptions given by experienced Ship Masters and Officers in the South Sea Fishery.

This location is likely Milford Sound, or one of New Zealand's South Island fjords. The view shows four whaling vessels engaged in the whale harvest in a fjord-like setting. The bark on the left in the painting wears the American ensign and a pennant on her main mast. On the most prominent ship, in the right of the painting, all three topsails are aback. Her spanker is partially brailed and jibs lowered. This vessel also wears the American ensign and has pennants on her fore and main masts. One of her whaleboats is in the water, amidships, still attached to its falls. Close to the ship, in a second whaleboat, a harpooner is poised to strike a whale. Another whale lies on the surface just off the vessel's starboard side. In the foreground, three boat crews are preparing to tow a freshly killed whale back to their ship for rendering.

96



American School
American Whalers in New Zealand
Oil on canvas
14 x 20 inches
c. 1840
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

The angry sperm whale dominating this scene is rather interesting as one of Lebreton's rare attempts at anatomical details. The dorsal hump, snout shape, and blow hole are quite accurate, but the eye is misplaced. Most amusing, though, are the wrinkles. The sperm whale does have wrinkles, but they run horizontally rather than vertically as depicted, and usually occur on the body beyond the eye. Lebreton possibly made notes of wrinkles for later reference, but neglected to specify their direction and placement. The American ship in the background has its flag upside down as a distress signal. She is presumably summoning the crew of the French vessel to help rescue her capsized whalemen.

97



Louis Lebreton
Peche Au Cachalot Sur Les Cotes Du Mexique
(Fishing for Sperm Whale on the Coast of Mexico)
Colored lithograph
14 ½ x 23 ¾ inches
1853
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

This view depicts two whaling barks, hove to in the process of "trying out." The try works, shipboard fireplaces for rendering whale blubber into oil, are fully fired as the crews process a recent catch. Alongside the foreground vessel a whaleman is flensing, or "cutting in," removing the blubber and head portions from the whale carcass in order to try out the oil. A "blanket piece" or sectional strip of blubber is suspended in the cutting tackle and is being hoisted aboard the ship to be cut up and fed into the try pots. A comparison of the two whaleships shows the foreground vessel carries a somewhat more modern split topsail rig, while the more distant ship has a single topsail configuration. On the far right-hand horizon, two, possibly three, additional ships of the whaling fleet are shown. It is worth noting that the whaleboats from both central vessels, which should be visible on the outboard davits, are not present. In normal circumstances the entire crew would be involved in the trying out process. Another interesting historical note is the lack of a "cutting stage," the rectangular platform that surrounds the whale during the flensing process to provide footing for the men cutting in.

98



Julian O. Davidson
North Pacific Whalers Trying Out Oil
Oil on canvas
20 x 16 inches
1891
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

This painting shows a full-rigged ship running downwind in moderate easterly trade winds. She is heading west into the setting sun with a full moon rising in the east. The ship is spreading its full set of working sails, including the port studding sails. The vessel is in close proximity to land as indicated by the Polynesian outrigger canoe in the left foreground with its native passengers observing the passage of the ship. The narrative eloquently portrays the contrast between two maritime cultures. The canoe is of a type most commonly used in Tahiti and the standing figure in the canoe is wearing a *pareu* or *lavalava*. This is a form of dress more commonly associated with males in the South Pacific than Hawaii further north. In Hawaii, the favored male dress was the *malo,* a shorter garment worn tied up between the legs.

99



Joe Duncan Gleason
In Southern Seas
Oil on canvas
24 x 24 inches
c. 1932
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
Baignade II Bather Fan
Pastel, colored crayon, gouache, wash, pencil on paper
4 ½ x 16 inches
1887
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

100 This exquisite gouache relates to *Baignade I*, Gauguin's major oil of 1887, now held at Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes in Buenos Aires. There is also a large preparatory drawing at the Art Institute of Chicago. A sketchbook drawing suggests that Gauguin discovered this motif in Brittany in the summer of 1886. Bathers would become one of the artist's most favored themes, particularly in Tahiti, and this early representation is a clear prototype for the subject. The vivid palette of *Baignade II*, together with its exquisite handling and radically truncated composition, demonstrates clearly Gauguin's evolution from naturalism towards the synthetism of his later years.

Paul Gauguin
Le Chapeau Rouge
(The Red Hat)
Oil on canvas
17 ½ x 20 ⅞ inches
1886
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



101 This painting was possibly inspired by the images of milliner's shops that Degas included in the final Impressionist exhibition in 1886. It was painted during Gauguin's first sojourn to Pont-Aven, although the bold red hat would be more appropriate in Paris or Copenhagen than in rural Brittany. Also, Gauguin's mother supported herself making clothes in Paris during the early 1860s, so the possibility also exists of the subject being a hat shop in the city.



Paul Gauguin
Portrait of Mette Gauguin Sleeping on a Couch
Oil on canvas
9 ⅝ x 12 ⅞ inches
c. 1875
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

102 The manner of the painting and the form of Gauguin's signature date this work to 1875 with some certainty. Paul and Mette Gauguin had just left their three-room flat on the place Saint-Georges, which had proved too small for them after Emil's birth in August The scene in this painting is therefore likely set at 54 rue de Chaillot. This is the first known painting of Mette, whose solid silhouette and fair hair can be recognized. It seems that Mette was somewhat recalcitrant about posing for her husband, and almost all Gauguin's sketches show her asleep. With the earliest surviving paintings by Gauguin dated 1873, this constitutes an example of his very early painting efforts. It is also the first one in which he painted a full figure as the primary subject of the painting.



Paul Gauguin
Les Oies (The Geese)
Oil on canvas
23 ½ x 28 ¾ inches
1889
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

103 This work is extraordinary, even for Gauguin. In it he pushes the frontiers of abstraction and coloration, and the influence of the Japanese style. The painting depicts three geese, two of which are splashing in the rippling water; the third, like Gauguin, is the observer. At the top of the painting is a reflection of a woman dressed in traditional Breton costume. She is separated from the observer by the moat-like water. This figure may well represent Madeleine, Emile Bernard's sister of whom Gauguin was very fond but was unreachable to him, while the other women – the geese – were available. Madeleine often wore Breton clothes, and appeared in other paintings in this costume, including ones painted by both her brother Emil and by Gauguin, who would have deemed it appropriate to represent her in native garb.

104

Gauguin's 1883 landscapes are the first examples of his growing obsession with style. This painting explicitly represents Gauguin's enthusiastic apprenticeship with Pissarro and Cézanne. During his 1883 summertime visit with Pissarro in Osny, a farm community just northwest of Paris, Gauguin devoted himself to rendering classic landscape. The year 1883 was a key turning point for the artist. This painting strongly reflects Gauguin's admiration for Cézanne's breakthrough style in the use of short parallel brush strokes, whose direction differs from one spatial plane to the next: horizontal for the water surface, diagonal for the grass, nearly vertical for the farm building rooftops and criss-crossed for the sky.



Paul Gauguin
La Groue Farm, Osny (The Groue Farm, Osny)
Oil on canvas
15 x 8 ¼ inches
1883
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

105

Fire of Joy is likely a depiction of a fire-related religious ceremony Gauguin could have witnessed near his home at Mataiea. Just beyond the fire pit, in silhouette on the hilltop, is the dark form of a Tahitian temple or marae. Gauguin's fascination with ancient rituals and customs would have led him to investigate any type of activity related to traditional celebrations. This work differs from every other Gauguin painting from Tahiti in the total absence of people, suggesting the picture is an oil sketch made either as a study for another painting, or simply a document of his first experiences in Tahiti.



Paul Gauguin
Feu de Joie (Fire of Joy)
Oil on canvas
12 x 18 inches
c. 1892
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

106

Stable Near Dieppe II belongs to the group of Gauguin's 1885 Dieppe farm paintings. It was exhibited at the 1886 Impressionist Group exhibition, (where Gauguin exhibited a remarkable 19 works!) This is the only painting in the group of which Gauguin created a similar, although smaller version and a slightly larger work as well. Gauguin made this group of interrelated works by taking a sequence of different vantage points to look at the same place from many different angles. His paintings of farm buildings, during his Pont-Aven period, were made in just his way, finding new motifs by observing the same subject repeatedly, always from a different angle.



Paul Gauguin
Stable Near Dieppe II
Oil on canvas
29 ⅛ x 23 ¼ inches
1885
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

107

This painting is based on an important still-life by Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), which Gauguin owned and especially treasured. It represents one of the first examples of Cézanne's artistic influence on Gauguin. As confirmed in this work, Gauguin held the highest admiration for the influential Post Impressionist. By emulating Cézanne, Gauguin established more completion with the structures in his paintings, clearly demonstrating Cézanne connections in composition and brush technique. On the right side of this small still life, Gauguin has inserted the suggestion of a figure, possibly himself, observing the setting.



Paul Gauguin
Nature Morte Au Compotier (Still Life with Fruit Dish)
Watercolor and gouache on silk
6 ½ x 9 x ⅞ inches
1880
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
La Bodeuse (Tehamana as Melancholy Eve)
Watercolor on wove paper
7 ½ x 6 ⅞ inches
c. 1894
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

108 This composition is based on Gauguin's previous oil painting, *Te Faaturama*, also called *La Boudeuse* (*bouder* means pouting or sulking in French). The model is presumably his first Tahitian consort, Tehamana). This watercolor was probably done in France during the twenty-two months, between September 1893 and July 1895, when Gauguin was there before returning permanently to the South Pacific. Gauguin's intent seems to be to portray his Tahitian woman, Tehamana, as the biblical Eve, a theme used in several of his Tahitian paintings. The melancholy Eve represented by the figure could represent Gauguin's perception of Tehamana's state of mind over his departure, or it could be Gauguin's nostalgic melancholic yearning for the Eden that Tahiti represented to him, and from which he was at the time, separated.

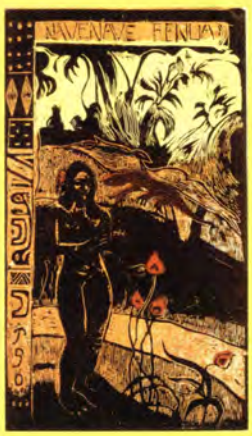
The shape of the watercolor is unusual. A pendentive, in architecture, is the a triangular segment of a spherical surface, filling in the upper corners of a room, in order to form, at the top, a circular support for a dome, and would fill the upper space between two arches. Gauguin's choice of shape was very deliberate. It is clear that he defined the perimeter of the future image with a pencil line before he commenced painting.



Paul Gauguin
Tahitian Woman with Tattooed "A"
Watercolor, Charcoal, Pen & Ink
12 ¼ x ⅞ inches
c. 1892
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

109 Gauguin made the painting of the *Old Tahitian Woman with a Tattooed "A"* to commemorate an event he observed at a Tahitian wedding, and recorded in his book *Noa Noa: Beside the wife of the chief of Pujnaauria sat a hundred-year-old woman, ghastly in her decrepitude, which was accentuated by a double row of well preserved cannibalistic teeth. On her cheek was a tattoo-marking of dark and indecisive form, but suggesting the style of a Latin letter 'A'. In my eyes it spoke for her, and told me her history. This tattooing in no way resembled that of the savages. It was surely put there by a European hand. I made inquiries. Formerly, they told me, the missionaries, zealous against the sin of the flesh, marked certain women with a 'seal of infamy,' a 'signet of hell.' It covered them with shame, not because of the sin committed, but because of the ridicule and opprobrium associated with such a 'mark of distinction.'* This event recalls Nathanial Hawthorne's 1850 allegorical novel, The Scarlet Letter, recounting the story of Hester Prynne, who conceives a child through an adulterous affair and struggles to create a new life of repentance and dignity while marked with the scarlet letter "A".

This work is from among a series of woodcuts and monotypes Gauguin made in late 1894, in Brittany, or after his return to Paris.



Paul Gauguin
printed by Louis Roy
Nave Nave Fenua
(Pleasurable Land)
Woodcut in black heightened by red and gold on wove paper
13 ⅞ x 7 ⅞ inches
1894
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

110 The image of this woman derives from that of Eve, as well as of Venus, Aphrodite, and by association with Asharte (the earth mother goddess from which mankind derived). Gauguin verbally associated the image with Eve in his brush, gouache, and india ink rendering of *Nave Nave Fenua.*

According to the 1851 Tahitian English Dictionary printed by the London Missionary society, "navenave," as they censured its translation, means "pleasurable, delightful." Navenave is simply the Tahitian word for "sexual enjoyment." Since the Dictionary states that "fenua" means "land, country or the earth," the correct title for the image is: *The Land of Sexual Enjoyment*. The sexual association of this image is enhanced by the presence of the "flower" to which the woman is reaching. This is the aphrodisiac plant eryngium (sea holly), denoting luck in love. An alternate title for this work, *Pas Encouter Ii, Ii menteur* (Do not listen to him, he lies) is a direct reference to the advice of the devil represented by the snake-like lizard whispering in the woman's ear. Since there were no snakes in Tahiti, the Christian missionaries told the Tahitians that the Biblical snake in the Garden of Eden was like a lizard without legs.

111

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Paul Gauguin
printed by Pola Gauguin
Nave Nave Fenua
*(*Pleasurable Land*)*
Printed in black on China paper from original woodblock
13 ⅞ x 7 ⅞ inches
c. 1921 (from 1894 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

112

In this very rare woodcut, two impressions of *Oviri* are printed side-by-side on the same sheet. A number of impressions of Gauguin's powerful *Oviri* figure appear on the backs of other prints, illustrating the evolution of the figure over a nearly ten year period from 1894, when he created the initial stoneware sculpture and 1899. On the reverse, is a nocturnal scene of indigenous religious celebration. The left portion of the *Mahana no Varua Ino* print illustrates the story of Oro and Vairumati. The fire is that in which Oro ascended to heaven and is depicted by Gauguin in his book, *Ancien Culte Mahorie*. At center left, are two pairs of couples representing the God and his human wife. This print is also derived from an oil painting of the same subject, which was one of the first oils dealing with the Maori religion which Gauguin painted upon his arrival in Tahiti.



Paul Gauguin printed by Louis Roy
Verso: Oviri (The Savage) / *Recto: Mahna no Varua ino* (The Devil Speaks) Double-sided woodcut in black, yellow, rose and cinnamon, on Japan paper
9 ⅞ x 15 ⅝ inches • 1893-94
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

113

...I used to go sometimes on Tuesdays to the house of that admirable man and poet, Stephane Mallarmé. On one of these Tuesdays they were talking about the Commune, and I talked about it also.... Paul Gauguin and Symbolism poet Stéphane Mallarmé were strong mutual admirers. This is the earliest and one of the only works by Gauguin using the eau-fort method of etching which uses nitric acid to etch the plate, simulating the more expensive etchings, but less expensive to produce. On one of the few prints made from this portrait, Gauguin wrote: *To the poet Mallarmé / Testimony of great admiration / Paul Gauguin."* In the etching, next to Mallarmé's head is a raven. In 1875, Mallarmé was responsible for the translation of Edgar Allan Poe's iconic poem *The Raven*.



Paul Gauguin
Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé
Etching on copper with drypoint and engraving on laid paper
7 ⅛ " x 5 ⅝"
1891
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
published by *L'Epreuve album d'art*
Deux Femmes Maories
(Two Maori Women)
Lithograph on imitation
cream Japon paper
6 3/8 x 8 inches

114 This work was published as an original zincograph print by *L'Epreuve* in February and March of 1895, while Gauguin was in Paris. It is from an original Gauguin drawing.



Paul Gauguin
Manao Tupapau (Spirit of the Dead)
Lithograph in black
on white wove paper
7 x 10 ⅝ inches
1894
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

115 Gauguin considered the painting from which this lithograph derives to be the most important work of his first Tahitian stay. The painting began as a study of a Polynesian nude shown naked on a bed. Because Gauguin wanted to avoid any charge of indecency and instead render the "Kanaka spirit, its character and its tradition," he chose certain accessories (such as the pareu on the bed) as well as a theme that could justify the motif, "the spirit of a living girl linked with the spirit of Death....night and day." Since allusions to sex had to be avoided, the reason for the woman's position must be fear, experienced in the night, and therefore fear of *Tupapa'u*, Spirit of the Dead.

Gauguin created the stone lithograph for this print, which was executed in Paris in 1894. It was issued in a signed and numbered edition of 100 copies, of which this print is number 82



Paul Gauguin
Tete de fille des iles Marquises
(Head of Marquesan Woman)
Monotype transfer drawing
5 ¼ x 4 ½ inches
c.1902-1903
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

116 *Head of a Marquesan Woman* probably belongs to the last batch of monotypes created by Gauguin with the dessin-empriente technique. In the final years of his life, Gauguin experimented with transfer drawings, a form of monotype print. The artist once described the technique to create a "dessinempreinte" (transfer print) to his patron, Gustave Fayet: *Place a finished drawing (with the image facing up), on top of another sheet covered with printing ink, then use a pencil or crayon to retrace the drawing with force, so that the back of the top sheet will soak up the still wet ink on the bottom sheet. In this way, a 'desin-empreinte,' a mirror image of the original drawing will appear on the reverse side of the drawing.* This is one of Gauguin's smallest monotypes, and one of only about half a dozen printed drawings devoted to a close-up image of a head. It is also one of the few of the artist's surviving monotypes that appears to have been trimmed down from a larger work.

117

The right side of this print is a reworking of the original *Oviri* woodcut; the first *Oviri* woodblock cracked in Paris and Gauguin took it with him back to Tahiti where he made this print. First, Gauguin radically reduced the size and shape of the *Oviri* block and added additional content including the tree trunk and the foliage to the left of *Oviri*'s head, rethinking this area of the image entirely. He also reworked the straight line on the left of the original *Oviri* image, and then carved the original uncarved block to the left of the *Oviri* image, showing the woman picking grapefruits and additional subject matter. It would seem clear that Gauguin has created a new work with an enriched narrative and a more complex composition. Gauguin's reuse of the *Oviri* block is an example of his inventive thought and a tribute to his daring.



Paul Gauguin
Femme cueillant des Fruits et Oviri (Woman Picking Breadfruit) and the Savage)
Woodcut in black on Japon paper
4 ½ x 3 ½ inches
1896-97
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

118

This image was printed by Gauguin from a woodcut generally attributed to his second stay in Tahiti. However, many stylistic attributes suggest it may have been made in the Marquesas after October 1901. The work embodies a complex of symbolic elements representing the Gods of many religions in comprehensive unity. To emphasize this concept, Gauguin has used the Tahitian singular – *Atua* in his title – one deity represented in various forms.



Paul Gauguin
Te Atua (The God)
Woodcut on thin Japon paper
9 ½ x 8 ⅛ inches
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

119

The originality and frankness of Gauguin's style is readily apparent in this woodcut. Departing from the standard of employing light areas for figure and dark areas for ground, Gauguin switched to the exact opposite, creating an expressive effect of coarseness and mystery. Derived from two previous compositions *What, are you Jealous* (1892) and *Near The Sea* (1892), *Auti te pape* shows Gauguin's expert use of his carving tools and an obvious familiarity with European, Asian and Oceanic carving techniques.



Paul Gauguin printed by Pola Gauguin
Auti te pape (By the River)
Woodcut in black on China paper
8 x 14 inches
1893-94
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

120

The woodcut block from which this print was made was carved by Paul Gauguin during 1893-1894 as a part of the series of prints that he intended to use as illustrations for his book *Noa Noa*. Gauguin personally made about 12-15 prints from the woodblock as he developed it. When development was finished, he collaborated with the Parisian printer Louis Roy in the spring and Summer of 1894, for an edition of approximately 25 to 30 prints on heavy "**Japon**" paper. This example is from the Roy series. In this composition, Gauguin has incorporated images illustrating Polynesian and other creation myths. The image of the male and female figures describes the legend of the god Roua Hatou who started a flood (because he was angered by human behavior): *a fisherman and his family, taking refuge on the islet of Toa Marama were the only survivors*. Gauguin has emphasized the universality of mythical beliefs based on the similarity of this Polynesian flood myth with the Biblical story of Noah's flood.



Paul Gauguin printed by Louis Roy
L' Universe est Cre'e' (The Universe is Created)
Woodcut on heavy Japon paper
8 ⅛ x 14 1⁄16 inches
1893-94
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
Changement de Résidence
(Change of Residence)
Woodcut in ochre on thin Japon paper
6 7/16 x 11 7/8 inches
1899
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

121 This is one of a group of 14 woodcuts made by Gauguin during his second period in Tahiti. In this series, Gauguin developed a unique double printing method by first using the carved block to print the image in color, usually dark grey or, as in this example, ochre. He then re-cut the block, allowing more light areas to show and printed the image again in black or dark grey on thin Japon tissue paper. The second print was pasted over the first to produce a desired shadow effect. This example of *Changement de Résidence* shows only the initial ochre color print not having gone through the subsequent printing and pasting process.



Paul Gauguin printed by Pola Gauguin
Mahana Atua
(Day of the God)
Woodcut in black on China paper
7 1/8 x 7 3/4 inches
1894-1895
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

122 Despite its small size, this print was made from six woodcut plates carved by Gauguin from boxwood. It is a derivative of Gauguin's oil painting of the same name created in 1894. The carving technique expresses powerful and robust shapes with strong contrasts rather than Gauguin's usual emphasis on delicate details. Rich in cultural and religious symbolism, *Mahana Atua* extracts from many of Gauguin's recurring themes to create a fascinating tableau of his Tahitian experience.



Paul Gauguin
First issue of *Le Sourire*
(The Smile)
Edison mimeograph
14 x 9 1/2 inches
1899
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

123 To enable himself to denounce and to lash out against the corrupt practices on the island, caused mainly by the French colonial administration, Gauguin decided to publish his own newspaper. Previously, he had contributed articles for the local satirical newspaper *'Les Guepes*. He named his new publication *Le Sourire,* issues 1 to 4 bear the subtitle: *journal serieux; t*he issues 5 to 7 are *journal mecnant* and issues 8 and 9 are without subtitles. The size of the newspaper was approximately 36 x 24 cm. Each issue consisted of 4 to 6 pages of manually written text on a stencil (sometimes drawings were added) and was duplicated by way of a copy machine; "Mimeograph Edison." The number of copies printed was originally about thirty. From the second issue onward woodcuts also appeared (19 September 1899), they were printed directly on the paper. Gauguin created in all 18 different woodcuts for this newspaper, but not all were used for the whole edition. Some of the title woodcuts only appear on one or two copies. The publication was planned to be published weekly, but finally appeared only monthly. The first issue appeared in August 1899, the last in April 1900. Financial difficulties, illness, hospitalization and the move to Hiva-Oa, in the Marquesas, brought an end to the publication.



Paul Gauguin
Vase Troi Bretonnes
(Vase with Three Breton Women)
Glazed stoneware with colored slip
8 1/4 x 6 1/2 inches
1887
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

124 This vase bears a motif featuring small Breton girls with arms raised that is the main decorative element in several other Gauguin vases. It was made in the winter of 1886-1887 and appears in several sketches for ceramics executed by Gauguin during the same period. A frieze of three Breton girls in blue skirts, with gold touches, is adapted to the base. An example of Gauguin's religious iconography emerges when the vase is inverted. The form of one Breton girl figure is transformed into a Chalice with what appears to be a "spiritual ether" escaping at the top.

125

This is one of only a few stoneware sculptures made by Gauguin while in Paris in 1893-95. It recalls the Peruvian-inspired ceramics of his pre-Tahiti period. It also recalls the fetish skulls of the South Pacific Islands. It is also reminiscent of works by Redon. This jar, like *Oviri,* was associated with the savage in Gauguin's mind. At the time Gauguin presented the pot to Madeleine Bernard he stated: *It represents vaguely a head of Gauguin the Savage*.



Paul Gauguin
Grimacing Gargoyle Pot
Glazed Stoneware
8 ⅛ inches
c. 1895
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

126

This vase likely dates to the winter of 1887-1888, immediately after Gauguin returned from Martinique, but based on the style, perhaps as late as 1890. The vase itself was thrown by Ernest Chaplet (1835-1909), and is marked on the bottom with his stamp, and subsequently incised and glazed by Gauguin. A broad belt across the vase is covered with white slip (which, however, seems afterwards to have been stippled with an ochre glaze), and the decoration, by Gauguin, has been engraved in the slip, and then painted with glaze colors depicting stalks spreading luxuriantly over the surface with leaves, buds, and nearly full-blown flowers. There are also clusters of fruit, perhaps grapes, and a couple of geese drawn ornamentally in a flowing contour.



Paul Gauguin
Vase Decorated with Geese and Foliage
Glazed Stoneware
9 ½ x 12 inches
c. 1888
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

127

The form of this vase is a marked evolution over anything Gauguin produced prior to his trip to Martinique, yet it preserves characteristics of his earlier works in which a pot is decorated with figures. This work continues Gauguin's older style, yet the glaze is characteristic of a number of his later works. Gauguin experimented on several occasions with variations on the bathing theme, a trend that became most abundant during his time in Brittany and continued with his later works in Tahiti.



Paul Gauguin
Vase Decore Avec Une Baigneuse Sous Les Arbres
(Vase with Bather)
Glaze Stoneware
7 ½ x 5 inches
c. 1888
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

128

Although at one time erroneously identified as Gauguin's "Death Mask," this acrylic casting should more accurately be considered a stylized self-portrait. The mask was made from an original terra cotta mask created by Gauguin around 1894 and is related to the Christ and Christ-like faces found in numerous other works by Gauguin created during the same period. It is indicative of Gauguin's inclination to envision and portray himself as Christ.



Paul Gauguin
cast by unknown
Self-Portrait Mask as Christ
Acrylic Casting after
Terra Cotta original
10 ¾ x 9 inches
c. 1960 (from 1894 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

129

Cylinder with Christ has been singled out as one of the richest examples of Gauguin's carving, as well as one of the best examples of his primitivism. Gauguin integrated both Western and Pacific island motifs into this piece using decorations from Marquesan club heads, fragments of indecipherable script and a standing male idol from Easter Island, integrated with the undraped figure of the crucified Christ.



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
Stele au Christ (Cylinder with Christ)
Bronze casting from
carved toa wood original
19 ½ x 6 ¼ inches
1970 c. (from 1893 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Pot in the Shape of a Gourd
Bronze Casting from
glazed stoneware original
c. 1960 (from 1887 original))
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

130 Gauguin described his ceramics as "ceramic sculpture." The original from which this bronze was cast, coffee-colored stoneware decorated with colored slip, dark-green glaze and touches of gold, was number 80 in the sequence of Gauguin's ceramic productions. When the pot is inverted, its shape resembles a human heart, suggesting the female image may have been a romantic interest of Gauguin's while the artist was in Martinique. The shape of the pot may also have been suggested by the pre-Colombian stirrup-handled type pots of Chicama Valley, Peru.



Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Luxure (Lust)
Bronze from
carved oakwood original
27 ½ x 6 inches
c. 1960 (from 1890 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

131 Originally executed in stoneware, the evolution of this work is particularly complicated. In an 1890 letter to his friend Emile Bernard, Gauguin explained how he unfortunately had broken this sculpture. Gauguin concluded the letter by commenting that, in its broken state, the statue gave no idea of the movement of the legs that he had sought to capture. Gauguin replaced the clay figure with a wood version carved from a small beam. Rather than attempt to recapture the original, Gauguin copied exactly the damaged clay version, replicating the omission of the lost left leg. It was this carved version that was eventually cast in an edition of twelve by Valsuani.



Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Pot with Schuffenecker's Daughter and Breton Cross/Kite
Bronze Casting
from glazed
stoneware original
8 ¼ x 6 ¼ inches
c. 1968 (from 1887 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

132 The features of the girl (near the top of this piece) are somewhat blurred by the glaze, but the figure is believed to be the daughter of Gauguin's good friend Emil Schuffenecker. Her head is seen against the form of a child's kite that also takes the form of a small Breton Cross, probably the first cross to appear in Gauguin's art. Its position appears to give the girl a halo. The Breton Cross predates Christianity, originating in Celtic practices. The combined circle and cross refer to male and female powers joined, and thus to fertility.



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
Hina
Bronze casting from
original wood carving
14 x 5 inches
c. 1959 from 1892 original
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

133 *Hina* is the name of several different goddesses and women in Polynesian mythology. In some traditions, the trickster and culture hero Maui has a wife named *Hina*, as do the gods Tane and Tangaroa. *Hina* is often associated with the moon and with death.



Paul Gauguin
Self-Portrait *Oviri*
(The Savage)
Bronze casting from
plaster original
14 x 13 ¼ inches
c. 1926 (from
1895 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

134 This casting was conceived in plaster by Gauguin circa 1894. The date of the bronze is not known, but it was probably cast in the 1920's from the now lost plaster model owned by Émile Schuffenecker. Only a few other casts from this plaster are known. Gauguin created his plaster self-portrait using a double mirror, which allowed him to capture his famous Inca profile. This is one of the earliest occasions on which Gauguin applied the Tahitian word "oviri" (savage) to himself. The word later became a kind of battle cry for him.

135

One of Gauguin's first ambitions when he arrived in Tahiti was to study the island's ancient sculpture. Upon learning that none survived, Gauguin began making his own imaginary versions based on a wide variety of sources. A now lost drawing that shows the top section of this savage sculpture accompanied the piece at the prestigious Durand-Ruel Gallery exhibition in 1893. It identified the figures as *Fatou*, the earth genie and his mother *Hina*, goddess of the moon. On the opposite side of the sculpture, Gauguin carved *Hina* again, but now with her consort Taaroa, the supreme god of the Universe.



Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Hina et Te Fatou
(Hina and Fatou)
Bronze casting
from carved Tamanu
wood original
12 ¾ x 5 ¼ inches
c. 1960 (from 1892 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

136

It has been traditionally assumed that Gauguin modeled this Polynesian-like figure in Tahiti. However, virtually all of Gauguin's raw clay sculpture disintegrated in the island's tropical climate. It is more likely that Gauguin executed this figure while back in France around 1894. A pencil drawing of a seated nude appears to be the progenitor of this figure. Gauguin's reuse of similar faces during his return to France, after his first Tahitian trip, would support the 1894 date for the creation of the original of this statue.



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
Torse d'une Femme
(Torso of a Woman)
Bronze casting from
unfired clay original
11 ⅞ x 6 inches
c. 1954 (from 1894 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

137

Compared to some of the more dramatic ceramic sculptures Gauguin created, *Eve* is more traditional in appearance, revealing Gauguin's more classical technique. The original was modeled in red clay, thinly covered with a dark brown iron glaze whose color and "half-mat" surface is reminiscent of bronze, imitating the look of Renaissance bronze statuettes. Gauguin selected *Eve* as one of six works to send to Brussels, in February 1891, for the famous *Les XX* exhibition where he was showcased solely as a sculpture artist.



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
Standing Nude Woman
Bronze casting from ceramic original
23 ⅝ inches (h)
1880
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

138

This work was inspired by Stéphane Mallarmé's poem of the same name. Gauguin gave this work to Mallarmé in exchange for a copy of the author's book. The association of sexual activity with the content of the poem is most appropriate. Gauguin incorporated several small figures into the design, which may represent references in Mallarme's poem. The poem also inspired Debussy's 1894 tone poem of the same name. The music then inspired Vaslov Nijinsky's famous 1912 ballet. The three main figures and much of the decorative motif are influenced by Gauguin's Polynesian designs and several elements reflecting eastern Buddhism are also incorporated. Since the original carving is made of Tahitian Tahamanu wood, it would appear to have been made in Tahiti. The initialed "P.G.O." signature on the top is also typical of the Tahitian cylinders.



Paul Gauguin cast by Valsuani
L'Après-midi d'un Faune
(Afternoon of a Faun)
Bronze casting from carved
Tamanu wood original
13 ½ x 5 ½ x 5 ½ inches
1892
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Bust of Madame Louise Schuffenecker
Bronze casting from plaster original
17 ⅓ inches (H)
1960 from 1890 plaster original
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



139 When Gauguin returned from Martinique he was ill and impoverished, and his friend Emil Schuffenecker took him into his home and supported and cared for him. This handsome bust is of Madame Louise Schuffenecker, Emil's pretty and intelligent wife, whom Gauguin thought to be one of the few women he could speak straightforwardly to without being either profound or involved. This is an excellent example of Gauguin working in a conventional mode of portraiture.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Jardinière with Bretonne (Sheep and Tree)
Bronze casting from stoneware original
5 ¼ x 6 inches
c. 1968 (from 1886 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



140 The original ceramic for this work is reddish-brown stoneware, parts of which were left unglazed and other parts covered with a white, blue or green slip, or covered with a yellow glaze. It was made in Paris in the winter of 1886-87, after Gauguin's first season in Brittany. After firing, some details were painted in gold and also appear in Gauguin's painting, *Le Bergere Bretonne,* dated 1886. The view itself is most similar to Gauguin's painting *La Maison Isolee,* which was painted in 1889. The style of the ceramic anticipated by several years Gauguin's more mature style. The use of the rectangular design to provide the perspective of distance is most inventive.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Umete (Tahitian food dish)
Bronze casting from carved Tamanu wood original
35 x 14 ⅛ inches
c. 1959 (from 1891 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



141 Gauguin's original dish for popoi (a paste/pudding made from breadfruit) was carved in Tamanu wood, the preferred material for Polynesian platters and bowls. It was, in fact, an original native dish, or Umete, which Gauguin procured and subsequently carved in relief with a strikingly decorative ensemble of fish that he painted in bright colors. This umete dates to Gauguin's first Tahitian voyage and was owned by his fellow-artist and friend, Daniel de Monfried. It is now in the Gauguin Museum in Tahiti.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Mask of Tehamana
Bronze casting from carved pua wood original
7 ⅞ x 12 ¾ inches
c. 1959 (from 1892 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



142 This two-sided sculpture shows the face of Tehamana, the roughly thirteen-year-old vahine, who lived with Gauguin during his first sojourn to Tahiti and was the subject in several of his Tahiti works. The Tahitian practice of having a flower behind the left ear, as in this sculpture, means that one is committed and not available. The reverse of the sculpture shows the figure of a standing nude woman reaching towards a plant as if to identify herself with Eve at the moment of temptation in paradise. This dual rendering expresses the two different artists Gauguin recognized in himself – one civilized and one savage.



143

This doll-sized figure is a bronze version with slight differences from Gauguin's original carving *Dame en Promenade*. This sculpture was also released in plaster and in terracotta versions. A wax replica of the original wood carving came into the possession of art dealer Ambroise Vollard, from whom collectors eventually acquired plaster and bronze versions. Vollard had been acquiring works by Gauguin since 1892, many of which appeared later as castings, issued in small posthumous editions.

Paul Gauguin
La Petite Parisienne
(The Little Parisian)
Bronze version
10 ½ inches H
c. 1960 (from
1880 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



144

The original 1894 ceramic was the larges ceramic work and also the last that Gauguin completed. The style and subject are quite unusual. The *Oviri* figure is one of the most symbolically complex of all of Gauguin's carvings or ceramics. Overtly the shape of the figure is that of a Hindu goddess, or dancer, and the face derives from Tehamana, Gauguin's primary consort during his first Tahiti trip. It can be related to numerous Gauguin paintings and prints and was discussed by the artist in several letters. In Paris, the statue was not well received initially and failed to find a buyer, even though Gauguin referred to the work as "the best thing of mine" and requested in 1900 that it be sent to Tahiti to decorate his garden and eventually be placed on his tomb. A cast of *Oviri* was finally placed on Gauguin's grave in 1973.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Oviri (Savage)
Bronze casting from
ceramic original
29 ½ x 7 ½ inches
c. 1959 (from
1894 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



145

Idol with a Shell is one of Gauguin's earliest Tahitian carvings. This sculpture is sometimes related to Gauguin's Vairaumati paintings. Vairaumati is the name of a mythic earth mother of Tahitian legend. With the God Oro as father, she was the Tahitian Eve, who gave birth to the entire island race. The deity has also been identified as Taaroa, the Tahitian creator of the Universe. The idol is posed like the Buddha as seen in images Gauguin owned of Southeast Asian art. The anatomy and costume are covered with Marquesan motif transposing the Buddha into a Polynesian spirit.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Idole à la Cocquille
(Idol with a Shell)
Bronze casting with
pearl shell from
carved ironwood original
13 ¾ x 5 ⅜ inches
c. 1959 (from 1892 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

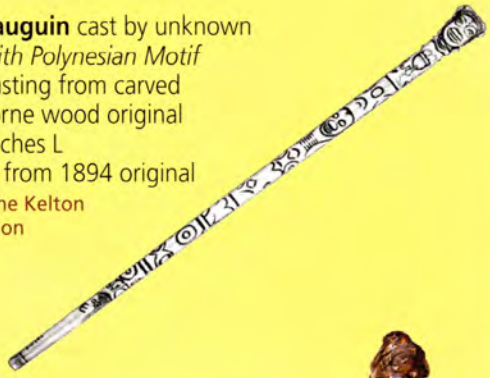


146

The original of this cylinder was carved by Gauguin in Tahiti during the winter of 1892-1893 about the time of Tehamana's pregnancy, or when she gave birth to a child. The seated figure appears in the wood cut *Te Atua*. In *Idol with a Pearl*, Gauguin represents the birth, in the squatting Tahitian manner, of a Buddha-like child. The plaster cast of *Idole a la Perle* was made by Gustave Fayet and Daniel de Monfreid about 1900, while Gauguin was still alive and living in Polynesia. It is one of the earliest duplicates made of any of Gauguin's carvings.

Paul Gauguin
cast by Valsuani
Idole à la perle
(Idol with a Pearl)
Bronze casting from
Tamanu wood original
9 ¼ x 5 inches
c. 1959 (from
1893 original)
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

Paul Gauguin cast by unknown
Cane with Polynesian Motif
Silver casting from carved
Hawthorne wood original
33 ⅞ inches L
c. 1960 from 1894 original
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



147 The original cane was made between the first and the second voyage of Paul Gauguin to Tahiti. On the pommel of the cane is a version of the *Hina* goddess who presents two faces. The remainder of the cane is decorated with Tiki heads of the Marquesas Islands.



Paul Gauguin
Dame en Promenade
(Woman on
a Promenade)
Carved Tropical
Laurel wood
(Terminalia)
9 ½ inches H
1880
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

148 This is one of the two first wooden carvings known to have been made by Gauguin and stands at the threshold of the artist's entry into the world of symbolism. He first presented *Dame en Promenade* at the sixth Impressionist group exhibition in 1881. A sketch attributed to Pissarro, of Gauguin carving this wooden piece, establishes the fact that the carving was likely done in the countryside as a successor to a wax version that was likely executed in Paris. Thus it stands between the city life Gauguin was to reject and the less "civilized" environments he was to favor later in life. This is also exemplified by the roughness of the wooden carving compared to the finish of the wax version, and the fact that he chose the rougher more symbolic wooden statue to exhibit. Gauguin's figure presents a woman dressed in the latest 1880 fashion, emphasizing the Impressionist commitment to art based on the prosaic facts of contemporary life.



Paul Gauguin
Les Cygnes (The Swans)
Polychrome Oakwood relief carving
7 ¾ x 12 ⅞ inches
c. 1889-90
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

149 While in Brittany, during the summer of 1889, woodcarving had again become one of Gauguin's primary creative activities. Relief sculpture in the nineteenth century was primarily created for decorative purposes, and so all of the wood-relief panels made by Gauguin were likely conceived as possible panel inserts for furniture. This painted oak relief depicting three swans leisurely playing in the water was probably made by Gauguin at Le Pouldu around 1890. Notable is how broadly he carved the ripples of the stream where the birds swim, taking advantage of the wood grain as if he were carving bold impressionist brushstrokes as for a painting. To preserve the natural texture of the wood, Gauguin polished it after applying the paint, so that the color appears to be natural instead of being added to the surface.



Paul Gauguin
Roi la Furie / Epave Humaine
(King of Passion / Wrecked Human)
Wood carving
11 ½ inches H
1887
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

150 Superficially, this work is a modest-sized wood carving of an emaciated person. Symbolically, it actually represents Christ, Gauguin himself and the Buddha. This statue, like many of Gauguin's works is autobiographical. Gauguin's self-association with Christ was frequent in his writing. On his trip to Panama and Martinique, Gauguin had become severely ill. He returned to France emaciated and destitute. In creating this statue Gauguin was most likely symbolically identifying himself with the image of the crucified, entombed Christ, who had undergone his suffering and was awaiting his resurrection. The statue's title relates Gauguin's personal sufferings to the passion of Christ. Gauguin also imbued *Roi la Furie* with attributes of the ascetic Sakyamunik Buddha-style.

151

This remarkable box sculpture has enormous implications for the genesis of Symbolism as a priority in Gauguin's art. It has been referred to as "the most bizarre work Gauguin ever made," and is, in fact, one of the most intellectually complex works he produced during his lifetime. The box was given to his wife Mette, passionately explaining in symbolic terms, his anguish, martyrdom and overwhelming need to resurrect his artistic life. Possibly being too experimental or too personal, it was never exhibited during Gauguin's lifetime. In fact, it was never publicly exhibited until 1988.

Gauguin scholars have presented diverse interpretations regarding the meaning of the carvings on the box. Several agree that one of the most plausible meanings is a portrayal of the contrast between worldly pleasures and mortality, and most recently an interpretation by Richard Kelton provides strong evidence for imbedded symbolism depicting the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.



Paul Gauguin
Resurrection
Sarcophagus-like Casket
Pear wood carving with
2 inlaid netsukes and leather inserts
8 ½ x 20 ¼ inches
c. 1884
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

152

This Inrō is a traditional Japanese case for holding small objects. Because traditional Japanese garb lacked pockets, objects were often carried by hanging them from the obi, or sash. The netsuke mask on this example is a very unusual take-off on Hotei, one of the 7 lucky gods. It is a very stylized and unique Hotei, not the standard. The original Hotei was a Chinese Buddhist priest of the Liang dynasty (503-577), but the Hotei depicted in the netsuke is the god of happiness and the most popular of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune. He can be recognized by his jolly expression, huge belly and his sack of "precious things" (which often contains either children or himself). Children are his frequent companions.



Unknown
Japanese artisan
Four Case Gold Lacquer
Inrō with Netsuke
Lacquered wood carving
3 ½ inches
c. 1870
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

153

Netsuke are miniature sculptures that were invented in 17th-century Japan to serve a practical function. Traditional Japanese garments had no pockets, however, men who wore them needed a place to store their personal belongings, such as pipes, tobacco, money, seals, or medicines. Their solution was to place such objects in containers hung by cords from the robes' sashes. The fastener that secured the cord at the top of the sash was a carved, button-like toggle called a netsuke.



Unknown
Japanese artisan
Japanese Netsuke
with Kyogen
and Noh Masks
(including Okame)
Wood carving
2 x 2 inches
c. 1870
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

154

Traditional Noh masks are superb works of art, most of which are still treasured by theatrical troupes or are in the collections of museums. As impressive as the full-sized masks are in person, the netsuke masks are even more so. The netsuke artists have been able to convey the same dramatic character in a carving that is less than 2" tall and occupies only 1/16 the area of the full-sized mask. The masks were also worn by dancers in the many non-Noh theater festivals in Japan. Someone who is shy might put on the Okame mask and let their inhibitions go while dancing and singing in their Okame disguise



Signed: **Shuzan**
Japanese Netsuke
Okame Mask
Wood carving
2 ⅜ x 1 ¾ inchess
c. 1879
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



Paul Gauguin
Narcissus Fan Handle
Carved and painted wood
11 x 1 ½ inches
1885
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation

155 This fan handle was crafted by Gauguin while he was in Denmark during 1885, at about the same time he created the Sarcophagus Box. His artistic inspiration obviously came from the same source. The dancer figure on the fan is the same as the most prominent dancer figure on the Sarcophagus Box, and the one Gauguin used to represent Mary Magdalene at the entrance to the tomb. Symbolic of both Springtime and the Resurrection, Gauguin has carved a brown narcissus bulb at the bottom of the handle, the green leaves are those of the narcissus, and its blossoms are at the top of the handle. Worked into the narcissus design is a male figure, in profile, whose head appears at the upper left of the design and whose arms, body and leg extend. This object is the earliest surviving example of Gauguin's predilection for giving decorative enhancement to small utilitarian objects, whether his own shoes or his cane.

Attributed to Paul Gauguin
Nave Nave Faruru (Pleasurable Lovemaking)
Wood carving
14 x 15 inches
1892
© 2011 The Kelton Foundation



156 One of the most important spiritual treasures Gauguin found in Tahiti was the amorous epic. The love-making subject of this sculpture is based on the Polynesian myth of the war god Oro and his mortal wife Vairumati. According to the legend, Oro descends to the world through a rainbow path and enters Vairumatis's bedroom to consummate their marriage. As well as touching on love between mythical figures, the sculpture also reflects the sexual pleasure Gauguin was experiencing in real life with his principal Tahitian consort, Tehamana.

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Painting by Niles Nordquist

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Oil on canvas created on
Cook's 2nd Voyage of Discovery
19 ¾ x 25 ¼ inches
c. 1775
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William J. Huggins
South Sea Whale Fishery
Aquatint on paper
17 ¼ x 22 ½ inches
1825
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Hina
Bronze casting from
original wood carving
14 x 5 inches
c. 1959 from 1892 original
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