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## Islands of Time Before: The Miraculous Translation of Californian

**KARL KOTTMAN**

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At a time when Baja California was thought to be an island, a group of Jesuit priests launched a mission there to educate its Natives. Several sites were established, beginning in 1697, on what came to be recognized later as a peninsula.<sup>1</sup> These missions were initiated thanks to private solicitations, rather than the royal patronage that had underwritten the missions in New Spain before. Perhaps for this reason the mission was subject to one of the characteristic institutions of the Catholic Church: the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei*). The Propaganda, for short, also held ecclesiastical jurisdiction over countries with non-Catholic governments, such as England, from 1622 to 1908.<sup>2</sup>

The Propaganda was not a sort of Vatican department of missions. It was, in fact, an effective response to conditions of doctrinal and moral confusion faced by counter-reformation Rome. The Propaganda evolved its own educational institution in Rome in 1627, known as the *Collegium Urbanum*, named after its founder Pope Urban VIII. Students were accepted from all lands under the Propaganda's jurisdiction, which included the Native peoples of Baja California. The courses ranged from basic grammar to advanced studies in theology.

One of the original reasons for the college's establishment was the hope that students would share their differences throughout their lives. Whether from Scandinavia, the Balkans, the United States, Africa, or Asia, students related different cultures, languages, customs, and personal experiences to each other. While Pope Alexander VII required that students take vows to return to their homelands, where they would act as evangelists, he also insisted that they stay in lifelong correspondence with their alma mater. Throughout the last three quarters of the nineteenth century, the college maintained about 120 students at one time in various stages of preparation for missionary

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careers all over the world. Their native languages ranged from English to the aboriginal language of northern San Diego County, known in mid-nineteenth-century Rome as Californian.

Study at the college required a gift for understanding akin to that necessitated by the Pentecost, when those listening to the Apostles finally understood the message despite their diverse origins and languages. Although Latin was used for instruction in Roman colleges, students were neither entirely foreign nor completely comfortable with each other. They were situated both physically and psychologically at the edge of a future world yet to be created through translation. This was the key to grammar study at the Collegium Urbanum. However much a paradox, national and personal identities were kept whole only in opening up to each other in speech and writing. Grammar study was an epiphany, a wondrous manifestation of many worlds coming together.

Grammar study was intended to show how changing from one language form to another revealed not only an inner grammar, but also a unity of mankind as a divine creation, for, as this article will explain, human unity was viewed as an effect of the miracle of translation. It was the custom for students to write and read poems in their native languages on Epiphany Day (January 6). Distinguished guests invited to the Propaganda's palace witnessed a virtually Biblical event—not Three Kings coming from afar to worship Jesus, but still a gathering of converts from far flung nations. Languages flowed and mixed with each other like the fountains of Rome.

What I intend to show, then, is not how the Propaganda sent out missionaries to the corners of the world, but how the organization was able to draw students to Rome. This second picture, I hope, will appear more clearly as it is framed here and as more examples are studied. For the time being, I shall develop one well-documented case of grammar studies at the Collegium Urbanum: the Californian language.

One of the figures associated with the Collegium Urbanum was a Bolognese priest, Giuseppe Mezzofanti, who lived from 1774 to 1849. Reputed to have been fluent in thirty-eight languages, he had ready access to writings and anecdotal materials of the college's scholars. Appointed cardinal in 1838, Mezzofanti became a member of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide and was thereafter directly responsible for the Catholic Church's activities in mission territories. As a cardinal, Mezzofanti studied daily with students at the Propaganda, as had been his habit for many years. Thus, he was able to document the establishment of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the students' various homelands with writings coming, in his words, "from themselves."<sup>3</sup>

One biographer transcribed this remark by Lord Byron, showing the striking impression Mezzofanti left on people:

"in general I do not draw well with literary men;—not that I dislike them; but I never know what to say to them, after I have praised their last publication. There are several exceptions to be sure,...but your literary every-day man and I never met well in company,...I don't remember a man amongst them I ever wished to see twice, except perhaps Mezzofanti, who is a monster of languages, the Briareus of parts of speech, a walking polyglot, and more;—who ought to have existed

at the time of the Tower of Babel, as universal interpreter. He is, indeed, a marvel—un-assuming also. I tried him in all the tongues in which I knew a single oath or adjuration to the gods, against post-boys, savages, Tartars, boatmen, sailors, pilots, gondoliers, muleteers, camel-drivers, vetturini, post-masters, post-houses, post, everything; and egad! he astounded me—even to English.”

The cardinal, according to one story, knew the English language better than the poet, down to the details of London slang. It is reliably reported that Mezzofanti knew Dutch better than exceptionally learned Netherlanders, passed as a Pole to a Polish noble next to whom he sat in a theater, and spoke Mandarin as well as any native Chinese. He collected textual examples of the name of God in every language imaginable and cataloged the aboriginal languages of Mexico. Apparently, he could speak passable Algonquin and Aztec. As a professor at the Collegium Urbanum, he played a crucial role in the production of the first grammatical record of Californian. Later, in his capacity as a cardinal member of the Propaganda, this grammar and its associated writings contributed directly to the foundation of a Catholic diocese for the Californias (upper and lower) and the appointment of its first bishop. Californian was actually the tongue of the Indians at Mission San Luis Rey and today is called Luiseño. There remain only a few native speakers in San Diego and Riverside counties.

A little background on that mission shows how Mezzofanti came to learn the Californian language. After the Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1767, the missionary effort in Alta California was turned over to Franciscan friars. One of these was Fray Antonio Peyri, O.F.M., the architect and director of the most commercially successful of all the California missions, San Luis Rey, located today in northern San Diego County. Peyri had once preached at the mission, saying:

In this country, there are two distinct races, the barbarians and the semi-barbarians. The semi-barbarians are our poor Indians. The barbarians are the *gente de razón* [people of reason] who seem devoid of all reason.<sup>4</sup>

The phrase *gente de razón* in Mexican California generally referred to people that one could deal with, as opposed to the local Indians. But Fray Antonio's statement was not only sarcasm in favor of the Indians, but also a close match to Saint Paul's famous mission text:

I owe a duty to Greeks just as much as to barbarians, to the educated just as much as to the uneducated, and it is this that makes me want to bring the Good News to you in Rome.<sup>5</sup>

Peyri, therefore, was taking aim at the Mexican authorities. He presented the “semi-barbarians” as preachers of the “Good News,” thereby pronouncing his wish to convert the “educated...in Rome.”

To this end, Peyri schooled Pablo Tac (1822–1841) and Agapito Amamix (1820–1835), two Luiseño boys, and probably several others. His intention

was to take some of these boys to Rome, apparently without their families' permission, in hopes of training them to become priests and missionaries. In 1832, the aging Peyri put his plan into effect before their departure could be noticed. The friar's party, including Tac and Amamix, embarked at San Diego just before the Luiseño Indians arrived on horseback to stop them.<sup>6</sup> Fray Antonio, after spending some time in Mexico securing means for their support, sailed with the boys to Rome and enrolled them at the Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide in September of 1834. There they worked under the tutelage of Mezzofanti.

Though several hundred aborigines have surely attended the Collegium Urbanum since its founding, Pablo Tac has stood out among them. Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman recalled the California boy from a chance meeting with Mezzofanti in the piazza outside the Collegium Urbanum. At the time, Wiseman was rector of the English College. Wiseman, by the time of this recollection, had become head of the English Roman Catholic hierarchy (restored in 1850 but still considered in missionary status). He had asked how his friend, on his way to lessons in Californian with Tac and Amamix, had learned "that out of the way tongue."<sup>7</sup> Wiseman received the answer, "from themselves."

The study of Californian to which Wiseman alludes resulted in Tac's short grammar description of the Luiseño language, written in Latin and Spanish and addressed to an unidentified "Excellency." This and other notebooks by Tac were lost for eighty years after being archived with Mezzofanti's papers in the Archiginnasio of Bologna after the cardinal's death. Tac's authorship was not identified again until the 1920s.<sup>8</sup> Extending well beyond the grammar, the notebooks contain the poem quoted below, as well as another such poem. Both were apparently prepared for an Epiphany academia. The manuscripts include a drawing of two Indian dancers. In addition, conversational exercises in the Luiseño language, called Californian in the texts themselves, and a Luiseño-Spanish glossary, are included in the papers. There is an anecdotal narrative about Mission San Luis Rey in Spanish entitled "*Conversión de los San Luiseños de la Alta California*." Finally, there are some brief comments in regard to several tribes of Southern California. These descriptions were written in Latin and are addressed to an "Eminence," Mezzofanti's title after he became a cardinal. All these texts have been published except for the last item (which I noticed when inspecting copies from the archival file).

One poem reads as follows:

Ejlapil amù hichacat  
 Po toin' ac'ala mimchapan  
 Touis' n' ac' uas' tùchac' anoq.  
 Mimchapan chamil nèc' pic' uas'  
 Amù cham jùlamil abbac' uas'  
 Oulam pom màn' ai Aiàjom.  
 Cham sun'aquilmil nàlac' uas'  
 Hâlcanoq cham càmynom.  
 O màn' ai Palòv Chann'ichnis'

The groaning earth was bound before by  
 proud Lucifer who was always in command.  
 There were always wars  
 and enemy weapons were seen red  
 with blood. Our women fled, our  
 men died and our children cried  
 looking for them. But you, merciful  
 God, because you came down from  
 heaven, because you left it,

O uorra' ala tûpan'ai  
 Sûcamil o man'ai Angelom  
 Uon' ai iviq o mônç' ala  
 Oi Yot Chan'n'ichn'is' tòuc' anoq.  
 Oman' àimil Sûsquiyam  
 Soròramilpe queuque uaj  
 O man' ai chami Camiinoq  
 Ejlapil o uòrrac' ala jima,  
 Jimamil Atojom o man'ai  
 Choonomilpe taràa  
 Oicha pitòo yejiuon  
 Oiç cham sunmi majàniuon  
 Oipe Supùli ohòvauon  
 Chan'n'ichn'is'....

because of you  
 the angels afraid there  
 come down here, Great God.  
 Because of you the trembling and crying  
 demons  
 leave us because of you. The earth  
 laughed, because of you men laughed  
 and everything remains in peace.  
 Now we praise you, we give our  
 hearts to you and in you we believe  
 in one God alone.<sup>9</sup> [author's translation]

The Mezzofanti collection in Bologna is large and probably contains texts composed by many other Native students whom the Cardinal knew. Tac's papers indicate that Mezzofanti and he remained acquainted perhaps until Tac's death in early 1841, shortly after the creation of the diocese for California in 1840. By that time, Mezzofanti was a cardinal member of the Propaganda and had to authorize the diocese's creation. The process probably relied on Tac's writings during his course of studies.

The eminent cardinals of the Propaganda knew that aboriginal education was part of the missionary project in California. The California effort had been endowed by contributions solicited privately by the Jesuits. Eventually this formed a substantial legal trust fund called the *Fondo Piadoso de las Californias*, or Pious Fund. The foundation deed read in part:

the rents and products of said estates shall be applied to new missions [as previous establishments became self-sufficient]...in the unexplored parts of the said Californias...and the estates aforesaid shall...never be sold, so that, even in the case of all California being civilized and converted to our holy catholic faith, the profits of said estates shall be applied to the necessities of said missions and their support.<sup>10</sup>

The trust was expressly designed to continue after the initial exploratory and missionary period ended. The Spanish Crown and, subsequently, the Mexican Republic became legal executors of the trust after the Pope disbanded the Jesuits and the Franciscans finished their mission. This was the situation in 1836 when the Mexican Congress petitioned the Holy See for a new California diocese. The bishop was supposed to receive trust funds previously available to the Franciscan missionaries.<sup>11</sup> He never did.

Observers present at the time of the arrival of the first bishop saw the conversion of the Indians as a complete failure. The French traveler, Eugene Duflos de Mofrás, cited deplorable conditions at Mission San Luis Rey in January 1842, consistent with the report of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.<sup>12</sup> Neophytes were disbursed and mistreated. The cathedral church (presum-

ably Mission San Diego), created by the 1840 papal bull establishing the diocese, was decaying to become a military stable. The bishop, the legal trustee of Indian education, was left destitute by Mexican authorities. Many historians point to the travails of the Mission Indians, but for this paper, I will examine how the Indians who were leaving traces of their writing in Rome could have led the Propaganda to believe that the missions had succeeded.

Nicholas Wiseman, reflecting on the Californians in Rome (and facing his own mission in England), might have remembered the “barbarians” in Bede, an early school divine. Named doctor of the church in 1899 at Wiseman’s proposal, Venerable Bede (d. 735) converted the Angles into “angels” (Greek *αγγελος* means messenger) in his texts.<sup>13</sup> One of Bede’s stories tells of the monk Gregory referring to certain Angle slave boys he encountered in a Roman market as angels. This episode in Book II, chapter one of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* prompted Gregory, as Pope, to send the missionary Augustine to Canterbury. Bede insisted that the seal of Rome’s apostolic authority come from remote England, an island situated both temporally and spatially outside conventional historical space (the Roman empire) in a way that might impress an educated Roman. The young English “angels” were messengers, speaking their own “uneducated” language, English, to educated Romans like Gregory. The story of the Angles becoming “angels” was, therefore, not just wordplay—it was Bede impressing the apostolic seal from afar in his own historical writing.

Bede’s and Tac’s texts contain crucial correspondences. It was Tac’s ability to do the same thing for the Luiseños as Bede did for the English that was memorable to Wiseman. What was most important was that the Californian grammar came “from themselves.” But what good did it do for the English or the Luiseño if the affirmation of these “uneducated” languages did not have foreign ramifications on the conventionally educated? Tac’s poem was probably read in Rome to an audience that did not understand the words any more than Pope Gregory the Great understood English. Despite this, both languages had a political impact. This is why the apostolic authorities were indebted to both the English and the Californians. Affirmation of the languages of the “uneducated” occurred in a most obvious form with Tac’s grammatical study of a language that had not been written before. The same was true of English in Bede’s time. Written English and Luiseño were placed above the writing of the educated in the sense that their respective peoples had a political effect, one bestowed by grammatical writing, not by conventional histories.

The poem quoted above, like Tac’s other writings and drawings, points out a nebulous but undeniably historical idea. In lines thirteen through fifteen, which read, “The earth laughed, because of you men laughed and everything remains in peace,” Tac implies that writing and grammar are the reasons that men and the earth laugh now instead of fear. The newly acquired letters of Californian grammar do not simply represent the Indian’s speech and thought, those elements that linguists find most interesting. It also is important to note that the pre-contact Luiseño deity, Chan’n’ichin’is’, remains the same after conversion as before. The only difference is that the name was not

written before the conversion. Chan'n'ichin'is' is not to be represented by an Indian word for a "real" god as the name had been regarded before when "Lucifer was...in command." Because his name is written, Chan'n'ichin'is' becomes the same god who came before the friars. While this may ignore historical fact, it leaves the effect in writing. Chan'n'ichin'is' is God and his power is an effect of the writing of his name, even by an Indian school divine. In other words, Chan'n'ichin'is' is, in a way, converted by Tac's grammatical writing.

Allow me to bring in a contrasting example from philosophy in order to clarify the impact of the translation of "barbarian" tongues into "educated" ones. In 1637, at the end of his *Discours de la methode*, Descartes explains why he wrote the work in his country's language. The 1644 Latin translation of the *Discours* simply omits this paragraph. This makes sense, for what is the point of writing a sentence in Latin, the gist of which is: the following reasons illustrate why I am not writing in Latin? The endorsement of a language through itself is, perhaps, untranslatable. How can one's linguistic affirmation be rendered in another language if the thrust of that affirmation consists precisely of speaking that language? On the other hand, this affirmation is precisely what must be translated into another tongue if the affirmation is to maintain any political force. Although the *Discours* has been translated into many languages with the explanatory paragraph included, it is left out of the Latin to avoid the impression that the French language holds political influence over Latin. This force is unnecessary and impossible, given certain philosophical views of writing as inferior to speech. As Plato remarked, written words are "poor in comparison" to spoken ones. Readers of translations with the affirmation included do not object because the exclusion from the Latin version does not make any difference. Similarly, the language in which history is written makes no difference, in a conventional sense. The thought to which speech is always present is the same, no matter the written expression.<sup>14</sup>

This is where grammar enters the picture and where the translation from speech to writing becomes necessary in order for speech to be clear. It is both impossible and necessary that the language of the "uneducated" appears in written history. It is impossible, since people such as the English and Luiseños had no writing. It is also a necessity because Tac's writing in Californian first revealed Californians as a previously unsuspected force in history. As is widely acknowledged, Bede did the same for English. This is not to place writing and speaking against one another, as philosophers or conventional historians often do. Rather, it shows that an opposition between speech and writing is of no historical consequence when history itself ignores it. Writing itself comes before speech.

How can Tac affirm the "divinity" (Bede's description of English) of the Californian vernacular (and the Californian people) by writing in Latin or Spanish? What would be the force of this affirmation if he had not written in Spanish and Latin? Indeed, for political reasons alone, Californian required translations into Spanish and Latin. Just like the English in Bede's Latin, it can only be affirmed through such foreign tongues. And this is the burden of Saint Paul's message about the non-Greeks mentioned in the above quote.



Were the Californians or English to have affirmed their native tongues philosophically, as Descartes did with French, the affirmation would have simply been erased when translated. Philosophical language is only coincidentally the image of the real and bears no political weight. On the other hand, the linguistic (vernacular, popular) affirmation, through translation into scholarly writing, is a motif that runs through Bede's Latin *Ecclesiastical History*, Tac's *Conversión de los San Luiseños de Alta California* in Spanish, and through the Gospel itself. This is an impossible necessity. It is what makes Tac's *Conversión* correspond to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. They are not so much sources of conventional historical information—full of more miracle tales than facts—as they are creations of a rhetorical trajectory that necessarily leads into an unknown future. The creation of this trajectory is a feature that such a form has in common with fictional literature. A historical trajectory is a necessity of the rhetorical effect, not of any fact.

Foreign writing is a *topos* of the “uneducated” aliens’ speech and political naivete. It prevents the importance of Californian in Tac’s poem from escaping the Spanish translation. One might even argue that scholarly writing, itself a context foreign to “uneducated” speech, is what constitutes the forward thrust of politics generally.<sup>15</sup> This is an “impossible necessity.” It cannot be explained. Yet Mezzofanti substantiated an obligation to send a bishop to California on the strength of the impact of the “impossible necessity” of Tac’s grammar and writings. This is similar to the effect the Angle boys in Rome had on Pope Gregory the Great and Saint Paul. So, ironically, it was Tac’s grammar, glossary, poems, drawings, and history—for example the literal “conversion” of the Luiseños and other Californians into graphic form—that led to the creation of a Catholic diocese in California. The conversion came about both domestically and from foreign encroachment, from the “educated” and the “uneducated.” This is the import of Mezzofanti’s remark to Wiseman that his instruction in Californian came “from themselves,” through a presentation of Luiseño in a conventionally educational setting.

Bede, in the story of Caedmon, presented an Englishman from the “monastery of Streanaeschalch” who, it is stressed, “had followed a secular occupation until well advanced in years without ever learning anything about poetry.” On the one hand, poetry came from within the “uneducated.” On the other, this gift was not simply an inherent talent, but from God—from literally writing the English word *God*. Bede added quite correctly, “for he did not acquire the art of poetry from men or through any other human teacher but received it as a free gift from God.” Chan’n’ichin’is’ actually came down to earth through Pablo Tac as had happened in the trace of the divine name “God” in Caedmon’s English or in the Greek and Hebrew scriptures before that. Such conversions were, we may suppose, happening everywhere as Mezzofanti’s aborigine students were led to write out the grammars of their “savage” languages.<sup>16</sup>

Both Caedmon and Tac had their respective domestic eventualities recounted in foreign writing. Poetry came from within and without and thus mirrored the structure of translation in general, the transference of one letter or word into another. Caedmon’s affirmation of English and Tac’s of

Lui-seño are to be understood through a structure of transference and translation that situates itself on the border of the domestic and foreign, between the Greeks and the barbarians, so to speak. Here is the wondrous source of the debt of which Saint Paul wrote. It is a debt that came before any ethical system. The miraculous tale of Caedmon's and Tac's poem is that the speech of both the English people and the Californians can be politically affirmed, but only through an odd exchange of domestic and foreign tongues and gods. It can only be affirmed through a sort of translation that I have termed an "impossible necessity." Otherwise, the affirmation would just drop out of the translation. But it obviously does not drop out. There would hardly be an England or a California without it.

Bede marks the impossible nature of translation as he recounts how Caedmon "began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator that he had never heard before."<sup>17</sup> Bede goes on to give us the theme of these songs without the actual words: "This is the general sense, but not the actual words that Caedmon sang in his dream: for verses, however masterly, cannot be translated literally from one language to another." This theme is evidently fully translatable, but the idiom—"the actual words"—is not, for verses are untranslatable. What is Bede doing here? On one level, he is asserting quite rightly that verse is, by definition, untranslatable. On another level, one in which we can see a political effect, Bede is denying his Latin readers the "beauty and dignity" of the English language. The English language is affirmed as something untranslatable, even as it is affirmed through a translation that denies something to the non-English reader. The efficacy of miracle stories lies in the connection made among poetics, translation, and politics. Although Caedmon sings in rare and barbaric English, the telling of his singing, the assertion of English in Latin and of speech in writing, as opposed to any translation of meaning, is perfectly well understood in its trace and the effect of the trace.

Caedmon's story was effectively repeated by Cardinal Wiseman's remembrance of Tac. In the retelling, Wiseman made himself into a new Bede just as Tac became a new Caedmon converting Mezzofanti. The gift of translation that is mysteriously bestowed upon Caedmon and Tac—and by extension the English and the varied peoples of both Californias—is finally that the new form brings about a kind of conversion among the Romans that is political and social, as well as theological. Caedmon and Tac were not cast as bringing the beauty of Latin or ecclesiastical verse to the heathen. On the contrary, it is Caedmon's English and Tac's Californian that, through translation and grammar, bring the beauty of "barbarian" speech "from themselves" to the "educated" foreigner.

And when [the abbess] had admitted him [Caedmon] into the Community as a brother, she ordered him to be instructed in the events of sacred history. So Caedmon stored up in his memory all that he had learned, and like one of the clean animals chewing the cud, turned it into such melodious verse that his delightful renderings turned his instructors into auditors.<sup>18</sup>

Caedmon and Tac translated the sacred. They did this not to illumine the “uneducated,” but to act as messengers of a divine mystery to the source of political power itself: the conventionally educated and the *gente de razón*.

Tac’s *Conversión de los San Luiseños*, which he wrote in Spanish as a student missionary, and the stories of the English Church told by Bede in Latin, both take place ironically through tales in which the newly converted come to convert the converter. Both write so that the instructors are rendered auditors. The conversion is an inversion, a translation of one language into its opposite. Quite simply, the Luiseños and the English are converted themselves only by becoming the converters. Tac converts by affirming his own tongue, which is in turn affirmed by way of a foreign translation. This is what makes Caedmon’s English compelling to Bede.

Education cannot make aboriginal peoples more or less what they already were without that education. They are sovereign in their own land. But, insofar as aborigines learn to write grammatically, so foreigners can adopt their history and make it legible as their own, making it possible to enter their land by reading—not colonizing. Indian languages have to be inscribed into history by sleights of hand, by way of an “impossible necessity.” This is part of the educational design in present-day California, just as it was when the friars forced the Indians into the missions. This is how the act of schooling citizens creates their future, but not without translation. As the Hebrews and their love of Scripture are to Christian history, so Tac the grammarian was to California and its history. Without Tac, the effect of California’s future is lost. Without this rhetorical place, its mission history loses its savor.

Mission San Luis Rey and its *asistencia* at Pala are California’s literary place markers, just as Canterbury is familiar to readers of Chaucer’s English. Such places are important as goals of literary pilgrimages exclusively, where Natives and visitors gather in all their diversity. Schools reappear in such places against all odds.<sup>19</sup> One can hear children reciting “Take up and read” at the charter school on the Pala Indian Reservation today as at the parish school there before and at Mission San Luis Rey before that. The singsong repetition of children at their lessons continues the “*Tole lege*” (“Take up and read”) that Augustine of Hippo reports hearing an unknown child rhyming in the *Confessions*.<sup>20</sup> That they are aboriginal and that their language requires translation makes all the difference. It is not how long the procession is, stretching from Augustine to Bede to Tac, that is impressive, but how wondrous the time during which this writing and reading occurred was. It is the miracle of this procession of young translators that lifts the mind to higher thoughts, just as Pablo Tac and Agapito Amamix actually gave birth to and incubated belief and made it an obligation in Rome.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is offered to my former teacher, the Most Reverend John R. Quinn, Archbishop of San Francisco, as a *festscrift* on the occasion of his thirtieth year in the episcopacy (1997).

## NOTES

1. D. Polk, *The Island of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 323ff.
2. *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1911), XII: 456.
3. C. W. Russell, *The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* (London: Longman, Brown and Co., 1858), 155ff; see T. Moore, ed., *Works of Lord Byron with his Letters and Journals and his Life IV* (1832–33), 2, 3, for the source of Byron's comments on Mezzofanti; James Joyce, *Finnegan's Wake* (New York: Penguin, 1976), 260, for an interesting reference to Mezzofanti that may have been suggested by the remarks of Lord Byron; A. Manavit, *Esquisse historique sur le cardinal Mezzofanti* (Paris: Sagnier et Bray, 1853); J. Mitterrutzner, *Joseph Cardinal Mezzofanti der grosse Polyglott* (Brixen: A. Weger, 1855).
4. Eugene Dufлот de Mofras, *Travel on the Pacific Coast* (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1937), 175–179 (author's translation).
5. *The New Testament of the Jerusalem Bible* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), 268 (Rom. 1: 14–15).
6. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1912), 268–269. Jackson (1884) retold the memorable drama of Peyri blessing his flock from the ship's deck. He did not go alone, however. Peyri departed from San Diego with "several neophytes." Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* vol. XX (Santa Barbara: Wallace Heberd, 1966), 210. The fact that the Indians were taken by complete surprise suggests that Peyri asked no one's permission in taking the boys. Memory of their going away remains among family members at Pala. Father J. M. Carillo brought copies of Tac's writings from Italy for them in the 1950s.
7. Russell, loc. cit.
8. Carlo Tagliavini, "Frammento d'un dizionario Luiseño-Spagnuolo scritto da un indigeno," and "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseño secondo la narrazione de cherico indigino," *Proceedings of the 23rd Congress of Americanists, 1928* (1930), 633ff and 905ff. See A. Kroeber and G. W. Grace, *The Sparkman Grammar of Luiseño* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), the appendix of which references Tac's grammar for comparative purposes.
9. Tagliavini, "La lingua degli Indi Luiseño (Alta California) secondo la narrazione de cherico indigino," *L'Archiginnasio XXI* (1926): 201–202. This article also outlines the career of Pablo Tac in Rome and cites the notice of his death found in the annals of the Collegium Urbanum. See M. and G. Hewes, eds. and trans., *Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey: A Record of California Mission Life by Pablo Tac, An Indian Neophyte Written about 1835* (San Luis Rey: Old Mission, 1958), which states that Tac was the first indigenous writer of California. See P. Brigandi, *Temecula at the Crossroads of History* (Encinitas, CA: Heritage Media Corp., 1997), 17–19, which references Tac's work. Some readers of the poems question how a youth of perhaps fifteen could write with such sophistication. Perhaps Mezzofanti would have wanted the boys to make the best impression possible on the dignitaries invited to the Epiphany Academia and outlined elements of the poem that his students merely put into their own words.
10. *Appendix II, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902. United States vs. Mexico in the Matter of the Case of the Pious Fund of the Californias* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903). This is the complete documentation of legal action prosecuted by the United States at The Hague concerning the Pious Fund. The source of the trust

deed text is simply noted as *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien* (Mannheim, 1772) without further reference.

11. Francis J. Weber, *The United States Verses Mexico: The Final Settlement of the Pious Fund* (Los Angeles: The Historical Society of Southern California, 1969).

12. Richard H. Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Signet, 1968).

13. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 248. The Angles were a people of Germanic origin who moved into Britain after Roman times. Their name is the source of the word "England."

14. René Descartes, *Discourse on Method and Meditations* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960), 56; *Phaedrus*, in Plato, *Dialogues of Plato*, vol. I (New York: Random House, 1892), 278, 281.

15. See Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 145. Greenblatt states that this was the position of Antonio Nebrija, the first grammarian of a modern European language (1492). Language is the "female companion" of empire, Nebrija wrote. Greenblatt takes language to be a less than legitimate companion, a "*Malinche*," a go-between acting as a representational machine that distorts as it colonizes. This is true of conventional historical writing. But perhaps it is not a correct interpretation of Nebrija's grammar. According to E. de Bustos Tovar, "The thing that weakens the barbaric by dominating in the teaching of Latin is, at the same time, the founder of the studies concerning Spanish" (author's translation). See Tovar, *El Siglo de Fray Luis de León* (Salamanca: Ministerio de Cultura, 1991), 107. Grammar achieves a rhetorical effect by remaining "foreign" to the barbaric while, at the same time, giving it import. Just as Latin grammar gave force to Castilian romance in its passage to universal Spanish in the hands of Nebrija, so the use of Castilian grammar in the hands of Pablo Tac gave universal force to Luiseño, so attracting a Roman Catholic bishop to California.

16. Bede, op. cit., 249.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. See J. M. Carillo, *The Story of Mission San Antonio de Pala* (Balboa Island: Paisano Press, 1959); R. Planey, "History Thrives Despite Mission's Decay," *The Press-Enterprise*, Sunday, 17 May 1998: B-2a; California Department of Education, *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* (Sacramento: California Department of Education, 1988), 41. Bishop Charles F. Buddy of San Diego reestablished the original Mission school at Pala in 1958. Closed again in 1995, it was replaced by a California Charter School in 1996 that uses the restored mission buildings.

20. Frank J. Sheed, trans., *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1943), 178.