



SPAIN'S FANTASTIC VISION AND THE MYTHIC CREATION OF CALIFORNIA

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Introduction: The Myth

Since at least as long ago as 1862,¹ English-speaking scholars of Californiana have known that in 1535 the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés, or one of his men, named the Golden State for a fictional character named Calafia and her equally fictional land. Both the land and the character were created *ex nihilo* in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century by the Spanish writer Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo in his novel of knight errantry titled *Las sergas de Esplandián* (1510).² More recently, James D. Houston begins his word map of the California dream by suggesting that the state of California is a product of both the contemporary mind and an older one:

On Shell station and National Geographic maps, it is clearly a region of the earth. Yet by another set of charts it is an elaborate, Byzantine, unwieldy work of our communal imagination, perhaps a vast novel, begun in the mind of Montalvo back in 1510 and still being written.³

Every major historian of California from Bancroft to Houston correctly identifies the origin of the state's name; but none, except Charles E. Chapman,⁴ has really read the

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“unwieldy” original novel in order to decipher the mythical map of the mind fabricated by Rodríguez de Montalvo, energized by Hernán Cortés, implanted by Junípero Serra, and lived daily by more than 26,000,000 Spanish- and English-speaking residents of the place many refer to as the nation’s testing ground, window on the future, or cutting edge. The purpose of this article is to investigate some of the ways in which the fiction of *Las sergas de Esplandián* represents the Medieval and Mediterranean Spanish myths that inspired discoverers, conquistadors, missionaries, and map makers to create a vision so powerful that it remains the central myth underlying the common cultural heritage of all contemporary Californians.

A myth is a narrative or story, passed on and elaborated by succeeding generations in a culture, which serves to represent and dramatize a major aspect of that culture’s value system. Some common features of myths are: (1) the author is generally unknown, although in the Post-Medieval or Modern world the author may be known (for example, Tirso de Molina is the creator of the Don Juan myth); (2) myths are generally known by the people in one culture; (3) they are used to explain the nature, origin and customs of that culture; (4) they are composed of mythemes (narrative component parts); and (5) they are a powerful source of a culture’s self-knowledge and creativity. While major Western myths such as those of the Earth Goddess, the Messiah/Christ, the Hero, the Suffering Servant, and Don Juan certainly undergird California culture, these myths merely place California within the context of universal Western experience and values. In addition to maintaining vital contact with all universal myths, however, every culture has its own local myths which enable its members to explain the distinctiveness and uniqueness of their own culture. The Argonauts, the Golden Gate, the Forty-Niners, Joaquín Murrieta, John Muir’s campaign to preserve the high Sierra, and Hollywood, are several particularly Californian myths. These myths, though, only

represent collective experience from the discovery of gold in 1849 to the present. They do not cover the entire span of Western civilization in California; they tend to cut off contact with pre-Western culture; and they are more or less monocultural or Anglocentric.

A myth with deeper roots and with more explanatory power is the one that is centered on *Las sergas de Esplandián* (Figure 1). Initially, what this novel offers seems little more than a relatively simple narrative entertain-



Figure 1. *Las sergas del virtuoso cauallero espladian hijo de amadis de gaula*. Title page, 1525 edition.

ment. Upon close inspection, however, one discovers that it actually contains the symbolic power to expand to mythic proportions. Through the force of events at the dawn of the Modern Age, and through the imagination, will, and energy of a nation and its highly individualistic champions, the myth can be seen to encompass: (1) the Spanish Mediterranean-oriented Crusade of Reconquest against the Moslems from 711 to 1492, with a special focus on the period of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries; (2) the conflict between the Roman Catholic religious orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans and their fierce debate over Llullism, the doctrine of the immaculate conception, and the treatment of the natives who were the object of their missionary zeal; (3) Columbus' search for the Indies and his 'discovery' of the New World; (4) Cortés' conquest of the Aztec empire and his naming of an island he sighted and explored "on the right hand of the Indies"; (5) Junípero Serra's spiritual conquest of California; (6) the Anglicizing cult of the "halcyon days of the dons"; and (7) the massive immigration which is fueling the recent re-Hispanicization of the Golden State. In other words, the premises of this article are the following: (1) the *Ur*-myth of California culture is from Mediterranean Spain; (2) the *Ur*-myth was operative from its historical inception in Cortés' naming of California; (3) the *Ur*-myth is still productive and is growing in strength and explanatory power; and (4), by virtue of having been created in Spain, transferred to New Spain, and inherited by contemporary California, this *Ur*-myth presupposes cultural and mythic syncretism.

Montalvo's novel is a typical novel of knight errantry in that it focuses on the chivalric deeds of a hero who fulfills his pre-ordained, magical destiny by incarnating (Christian) good and defeating (pagan) evil. It has a Byzantine plot, formulaic characters, eloquent style, and exemplary moral posturing. In terms of its place in the history of a genre that was as popular then as science fiction is

now (its earliest editions were 1510, 1519, 1521, 1525, and 1526), *Esplandián* marks a turning point that is especially significant for the founding of California. Like its four eponymous predecessors,⁵ (Figure 2) *Esplandián* is set in a time vaguely close to the beginning of the Christian era. Yet unlike the other four volumes, this novel is rooted in specifically contemporaneous events and attitudes. For example, by having the protagonist lead all of the forces of Christendom in the *defense* of Constantinople against the assembled pagan hordes, among whom the *californianas*



Figure 2. *Amadís de Gaula*. Woodcut from an early edition.

are prominent, the plot addresses the pain caused in the Christian world by the Moslem conquest of Byzantium in 1453. In addition, the narrator interrupts the action by singing the praises of the Catholic Kings of Spain, Fernando and Isabel; and by using the pagan queen of an island at the farthest reaches of the Indies as an ironic catalyst for victory by Esplandián's Christian forces, he features the exotic reality of the New World. Also, the novel ends with the queen's exemplary conversion.

As mentioned above, the Esplandián myth, like all myths, is made up of mythemes.⁶ In this instance the principal mythemes are: (1) the hero (Esplandián); (2) the ship (*La fusta de la Gran Serpiente*) [The Great Serpent caravel]; (3) mysterious writing (by the magician-narrator, Elisabat, and on the hero's chest); (4) the holy city or island (Constantinople and California); (5) the hero's courtly lady (Leonorina); and (6) Calafía (the pagan queen of the Amazons who converts to Christianity). Like the well-defined, unambiguous — indeed, almost muscular — building blocks (that is, phonemes) of the Spanish language, these six mythemes carry the symbolic message of a myth that would permit Spain to construct one of the most extensive empires the world has ever known. It is no coincidence that the first grammar of any modern language was the one about the Spanish language which was presented to Fernando and Isabel by the Humanist Antonio de Nebrija in the axial year 1492. In the act of presentation he asserted that language is a weapon of conquest: "*siempre la lengua fue compañera del Imperio.*" The first five mythemes listed above are common to virtually all European novels of knight errantry or romances up to the time of *Esplandián*. The element which gives this particular novel, the culminating volume of the Amadís series, extraordinary creative power, is the added sixth mytheme. In Calafía and her island of gold, griffins, and sister Amazons, one finds the quintessential symbol of the always elusive, yet ironically real, goal of conquest and con-

version which, at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance, drove Spaniards to such fabulous achievement.

The Hero

As a fictional hero Esplandián is the son of Amadís de Gaula. As Spain's equivalent of Lancelot, Siegfried, or Parcifal, Amadís was actually the most popular fictional hero throughout Europe during the late Middle Ages. By force of chivalric character and by leading the Christian victory over the pagans in the battle for Constantinople, Esplandián is a synthesis of the two sides of the Christian Reconquest of Spain which culminated in the victory over Moslem Granada in 1492. By contrast, Amadís is more of a unidimensionally secular chivalric figure. The two sides—the secular warrior and the crusading missionary—are exemplified on the one hand by Amadís in fiction and by El Cid⁷ (Figure 3) in history, and on the other hand by Ramón Llull (1232-1316), the thirteenth-century



Figure 3. Statue of El Cid in his native Burgos, Spain.

Mallorcan theologian, mystic, missionary, and martyr. In this way, Esplandián embodies the new type of the Christian conquistador, and he thereby prefigures many of those who will make the history which leads to the creation of California. Among these figures are Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) and Junípero Serra (1713-1784).

Esplandián, like his father Amadís, is cast in the mold of the Arthurian, or Celtic, cycle of novels of chivalry or romance. He upholds the code of chivalry, defeats evil knights, helps damsels in distress, and serves both his king and his chosen lady. However, Esplandián departs from the prototype in significant ways. Amadís is a purely secular and worldly figure who becomes king of the *Insola Firme* [Firm Island] (the mysterious blend of an unidentified island and *terra firma*) after successfully undergoing a supreme test of killing the *Endriago*, a giant dragon. On the other hand, Esplandián is a pious Christian knight (he is "*humilde, católico y muy piadoso*" [humble, Catholic, and very pious]),⁸ who begins his career by killing a large snake and then consciously assuming his destiny as the supreme defender of the Catholic faith. Unlike his father who moved in a vague, legendary landscape, Esplandián moves in the more or less real space of the Mediterranean; he focuses his energy on the real place of Constantinople; and he even demystifies his father's kingdom by identifying it as Great Britain. Clearly, with our new hero, the fogs of pseudo-history and Medieval cosmology gave way to the concreteness of Modern history and geography. In the same vein, the fantasy of fictitious islands such as Antillia and St. Brendan's Island gave way to the increasingly accurate maps of the New World.

The Ship

All is not realism and rationalism in *Esplandián*, however; for, along with Calafia and her Amazons, the novel is populated with powerful magicians, strong giants, a

magical sword, a sorcerer who doubles as the narrator's second voice, and a quasi-magical ship which the sorceress Urganda la Desconocida places in the hero's service. The ship, called *La fusta de la Gran Serpiente* [The caravel of the Great Serpent], is a lateen-rigged, fifteenth-century vessel used for exploration. It is described as a giant caravel, built mysteriously in the shape of a plumed serpent. At the beginning of the novel, Esplandián is called the Black Knight because of the color of his arms; however, during the culminating battle against Calafía and the pagans, he replaces this title with that of *el Caballero serpentino* or *el Caballero de la Gran Serpiente* [The Serpent Knight or the Knight of the Great Serpent]. As a prelude to the final battle, there are two *mano a mano* battles, one between Esplandián and Radiaro, the sultan leader of the pagans, and the other between Amadís and Calafía. After these two individual victories and after the Christians' collective victory on land and at sea, Calafía is so attracted by Esplandián's beauty and his heroic prowess that she wants to marry him. He cannot marry her, however, because he is already promised to the emperor's daughter Leonorina; but, after Calafía is converted to Christianity, Esplandián marries her to his cousin Talanque. The latter then takes Calafía back to her island kingdom, which happily converts to the new faith.

As a plot device the ship enhances Esplandián's heroic traits, and it symbolizes the mysterious destiny by which he travels throughout the islands and ports of the Mediterranean winning glory and immortality. Its function as a mytheme becomes even more apparent when one considers how it recapitulates other Medieval ships and how it prefigures later ships and historical events that bear on the discovery of California. Just as Esplandián's caravel is governed by Urganda la Desconocida, the grand female protector of Christian knights, so in the Middle Ages, Santa María was often seen as a guarantor for the safety of ships and sailors. A significant example of this from

Spanish iconography is *cantiga* No. 36 from the great Medieval illuminated manuscript of Alfonso X el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa María* (Figure 4).⁹ Another example is Columbus' special devotion to the Virgin Mary. Like Esplandián, he was, according to his contemporaries and to a recent biographer, "a soldier of the faith."¹⁰ In this regard, he purposefully changed the name of the flagship on his first voyage from *La Gallega* — whose owner was Juan de la Cosa, the cartographer of the famous 1500 map of the New World (Figure 5) — to *Santa María*. Also, threatened by severe storms on his return voyage in early 1493, he and his crew, after vowing to the Virgin Mary to undertake a pilgrimage to the nearest shrine in her honor, were saved from perishing by being able to land at the village of Nostra Senhora dos Anjos [Our Lady of the Angels]—a most unsuspecting model for the present-day capital of Southern California—on the most westerly island in the Azores, Santa María.

In addition to the aspect of the ship mytheme, which deals with the ship's magical or holy female guardian, the aspect of the mytheme relating to the image of the plumed serpent brings us a step closer to the actual discovery and naming of California. Furthermore, in much the same way that the Spanish myth of Santa María and the Aztec myth of Tlazoltéotl (the goddess of the earth and procreation) fused in the syncretic myth of the Virgin of Guadalupe, so, too, Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) fuses two unrelated but remarkably homologous myths—the Spanish myth of Esplandián, the Knight of the Plumed Serpent, and the Aztec myth of Quetzalcóatl (Figure 6), the Aztec plumed-serpent god of wind, life, the arts, and civilization—into the syncretic figure of the New World Christian conquistador of which Cortés himself is the prototype. Almost as soon as he landed on the eastern shore of Mexico in 1519, Cortés willingly exploited the belief of many natives, including the emperor Moctezuma, that he, a bearded white man arriving from the



Figure 4. From *Las cantigas de Santa María*.

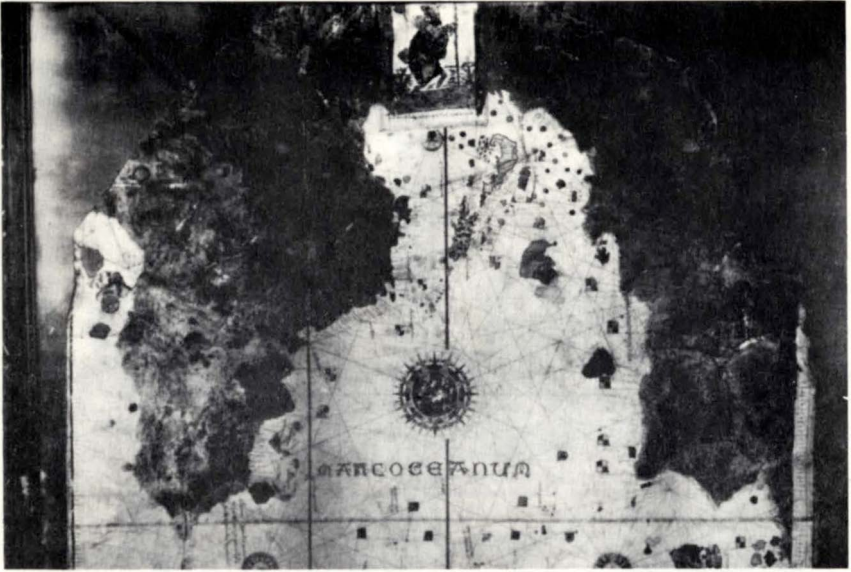


Figure 5. Map by Juan de la Cosa, 1500.

eastern sea, was Quetzalcóatl returning as legend said he had promised he would half a millennium before. Although it is not known specifically that Cortés read *Esplandián*, we do know that he and other conquistadors were familiar with novels of knight errantry, that these novels circulated widely in the New World, and that the conquistadors were conscious of the parallels between the fictional heroes and their own real actions. For example, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (circa 1492-1580), in his detailed chronicle of the conquest of Mexico (1568), compares the enchantment-like quality of the Spaniards' first view of Tenochtitlán with the "*cosas del encantamento*" [things of enchantment] found in the books about Amadís.¹¹ He also cuts short his description of the ninety-three consecutive days of battle to reconquer the Aztec's capital by saying that to engage in such prolixity "*parecería a los libros de Amadís o Caballerías*" [would seem like the books of Amadís or knight errantry].¹² After conquering the Aztec empire



Figure 6. Quetzalcóatl.

in 1521, Cortés attempted to push his conquests to their extreme limit, a limit uncannily predicted in the fictional world of *Esplandián*. In his fourth *carta de relación* to the emperor Carlos V, he says that one of his lieutenants came back from the western province of Ceguatán with the story of an island rich in gold and pearls and inhabited by Amazons who, like the *californianas* in *Esplandián*, killed their male children. Even Cortés' enemy and fellow conquistador, Nuño de Guzmán, in 1530, reported the same legend, and then he added information on Aztlán,¹³ a mythical region covering the American Southwest and California:

From Aztatlán ten days further I shall go to find the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arm of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people for Goddesses, and whiter than other women.¹⁴

Magic Destiny

One of the keys to the plot of *Esplandián* is the mysterious writing that had appeared on the hero's chest at birth. On the right side of his chest are white letters that spell his name, and on the left side are red letters that spell the name of the beloved lady he is destined to marry. Suspense is heightened by the fact that the only one who can decipher the red letters is the lady herself. At the end of the novel, in fact, the emperor of Constantinople's daughter, Leonorina, sees her name engraved on Esplandián's chest just before Calafía declares her desire to marry him and convert. However, when we analyze this time-worn plot device as a function of myth, a host of signs appear which point to the founding and on-going defining of California. Within the novel itself, the fictional narrator, Elisabat, is a magician of vague Greek origin who accompanies the hero as he fulfills his epic destiny. As a supposed magician the narrator is endowed with the power to transform the text into a quasi-sacred text. Outside the novel's fictional world, it is important to repeat

the fact that contrary to normal naming practice California's name was plucked from a written Spanish text whose fictions were virtually lived as (mythic) realities by Cortés and his coterie of conquistadors. Myth became reality when Fortún Jiménez discovered the peninsula of Baja California in 1533. Cortés' map of 1535 (Figure 7) reflects the fact that no one actually knew whether this new land was a peninsula or an island until 1539. By the time of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's voyage along the coast of Upper California in 1542 the name of California, or Californias—reflecting the lingering mythical notion that there were many fantastic islands to the west of the Indies—was consecrated usage. The great California historian Herbert Eugene Bolton reminds us that the conquistadors were led ever westward by a whole progression of legends whose culmination, or sixth mytheme, was Calafia: Gran Teguayo (Texas), Gran Quivira (Kansas), the Seven Cities of Cibola (New Mexico), the pearl islands, and, finally, the Amazon's island.¹⁵

As imaginarily depicted by Rodríguez de Montalvo, California was close to the sacred point of origin of the entire Judeo-Christian mythology and geography:

Know then that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terrestrial Paradise, and it was peopled by black women, without any man among them, for they lived in the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardy bodies, of ardent courage and great strength. Their island was the strongest in all the world, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed and rode. For in the whole island there was no metal but gold. They lived in caves wrought out of the rock with much labor. They had many ships with which they sailed out to other countries to obtain booty.¹⁶

At about the time this fiction was being created out of the materials of Rodríguez de Montalvo's culture and imagination, Columbus, while awaiting support for his fourth voyage, wrote a Book of Prophecies [*Libro de las profecías*]

to arrive in the Indies, near which was the Terrestrial Paradise. More than that, he hoped to use his expected fortune to redeem the Holy Sepulcher by conquering Jerusalem from the Moslems. In fact, on his third voyage (1498-1500) he felt that he had discovered the mouth of one of the four rivers leading to the Terrestrial Paradise, when actually he was at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Further, he felt that, as the etymology of his name (Christopher means Christ bearer) foretold, he had fulfilled many of the Biblical prophecies he collected, including, for example, Isaiah 11:11: "In that day the Lord will reach out his hand a second time to reclaim the remnant that is left of his people from Assyria . . . and from the islands of the sea."¹⁷

Columbus was able to conclude that these islands were at the right hand of the Indies (or to the Southeast of Cipango) because, through a long series of serious mistakes of geography, he had cut the degrees of longitude between Cipango and Spain in half. Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500 is a fairly accurate depiction of the principal islands of the Caribbean, but it leaves the issue of the reality of the Isthmus of Panama and the Pacific Ocean to iconographical mythology. In the place of the unknown, Juan de la Cosa draws a picture of St. Christopher, Columbus' namesake and the eponym of all Spanish-Christian conquistadors. When Balboa demythicizes the Isthmus and sights the *Mar del Sur* [the Southern Sea], he *ipso facto* destroys Columbus' speculation that the Terrestrial Paradise was in the region later known as Venezuela. Therefore, building on Balboa's discovery and on the joint circumnavigation of the globe by Fernão Magalhães (Magellan) and Juan Sebastián de Elcano (1519-1522), Cortés, at some time between 1522 (in his third letter to Carlos V) and 1535, was able to locate Rodríguez de Montalvo's island "on the right hand of the Indies" and close to the Terrestrial Paradise *to the Northwest* of the port of San Blas, which he had created on the west coast of México

expressly to launch expeditions to lands and islands he had heard about in both Spanish and Mexican myths.

Before Columbus convinced the Catholic Monarchs of Spain to support his voyage to discover the East by sailing west, his and Spain's mythical and geographical maps pointed east to Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and beyond, to the Terrestrial Paradise. In the seventh century, Saint Isidro of Sevilla gave visual form to the Biblical idea of the shape of the Earth found in Isaiah 40:22 ("He sits enthroned above the circle of the earth") by creating the T-O map (Figure 8). This kind of map preserves the Medieval idea of the *Orbis Terrarum* [orb of the earth] in which the habitable world is seen as an *island* surrounded by the *Mare Oceanum* (Columbus was given the title of Admiral of the Ocean Sea) with a cross in the center and three habitable areas. On this map, Asia and the east are represented at the top where now one expects to find the north. The point is that the east was the focus of orientation for Medieval Spain—indeed, most of Europe had the same focus. Like Saint Isidro's T-O map, the real space in which *Esplandián* is set is the Mediterranean, which is oriented like the base of the cross up toward Asia. Christian Europe is oriented septentrionally (to use the archaic English word for north) to the left, and pagan Africa is placed meridionally (or south) to the right. In other words, *Esplandián* is a child of the island-dominated Mediterranean, and he, like Columbus (also a product of the Mediterranean), is a "soldier of the faith" who leads the forces of Europe over the forces of Africa in a battle in and around Constantinople.

Constantinople and California

In terms of the mythemes which define the *Esplandián* myth, up to the *dénouement*, the novel focuses on defense of Constantinople, the city that until 1453 had been the stronghold of the Eastern Roman (Catholic) Empire. In chapters 47 through 49 of *Esplandián*, the hero dis-

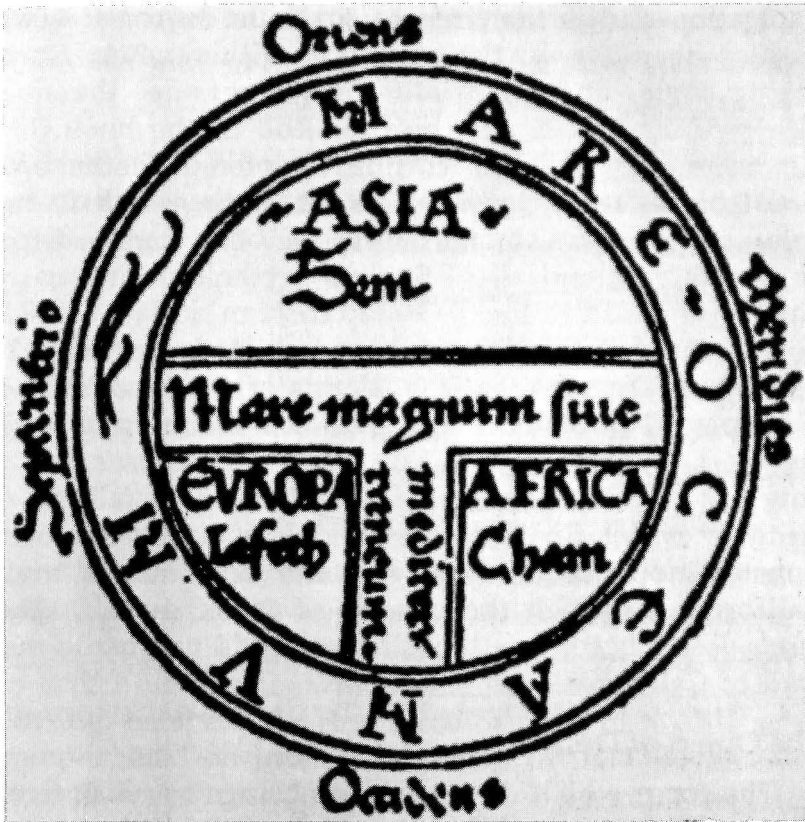


Figure 8. San Isidro's T-O map, circa 600.

covers auguries that allow him to reject his father's purely European, chivalric orientation in favor of a specifically T-O orientation. In these three chapters, Esplandián first goes to the Isla Santa María where his father had conquered the dragon whereby he earned the right to be king of the *Insola Firme*. The son, however, finds auguries to the effect that he was destined to achieve greater deeds than his father. This significant three-chapter interlude ends when the son and some key companions enter the *Fusta de la Gran Serpiente* and head to Constantinople. Significantly, this holy city remains the center of the novel

until chapter 98, when the narrator says he has lost his inspiration and is too tired to continue. In the following chapter he picks up the narration with renewed, mythicizing style, and he relates how Urganda, the muse-Virgin Mary figure, tells him the end of the book. From this moment until the end in chapter 184, the entire thrust of the novel leads up to the battle which features Calafia. It is in the second half of the book that Rodríguez de Montalvo's and all of Spain's mythology and cartography change from the T-O map to Juan de la Cosa's and Cortés' maps. It is with the new knowledge provided by Columbus' voyages that the islands of the Mediterranean are replaced in Spanish imagination by islands in, and to the west of, the Indies. Thus, for our purposes, we can now see how the Esplandián myth is the enabling medium by which Spain ceases to look nostalgically toward Constantinople as a holy magnet and looks instead toward California. Through the process of this change, Amadís' *Insola Firme* becomes the island-islands-peninsula-mainland of California.

The Object of Desire

The force which drives human beings to work toward any goal is an object of desire. It drove Medieval knights to undertake quests (for example, the Holy Grail); it drove conquistadors to conquest (for example, glory and gold); it drove missionaries to convert the heathen (for example, God, the Virgin Mary); and, in *Esplandián* the object of desire drives the hero to merit his predestined beloved by conquering the pagan hordes. In general terms, the novel's fifth mytheme is the object of the hero's desire. In specific terms this object has two parts as we have characterized the hero above. First he is motivated by his passion for Leonorina, and second he strives to do his Christian duty by conquering pagans. As we study the mythic creation of California, we notice that this mytheme, like the other mythemes we have looked at, has a

range of meanings and applications with roots in the past and projections to the future. With the period of the writing of *Esplandián* as the mediating point of reference, the past is found on the Mediterranean island of Mallorca and Ramón Llull¹⁸, one of the two most famous citizens of that island; and the future is found in Junípero Serra, the other famous Mallorcan, and his connection with both Mallorca and California. As we shall see, there are even real and legendary connections with Columbus.

The father of colonial California has been called "the last of the conquistadors."¹⁹ While this kind of appellation often amounts to little more than adulatory hagiography, in the present context it is an apt phrase; for Serra's identity as a Franciscan missionary and latter-day conquistador is rooted deeply in the fifth mytheme and in what Llull represents. Llull was a late thirteenth-century courtier turned priest, philosopher, mystic, missionary, and martyr. In himself he virtually contains the source for all of the mythemes of the *Esplandián* myth. Among his Protean accomplishments which relate to our subject are the following: he spent the first three decades of his life as an accomplished Don Juan and courtier in the Catalan court of king Jaime I the Conquistador, who conquered Moslem-controlled Mallorca three years before Llull was born; he experienced a Pauline conversion which motivated him to spend the rest of his life attempting to convert all Moslems; he caused an uproar by switching allegiance from the Dominican order to the Franciscans, because he aided the latter in vigorously defending the theory of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; he became a third-order Franciscan (Columbus and Isabel I were also third-order Franciscans, and Serra was a Franciscan priest and professor of Lullian philosophy); he founded a monastery dedicated to the teaching of Arabic to missionaries in order to facilitate conversion; he wrote more than 600 books of philosophy, theology, mysticism, and poetry, including a major prose romance titled *Blanquerna* which

includes the famous *Llibre d'amic e amat* [Book of the Lover and the Beloved]; he wrote a manual on knight errantry; he studied philosophy under Duns Scotus in Paris; he sought to lead a new crusade in 1308 to conquer the Holy Land; and he made three missionary trips to North Africa, on the last of which he was martyred.²⁰

Llull's greatest legacy in the first phase of his life is his manual on the the art of chivalry, *Llibre de cavalleria* [The Book of Chivalry], written in Catalan in 1275. This book was an immediate success, and it remained extremely popular for many centuries. It had as much direct influence on real knights as it did on novels such as *Amadís de Gaula*, the Catalan masterpiece *Tirant lo blanc* (1490), and *Esplandián*. In addition to advocating the standard secular duties of knights, Llull also emphasizes their obligation to defend the faith:

By means of their customary faith knights make pilgrimages to the Holy Land beyond the sea, and they take up arms against enemies of the cross, and they are martyrs when they die upholding the holy Catholic faith.²¹

Figure 9, from *Breviculum*, Llull's illuminated 1293 manuscript, depicts Llull, a knight of the faith, engaging in wordy disputation with the Moslems of Tunis immediately upon disembarking from a *fusta*. Llull's object of desire was serving his beloved Virgin Mary with such passionate devotion that he was willing to risk martyrdom for her sake. Four and a half centuries later, Serra, born and raised on Llull's island suspended in the sea between Christian and Moslem worlds, steeped in Lullian legends, ordained in Llull's church, and educated in Llull's university, would do his predecessor one better—he would conquer the infidel Calafía's land.

Calafía

The *Esplandián* myth is about the chivalric transitions or replacements that were taking place in Mediterranean



Figure 9. From Ramon Llull's *Brevicolum*, 1293.

Spain during the final decade of the fifteenth century. Esplandián replaces Amadís; west replaces east; the New World replaces the Old; the name of Great Britain replaces that of the *Insola Firme*, and then the mythic island of California replaces both of the other islands; real maps replace fanciful ones; Christians replace pagans; and Cala-

fía replaces Leonorina. Indeed, the figure of Calafía epitomizes such metamorphoses, for she embodies the way in which a sixth mytheme is added to and replaces the fifth mytheme. In fact, style in *Esplandián* reaches its metaphorical zenith in the descriptions of the queen, the 500 griffins she brings with her to Constantinople, and the fantastic beast which she alone rides.

Calafía is said to be large, beautiful, and youthful; she dresses for battle or seduction entirely in gold; and she is desirous to see the world and accomplish great feats of courage. The griffins are described as feeding on the Amazons' male offspring and the captive men who are used only for conceptual purposes. As mentioned earlier, the griffins ironically aid the Christian cause. At first they attack the Christians savagely; but, since the *californianas* had trained them to attack and kill all men, they soon turn on the pagans as well. When this happens momentum switches to the Christians, and they proceed to rout their enemies. Prudently, Calafía orders her troops to cage the griffins and to withdraw from the battle. Her object of desire is *Esplandián*. The most lavish description, however, is saved for the beast she mounts when she sallies forth during a lull in the fighting, which she requests so that she can meet the mythical hero in his own camp:

It had ears as large as two shields; a broad forehead which had but one eye, like a mirror; the openings of its nostrils were very large but its nose was short and blunt. From its mouth turned up two tusks, each of them two palms long. Its color was yellow, and it had many violet spots upon its skin, like an ounce. It was larger than a dromedary, had its feet cleft like those of an ox, and ran as swiftly as the wind, and skipped over the rocks as lightly, and held itself erect on any part of them, as do the mountain goats. Its food was dates, figs and peas, and nothing else. Its flank and haunches and breast were very beautiful.²²

The metaphorical descriptions of the queen, the griffins, and this yellow and violet beast are worthy of Lull's mystical visions of the Beloved; and they fire the imagina-

tion of Cortés and Serra among others. In terms of the sixth mytheme, her sister Amazons, their golden attire, and these animals are all metaphorical extensions of Calafía herself. While it would be appropriate to analyze Queen Calafía in terms of women's studies and the way in which she anticipates the psychology and social roles that women play in contemporary California, we are going to dilate here on the ways in which this Hollywoodesque or cinematographic figure anticipates the ultimate conquest of California by Father Serra and other early and latter-day colonizers. In this context we are enabled to return full circle within the boundaries of the myth to the Marianic tradition of thirteenth-century Spain and Europe, which in large measure gave rise to the myth of the knight errant and of which Esplandián is an outgrowth. Just as the Virgin Mary was a knight's and voyager's ultimate object of desire and veneration who led them to safety and victory, so Calafía led Esplandián's cousin Talanque, in fiction, and Cortés, Rodríguez Cabrillo, and Serra, in reality. Moreover, just as Esplandián and Quetzalcóatl fuse into a syncretic form of New World conquistador in Cortés, so too Calafía the warrior fuses with the Virgin Mary and Tlazoltéotl to form the Virgin of Guadalupe. Under the latter guise she was also known as "*La Conquistadora*," and statues of her were carried in the missionary-military vanguard as New Spain's frontiers were expanded north into Aztlán (Figure 10). A similar statue was given to Serra in 1770 by José de Gálvez, the *Visitador General* who was in charge of the expeditions to plant settlements in Alta California.²³ This statue is now considered one of the Golden State's historical art treasures.

When viewed from an Anglocentric point of view, Serra's identity as an Esplandián-like *caballero a lo cristiano* [Christian knight] is missed. Mexican and Spanish historians from the eighteenth century to the present, on the other hand, see the continuity of discovery and conquest from 1492 to 1769. Serra himself refers to "*la espi-*



Figure 10. "La Conquistadora" from the cathedral in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

ritual expedición de California" [the spiritual expedition to California; letter, March 2, 1768] and "*estas conquistas*" [these conquests; Journal entry, March 28, 1769]. In his seminal biography of 1787 about his confrere and superior, Francisco Palóu refers to "*la espiritual conquista*" [the

spiritual conquest], "*lo conquistado*" [what has been conquered], and "*esta conquista*" [this conquest].²⁴ Although Serra attempted to burn his Mallorcan ships behind him, so to speak, when he arrived in México in 1749,²⁵ his Mediterranean, insular, and Lullian roots are undeniable. His own character and these roots link him to the *Esplandián* myth. Helen Hunt Jackson, the writer of California's most venerated novel, *Ramona*, even sees a connection with Columbus through both of their affiliations with the Franciscans²⁶; and it is not unreasonable to see Franciscan influence in *Esplandián*.

Serra's life, oriented around the traditional religious universe of Mallorca, was divided neatly into two parts—the first extending from his birth in 1713 to his departure from his home island in 1749, and the second stretching from his arrival in México until his death in California in 1784. During the first half of his life he was educated in, and rose to the highest prestige levels of, a culture which energetically resisted outside imposition of the secular and rational culture of the Enlightenment. Ironically, Serra was a man of the past who helped found the most forward-looking culture the world has ever known. In many ways Serra fulfilled a project for converting "*gentiles y bárbaros*" [his words: gentiles and the uncivilized] begun by Llull but aborted by the latter's martyrdom. Like Llull, Serra was adept at philosophy: the former studied under Duns Scotus (circa 1265 to circa 1308), and the latter taught Scotist philosophy at the Universidad Lulliana, the university founded by Llull himself. The culmination of this part of Serra's life is the last sermon he preached before his departure. On January 25, 1749, he was given the supreme honor of presenting the annual keynote address at the solemn celebration commemorating the university's founder. Commenting on the tremendous success of this eulogy, a priest who, according to Palóu, was not one of Serra's major admirers, unwittingly used a metaphor that is the stuff of myth: "*Digno es este sermón*

de que se imprima con letras de oro"²⁷ [This sermon is worthy of being printed in letters of gold].

By an amazing coincidence, Serra was able to carry Scotism, Llullism, and what we have identified as the Esplandián myth to California just when these three forces were being eclipsed in both Spain and Mallorca. Like all Medieval philosophy and theology, Llullism was under attack by all of the forces of the Enlightenment; and nowhere was the battle fiercer than on Llull's home island. From 1748 to 1750 there was a severe drought on the island; and, some would say, miraculously, it rained when the islanders turned in supplication to none other than Ramón Llull. Serra's eulogy took place at the central moment of this fervor, but after Serra left there was a terrible brouhaha over whether or not to credit the extra-worldly intervention of Llull's spirit. The anti-Llull forces won, and soon thereafter Llullism declined significantly. Serra, however, sailed off with the mythology we have outlined in full force²⁸; and he arrived twenty years later in a land that was half myth and half reality. Despite the fact that Ulloa had proved in 1539 that (Baja) California was a peninsula, so much was unknown about this land that a prominent English map still showed it as an island during Serra's lifetime (Figure 11). Serra was not alone, of course, in bringing this belief system with him. He was surrounded by so many fellow Catalans and Mallorcans that one might almost say California was a province of Catalonia rather than of New Spain or México. Among these compatriots are the soldiers Gaspar de Portolá, Sergeant Puig, Pablo Ferrer, Francisco Bombau, Domingo Malaret, Gerónimo Planes, Valentín Planells, and Domingo Clua, while among the clerics are Fathers Palóu, Lasuén, Crespí, Pieras, Sitjar, Juncosa, Cavaller, and Jayme.

Here and Now

During the first four generations of California's post-indigenous era—that is, from 1769 until the dawn of the

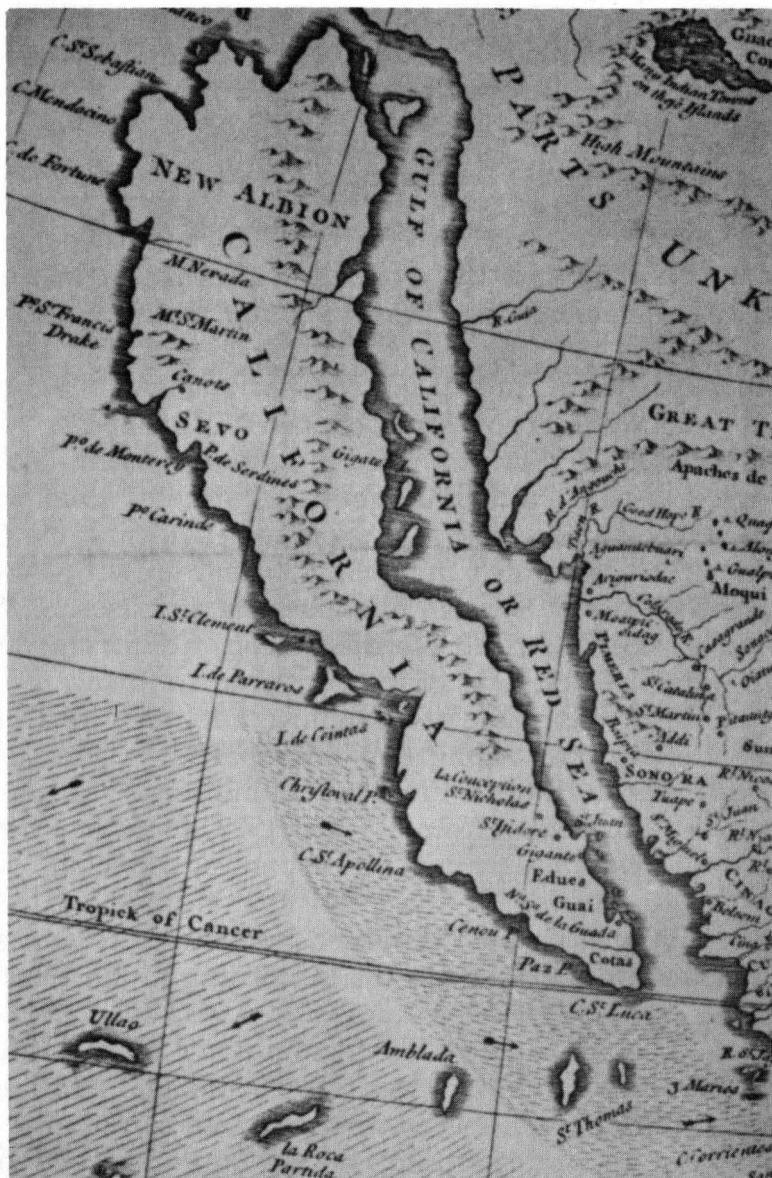


Figure 11. English map of 1745.

Anglo-American era in 1848—the belief system for which the Esplandián myth is the core motivated first the Spanish colony and then the Mexican state to develop into a functioning Hispano-Mestizo society. By the time of the Gold Rush, the outward, material trappings of the mission system founded by Serra had decayed seriously; but the way of life of the early *californios* was established firmly enough to survive the first two generations of the American period (roughly 1850 to 1900).²⁹ During the two generations around the turn of the century, however, Anglo-Californians “rediscovered” the myths which distinguish and differentiate California geographically and culturally. Helen Hunt Jackson, Charles Fletcher Lummis (who was knighted by king Alfonso XIII of Spain for his 1893 book, *The Spanish Pioneers*), Mary Astin, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Herbert Eugene Bolton, and John Steinbeck, among a host of other prominent and humble Californians, all promoted metaphors which grew out of the Esplandián myth: Spanish mission-style architecture, California as the American Mediterranean, California *rancho* living, the halcyon days of the dons, and so forth.

In recent years the re-Hispanicization of the Golden State has occurred along two principal lines. First, since the end of the Bracero Program (Public Law 78) in 1964, and most noticeably from 1970 to 1987, there has been a massive new immigration of Hispanics, especially Mexicans, to California. Second, and at the other end of the cultural spectrum, Spanish-based nomenclature and style have taken on a prestige status. According to the 1980 census, Hispanics in the state numbered 4,543,770, or 19.2 percent of the population. One demographer even estimated that the official census missed 3,000,000 illegal and undocumented Hispanics.³⁰ Were that estimate correct, the percentage of Hispanics would rise to 31.9 percent. Even the lower, official figures show that California had nearly twice as many Hispanics as any other state of the United States. It is estimated that by 1985 the Los Angeles area

alone had 4,459,499 Hispanic residents, and that number is predicted to rise to 6,080,304 by 1990.³¹ As *The Economist* of London recently stated, this trend is going to continue for the foreseeable future:

Even if all illegal immigration to the United States were stopped tomorrow, demography would continue to make contacts between Mexico and the United States deeper than that between almost any other pair of countries. Mr. David Hays-Bautista, at the University of California in Los Angeles, calculates that by 2030 the population of California will be 40% of Spanish-speaking origin, compared with about 20% in 1980. This group will be mainly—perhaps more than 80%—of Mexican origin, and much younger than the population at large.³²

Immigration from south of the border, coupled with the population explosion in both México and the native Latino community, however, provides an explanation for only half the re-Hispanicization of California culture. The other half can be linked to a very large-scale reattribution of prestige status to Spanish mission-style architecture during the 1920's. The revival of the mission myth coincided with a sense that something had gone wrong with Yankee California and with the attempt to install an alien Victorian vision in our state. Hence, there was a general cultural awakening in which even highly successful Anglo-Californians harkened back to an earlier, pre-industrial period of quiet, or, to use Robert Glass Cleland's phrase, of "cattle on a thousand hills." In our present decade, there has been a major resurgence of Spanish names and style in prestige areas such as: private estates which have become treasured public museums (Hearst's castle at La Cuesta Encantada and Senator James Phelan's estate at Saratoga called Villa Montalvo); names for communities and housing developments (Mission Viejo, Cabrillo Heights); shopping plazas (La Cumbre Plaza in Santa Barbara); streets (El Dorado Street in Los Osos or Calle Joaquín in Laguna Hills); public and commercial



Figure 12. Chamber of Commerce billboard at Santa Maria, California, with Columbus' caravel and the Virgin of Guadalupe's divine aura.

festivities (La Fiesta in San Luis Obispo or The Days of the Dons in Santa Margarita); entertainment attractions (the roller coaster ride at Knott's Berry Farm called Montezuma's Revenge); new foods (fajitas); and even billboards, such as Santa Maria's municipal welcome sign (Figure 12), which returns us to the mythemes of the Esplandián myth.

Through the combination of the Hispanicizing of the prestige culture and the dramatic increase in the Hispanic population, we see the strengthening of the direct cultural link with the myths present in California's founding over two centuries ago. This combination is actualized through the mediating nature of México's syncretic Mestizo culture. In this way, all English- and Spanish-speaking citizens of present-day California are heirs of the fused male myth of Esplandián-Quetzalcóatl and the female myth of Calafia-Guadalupe. Both are *conquistadores a lo espiritual*. Signs of these myths are evident in virtually every aspect

of life in California. Suffice it to mention just two. First, the most significant anthology of contemporary California poetry—the cultural expression closest to myth—was published under auspices of the California Arts Council, and its title is *Calafía: The California Poetry*.³³ Second, standing as the paramount symbol of such a synthesis is California's first citizen, President Ronald Reagan, who lives on *Rancho El Cielo* at 3333 *Refugio* Road in *Refugio* Canyon near *Santa Bárbara*. Naturally, he is a member of a riding group called *Los Caballeros*: the knights.



NOTES

1. Edward Everett Hale, *The Queen of California: The Origin of the Name of California with a Translation from the Sergas de Esplandián*, (San Francisco: The Colt Press, 1945); see also, Alexander S. Taylor, *A Historical Summary of Baja California: From Its Discovery in 1532 to 1867*, ed. Walt Wheelock (Pasadena, Calif.: Socio-Technical Books, 1971), p. 18.
2. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Las sergas del muy esforzado caballero Esplandián: hijo del excelente rey Amadís de Gaula*. Vol. 40, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles; Libros de caballerías, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1963). Although this seminal novel for the history, geography, and mythology of California has never been translated into English in its entirety, it is often referred to as *The Adventures of Esplandián*. Throughout this article we will refer to it simply as *Esplandián*. There is no definitive explanation for the word "sergas," but in Chapter 18 the narrator says that the word means "proezas" or "exploits."

Regarding the naming of California, Charles E. Chapman (see note 4 below) summed up our current state of knowledge as long ago as 1921: "There is hardly room for a doubt that Cortés and his men were familiar with the story of island California. All Europe had gone nearly mad over the romances of chivalry, and the Spaniards in particular were looking for the same wonderful experiences in the Americas as the wandering knights were wont to have in the realm of fancy." (p. 62). In any case, there is no direct evidence that Cortés knew or used the name

California. Cortés named the place where he landed in Baja California *Santa Cruz*. In 1533 Cortés ordered his relative, Becerra, to command an expedition to what later would become known as Baja California. In the course of a mutiny led by Fortún Jiménez, Becerra was murdered; and the nomenclature used by either Becerra or Jiménez for the peninsula is unknown. Pedro de Palencia and Francisco Preciado kept diaries of the expedition made to the island-peninsula in 1539-1540, but the name *California* appears only in the Italian version of Preciado's diary, printed in Giovanni Ramusio's works over a decade later (1550-1556). The name does appear in the journal kept by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, the Portuguese mariner sailing for Spain, who reconnoitered the long coast of Baja and Alta California in 1542. Furthermore, Gómara, Bernal Díaz, and Herrera, historians and chroniclers of Cortés' exploits, writing between 1550 and 1564, refer to the place Cortés landed as *California*. This later collocation of Cortés and California has led to the unproved assumption that Cortés is responsible for the definitive naming. The working hypothesis of this article is that, in the absence of documentary evidence of the real event (for example: "I, Hernán Cortés, do hereby declare the name of this bay and this island or peninsula to be *California*."), it is sufficient to note that Cortés demonstrated such depth of education and a propensity for mythicizing actions in the conquest of México that it is reasonable to postulate a link between Cortés and Rodríguez de Montalvo in the naming of California. Finally, the Spanish conquistadors were fully conscious that naming was the first step in the process of conquering, converting, and assimilating the lands and peoples of the New World. See also p. 6 above on Antonio de Nebrija's grammar (1492).

3. James D. Houston, *Californians: Searching for the Golden State* (Berkeley: Donald S. Ellis, 1985), p. 25.
4. Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: the Spanish Period* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921). Though he presents an accurate summary of the plot, Chapman does not relate the episodes dealing with the Amazon Queen, Calafia, to the rest of the work, nor does he dilate on the symbolic or mythic aspects of the novel as a whole. Additionally, Chapman quite efficiently dismisses various other explanations for the origin of the name California, such as the Latin etymology of *calida fornax*, or the Catalan word *californo*, which, like the Latin phrase, also means "hot oven." However, Chapman's conclusion

(on p. 55) about the name strikes an aptly mythicizing note: "One of the most prized possessions of present-day Californians is the beautiful and beloved name of the state, a name which has a lure that has carried its fame perhaps farther than that of any other state in the Union."

5. *Esplandián* is the fifth volume of a series of *novelas de caballería*, the first of which deals with the exploits of the hero's father, Amadís de Gaula. Rodríguez de Montalvo rewrote and edited into four volumes materials on Amadís which date back to at least the beginning of the fourteenth century. He then wrote the fifth volume on his own.
Even the esteemed historian Samuel Eliot Morison mistakenly had the Amazon Queen Calafía fight on the side of the Christians. See *The European Discovery of America: the Southern Voyages, 1492-1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 617.
6. The concept of a mytheme has its origin in the structural anthropological work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, especially in *Tristes tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955) and *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris: Plon, 1958). A mytheme is a structural unit akin to phonemes in the phonological structure of language. Mythemes are symbolic or narrative units which in particular combinations distinguish one myth from another.
7. Ruy Díaz de Vivar (1050-1099), called *El Cid* by the Moslems he conquered as he helped push Spain's Christian borders farther south, is the protagonist of Spain's anonymous national epic poem, *El cantar de mio Cid*, circa 1140. He is considered the father of Spanish nationalism.
8. *Esplandián*, p. 408
9. The title description of this devout legend, told in a sequence of six vignettes, is as follows: "*Esta e como Santa María apareceu no maste da nave de noite que ya a Bretanna e a guardou que non perigoasse*" [This is how Holy Mary appeared at night at the top of the mast of the ship that was going to Britain and how she kept it from perishing].
10. Gianni Granzotto, *Christopner Columbus: The Dream and the Obsession*, tr. Stephen Sartarelli (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1985), p. 144.
11. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (México: Porrúa, 1966), p. 147. For more on the relationship between the Conquest and novels of knight errantry or

- chivalry, see Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *Amadises de América: la hazaña de Indias como empresa caballeresca* (México: Porrúa, 1948).
12. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, p. 320.
 13. Aztlán is the ancient Aztec myth of the Land of the Fifth Sun, which referred to the Aztecs' region of origin in the American Southwest. The Chicano poet Alurista resuscitated this myth, and Chicano activists adopted it in 1969 as a means to give the nascent Chicano cultural and political movement a mythical core.
 14. Chapman, p. 64.
 15. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, 4 Vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930).
 16. Hale, p. 15. In the Spanish edition this passage is at the beginning of Chapter 157.
 17. For the *Libro de las profecías* see Cristóbal Colón, *Textos y documentos completos*, ed. Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza, 1984), pp. 286-291. For excellent discussions of Columbus' use of prophetic texts, see Salvador de Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón*, new edition (London: Hollis and Carter, 1949); Paolo Emilio Taviani, *Christopher Columbus: The Grand Design* (London: Orbis, 1985); and Granzotto. op. cit., Note 9.
 18. For a good bibliography of Llull, see Allison E. Peers, *Ramon* (sic) *Lull* (sic) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929); for Llull's relationship to Africa, to Moslems, and to Islam, see Sebastián Garcías Palou, *Ramón Llull y el Islam* (Palma de Mallorca: Gráficas Planisi, 1981); for Llull's thought, see Cruz Hernández, *El pensamiento de Llull* (Valencia, Spain: Castalia, 1977); and for the Lullian controversy which raged throughout Mallorca during Serra's lifetime, see Juan Riera, *Las polémicas lulistas y el consejo de Castilla (1750-1765)* (Valladolid, Spain: Universidad de Valladolid, 1977). Note that British writers often spell the name "Lull." The Catalan spelling is used here to respect common Spanish and American usage.
 19. Omer Englebert, *The Last of the Conquistadors: Junípero Serra (1713-1784)*, trans. by Katherine Woods (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956).
 20. Allison Peers, in discussing the legends regarding Llull's death by stoning in Bugia during 1315-1316, tells of a tantalizing, possible connection between Llull and Columbus. Legend has it that

Llull was left for dead and then saved by two Genoese merchants, Esteva Colom and Luis de Pastorga, who took him either dead or alive—there are different versions of the legend—to Mallorca. Specifically, on p. 372 Peers notes: "Legend has made great play with Colom's name, representing him as the ancestor of the celebrated Columbus (Catalan: Colom; Castillian: Colón). It has even been suggested that Llull knew of the existence of an American continent, and passed on the secret to Esteva Colom with his last breath, prophesying that a descendent of his (Colom's) would discover it!" Legend notwithstanding, there is firmer evidence of the influence which Llull had on Columbus' geographical knowledge. It is almost certain that Columbus knew of Llull's popular treatise on the difference between tides in the Mediterranean and those in the Atlantic. See Ramón Llull, *Quaestiones per artem demonstrativam solubiles*, as cited in Taviani, *op. cit.*, Note 17, p. 388.

21. Translation by William Little, from Ramón Llull, *Libro de la orden de caballería* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), p. 76.
22. Hale, p. 32.
23. Letter from Serra to Gálvez, July 2, 1770, in Lino Gómez Canedo, *De México a la Alta California: una gran epopeya misional* (México: Editorial Jus, 1969), p. 115. For the sake of historical curiosity, it is interesting to note that the first mention of the Virgin of Guadalupe in relation to Upper California is found in Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's journal recounting his exploration of the coast in 1542. Like the thirteenth-century *cantiga de Santa María* referred to above, and like Columbus on his first return voyage, Rodríguez Cabrillo and his mariners commended themselves to the Virgin during a storm at sea.
24. See Francisco Palóu, *Relación histórica de la vida y apostólicas tareas del venerable padre Fray Junípero Serra* (México: Porrúa, 1970) and *Evangelista del Mar Pacífico, Fray Junípero Serra*, ed. Lorenzo Ribera (Madrid: Aguilar, 1944); Junípero Serra, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, ed. Antoine Tibesar, 4 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955); Andrés Marcos Burriel, *Noticia de la California y de Su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual* (no publisher indicated, circa 1750); and Pablo Herrera Carrillo, *Fray Junípero Serra, civilizador de las Californias*, third edition (México: Editorial Jus, 1960).
25. See Serra's letter of August 4, 1773, to Father Miguel, of his home town of Petra, Mallorca, in Gómez Canedo, *op. cit.*, Note 23.

26. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Father Junípero Serra and the Mission Indians of California* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903), p. 3.
27. Palóu, *Evangelista*, p. 23.
28. For details, see Juan Riera, *Las polémicas lulistas y el consejo de Castilla (1750-1765)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1977).
29. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream: 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Robert Glass Cleland, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1969).
30. Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1986), p. 107.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
32. *The Economist* (September 5, 1987), p. 20.
33. Ishmael Reed (ed.), *Calafia: the California Poetry* (Berkeley: Y'Bird, 1979).