CHAPTER SIX

JEAN CHARLOT'S FIJIAN FRESCOES: A VISION AND A VISUAL LANGUAGE

> *[T]he painted walls they mean as a message for the many shall belatedly be looked at by the many and haloed that these murals shall be with what respect recession in time alone procures, that the message they contain will be at last be understood*.
> Jean Charlot.[324]

Jean Charlot's interest in pilgrimage centers can be traced back to his stay in Brittany, France. It was in Mexico, however, that Charlot participated in his own pilgrimages, and there is ample evidence that he formed a parallel in his own mind between his earlier experiences in Mexico and his Fijian experience. Typically, a pilgrimage involves a distinctive type of spiritual journey to a sacred place as an act of religious devotion. In Fiji, the long journey to Naiserelagi, the site of Charlot's Fijian frescoes, requires a good deal of effort on the part of any visitor. The area surrounding Naiserelagi and the nearby Nakauvadra mountains has long been held as an area sacred to Fijian religion. Today, the village is known as the site of the Catholic Church with the paintings of the Fijian Black Christ. The sacred and historic significance, the natural beauty, and isolated locale provided inspiration for Charlot to create his murals as the focal point of an artistic pilgrimage center deep in the heart of the Pacific Islands. Charlot's predominant narrative theme in the Fijian frescoes, the message encoded in the paintings, is one that unified a multicultural community into a universal community in Christ.

The subject matter of Charlot's Fijian frescoes can be linked to changes that were taking place in the Catholic Church, particularly in relation to the opening of the Second Vatican Council. The Council was opened under Pope John XXIII in 1962 and

advocated the unity of the whole human race, as well as addressing a variety of significant issues that related specifically to mission lands. Significantly, changes brought about by Vatican II included the incorporation of elements of local/native ritual, sacred art objects, language, and music into Catholic worship.[325] These changes created an atmosphere whereby Wasner's commission of the frescoes was in keeping with the Catholic Church's mission, and Charlot was granted further license to incorporate legitimately indigenous objects and symbols within the confines of Church doctrine. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that Charlot accepted and viewed the Fijian commission from a religious position, as a "missionary" duty. This explanation is too simplistic, however, and fails to recognize that by the early 1960s Charlot was a naturalized United States citizen, which by nature signifies two simultaneous beliefs, "one nation under god," as well as "the separation of church and state." It would be a mistake, therefore, to underestimate Charlot's ability to complete the Fijian frescoes from a religious point of view, to satisfy church doctorine, as well as to make additional statements meaningful in other social and political contexts.

Charlot utilized a variety of technical and formal means to express his message of Catholicism as "universal" through his creation of a visual language, an aesthetic system composed of signs, as icons and symbols. In his Fijian frescoes, he adapted his visual language to present his artistic vision, which, as a whole, communicated the thematic narrative reinforced by the symbolism of the individual motifs. Charlot created individual index-signs, formal elements, that combined to form visual signs, icons and symbols, a visual narrative between both the artist and audience of perceivers. In any artwork, the intention of the artist determines both the topic and the presentation of the narrative created at a particular moment in time, while the perceivers/audience are then open to interpret the narrative beyond those intended by the artist in a dialectical relationship to the artwork that is ongoing in time.[326]

The perceivers can be broadly considered as existing on local, regional, national and international levels, composed of three major cultural/ethnic groups, indigenous Fijian, Indo-Fijian laborers and European expatriates, combined with a variety of transient multicultural tourists. The immediate local area of the mission is populated

primarily by Fijian Catholics, while the provincial area of the Ra District is heavily populated by Fijian Methodists and Indo-Fijian cane farmers. Very few British expatriates or others of European descent reside in Ra District today, although they do contribute to a much larger demographic of national visitors and represent the majority of international visitors to the mission. Upon arriving in Fiji, Charlot would quickly have grasped an idea of who his major audience would be on all three levels: local, national and international. Being cognizant of these three levels, and the three ethnic/cultural groups that were the demographic majority that comprised them, Charlot developed a tri-cultural approach to the semantic structure of his visual signs in Fiji, directed towards his primary geographic and cultural audiences.

In reading the narrative of Charlot's Fijian frescoes meanings are manifested with both clarity and ambiguity, as is also true of his other art. For example, in the Fijian triptych, while the Christ panel is always central, the rest of the narrative may be viewed from left to right, as in the Fijian and European practice, or it may be viewed from right to left, as in the Indo-Fijian practice. At the same time, he presented an ambiguous interpretation of "catholicism" in the universal sense of the word by emphasizing general themes of humanity, such as birth, life, death, divine creation, procreation, labor, sacrifice, ceremony, and art. These themes were addressed in his Fijian triptych, where Charlot used single gestures and objects to suggest entire rituals pertaining to worship for Christians, Fijians and Indo-Fijians. The figures in the frescoes are positioned and accompanied by appropriate icons to suggest the activities of labor, sacrifice and ceremony, all dedicated to God. As individual figures, the figures of the two side panels, Fijian and Indo-Fijian, are presented with a strong vertical emphasis, as they approach Christ in a horizontal procession. In an article published in the Fiji Times, Thursday, 2 October 1962, Charlot revealed his intentions to render his symbolism within the framework of the Catholic Church but drawing individual motifs from the visual iconography of traditional Fijian ritual, "The lower part of the middle panel, the sacrifice of the mass, would be another motif linked to the crucifixion and the Sacred Heart."[327] By this he presumably referred to the stylized, heart-shaped leaves of the *yaqona* plant and/or to the *yaqona* drink offering in the *tanoa* bowl.

In the first part of this chapter, I offer a visual analysis of the Fijian frescoes, exploring the meaning of Charlot's visual language. Charlot represented his understanding of the universe in a microcosm whose semantics or artistic structure is composed of icon- and symbol-signs. As part of my investigation, I examine the relationship of the thing signified to the signifier, the relationship of the artist with the art object. This relationship was established during a particular historic moment, thus it is a fixed relationship; in other words, Charlot created the Fijian frescoes during the defined time period of 23 September 1962 through 4 January 1963, a synchronic moment in relationship to the artist and the art object.

In the second section of this chapter, I examine the relationship of the signifier/ art object to the perceivers/audience. It is important to consider the effects of context and time when analyzing audience response to the frescoes, such as the cultural and historical background of the viewer at the specific moment in time the artwork was created or perceived. In contrast to the fixed relationship between the artist to the art object, the relationship between the art object and its perceivers is infinite and ongoing in time, because of the capacity for the perceiver, after initial viewing of the art object, to recall the art object to mind an infinite number of times. Exploring the relationships of perceivers to the art object is more difficult to establish, not only because it can change over time, but also because it expresses an individual response. The challenge is how to define and establish general statements about audience response. One mechanism is to consider the historical dimension in relationship to the pictorial narrative through comparison of audience responses at different moments in time.[328]

It is possible to contextualize the frescoes within their historical moment through an examination of relevant ethnohistoric documents, including the guest registry, newspaper articles, and interviews with people who served as models for the frescoes. These documents and interviews provide a synchronic view by reconstructing the audience response at the unique, historic, moment the frescoes were created. Drawing from primary source documents such as diaries, letters, the guest registry, and newspaper articles, I investigated the audience response to the frescoes during the historical moment they were created, 23 September 1962 through 4 January 1963. In

order to gain a diachronic perspective of the mural's message in history, additional ethnohistoric sources from later dates were examined, to determine responses over the next four decades. Finally, I compare additional interviews, taken between Fall 1999 and Spring 2001, to decode how the fresco murals continue to be meaningful to their audience, how viewers understand, appreciate, and critique the frescoes in a contemporary context.

The Message and the Manipulation of Space

Charlot had to adapt his work to both a typical and an unusual architectural space in the interior church building at Naiserelagi. The standard features of the church building included a cruciform floor plan, fifty-two by fifty-two feet, an elevated main altar, and two subsidiary altars, one in each of the transepts (Illustration 6.1).[329] Several unique features of the church's architecture include the orientation of the building, such that the main altar is located in the south end of the church, facing north to the ocean and a magnificent view of Viti Levu Bay (Illustration 6.2).[330] The two transept altars are oriented on an east-west axis. The nave floor is covered in mats, absent pews and confessionals (Illustration 6.3).[331] Outside of the main altar, there are no distinct, permanent features marking a pulpit or lectern. The ceiling is open, displaying a complex array of wooden architectural beams. The building has seven entry ways, eighteen stained glass windows, and two ordinary windows in the two vestibules behind the transept altars. The stained glass windows are placed all around the church, near the ceiling, allowing diffused light to enter the interior, however, the walls consist of gray stone, and the church always remains dim inside. For this reason, the large wooden doors of the entry ways are usually kept open to allow more light and fresh air inside the church building.

The apse had to be cemented over, along with the rose window and two adjacent stained glass windows now behind the side panels of the triptych, in order to create the wall panels of Charlot's Fijian triptych. In the triptych panels, Charlot oriented his Black Christ figure above the main altar, facing north, towards the congregation, and by extension, the ocean. In an architectural metaphor dating back to the thirteenth century,

the main altar symbolically represents the head of Christ.[332] In Fiji, Charlot's Black Christ figure is situated above the main altar to symbolize, in painted form, the "head of Christ." The arms of the Christ figure extend out to the edges of the central panel, framed by the two end panels of the triptych which are placed at a slight angle toward the transepts, "the hands and arms of Christ." Christ's "body" is symbolized by the nave and, by extension the community of believers who occupy this area during religious services.[333]

After finishing the *Black Christ* triptych, Charlot painted two side altar panels, one in each of the east and west transepts. The two side murals feature *The Annunciation* (Illustration 5.3) above the altar in the west transept, and *St. Joseph's Workshop* (Illustration 5.2) above the altar in the east transept. In these two paintings, Charlot adapted the Christian themes to articulate visually the "hands and arms of Christ" working in the community, and thus to be more appropriate to the local cultures.[334] At the time Charlot visited the church mission, men and women sat on opposite sides of the church, men in the east transept and women in the west. In Fiji, traditional gender roles in labor are clearly defined, with appropriate work for men as carpenters and for women as mat makers.

In Western religious art, depictions of Mary are often based on Luke's narrative, which describes Mary as seated and reading biblical text.[335] In his Fijian painting, *The Annunciation*, Charlot presented Mary at work plaiting a mat, instead of reading a bible, in keeping with the appropriate Fijian activity for women. In Charlot's painting, Mary pauses from her work to receive the angel Gabriel, who hands her a lily, a Western symbol of her purity and virgin state.[336] In this case, the artist presented a symbolic double entendre, since in Pacific Island cultures a flower is a symbol of fertility and children.[337]

Charlot had a long-standing devotion to St. Joseph, and throughout his life he created many images of the carpenter at work. Charlot identified with the manual labor of the carpenter who, through caring for the baby Jesus, literally labored for God. In keeping with the narrative theme of the paintings, the church as a universal community

in Christ, it is no coincidence that Charlot chose to represent St. Joseph, the patron of the Universal Church.[338] Little is known of Saint Joseph, the spouse of Mary, other than he was older and was referred to as "the carpenter."[339] St. Joseph is usually represented in religious art as a single figure or in combination with the Holy Family.[340] Charlot presented the viewer with a scene of St. Joseph, at work in his carpenter's workshop. In Picture Book II, Charlot rendered this sentiment with a similar scene of "St. Joseph's Workshop" with the addition of the following words, "Theologians, to contact God, work with their minds, a surer way that of Joseph, all hands."[341] Charlot integrated his Christian narrative into the architectural space of the building as it was used for worship by the local congregation, i.e., *St. Joseph's Workshop*, in the west transept where men customarily sat for worship, portrayed men's roles as carpenters.

The two side altar panels are located at the furthest points from the main altar, one could say at the peripheries of the sacred space. Charlot used these peripheral spaces to present the figures of Joseph and Mary engaged in labor for the production of goods for daily life. He interpreted these historic and sacred biblical scenes by representing them as identifiable with daily life for personal worship, prayer, and spiritual meditation. It is as though he created them to articulate his personal belief that there is a degree of sanctity in even the most mundane tasks.

Visual-Verbal Signs as Historic Documents

In the Fijian frescoes, Charlot incorporated letters and words to expand his informational systems, particularly for the historical data and his ideological themes. He used words to document historic relationships and to provide additional information. Like the early Cubist experiments of 1911-1915, Charlot integrated elements of verbal language in his visual imagery.[342] The words play a vital role in interpretation of the picture, by serving as informational signs. During his life, Charlot created a wide body of artwork that intersected the verbal and visual arts.

In the bottom left corner of the triptych groundline, the artist signed his name to indicate his role as creator, as well as suggesting his religious orientation by using the Latin, "Johannes Charlot, pictor." Next to his signature, he also inscribed the date the

triptych was completed, “12-13-62” (Illustration 6.4).[343] In the opposite, bottom right hand corner, Wasner signed his name, “Franz Wasner, Rector” (Illustration 6.5).[344] Wasner’s signature was placed just below his biretta.[345] The inclusion of the biretta, a symbol of Wasner in the painting, is an example of the artistic practice of referencing the patron in the artwork, a tradition dating back to Roman and Byzantine art.[346] The signature and biretta are verbal and visual signifiers that document the patron and his relationship to the Church, the artist and the art object.

The two side altar panels are also signed by Charlot. In *St. Joseph’s Workshop*, the artist signed his name in English, “Jean Charlot” (Illustration 6.6), while in the panel devoted to the Virgin, he signed, “To Zohmah, Love Jean” (Illustration 6.7).[347] This dedication memorialized his “Happy Christmas” gift to Zohmah, while her birthday was commemorated by the completion date of the triptych.

By being a focal point of ritual and worship, Charlot’s Fijian frescoes were intended to provoke thought and prayer. In these frescoes, Charlot unified the triptych and the liturgy with the words written on Christ’s loincloth, “*Omnis Honor et Gloria*,” “All Honor and Glory."[348] These words, taken from the Catholic liturgy and ceremony, are ritually spoken at the exact moment when the Host and Blood of Christ are raised slightly above the altar for a Thanksgiving blessing as part of Low Mass.[349] In the right panel of the triptych, Charlot rendered the patron saint of the Mission, St. Francis Xavier, performing this very act of consecration,[350] providing a pictorial parallel, a visual sign, to reinforce the verbal statement and to unify the artist’s ideological intent.

The Trinity

In the Catholic Church at Naiserelagi, Charlot used the number three to evoke the concept of the Holy Trinity and to reinforce the association of Christ with God. He created a narrative that articulated the concept of not only the Christian Trinity, but also the concept of the Trinity that is fundamental to Indo-Fijians of the Hindu faith, where it refers to the three main Indian deities, Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu. It follows, then, that Charlot would chose the number three as a primary formal and symbolic design element. This choice united the paintings to the church architecture, where the stained

glass windows utilize the trefoil as a basic design element. In Charlot's murals, the idea of the trinity is signified by the three separate altar murals, the triptych panels of the central mural, and through the creation and manipulation of signs in sets of three. Charlot prioritized three as a repetitive design element by painting three breadfruit, three cowry shells, three pillars of camphor smoke, and three groups of three figures: three holy men, three local men, and three local women. He reinforced the concept of the Trinity with visual and verbal parallels through his harmonious balance of index-, icon-, and symbol-signs. This idea was manifested on an indigenous level with the manipulation of both Western and Fijian signs for “heart.” In the triptych, the “heart” as a symbol of Christian love, is presented in three forms: the flaming heart of Christ, the stylized leaves of the *yaqona* plant that symbolize “hearts" by the association of their heart-shaped leaves, and the three breadfruits, whose name, *uto*, also means "heart" in Fijian (Illustration 6.8).[351] It is no coincidence, then, that three *uto*, breadfruits, surround the upper body of Christ, all echoing the shape of the flaming heart on his chest, while the stylized *yaqona* leaves, symbolic of hearts in the West, flank his lower body (Illustration 6.9).[352]

Worshipers and Offerings

In the right and left panels of the triptych, Charlot represented nine figures, five to the left of Christ and four to the right.[353] The two side panels depict prominent figures from local history and culture. In the left panel are a Fijian girl praying, St. Peter Chanel holding a war club, a Fijian priest, a Fijian woman with a mat, and a Fijian man presenting a whale’s tooth (Illustration 6.10).[354] On the right panel are an Indo-Fijian woman presenting a garland, a local Indo-Fijian cane farmer, St. Francis Xavier with the Host and chalice of Holy Mass, and an Indo-Fijian altar boy holding a candle (Illustration 6.11).[355] The figures may be segregated into three associations of three figures each: three holy men, three local men, and three local women. Reading left to right, the three holy men are St. Peter Chanel, Archbishop Petero Mataca, and St. Francis Xavier. The three local men are the Fijian man presenting the whale’s tooth, the Indo-Fijian farmer

and the altar boy, while the three local women are the Fijian school girl, the Fijian woman with the mat, and the Indo-Fijian woman with the garland.

Charlot's figures synthesized the French classical traditions associated with Poussin and David through his placement of historic figures in a landscape, his frieze-like composition, and his emphasis on the foreground. His figures also recall modern masters, such as Courbet and Manet, through his intimate portraits of contemporary figures presented in monumental form, as well as his emphasis on contemporary history. In his Fijian triptych, Charlot placed the figures to form a procession of "worshipers" who approach Christ with various offerings of goods and services. Most of the figures are accompanied by icon-signs, visual representations of art objects and hand gestures, appropriate to the offering or action being indicated.

> [T]hat instead of presenting the instant, I always try to represent the succession of instants that telescope into each other, that is, and give a sort of permanency...In fact, I think there is something rather, well, religious and a certain sense of hope in the fact that we deny the instant.[356]

Each portrait is sensitively rendered, with careful attention to the facial details and the position of the hands. In his sketchbooks, it is clear Charlot devoted much attention to studying the model's facial features, finger positions, hand gestures, and related objects.

Charlot created universal themes of humanity in his Fijian paintings by drawing from his experiences at the Naiserelagi Mission and from important aspects of Fijian culture and history. In these paintings, he showed icons that symbolically embodied universal themes of humanity: creation, life, and death, and cultural activities, such as ceremony, art, and labor. He manifested the idea of divine creation by presenting Christ as the divine source of humanity and nature. Charlot's Black Christ is situated amidst a lush tropical landscape that harmonizes the fresco with its natural environment and also illustrates the close relationship of the Fijians to their land. Charlot's Black Christ faces north; when the main doors are open (as they are most of the time), the figure looks directly north, out towards Viti Levu Bay, to the offshore islands including the other main island of Vanua Levu, and beyond to the Pacific Ocean. Today, as when Charlot was

there, most Fijians in Ra District are rural subsistence farmers who farm around the coastline and in the interior areas or "bush" of the Nakauvadra mountain range. Charlot was likely aware, since it is still common knowledge today, that prior to contact, the indigenous Fijian religion dictated that the greatest of all gods, Degei the snake god, dwelt in caves, up in the Nakauvadra mountains, behind nearby Rakiraki village, and it was there that Degei created the first Fijian man and woman.[357] The remnants of this belief can be found in the language, as the people of the Ra District are distinguished from other Fijians, outside of the Ra District, by being referred to with the use of the adjective "old," regardless of their chronological age.[358]

In his Fijian triptych, Charlot symbolized the cycles of life by arranging his figures according to age, placing the youngest children on the either end to signal the beginning of the life cycle, with a natural parallel being created by the banana flower above the girl on the left and an unfurling fern frond above the boy on the right. The cycle continued with the adult figures surrounding Christ. A visual metaphor is made in nature by the breadfruit, the vertical male leaf and rounded female fruit, both adjacent to the Sacred Heart. Finally, Christ, through his crucifixion, symbolized an offering for the whole world and the overcoming of death through the Resurrection.

The majority of figures illustrated in the triptych are people Charlot had the opportunity of meeting, or at least observing, while in Fiji. The Fijian school girl at the far left is Teresia Tinai, who at the time of Charlot's visit was attending the mission school at Naiserelagi. Similarly, the Indo-Fijian altar boy on the far right, Narendra, also attended the local mission school. The Fijian woman who carries the mat in the painting was a local resident of Naiserelagi village and a member of the congregation named Maria Gemma. Selestino Koloaia was a Catholic Catechist for the mission at Naiserelagi at the time Charlot was painting the frescoes.[359] A resident of the nearby village of Rokovuaka, Koloaia presented Charlot with a *tabua* on his first night in Naiserelagi. On another occasion, Koloaia performed a *meke* that recounted the historic narrative of St. Peter Chanel. Charlot and Koloaia drank *yaqona* (*kava*) together on these formal occasions, as well as informally when Charlot visited him in Rokovuaka village.[360] Charlot commemorated these events in the frescoes by depicting Koloaia in

festive dress, standing next to the *yaqona* bowl and plants, and by having him present the whale's tooth to Christ. On Christ's left stands an Indo-Fijian woman with a garland, Teresa Naresh, who was a resident teacher at the Mission school when Charlot arrived in Fiji. Likewise, the Indo-Fijian man with the oxen, Peter Ambika Nand, was working as a sugar cane farmer for the Mission at the time. Charlot had observed Maria Gemma presenting a mat, Teresia Tinai actively praying in church, Peter Nand driving his oxen, and Father Petero Mataca preaching his sermon.[361] These people were real individuals who directly exemplified appropriate cultural models, through their own lives, positions, and cultures which Charlot then represented in his *Black Christ* triptych.

Charlot used hieratic scaling and placement to suggest the spiritual and social hierarchy of the figures. Christ, the most sacred figure, is the largest figure and is centrally placed to intersect the composition bilaterally. The two saints and Archbishop Mataca are rendered larger than life size compared to the other figures, whose sizes vary by age and gender. The three holy figures with close historic relationships to the local mission are presented with a strong emphasis on verticality, alluding to their sacred character. The two Saints are identified by halos that are situated along the same horizontal line as Christ's head and serve as indicators of the increasing sanctity of space, as one moves closer to the altar and the preeminent icon of Christ. In a Pacific cultural context, the halos signify the head as the sacred container of *mana*, supernatural or divine power, functioning as an indigenous indicator of divinity and of high social rank.[362]

Holy Figures

Saint Peter Chanel

The three holy men are St. Peter Chanel, Archbishop Petero Mataca, and St. Francis Xavier. These three figures are representative of the local history of the mission and reinforce the role of the mission in the present day. The figure in the Fijian (left) panel is Fiji's first martyred saint, St. Peter Chanel, who holds a war club as a symbol of his death. Chanel first came to Futuna Island on 13 September 1837, under Bishop Jean Baptiste François Pompallier. In Futuna, he fell victim to the misfortunes of

hurricanes, wars, and the whims of the local chiefs. As the local estimate of his priestly *mana* rose and fell, he was eventually martyred by having his skull split open on 28 April 1841. His remains were recovered and sent to Rome, where he was named a martyr in 1888, beatified in 1889, and made Patron Saint of Oceania on 12 June 1954. His remains were returned to Futuna in the 1970s and the local people annually commemorate his martyrdom on 27 April at Poi village.[363]

In the Black Christ triptych, Charlot painted Chanel as a man of strong character, holding the reputed implement of his destruction, a Fijian wooden club, *e dua waka* (Illustration 6.12).[364] A photograph of Charlot shows the artist sketching in front of a statue of Chanel that was already in the church (Illustration 6.13).[365] In the photograph, the figure is depicted as an angelic youth who holds a rosary. This study seems to have contributed very little to the final figure. In Charlot's Fijian sketchbooks, there are two pencil sketches of Chanel's facial portrait. The first portrait seems to adhere to the portrait rendered in the sculpture of the Saint. This image depicts a rounded form of a young man, almost a boy. In the second sketch, Charlot began to abstract the figure, faceting the facial components in a much more angular, architectonic, or planar fashion, all reminiscent of Cubist tendencies. On 28 September he noted, "sketch Chanel on wall...spread breadfruit leaves from left panel."[366] In his final image of the Saint, Charlot has managed to create a powerful portrait whereby the face is rendered in a three-quarter profile with the head tilted slightly back.

Charlot's sketchbook also contains also three pencil drawings of Chanel's vestment, one upper body and two lower body sketches. In the triptych, Chanel's black vestment is linked directly to the narrative of Christ's crucifixion because, as a liturgical color, black is the color of death and mourning, and it must be worn on Good Friday, the day memorializing Jesus' crucifixion.[367] In his sketches, Charlot transformed Chanel's rosary first to a single cross, and then, on adjacent pages, to a war club.[368] In a typical adaptation of religious icons, here Charlot illustrated the icon-sign of a club to represent symbolically Chanel's martyrdom, a bludgeoning to the head. From a Western perspective, Charlot represented the club as an icon in the same manner that swords

function as icon-signs in Christian art, where they are used to represent martyred saints who have been beheaded.

Charlot recognized that it was important to represent the correct kind of club in order for the icon-sign to refer successfully to the Chanel narrative from a Fijian perspective. As evident in the sketchbooks, he was informed that the type of club he had first sketched for Chanel's implement of martyrdom was not of the "correct" type, i.e., it was a decorative rather than a war club. Charlot's original drawing rendered a *kia kawa* club, used in dance and ceremony, but rarely used in combat (Illustration 6.14).[369] The second drawing depicted a club of the correct type for use in battle, *a waka club*, to refer to the Saint's martyrdom and to represent the historic narrative correctly from a Fijian point of view.[370] According to his diary, Charlot changed his idea for the club on 19 November 1962; the entry reads, "work on left, new war club (Illustration 6.15)."[371] In her letter dated 1 December 1962, Zohmah wrote to her son John,

> I think I wrote you that one of the school teachers is the granddaughter of a man who was one of the people who martyred Chanel. Needless to say we are all proud. Papa had to redraw the war club in his fresco so it would be of the right type.[372]

In his sketchbooks, Charlot made a careful and detailed study of Chanel's hands holding the club. He paid close attention to the ornamentation of the club, elaborating on the original sketch by adding a decoratively carved handle. The ridge-like bands of the club head make a pattern that creates a formal visual parallel next to the banana fruits. In a letter to her son John, Zohmah wrote, "One of the beautiful things of the mural, every bit as beautiful, are the hands of St. Peter Chanel tenderly holding the war club."[373]

Archbishop Petero Mataca

To the right of the figure of Chanel stands Father Petero Mataca (Illustration 6.16), the first Fijian Diocesan priest and current Archbishop of Suva, Fiji (Illustration 6.17).[374] At the time of the fresco production, Mataca was stationed at Naiserelagi, as the first stop in his ministry upon returning to Fiji after finishing his seminary studies in Rome.[375] Charlot was already working at Naiserelagi when Mataca arrived. The artist

attended one of Mataca's services where the priest reviewed, on his fingers, changes brought about by Vatican II.[376] In his interview, Mataca stated that the first finger symbolized the liturgy and sacraments, while the second finger symbolized the promise of Jesus and how his love will be promoted by the Catholic Church.[377] Charlot captured this moment in Archbishop Mataca's animated hand gesture. He carefully prepared his portrait of Mataca, creating three sketches and two full-scale drawings (Illustration 5.8).[378] The final image shows Mataca in profile, strongly modeled to suggest his striking features, and with his white-robed body simplified to a single column. Charlot captured and recorded local and national Church history through his decision to represent and, thus, to immortalize the newly ordained priest in his fresco. At the time, no one could know Mataca would one day be Archbishop and head of the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Suva.

Saint Francis Xavier

As a complement to St. Peter Chanel, Fiji's first martyred saint, shown in the left, Fijian panel of the triptych, Charlot depicted St. Francis Xavier, Patron Saint of India, Japan and the Catholic Mission at Naiserelagi, in the right, Indo-Fijian panel of the triptych (Illustration 6.18).[379] His saintly status is indicated by his larger-than-life-size body and his halo. His head is positioned in a three-quarter profile, facing left toward Christ. Charlot incorporated the saint in a rare visual representation of the Holy Mass, the sacramental offerings of the Host and Blood, the most sacred act of Catholic faith and ritual.[380]

It is likely that Charlot created his facial portrait of St. Francis Xavier based on a photo of Xavier's portrait by Gesu, 1583, in the Cappepellette di San Ignazio, Rome. This portrait was published in a book of saints that was apparently in Charlot's private library (Illustration 6.19).[381] On October 9, Charlot's entries included, "enlarge head F-Xavier to size (square)....[S]ketch Msgr. Wasner in vestments for Xavier."[382] What is apparent from the sketchbook, although not explicitly mentioned in the diary entries, is that Wasner posed not only for St. Francis' vestments, but also for the Holy Mass (Illustration 6.20).[383] Charlot paid careful attention to the hand gestures, noting at the

bottom of one sketch "[Msgr. Wasner] correct= thumb and forefinger held together."[384] Charlot created eight additional studies, pencil sketches of Xavier's pose, four with the vestments and four where the gestures were combined with a facial portrait.

Charlot illustrated the final figure of St. Francis Xavier wearing an elaborate vestment of white and gold, the colors of Trinity Sunday.[385] The figure wears a white alb, symbolizing purity and worn over the cassock by the celebrant at Holy Communion, as well as a stole and chasuble. The white stole is decorated with gold trim and a gold cross, linking it to the colors of the Host and chalice. Charlot ornamented the chasuble with elaborate curvilinear vegetal designs reminiscent of vines, which in Christian iconography symbolize the blood of Christ during Holy Mass.[386] These designs create a series of visual parallels echoing the form of the *yaqona* leaves of the central panel, the shepherd's staff held by the Indo-Fijian farmer, and the unfurling fern frond above the Indo-Fijian altar boy, the figure at the far right, who is presented as the acolyte assistant for the Holy Thanksgiving of Mass. This highly symbolic act, of elevating the Host and chalice, manifested in visual form the sacred ritual, the reenactment of the faith, through participation in the sacraments. This gesture is linked to the Christ figure through the words "*Omnus Honor Et Gloria*" as illustrated on his loincloth, words spoken at the moment of the elevation of the Host.

Fijian Figures

Charlot reserved the left panel for the Fijian figures who, with the exception of St. Peter Chanel, were modeled after members of the Naiserelagi congregation and/or students of the local mission school (Illustration 6.10). Charlot depicted the figures in acts of pious devotion and worship in both Christian and Fijian contexts. The figure at the far left, a young Fijian school girl, stands in solemn prayer. In front of her stands the figure of St. Peter Chanel. Next to Chanel, reading left to right, stands Archbishop Petero Mataca. To the right of Mataca are the Fijian woman and man who present Christ with offerings of culturally appropriate male and female goods.

The Fijian school girl

The young Fijian school girl on the far left, modeled from Teresia Tinai, wears a blue dress, the customary school uniform for young ladies attending the church school at Naiserelagi (Illustration 6.21).[387] Her profile and opaque blue dress provide a beginning and ending point for the composition and the pictorial narrative. Charlot painted both her face and body in profile, her eyes downcast and hands positioned in prayer, while her body is oriented toward the Christ figure (Illustration 6.22).[388] The banana plant and flower above her are prominent motifs throughout Charlot's Hawaiian artworks; he even chose them as a major motif for the fresco he painted in his own living room at Kahala, Hawai'i. In the Fijian frescoes, Charlot used the banana flower as a visual symbol to represent the young girl's age, virtue, and devotion.

The Fijian woman with the mat

A late addition, Charlot moved the figures of Chanel and Mataca four inches to the left to make room for the figure of the Fijian woman. He illustrated the woman in a full body frontal position, emerging from the background and carrying a Fijian plaited mat or *ibe* (Illustration 6.23).[389] The woman is attired in a traditional Fijian woman's clothes, a calf-length dress with a long black *sulu* or underskirt. Today, this combination of light-colored dress and black *sulu* is considered an ideal and preferred dress for church services.[390] The woman's face is modeled in softer planes than those of the male figures surrounding her, suggestive of her femininity. Unfortunately, the portrait sketch for this figure, modeled on Maria Gemma, is missing, although Charlot must have memorized her facial features because he continued to use her as a model in many of his later Fijian oils, despite the apparent lack of preparatory drawings for the frescoes (Illustration 6.24).[391] The woman's position, slightly behind the two Fijian men who flank her, is indicative of the social order of Fijian life, where women traditionally present their offerings after the men.[392] Following Fijian etiquette, the woman presents the mat to Christ with both hands out, extending the offering. Charlot sensitively illustrated her hands with modeled planes to suggest the strength and dexterity of her fingers, as he carefully replicated the pattern of lines of a plaited mat. He recognized the importance of mats as appropriate female offerings and labor activities in Fiji,

reinforced by his presentation of the Virgin Mary plaiting a mat in the side altar fresco. Charlot's interest in this theme of mat-making can also be seen in his subsequent artworks (Illustration 6.25).[393]

The Fijian man with the whale's tooth

In the left triptych panel, Charlot painted a Fijian man, the figure immediately to the left of Christ, posed in the highly symbolic act of presenting the *tabua*, whale's tooth, to Christ (Illustration 6. 26).[394] The figure was modeled on Selestino Naucukidi Koloaia (Illustration 6.27).[395] In a profile view of the proper posture, the dancer solemnly holds out both hands, clasping the whale's tooth or *tabua* as he presents it to Christ. Charlot's detailed brushwork, layers of color washes, blend at a distance in the dark skin of the Fijian man to create a parallel with the same dark-skinned color of Christ.

Charlot did a number of sketches and complete drawings of portrait studies of Koloaia's face, pose, and attire of *masi*, or barkcloth, and floral ornaments. In the paintings, he depicted the Fijian man in a strong portrait of a *meke* dancer in full festive attire. In three-quarter profile, the dancer rests his weight forward on his left foot, firmly planted on the ground, while his back right toe breaks the artificial groundline.[396] The figure wears a version of a *salusalu* neck ornament, a *masi* or barkcloth lower body cover with an outer layer of *ti* leaves, and vegetal arm and ankle bands. Charlot's sketchbook provides evidence he simplified the designs of the original *masi* of the model, changing it to plain white in the fresco, probably to contrast it with the decorative cloth worn by Christ. In the frescoes, the alternate folds of the green *ti* leaves of the lower body cover are created by green and white lime highlights, giving the illusion of the reflection of natural light. The large, green leaf variety of *ti* plants is used for traditional festive dress.

Indo-Fijian Figures

Indo-Fijian woman with the garland

Indo-Fijians have been residents of the Fiji Islands since the mid-nineteenth century when the British brought them to work as a colonial labor force for the production of sugar cane. Since that time, Indo-Fijians have made almost half of the cultural population of Fiji, as well as half of the local residents at Naiserelagi, located as it is in a predominately agricultural area. The presence of the Indo-Fijian community has contributed to both cultural diversity and cultural tensions among the local population. Today, most Indo-Fijians are practicing Hindu, although some are Christian or Muslim. In his Fijian paintings, Charlot united the two ethnic groups, Fijian and Indo-Fijian, in his presentation of a universal community in Christ.

Charlot symmetrically paralleled the Fijian male dancer with the figure of an Indo-Fijian woman, modeled on Teresa Naresh, offering a garland to Christ in the Indo-Fijian (right) panel (Illustration 6.28).[397] Charlot simplified the figure of the Indo-Fijian woman to a facial profile portrait and a body of abstracted layers of fabric, based on the traditional Indian *sari*. He rendered the woman with her head covered, acknowledging the religious and cultural practices of Indo-Fijians. Her narrow profile seems to peer timidly out of her head covering as she presents her garland to Christ. Charlot created several sketches and drawings of Teresa Naresh, including facial portraits with her two hands holding the garland and an unusual number of sketches of the sari dress. The six yards of fabric that compose a *sari* are indicated by three layers of cloth over her head and torso, falling down to the artificial groundline, with her feet invisible below the cloth. Both the *sari* and the garland of flowers combine the complementary colors of orange and lavender. Multiculturally appropriate for Indo-Fijians and Pacific Islanders, flowers and floral garlands are often worn on important festive occasions, used as offerings, and to adorn important historic and sacred figures (Illustration 6.29).[398]

Indo-Fijian man with pair of oxen

In the Indo-Fijian panel, Charlot depicted a local Indo-Fijian farmer at his trade farming sugar cane, symbolized by yoked oxen and the sugar cane plants below (Illustration 6.30).[399] This figure refers to Indo-Fijian laborers who work for the local

Mission, the residents of the nearby farming community of Bharotu, just east of Naiserelagi, and, by extension, the larger Indo-Fijian community. The man who modeled for Charlot's figure, Peter Ambika Nand, was similarly working for the Mission at the time Charlot arrived. Charlot created several sketches of Nand in different poses and hand positions typical when harvesting cane. In the final image, he positioned him in a three-quarter profile to the left, such that the perceivers can follow his gaze back to the Christ figure. It is possible that Charlot was alluding to the narrative of Christ as the Good Shepherd by rendering the farmer bringing his oxen in from the bush. His raised staff can be read as an icon-sign symbolizing a bishop's crosier and authority.[400] In Fijian culture, a raised staff was a traditional symbolic gesture of surrender, such as during times of war; here the staff is offered in service to Christ.[401] The figure is depicted driving a pair of oxen, Christian symbols of patience and service to Christ.[402] Highly symbolic animals to Indo-Fijian Hindus, bulls refer to Nandi the bull, sacred avatar of Siva, one of the major gods of the Hindu trinity. Consequently, bulls are revered for their sanctity and are considered forbidden food for religious practitioners.[403]

Indo-Fijian altar boy with the candle

Charlot presented the Indo-Fijian boy in red, to the right of St. Francis Xavier (Illustration 6.31).[404] The portrait is based on an Indo-Fijian student, Narendra, who was attending the Mission school when Charlot arrived in Fiji. Charlot made several sketches and final drawings of the Indo-Fijian boy's facial portrait and hands holding a candle. In the frescoes, Charlot placed the young boy in the attire of an altar boy, a red under-gown with white over-shirt, as the acolyte who assists St. Francis Xavier in the Mass. Charlot portrayed the boy holding a candle, a Christian symbol for Jesus as the Light of the World.[405] The unfolding fern frond above his head also recalls the shape of a bishop's crosier and, like the banana flower, served as a symbol-sign of new life in Pacific cultures.[406] A practicing Hindu and cane farmer, today the man Narendra resides at the base of Navunibitu Hill (Illustration 6.32).[407] During his interview, he remembered being called out of class for Charlot, who requested him to pose as a

model.

Fijian Objects as Icon-Signs

Charlot's figures are posed with objects and in activities representing important examples of local ceremonies, arts, and labors. Charlot remained sensitive to what were considered culturally meaningful objects and actions in relation to local practices, religious beliefs, and gender roles in society, labor, and art production. He had occasion to observe that men in Fijian culture were responsible for building homes, fishing, and for ceremonies involving *tabua* (whale's tooth), *yaqona*, and certain cooked foods. In the arts, men customarily carved hard materials, such as wood, tortoise shell, or ivory. Women, in contrast, cared for the children and home and created arts using soft materials, such as *masi* (bark cloth) or *ibe* (mats).[408] In order to appreciate fully the significance of the pictorial imagery within Fijian cultural context, it is necessary to elaborate on the underlying meanings of the signs, particularly the icons of the *tabua* and those that relate to the *yaqona* ceremony.

The whale's tooth or *tabua*

In Fiji there is an intrinsic hierarchy that ranks objects in ceremony and in evaluation. As a visual icon, the *tabua,* or whale's tooth, is shown with a coconut sennit cord attached to each end. The *tabua* is said to be supreme among all traditional valuables and carries an abundance of complex symbolic meanings depending on specific locale and occasion. The general characteristics that help to define the different meanings are outlined by Asesela D. Ravuvu in his text, The Fijian Ethos.[409]

> It is the highest symbol of respect, deference, loyalty, goodwill, acceptance, recognition, and even submission, which an individual or a group may offer to another. It is offered on numerous occasions relating to life crisis, and on the departure and arrival of relatives, friends, and visitors. It is used as a vehicle for requests of various types, and as a means of acknowledging effort and worth. The 'whale's tooth' represents everything that is valuable and worthwhile in Fijian society. It embodies everything that is chiefly in nature, including chiefly behavior and socially valued chiefly qualities. The 'whale's tooth' also possesses a mystical power that makes it much more sacred than any other object of ceremonial offering. Being thus endowed, the 'whale's tooth' is potent and has *mana* or power to effect good or ill when offered and accepted. These

> qualities cause the intrinsic value of a particular 'whale's tooth' to vary according to circumstances and the relative status of offerer and recipient.[410]

In the Fijian frescoes, Charlot used the offering of the whale's tooth to represent the presentation of all things to Christ (Illustration 6.33).[411] The *tabua* embodied the divine *mana* of God, and it identified Christ as the supreme chief.

The *yaqona* ceremony

Another chiefly offering second only to the *tabua*, is the *yaqona*. *Yaqona* is a vine-like plant that in a Christian context symbolized Christ and his followers.[412] In a Fijian and Pacific context, *yaqona* is highly symbolic of indigenous ritual and ceremony. *Yaqona* is a major food crop grown in the area of Navunibitu for local consumption and for export; ideally, the plant should be aged around four to seven years before harvested for consumption. A presentation of *yaqona,* called a *sevusevu*, must immediately be offered upon the arrival of all important persons, as *yaqona* is always the first and most important of several offertory gifts. When seeking permission to enter a village, as land is privately owned, one also presents an offering of *yaqona*. Permission to enter a village is granted in a sequence of *yaqona* ceremonies. Symbolically, *yaqona* has a number of functions and meanings in Fijian culture, emboding a complexity of Fijian cultural beliefs. Ravuvu wrote,

> The word *yaqona* refers both to the plant and the drink that is made from it by steeping the pulped fresh root or its powdered and dried equivalent in an appropriate amount of water. The ceremonial importance is second only to the 'whale's tooth,' but its spiritual significance is equal or greater than the 'whale's tooth' at times. It is through the medium of *yaqona* that direct communication with the spirit world can be achieved. In some ceremonial gatherings, *yaqona* may be presented immediately after the presentation of the 'whale's tooth.' At other times it is presented together with the 'whale's tooth' either as a single offering or representing other aspects of ceremonial offering, the two being combined for the sake of brevity and efficiency.[413]

When *yaqona* is presented formally, the *sevusevu* of *yaqona* must be offered in its natural form of the roots only, *na waka*, as they are considered the premium part of the plant to drink. As a formal *sevusevu*, the roots must be specially wrapped in paper and

then must be pounded into powder to serve, as opposed to a gift of pre-pounded *yaqona*, acceptable only for less formal occasions (Illustration 6.34).[414] The presentation of the *sevusevu* and serving of the *yaqona* are accompanied by speeches, prayers, clapping and performative arts, *meke ni yaqona*.[415]

In the central panel, to the bottom-left of the Christ figure, Charlot illustrated the three icon-signs that symbolically refer to the *yaqona* ceremony: the *yaqona* plant, the wooden *tanoa* serving bowl, and the *bilo,* or coconut drinking cup (Illustration 6.35).[416] Charlot seemed to recognize the significance of the ceremony as an indigenous parallel to the Catholic Mass, a traditional means to communicate with gods and ancestors, and a presentational item of the highest order. In her letters, Zohmah documented the Charlots' greeting ceremony, complete with whale's tooth and *yaqona* roots, "squashed by hand in a turtle shaped wooden bowl." She added, "Jean was so taken with the kava server and the importance of the ceremony that it will become one of the visual records in the fresco."[417] The y*aqona* ceremonies remained important themes in Charlot's later artworks featuring Fijian cultural subject matter (Illustrations 3.3 and 3.4).

In the Fijian frescoes the *yaqona* plant is rendered as a vine with stylized leaves growing around the base of the cross, behind Christ's feet. To the left stands a *tanoa*, the footed wooden serving bowl used for preparing the *yaqona* ceremonial drink, with the *bilo* or coconut shell drinking cup shown upside down, to the left of the *tanoa*. Three cowry shells are attached to the *tanoa* bowl with a sennit, or coconut fiber, cord called a *magimagi*. These shells and cord are strategically directed towards the most important and honored person during the *yaqona* ceremony;[418] here, they identify Christ as the divine Chief. The trio of the cowry shells on the *magimagi* again echo the theme of the Holy Trinity in the frescoes.[419]

Charlot represented the *tanoa* in the shape of a turtle, modeling it after a similar bowl belonging to the Mission church. The turtle is an important royal and supernatural symbol in the Pacific whose shell was once carved into beautiful jewelry worn by high-ranking members of Fijian society. Turtle flesh was also a food source and a cultural

metaphor for human flesh, both flesh once consumed by royalty.[420] From a Fijian perspective, the turtle-shaped *tanoa* and the *yaqona* drink are symbolic parallels to the body and blood of Christ consumed during Catholic Mass.[421]

Brass camphor bowl

On the right side of Christ, Hindu ritual is suggested by an offering of a brass bowl that burns camphor oil (Illustration 6.36).[422] In her article, "Place of Heavenly Song," Zohmah provided additional details of the experience, writing, "The brass bowl to the right is from a model brought by a young Indian man named Peter who has a sugar cane field nearby.[423] Charlot's camphor smoke evoked the notion of the Trinity, both Christian and Hindu, with three plumes of smoke rising up from the golden basin like an eternal flame. The depiction of camphor can be interpreted as a parallel to the use of incense in Catholic ritual and worship. Incense in pre-Christian worship can be documented with certainty by the fifth century A.D., but the reason for its adoption by the Catholic Church is unknown. In the mural, it symbolically represents the rising-up of prayer and good works to God.[424] In Christian symbolism, as in Indo-Fijian and Mesoamerican tradition, to offer incense before a person or thing is a mark of honor thereto.[425]

Black Christ Figure

One feature that is unique or unusual about Charlot's imagery in the crucified Christ at the center of the triptych is his selection of dark pigments, applied with multiple small brush strokes of layered washes of black and blue that blur at a distance to render a "Black" Christ. The artist apparently did not write about or appear to have commented on why he chose to depict a "Black" Christ. Zohmah never mentioned it in her letters, but she did refer to it later in her publication, "The Place of Heavenly Song…." where she stated that her husband wanted to paint "a dark skinned Christ for the dark skinned Fijians."[426] Of the finished Black Christ figure, Zohmah wrote to her son John, "The center panel of Christ of the Sacred Heart is finished. I think Papa's most beautiful Crucifixion."[427] Charlot painted Christ as the only figure in the central panel of the triptych (Illustration 6.37).[428]

Charlot created at least one preparatory drawing of the Black Christ, in charcoal, although all that remains is a photograph in the Charlot Family Albums (Illustration 6.38).[429] He also completed a final drawing in brown and black crayon, which he later mounted in the manner of a Japanese scroll (Illustration 6.39).[430] The original mural cartoon does not appear to have survived.

In the Fijian triptych, Charlot set up his composition to make Christ and the Sacred Heart the focal point, while at the same time directing the viewer's eye to the rest of the composition. The scene is framed by an artificial groundline below and the strong horizontal on top created by the cross. Charlot illustrated Christ crucified on a Tau-shaped cross, an ancient symbol of life.[431] The elongated arms of the Christ figure are out-stretched to reach across the cross beam, forming a Y-shape, and his legs are positioned perpendicular to the ground, with his feet placed together at the base of the cross. In earlier Catholic art, the crucifix usually represented Jesus crowned, robed, alive, and reigning from, not hanging on, the cross, while representations of Christ suffering or dead are more recent, dating to about thirteenth century, and only became general with the Spanish influence of the Counter-Reformation.[432] Charlot depicted a conventional form of Christ on the cross, in that the figure is in a frontal position with arms out-stretched on the cross, and with his feet, hands, and chest pierced with blood, although the scars are barely visible from the ground (Illustration 6.40).[433] He rendered a sensitive portrait of Christ with an elongated face, a beard, long hair, and wearing the crown of thorns, in keeping with the biblical narrative of the Crucifixion (Illustration 6.41).[434] Charlot presented Christ's body unrobed, covered only by native barkcloth. The nude body with loincloth motif dates back to early Western depictions of Christ from the fifth century, and recalls the wooden crucifix Charlot saw at Trèmalo, Brittany, France.[435]

Charlot's Black Christ figure emphasized the human body of Christ as a divine savior and mediator. The figure stands with his feet firmly grounded, fully penetrating the artificial groundline of the rest of the triptych. By doing this, Charlot physically brought the body of Christ closer to the altar, the sacred focal point of ritual, and, by

extension, to the congregation of believers. It fulfilled Wasner's suggestion that the artist represent "his body mass [as] on the altar below."[436] Charlot's figure, through posture and position, becomes a visual metaphor of a human sacrifice for the whole world, a mediator between God and humankind.

Charlot illustrated the icon of the flaming heart on the chest of Christ (Illustration 6.9).[437] He made the heart icon a major focal point of the composition through the layers of color that project the image off the surface of Christ's body. The heart is surrounded by a white circular glow and is crowned by flames, which in Roman Catholic tradition are symbolic of intense devotion.[438]

There are several motivations for the inclusion of the heart motif, all underlying Wasner's specific request.[439] In the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Suva, the Sacred Heart motif is represented in the stained glass window above the altar as a stylized heart encircled with a crown of thorns. Today, the Sacred Heart Cathedral is overseen by Archbishop Petero Mataca, who appeared in the frescoes as the young Fijian priest. The Sacred Heart motif was brought to the Pacific by the Marist priests who settled the South Pacific Islands and who were members of the Society of Mary and Fathers of the Sacred Hearts.[440] The Sacred Heart is also specifically associated with St. Francis Xavier, the patron Saint of the Mission church at Naiserelagi.[441] Historically, the cult of the Sacred Heart developed out of popular devotions to Jesus' wounds common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[442] In the Roman Catholic tradition, the Sacred Heart is the symbol of Jesus' love for his community and his death for their redemption, especially for reparation for human ingratitude.[443] Charlot united time and space by illustrating the Sacred Heart motif in his Black Christ triptych to symbolize the historic, local, and contemporary national church.[444]

On a personal level, the heart icon harks back to Charlot's first liturgical woodcut series, *Chemin de Croix*, Stations of the Cross, where he used the extrapolated heart as part of his artistic signature for Station Twelve (Illustration 6.42).[445] The icon was a popular motif for the French folk penny prints, *Image d'Epinal*, that Charlot collected; three images of it are represented in his personal collection of such prints (Illustration

6.43).[446] The extrapolated heart may have alluded, also, to Charlot's Aztec ancestors who participated in rituals of heart extraction as holy offerings to native gods.[447] Charlot later used the Sacred Heart motif for a ceramic statue now installed at St. William's Church, Hanalei, Kaua'i, Hawai'i (Illustration 6.44).[448]

Charlot's choices of motifs contain multi-referential symbolism that transcends cultural boudaries. One example is the icon of Christ's loincloth and its associated decoration (Illustration 6.45).[449] In his Fijian frescoes, Charlot depicted Christ wearing only a loincloth of a local type, a *sulu*, his lower body wrapped in a square cloth from waist to knee.[450] The cloth is indigenously manufactured bark cloth, known in Fijian as *masi*.[451] Fijian bark cloth is decorated typically with motifs painted, stamped, or rubbed with a native brown or black dye. The manner of wearing the cloth is in keeping with local formal attire of men's *sulu* or lower body cover.[452] The cloth cuts across Christ's waist while the lower border falls at a slight diagonal. Charlot modeled his cloth after a piece of *masi* that was hanging on the porch of Wasner's house.[453]

In Christ's loincloth, Charlot has organized the motifs in an upper and lower band. Charlot painted two icon-signs, the star and the bird, that suggest the upper band is celestial and can be interpreted as symbolic of the afterlife. In turn, the fish and the flower on the lower band symbolize the earthly realm of this life. The bird motif in the upper band may be seen from a Christian point of view as a dove. Since pre-Christian times, birds have symbolized the human soul. Doves are associated with bearers of good news, symbols of reconciliation, and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. Doves are also often used in association with depictions of the Annunciation.[454] In a more general sense, doves represent the Church, the Christian soul, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Twelve Apostles.[455] In Fijian and Pacific Island traditions, birds are often messengers of the gods. Stars serve similarly as metaphors for gods or spirits.[456] In Fijian, *lagi*, refers to both "sky" and "heaven," the traditional home of the gods, spirits, and deified ancestors.[457]

In the lower band Charlot represented one of the most common of the

early Christian symbols, the fish. The fish is a traditional symbol of Christianity because the letters of the Greek word for fish*, ichthy*s, form an acrostic for "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior." The fish is a symbol of some of the most fundamental of Catholic rituals, particularly Holy Baptism and the Mass, through its association with water.[458] In a Christian perspective, the fish is historically a symbol of Christ, while in Fiji fish represent a primary food staple.

The clusters of three dots found on both the upper and lower bands of Christ's loincloth are a motif derived from the decorative bark cloth model. In a local context, this motif probably originated from bark cloth made in the Tongan Islands, where it served to represent the three main islands of Tonga.[459] The influence of this Tongan design in Fiji is a consequence of the historic exchange of goods and spouses among island groups.[460] Charlot may have incorporated this motif to refer to the Christian Trinity, "Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

Fijian and other Pacific Island viewers of Charlot's frescoes shared a background of cultural thought that influenced the reading of traditional Christian icons and symbols. In a Pacific Island context, high-ranking individuals, such as chiefs, priests, and nobility, could trace their genealogy from the gods. These relationships were recorded through oral traditions, including such genres as legends, chants, and other ethnohistoric records.[461] Charlot, cognizant of these facts, presented Christ to the Pacific Island viewer as the highest of chiefs, through his manipulation and presentation of signs. The artist employed hieratic scaling, showing Christ as the largest figure, thus, the most important figure. This is emphasized by the composition itself, that places Christ's body as a central axis, the visual and symbolic intermediary between the realms of heaven and earth, God and man, artist and audience. Charlot documented the genealogy of Christ in the side chapel fresco of *The Annunciation*, where he depicted the divine moment of the immaculate conception of Christ, while in *St. Joseph's Workshop*, he presented Jesus as a young boy. Charlot also alluded to Christ as a direct descendant of God because of the placement of the Christ figure as rising up and over the altar. In a Pacific context, Christ can be identified as both God and divine chief by the different icon-signs of Fijian origin, and indigenous offertory goods including the *masi* loincloth,

the *tabua* (whale's tooth), *ibe* (mat), *tanoa* (wooden serving bowl), and specific plants (*uto* and *yaqona*). Charlot carefully selected motifs and colors that would reinforce this interpretation from a native perspective. For example, a quatrefoil cross above Christ's head is a traditional icon of a Christian halo. Charlot's combination of red and yellow in the halo, on the other hand, was symbolic of the sacred to the native audience; in Polynesia these two colors are considered to be intrinsically sacred, once the domain only of god images and divine chiefs (Illustration 6.46).[462]

The background of the central panel is composed of foliage of breadfruit and *yaqona* leaves below; both extend into adjoining side panels, where other local plants frame the worshippers. In the side panels, Charlot framed the worshippers with other local plants, the *ti* plant, bananas, sugar cane and tree ferns. All these plants are important food crops both for internal consumption and as economic resources, as well as being sources for medicines, ritual substances, and decorative elements for formal attire.[463]

The forest of tropical foliage created a shallow space that projects and participates in the narrative. The vegetation represented the major wild and cultivated foods of the region that provide physical, economic, and spiritual sustenance. Breadfruit is a common food staple in Pacific cultures, where the fruit is cooked and used as a starch staple. *Yaqona* and sugar cane are the two main crops produced for commercial sale in the region of Ra, and bananas are a common food as well. Traditionally, the first pick of the harvest was offered to the gods in a great Thanksgiving in both Fijian and Indo-Fijian rituals.[464]

Yaqona and *ti* plants serve as cermonial and sacred plants in Fijian and Pacific Island ritual and belief.[465] In the Pacific Islands, *ti* plants may be of a green or red variety and are used for purification and for their intrinsic properties. *Ti* plants also demarcate sacred sites, such as temples and graves, where they are planted and used to wrap offerings placed on altars outside and in temples.[466] For this reason, *ti* plants have been planted on both sides of the stairwell to the main entrance of the church at Naiserelagi, as well as throughout the grounds surrounding the church building.[467]

Charlot used the red *ti* plant to mark the visual entry from the Fijian (left) panel into the sacred space of the central panel, the Holy ground upon which the Christ figure appears.

Charlot presented a very sensitive rendering of nature in his illustrations of animals and plants. In a graceful breaking of the groundline with a single cane leaf, Charlot united nature with Christ and God the creator (Illustration 6.47).[468] Charlot depicted a living nature by constantly alluding to the connection of God, nature and humanity. He often emphasized the close relationship of humans to nature in his artworks by creating visual metaphors through motifs that suggest anthropomorphic figures within the vegetation. In the central panel, he paralleled the Sacred Heart shape with a breadfruit and used the *yaqona* leaves as a stylized sign-symbol for "hearts" in the Western motif one might see on a Valentine card. In other examples of his art, Charlot further stylized breadfruit leaves into the shape of human faces that recall Noh masks, alluding to the indigenous religion of Japan, Shintoism, where spirits manifest in nature, just as they do in the Pacific Islands and Mesoamerica (Illustration 6.48).[469]

Syncretistic Origins of Charlot's Black Christ

Granting that there are far more differences than similarities, Charlot must have been struck by the parallels that can be drawn if one compares ancient Polynesian and Mesoamerican cultures. For example, the peoples of ancient Polynesia and Mesoamerica both had a belief system that included a divine kingship based on primogeniture and genealogical descent. This resulted in a highly stratified social system consisting of a noble and priestly class (that included artists, in both cases) at the top of the hierarchy, with commoners, captives, and slaves at the bottom. The peoples of both cultures resided in environments adjacent to oceans and/or volcanoes. Local peoples in both areas were extremely knowledgeable about their natural environment and practiced extensive agriculture, as well as hunting and gathering. Both peoples held to beliefs in a polytheistic religion where native deities manifested in animals and plants, and both drank intoxicants, *yaqona* in Fiji and *pulque* in Mesoamerica, as sacred beverages that allowed priests to communicate with ancestors

and gods.[470] Further, both cultures developed elaborate religious rituals of human sacrifice.[471]

In Mexico, Charlot was introduced to the cult of the Black Christ. In Mexico City, he was exposed to popular beliefs in the Black Savior through the prints of José Guadalupe Posada. Charlot was an early admirer of Posada, and he assembled the largest collection of Posada's prints outside of Mexico, including at least two images of Black Christs (Illustration 6.49).[472] Charlot's knowledge of the Black Christ and other syncretistic traditions in Mexico derived from his own experiences and investigations with local cultures and pre-Columbian religions, particularly at Chichén Itzá. Charlot's pilgrimages to Chalma and Mérida would have provided ample opportunity to observe first-hand the traditions associated with the Black Christ cults (Illustration 6.50).[473] During his stay in Mexico, Charlot maintained a close friendship with Anita Brenner, who at the time was researching Idols behind Altars (1929), a book that documented the syncretistic religious traditions of Mexico. In her text, Brenner included an extensive description of the Black Christ of Esquipulas and wrote, "black in Middle America has been considered divine, sacred and holy from time immemorial."[474]

In Mexico and Central America there are approximately twenty-five churches, parochial chapels, and sanctuaries that house an image of the Black Christ.[475] Of these, four sites have strong evidence of pre-Columbian origins.[476] The cult of the Black Christ in Mexico is associated with the manifestations of the pre-Columbian Earth spirit in locales such as caves, *cenotes* (springs, sink holes) and/or associated with sacred healing clays. In Mexico, the Black Christ cults are associated not only with geographic features such as caves and springs, but also with apparitions and miracles; one example known to Charlot was the appearance of the Lord of Chalma in the place of Ostocotheotl the Aztec cave god.[477]

> The pilgrims would walk for days through the surrounding mountains, wearing flowers in their hair and carrying incense burners, in order to make offerings to a statue of Ozteotl [alternative, Ostocotheotl], the Dark Lord of the Cave. [478]

In his Black Christ triptych, Charlot evokes a similar scene with the brass camphor bowl at the bottom right of Christ's feet and the Indo-Fijian woman who approaches the Christ figure with a floral garland.

In Fiji, Charlot was probably influenced in his decision to paint a Black Christ by his discovery of a local shrine to the Virgin Mary located in a grotto at the bottom of Navunibitu Hill. In his diaries, Charlot mentioned starting to paint the Christ figure on October tenth, but he does not record walking to see the grotto until October fourteenth. While it is impossible to know for sure, I believe it likely Charlot was aware of this grotto prior to beginning painting the Christ figure.[479] In her letter to her son John, dated 13 October 1962, Zohmah wrote of the grotto, "it is a most beautiful natural rock formation with a lovely spring....[T]he great rocks are surrounded by breadfruit, palms, mango and other tropical trees."[480] The "grotto" that Zohmah referred to is a natural outcropping of rocks with a small cave and a spring (Illustration 6.51).[481] This shrine consists of the cave and springs, an altar with a sculpture of the Virgin, and a well-kept garden. The spring flows out above the altar, down through the rocks, and out to the ocean. In this spiritual place, the local people have created a lovely garden area and dedicated a shrine to the Virgin Mary (Illustration 6.52). It is said that the altar marks the site where the Virgin once appeared.[482] The grotto also offers a clear view of Naiserelagi Church.

In Fiji, believers come from the bush to bring the first fruits of the harvest as offerings of thanksgiving, and likewise, they bring food gifts to the church on a regular basis.[483] Charlot would have observed similar religious acts in Mexico, where pilgrims travel to sacred shrines of the Black Christ to make offerings and give prayers for water, agriculture, and ancestral land.[484] In Mexico and Central America, religious ceremonies honoring the Black Christ involve all night celebrations with dancing, feasting and music, similar to Charlot's experience with Fijian festivals, such as *vegaravi*.[485] In the twentieth century, Black Christs in Mexico have been associated with peace and reconciliation.[486] In Fiji, Charlot represented these ideas in his *Black Christ* triptych, which united both Fijians and Indo-Fijians as one community under God.

When Charlot arrived in Fiji, he would have been confronted with all the necessary elements for a Black Christ as established by the syncretistic traditions that he had experienced in Mexico. These elements include the historic traditions of the old Fijian religion that considered the area sacred to Degei the snake god, who created the first Fijian man and woman in the sacred caves of the Nakauvadra mountains. The parallels between the Fijian frescoes and the syncretistic traditions of Mexico are also observable in Charlot's depiction of the Virgin Mary in the east side altar fresco. Writing of Mexico, Brenner stated a mat "of a sincere yellow colour...[was] spiritually an essentially Mexican symbol."[487] In Fiji, Charlot's Madonna is dark-skinned and plaits a mat. Although written almost ten years prior to Charlot's work in Fiji, the following quote from his autobiographical chapter in Born Catholic clearly anticipated Charlot's Fijian Virgin Mary:

> When I left Mexico for the United States, my devotions had become a more or less integrated blend of three racial attitudes—French, Spanish, and Indian—and I talked to God in a number of languages. My piety paralleled the mixed aesthetics of the image of Our Lady Of Guadalupe, robed in tints so light and so dark of skin, dressed in the insignia of an Aztec princess, impressed by Heaven on a lowly palm mat, but with a clarity of a statement worthy of Poussin.[488]

The Virgin of Guadalupe is the dark-skinned patron saint of Mexico. The cult of her worship dates back to 12 December 1531 when she appeared to Juan Diego, an indigenous man at the hill of Tepeyac, north of Mexico City. In the Fijian fresco Charlot renders Mary's clothing a pinkish color.[489] In Mexico, the color pink is not only associated with the Virgin of Guadalupe, but also with Aztec royalty, metaphorically part of Charlot's own genealogy and heritage.[490]

I believe Charlot conceptualized his Fijian frescoes as the focus of a pilgrimage center inspired by his experiences in Mexico. I believe that this notion was at the core of the artist's original conception of his work in Fiji, an artistic achievement marking his own pilgrimage to the heart of the Pacific Islands. In Fiji, Charlot created his Black Christ as a sacred image worthy of the long journey to St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church. Even today, the church at Naiserelagi is difficult to access, being four hours by car on the King's Road from either of the two major city centers, Nadi and Suva. The

road is paved only from Nadi on the Western side; from Suva, the road remains unpaved and in a rough condition. Upon arrival at Navunibitu Hill, it is still necessary to traverse a dirt road up to the mission that is often impossible to negotiate without a four-wheel drive vehicle. The Naiserelagi church, situated in a such a remote location, and even more so in 1962, when there were no paved roads and limited transportation, demands much effort to visit, and, thus, it is easy to see how both Jean and Zohmah Charlot could regard the site as a pilgrimage center. In a letter to John describing the grotto, Zohmah began with, "It seems to me that this will be the great shrine of the Pacific."[491]

Jean Charlot's Fijian Fresco Murals in Context: Ethnohistoric Sources

The immediate response of the local population of Ra District to Charlot's work and art appears to have been very enthusiastic. This attitude was expressed in a letter written to the Charlots and presented to them at the Blessing Ceremony held for the murals by the people of Naiserelagi. In their letter, they offer their gratitude and thanks for the effort on their behalf:

> [T]he poor people of this Mission we are so very grateful. Truly we couldn't [do] this wondrous work of bedecking our church but we beseech Almighty God that he may take care of you and your family through this short life.[492]

Besides the letter, the local people demonstrated their appreciation through their actions; the numerous honors they bestowed upon the Charlots included feasts, presentational offerings, and other traditional ceremonies.

Three articles about the Naiserelagi Catholic Church and Charlot's frescoes were published in the Fiji Times while the artist was still working on them. These articles provide insight into the national response to the frescoes. The first public announcement of Charlot's Fijian frescoes was published in the Fiji Times, Thursday, 2 October 1962, in an article entitled, "Noted Artist to Paint Mural in Colony." The article described the commission, stating, "...something unique in churches in Fiji will be the 10 [foot] by 30 [foot] mural which is soon to be painted behind the altar in the church of the Naiserelagi Roman Catholic Mission at Viti Levu Bay."[493] The article provided a brief

background on Charlot's work as a muralist, noting he "has painted 35 murals including in Mexico, Honolulu, and Georgia."[494] Regarding the subject matter, the artist indicated that the breadfruit would be used to symbolize the Sacred Heart motif in the central panel which would show the crucifixion against a tropical background and that the two side panels would portray people served by the mission—Fijians and Indians making offerings.[495]

The second article, published on Monday, 17 December 1962, entitled "Remarkable Mural by Jean Charlot," served as the first public critique of the almost-finished work.[496] The author described his aesthetic response to the imagery after viewing the murals in progress.

> The first sight of Professor Jean Charlot's 30 [foot] mural...brings amazement...amazement at the remarkable conception that gave its beginning in the mind of the artist….Then, after a long deep study, the picture and its meaning and its message, begin to sink in.…The work is most exacting and difficult, each stroke of the brush has to be just right for once applied, it is permanent. The central figure…is a 'black Christ'….The vital life-size figures, the lush tropical background and other details of Fijian and Indian life are all into one harmonious piece, telling a story of today and the hope of a happy future, and creating a memory which will remain a long time….[A] Fijian [man] in ceremonial dress [offers] a tabua to the crucified Christ. This great symbol of respect, and in this instance devotion, is continued in the opposite panel where an Indian woman [offers] the tribute of a garland of flowers in respect, love and homage…. The attention to detail is indicated in the club, obtained from an interior village 25 miles away, and the large tanoa is also a fine specimen. The amazing unity of different colors of the whole harmonizing effect has been achieved by the use of whiteness of the lime which comes through the various coloured pigments to give that sense of completeness….As the time passes [and] the lime gradually dries out the colors will strengthen.[497]

The author's enthusiastic review concluded, "the outstanding technique of the artist merges all figures so very completely into one completely harmonized picture which leaves a memory which will remain a long time."[498] The article is generally complimentary to the artist and is directed towards generating the interest of the national population. The author mentioned briefly the blessing service marking the

completion of the murals, noting that the service took place on Saturday, 15 December 1962, and was given by the "Very Rev. Father Clerkin."[499]

On the following day, 18 December 1962, a third article was published in the Fiji Times, entitled, "Naiserelagi Blessing of Fine Work of Art."[500] This article provided a more detailed account of the blessing ceremony and a Fijian festivity with food offerings, or *magiti*, including a *yaqona* ceremony and *meke,* Fijian dance performances. A formal affair, invitations were mailed out to a variety of guests from all over Fiji. Formal thanks were offered to Jean, Zohmah, and Martin Charlot, as well as to Franz Glinserer. Charlot returned the thanks, articulating his view that his paintings were "indeed an exchange; I cannot do the things they do, but I can paint, so in return I give them this picture."[501] The article quoted Wasner, who spoke at the service and stated,

> It was not only a great work of art but also a great work of love. In it was Christ on the cross who came not to save any particular race but to save all people. In it also his Sacred Heart—his love for all men….Fiji must stand for peace and peace can come to Fiji if the two main races will stand together as they stand together in the mural....It remains for us to take in the beauty before our eyes and let it penetrate into our souls and our hearts, and look at the message that it sends to us everyday—the love of God and the love of labour, such as Professor Charlot gave in this work.[502]

Wasner's comments clearly indicate his pleasure and satisfaction with the commission. His interpretation of the frescoes probably had a significant influence on how local people viewed the paintings at the time, particularly members of the local church parish. Wasner's view represented not only that of a patron but also that of the Catholic Church on the local level.

Another official public speech was given by clergy at the blessing ceremony in honor of the frescoes' completion; this was presented by Father Clerkin, representing then Bishop Foley. In his speech, Father Clerkin was quoted as having said that he was privileged to bless the mural.

> It was a unique occasion, for it was, as far as he knew, the only fresco mural in any church in Fiji….[T]he mural...would last as long as the church stood….[I]n the Christian area great cathedrals were built and works of art were created. It was a different age from that of today when man was so busily preparing instruments of

> destruction. Now we have had the talent of Prof. Charlot and his belief and devotion to express it so beautifully in this work. To all of us who come to the altar to pray it will be a great inspiration. To those who will come to this Church it will bring belief to their lives and lift up their souls to God. And to those who come just to look at a splendid work of art, it will also be an inspiration....During the years to come...[the] great work would become even greater…. [T]hey should be thankful that Prof. Charlot had the faith and devotion which enabled him to do that great work.[503]

Father Clerkin, as the representative of the Bishop, gave an indication of the reception of the murals within the greater Catholic Church community. The positive response of the Church is further illustrated in a personal letter of thanks written to Charlot from Bishop Foley himself. In this letter, Foley described his subsequent visit and his response to the murals as follows:

> I have now seen the murals at Naiserelagi. They are beautiful and what touches me in them, in your incorporation of the two races of Fiji, is not so much the fact that they are there but the fact that one sees a soul, almost a living one of profound spirituality. I feel that these images which you have imprinted on the walls, dead things in themselves, will help the growth of things spiritual in the minds and hearts of our peoples—which no doubt is your purpose in your work—and for this, as Bishop, I am most grateful.[504]

At some point after the completion of the frescoes, the Catholic Church published a flyer that was made available at the local church at Naiserelagi. The flyer stated that the setting of the entire mural was definitely Fijian and that "in Fijian, the single word *uto* means both ‘breadfruit’ and ‘heart.’ Thus, the breadfruit leaves and fruits are meant to be a symbolic projection of the love of Christ.”[505] Christ was described as “dark skinned,” while the Sacred Heart was said to symbolize the love of Christ for all mankind, the reason for his sacrifice, and the source of unity among all men. The flyer also noted that the cord and shells were stretched toward the crucified one who was being honored. Mary is described “at a typical Fijian occupation of braiding a *vo'ivo'i* mat.” The author also commented on the fresco process, making the point that Charlot was assisted by Franz Glinserer, as well as by Zohmah and Martin Charlot.[506]

Articles and entries about the murals soon began to appear in travel journals, helping to establish the church of the frescoes as a popular tourist destination. As a

follow-up, the Fiji Times ran a front page article in December, 1963, albeit a brief description, advertising the existence of the fresco paintings.[507] Another local magazine, the Pacific Islands Monthly, ran an article in its July 1967 issue, entitled "Little-Known Murals of Fiji Church Capture Essence of Countryside." The article was written by Jane Gregor of Suva, who described the "magnificent mural" by the famous French painter Charlot as

> a true blending of Fijian, European and Indian cultures....What makes Naiserelagi's frescoes so totally memorable is their identification with the work and life of Fiji of today….Even more exciting still is the fact that each figure in the murals, with the exception of Christ, is a recognizable person….I cannot too strongly emphasize the impression that the murals of Naiserelagi made upon me; I was irresistibly convinced that the artist had captured the very essence of all that is, and could be, best in Fiji.[508]

Five years later, in 1972, a second paper, The Fiji Beach Press, published a short article, "Visitors Invited To See 'Black Christ' In Church," which called the mural a "star attraction...vivid and bold."[509]

On an international level, a brief announcement of Charlot's lecture to the British Council in Fiji was published Monday, 29 October 1962, in the Fiji Times.[510] The first notable international publication on the murals, however, appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin, on 3 November 1962, entitled "Sounds and Souls and Sensitivity" and written by Carl Wright. Commenting on Wasner's mission, Wright said, "Msgr. Franz Wasner...must have thought of music and art as the first steps in his mission for Charlot heard from him in the beginning."[511] The majority of the article's information is taken directly from Zohmah's letter to Wright dated 10 October 1962.[512]

A second article, featuring Charlot's Fijian frescoes, appeared in the 3 March 1963 issue of Aloha, in the section on music and arts. The article, written by Joanna Eagle and entitled "Charlot Paints Fresco in Fiji," included a brief history of the artist and a description of the paintings. Of the main icon, Eagle wrote, "Charlot used the Black Christ symbol...for the Fijians to identify with." Referring to the background of breadfruit leaves surrounding Christ, Eagle stated, "Charlot wished to express the Fijians' close

relationship to nature." Concluding, the author stated that the artist had "succeeded admirably."[513]

After the Charlots returned to Hawai'i, Zohmah published six articles on their experiences, based primarily on letters written to family members during the time she was in Fiji. The two most insightful articles are "Charlot Paints a Fresco in Fiji," published in Christian Art, May 1964, and "The Place of Heavenly Song" published in the Honolulu Beacon, December 1964.[514] These two articles cover basically the same information, beginning with the origin of the commission, the Charlots' first impressions of Fiji, and their first night in Fiji, highlighting experiences with the whale's tooth, *yaqona* ceremony, and *lali*, or Fijian drums. Her other articles combined general statements regarding the progression of the process, development of iconography, and other events that occurred during their stay at the mission.

In the Honolulu Beacon article, Zohmah commented on the choice of black skin for the Christ icon: "Jean will paint a Black Christ for black Fijians." In this article, she reiterated that the "breadfruit is to be a most important part of the fresco to emphasize the close relationship of Christ to nature."[515] The article also chronicles Zohmah's own experiences in Fiji; for example, she mentions going "to visit and pray in the beautiful grotto of Our Lady of Ra." In this article she described the area around the church and the predictions of the local village seer:

> The village seer dreams of the eventual bus loads of people who will come to see the pictures. One doesn't have to be a seer to imagine wanting to come to Naiserelagi, for it is good to be in this happy place, where the day begins for all the world, and where the children begin the day with prayers and song.[516]

This article was reprinted, with a couple of pictorial additions of Charlot's Fijian oils, under a new title, "A Fiji Adventure," in The Sketchbook of Kappa Pi.[517]

In two later articles, published in the Hawaiian newspaper Suburban Press, Zohmah recalled memories of her holiday celebrations in Fiji. These brief accounts do not include any new information regarding the frescoes themselves; rather they describe the preparations, feasts, and activities of Thanksgiving and Christmas. In the first article, "Mrs. Jean Charlot Takes Us To Fiji for Thanksgiving," Zohmah described the

local people as unaccustomed to celebrating Thanksgiving in the American tradition of a national holiday feast of turkey and trimmings, and thus, in Fiji, it was modified to be a feast of local fish, shrimp, pineapples, bananas, rice, taro, and sago.[518] In the second article, "Mrs. Jean Charlot Cherishes Fond Fiji Yule Memories," Zohmah recalled that the celebration of Christmas at Naiserelagi included dancing, feasting, and the presentation of a Christmas play. She also described the "gift-giving," and the presents she received:

> (T)hey became future frescoes, an I.O.U. from my husband promising to paint murals on the two side altars of the mission church because I had asked for them. From Father Dutton another I.O.U., he was offering me his Christmas mass...The beautiful songs, the heavenly petition, the murals I never see again are gifts that filled my heart to the breaking point.[519]

Fortunately, Zohmah did see the murals again, when she and Jean returned for a short visit in February 1977.[520]

In 1978, John McDermott published a short account of his visit to see the frescoes in How to Get Lost and Found in Fiji, where he gives a general description of the location and frescoes.[521] McDermott's account includes several errors, including the misidentification of Maria Gemma as a local Fijian man and the mat she holds as *masi* or bark cloth.[522] He concluded with an interpretation similar to Wasner's, writing,

> Does the mural (triptych) heavy with symbolic objects of the two dominant races in Fiji mean that the two peoples can come together in Christ? In a time of political struggle when there are indications of more and more racial polarization, one could only kneel under the mural and pray.[523]

He noted, at the time of his visit, that there was nothing available at the church to provide information about the murals. A decade later, the magazine Fiji Calling featured the murals in an article written by Mark Ebrey, "On the King's Road: Rural Murals." Ebrey provided a brief and general description as a neutral observer, and noted at the end, "it is definitely worth a visit."[524]

Two other contemporary and popular travel books, published in the late 1990s, list the murals as major attractions off the King's Road on the main island of Northern

Viti Levu. In the South Pacific Handbook, David Stanley wrote that the Naiserelagi Church

> was beautifully decorated with frescoes by Jean Charlot....Typical Fijian motifs...blend in the powerful composition behind the altar....Christ and the Madonna are portrayed in black. The church is worth stopping to see.[525]

Likewise, the church and frescoes at Naiserelagi are briefly mentioned in Fiji: Lonely Planet, listed under "King's Road (Suva to Lautoka)—Rakiraki & around."[526]

Audience Response: A Diachronic Perspective

The intentions of the artist determine the topic and presentation of the narrative at a particular historic moment; the perceivers are then open to interpret the narrative in a dialectical relationship to the artwork that is ongoing in time. In Fiji, this part of my research proved to be most challenging, as most Fijian participants were reluctant to give formal interviews for a variety of reasons, including the cultural practice that discourages the asking and answering of direct questions. For example, in his description of neighboring New Guinea cultures anthropologist Anthony Forge noted in his article "Problems of Meaning of Art" that "verbalizing about art, in short, is not a feature of New Guinea cultures."[527] This has also been documented in Fiji by Andrew Arno, who in his investigation of the Fijian rituals pertaining to *kilikili* (grave markers), *tabua*, *i yau* (bark cloth and mats), and the *yaqona* ceremony, noted that,

> even after asking those in the community who were more than ordinarily knowledgeable about and interested in, local traditions...participants did not have a ready answer precisely because verbal expression of the [*kilikili*] stones' meaning was not necessary to the communicative functions of the ritual acts. Their essential, deeper meaning did not reside in language and would have been inadequately represented in language.[528]

My formal interviews were characterized by a prepared list of questions, my pencil and paper in hand, and a tape recorder. In truth, the majority of these interviews with Fijians ended up being very long sessions of informal *yaqona* drinking, lasting up to eight hours, with few words directed to the discussion of Charlot's frescoes, despite my repeated attempts at direct and indirect questions. In contrast, while working on the

restoration of the Fijian frescoes, we often received visitors who freely offered food, gifts, and informal thoughts on the paintings.

Indo-Fijians were reluctant to give interviews either because they had not seen the paintings, and/or they were inhibited to discuss something that is viewed by some community members as pertaining to "black magic." Despite my reassurances that they could read my final interview transcripts, another concern shared by local Indo-Fijians was that they might offend a high ranking Fijian, such as the local chief, i.e., if I documented something they said and it was later read and interpreted by that person to be offensive. In spite of these challenges and the limits of my final database, there appeared to be some obvious differences in the audience responses to the frescoes. The research data for the following section was gathered through a combination of formal, and, by necessity, informal interviews, that took place in Fiji during my research trips: 9 September-10 October 1999; 16-18 October 2000; 31 October-12 November 2000, and 2 June-27 July 2001. Through local interviews and research, it has been possible to formulate a diachronic perspective of audience response and to compare cross-cultural responses to the frescoes with Charlot's original artistic intentions. These materials provided a basis for discovering (decoding) how the murals "speak" to their current audience, and how they, in turn, understand, appreciate, and critique the frescoes in their contemporary cultural context.[529]

Local Audience: Fijian Catholics

In the twenty-first century, one of the most important influences on local attitudes towards Charlot's frescoes has been their interpretation by the resident priest, Father Eremodo Muavesi, who had given several sermons on the symbolism and meaning of the subject matter of the frescoes. Father Eremodo, an ex-soldier from the interior of Ra District, is descended from the very first ordained Fijian priest (Illustration 6.53).[530] His mission continued the syncretistic tendencies of the Order of the Sacred Heart, carried out by Wasner, to bring Christ closer to the people. In keeping with the syncretistic nature of the Church mission, Father Eremodo offers the services in the native dialect. The majority of the congregation is Fijian, and one must be familiar with

the Fijian language to grasp the content of Father Eremodo's sermons. In fact, many people commented to me that the memorial service, given on 22 June 2001, in honor of the Charlots, was the first service anyone remembered being offered bilingually, in both Fijian and English (Illustration 6.54).[531]

In addition to language, traditional Fijian art forms are integrated into the church including the continued use of mats in place of pews and women's art forms of mats and *masi* (bark cloth) used to decorate the altars. Bark cloth decorations often hung directly beneath Charlot's fresco panels and thus echoed the paintings, with the offerings of indigenous arts. These syncretistic traditions are also observable in the decoration of the current priest's vestments, which feature the symbols of the cross and the *tanoa*, the *yaqona* serving bowl (Illustration 6.55), motifs also closely associated in Charlot's triptych.[532] In formal church services, the ceremonial presentation of the gospel to the worshippers is an impressive event; the Bible is carried forth from the back of the congregation toward the altar by an individual glistening with coconut oil, wrapped in *masi* (decorated bark cloth) and processing with systematized movements that recall the *meke ni yaqona*.[533] Furthermore, all Fijian Catholic services that I attended were followed by *yaqona* ceremonies, which were identified as fundamental components of the faith by most Christian Fijians. Today, *yaqona* is a powerful symbol of Fijian cultural and national identity, as well as a syncretistic element of the national Catholic missionary effort. It is probably for this reason that the two motifs are used to ornament priestly vestments, as a reminder of the divine sanctification of indigenous culture and national independence.

Father Eremodo interprets the icon of the fresco's crucified Christ as symbolic of many ideas deeply rooted in Fijian cultural beliefs. He stated that he conceived of the frescoes in the contemporary context of local and national attitudes to Catholicism within what he describes as "Black Theology."[534] Black Theology was influential within the anti-colonial intellectual environment in the 1960s-1970s, stimulated by the oppression of Blacks in America and providing a wider context for Pacific Islander's own experiences of colonialization.[535] In an effort to counteract local beliefs in Fiji that the color "black" carries negative connotations, such as "evil" of "devil," Father Eremodo

emphasized that “Christ is a mystery, he is black, he is white….He is God and human at the same time.” Speaking to a predominantly Fijian audience, Father Eremodo stressed that Charlot's painting signified that “Christ is black just like you and me.”[536] This interpretation appeared to be shared by the majority of parishioners with whom I spoke, who had taken very seriously the interpretation of Catholic ideology as expressed by clergy. In contrast, as part of an earlier generation, Selestino Koloaia and Maria Gemma firmly stated that this interpretation stressing a “Black” Christ is a contemporary phenomena and that in the past the figure was intended to represent simply the “Christ” figure.[537] Koloaia stated, “tourists changed the meaning to a ‘Black Christ.’”[538]

Today, the small dirt road from the King's Road that leads uphill to the chapel, is marked with a sign reading “St. Francis Xavier Parish, The Church of the Black Christ” (Illustration 6.56).[539] Father Eremodo, who at the time was the priest-in-residence at the Naiserelagi Mission, put up the sign for tourists. In our conversations, he complained that initially the sign kept getting knocked down. His possible explanation for such acts was related to local beliefs in black magic and connotations of the color black being indicative of the devil. Father Eremodo believed these ideas were instilled by recent Protestant missionaries who advocated a “white” Christ and who conceptualize evil, sinful thoughts as deriving from the dark side of the soul.[540] I myself heard such a sermon in the Anglican Church in Nadi in September 1999. At this same service, I witnessed an exorcism, furthering Father Eremodo’s claim of local beliefs in black magic. In my own experience in Fiji, I often heard of black magic used to explain sicknesses and ill goings-on.[541]

These beliefs naturally tended to have a negative impact in the local interpretation of Charlot’s frescoes, particularly a crucified Black Christ. The issue of a “Black” Christ seems to be a more recent idea, one that today presents a paradox for many local Fijians and Indo-Fijians alike. This fact that may account for the reluctance of people to give formal interviews, and even for Narendra’s hesitation to discuss his portrait in the paintings within his own family. One Indo-Fijian, who wished to remain anonymous, stated these negative beliefs were particularly relevant to Indo-Fijians in the area, which he asserted accounted for the fact that there were relatively few

Catholics of Indo-Fijian descent in the area, as they “fear the Black Christ.”[542] In the predominantly Fijian-Methodist village of Rakiraki, I was regularly asked to explain “why” Christ was painted black. Most villagers had never ventured to see the paintings, partially inhibited by transportation problems, but they also explained the area was *tabu*, “forbidden,” to them, being Methodists. While I can only speculate, these negative associations with "black" are perhaps encouraged by local non-Catholic Christian groups, who, in the spirit of the historic rivalries that have characterized missions in the Pacific Islands, desired to keep potential converts away from the Catholic Mission and to discourage Indo-Fijian beliefs in earthly manifestations of black-skinned gods, such as the Hindu diety Krishna.

Regional Audience: Fijian Methodists

The Fijians, regionally, responded similarly to the aesthetic and informational systems represented in Charlot’s painting.[543] Christian Fijians, be they Catholic or Methodist, seemed to comprehend both the Christian symbolism as well as that associated with Fijian customs. Many members of the community are trilingual, speaking at least one local Fijian dialect, along with their national Fijian dialect and English, which is often used in education. It is reasonable to assume that because most Fijians are Christian, bicultural, and, at least, bilingual, they are able to comprehend easily Charlot’s visual metaphors, such as his three signs for a “heart” (the Sacred Heart, the breadfruit and the stylized *yaqon*a leaves). Iconographically, the most widely recognizable figure seems to be Archbishop Petero Mataca, who is not only the current Archbishop of Suva, but also is related by marriage to the late Tui Navitilevu Ratu Bolobolo, longtime chief of nearby Rakiraki Village. Members of the larger Catholic community of Ra District generally recognized the other local figures, some of whom still reside in the local area (the Fijian school girl, Teresia Tinai, and the Indo-Fijian altar boy, Narendra) or who are recently deceased (the Fijian man and woman, Selestino Koloaia and Maria Gemma).

The icons in the Black Christ triptych that seem to hold the strongest symbolic meaning to all the Fijians with whom I spoke were the whale’s tooth and the *yaqona*,

conceived to be the two highest offerings in Fijian ritual. In a private interview, Father Eremodo explained the significance of the *tabua* in the fresco, which to him symbolized "a great debt, in Fijian culture; [they] have come to grasp the debt that everything is Christ, that he is above all that is in Fijian, the highest value."[544] This interpretation was shared by Etuate Katalau, *matai* , or master carpenter, and Methodist lay minister from Rakiraki, who also worked on the restoration of the Catholic Mission Church and its murals (Illustration 6.57).[545] Referring to Koloaia's presentation of the *tabua* in the fresco, Katalau stated, "It's like he is presenting the whole community, the whole congregation."[546] Another resident of Rakiraki, Sakiusa Vedewaqa, urged me, "First of all, the most important thing I want you to write, the whale's tooth, for us, those things so meaningful [*sic*]" (Illustration 6.58).[547] The breadfruit was also mentioned regularly, in its symbolic reference to the Sacred Heart of Christ. Another viewpoint shared by the Fijian visitors was the relationship of the murals to their immediate natural and cultural environment, i.e., the murals were naturally beautiful because they depicted the beauty of the local area and people, who, by virtue of being Fijian-Christians who live there, are themselves considered beautiful.[548] Seeing the paintings for the first time, Sakaraia Tabala, of Rakiraki stated, "It makes me very proud to be a Fijian, it really touches me" (Illustration 6.59).[549]

Indo-Fijians

Based on my interviews and a large body of data gathered from comments in the guest registry, Indo-Fijians seem to respond to the aesthetic system more than the symbolic meanings of the frescoes. For example, most people expressed admiration for the paintings in terms of beauty, color and representation, but never did I hear anyone comment on symbolism or meaning. In fact, one man stated that, not being a Christian, it was not the prerogative of a non-Christian to be concerned with such meanings.[550] Narendra, who served as the model for the altar boy in the far right panel, expressed his reactions to local resident, Akenata Vulavou, who translated his comments as, "It looks beautiful to him when he sees it. He feels proud of himself when he sees himself up there."[551] The stress on community and humility may account for the fact that

Narendra, despite living a short walking distance from the church, had never taken his wife and family to see the frescoes, nor did they know he was illustrated in the triptych until I arrived there to inquire about the paintings.

My formal interviews with Indo-Fijians consisted of interviews with two local farmers near Naiserelagi (Hindu) and two hotel staff in Rakiraki (Illustration 6.60).[552] My longer “informal” interviews included speaking with three other hotel staff members (all Hindu) and two taxi drivers (one Hindu and one Muslim) from Rakiraki, and one national visitor (Indo-Fijian Catholic) from Nadi. It seems that many of the Indo-Fijian farmers in the immediate area of Naiserelagi do not take an interest in the Fijian frescoes, although they were generally aware of the paintings at the "Catholic Church." The Indo-Fijians from nearby Vaileka town and Rakiraki, while geographically further away, tended to be more acquainted with the frescoes as a consequence of the tourist industry, particularly those who worked within the hotel industry or who drove taxicabs.

National and International Visitors

A review of the guest book signatures suggests the frescoes have been a very successful tourist destination for national and international religious pilgrims and art lovers for over four decades.[553] However, very few signatures exist for the next ten years, following the 1987 political coup. This is probably because of problems with local transportation due to imposed curfews and because few tourists traveled to the area after the coup. Signatures begin to fill the pages once again, around 1997, and they are primarily tourists from the international community.[554]

Today, Charlot’s frescoes are popularly advertised tourist destinations. Local hotels, such as the Rakiraki Hotel and Wananavu Resorts, advertise the murals as part of the cultural attractions of “North Coast Viti Levu.”[555] Wananavu includes the frescoes as part of their “Weddings in Paradise” page on the Internet. The “Catholic Church Wedding” is offered for a price of $1,005, including:

> Marriage License, Transfers to and from Local Town to obtain License, Transfers to and from Catholic Church for Bride and Groom, Catholic Priest, Traditional Fijian Necklace (lei) for both Bride & Groom, Church Choir, Church Donation, Bottle of Wine & Fruit Basket upon arrival.[556]

The advertisement continues with a list of additional charges and a brief mention of Charlot, who is mistakenly identified as a priest:

> Navunibitu Catholic Church is approximately a 35-minutes drive from the Resort. The Church is famous for its Mural Painting of 'The Black Christ'; painted by a famous French priest—Jean Charlot while in Fiji on Missionary work.[557]

The frescoes are mentioned on a second Internet site for Crystal Divers. The site gives a brief description of the location and continues with a somewhat detailed description of the murals:

> This church was beautifully decorated with frescoes by Jean Charlot in 1962-63. This powerful depiction of Biblical scenes is in three panels behind the altar. Father Pierre Chanel, who was martyred on the island of Fatuna in 1841, appears on the left holding a war club, the weapon that killed him. Christ and the Madonna are portrayed in black. Christ on the Cross wears a tapa cloth sulu (bark cloth sarong), while Fijians are depicted offering hand-woven pandanus, leaf mats, and ceremonial whales' teeth. Indians are seen offering flowers and oxen. There is also a kava bowl at Christ's feet.[558]

Mistakes are apparent in both advertisements, i.e., the above should read "Futuna" and "whale's tooth."

The above websites are examples of Fijian-owned businesses advertising to local and international audiences. Three additional websites represent larger international businesses advertising the frescoes as major tourist attractions in Fiji. The Fiji Destination Guide lists the frescoes as a major attraction off the King's Road in Naiserelagi:

> Naiserelagi is the home of the church of French artist Jean Charlot's mural, Black Christ, an exquisite work blending Fijian motifs with the teachings of Christ. Charlot painted it in 1962 at the invitation of Monsignor Franz Wasner, the then caretaker of the mission. (Prior to coming to Fiji, Wasner was the singing teacher of the Von Trapp family made famous by "The Sound of Music'.[559]

The Fiji Hidden Heritage site advertises the Charlot frescoes as a major attraction as part of the tour package and includes an illustration of the central triptych; however, the reference fails to identify the artist:

> You will also visit the Church of Saint Frances Xavier—a theologian's enigma. What makes the Navuibitu [Navunibitu] church so unusual are the murals, a series of frescos originally commissioned by the one time chaplain to Austria's famous Von Trapp family, Monsignor Franz Wasner. The central panel portrays a dark skinned crucified Christ clothed in a loincloth of local bark, masi. On each side of the triptych are the two major races in Fiji—Fijian and Indian—converging on the central figure of Christ.[560]

The Frommers.com website offers a one-sentence mention of the frescoes and artist, and makes the mistake of interpreting the locale name of Naiserelagi to be Fijian for "Black Christ."[561] Today, Charlot's Fijian frescoes continue to be one of the major destinations for people traveling to the Ra District, and the frescoes are often used in advertisements to attract tourists to the remote area.

Restoration Project June-July 2001

During my period of on-site research in Septmeber 1999, I was visited at St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church by a Fijian woman named Akenata Vulavou. She stated that she had walked to the mission that day after having a dream of Charlot's triptych, *the Black Christ and Worshipers*. In her dream, the paintings looked incomplete, unfinished. She interpreted this as a sign, an omen, and, thus, she had walked several miles to the church to pray before the Black Christ. When she arrived, we met for the first time and she told me her dream was a vision that carried the message that I must continue my research and restore the frescoes.[562] Nearly two years after this incident, I returned to Fiji to carry out the restoration project in June-July 2001.

Several Fijian-Catholics from Naiserelagi, along with several Fijian-Methodists from nearby Rakiraki village, assisted me with my research in 1999 and with the restoration project. Under the direction of Martin Charlot, Charlot's Fijian frescoes were restored by a group of "hard-working souls" who called themselves "team fresco." The group included myself, Kawena Charlot, Martin's daughter, and a number of local Fijians: Etuate Naucukidi Katalau, Sr. Udite Ratawake, Sakiusa Nawea, Adi Akisi Ramasina, Lani Buadromo, Sirilo Rakesa, Samuela Vanini, and Sevuloni Vanavana. Together we accomplished the primary objectives of the project, including cleaning

Charlot's Fijian frescoes and partially restoring the church building at Naiserelagi. Our efforts resulted in a joint service between the two regional communities of Naiserelagi and Rakiraki villages during the memorial service, for Jean and Zohmah Charlot, on 22 June 2001. As an extension of the celebration, Martin Charlot was honored with a traditional festivity, a v*eqaravi*, which included the gifting of whale's teeth, *yaqona*, and mats. The completed restoration project was celebrated with an additional festivity, a *vaka vini vinaka* or thank you and good-bye ceremony, held on July 12, 2001, that included the gifting of indigenous objects, food, music, and dance performances.

Nationally, our work on the restoration project became the subject of a featured short on *Dateline*, Fiji One Television, 22 June 2001 (aired in July 2001). As a consequence of our work, I was invited by the Friends of the Museum to lecture on the Jean Charlot Frescoes, Fiji Museum, Suva, on 27 June 2001. These events renewed interest in the murals and generated visitors from all over the main island of Viti Levu, who traveled to visit Charlot's paintings and to observe the restoration process. As our work progressed, the restoration was described in The Fiji Times, Art column, Suva, 4 August 2001.

Summary of Audience Response

It is clear that Charlot's Fijian frescoes are a living art, forward-thinking in their conception and dynamic in their current environment. The murals allow a wide range of interpretations that reveal fascinating cultural insights pertaining to modern-day relations among different ethnic groups. For example, in my interviews, differences in interpretations seemed largely related to ethnic and religious backgrounds. Europeans, tourists and expatriates, being predominantly of Western-European descent, were generally familiar with Christian iconography and pictorial traditions and were thus most likely to appreciate the symbolic and aesthetic aspects of the triptych from a Western perspective. Indo-Fijians were more likely to appreciate the formal aspects, i.e., the aesthetic system, as opposed to the symbolic signs, or communicative system, in the paintings. The prioritization of the aesthetic system of the Fijian Frescoes by Indo-Fijians is not that surprising, considering their cultural heritage in India's historically

diverse religious pictorial traditions. Many Indo-Fijians, being bicultural and bilingual, recognized that some of the icon-signs were directed to indigenous Fijians, especially the *tabua* and the *yaqona* bowl. In contrast, Fijians do not have a well-developed history of pictorial painting, and perhaps it is for this reason that they seem to prioritize the beauty of the painting in relationship to the land (*vanua*) that surrounds it. For example, a Fijian may find the triptych beautiful because it depicts the beautiful place and people who live there. Fijians, be they Catholic or Methodist, even upon seeing the painting for the first time, seemed to comprehend easily the icon-signs and symbol-signs associated with Fijian customs and rituals. Charlot's Fijian murals may be identified with both indigenous historical/traditional and contemporary/Christian customs, thus, they assert an indigenous Fijian identity in a pluralistic society. The Fijian frescos simultaneously signify a unified national community through the shared representation of all three major ethnic groups, Fijian, Indo-Fijian, and European, equally footed on the artificial groundline.

In the contemporary audience, most Fijians of all backgrounds commented on the relationships between the frescoes and modern-day circumstances, particularly broader social issues relating to identity and politics. The reconciliation between Fijians and Indo-Fijians suggested in the triptych is viewed from the current sociopolitical milieu. Reconciliation can be something that is happening (the predominantly Fijian Catholic perspective), and/or as something that has yet to happen (the predominantly Fijian Methodist perspective). Probably in an indirect attempt to control the dominant population of Indo-Fijians, Fijian identity today is decidedly Christian. This position was intensified by the syncretistic movement of the Catholic Church and other local missions, who advocated Black Theology, an ideology that empowered indigenous peoples. In local cultures, the social application of this Christian concept, which morally justified the equality of all mankind, often challenged indigenous social structures and elevated the status of commoners. While not necessarily overtly political, the outgrowth of these attitudes later led to Liberation Theology movements.[563]

Charlot's murals can be seen as participating in the tranformation of the people and their nation as they continue to develop their modern national identity. Charlot's

Fijian murals play a vital role by presenting, in monumental form, a model of a harmonious, unified, and multicultural society. Charlot's Fijian frescoes are a common destination for national art lovers who travel to the Ra District. Locally, and in keeping with the historic role of the mission church, the murals have become integrated into the social and religious life of the community. The frescoes function as focal points for the syncretistic activities of the Catholic Church through sermons and rituals, and the integration of the murals with indigenous art forms, such as *masi* (bark cloth) on the walls below the frescoes and *ibe* (mats) on the altars (Illustration 6.61).[560] One of the most significant aspects of the frescoes involves the role of the murals in individual worship. While working at Naiserelagi, I regularly witnessed local people come to sit and pray before the frescoes, which were clearly perceived as receptacles for prayer and vehicles of mediation between humankind and God.

Throughout his career, Charlot maintained a sensitive approach to the study of local cultures oppressed by the repercussions of colonialist policies. In a contemporary context, in this period of post-colonial and twenty-first century cultural pressures, some of the most relevant issues of the past and today involve race relations, identity, and civil rights. While, denying the political implications of his work, Charlot nevertheless created artworks that implicitly empowered indigenous Pacific Islanders by creating monumental public images that depicted local peoples within their cultural contexts. Through his selection of images, Charlot created a shared national identity of Fijians as consisting of indigenous Fijian peoples and immigrant Indo-Fijians. With the exception of the figure of St. Peter Chanel, Charlot chose not to represent expatriates, who represent a small but very powerful minority, even today, and more so during the period of colonization when he was painting the frescoes. By placing Fijians and Indo-Fijians on equal footing, literally through the creation of an artificial groundline, Charlot presented a unified Fiji. Certainly for the Catholic Church, and by extension most indigenous/Christian Fijians, nationalism can be characterized as one nation united in Christ. In his Fijian frescoes, Charlot rejected socially imposed hierarchies of indigenous chiefly and imported caste systems; instead, he transformed these social hierarchies to create a religious hierarchy, where Christ is presented as the highest

chief, and a Fijian.

Endnotes

[324] Jean Charlot, Address to Congress of Muralists, Articles Folder 1960s+, Jean Charlot Collection.

[325] "The Second Vatican Ecumenical Council Dedicated to 'The Immaculate'" [cited 10 September 2004], 8-10. Available at http://www.christusrex.org/www1/CDHN/v1.html, INTERNET.

[326] Matejka and Titunik, editors (full reference note 210).

[327] "Noted Artist to Paint Mural in Colony." Fiji Times, Thursday 2 October 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[328] My ideas are based on Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions, edited by Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (full reference note 210). For additional discussion of my theoretical framework please refer to Chapter Three.

[329] Illustration 6.1. Diagram of interior of church building, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Courtesy of Etuate Katalau.

[330] Illustration 6.2. View of Viti Levu Bay from church grounds, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Mission, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[331] Illustration 6.3. Interior view of the church nave with mats, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[332] James Clifton, "Architecture and the Body of Christ" in The Body of Christ: In the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150-1800 (Munich: Prestel, 1997), 27.

[333] Ibid.

[334] Refer to Illustrations 3.2 and 3.3.

[335] In the West, Luke's narrative is the norm, with Mary frequently shown seated and reading text from Isaiah (8:14). In the East and in Russia, the angel Gabriel is situated on the right, in contrast to the West, where the figure is usually placed on the left.

[336] St. Luke's Gospel (1:26-38) "(T)he angel Gabriel was sent by God...to a virgin...the virgin's name was Mary..." he said,"The Lord is with you." Symbolic attributes featured with the Virgin include a lily (purity) in a pot. Murray and Murray, 23-24. In Mexico, the lily was associated with the water-lily god who manifested on earth in the form of both fresh water and the ocean. For discussions of the water-lily in Mayan art see Linda Shele and Mary Ellen Miller, The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art (New York: George Braziller, 1986), 46-47.

[337] Pukui and Elbert,130. In my own experience dancing *hula* with *Kumu Hula* Noenoelani Zuttermeister at various times during 1991-2001, this concept was regularly incorporated into the movement system, depending on meaning to be conveyed. For example, *pua* or flower could variously refer to a child, lover, or to the community. Caroline K. Klarr, Hawaiian Hula and Body Ornamentation 1778 to 1858 (Los Osos, CA: Bearsville Press and Cloud Mountain Press, 1996), 3.

[338] Attwater, 373.

[339] In Matthew 13:55, St.Joseph is referred to as the "carpenter."

[340] In the visual arts, St. Joseph is usually depicted as a single figure or as part of the holy family. Murray and Murray, 277-78.

[341] "Theologians to contact God, work with their heads. A surer way, that of Joseph, all hands. At his feet God learns to hit a nail on the head without smashing His small paw," *St. Joseph's Workshop*, Plate 31, Picture Book II: 32 Original Lithographs and Captions (Los Angeles: Zeitlin and Ver Brugge,1973).

[342] Jiri Veltrusky, "Some Aspects of the Pictorial Sign" in Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions, edited by Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik, 249 .

[343] Illustration 6.4. Jean Charlot's signature and date on left panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[344] Illustration 6.5. Franz Wasner's signature with biretta, on right panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[345] A biretta is a square cap with four ridges on the top. It is worn by Catholic clergy when entering or leaving the sanctuary and also with everyday dress. Priests wear black birettas, bishops wear purple, but Popes do not wear one. Murray and Murray, 62.

[346] The genre of donor portraits dates back to Roman emperors, Byzantium emperors, and ancient sites such as Ravenna (Sixth Century A.D.). Murray and Murray, 152.

[347] Illustration 6.6. Jean Charlot's signature on *St. Joseph's Workshop*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1963, east transept, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001. Illustration 6.7. Jean Charlot's signature on *The Annunciation*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1963, west transept, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[348] Please refer to Illustration 6.45.

[349] Their are four distinct types of Mass: Pontifical, High, Sung and Low Mass. Low Mass is the most common way in which Mass is celebrated. The celebrant is assisted, normally, by one server or acolyte, who is generally a layman or boy, and there is no choir. The Mass is conducted at the altar. Attwater, 299-311. By a special liturgical act the priest now appropriately expresses God's having made holy, having raised above their natural state, the things of created existence. This act is called the Little or Minor Elevation and takes place when the celebrant raises host and chalice slightly at the same time. This elevation is even more full of meaning than the Great or Major elevation, but its intent is different. The Minor elevation the liturgical act is a Thanksgiving. The words which the priest says make it clear, "Through Whom, by Whom, and with Whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honor and glory be unto You, O Father Almighty, world without end." It is through Christ our Mediator, in union with Him, and in a sense absorbed or incorporated in Him, that we, His ransomed ones, will partake with all His creation in the blessed praise of the Holy Trinity forever. The Amen which closes this sublime prayer is the most significant Amen in the entire course of the Mass. "Thanksgiving: The Little Elevation," as described by Henri Daniel-Rops, This is the Mass, translated by Alastair Guinan (1944; reprint, New York: Hawthorn Books, Publishers,1958), 116.

[350] Please refer to Illustration 6.18.

[351] Illustration 6.8. *Yaqona* and breadfruit leaves, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[352] Illustration 6.9. *Uto* and sacred heart, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, fresco, Jean Charlot, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[353] Illustration 5.1. *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[354] Illustration 6. 10. Fijian (left) panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[355] Illustration 6.11. Indo-Fijian (right) panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002, collection of Caroline Klarr.

[356] Jean Charlot, Interview 5, by John Charlot, 21 September 1970, transcript, 4. Jean Charlot Collection.

[357] A. W. Reed and Inez Hames, "Legends of Degei and the Spirit World: The Creation of Men and Women," Myths and Legends of Fiji and Rotuma, (1967; reprint Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books, 1994), 13-16.

[358] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes, 9 September 1999-8 October 1999; 16-18 October 2000; 31 October-11 November 2000; and 2 June- 27 July 2001.

[359] Selestino Naucukidi Koloaia died in Rokovuaka on 4 November 2001.

[360] Martin Charlot, Interview 4, by Caroline Klarr.

[361] Jean Charlot Diaries, September-December 1962, Jean Charlot Collection.

[362] Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel E. Elbert, Hawaiian-English Dictionary, 235. For a discussion of *mana* see also Brad Shore, "*Mana* and *Tapu*," in Developments of Polynesian Ethnology, edited by Alan Howard and Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

[363] John Garrett, To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania, 68 and 97-98.

[364] Illustration 6.12. St. Peter Chanel, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002, collection of Caroline Klarr.

[365] Illustration 6.13. Jean Charlot sketching Peter Chanel statue at St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Mission, 1962. Original photo Martin Charlot. Charlot Family Album, January 1962-January 1963, "Weddings, Fiji," Jean Charlot Collection.

[366] Jean Charlot, Diary 1962, September. Jean Charlot Collection.

[367] Weidmann, Carl F. Dictionary of Church Terms and Symbols (Norwalk, CT.: C.R. Gibson Company, 1964), 11.

[368] Please refer to Illustrations 6.14 and 6.15.

[369] Illustration 6.14. Jean Charlot, sketch of *kia kawa* or ceremonial club, Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[370] Fergus Clunie, Fijian Weapons and Warfare: Bulletin of the Fiji Museum, Number 2, (Suva: The Fiji Museum, 1977), 52 and 57. Illustration 6.15. Jean Charlot, sketch of *waka* or war club, Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[371] Jean Charlot, Diary, 19 November 1962. Jean Charlot Collection.

[372] Zohmah Charlot, Letter of correspondence to John Charlot, 1 December 1962. Private collection of John P. Charlot.

[373] Ibid.

[374] Illustration 6.16. Portrait of Fijian priest, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr. Illustration 6.17. Archbishop Petero Mataca with *tabua* or whale's tooth offering, Fiji. Courtesy of Archbishop Petero Mataca, Nicolas House, Suva, Fiji.

[375] Archbishop Petero Mataca, Interview 9, by Caroline Klarr, 29 June 2001, Nicolas House, Suva, Fiji.

[376] Ibid.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Illustration 5.8. Portrait of Petero Mataca, example of Charlot's graphing technique. Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[379] Illustration 6.18. St. Francis Xavier, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[380] The actual representation of the celebration of the Eucharist is rare. Murray and Murray, 183.

[381] Illustration 6.19. *St. Francis Xavier*, Gesu, 1583, as published in The Face of the Saints, Wilhelm Schamoni, translated by Anne Fremantle (New York: Pantheon Books, 1947), 131. The book and sketches are currently housed in the Jean Charlot Collection.

[382] Jean Charlot, Diary, 9 October 1962, Jean Charlot Collection.

[383] Illustration 6.20. Photo of Monsignonr Franz Wasner posing for Jean Charlot. Charlot Family Album, January 1962-January 1963, "Weddings, Fiji," Jean Charlot Collection. Original photo Martin Charlot.

384 Jean Charlot Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection.

385 Murray and Murray, 299.

386 Common Eucharistic symbols of the sacred elements are vines and grapes for the wine and wheat-ears or sheaves of corn for the bread. Murray and Murray, 612.

387 Illustration 6.21. Teresia Tinai in front of *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

388 Illustration 6.22. Fijian school girl at far left, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

389 Jean Charlot, Diary, 26 October, 1962, Jean Charlot Collection. Illustration 6.23. Portrait of Fijian woman with mat, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

390 Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

391 Illustration 6.24. Maria Gemma with mats, residence, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999. Maria Gemma died in Spring of 2002 at Naiserelagi, Fiji.

392 Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

393 Illustration 6.25. *Tali Ibe: Weaving Mats, Kei Viti: Melanesian Images. Five Lithographs in Color*. Jean Charlot, printed by Lynton Kistler, 1978. Photo Jana Jandrokovic. Collection Martin Charlot.

394 Illustration 6.26. Fijian man with *tabua* or whale's tooth offering, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, fresco, Jean Charlot, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

395 Illustration 6.27. Selestino Naucukidi Koloaia, Rokovuaka village, Ra District, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

396 Refer to Illustration 6.10.

397 Illustration 6.28. Indo-Fijian woman with garland, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

398 Illustration 6.29. Postcard of Kamehameha statue adorned with garlands (*lei*), Honolulu, Hawai'i. Garlands were also appropriate offerings for indigenous deities in the Pacific Islands, Asia, and Mexico.

399 Illustration 6.30. Portrait of Indo-Fijian farmer, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco,1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

400 James Hall, Illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art (New York: Icon Editions, 1995), 86. A crosier is a long staff with a spiral head like an elaborate shepherd's crook, symbolic of a bishop's authority, the Western crook being a later symbol of a shepherd. Murray and Murray, 131.

401 According to Sakaraia Tabala, a Fijian male elder of the nearby Rakiraki village. Interview 13, by Caroline Klarr, 22 September 1999, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji. Refer to Illustration 6.59.

402 The ox is a symbol of patience and service (Matthew 11:30). Weidmann, 49.

403 Craven, Indian Art, 16. Oxen are also one of the twelve Terrestrial Branches of the Chinese calendar, a symbol of agriculture and the spring, as well as the emblem of Japanese Zen Buddhism. Hall, 37.

404 Illustration 6.31. Indo-Fijian altar boy at far right, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

405 Candles are symbolic of Jesus as the Light of the World. Attwater, 129-130.

406 For a discussion of the different manifestations and meanings of the unfolding fern frond motif, see Mathew Eru Wepa, Symbols of the Maori World (Auckland, NZ: Dudfield Printing, 1999),18.

[407] Illustration 6.32. Narendra, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

[408] Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk, "The Role of Women Artists in Polynesia and Melanesia," in Art and Artists of Oceania, edited by Sidney M. Mead and Bernie Kernot (Mill Valley, CA: Ethnographic Arts Publication, 1983), 45-56.

[409] Asesela D. Ravuvu, The Fijian Ethos (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies University of the South Pacific, 1987).

[410] Ravuvu, 22-23.

[411] Illustration 6.33. *Tabua* or whale tooth offering, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[412] The vine represents Christ and the branches His followers (John 15:5). Weidmann, 68.

[413] Ravuvu, 25.

[414] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. Illustration 6.34. Photo of Fijian man (Mr. Lagilevu) with *sevusevu*, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, July 2001.

[415] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. See also Andrew Arno, "Aesthetics, Intuition, and Reference in Fijian Ritual Communication: Modularity in and out of Language," American Anthropologist, Special Issue: Language Politics and Practices, Volume 105, Number 4 (December 2003) 813, and Kaeppler and Love, 774.

[416] Illustration 6.35. *Tanoa* and *bilo* in background of *yaqona* leaves, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[417] Zohmah Charlot, Letters of correspondence to Carl Wright, 10 October 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot papers, Jean Charlot Collection. Excerpts from this letter were published in "Sounds and Souls and Sensitivity," Honolulu Star Bulletin (Hawai'i) 3 November 1962, by Carl Wright.

[418] Cowry shells traditionally mark the house of the chief in Fiji. A New Fijian Dictionary, edited by A. Capell (Sydney: Australian Medical Publishing, 1941), 21. Cowry shells also served as monetary currency in the Pacific Islands. For example, in Hawai'i, there are at least three documented forms of money cowry, including *leho puna*, *leho 'uala*, *leho 'ula*. Pukui and Elbert, 199.

[419] The longer the *magimagi*, the higher the place of honor. Etuate Katalau, personal communication, October 1999, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji.

[420] Turtle in Fijian is *vonu*. It is considered a euphemism for human flesh, as in the past both human and turtle flesh were consumed only by royalty. Throughout the Pacific Islands, turtles were associated with high-ranking members of society who wore jewelry made from tortoise shell and who participated in feasts involving the eating of turtle. Capell, 313.

[421] In the East turtles are considered a symbol of the universe and associated with water-gods. In Chinese mythology turtles are also symbols of longevity. Hall, 49-50.

[422] Illustration 6.36. Brass bowl and plumes of smoke, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[423] Zohmah Charlot, ""The Place of Heavenly Song; The Evolution of a Mural: Zohmah Charlot Describes—Step by Step—Her Husband's Work," 17.

[424] Attwater, 250.

[425] Incense is used during High Mass and other religious rites. Attwater, 250.

[426] Zohmah Charlot, "The Place of Heavenly Song; The Evolution of a Mural: Zohmah Charlot Describes—Step by Step—Her Husband's Work," 48. Fiji Folder, Jean Charlot Collection.

[427] Zohmah Charlot, Letter of correspondence to John P. Charlot, 20 October 1962. Private collection of John P. Charlot.

[428] Illustration 6.37. Black Christ, central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[429] Illustration 6.38. Charcoal study of the Black Christ, Charlot Family Album, January 1962-January 1963, "Weddings, Fiji." Courtesy of Jean Charlot Collection.

[430] Illustration 6.39. Black Christ, black and brown crayon, 116 x 35 inches, scroll mount. (JCC.DM1962.1). Courtesy of Jean Charlot Collection. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[431] A tau is t-shaped cross, also known as St. Anthony's, or the Hermit's cross, and is an ancient symbol of life. It is believed Christ that was crucified on either a Latin or a tau-shaped cross. Attwater, 129-130 and Murray and Murray, 134. See also Hall, 6. The tau cross is notable in art historical traditions from Matthias Grünewald's *The Isenheim Altarpiece*, *Crucifixion* (center panel), c. 1510-15. Tansey and Kleiner, Plate 23-3, 724.

[432] Attwater, 121.

[433] Illustration 6.40. Black Christ figure, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco,1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[434] Illustration 6.41. Christ's face, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco,1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jessee Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[435] Murray,136-137. See also Silverman, 278-279. In Fiji, a loincloth is considered traditionally appropriate male formal attire.

[436] Franz Wasner, Letter of correspondence folder to Jean Charlot, 27 June 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[437] See Illustration 6.9. Sacred Heart, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji.

[438] Alva William Steffler, Symbols of the Christian Faith (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), 111.

[439] Franz Wasner, Letter of correspondence to Jean Charlot, 13 August 1962. Jean Charlot Collection.

[440] Garrett, 67.

[441] Murray and Murray, 204.

[442] Clifton, 22.

[443] Attwater, 442.

[444] The cult of the Sacred Heart developed in the later Middle Ages out of the popular devotions to to the Five Wounds of Christ and to the wound in his side. The later devotion to the Sacred Heart was developed by S. John Eudes in the seventeenth century and was given impetus by the visions of (1673 and later) of S. Margaret Mary Alcoque (d. 1690) and was finally authorized in 1765. The cult also parallels devotion to Immaculate Heart of Mary, which can be traced back to the prophecy of Simeon (Luke 2:35) " a sword will pierce your own soul too" and to the Seven sorrows of Mary: a heart pierced by a single sword or surrounded by seven swords being its principal symbol. The devotion to the Sacred Heart is a modern version of the ancient conception of Jesus as the Good Shepherd, and its popularity in its present form dates from the revelations given to St. Margaret Mary Alacoque in 1673-5; the devotion was first publicly preached in England by Bl. Claud de la Colombière in 1676. Images of the Sacred Heart intended to be set up for public venerations must show it in association with a representation of our Lord's person; images representing the heart alone are tolerated only for private devotion. Murray and Murray, 245. See also Attwater, 442.

[445] Illustration 6.42. Self-portrait of artist with extrapolated heart, detail of Station XII, *Chemin de Croix*, Stations of the Cross, Jean Charlot, woodblock print, 1918-1920. Reprint edition 1978. Photo Jana Jandrokovic. Collectionof Martin Charlot.

[446] Illustration 6.43. *Sacred Heart* in an *Image d'Epinal*. Courtesy of the Jean Charlot Collection. Photo Tricia Allen.

[447] In pre-contact Mexico, the ancient cult of heart sacrifice was associated with sacred sites, such as the sacred *cenote* at at Chichén Itzá, a Mayan site where Charlot worked with the Carnegie Institute. The cult was also associated with artistic sculptures of *chacmool* figures, a reclining figure with a flat area for an altar over the abdomen, such as the example at the Temple of the Chacmool, Chichén Itzá, a site where Charlot spent many hours documenting the ancient Mayan wall frescoes. Michael D. Coe, The Maya (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 147.

[448] Illustration 6.44. *Sacred Heart.* Ceramic Statue. Jean Charlot, 1969. St. William's Church, Hanalei, Kaua'i, Hawai'i. Photo Caroline Klarr, March 2001.

[449] Illustration 6.45. Loincloth, Black Christ figure, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco,1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

[450] Hawaiian term *kapa*; *tapa* is the generic term used for bark cloth throughout the Pacific Islands.

[451] This fabric is made by harvesting a particular type of tree, usually the paper mulberry, scraping clean the inner bark, following other preparations, beating the bark with an *ike* or beater, on an anvil to felt and form the fabric, completing it with dye and decorations. See for example, Simon Kooijman, Polynesian Bark Cloth (Aylesbury, UK: Shire Ethnography, 1988). The designs of this bark cloth are more typically associated with Tongan barkcloth, however, Tongan "style," i.e., methods of production and design, have been practiced in Fiji throughout the historic period. Kooijman, 32.

[452] Like bark cloth elsewhere in the Pacific, Fijian bark cloth, or *masi*, is considered appropriate formal dress for important sacred and secular affairs. Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[453] Please refer to Illustration 1.2. Jean Charlot with *masi* (Fijian bark cloth), Naiserelagi, Fiji. Courtesy of Jean Charlot Collection.

[454] When returned it to the [Noah's] Ark, the olive leaf was a sign that the waters of the flood had receded...a symbol of reconciliation (Gen. 8:8-11); the dove was regarded as a suitable sacrifice in the Temple, e.g., at the Presentation of Christ (Luke 2:24), and above is the symbolism of the dove as the manifestation of the Holy Spirit at Christ's Baptism (Mark 1: 10; John 1;32). Attwater 158. See also Murray and Murray, 61.

[455] Doves are often used in association with depictions of the Annunciation. Murray and Murray, 61 and 155.

[456] Terrence Barrow, "Material Evidence of the Birdman Concept in Polynesia," Polynesian Cultural History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth Emory, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication Number 56 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967, p. 192-193, 195) as qtdf. in Tirzo González, "The Birdman Cult of Easter Island," Dimensions of Polynesia, edited by Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk, 199 (full reference note 205).

[457] Capell, 128 and 396.

[458] *Ichthys* is the Greek word for "fish." The sign of the fish was a code by which early Christians identified themselves to one another in the days of persecution. The fish also recalls the Sacrament of Holy Baptism (a fish must live in water) and is thus a symbol of Christian regeneration. Weidmann, 30.

[459] The Tongan name for this design is *fo'ihea* or *tukihea*. K. E. James, Making Mats and Bark cloth in the Kingdom of Tonga (Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Private printing, 1988), 22.

[460] Adrienne Kaeppler, "Exchange in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa," in Mankind Volume 11, Number 3 (1978): 246-52.

[461] For example, the *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian creation chant, describes the divine origin of chiefs and the hereditary nature of the chiefly system. *Kumulipo*, edtied by Martha Beckwith (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i-Press, 1990).

[462] Adrienne Kaeppler, "Hawaiian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations" in Transformations of Polynesian Culture, Memoir 45, edited by Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (Auckland, New

Zealand: The Polynesian Society, 1985),105-131. See also Klarr, 46. Illustration 6.46. *Ali'i Nui* (High Chief), Jean Charlot, ceramic sculpture, 1971, nine and one-half feet high, Ala Moana Hotel, Honolulu, Hawai'i. 1971. Photo Caroline Klarr, April 2001.

463 *Yaqona* or kava. Family Piperaceae, piper methysticum. The drink is prepared with ceremonial rites by adding the powder to water. The drink is a mild narcotic with sedative or soporific effects. It is also used to treat a variety of illnesses of the body and 'diseases of the land,' which were thought to be caused by spirits. Fijian Medical plants. R. C. Cambie and J. Ash (Adelaide, Australia: CSIRO, 1994),3 and 239. Breadfruit. Family Moraceae, Artocarpus altilis. Fijian name *uto* and many other local names. The large yellow-brown mature breadfruit when roasted or boiled can be preserved underground to make bread. Medicinally it can be used to treat fish poisoning of ciguatera type. Cambie and Ash, 213-214. Tree fern. Family Cythaeccae. Fijian names *balabala*, *balabala balaka*. The most common tree fern of open sites in Fiji. The fronds are three or four pinnate, and are up to two and one-half meters long by one meter wide. It is used in building, for rustic flower pots, and the scales at the apex of the trunk are used to stuff pillows and cushions. Cambie and Ash, 35. Banana. Family Musacceae. Fijian names *jaina*, *jaina leka*, *veimama*. Cambie and Ash, 46.

464 Etuate Katalau, village elder/lay minister/carpenter (*matai*) of Rakiraki village, Ra District, Fiji. Interview 6, by Caroline Klarr, 4 October 2000, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Refer to Illustration 6.57. I have also witnessed Indo-Pacific Islanders present food and floral offerings in Hindu religious ceremonies in Bali, Indonesia, June-July 1992.

465 Caroline Klarr, field notes, Hawai'i (September 1989-June 1994, with additional short-term residence and research trips taken throughout time period of April 1995-June 2001), Fiji (9 September-8 October 1999; 16-18 October 2000; 31 October-11 November 2000; and 2 June-27 July, 2001), and New Caledonia (19-30 October 2001).

466 Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and C.A. Lee, Nana i ke Kumu, Look to the Source, Volume One (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, Queen Liliuokalani Children's Center, 1972),190-192. Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. *Ti*. Cordyline terminalis. Family Agavaceae. Fijian names: *vasili*, *qai*, *ti*, *masawe*, *kokotodamu*. The leaves, roots, and new shoots are used to treat a variety of illnesses of the body. Cambie and Ash, 27.

467 Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. Please refer to Illustration 5.5.

468 Illustration 6.47. Sugar cane breaking groundline, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

469 Illustration 6.48. Breadfruit leaves anthropomorphisized in the shaped of Noh masks, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshippers*, Jean Charlot, fresco,1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

470 Brenner, 172.

471 Brenner, 55. In Fiji, for example, approximately twenty-five kilometers west of Naiserelagi, at Rakiraki village, is the famous landmark and tomb of Ratu Udre Udre, the cannibal king, who supposedly consumed ninety-nine corpses. Stanely, 598.

472 Jean Charlot Collection. Illustration 6.49. José Guadalupe Posada, *Verdadero Retrato del Señor del Hospital* (True Portrait of the Lord of the Hospital). Courtesy of Jean Charlot Collection. Published in José Guadalupe Posada: My Mexico, edited by Tom Klobe, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Art Gallery, 2001), 64-65.

473 Illustration 6.50. Black Christ of Mérida, Mexico. Photo reproduction courtesy of John P. Charlot, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

474 Brenner, 148.

475 Navarrete Cáceres, 62-65.

476 In Mexico and Central America there are four examples of Black Christs where a valid argument can be made for the influences of pre-Columbian religious beliefs that have been incorporated as part of local, syncretistic, Catholic traditions. The first example of the Black Christ can be found in Central Veracruz

and is notable as a pilgrimage center devoted to the Lord of Otatitlán. The site is located in the region of Papaloapan and the northern Oaxaca, near to Tuxtepec, where, in antiquity, the Aztecs maintained a military garrison to supervise the local commercial route to Xicalango, as well as a temple dedicated to Yacatecuhtli, the Mexican deity of commerce, who is black. The second example of a Black Christ can be found in the front of the market El Volador, neighbor to the Temple of Tezcatlipoca, and is the building of the Church of Porta Coeli. In this church, a Black Christ figure was revered as the Lord of Veneno, venom or poison, as the patron image of the merchants de La Merced. This image was found on the main altar of the church through the 1920s, but today it is located in the Metropolitan Cathedral. The third example of a Black Christ cult is in Esquipulas, in the land of the Chortís Indians, where they venerate Ek Chuac [Ek Chuah], the Mayan God of Commerce. The Black Christ crucifixion was carved by sculptor Quirio Cataño and the figure was installed in 1595. The population of Esquipulas was founded at the end of the conquest, along a commercial route close to Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. This commercial route was responsible for the spread of the Black Christ of Esquipulas cult beyond the borders of New Spain and to date it is the most famous of the Black Christ figures. The celebration of the Black Christ of Esquipulas is held annually on January fifteenth. The fourth example of a Black Christ cult is the Tila Christ, who holds great significance for Chól speakers in northern Chiapas and for the Chontales [mestizo] Catholics of the coastal plain of Tabasco. During Holy Week and on May third, the Day of the Cross, the Tila Christ receives thousands of pilgrims. Tila in Nahuatl means “black place,” *lunar negra*. The cult was established by the late seventeenth century and according to oral tradition marks the site of a miraculous apparition of a white Christ that turned black. Nearby, in a cave, a stalagmite is believed to mark the exact location of the apparition. Today this cave-site receives offerings of flowers, incense, pine fires, and candles from pilgrims who make vigils there. Inside the cave is a deposit of clay that is held sacred and believed to contain healing powers, as the “soil of God." Similar examples of sacred clay deposits are found at other Black Christ sites, like Esquipulas, Otatitlán, and Tlacolula, as well as Chimayó, New Mexico where there is a sanctuary dedicated to the Christ of Esquipulas. There exist many caves around Tila that contain archaeological remains. In one cave, a pictograph of a Black Lord is adjacent to the ahau glyph, symbolic of the Lord of the Cave. Navarrete Cáceres, 62-65 (full reference note 26).

477 Brenner, 145.

478 “Chalma, Mexico.” In Sacred Sites, n.d. [cited 24 September 2004], 1. Available at http://www.sacredsites.com/americas/mexico/Chalma.html.

479 Jean Charlot, Diary October 1962, Jean Charlot Collection.

480 Zohmah Charlot, Letter of correspondence to John P. Charlot, 13 October 1962. Private collection of John P. Charlot.

481 Illustration 6.51. Sacred Grotto with spring dedicated to the Virgin Mary at base of Navunibitu Hill, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

482 Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. Illustration 6.52. Statue of the Virgin Mary on altar in grotto at base of Navunibitu Hill, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

483 Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

484 Navarrete Cáceres, 65.

485 Portobelo, 1658, Panama. On October twenty-first is religious ceremony in honor of a life size black wooden statue of Christ that is decorated with flowers and candles. The statue is processed in the street and returned to church with dancing, music, and feasting until dawn. In oral tradition the statue is believed to have come from crew of a Spanish ship**.** “The Black Christ of Portobelo.” In The Odyssey: Latin American Stage, 1999 [cited 20 January 2003]. Available from http://www.worldtrek.org/odyssey/latinamerica/032799/ 032799/shawnblack.html, INTERNET.

486 In Tila, Mexico, Mexican bishops took advantage of a pilgrimage to honor the “Black Christ” on Sunday to call for peace and reconciliation between insurgents and the government, more than tne thousand faithful processed to the three hundred year old shrine of Our Lord of Tila (Chiapas). “Mexican Pilgrimage of Black Christ Becomes Call To Peace.” In Catholic World News brief [cited 4 April 1997]. Available from http://ww.cwnews.com/Browse/ 1997/04/ 4728.htm, INTERNET.

[487] Brenner,123.

[488] Charlot in Born Catholic,107.

[499] Murray and Murray, 23-24.

[490] "Virgin Territory," LA Weekly (Los Angeles, CA) Volume 21, Number 51 (November 12-18, 1999): 24-25.

[491] Zohmah Charlot, Letter of correspondence to John P. Charlot, 13 October 1962. Private collection of John P. Charlot.

[492] "The people of Naiserelagi," Letter of correspondence to Jean and Zohmah Charlot, 5 December 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[493] "Noted Artist to Paint Mural in Colony," Fiji Times, 2 October 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[494] Ibid.

[495] Ibid.

[496] "Remarkable Mural by Jean Charlot," Fiji Times, 17 December 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[497] Ibid.

[498] Ibid.

[499] Ibid.

[500] "Naiserelagi Blessing of Fine Work of Art," Fiji Times, 18 December 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[501] Ibid.

[502] Ibid.

[503] Ibid.

[504] Bishop Foley, Vicar Apostolic of Fiji, Letter of correspondence to Jean Charlot, 21 February 1963. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[505] "The Jean Charlot Mural at Navunibitu, Ra, Fiji (At Naiserelagi at King's Road)," Catholic Church flyer about Jean Charlot's Fijian frescoes at St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Mission, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[506] Ibid.

[507] Fiji Times, 31 December 1963, 1. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[508] Jane Gregor, "Little-Known Murals of Fiji Church Capture Essence of Countryside," Pacific Islands Monthly (July 1967): 61-63.

[509] "Visitors Invited To See 'Black Christ' In Church," The Fiji Beach Press, 13 October 1972. Courtesy of Nicolas House Library, Suva, Fiji.

[510] Announcement of Jean Charlot's lecture on his Fijian frescoes, an Address to the British Council, Fiji Times, Monday, 29 October1962.

[511] Carl Wright, "Sounds and Souls and Sensitivity," Honolulu Star Bulletin, 3 November 1962, 11.

[512] Zohmah Charlot, Letter of correspondence to Carl Wright, 10 October 1962. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[513] Joanna Eagle, "Charlot Paints Fresco in Fiji," Aloha , Music and Arts, March 3, 1963, 8. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[514] Zohmah Charlot, "Charlot paints a Fresco in Fiji," Christian Art (May 1964): 12-16. This article was reprinted in French in the Marist journal, Missions des îles, *Fév.-Mars 1964*. "The Place of Heavenly Song; The Evolution of a Mural: Zohmah Charlot Describes—Step by Step—Her Husband's Work," 16-18, 49-54 (full reference note 268). Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[515] Zohmah Charlot, "The Place of Heavenly Song; The Evolution of a Mural: Zohmah Charlot Describes—Step by Step—Her Husband's Work," 17.

[516] Ibid. ,49.

[517] Zohmah Charlot, “A Fiji Adventure,” in The Sketchbook of Kappa Pi (1970): 17-24. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[518] Zohmah Charlot, “Mrs. Jean Charlot Takes Us To Fiji For Thanksgiving,” Suburban Press (Honolulu, Hawai'i), 26 November 1963, 8.

[519] Zohmah Charlot, “Mrs. Jean Charlot Cherishes Fond Fiji Yule Memories,” Suburban Press (Honolulu, Hawai'i), 18 December 1963, 16.

[520] The couple returned to Naiserelagi on 6 February 1977. Zohmah Charlot, Diary 1977, Jean Charlot Collection.

[521] John McDermott, How to Get Lost and Found in Fiji (Honolulu: Waikiki Publishing, 1978),109-110.

[522] Ibid., 109

[523] Ibid., 110.

[524] Mark Ebrey, “On the King’s Road: Rural Murals,” Fiji Calling, Volume Two 1993/1994, 22-23. Fiji File, Jean Charlot Collection.

[525] Stanely, 598.

[526] Jones and Pinheiro, 199-200.

[527] Anthony Forge, “Problems of Meaning in Art,” in Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania, edited by Sidney Mead (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1979), 279.

[528] Arno, 808-809.

[529] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. Upon arrival I was surprised to find, contrary to my reports of a “small” congregation, up to one thousand members and a much larger regional Christian population. Consequently, while I recognize my preliminary interviews represent a relatively small number, I think they speak for larger population groups. Note that Fiji also has smaller populations of Pacific Islanders and Chinese, but they are not considered in this study.

[530] Father Eremodo Muavesi, Interview 10, by Caroline Klarr, 15 September 1999, residence, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Illustration 6.53. Father Eremodo Muavesi. Photo Caroline Klarr, July 2001, Naiserelagi, Fiji.

[531] Illustration 6.54. Father Eremodo Muavesi offering Mass, Jean and Zohmah charlot's Memorial Service, 22 June 2001, St. Francis Xavier’s Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

[532] Illustration 6.55. Father Eremodo Muavesi's clerical robe with *tanoa* (*yaqona* bowl) and cross. Photo Caroline Klarr, July 2001, Naiserelagi, Fiji.

[533] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[534] Father Eremodo Muavesi, Interview 10, by Caroline Klarr, 15 September 1999, residence, Naiserelagi village, Ra District, Fiji. In addition to my formal interview, through my work at Naiserelagi, I had several opportunities to speak with Father Muavesi in informal conversations. Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[535] Cochrane, 32.

[536] Father Eremodo Muavesi, Jean and Zohmah Charlot Memorial Service, 22 June 2001, St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[537] Maria Gemma, Interview 5, by Caroline Klarr, 3 October 2000, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji, and Selestino Koloaia, interview 7, by Caroline Klarr. Refer to Illustration 6.25 and Illustration 6.28.

[538] Selestino Koloaia, interview 7, by Caroline Klarr.

[539] Illustration 6.56. Signpost off King’s Road marking road up to “Black Christ,” St. Francis Xavier’s Catholic Mission, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, October 1999.

[540] Father Eremodo Muavesi, interview 10, by Caroline Klarr, 15 September 1999, Naiserelagi village, Ra District, Fiji.

[541] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[542] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[543] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[544] Father Eremodo Muavesi, Interview 10, by Caroline Klarr.

[545] Illustration 6.57. Etuate Naucukidi Katalau, carpenter (*matai*) from Rakiraki village, working on restoration of church building, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[546] Etuate Katalau, interview 6, by Caroline Klarr, 4 October 2000, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji.

[547] Sakiusa Vedewaqa, Interview 15, by Caroline Klarr, 24 September 1999, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji. Illustration 6.58. Sakiusa Vedewaqa and wife, Emele Sevu, Rakiraki Village, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[548] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[549] Sakaraia Tabala, interview 13, by Caroline Klarr, 22 September 1999, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji. Illustration 6.59. Sakaraia Tabala with grandchildren, Pita and Toni. Rakiraki Village, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[550] Sundar Lal, Interview 8, by Caroline Klarr, 15 September 1999, Rakiraki Hotel, Rakiraki, Ra District, Fiji.

[551] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. See Illustration 6.33. Narendra.

[552] Illustration 6.60. Sundar Lal and wife, Maya Wati, Rakiraki Hotel, Rakiraki, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

[553] Appendix F. Comments extracted from the Guest Registry, 1963-1999, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji.

[554] Guest Registry, 1963-1999, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes.

[555] Pamphlet advertisement for Rakiraki Hotel, Tanoa Group Hotel, Fiji, c. 2000.

[556] "Weddings in Paradise," In "Weddings" Wananavu Beach Resort, n.d. [cited 25 May 2001], 2, http://www.hemispheresolutions. com/wananavu/wed_cathlc.htm, INTERNET.

[557] Ibid.

[558] "Fiji History." In Crystal Divers, (cited 25 May 2001),1-2. Available at http://www.crystaldivers.com/history.html, INTERNET.

[559] "Off the King's road." In Fiji Destination Guide, n.d. [cited 25 May 2001]. Available at http://netvigator.gettinghere.com/ country/fiji/attrac-viti-king.cfm, INTERNET.

[560] "An eleven day package from Los Angeles." In Fiji Hidden Heritage, n.d. [cited 24 September 2004], 2. Available at http://www.fijihiddenheritage.com/fiji_hidden_heritage_ Itinerary.htm, INTERNET.

[561] "Destinations Northern Viti Levu." In Arthur Frommer's Budget Travel Online, n.d.,[cited 25 May 2001], 1. Available at http://www.frommers.com/destinations/northernvitilevu/0354032567.html, INTERNET.

[562] Akenata Vulavou, Interview 16, by Caroline Klarr, 15 September 1999, Naiserelagi, Ra District, Fiji.

[563] Caroline Klarr, Fiji field notes. The attitude at Naiserelagi that expressed a combination of the universal community in Christ and components of Black Liberation theology would have made it more accessible and appealing to the Indo-Fijian Christian community because most Fijian-Methodist congregations are located in the heart of almost exclusively Fijian villages. Ironically, the majority of the Indo-Fijians I spoke to in Ra appeared to have reservations because of the "Black" Christ. The tensions between the two ethnic groups that has characterized the last hundred years continues today. In fact, during my on-site research in Fiji, in 1999, the people had democratically elected an Indo-Fijian Prime Minister, Majendra Chandry, only to have a group of indigenous Fijians stage a political coup in 1999, one year after the election, to remove Chandry and put in place a majority of native Fijians for the interim government.

[564] Illustration 6.61. *Black Christ and Worshippers* with *masi* or bark cloth, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Courtesy of Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

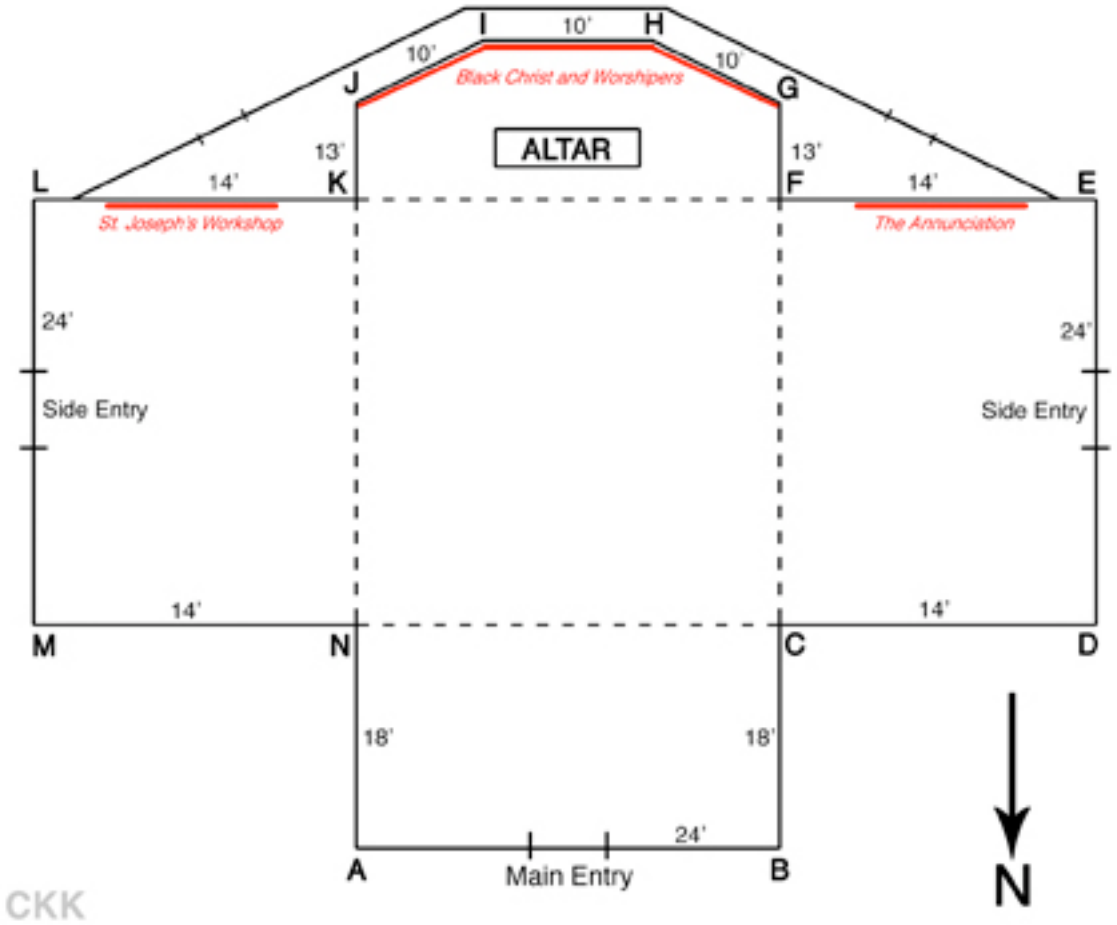

Illustration 6.1. Diagram of interior of church building, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Courtesy of Etuate Katalau.

Illustration 6.2. View of Viti Levu Bay from church grounds, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Mission, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klar, June 2001.

Illustration 6.3. Interior view of the church nave with mats, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

Illustration 6.4. Charlot's signature and date on triptych on left panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

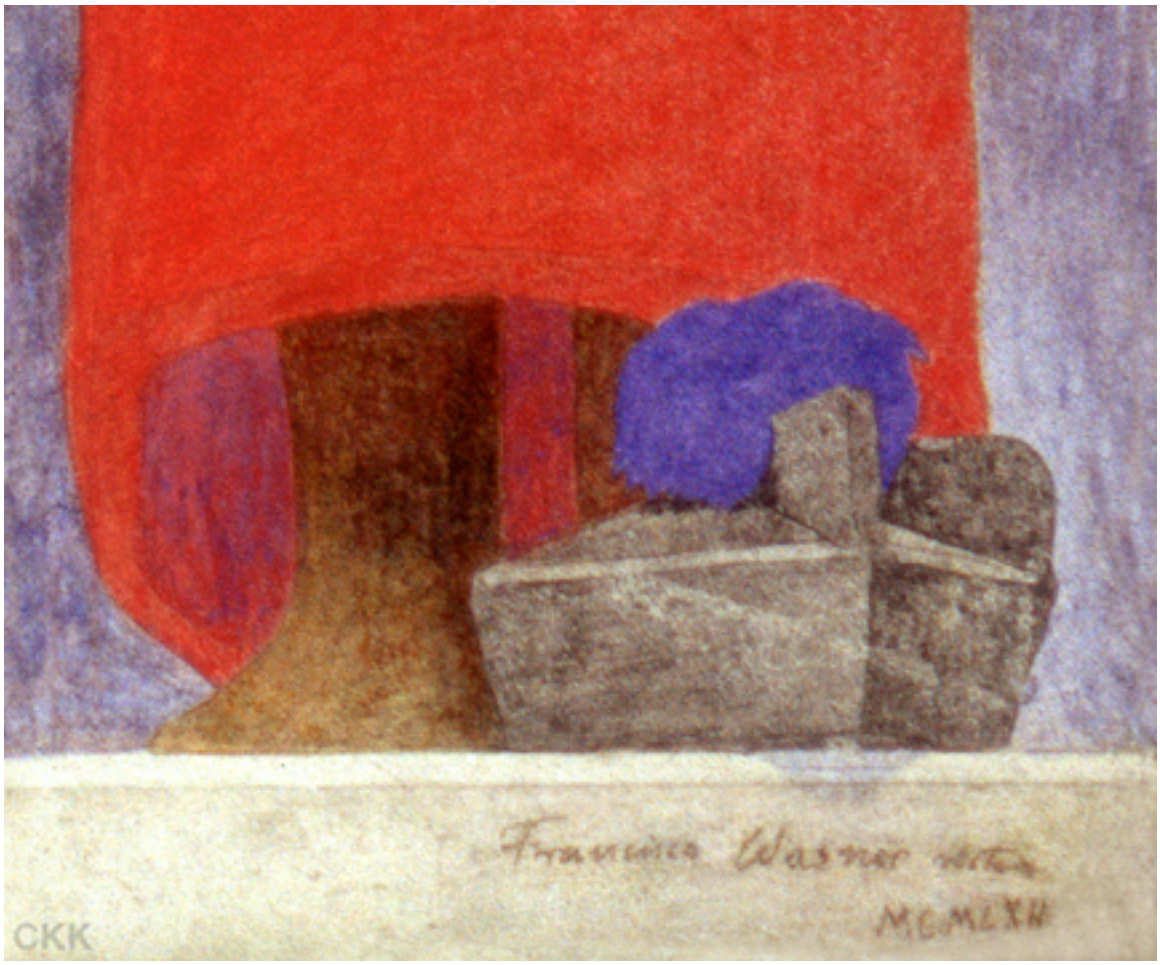

Illustration 6.5. Franz Wasner's signature on right panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr, June 2001.

Illustration 6.6. Jean Charlot's signature on *St. Joseph's Workshop*, 1963, east transept, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.7. Jean Charlot's signature on *The Annunciation*, fresco, 1963, west transept, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.8. *Yaqona* and breadfruit leaves, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.9. *Uto* and sacred heart, detail of central panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.10. Fijian (left) panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.11. Indo-Fijian (right) panel of triptych, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

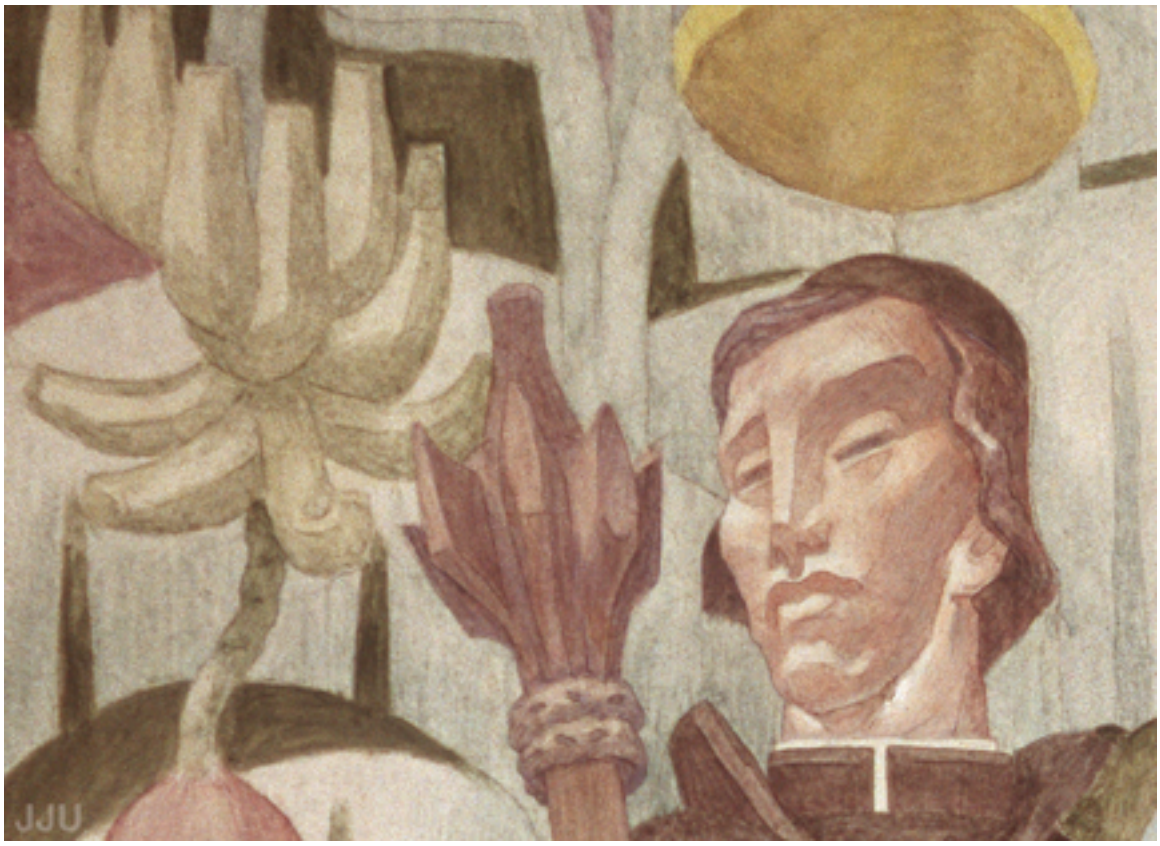

Illustration 6.12. St. Peter Chanel, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.13. Jean Charlot sketching Peter Chanel statue at St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Mission, 1962. Original photo Martin Charlot, Charlot Family Album, January 1962-January 1963, "Weddings, Fiji," Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

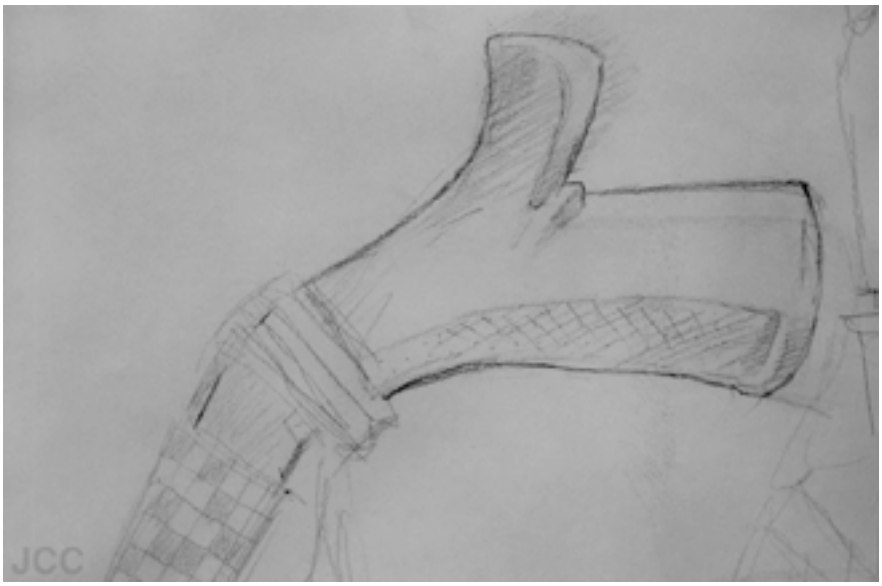

Illustration 6.14. Jean Charlot, sketch of *kia kawa* or ceremonial club, Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Photo Caroline Klarr.

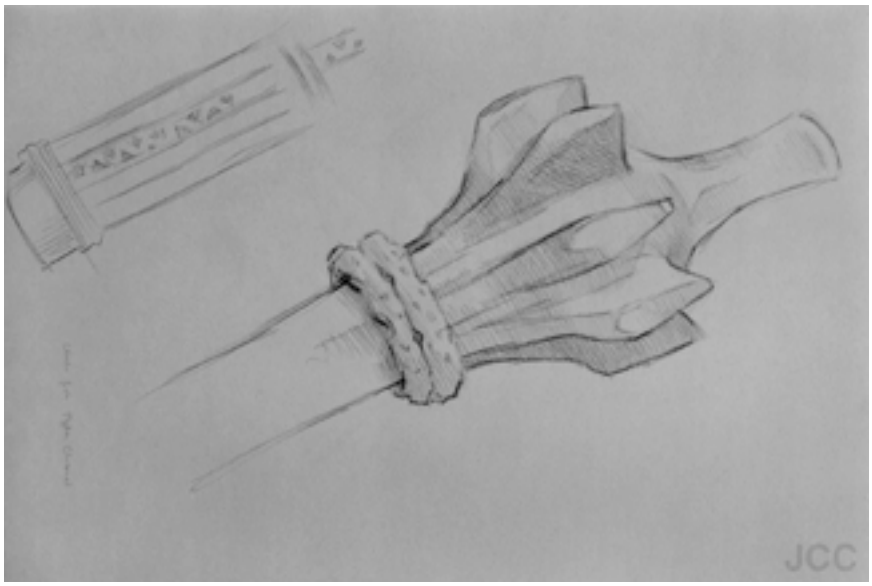

Illustration 6.15. Jean Charlot, sketch of *waka* or war club, Fiji sketchbooks, Jean Charlot Collection, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Photo Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.16. Portrait of Fijian priest, detail of Fijian (left) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.

Illustration 6.17. Archbishop Petero Mataca with *tabua* or whale's tooth offering, Fiji. Courtesy of Archbishop Petero Mataca, Nicolas House, Suva, Fiji.

Illustration 6.18. St. Francis Xavier, detail of Indo-Fijian (right) panel, *Black Christ and Worshipers*, Jean Charlot, fresco, 1962, St. Francis Xavier's Catholic Church, Naiserelagi, Fiji. Photo Jesse Ulrick, September 2002. Collection of Caroline Klarr.