

Pacific Maritime History

MAZAUVA: MAGELLAN'S LOST HARBOR

By Vicente C. de Jesús

A Lee Shore Stands For 1521 Safe Haven Thanks To Errors Of Translation, Transcription, Copying, Bad Logic, Superficial Research And An Awful Maneuver By A Philippine Government Historical Agency That Altered The Nature Of An Honest Mistake Into A Hoax

The chance landfall at Mazauva was a fleeting episode in the 1,081-day circumnavigation of the world. (There is some confusion on exact date of arrival of the nao Victoria at San Lucar, Spain. One school of thought puts the date on September 6, 1522. (Joyner 235, Morison 462, Bergreen 390). Another has it on September 8, 1522. (Cachey xl, Boorstin 266, Guillemard 294, Parr 370).)

The little isle (**Fig. 1**) was the second landfall in Philippine waters of Magellan's fleet.

The best available evidence points to Fernão de Magalhães as having a direct hand in naming the isle. The place-name Massawa was familiar to the Portuguese explorer. Massawa was one of two ports of entry in the Red Sea where since classical antiquity Asian luxury

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Ambrosiana manuscript



Manuscript 24224



Manuscript 5650



Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecke-Yale codex



Miguel Bernad's Ambrosiana map



Robertson's Ambrosiana map

Fig. 1. Mazaua map (detail) in the four extant manuscripts of Antonio Pigafetta and two renditions of Ambrosiana map by James Alexander Robertson and Miguel Bernad. South-north orientation was the convention at the time of Pigafetta. Key details (the cove facing village and the cross atop mountain west of isle) are not shown in the two maps at bottom.

goods including spices, silk, gold, ivory, etc. were disgorged then brought by camel caravans to Alexandria. From there, the goods were transferred to waiting galleys going to parts of the Mediterranean and Europe (Cameron Appendix B). Magellan (anglicized name of the Portuguese explorer) was a minor member of the Portuguese sea borne force in the Indian Ocean theater of operation whose main objective was to block trading ships from reaching Massawa and Jidda, (Joyner 39) a futile attempt of the Iberian superpower to establish a monopoly in the spice trade. (Scammel 272)

The *Armada de Molucca*, now reduced to three naos from five and down to some 186 men from its original complement of about 270 men of diverse nationalities, lay at anchors in Mazaua from March 28 to April 4, 1521. The visit to this mystery isle was, in the eyes of one Magellan biographer, the happiest most restful interlude (Zweig 227) to an otherwise interminable succession of physical, mental and moral struggle to remain afloat. In Mazaua Magellan and his men were received with warmth and cordiality, a counterpoint to the violence that marked many an encounter of cultures during the Age of Exploration, described by one author as “relations with the natives which began in embraces, continued in abuse, and ended in bloodshed.” (Armesto 6) Here no quarrel ensued, no blood spilled except in a ceremonial blood compact or *casi casi* between the captain general and the Mazaua king, Siau, to signify goodwill and eternal brotherhood, “the first recorded one in Philippine history.” (Lach 620)

The Mazaua landfall also saw the world encompassed linguistically when Magellan’s slave and the Mazauans spoke in Malayan, the trade lingua franca in southeast Asia. (Zweig 226) This linguistic fact—that the Malayan tongue was used in the dialogue between the Magellan’s slave, Enrique, and principally *raia* Siau of Mazaua—has been so misunderstood by one Philippine historian (Carlos Quirino) it spawned a fairy tale that saw its apotheosis in a very recently published book where it is boldly asserted Enrique was from Cebu and was therefore the first man to round the world when the fleet reached the Visayan island. (Bergreen 243)

Two events define the meaning of Mazaua for most Filipinos, the Easter Sunday mass and the planting of a large cross atop the tallest hill. The Philippines is an isolated rock of Christianity in a huge ocean lashed by the powerful waves of Islam, Buddhism, Hindu and other beliefs. Of its 84 million people 83% are Catholics, 9% Protestants. Mazaua, therefore, is an icon to a deeply religious people, an event of overarching importance. This aspect of a signal event in world geography and Renaissance navigation has unfortunately served to distort the way the event is viewed.

The cross is almost exclusively seen here as a religious event. Viewed against the tradition of discovery during the Renaissance, the Spanish practice of planting the cross was to meant to signify possession of the territory, to which the French also adhered. (Seed 2) The cross was an auspicious symbol since the legitimacy of the power to own and colonize territories was contingent on evangelizing the natives found there. The Portuguese, who put up stone pillars, followed the Roman tradition of putting up stone markers. (Seed 2)

Landfall Controversy

Like a more famous landfall in the Atlantic a generation before Magellan's there is a parallel debate in the Pacific Ocean side as to where Mazaua is although there is an official version that is almost universally believed except for a few holdouts. There is a major difference between the Columbus first landfall controversy and the Mazaua. As far as I know, no one asks, Where was the first mass held in America? In the Philippines the only question asked is, Where was the site of the first mass, Butúan or Limasawa?

This question—as the framework against which the identity of Mazaua is being sought to be ascertained—has led to a historiographical and geographical disaster in which a lee shore—where anchoring is almost certainly impossible—represents Magellan's safe haven. My paper will discuss the making of the Mazaua conundrum, how Magellan's safe haven became a lee shore, and why an agency of government has willfully proclaimed what is fraudulent, and lastly I will locate where Mazaua is today.

Five Eyewitness Accounts

Of nine firsthand relations of the voyage around the world, five contain references to the Mazaua episode. These accounts are represented by extant manuscripts, all mere copies of originals now lost. Every account, except the one by Ginés de Mafra and Martinho de Aiamonte, the last to surface, is represented by several copies. The accounts do not fully agree with each other—at the superficial level—and copies of a particular account are not exact duplicates; and the sequence of their publication dates have greatly influenced the blurred reconstruction of the event. These accounts are by:

A. Antonio Pigafetta—there are some 30 editions in 7 languages of the three codices out of four of what is universally accepted as the most complete account. (Brand 365)

1. Ambrosiana codex (in Italian)—the first transcription was done by the discoverer of this manuscript, the Augustinian Encyclopedist Carlo Amoretti, 1800. His work is seen by scholars as defective because of liberties taken with Pigafetta's text (Stanley lv). "The value of Amoretti's find was severely undermined, however, by the fact that the text he published represented a rewriting or translation of Pigafetta's 16th-century Italian. The editor also bowdlerized the text in an effort to 'exposit with the necessary decency the account of some strange customs written by him [Pigafetta] in frank terms which would offend the delicacy and modesty of the reader of good taste.'" (Cachey lii) But it is the most critical in the making of Magellan's port into Limasawa, (**Fig. 2**) the isle believed to be Mazaua. The work done by Andrea da Mosto for the *Raccolta Colombiana* (p.V, vol. III, 1894) is the superior transcription that finally established the text of the Italian manuscript. Mosto's work was the basis for the authoritative 1906 English translation by James Alexander Robertson (Torodash 325, Joyner 345, Cachey lii) to which almost exclusively Philippine historiographers owe their view of the episode. The Ambrosiana is written in 16th century chirography, certain indecipherable words have caused confusion, e.g., the king of Mazaua has been variously read as Siago, Siain, Siani, Siaui, and Siau. Its convoluted syntax has resulted in

Are the two isles identical: perfect, exact, total equal of one another?



Limasawa
area =
698 has.

=



Mazaua with a circumference of 3-4 leguas (9-12 nautical miles) has an area of from 2,213 to 3,930 hectares

Fig. 2. The Limasawa hypothesis asserts the Leyte isle is the equal of Magellan's port, Mazaua. That is, they are identical: perfect, exact, total equal of one another. In terms of size Limasawa's 698 hectares ill fit Mazaua's area of 2213 to 3930 hectares converted from Ginés de Mafra's estimate of its 3-4 leguas circumference. A list of 32 Mazaua properties shows in no instance do the two coincide.

that king getting interchanged with the king of Butúan, which error has been rectified by the latest editions by Pozzi and Cachey. Pigafetta's relation has been hailed as "nearly definitive—and is almost universally accepted as such—as any historical document about the actual events of the voyage" (Torodash 323). This fact has been wrongly translated as being also definitive in terms of the correctness of his latitude reading for Mazaua.

2. Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecki-Yale codex (in French)—very likely represents the true gift manuscript that Pigafetta presented to his intended benefactor, Lord Philippe de Villiers l'Isle Adam, Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes. A facsimile edition with an accompanying volume of R.A. Skelton's English translation (*Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, 2 vols., New Haven, Yale UP, 1969) was published quite late in the day when the above errors had become too deeply ingrained in the mind and would require Herculean efforts to correct. The Yale ms. has been ignored by analysts (Bernad does not go beyond citing its title, publisher, and date of publication) which is a pity as it probably represents the settled thoughts of Pigafetta. The National Historical Institute, deliberately ignored this codex and three key testimonies not found in the Ambrosian—the west cross, the Mazauan village facing a cove, the presence of gold mines—which, if admitted into the discussion, would by themselves compel a rewriting of the history of Mazaua;

3. Ms. fr. 5650 (in French)—one of two French manuscripts conserved at Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, considered by many scholars as the older and longer of the two. Transcribed and collated with the three other codices by the Belgian scholar Jean Denucé and published in 1911, and by Léonce Peillard in 1956. This like the Yale ms. has not figured in the analyses by Philippine historiographers. A good portion of Ms. fr. 5650 was translated into English by Lord Stanley of Alderley in 1874, "from page 35 until the end of the first sentence on page 94 is from Ms. 5650" (Torodash 325) including the Mazaua episode;

d. Ms. fr. 24224 (in French)—the only unpublished codex. It is heavily abridged, many details of navigation, ethnography and geography have been removed (Skelton 24); it



Fig. 3. Map of "Cap. de Gatighan" with Mazaua at top right hand corner. Orientation is south-north against today's north-south convention. Mazaua's location is southeast of Bohol. Note isle sandwiched between Ceylon (Panaón) and Bohol. In today's map this isle is identified as Limasawa. By wrongly classifying Ceylon as Leyte historians have misappreciated the tracks drawn by Pigafetta and Albo. R.A. Skelton, Donald F. Lach, and Theodore J. Cachey have correctly identified it as Panaón. This map is taken from the Mario Pozzi edition of the Ambrosiana.

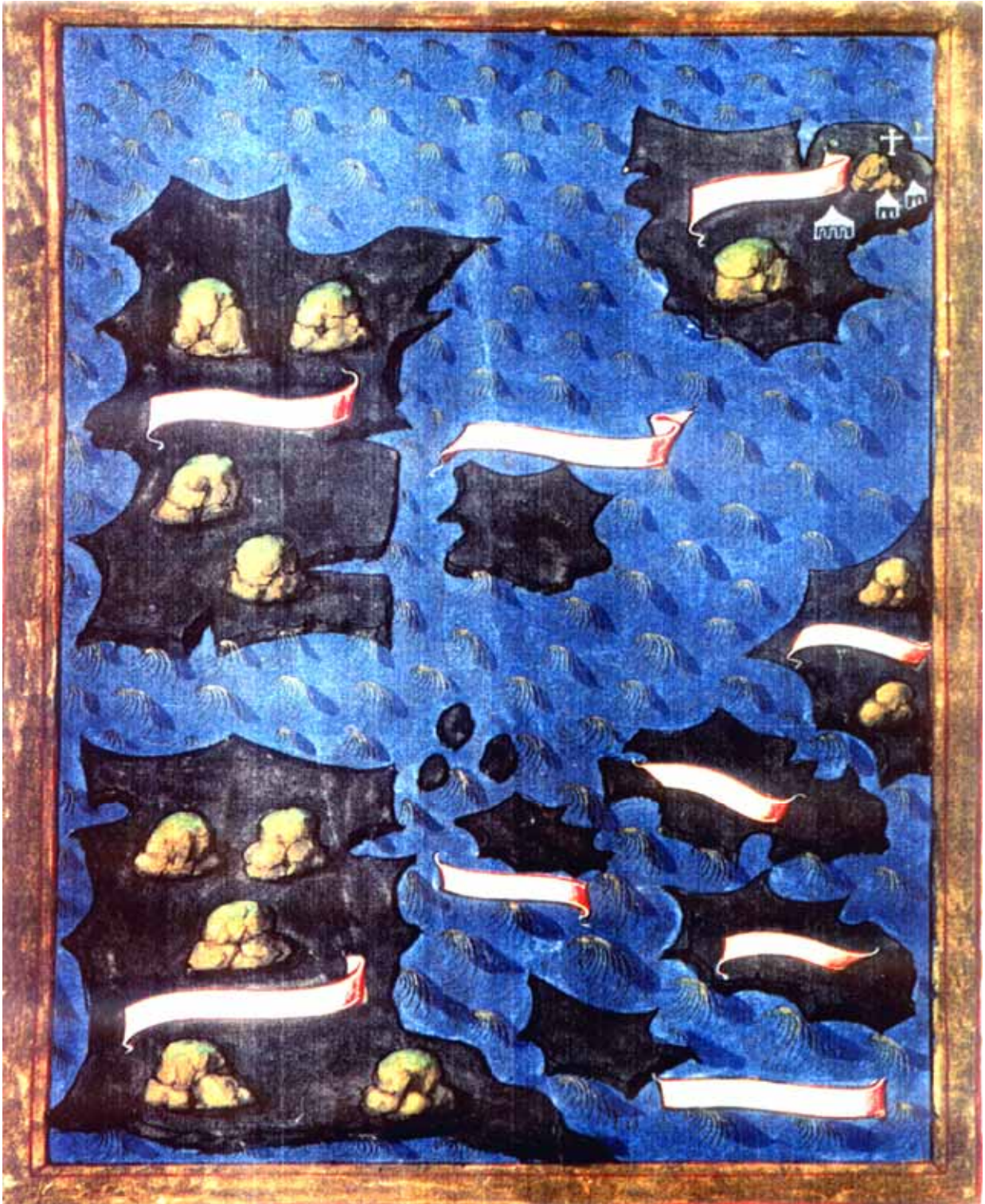


Fig. 4. Pigafetta's map of Mazaua (upper right hand corner) in the French Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecke-Yale codex, one of three French extant manuscripts of Antonio Pigafetta's account of the first circumnavigation. The facsimile book was published by Yale University in 1986. The cross west of Mazaua indicating location where Magellan's fleet anchored is repeated in all the French manuscripts. So are the "stilt" houses facing a cove. Of 23 charts in the Yale codex (and in all other codices) this is the only one where the scrolls for placenames are empty. It does tell us Pigafetta himself didn't have a hand in its execution. This map is from the companion facsimile book to the English tr. by R.A.Skelton.



Fig. 5. Mazaua (upper right hand corner) in French MS. 24224, one of two extant manuscripts in the possession of Bibliothèque Nationale and the only one unpublished still. Note houses on "stilts" facing cove and cross west of Mazaua indicating location where Magellan's fleet anchored. None of these features are seen in Robertson's and Bernad's maps. The map shown here has not been published on the Net or in print.

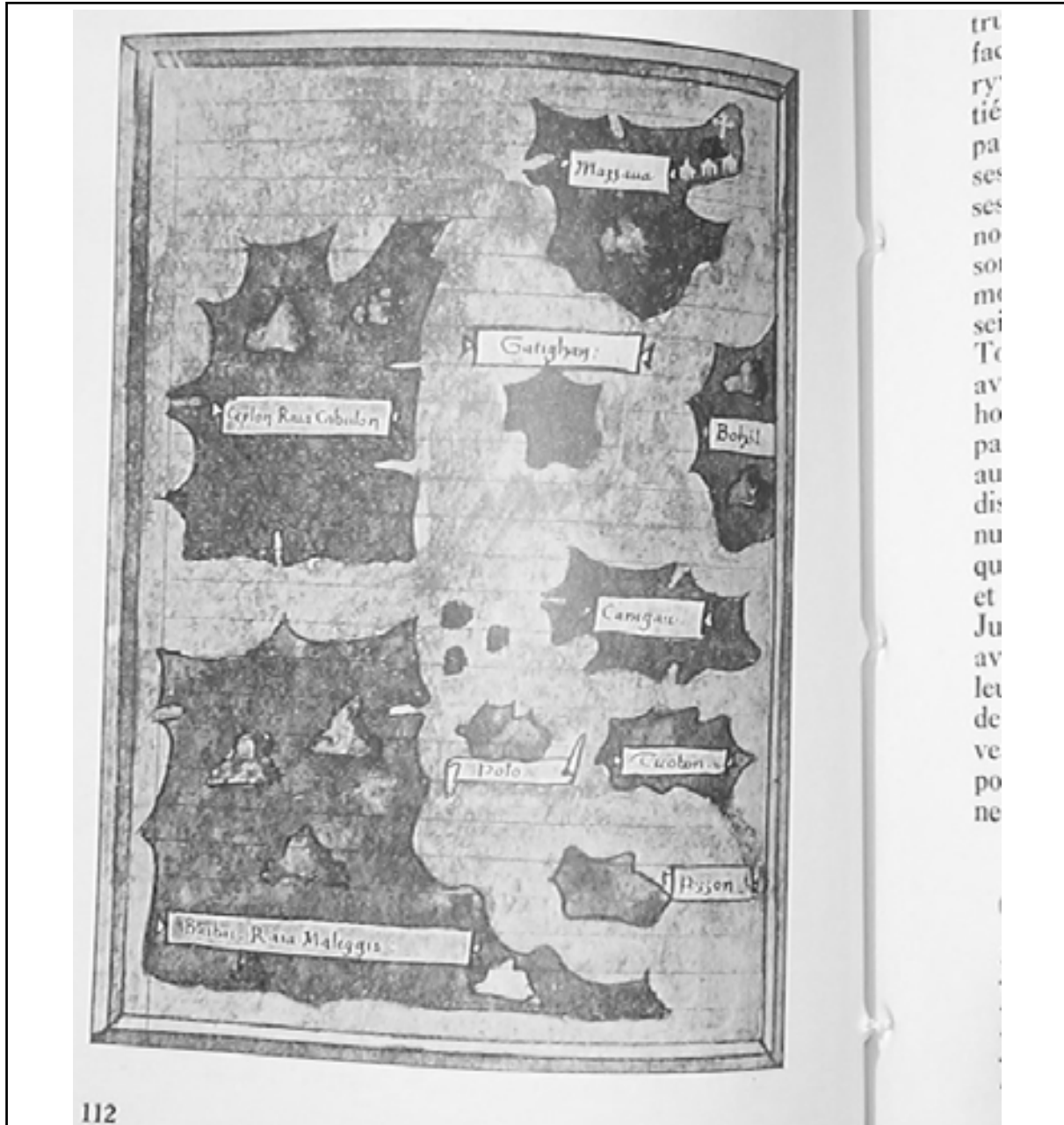


Fig 6. Map of Cap. de Gatighan with Mazaua at top right hand corner. This black and white facsimile map in Antonio Pigafetta's Ms. 5650 on page 112 of Jean Denucé's edition *Relation du premier voyage autour du monde par Magellan 1519-1522* corroborates map found in the Nancy-Yale codex where a cross is shown west of Mazaua. (Pigafetta's maps are oriented south-north) This cross substantiates Ginés de Mafra's testimony the fleet anchored in a west port. Denucé book is in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., call no. G161 R31 xxiv. The map also appears, enlarged and inverted, on page 51 of *The Philippines: Pigafetta's Story of Their Discovery By Magellan* by Rodrigue Lévesque, an English translation of the composite texts of Pigafetta's Mss 5650 and 24224, two extant French manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Lévesque states the actual map is in four colors probably much like the Ambrosian. The Nancy-Yale map is in full color much as Ms. 24224. The Denucé's map's dimensions are: height, 51"; width, 4"Imm.

is almost as princely as the Yale ms. in execution; while “...it is useless to the serious scholar” (Torodash 324) the map showing Mazaua has important corroborative value in particular the fact the anchorage was west of the isle and the Mazauan village also in the west faces a cove, a geographic element shown in all the maps of the four extant manuscripts.

(Figs. 3-6)

B. Francisco Albo

1. Madrid ms.—transcribed and published by Martín Fernandez de Navarrete in *Colección...*1837. A wrong latitude 9° 40' N (Albo^a 202) resulting from an amanuensis error has fortified a fallacious argument that has propped up the Limasawa hypothesis.

Robertson translated a good part of Albo into English in a number of scattered notes;

2. London ms.—transcribed and translated into English by Lord Stanley of Alderley, 1874. This manuscript has the correct latitude 9° 20' N (Albo^b 225) as read also by a Belgian scholar (Denucé 309, Pigafetta^k 110) and a Portuguese maritime historian (Lagoa 88). Professional Philippine historiographers are not aware of this latitude. The NHI willfully ignored it;

C. The *roteiro* of the Genoese Pilot

1. Lisbon copy—in Portuguese, as all the three others, was published in Lisbon in 1826, collated with the Paris ms. Amanuensis' and transcription errors have led to faulty analysis. Robertson has translated parts of the *roteiro*'s scattered throughout 650 annotations. The sharp dismissive remarks of one historiographer, “Nothing very useful can be gained from a reading of this rather boring account,” (Torodash 319) has waylaid Philippine historians into ignoring even dismissing the Genoese Pilot's latitude (Schumacher 15) which my analysis shows and corroborated by the 2001 geomorphological study is the correct fix. ;

2. Madrid ms.—while unpublished is collated in the English translation by Stanley;

3. Paris ms.—included in the annotation of the Portuguese publication;

4. A fourth copy, supposedly bearing two signatures, Hernando and Francisco de Araujo, was being touted by a bookseller, but has not otherwise received critical study.

D. Ginés de Mafra—written by the only seaman to return to Mazaua, (CDIU 54) published in Spain only in 1920. It is the second to the last primary account to surface. It has been accessed by Western navigation historians and Magellan scholars but is almost unknown in the Philippines. An unfortunate remark by a Magellan historiographer (Torodash 320) has waylaid Philippine historiographers into ignoring this most critical account in so far as solving the Mazaua problem is concerned. Schumacher, who read Torodash, does not even mention it in his brief review of eyewitness accounts. Torodash, quoting a noted geographer (Brand 366) declares, “A caveat may be in order about this account: one authority maintained that it cannot be based on more than Mafra’s memory of what he might have read in a *Tratado* begun by Andrés de San Martín.” There is no way to prove the validity of this claim because the *Tratado* no longer exists and is known only from fragmentary references to it. The charge gives more weight to an imagined work than to what is existent and real.

This charge, whether true or not, ironically serves to raise the value of Mafra’s work since it possibly reflects the shared observations of two masterful pilots. In the case of San Martín, he was a genius in determining longitude with some accuracy, an ability unsurpassed for 200 years. (Joyner 178). Mafra’s testimony would revolutionize the geographic reconstruction of the Mazaua episode and directly lead to the discovery of a lost isle fused with mainland Mindanao that has the hallmarks of Mazaua. The National Historical Institute, with full knowledge of expert acceptance of its authenticity and in fact after admitting it as evidence on 17 December 1996, dismissed Mafra in March 1998 giving neither explanation nor reason.

Two Philippine historiographers, William H. Scott and Martin J. Noone, had accessed Mafra much earlier. It’s certain the two had translated the book into English inde-

pendently of each other. Both failed to grasp Mafra's testimony on Mazaua and the revolutionary geographical view he depicts of the 16th century Surigao-Leyte zone.

I have been battling for recognition of Mafra's true worth. Since 1999 I have vigorously advanced this cause through my membership in Discovery Exploration elist forum, an Internet group composed of many world renowned navigation, geography, cartography historians including Dr. Torodash himself. (Exchanges at this forum were archived at the defunct www.escribe.com. You can Google to access it.) I believe this work has paid off. In October 2003, Bergreen came out with his book which cites Mafra almost as much as Pigafetta and Albo. In *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire, from Columbus to Magellan*, the well-respected, multi-awarded author Professor Hugh Thomas (Lord Thomas of Swynerton) mystifyingly goes out of his way to especially single out Mafra among the handful of names in Magellan's fleet that he mentions.

The Ultimate Truth?

Mazaua is universally believed to be Limasawa, an isle in Leyte in latitude $9^{\circ} 56' N$ and longitude $125^{\circ} 5' E$. Every literature on the circumnavigation makes the ritualistic footnote that Mazaua is present-day Limasawa. Recent writings tend to skip this ritual altogether, and Mazaua is not mentioned even once in Bergreen's book.

A notable exception is French maritime historian Léonce Peillard who pays no obeisance to this literary tradition. In fact he locates Mazaua in the Genoese Pilot's $9^{\circ} N$ (Pigafetta *d* 314) declaring outright the isle is in Mindanao (Pigafetta *d* 317). These bold assertions seem calculated to directly address key points in the Mazaua controversy, which has otherwise been a parochial issue unknown outside the Philippines. If Peillard's departure from orthodoxy results from an awareness of the issue, he gives no indication, but he is the only navigation historian to hold such a maverick view. Even so Peillard gives no explanation of his operation in arriving at his conclusion that Mazaua is in Mindanao. For our purposes, therefore, his opinion while worthy of note is not all that helpful.

In any case, the belief Limasawa is Mazaua—except for a few unreconstructed hold-outs for whom the arbitrary powers of the National Historical Institute holds no terror—is total. Two Philippine laws enshrine it, Republic Act 2733 and Republic Act 7822. Top Philippine historians, living or long gone, support it. The national historical agency, as the Philippine Historical Commission in 1953 and as the National Historical Institute in 1980 and 1998, has thrice affirmed its validity. In its latest affirmation, the National Historical Institute claims it had “conclusively established” the final truth about Mazaua being Limasawa. (Gancayco 24) It even invokes the Bible for moral support in making its findings. Its former chairman, when this “final truth” was promulgated even advised “unbelievers” to foreswear investigating the issue further—a strange notion for a professional historian to embrace and a dangerous if abhorrent principle to proclaim.

There are just a number of difficulties with NHI’s “final truth”:

1. Limasawa has no anchorage. The *Coast Pilot* and *Sailing Directions* describe the isle as “fringed by a narrow, steep-to reef, off which the depths are too great to afford anchorage for large vessels.” (Hydrographic 482) Local historians are unfamiliar with technical navigation and none thought of consulting either a *Coast Pilot* or *Sailing Directions*. One writer clearly spoke from unfamiliarity when he said, “[Limasawa] has a good harbor...” (Bernad 29) A notable exception was the past head of NHI who, in a slim essay co-written with another historiographer cited and quoted the whole entry on Limasawa in the *1968 Coast Pilot* but deliberately omitted the above-quoted sentence. (Tan, Medina 35) Such an unseemly behavior, suppressing an inconvenient fact, if in an academic setting, would have very serious consequences; the deliberate occultation of a vital fact is anathema to the pursuit of truth. In more civilized circles it could cause one’s permanent ostracism. The NHI-Gancayco panel, composed of non-Magellan scholars and non-navigation historians, was able to surmount the impossibility of anchoring in Limasawa by declaring Magellan’s ignorance of Limasawa’s shoreline allowed him to anchor wherever he pleased.

comer when he sailed into Philippines shores of 1521, he could not have anticipated up front which island had adequate anchorage for ships. There is logic in assuming that he anchored his fleet in whatever island he touched at, and that island happened to be Limasawa (Mazaua) ‘as (because) we had seen a fire (on it) the night before’. So, it was actually the light from a fire that Magellan saw, not the better anchorage which he could not have anticipated anyway, that attracted Magellan to Limasawa.” (NHI 20) This statement reveals an appalling ignorance of navigation. Soundings—knowing the nature of the ground below, its depths, the character of the sea-floor—is to navigation as grammar is to language, arithmetic is to mathematics, breathing is to living. It’s so fundamental it assumed. “The oldest navigating instrument of which we have definite evidence is the familiar lead and line, which remains the safeguard of sailors to this day.” (Taylor 35) As a great helmsman put it, “Probably the most dangerous phase of navigation occurs when the vessel is ‘on soundings.’ Since man first began navigating the waters, the possibility of grounding his vessel has been a major concern, and frequent soundings have been the most highly valued safeguard against that experience. Undoubtedly used long before the Christian era, the lead line is perhaps the oldest instrument of navigation.” (Bowditch 14) An older “soundings” instrument was a long rod or pole.

2) East Limasawa where supposedly Magellan’s fleet anchored is a lee shore. The 1993 *Sailing Directions* state: “The predominant winds are the Northeast monsoon, which prevails from October to March or April, and the Southwest monsoon, which prevails from June to September.” (Defense 197) *Dumagsa* is the local name for the Northeast monsoon. The phenomenon is alluded to in *De Moluccis* where a storm drives the fleet “to another island called Massana.” (Maximilian 121) This incident refers to the time the fleet left Homonhon and was coasting along the **eastern** side of Leyte. The lee shore, also known as the dangerous side, is improbable as the anchorage since a violent movement of the wind will dash the ships to Limasawa’s rocky shore and there is no escape from shipwreck. (Fig. 7) “Every sailor has

Lee Shore

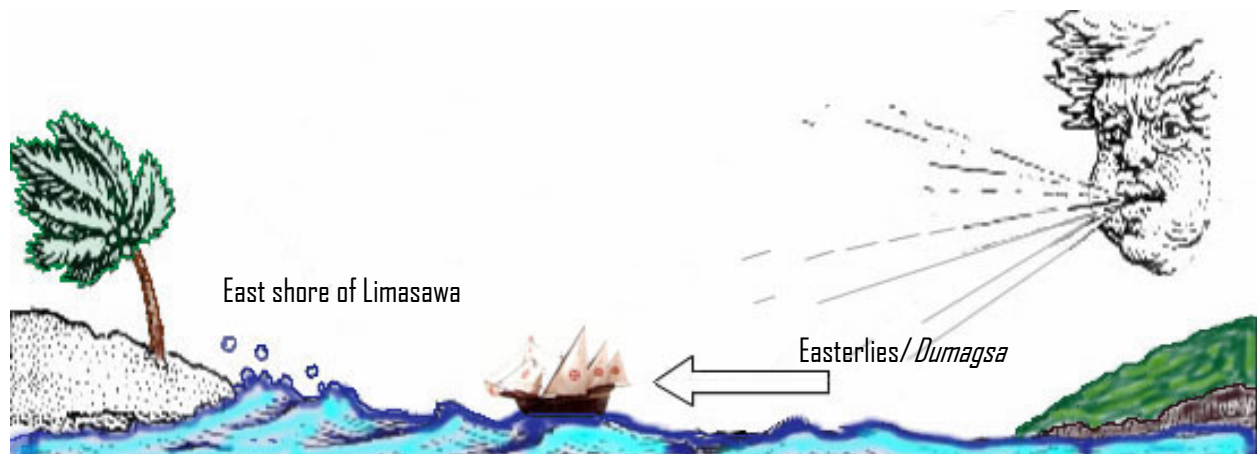


Fig. 7. In his account of Magellan's voyage, Ginés de Mafra said the fleet anchored west of Mazaua. This is corroborated by Pigafetta's map in all 3 French codices. There is a technical reason why the port was west not east as asserted by the Limasawa hypothesis. It has to do with a basic rule of navigation in the Age of Sail. Renaissance ships, powered by wind, worked along the limits of nature. One unchanging "law" is that up to the 30th parallel south or north of the equator prevailing winds blow east to west. (See above illustration) These are the easterlies, the trade winds. In March and April this is further aggravated by the powerful northeast monsoon called *Dumagsa* by the Limasawans. The side exposed to *Dumagsa* is called the lee shore. It is impossible to anchor on a lee shore. Had the fleet stayed on a lee shore these will have been driven towards shore by the *Dumagsa* and will have no way to escape shipwreck. In Maximilian Transylvanus' *De Moluccis*, a storm is mentioned that forced Magellan to leave Leyte towards Mazaua. This is the *Dumagsa*. It is impossible to anchor on a lee shore.

A non-navigation historian does not appreciate the gravity of this rule. "Shipwreck" to him is just a word. To the seafarer it is the end of the world, of his dreams of wealth, of his life even. No reason is more compelling to ensure seafarers obey this cardinal rule. The idea Magellan's fleet anchored east is navigationally untenable and has no historiographical support. One writer says it is an "established" point (Bernad 28) but offers no evidence nor reasoned argument. No eyewitness talks of east. The NHI simply insists on its own authority that Magellan's port was east.

The Absurd And The Impossible

“We departed from Mazaba and went N., making for the island of Seilani, and afterwards coasted the said island to the N.W. as far as 10^0 , and there we saw three islets; and we went to the W...”

—*Francisco Albo* tr. by Lord Stanley of Alderley

“...we laid our course toward the northwest, passing among five islands; namely, Ceylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baybai and Gatighan...There is a distance of twenty leagues from Mazaua to Gatighan. We set out westward from Gatighan...”

—*Antonio Pigafetta* tr. by

James A. Robertson



Fig. 8. Absurd, impossible. Pigafetta drew a northwest (maestrale) track from Mazaua going to Ceilon/Seilani (Panaón) on the way to Cebu. If east Limasawa were Magellan's port (as widely believed and recently affirmed in 1998 by the Gancayco Panel of the National Historical Institute) it is absurd to first sail towards Panaón. What's more it's impossible to sail NW from east Limasawa. Albo's track was N to Seilani, again an absurd track going to Cebu that will not bring the fleet to Panaón in any case. The east Limasawa notion puts the Armada in Magallanes. Limasawa either right in front of or between the detached coral reef and the beach, a most improbable location. East Limasawa is a lee shore, besides. Magellan could not and did not anchor in east Limasawa, an improbable idea in the first place that is impossible in the real world above all. Ceilon has been wrongly conceived as the whole of Leyte, tricking the mind to allow for the ships sailing well within "continental" Leyte. Pigafetta did not think in terms of our geographical conception of "continental" Leyte. He had broken today's Leyte into the "islands" of Cenalo (today's Silago), Abarien (Cabalian, renamed recently San Juan), Hiunangan (Hinunangan), Ceylon (Panaón), and Baibai.

The NHI panel declared, “Given the reality that Magellan was a first-timer/new comer when he sailed into Philippine shores of 1521, he could not have anticipated up from which island had adequate anchorage for ships. There is logic in assuming that he anchored his fleet in whatever island he touched at, and that island happened to be Limasawa (Mazaua) ‘as (because) we had seen a fire (on it) the night before’. So, it was actually the light from a fire that Magellan saw, not the better anchorage which he could not have anticipated anyway, that attracted Magellan to Limasawa.” (NHI 20) This statement reveals an appalling ignorance of navigation. Soundings—knowing the nature of the ground below, its depths, the character of the sea—is to navigation as grammar is to language, arithmetic is to mathematics, breathing is to living. It’s so fundamental, it’s simply assumed to be automatic to a seaman. “The oldest navigating instrument of which we have definite evidence is the familiar lead and line, which remains the safeguard of sailors to this day.” (Taylor 35) As a great helmsman put it, “Probably the most dangerous phase of navigation occurs when the vessel is ‘on sounding.’ Since man first began navigating the waters, the possibility of grounding his vessel has been a major concern, and frequent soundings have been the most highly valued safeguard against that experience. Undoubtedly used long before the Christian era, the lead line is perhaps the oldest instrument of navigation.” (Bowditch 14) An older “soundings” instrument was a long rod or pole.

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TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCE

Research, interpretation, writing, design, layout by Vicente C. de Jesús

Property/Feature	Mazzaua	Limasawa	Correspond?	
			Yes	No
1. Name	Mazzaua <small>Pigafetta, Albo, Genoese Pilot, Ginés de Mafra</small>	Dimasaua <small>Colín, 1663; Murillo, 1734</small> Limasaua <small>Combés, 1667; Murillo, 1734</small>		✓
2. Other names (Except copyist errors, diff. spelling, same pronunciation)	Mazzavua, Mazaua, Mazana <small>Pigafetta</small> Maçaguoa, Maçagnoa, Maçangor, Maquamguoa <small>Genoese Pilot</small> Maçagua, Maçaguaba <small>Mafra Maçava Aiamonte</small>	Dimasaua <small>Colín, 1663; San Antonio, 1744; Murillo, 1752</small> Limasaba <small>San Agustin</small> ; Simasaua <small>Redondo</small>		✓
3. Raia's name	Siaiu <small>Pigafetta Yale Ms. Siaui, Sian, Siani, Siagu Ambrosian</small>	Mankao <small>Oral Tradition</small>		✓
4. No. of wife/ves	Lisabeta <small>Pigafetta/Ambrosian Ms.</small> Ysabeau <small>Pigafetta Nancy Ms.</small>	5: Triana, Maangay, Udjaja, Banday, Kapudjing <small>Oral Tradition</small>		✓
5. Butúan raia	Kolambu <small>Pigafetta</small>	Oral tradition has nothing on this		✓
6. Kinship with Siaiu	Kolambu is brother of Siaiu <small>Pigafetta</small>	Oral tradition has nothing on this		✓
8. Ties w/ Cebu king	Blood kin of Siaiu & Kolambu <small>Mafra & Herrera</small>	Oral tradition is silent on this		✓
7. Circumference/Area	3-4 leguas/9-12 nm <small>Mafra</small> (2213 to 3930 has.)	2.0313 nm ² or 698 has <small>NAMRIA</small>		✓
9. Location of islet	1. Below 1521 Butúan, 45-60 nm away <small>Mafra</small> 2. Below Bohol and Panaón <small>Pigafetta map</small>	1. Above 1521 & today's Butúan 2. In between Bohol and Panaón		✓
10. Latitude	9°40'N <small>Pigafetta</small> ; 9°20'N <small>Albo</small> ; 9° N <small>Genoese Pilot/Antonio de Brito</small>	9° 56' N		✓
11. Location of port	West <small>Mafra & Pigafetta</small>	East <small>Enshrined in R.A. 273, affirmed by NHI</small>		✓
12. Kind of anchorage	Weather shore	Lee shore: exposed to NE monsoon		✓
13. Quality of port	Good <small>Mafra</small>	Too deep, east Limasawa impossible		✓
14. Shape	Circular like ray <small>Pigafetta suggests alluvial fan</small>	Short, elongated like cut worm		✓
15. Language	Has "masawa," a word found only in Butúanon out of 80 Philippine tongues	Waray in 1521, today Cebuano & Bolhanon, all have no "masawa"		✓
16. Direction of isle	"Extends N by E and S by W" <small>Albo</small>	Opposite, north-south		✓
17. Gold	Plenty <small>Pigafetta & Mafra</small>	No tales, what little is imported		✓
18. Gold mines	Plenty <small>Pigafetta MSS 5650 & Nancy</small>	No tales, no remnants		✓
19. Rice hectarage	Considerable <small>Pigafetta</small>	No record, soil too sandy for rice		✓
20. Wild game	Plenty as to allow regular hunt <small>Pigafetta</small>	Little space, biota, H ₂ O argue vs wild game		✓
21. Track from Panaón	West southwest <small>Pigafetta & Albo</small>	West then northeast by east		✓
22. Route to Panaón	Northwest (maestrale) <small>Pigafetta</small>	NW & N tracks to Panaón from Limasawa		✓
23. Distance: Humunu-Mazzaua	→ 25 leguas (100 n.m.) <small>Pigafetta *</small>	→ 20 leguas (80 n.m.)		✓
24. Distance: Mazzaua-Zzubu	→ 35 leguas (140 n.m.) <small>Pigafetta</small>	→ 32 leguas (131 n.m.)		✓
25. Distance: Mazzaua-Gatighan/10°N	→ 20 leguas (80 n.m.) <small>Pigafetta</small>	→ 1 legua (4 n.m.)		✓
26. Kind of houses	On stilts (tall posts) <small>Pigafetta</small>	Squat to ward off monsoon/typhoons		✓
27. Location of cross	Atop west hill <small>Pigafetta map/All 3 French Mss</small>	East of only one (1) mountain		✓
28. Location of village	West facing a cove <small>Pigafetta map in 3 French codices</small>	East		✓
29. WSW isles w/ gold	Three <small>Albo</small>	No isle WSW of Limasawa		✓
30. Slope of mountain	Gentle. Magellan's limp precluded climbing steep incline; front of hill "cultivated fields" <small>Pigafetta</small>	Very steep > 45%, no farmlands in front of east Limasawa		✓
31. Balanghai (wooden boats)	Many <small>Pigafetta</small>	None found so far		✓
32. Easter mass	Held morning of 31 March 1521 <small>Pigafetta</small>	In Butúan not in Dimasaua <small>Colín</small> ; no mass, not in Limasaua nor Butúan <small>Combés</small>		✓

*Pigafetta states his scale of 4 n.m. to 1 legua in his book *Regole sul l'arte del navigare o trattato della sfera* (Treatise of Navigation). Primary sources: Antonio Pigafetta (3 codices out of 4); Francisco Albo (Madrid and Paris manuscripts); Genoese Pilot (Lisbon and Paris mss.); Ginés de Mafra; Martinho de Aiamonte;. Secondary: Francisco Colín, S.J., Francisco Combés, S.J., Antonio de Brito and Antonio de Herrera.

east Limasawa is a lee shore. As Taylor has pointed out every sailor has “an wholesome dread of being driven on to a lee-shore, and stands well out to sea to avoid the dangers of hidden rock and sand-bank.” (Taylor 4) One anchors on the weather or protected shore facing the wind so that if the ships are lashed by a sudden gust of wind the ships will merely be driven to open sea.

3) No account speaks of anchoring east. An eyewitness explicitly locates the port west of Mazaua. (Mafra 198) The maps of Mazaua in the three French codices (**Fig. 4,5,6**) showing a cross atop a hill west of the isle corroborates Mafra’s testimony. All events during the week happened on just one side of Mazaua, the west. The east notion goes back no farther than the map of Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J. that traces Magellan’s fleet shuttling back and forth to east Limasawa. Murillo’s east port had no historiographical basis or reality and is nullified by the fact east Limasawa is a lee shore. The difficulty this east notion presents will be seen in Skelton’s willful mishandling of the word “maestral” that throughout he translated “northwest.” Maestrale is one of the oldest terms in European and Mediterranean navigation. European languages have almost phonetically identical terms and vary only in orthography—mistral, maestral, mistrau, maystral, maestro—and is translated as northwest in English. It appears on the first wind rose (compass) shown on charts and maps since the 1300s standing for one of the eight classical wind directions. (Thoen)

In the departure from Mazaua episode, seeing Pigafetta’s words won’t fit the real world, Skelton mistranslates “maestral” as “southwest” (Pigafetta 73) since it is physically impossible to sail northwest from east Limasawa. Moreover, Skelton who correctly identifies Ceylon (Ceilon/Seilani) as Panaón must have given up trying to reconcile the impossible idea of reaching Panaón by taking an opposite course going away from it. (**Fig. 8**) Murillo’s east notion, which has been uncritically adopted by historians, draws its inspiration from Medieval cartographic tradition which automatically located an unknown spot on earth in the east “indicating the direction to paradise...or at least to where Christ was born (in the Levant).” (Thoen)

The NHI affirmed the east anchorage nevertheless by willfully dismissing Mafra and by ignoring the existence of the Yale map showing the cross west of Mazaua. It willfully ignored well as the real world reality described by the *Coast Pilot* showing the east as the dangerous side. In its final report of March 1998, NHI simply ignores the French Pigafetta codices whose maps show the cross erected west of the isle signifying the compass point where the fleet was moored. The NHI “finding” exclusively addresses itself to the Ambrosiana as well as the Genoese Pilot account. This puzzling behavior can by no means be viewed as the crowning glory of Philippine historiography; it in fact seems to have fallen under the tradition set by Jose E. Marco. But the panel members may have achieved their shortsighted if senseless aim of affirming Limasawa at all cost for what useful purpose, it’s not clear. This is the kind of boneheadedness Tuchman bewails as it harms the pursuit of truth without any commensurate advantage.

A straightforward inventory of properties of Mazaua will show that outside of the fact the two are isles—a feature shared by 7101 others—there is nothing common between Limasawa and Mazaua. **Figure 10**, the **Table of Correspondence**, is a comprehensive list of Mazaua features, properties, and clues extracted from eyewitnesses’ accounts and juxtaposed against Limasawa. This inventory proceeds from an analytical definition that seeks to establish the clear-cut identity of Mazaua. It shows that at no point does Mazaua and Limasawa coincide be it name, latitude, shape, size, distance, direction of the isles, description of its houses, agriculture, slope of the mountains, etc. These two isles are totally different.

Ramusio Blunder: “Traduttore, traditore”

It may be asked how two completely different things can be seen as being one and the same: perfect, exact, total equal of each other? How could such a big foul up happen? How can historians be so deceived by their materials? The answer to this illumines the Italian saying, “Translator, traitor.”

The root of this mess goes back to as early as 1523 with publication of Maximilian Transylvanus' *De Moluccis...* (**Fig. 11**) a secondhand account of the circumnavigation based on interviews with the survivors of the Magellan expedition. This account was an instant bestseller and its success occasioned several reprints. It established the place-name of Magellan's anchorage as Messana or its equivalent Massana (Maximilian 121), corruptions of the place-name Mazaua that persisted all the way to the 1894 edition of the Ambrosian codex. (Mosto 71-84) In navigation the Italian word stands for mizzen-sail. Its various permutations in European languages are *misaine* (French), *mesana* (Spanish), *mezena* (Portuguese). Its other forms are *meseyn*, *meson*, *mizine*, *myszen*, *messyne*, *myssen*, *mysson*, and the Scottish *mozan*. (Bruzelius Etymologi) So the word's familiar ring to the European ear ensured ready acceptance and long life span. "Messana" to the ecclesiastical mind however would mean something else, a meaning that presented a dilemma to a Church historian writing in 1663 on evangelization work of the Jesuits in the Philippines. His solution to the linguistic problem—the dissonance between an accepted nautical term and the religious connotation that word has for the ecclesiastical mind—would result to the historiographical disaster where a lee shore today represents Magellan's safe port.

Maximilian's *De Moluccis* so saturated the European market it would appear Antonio Pigafetta could not get his book printed by the time he had his manuscript ready sometime in August 1524 (Cachey xlvi). He had obtained even before that permission from Venice to print his book. On August 3, 1524 there was a firm arrangement with a printer that Pigafetta will pay half of the cost of printing, fifteen ducats, and the profit will be split. (Cachey xlvi). Nothing came of this, it seems the Vicentine diarist thought the deal was very risky and wanted a more favorable arrangement. Pigafetta's recourse was a Renaissance expedient open to courtiers seeking preferment. He produced a gift manuscript which Pigafetta eventually dedicated to the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. The original, now lost, is probably exemplified by the Nancy-Yale codex.

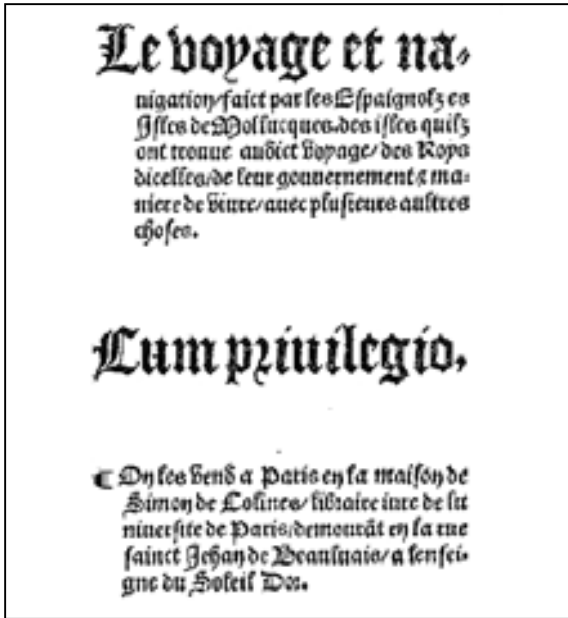


Fig. 11. Colines ed. French translation of an Italian original of Pigafetta's account

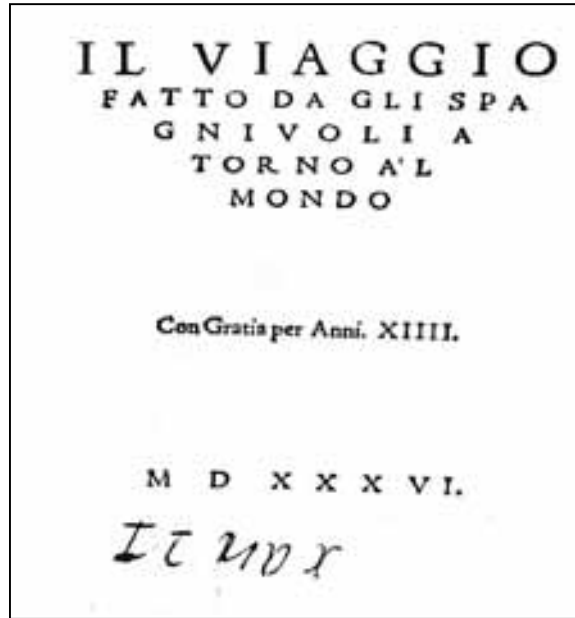


Fig. 12. 1536 Italian translation by Ramusio of the Colines published Zoppini in Venice



Fig. 13. 1550 edition of Ramusio's travel classic which contained the 1536 Italian tr. of Pigafetta account of Magellan's voyage

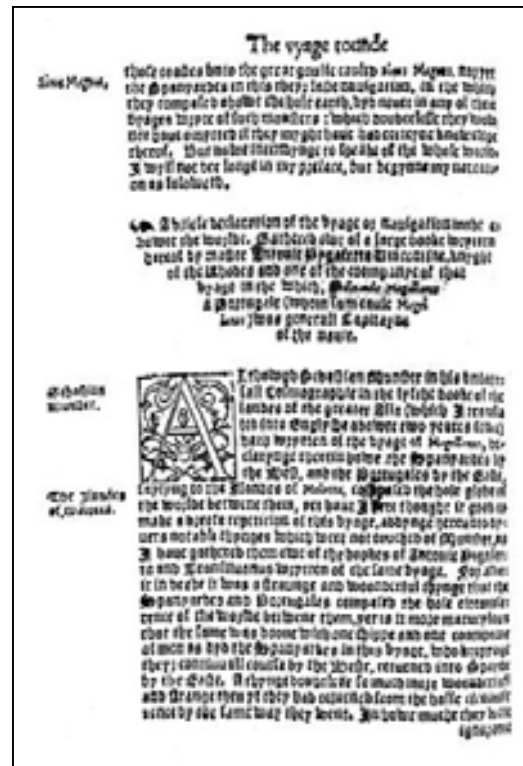


Fig. 14. 1555 English translation by Richard Eden of the 1536 edition by Ramusio.



Fig. 15. Samuel Purchas *Hakluytus Posthumus or his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625; 1905 ed. Vol. II, pp. 84-118). English translation of a version of Ramusio's Italian retranslation back from French of Pigafetta's account. The corruption of the Mazaua incident here differs from the 1536 version which Richard Eden translated. Butúan has supplanted Mazaua. No Sunday Easter mass on 31 March 1521 is mentioned here. This is the Ramusio that reached the hands of Fr. Francisco Combes.

This presentation manuscript was copied—how many times, no one is sure— which in turn were recopied and the various texts were translated and retranslated back to its original Italian resulting in an accumulation of copyist and translation errors.

Butúan Anchorage: Mystifying Error

A profound, inexplicable, mystifying change occurred in the 1536 Italian translation of Pigafetta's account extracted from the French Colines edition which in its turn was translated from an Italian original now lost. Magellan scholars agree the 1536 edition (**Fig. 12**) was written (or plagiarized) by Gian (Giovanni) Battista Ramusio since it appears under his name in his 1563 collection of travel accounts *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. (**Fig. 13**) The first volume came out in 1550 with the 1536 Pigafetta relation but Ramusio's name appears only in the 1563 edition. This was reprinted in 1554, 1563, 1588, 1606, 1613. (Skelton 183) In the 1536 edition in Chapter 38 "emendations" are to be seen in a sentence that reads "In questa Isola Mesana" (Pigafettae 281). This is where the big switch occurs: the anchorage from March 28-April 4, 1521 and all events of that week—an Easter mass, planting of a big cross, *casi casi*, war games, etc.—are made to happen in Butúan instead of Mazzaua. Western scholars have not commented on this switch; they ignored it completely finding nothing particularly or singularly significant about the discrepancy. The 1536 edition was translated into English by Richard Eden and included in his 1550 translation *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India... Wrytten by Peter Martyr... and translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden*. (Skelton 183) (**Fig. 14**) Another version of Ramusio was translated into English by Samuel Purchas (*Hakluytus Posthumus or his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625; 1905 ed. Vol. II, pp. 84-118). (Cachey li) (**Fig. 15**) One scholar asserts Eden and Purchas made use of the same Ramusio edition (Lach 624) but this is erroneous. Eden's version is quite different from Purchas's particularly on Mazaua. This difference is *fundamental* to a clear and precise understanding of and solution to the Mazaua problem.

How this mix-up came about is impossible to explain since a reading of the Pigafetta

account as we know it today or even the Colines edition, from which the Ramusio story was extracted, shows clearly unmistakably Mazaua was the anchorage. There is no rational way to explain how Mazaua could have been mistaken for Butúan. The mystically inclined may see a hidden hand at work that is discernible only when the puzzle unravels at the end. In any case, Ramusio makes things even more complicated as the fleet proceeds to its next destination. From Butúan the fleet sails for Cebu; all of a sudden, without any clear timeline, the Armada finds itself in an isle named Messana where Magellan and his men stayed here eight days. The location of Messana is at latitude 9° 40' N (Ramusio 395). From this stopover isle, Messana, the fleet leaves for Cebu drawing the track described by Pigafetta in his authentic account.

Ramusio's version of the March 1521 one-week episode will persist throughout the 16th century up to 1800. The Butúan anchorage will be the version that will be known throughout this period in the Philippines, at least. This is the version that reached the hand of Fr. Francisco Colin. Adding more complication to an already confused state of affairs, there is another version of Ramusio represented by the English translation of Purchas which is quite different in that it does not refer to a mass being held on Easter Sunday. Only when an authentic Pigafetta account surfaces in 1800 will the Butúan error be known—but not especially noticed by Western scholars—and another “big switch” will occur through the ministrations of another Italian hand. This switch will directly lead us to the present conundrum.

Ramusio Deception & The Rule Of Immediacy

Among other things the craft of history is concerned with problem-solving. (Fischer xv) Untangling the above confused story, further obfuscated by a secondhand account by Antonio de Herrera that contradicted Ramusio but is faithful to the real story, would in 1663—one hundred twenty seven years after Ramusio— test the mettle of a missionary chronicler, Fr. Francisco Colin. His solution will lead to the difficulty we now face. In his

book on evangelization in the Philippines, Colin renames Ramusio's Messina "Dimasaua." His Dimasaua (renamed Limasawa four years later by another Jesuit writer who was also not writing about navigation) is the sorry end of Colin's attempt to piece together a consistent harmonious story out of contradictory versions of the Mazaua incident. More to the point, the Limasawa mistake is the unintended result of applying the rule of immediacy in evidence unaware that what he assumes to be a firsthand account (Ramusio) is not the genuine thing and that the secondhand account (Herrera) is in fact a faithful reconstruction of the past. It is emblematic of the clash between idea and reality.

Francisco Colín, S.J., was a Spanish missionary assigned to the region where Limasawa belongs. He stayed there six years. In that period, it may be presumed he learned the geography of the area. Writing a book on evangelization of the Philippines, he undertook to include an epitome of the Magellan voyage which was important to his theme only because of the first mass incident. He was in fact the first to refer to the 31 March 1521 event as "la primera Missa." It should be borne in mind he was not all that concerned about anchorage or navigation. Magellan was only incidental to his main concern which was the evangelization work of Jesuits in the archipelago.

It should also be borne in mind that the Jesuit chronicler did not have access to authentic eyewitness accounts that we have now within our reach: those by Antonio Pigafetta, Ginés de Mafra, Francisco Albo, the Genoese Pilot, and Martin Lopez de Ayamonte.

Colín's only sources, which he explicitly identifies, were Ramusio—the "truncated Italian version of the Pigafetta story [that] appeared at Venice in 1536" (Lach 624)—and Herrera. These were, on best evidence available, the only ones available in the Philippines at the time.

Colín faced a dilemma when he reached the part on the Easter mass. His two sources were in complete and hopeless disagreement. Pigafetta's (Ramusio's) "firsthand" account said the place where that seminal event took place was Butúan. His other source,

Herrera's secondhand relation, largely based on notes of the fleet chief pilot-astrologer, Andrés de San Martín, (Joyner 351) whose name appears in the list of authorities on which Herrera based his massive work, said the event took place in a small isle named Muzagua or Mazagua. (Herrera 23) Ironically, as we now know, but unknown to Colín who was deluded by the nature of his firsthand source, Ramusio, Herrera's version was faithful to the facts.

Which version to choose? Applying the rule of immediacy in evidence—that that which is nearest to the event has greater reliability—Colín rightly opts for what he assumed was an authentic eyewitness account, Pigafetta's, and made Butúan *situ* of the events of March 1521 including the Easter mass. But this solution created a new dilemma. Colín should have been bound to follow Ramusio's story, which he adopted over Herrera's, and name the stopover isle Messana. But to the ecclesiastical mind the connotation of that name contradicts his story of Butúan as site of the first mass on land. To Colín Messana meant *the place where mass was held* ("missa" Spanish for mass and "na" Bisaya word for "already") (Combés cxxxiiij) a meaning that would go against his Butúan story and would confuse his readers. He resolves this dilemma with a clever linguistic invention—that has escaped notice for 341 years—that partly draws on Herrera's Mazagua and his own imagination by adding the prefix *Di* to signify it is not Herrera's Mazagua the place where an Easter mass was celebrated. Dimasaua is not found in any primary or secondary account. Nor is it found in a Philippine language. It is not as one writer asserts (Bernad 3) a misspelling of Limasawa, a name that came four years later. Nor is it a misreading of a convoluted calligraphic rendering of "Mazaua" as hypothesized by an over-imaginative historian. (Schreurs 30) That Dimasaua is an invention, a neologism, has not been detected by historiographers. Colín had ingeniously inserted it at the beginning of his book in a discussion of Philippine geography where he matter-of-factly mentions Dimasaua as an isle in Leyte giving the unwary reader the impression it was always so named. (He fails in this attempt; many local religious writers will come up with their own inventions like Simasaua, Limasaba, Bimasaua. Given

enough time they all would have exhausted the consonants in the alphabet.) Thus, the isle we know as the site of the first mass was in fact given the name that negated the idea it was the place where an Easter Sunday mass was held.

Oral Tradition

In explaining the discrepancy between the place-name Mazaua and Dimasaua, renamed Limasawa just four years later, oral tradition is invoked since it cannot be found in documentary evidence. (Bernad 30) Was Colín's choice based on oral tradition? That is to say, was there folk belief in 1663 that Dimasaua was where Magellan landed on March 28, 1521? If Colín's story had been based on oral tradition, it would contradict the intention of proving the southern Leyte isle was site of the first mass. For Colín's story says the navigator and his crew went to Butúan and stayed for a week and did all the activities that transpired in Mazaua including the mass on March 31, 1521. Colín cites only Ramusio and Herrera as his sources. How did he pick the Leyte isle as the Messana in Ramusio's version? The one clue that could be his basis was Messana's latitude 9° 40' N. It is not identical with Dimasaua's, but advocates of the Limasawa theory argue this latitude is "near enough" thus proving Mazaua and Limasawa (Dimasaua) are one and the same, perfect, exact, total equal of each other. We shall discuss the issue of latitude thoroughly later.

An inspired explanation for the discrepancy in names is that the written manuscript on which Colín may have based his place-name was done in such an ornate calligraphic style that the M in Messana was misread as D and later L. (Schreurs 30) "A calligraphed capital 'L' at the beginning of a page or paragraph forms actually three fourths of a 'D' in quite a number of old manuscripts; especially if the curling end of the upper pen-stroke has become faded, both letters are at times hardly distinguishable (certainly for non-cognescenti) in some 17th century handwriting and this fact may probably explain the twin names 'Limasawa' and 'Dimasawa' among copyists." This is a futile exercise in what is called the fallacy of the possible proof. It in effect says that somewhere out there in the realm of the

imagination a manuscript exists that in some distant future, if the reader will persist in finding for himself, will prove his point. This is to abdicate his responsibility as historian, transferring to his reader the burden of proving his assertion. But we did not have to wait that long. He disproves himself at the end of his own monograph (more like a manifesto, really) where there is shown Ramusio's page 357 where while severely reduced one can read clearly the word "Massana." (Schreurs 88)

Another tale that gained currency and has yet to completely run its course is that Magellan's query about the name of the isle was misheard or misunderstood by the king of Mazaua who replied instead that he had five wives. In the Cebuano or Waray waray languages five wives is supposedly "lima" (five) "asawa" (wives). So Magellan named the isle Limasawa. This fabricated story has no relevance to the real event. It thrived largely on ignorance of what Pigafetta really wrote, of the fact Pigafetta was a lexicographer and that Mas-sawa was a familiar word to Magellan. Also, it may be noted, raia Siau, the king of Mazaua had only one wife christened Lisabeta in Cebu.

Dimasaua Challenged

Just four years after publication of Colín's work, his nomenclature for the isle was "challenged" by another chronicler, a Jesuit missionary, who worked in Mindanao. Francisco Combés, in *Historia de Mindanao y Iolo...*, states the stopover isle in Leyte is named Limasaua, by which it is known today thanks largely to the fortuitous if arbitrary choice by a cartographer of that name instead of Dimasaua. Unlike Colín, Combés does not cite any source for his story. He could not have had any source outside of Ramusio and Herrera plus Colín who had earlier published his work. And, while he does not say so, he clearly adopted Colín's solution to the dilemma posed by the conflicting version of Ramusio and Herrera. But Combés deviated from Colín for a mysterious reason that came to view with a rereading of Samuel Purchas. Both words Dimasaua and Limasaua are not found in any Philippine language or dialect. These came into existence only with Colín and Combés. If one were

inclined to view the twist and turns of the episode from another plane, these prefixes form a cryptogram that hints at the isle's identity. By joining the two prefixes, "di" and "li" according to the sequence in which they were introduced, the word "dili" is formed; in Bisaya it means "not."

Combés did not adopt Dimasaua since his primary source, a version of Ramusio exemplified by Purchas, does not mention the Easter mass of 31 March 1521. His Ramusio talks only of the planting of a cross on a hill. So he did not have to negate the idea that the Leyte isle is the site of the mass. He instead used the prefix "li" which is not found in a Philippine language which probably seemed neutral enough as to be distant from the negative "di" of Colín.

The Leyte isle came to be known by many other names, variously spelled, by resident writers who one would presume should speak from personal knowledge. One historian said it was named Simasaua. (Redondo 205) In 1744 another chronicler declared its names were Dimasaua and Limasaua. (San Antonio 85) Another Filipino historian asserts it was named "Limasaua, Masaua y Simasaua." (Reyes 7) As late as 1914, a noted historian from Leyte itself would declare the isle was named and variously spelled "Limasaoa, Limasaua, Limasana, Limasava, Limasagua, Dimasawa, Dimasava, Simasaua, Masaua." (Artigas 32) Giving the isle all sorts of names had become a minor cottage industry that ceased operation in 1930 only when the Philippine Committee on Geographic Names—in Manila, so far from the action—intervened and declared *ex cathedra* the correct name was Limasawa without giving a cogent argument. This is ironic. Between Colín and Combés, the former was the better historian who at least cites his sources while the latter leaves his readers completely at a loss where his facts and information are coming from, a serious defect that gets rewarded as it were by adopting his invention. But the Committee's choice was in fact based on ignorance of how Limasawa gained primacy. And even then it was not until 1960 when R.A. 2733 became law that the name Limasawa was finally settled.



Fig. 15. The 1734 world famous chart of Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., the best ever to come out from the Philippines. For the first time Limasaua, the southern Leyte isle, is shown in a map. Murillo's Limasawa combines the conflicting views of Fr. Francisco Colín, S.J., and Fr. Francisco Combés, S.J. Murillo in a later work on Philippine geography states the isles names were Dimasaua and Limasaua. Colín coined "Dimasaua" in 1663 to signify it is not (Bisayan "di") Herrera's Mazagua (*gu* is the guttural Spanish equivalent of *w* which is absent in Romance languages) where an Easter mass was held on 31 March 1521. Combés' "Limasaua" was invented to veer away from the negative connotation of Dimasaua as no Easter mass is comprehended in his story of Magellan's journey in the archipelago.

How Mazaua Became Limasawa

The Ramusio-Colín-Combés exegesis finally found its way over half a century later into a map, that of Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., perhaps the most famous ever crafted in the Philippines. **(Fig. 15)** Murillo’s map of the Philippines shows for the first time Limasaua, an isle sandwiched between Bohol and Panaón, the only landmass between the two large islands. In Pigafetta’s map, it’s clearly the isle named “Gatighan,” Bisayan for “outriggers.” (See **Fig. 1**) It is a volcanic outcrop with a young soil. Neither Colín nor Combés saw Pigafetta’s map, a corrupted representation of which came out only in 1906 in the Pigafetta edition of Robertson. It is probable they would not have picked the isle to represent Mazaua had they seen the map. But then again, who knows? Even today leading historians, seeing the authentic map of Pigafetta, see Limasawa as Mazaua not Gatighan. In the map Mazaua is spread like a sting ray, Limasawa looks like a truncated earthworm, and historians see they are perfectly, exactly and totally alike. The NHI argued in the 277 years since the visit of Magellan the sea around Limasawa could have eaten away as much as 82% of its mass. If this were the case the shoreline of Limasawa should not be steep-to, that is almost perpendicular, but sloping. “The panel cannot discount the possibility of Limasawa being able then to provide the kind of anchorage necessary for Magellan’s ship.” (NHI 20)

Murillo’s choice of the place-name Limasaua rather than Dimasaua was out of whim more than out of any logical consideration. This is clear from the testimony of the map-maker himself who states in his 1752 book *Geographia historica*...that the isle’s names were Dimasaua and Limasaua. (Murillo 69) He had two names to choose from and picked one for no particular reason. This is not the first time that pure chance has played a trick in human history. Murillo did not in fact realize that the meanings of the two names were not in harmony: one meant to negate the idea the isle was Herrera’s Mazaua, the other did not comprehend at all the idea of an Easter mass in the archipelago.

The very same year, 1734, Murillo’s map came out an almost exact copy by French

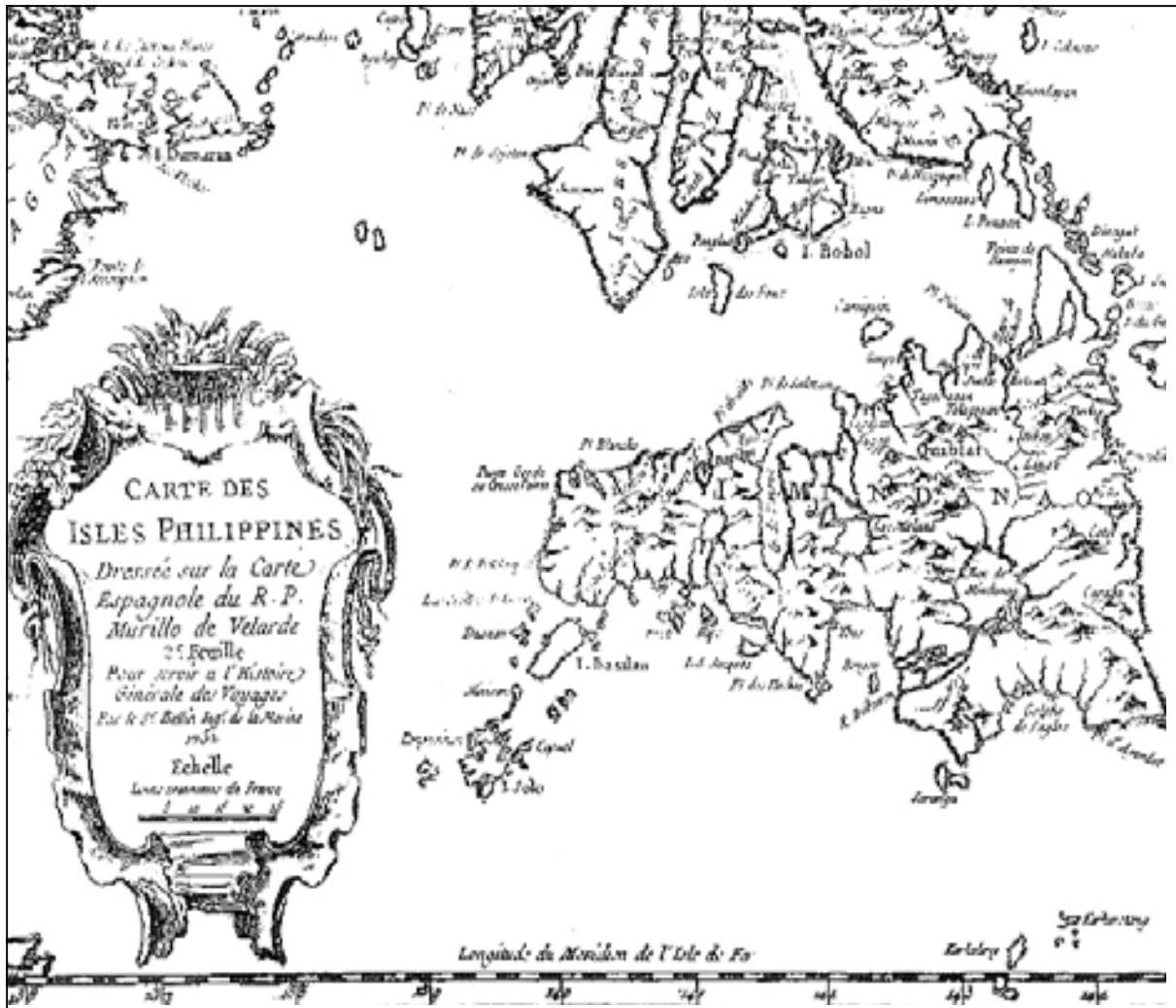


Fig. 16. Bellin's map of 1734, copied from Murillo's. European cartographers shamelessly plagiarized Murillo's map failing of course to attribute to the Jesuit mapmaker original authorship. To the credit of Bellin he cites Murillo as his source explaining he had corrected the longitudes of the original map. Murillo used the erroneous longitude in the Pigafetta (Ramusio) account. Like Murillo, Bellin also issued several editions of the map. It was ironically Bellin's map to which Carlo Amoretti pointed as the source of his hypothesis that Limasaua and Magellan's port, Mazaua, are one and the same. The Lopez Museum has a colored version of Bellin.

**PRIMO VIAGGIO
INTORNO AL GLOBO TERRACQUEO**

OSSIA

**RAGGUAGLIO DELLA NAVIGAZIONE
ALLE INDIE ORIENTALI PER LA VIA D'OCCIDENTE
FATTA DAL CAVALIERE**

ANTONIO PIGAFETTA

PATRIZIO VICENTINO

Sulla Squadra del Capit. Magaglianes negli anni 1519-1522.

*Ora pubblicato per la prima volta,
tratto da un Codice MS. della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano
e corredato di note*

DA CARLO AMORETTI

DOTTORE DEL COLLEGIO AMBROSIANO.

Con un

**TRANSUNTO DEL TRATTATO DI NAVIGAZIONE
dello stesso Autore.**



IN MILANO MDCCC. 1860

NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIUSEPPE GALEAZZI.

Con licenza de' Superiori.

Fig. 17. The Culprit. Cover page of Carlo Amoretti's edition of the Ambrosiana codex, the first of four extant manuscripts of Antonio Pigafetta's account of the Magellan circumnavigation. This is the book that first asserted the notion Limasaua in Jacques N. Bellin's map is the Magellan port of 28 March-4 April 1521. Amoretti's name has not figured in Philippine Mazaua historiography. His authorship of the hypothesis was obliterated from the record as local historians appropriated the notion by rewording it and altering the framework into "the site of the first mass."

cartographer-geographer Jacques N. Bellin was published in France. Bellin was considered “one of the greatest and most important French cartographers of the mid-eighteenth century.” He was appointed hydrographer to the king. “His maps set a high standard of production and accuracy and were often copied by cartographers of other European countries.” He was appointed engineer with the French Depot des Cartes et Plans de Marine, the office established in 1720 as headquarters of French naval hydrographic service. He was to remain as chief of the office for more than half a century and until his death in 1772. Bellin was First Ingenieur Hydrograph de la Marine (1741) and later member, Academie des Sciences in Paris, in charge of making maps and charts from data/information given by naval and merchant seamen. During his service France reached its peak of hydrographic eminence and his charts widely used by both French and foreign navigators. James Alexander Robertson-Emma Blair used many of Bellin’s charts in the monumental 53-volume series, *Philippine Islands 1493-1898*.

Bellin’s map (**Fig. 16**) differs only in his use of up-to-date meridians of longitude where Murillo partly used 1521 coordinates. To Bellin, ironically, rather than Murillo, is directly owed the complete transformation of Limasaua, Ramusio’s stopover isle, into Mazaua, Magellan’s port of March 28-April 4, 1521. This metamorphosis was the handiwork six decades later of another Italian hand, just as it was an Italian who had transformed Mazaua to Butúan.

Amoretti’s “Switch”

In Milan, 63 years after Bellin’s map came out, Carlo Amoretti made a serendipitous discovery. Lost among thousands of volumes in Ambrosiana Library, where he was chief librarian, was an authentic copy of Pigafetta’s relation that Amoretti chanced upon. This manuscript is known today as the Ambrosiana codex. Amoretti published three years later, in 1800, his Italian transcription and annotated edition (**Fig. 17**) that most scholars consider shabby because of liberties taken with Pigafetta’s text. “The value of Amoretti’s find

was severely undermined however, by the fact that the text he published represented a re-writing or translation of Pigafetta's 16th century Italian." (Cachey lii) However diminished its literary and historiographical worth, in the context of the Mazaua controversy, however, it played the most decisive role. It is the single source that triggered the transformation of Limasaua from being a way station on the fleet's traverse to Cebu into the Mazaua anchorage where the Easter mass took place.

The Ambrosian revealed to Amoretti Ramusio's error and showed Messana (Mazaua) not Butúan was the anchorage of March 1521. At the specific point where this revelation is found, Amoretti expresses the probability Messana *may* be the "Limassava" in Bellin's map. (Pigafetta**b** 66) Six pages further on Amoretti states—wrongly—Limassava and Messana are in latitude 9° 40' N. (Pigafetta**b** 72) In fact Limasawa's latitude is 9° 56' N. This latitudinal fallacy is the basis of the notion the two are identical and remains the main argument of the Limasawa hypothesis advocates.

It's important to analyze Amoretti's operation because it is here that the historical conundrum takes on a decisive turn. Amoretti's argument was that Limasaua, the stopover of the Ramusio-Colín-Combés-Murillo-Bellin exegesis, was Messana, anchorage of Magellan in March-April 1521. Amoretti starts by asserting Bellin's Limasaua "may" be Mazaua without explaining how this is so. By logical inference we can see that the basis of his supposition is the phonetic similarity of the two names which is a logical fallacy as similarity, per se, invalidates the notion of identity: What is similar cannot be identical. To support his assertion Amoretti offers as proof Pigafetta's 9° 40' N which, he declares, is the common latitude of the two. Therefore, so Amoretti's argument goes, having a seeming homonymic similarity and the same latitude the two isles are identical. He has no other argument nor any other proof. No one has challenged Amoretti's assertion. And none has seen the logical sleight-of-hand he used in proving Limasaua and Mazaua are identical. It has remained undetected for two centuries.

Amoretti is not even known to those who argue for the Limasaua hypothesis. Philippine historiographers dropped his paternity over this hypothesis, reworked his assertion so that everyone could claim fatherhood to the notion.

Recall that Limasaua left Philippine soil in the form of Murillo's map. Here it was a way station as the fleet sailed for Cebu. Unstated in the map is the rest of Ramusio's tale that Butúan was the fleet's port. In an instant, in Europe, Murillo's Limasaua became Bellin's Limassava. The same Limasaua came home after circumnavigating the globe as it were no longer as the stopover but this time as Amoretti's Messana or the port of Mazaua, Magellan's fleet safe haven for 7 days. And what reasoned argument sustained this metamorphosis? Itself! Amoretti's logical trick: *Pigafetta's Messana may be Bellin's Limasaua, since they are in the same latitude 9° 40' N. Therefore, Messana, the port, and Limasaua, the way station, are one and the same.*

Amoretti's argument would be uncritically accepted by succeeding scholars and historians, notably, Stanley, Mosto, Guillemard, Robertson, McKew Parr, Zweig, Morison, Pozzi, Mariano Cuesta Comingo, Martin J. Noone, Skelton, and recently Laurence Bergreen. Not one of them traced back the notion to Colín. Not one ever looked into the reality of the Leyte isle, whether it did offer anchorage.

Amoretti's hypothesis would become James A. Robertson's dictum. In Vol. II of the monumental 55-volume *The Philippine Islands*, Robertson cites Stanley's translation of Amoretti's footnotes. He ends his note with an unargued and unproved assertion, "It [Massaua] is doubtless the Limasaua of the present day, off the south point of Leyte." (BR 64) The word "doubtless" is a polemical device to preface an argument borne of uncertainty and resting on the solid air of a non-existent proof. The greater the doubt, the more extreme the exaggeration. It is called the fallacy of hyperbole. Thirty-one volumes later, in note 263 (BR 33), again without offering a single proof nor reasoned argument, Robertson would declare as self-evident fact what he earlier asserts in the context of a doubt: "It is now called the island

of Limasaua, and has an area of about ten and one-half square miles.” I should point out there is no technical publication stating Limasaua’s area to be 10.5 n.m.² The Coast and Geodetic Survey Department, Philippine Department of Environment and Natural Resources, recently estimated, using computer technology and a topographic map, that Limasawa’s size is 2.0313 n.m.² (Feir) which is what earlier studies had established.

While Robertson had not authored the original notion, his monumental reputation in Philippine historiography has been critical to the wide and ready acceptance of the Limasawa hypothesis. In much the same way that his patronage of the Kalantiao Code, whose “discovery” he triumphantly announced to the world in an international conference in California, U.S.A. in July 1915, ensured the immediate acceptance of what turned out to be the greatest hoax in Philippine history.

Limasawa’s 161-Year Sojourn

Philippine historiographers would later on build on Amoretti’s argument as cornerstone of the Limasawa hypothesis. But Amoretti would fall victim to his own success. His hypothesis would be adopted but his paternity would not be recognized.

It took some 161 years for Murillo’s Limasaua to come home this time as Amoretti’s Limassava. In 1895 a giant among Philippine intellectuals, Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, who had read Amoretti, Andrea da Mosto and Navarette’s *Albo*, declared in an essay published in a newspaper supplement “...not only was Butúan not the piece of Philippine soil on which the first mass was celebrated, but it was not even visited by that bold navigator in his memorable expedition.” He would recast the idea in more dismissive and mordant tone: “Ha sido un error afirmar que la primera misa se dijo en Butúan puesto que piedra para conservar la memoria de un suceso imaginado.” (Tavera 91) In 1897 Pablo Pastells, S.J., in a new edition of *Colín* would peremptorily negate the Butúan visit and assert Amoretti’s hypothesis, “Magallanes no tocó en Butúan, sino que desde la isla de Limasaua se fué derechamente á Cebú.” (Colín 40) This throwaway remark was further reinforced by another

Philippine historiographer, Jaime de Veyra, who declared, “En Limasawa y no en Butúan fué en donde se celebró la primera Misa en estas regiones.”

One will be at a loss looking for the common source of these remarks, Amoretti's two footnotes. Indeed, nowhere in Mazaua historiography will one find Amoretti being cited as the authority for the Limasaua hypothesis. Always it is Tavera or Pastells or de Veyra. One historiographer squarely points to Pastells as the one who exploded the Butúan error (but fails to trace it back to its source, Ramusio) and describes the two sentences of Pastells as “apodictically” proving “the First Mass had taken place in Limasawa.” (Schumacher 14) He further declares that Pastells' conclusion Mazaua was Limasawa was “not an arbitrary one, but one based on a wide-ranging knowledge of sources and evidence.” (Schumacher 15) In fact it was solely based on Amoretti's argument that the two isles had an identical latitude, reinforced by Albo's wrong latitude, 9^o 40' N, in Navarrete thanks to an amanuensis error that by happenstance was the same as Pigafetta's. I shall return to Albo's latitude later when I analyze the fallacy of the latitude argument.

The same word, “apodictic”, would be used by another writer to describe the one sentence remark of de Veyra. (Bernad 34) This “apodictic” remark would be the basis of a finding of the Philippine Historical Commission in 1953 declaring in no uncertain terms that Limasaua is the site of the first mass. (Bernad 34) In fact de Veyra was only trying to recollect what Tavera had said.

In all these, Amoretti is the uncited, unheard of, uncelebrated fountainhead of the Limasaua hypothesis. Declared a religious historian: “It was not Robertson but Pastells who shifted the tradition from Butúan to Limasawa, apparently changing his own earlier opinion. He did this on the basis of his knowledge of Pigafetta and Albo taken together. In this, he has been followed by all subsequent scholars here and abroad...” (Schumacher 19) True, it was not directly Amoretti's Italian text Pastells read but the Spanish translation by José Toribio Medina, 1888.

This historical conundrum would have been avoided had Amoretti's authorship been acknowledged. Other scholars came ahead of Pastells, and recognized Amoretti's authorship. Stanley's translation of Amoretti saw print in 1874, and Andrea da Mosto's work on the Ambrosian ms. came out 1894, six years ahead of Pastells. Robertson directly traces his Limasawa notion to Amoretti (although he also fails to mention his name) and his belief may have been fortified by his reliance on Mosto whose text was the basis of his English translation. (Torodash 325) Mosto endorsed Amoretti's footnotes.

A more sober, more critical analysis of the remarks of Pastells, de Veyra and Tavera will show they constructed an ambiguous, ill-defined, not-so-well thought out proposition by which to frame the issue of finding the true identity of Mazaua. Not so obvious but glaring is the absence of any proof in support of their proposition, whatever it was the Philippine historiographers were trying to prove.

The Trap: The Fallacy of the False Dichotomous Question

More decisive than the brushing aside of Amoretti, these brief, sweeping, unargued conclusions created the altered framework that entraps Mazaua historiography. Pastells *et al* forged a shift in the way the question of Mazaua's identity was being framed. Mazaua's identity was being viewed through the lens of a dichotomous question in the context of the Easter mass. This framework is expressed by the classic question, "Where is the site of the first mass, Butúan or Limasawa?"

This question seeks to define Mazaua by the simple process of eliminating one of two choices. This is a trick question useful in polemics but not in historiography. This way of framing the question of identity is called the fallacy of the false dichotomous question. Invariably its first victim is the one who raises it.

Its basic flaw consists in assuming that either choices could be correct. There is something odd or unethical here because we know Butúan is not a valid option. It was a translation error. The fatal flaw of the dichotomous question is that by excluding Butúan it

automatically makes it appear that Limasawa is proven to be Mazaua. Succeeding operations after that is just a Procrustean operation of fitting things into the Limasawa mold. To show how insidious the false dichotomous question is, let us suppose Imelda Marcos wanted to force on us a point about her husband's greatness, a claim that every now and then emanates from her quarters. She can very well frame the question in this manner: "Who is the greatest statesman of all time, Pol Pot or Marcos?" Since it is easy enough to prove that the former was a monster, Imelda's proposition makes it possible for Marcos to become automatically not just a statesman but the greatest one in all of human history. Yet the more valid proposition would have been, "Was Marcos a crook or just the greatest thief in history?" And even that is fallacious. He could be both.

The fallacy of the false dichotomous question oversimplifies and falsifies the process of discovering the true identity of Magellan's anchorage. More to the point, it had made a basic question no longer necessary to ask, "Is Limasawa the anchorage called Mazaua?" Such would lead to a corollary question, "Is anchoring possible in Limasawa?" If these simple questions had been asked, maybe we would not have the spectacle of a lee shore representing Magellan's safe haven.

A dichotomous question is an invitation to sloth. It yields an easy answer, seemingly valid, that makes it unnecessary to undertake comprehensive research. All one needs to prove it is cite Robertson's translation where it's clear the port is not Butúan. It caters to the human weakness of seeking the line of least resistance, and relieves the scholar the painstaking work of building one valid assumption on top of another, constructing a whole body of evidence that ultimately creates a unified, harmonious, consistent view of the past. It will be noticed historiographers have gone no further than Robertson's translations of Pigafetta, as well as his translations of Albo and Navarette's Genoese Pilot scattered throughout his encyclopedic annotations. Where there ought to have been an effort to assemble all the many manuscripts representing the different eyewitness accounts, this was

made unnecessary because the question was easily resolved. This explains why Ginés de Mafra is virtually unknown. By the time he had surfaced, the belief in Limasawa had become orthodoxy, minds had ossified, no longer able to admit the possibility that Mazaua could be something else. NHI itself, in 1998, could no longer imagine any other truth than Limasawa. So fixated it has become to the Limasawa myth, it turned truth on its head, and effectively transformed Amoretti's supposition into a hoax more brazen because its affirmation of Limasawa was done by willfully asserting what it knew was historiographically invalid.

One writer states the proposition in these words: "...the question of the first Mass has de facto become an either-or dispute: Butúan/Masao or Limasawa/Mazaua: if one is right the other is automatically wrong." (Schreurs 72) The author of this sentence fully knew how Ramusio botched Pigafetta. This would lead to an absolutist view that closes all possibilities: "There is not a single proof of any possibility that 450 years ago the topography at Masao/Butúan would have been so totally different that there would have been so much and such wide seawater *around* Masao/Butúan as to justify calling it a real 'island' in the sense in which Pigafetta used the word." (Schreurs 54) The author of those bombastic words is a historiographer, and here he has encroached into archaeology and geomorphology for which his bona fides do not allow him to speak in so absolutist a fashion. (I might add this historian has produced an exact word-for-word copy of Republic Act 2733 except that he excised the name Limasawa Island and replaced it with Butúan. His R.A. 2733 appeared in all three of his works on the subject. Why anyone should deliberately and openly manipulate a public document known to all that does not prove anything either way is something beyond rationality.)

Not A Religious Issue

The "first mass" framework also draws attention away from the fact the solution to the issue is in geography, oceanography, hydrography, navigation and nowhere in religion or Philippine historiography as usual. An awareness of this would I think have cautioned one

religious historian from venturing into *terra incognita*. He writes: “Finally there are navigational questions. There is, for example, the question of interpreting all the directions recorded in Albo, and identifying all the islands mentioned. There is also the question of how much time it would take sailing ships of the type which Magellan had to navigate the distances involved. One might wish to know the prevailing winds are at that time of the year, as well as the sea currents and tides. I confess complete ignorance on these matters.” (Schumacher 19) These are precisely the issues that will resolve this historical puzzle, so why enter the debate without the necessary tools?

Yet in the end his effort was to prove Limasawa’s identity as Mazaua based on a technical point, the issue of latitude, on which he professes “complete ignorance”. His argument Pigafetta’s 9° 40’ N proved Limasawa rested on two errors, the fallacy of *petitio principii* and dismissing the Genoese Pilot’s latitude armed with a *non sequitur*, Martin Torodash’s criticism on the literary merits of the Genoese Pilot’s account. Even Torodash, whose elegant prose has sharp edge to it, would not I’m sure dismiss the correctness or error of the Genoese Pilot’s latitude based on literary grounds. The Magellan historiographer, a non-navigation historian, consigned the Genoese Pilot to the dustbin with this throwaway remark, “Nothing very useful can be gained from a reading of this rather boring account.” (Torodash 319) I have reservations about resolving the Mazaua landfall issue on literary grounds.

Indeed, if technical aspects were attended to earlier at the time Colín wrestled with his dilemma, perhaps we would not now have a lee shore for Magellan’s safe haven. But that is neither here nor there. Historiographers, those alive and who have an open mind, will do well to attend to the technical details. If we all desist from asking the question, Where is the site of the first mass, Butúan or Limasawa? and start asking basic questions perhaps this issue can be resolved earlier. Questions like, “What is a lee shore?” Or, “What does the *Coast Pilot* say about anchoring in Limasawa?” A more direct and revelatory question, I might sug-

gest, would be “Is anchoring possible at all in east Limasawa?”

Colín-Combés Resurrected

Amoretti’s Pigafetta interred the Butúan legend. It stayed buried for 167 years. But Ramusio’s tale was exhumed in 1965. That year an old man wrote a brief history of Butúan in the local Bisayan language where he claims hearing from his parents and old folks the story of Magellan’s visit to Butúan. (Copin) This triggered a wild eruption of local pride and a feverish search for documentary validation. The discovery of Colín and Combés and many other 17th century chroniclers who retailed the Butúan tale transformed notion into belief, belief into faith.

In the mid-1980s archaeological finds would strengthen faith into conviction. Wooden boats called *balanghais* were accidentally dug up in Butúan. Pigafetta’s account mention *balanghais* being used by the people of Mazaua in going around the isle. Thus, the artifacts were seen as proof Butúan was Mazaua. Ignored was the fact the *balanghais* found were scientifically established to have been buried at least 300 years before Magellan’s coming. (This has been challenged by Dr. Ricarte S. Javelosa, the geomorphologist who would discover in 2001 an inside mainland Butúan. He asserts the layer of soil atop the buried *balanghais* is not high enough to support the contention of 300 years.) No matter, the Butúanons were far gone in their belief they refused to see these were not remnants of Magellan’s visit.

A formal construct of the Butúan notion coupled to the *balanghais* “proof” came in the form of a mimeographed book by an amateur historian. Here the author tried to meld Pigafetta’s account with the Colín-Combés tale. He asserts Magellan visited Butúan and anchored in today’s Masao village. He quotes an entry in the 1945 *Official Gazetteer of the Philippines* by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey that purports to describe Masao as an island surrounded by rivers in its north, east, south sides and a sea on its west. (Busa 32-34) This entry is non-existent; it was an invention or fabrication. Unfortunately this forgery

is cited by other writers who took up the Butúan claim. But it was a futile attempt since clearly Magellan's Mazaua was an isle surrounded by seawater.

This fraud marked the first serious breach in the controversy. Most other errors are attributable to poor limited research, bad logic, or plain lazy thinking.

Imelda Marcos Intervenes

In 1977, at the height of the Martial Law years in the Philippines, the Butúanons challenged the Limasawans to a debate. Bolstered by navigational studies of a retired maritime officer, the Butúan hypothesis focused on technical aspects like latitude, tides, currents, winds, etc. for which the other side was unprepared. Never mind that the Butúan analysis could not convince others that Masao, which is landlocked to mainland Butúan, is an isle. But in view of the seeming technical superiority of the Butúan claim, the Limasawa advocates thought they faced a rout. Imelda Marcos had to be called by the Limasawans to save the day. Imelda comes from Leyte where Limasawa belongs, and she is the leading patron of the Limasawa notion.

This was a time when Imelda co-ruled with her husband in what Filipinos called the Conjugal Dictatorship. It was a time when citizens were summarily jailed for whatever reason the Dictatorship found convenient. Imelda's displeasure would be enough to cause one's disappearance or incarceration. So that when finally Imelda Marcos approached the site of the debate in 1977, who would be first to welcome her but the leaders of the Butúan side. And not a squeak was heard from their side from then on.

Under pressure from Imelda, the National Historical Institute gathered professional and amateur historians to a workshop in 1980 where the Limasawa hypothesis was fully ventilated. It will be recalled up until this workshop, the Limasawa hypothesis consisted of the two unknown Amoretti footnotes, and endorsements of those footnotes by Western historiographers whose attributions did not mention Amoretti's name, and the one- to two-sentence remarks of Pastells, de Veyra and Tavera. The Butúan monograph required more

substantial response. The papers authored by professional historians, none of whom are Magellan scholars or navigation historians, were to be scholarly rebuttals.

These all dutifully concluded the evidence confirmed Mazaua is Limasawa. These papers came out in NHI's *Kasaysayan*, a journal that seems to have come and gone after this initial publication. No pro-Butúan or anti-Limasawa paper was allowed. The participants passed a formal resolution affirming the Limasawa hypothesis but called for further study and research, a call that was forthwith forgotten; no further research was ever done.

Hubris: Tempting The Gods?

Armed with this unanimous affirmation by the best and the brightest of the historiographical community, Imelda Marcos had a magnificent steel and concrete church built in east Limasawa, in honor of the first mass, an ambitious testimony to chimera at a location that is traceable to an over-active imagination. The entire diplomatic corps, the Catholic hierarchy, and the Martial Law bigwigs were in attendance. Air force jets flew over the shrine to signify the occasion's soaring intentions. It was an act of hubris. In 1984 just a few months after its inauguration, the proud structure was totally devastated by typhoon. It remains in ruin. No one ever thought to ask if this was God's way of telling them something. East Limasawa is a lee shore, exposed to the Northeast monsoon and to at least 7 devastating typhoons yearly. Magellan could not and would never have anchored here.

Procrustean Modus Operandi

The notion Limasawa is Mazaua rests on the argument Pigafetta's latitude 9° 40' N is common to both. This view was reinforced by the way the question of Mazaua's identity was framed—the fallacy of the false dichotomous question. This dichotomy seeks to prove the Leyte isle is Mazaua by the simple exclusion of Butúan. And the next steps are merely fitting facts to the conclusion.

By happenstance, the other eyewitness account that surfaced after Pigafetta's was Francisco Albo in Navarette's *Colección*...whose latitude, thanks to an amanuensis error, was

the same as Pigafetta's 9° 40' N. Since it is accepted fact that Albo's *roteiro* is the most navigationally reliable, his latitude therefore is seen to validate the Limasawa notion. I shall explain the fallacy of the Pigafetta latitude argument later. At this point I shall merely point out that Albo's real latitude cannot be 9° 40' N but 9° 20' N which is found in the British Museum copy of the Albo account as read by Stanley (Albo**b** 225), Lagoa (P. 88) and Denucé (P. 309).

Information on distances, tracks, direction, etc. all can be and have been manipulated to fit Limasawa. Even an odd description in Pigafetta, that clearly does not fit Limasawa, was forced fit into the Procrustean mold. After the Cebu massacre, the fleet found itself in Mindanao, in Chippit, today's Quipit, Zamboanga. Pigafetta declares, "That [Chippit] part of the island is one and the same land with Butúan and Calaghan, and lies toward Bohol, and borders on Mazaua." (Pigafetta**f** 95) Another translation puts it thus: "This part of the island is of a piece with Butúan, and Calaghan, and overlooks Bohol, and shares a boundary with Mazana." (Pigafetta**h** 85) Stanley's translation is no less precise: "This part of the island called Chippit is the same land as Butúan and Calaghan, it passes above Bohol, and borders on Massava." (Pigafetta**g** 108) It must be pointed out that the translators—Skelton, Paige, and Stanley—all identify Mazaua as Limasawa—yet it is hardly possible to view Mindanao as having a common boundary with Limasawa.

The difficulty of fitting this to Limasawa was not so formidable that a new translation cannot solve. So it will not be interpreted as suggesting Mazaua belongs to Mindanao, one historiographer retranslated Pigafetta. Said the intrepid writer, "The translation of the text should most probably read: 'That part of the island belongs to the same land as Butúan and Calagan, it stretches out past Bohol [=seen from Quipit, Zamboanga and including the headland of Surigao/Calagan] and is not far from Mazaua.'" (Schreurs 74) This is the same author who invented a non-existent Republic Act No. 2733 that proclaims Butúan as site of the first mass. (Schreurs 44)

Indeed, if one were to list down the many inventions the Mazaua debate has produced, from both sides of the contending camps, one is justified to call for an inventors workshop. Here is one sentence supposedly from Albo that contains two inventions: “Rounding the southern tip of the latter, [Panaón] they anchored off the eastern shore of a small island called Mazzaua.” (Bernad 28) What Albo really said was, “...we coasted it, [Seilani=today’s Panaón] and went to W.S.W., to a small inhabited island called Mazaba.” Nowhere does Albo say they rounded Panaón, and the notion of an east anchorage is an invention of Murillo that runs smack against nature. As I pointed out earlier it puts the fleet on a lee shore. Here is another product of an active imagination, the same one who produced the full text of a non-existent law: “One wonders how in March 1521 the Magellan fleet could have been able to ‘move their ships to the *other* side of the island’ as Pigafetta tells us.” (Schreurs 55) What Pigafetta said was: “In the afternoon we went in the ships [and anchored] near the dwellings of the king.” (Pigafettae 111) The main point for a circumnavigation of Mazaua was to compel the Butúanon adversaries to realize the impossibility of Butúan being Mazaua since going around Mazaua would require the fleet going around Mindanao. Why argue on Butúan when it was clearly a transcription error? The Pigafetta statement if viewed against the map of Mazaua (**Fig. 1**) would suggest the fleet moved nearer to the village of the Mazauans which faces a cove. The *naos* berthed in a more protected more secure anchorage.

This brings us to the last point about the dichotomous question. The either-or approach puts the discussion right away on an adversarial plane. This causes participants to shed off objectivity, historiography becomes partisan polemics, truth suffers. The search for truth becomes the hunt for the adversary’s weak points. Indeed, the discussion would degenerate to such depths that in March 1998 the National Historical Institute itself would deliberately foist a false picture of the Mazaua episode. The NHI in its “Resolution” after almost two years of investigation—by willfully ignoring or dismissing evidence contrary to

Limasawa—turns truth on its head, altering Colín’s innocent mistake into a lie. Why NHI would do such a sorry thing, is hard to fathom. But it exposes the weakness and invalidity of the present process of peer review where NHI, despite absence of Magellan scholars and navigation historians in its ranks, would presume to judge on an issue beyond its competence. This process is open to corruption, as shown by its handling of the Mazaua controversy. The secrecy surrounding its investigation violates the nature of modern historiography which is open, transparent, precise and detailed in explaining how a particular argument or conclusion is arrived at.

The Mazaua proceedings were done in complete secrecy, the suppression and/or distortion of evidence and argument was unconscionably resorted to, arbitrary decisions were done without explanation, outright stupidities such as anchoring wherever Magellan wished were let slip unhampered by due regard to established knowledge. Up to today, NHI refuses to make public what transpired in its discussions of December 17, 1996. If its proceedings were attended by integrity, rigid rules of discovery of fact and truth, complete honesty I see no reason why NHI will not make public what it did.

Ginés de Mafra, Beyond Procrustes

One of the most grotesque acts of the NHI was to dismiss the Mafra account. During its first formal deliberation, on December 17, 1997, the NHI panel that undertook the Mazaua inquiry accepted Mafra’s authenticity. I have this on the authority of two eyewitnesses, the secretary of the panel, Prof. August de Viana and Asst. Dir. Emelita V. Almosara, who both attended all deliberations and who cannot possibly benefit in any way by lying to me. It really had no choice. In the hands of the panel was a photocopy of the account from the Museo Naval, Madrid copy of Mafra’s book. (There are three copies in the Philippines, as far as I have seen, one is in the Lopez Museum, another in the University of the Philippines, and the third at Ateneo de Manila University.) Attached to this were photocopies of what we might call Mafra historiography, everything written about Mafra, the man, and his

account. This literature included writings by Henry Harisse, J.T. Medina, Juan Gil, Samuel Eliot Morison, Tim Joyner, Martin J. Noone, Gregorio Zaide, Donald D. Brand, Charles McKew Parr, William H. Scott, etc. In the face of overwhelming testimony attesting to Mafra's authenticity, the panel—composed of persons without any pretensions to being Magellan scholars or navigation historians—had to bow to expert opinion.

In its final March 1998 report, however, the panel dismissed Mafra. The NHI calls Mafra an “alleged primary source(s)” (NHI 6) and thereafter completely ignores it. It gave no reason or explanation. It simply, arbitrarily brushes it aside.

By this act NHI was able to arrive at conclusions that are falsified by Mafra's account.

One of the ironies of Mazaua is that the man who knows it best is the least known. Yet of all the eyewitnesses who wrote of Mazaua and even possibly of the entire Armada not excluding Magellan himself, the existence of this man, Ginés de Mafra, is the best documented in terms of official records of the Casa de Contratación de las Indias. While the most famous among them, Antonio Pigafetta, is virtually non-existent in so far as official records is concerned; his name in the muster roll is Antonio Lombardo. We assume he is Pigafetta because he comes from Vicenza which belongs to the Italian district of Lombardy; no other member of the crew came from there.

In the case of Mafra, his voluminous records was accumulated in the course of formal hearings on his petition for recovery of his material possessions which were sold by his wife who had assumed Mafra had died during the voyage; she remarried and sold off Mafra's things. (Medina CCCII, Joyner 347) He also joined a second expedition prior to his third and last when he was pilot in the Villalobos fleet. There is no way then to deny his existence and the truth of his having been to Mazaua twice.

The Unknown Ginés de Mafra

Mafra is virtually unknown to Philippine historiographers. Prior to the 1996 inquiry on Mazaua, only Martin J. Noone, SSC, and William H. Scott, an American Protestant mis-

Fleet Can't Reach Limasawa By WSW track

“From here [Homomonhon] we departed and sailed W., and fell in with a large island called Seilani, which is inhabited, and contains gold; we coasted it, and went to W.S.W., to a small inhabited island called Mazaba.”

—Francisco Albo, tr. by Lord Stanley of Alderley

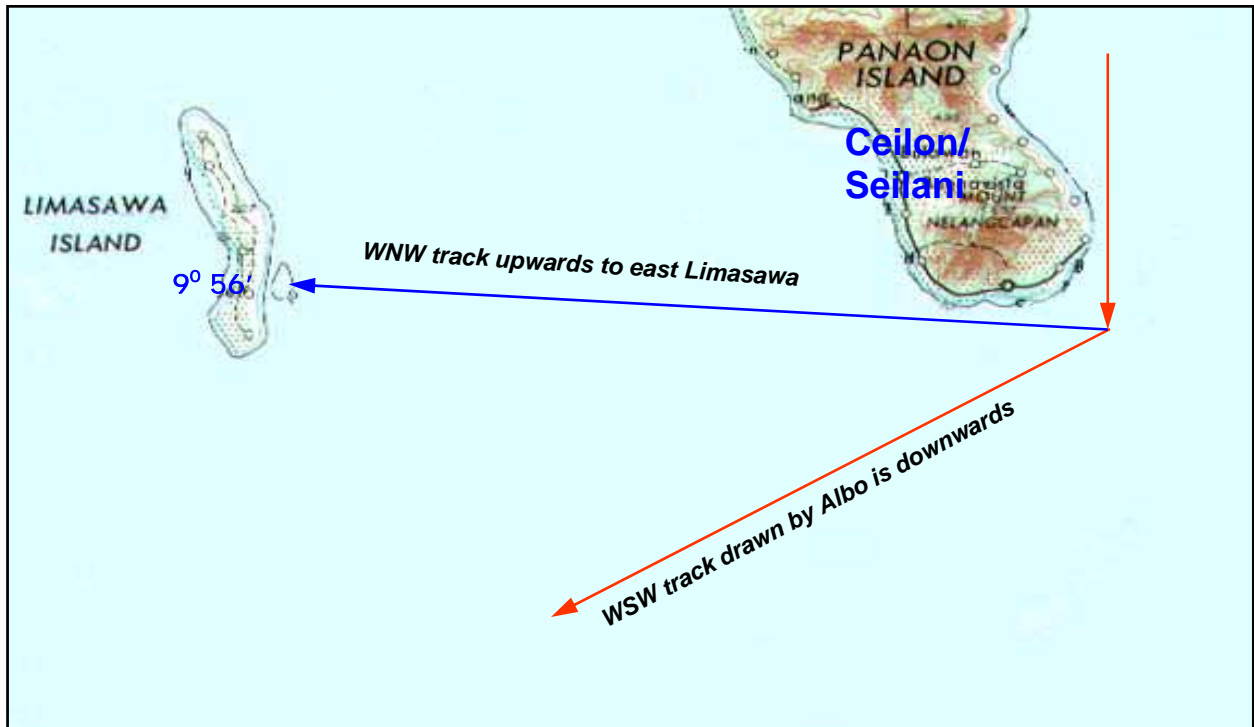


Fig. 18. Correlating latitude, track, location of anchorage. Albo's west southwest (WSW) track from the tip of Ceilon (Panaón) tells us Magellan's fleet was not going *up* to east Limasawa. A WSW track is downward sailing. This tells us the latitude of Mazaua is below that of Limasawa's 9° 56' N. The lowest latitude, 9° N of the Genoese Pilot, coincides with Mafra's testimony Mazaua was 45 n.m. below 1521 Butúan (today's Surigao). A straight WSW sailing will hit Camiguin. However, when darkness fell on the fleet on the night of March 27 and early morning of the 28th, what guided the fleet was not the compass but a fire in the night at the isle of Mazaua.

sionary, had read Mafra and all the other eight eyewitness accounts on Magellan's voyage. Scott is a historiographer's historiographer. One of his unparalleled coups was unmasking in 1968 a historical hoax, the Code of Kalantiaw, perpetrated by a mad genius who produced what looked like a genuine ancient manuscript. For over half a century Filipinos were made to believe they had a pre-colonial written judicial system that governed their social relationship. Tragically, the President of the Philippines up to this writing gives out the Order of Kalantiaw Award to retired justices of the Supreme Court. (Very belatedly, just last month the NHI has pronounced the Code a hoax—36 years after Scott exposed it—and it has advised Malacañang not to give out the honorary Order anymore.)

In any case, Noone and Scott, the Sherlock Holmes of Philippine historiography, completely misses out on Mafra's testimony on Mazaua. This may be because both were firmly convinced of the Limasawa theory, viewing it like all other historians from the either-or framework. Scott, to his credit, was the first to trace the Butúan error to Ramusio. (Scott 163-65) No historiographer who views the issue through the dichotomous question can conceive of any other possibility. It will require a Herculean act of mental revolution for Philippine historiographers to be rid of this pernicious aberration of the mind.

Mafra's account was completed after his second visit to Mazaua in 1543 as pilot in the Villalobos expedition. We know this since he mentions the king of Mazaua showing the Villalobos crew some of the gifts given him by Magellan. (Mafra 198) He and some 90 mates stayed, it would appear from recent documents coming from contemporary Portuguese chroniclers, some four months on his second visit. (A complete itinerary of Mafra's second visit is appended here.) His testimony therefore has more weight than Pigafetta's, Albo's and the Genoese Pilot's since it carries the authority of facts verified many times.

Altered Geography

Mafra's testimony shatters many long-held beliefs about Mazaua. He locates the anchorage west of Mazaua, rendering null the east notion of Murillo. This location is consis-

Track to reach west Limasawa

“From here [Homonhon] we departed and sailed W., and fell in with a large island called Seilani, which is inhabited, and contains gold; we coasted it, and went to W.S.W., to a small inhabited island called Mazaba.”

—Francisco Albo, tr. by Lord Stanley of Alderley

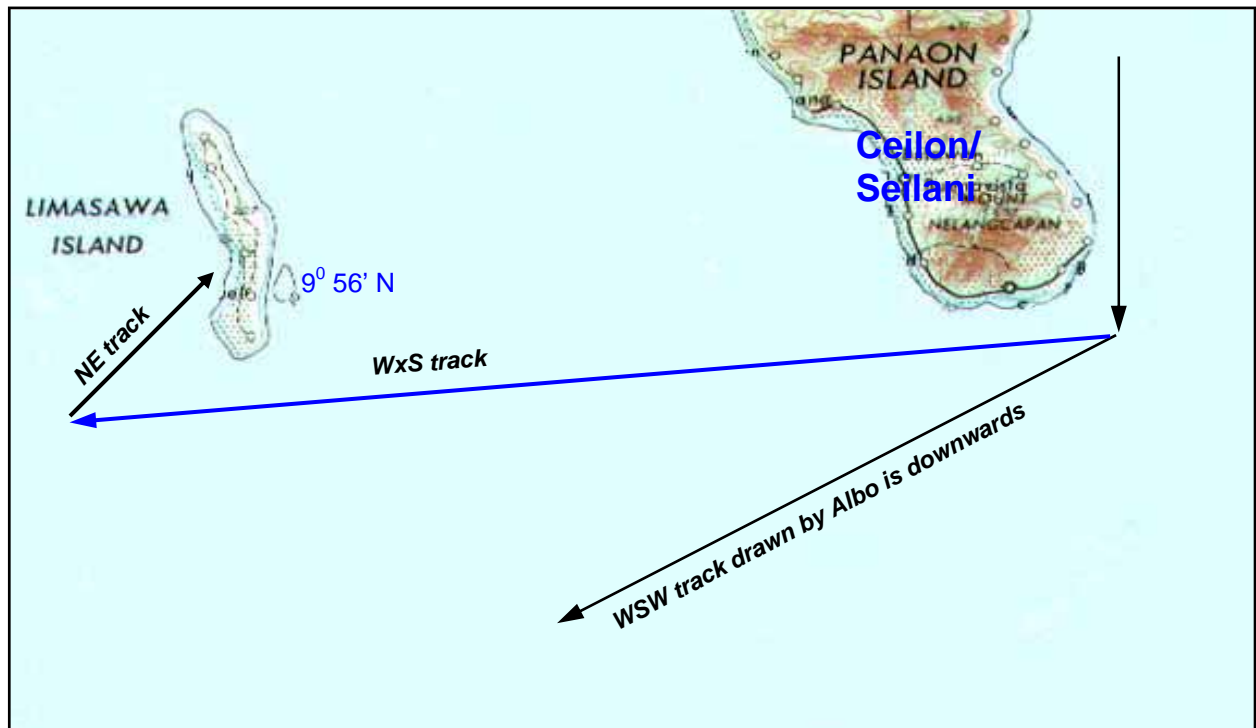


Fig. 19. Magellan's port was west of Mazaua. If Limasawa were Mazaua the above is the track the ships will have to draw to reach west of the isle. Albo stated they took a west southwest course; this won't bring the ships to west of Limasawa. Could they have followed a different course that Albo failed to jot down in his logbook. It's unlikely. Entries in the log must be as precise as possible to guide succeeding expeditions. In a few exceptional cases, such as at nighttime, the compass may not be in use in which case the stars or a light or fire in some distant isle as in the case of the first landfall of Christopher Columbus serve as guide.

MAZAUVA'S SIZE

"...Sailing on his way [Magellan] arrived at another island [Macagua], three or four leagues in circumference."

—Ginés de Mafra

Finding the area of Maçagua at 3 leguas circumference

By Dr. Medel Lim Suan, formerly Director, Decision Support System Office, DENR

Mafra's scale is 3 nautical miles to 1 legua (Spanish scale)

Given: 1 nautical mile = 1,853.25 meters
 9 n. m. = 16,679.25 meters
 $\pi = 3.1416$

Solution: Circumference = $2 \pi r$
 $r = \frac{\text{Circumference}}$

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{2 \pi}{2 (3.1416)} \\ & = \frac{16,679.25 \text{ meters}}{2 (3.1416)} \\ & = 2,654.58 \text{ meters} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} A &= \pi r^2 \\ &= 3.1416 (2,654.58)^2 \\ &= 22,138,211.1 \text{ m}^2 \\ A &= \frac{22,138,211.1 \text{ m}^2}{10,000/\text{ha.}} \end{aligned}$$

$A = 2,213.82$ has. = the area of Maçagua at 3 leguas (9 n.m.)

$A = 3,930$ has. = Maçagua's area at 4 leg. (12 n.m.) circumference

Abbreviations: **A = area**
n.m. = nautical miles
ha. = hectare

Fig. 20. Calculation of Mazauva's area based on Mafra's testimony

tent with the wind pattern in the area. In March-April the prevailing wind is the powerful Northeast monsoon. (**Fig. 7**) Thus the eastern side of islands in the region are lee shores, the western side the protected or weather shores. A west anchorage is closely correlated to the latitude and track the fleet took. Albo states the fleet went west southwest, a downward sailing, from the tip of Seilani (Panaón). (**Fig. 18**) All three latitudes—Pigafetta’s $9^{\circ} 40'$ N, Albo’s $9^{\circ} 20'$ N, and the Genoese Pilot’s 9° N—are below the tip of Panaón, consistent with the downward track. (**Fig. 4**) On the other hand, going to east Limasawa requires a northwest or upward track from the tip of Panaón. This will bring the fleet to a latitude above Mazaua’s three estimated latitudes. Also, let me emphasize the point again, this brings the fleet to an impossible site, a lee shore. This detail is lost on Philippine historiographers. In the case of the National Historical Institute, it challenges the notion, declaring Magellan’s ignorance of this fact made it possible for him to anchor wherever he pleased. A WSW track, needless to say, will not bring the fleet west of Limasawa either. The course for going to west Limasawa is illustrated in **Fig. 19**. No firsthand account describes such a course.

Another radical testimony of Mafra concerns the size of Mazaua. He states it was 3-4 leguas in circumference or 9 to 12 n.m.² Mafra, a Spaniard from Palos, evidently used the Spanish scale of 3 nautical miles to a legua while the Portuguese used 4:1 (Taylor 160). This is based on the fact that the scale if applied to known distances would be almost precise yielding the least deviation. Hitherto, the size of Mazaua was merely described in primary accounts as “small.” (Albo 224) Mazaua’s circumference translates to an area of 2213-3930 hectares. The calculation for this is shown in **Fig. 20**. Limasawa is only 698 hectares. If Mazaua were Limasawa it is not possible to explain how its mass had shrunk by almost 83% yet its shoreline is “steep-to” as *Coast Pilots* describe it. Limasawa’s shoreline should be gently sloping.

Mafra described Magellan’s anchorage as a good west port. On all counts there is no fit with the Limasawa belief: it is located in the east, the shoreline is “steep-to” and there-

WHERE WAS BUTÚAN IN 1521?

Fig. 21

Ginés de Mafra, the only seaman in Magellan's fleet who came back to Mazzaua, wrote that the March 28, 1521 harbor was below Butúan 15 leguas away. More precisely, he said: "Butúan [que] es en la isla de Mindanao que es de la parte del norte della quince leguas de Maçagua." This poses a clash between today's reality and Mafra's geography. Since Mazzaua was definitely an isle, the solution to the problem lies in finding where Butúan was. There are five clues. The first is the Pigafetta map of Butúan (below). The second, Pigafetta's textual description of Butúan. Third is a report by Fr. Diego Sanchez (1595). The fourth the *roteiro* of Pierres Plin, French pilot in Legaspi's expedition of 1565. Fifth, Fr. J. Martinez de Zuñiga's *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas...*(2 vols., 1893).

Pigafetta's Butúan occupies all of northern Mindanao and ends in present-day Quipit, Zamboanga Norte. This geography is corroborated by Fr. Diego Sanchez who describes Butúan as "en frente de leyte." Pierres Plin writes, "We passed between Panay [Panaón] and the *cabeza* of Butúan four leguas from one island to the other." The gap between Panaón and Bilaa Pt., headland of Surigao, is 11 nautical miles which is almost exactly 4 leguas (12 n.m. using Spanish 1:3 scale). Plin also says the distance from Cabalian (recently renamed San Juan) to Butúan was 7 leguas or 28 n.m. Cabalian to Bilaa Pt. is 31 n.m. a difference of only 3 n.m. which is insignificant. It can't be today's Butúan which is 78 n.m. away. Fr. Zuñiga's book (ed. by Retana) confirms this: "Butúan (*Corregimiento de*).-Old name of the province of Caraga. This land was the first which Magellan incorporated to the Spanish Crown." [P. 364] On P.368, it says: "Caraga.-Old province of the island of Mindanao, the first to be incorporated to Spain since it was done so in 1521 by Magellan.-In the beginning it was named *corregimiento** de Butúan, later, Caraga and in 1849 it was called Surigao, a name which it uses at present." [P. 368]

Mafra's reference point is Surigao when he says Mazzaua was below Butúan 15 leguas (42-72 n.m.) away, more precisely its headland today's Bilaa Pt. Below Bilaa some 45 n.m. away would at latitude 9° N. In 2001 a geomorphological study headed by Dr. Ricarte S. Javelosa discovered an isle there which comprises today's geo-political entities of Pinamanulan-



Pigafetta map of Butúan from the Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecke-Yale codex

fore affords no anchorage, and it is on the lee shore.

His fourth testimony is impossible to reconcile with Limasawa. He states Mazaua was south of or below Butúan some 15 leguas or 45 n.m. away. The first impact of this declaration is that it challenges present-day geographical conception of 1521 Butúan.

It is an unexamined assumption that the Butúan being referred to by Pigafetta is the Butúan of today. This is a common error, an insidious kind of historian's fallacy where the historian imposes today's reality as also the same as the past that he/she is examining. Clearly Mafra's Butúan is not present-day Butúan. If it were, Mazaua would be on top of a mountain inside Davao, in Mindanao. But Mazaua was an island surrounded by seawater. Putting Mazaua 15 leguas below present day Butúan would add 45 more miles to the Humunu-Mazaua distance estimated by Pigafetta.

Mafra's geography puts Limasawa in an awkward location; it is 58 n.m. *above* today's Butúan. But while this suggests Limasawa cannot be Mazaua, it opens up another puzzle: Where is the location of Mafra's Butúan. Paradoxically by locating his Butúan, we will almost automatically also know where Mazaua was and where it is today.

Where Then Was Mafra's Butúan in 1521?

So Mafra compels us to adjust to the fact the Butúan described in 16th century European accounts does not square with the modern Butúan we know today. Where was Mafra's Butúan then?

The solution to this is so obvious, no one sees it. It is in Pigafetta's map of Mindanao. **(Fig. 21)** Here Pigafetta draws a Butúan that starts from present-day Surigao and stretches all the way to Quipit in Zamboanga. In Pigafetta's text he variously describes a larger entity: "*That part of the island [Chippit, today's Quipit in Zamboanga del Norte at 08-03.8 N and 122-28.4 E] is one and the same land with Butúan and Calaghan, and lies toward Bohol, and borders on Mazzaua.*" (Pigafettaf 95) It's the second reference where we get a clearer though radical idea of Pigafetta's Butúan: "*These two settlements of Cavit and Subanin (which are in the*

Butúan of 1521



Based on NAMRIA Chart 2535, Edition 3, July 1974

Fig. 22. Altered 16th c geographical conception. Pierres Plin, French pilot in the 1565 Legazpi expedition described his ship's passing between Panae (today's Panaón) and the headland of Butúan. He said there was a distance of 4 leguas (12 n.m.) which is almost exactly the distance of 11 n.m between Binit Pt., Panaón and Bilaa Pt., Surigao. This altered geographical view coincides with Pigafetta's map of Mindanao where Butúan is shown starting from Surigao stretching all the way to Chippit in Zamboanga. This is corroborated by the text of Pigafetta when he states, "In these two settlements of Cavite and Subanin, which are located in the island of Butúan and Caraga..." Further on, Pigafetta states, "Laying our course toward the northeast, and going to a large city called Magindanao, which is located in the island of Butúan and Caraga..."

island of Butúan and Calagan) produce the best cinnamon that can be found.” (Pigafettaf 106)

Cavite and Subanin are in the west coast of Zamboanga del Norte. Cavite is at 8 degrees 41 minutes and 8 seconds N and 123 degrees 26 minutes and 9 seconds E. It's above today's Dapitan. Subanin's identity is not clear. The Subanun's of today are a cultural minority group that includes the ethnolinguistic groups of Sindangan and Tukuran of Zamboanga Norte.

In the first paragraph of Chapter XXXIV, Pigafetta states: *“Laying course to the north-east, and going to a great city named Maingdanao (which is in the island of Butúan and Calagan). . .”* (Pigafettaf 108) There are two ways to interpret Pigafetta's geographical conception here. One is that Maingdanao (which likely embraces all of Cotabato before its political division into today's Maguindanao, North Cotabato, South Cotabato) is part of the entire island of Butúan and Calagan suggesting Pigafetta thought of the whole of Mindanao as the island of “Butúan and Calaghan.” Or that Maingdanao (which is referred to in Spanish documents of the 16th century as “Mindanao” meaning the Muslimized or “Moro” areas of present-day Mindanao embracing the Cotabatos, Lanaos and ending in Davao) is in the same island as “Butúan and Calaghan.”

This radically altered geography is validated by a European account, the *roteiro* of French pilot Pierres Plin (or Plun) of the Legaspi expedition of 1565. Here Plin wrote: “We passed between Panae [today's Panaón] and the cabeza of Butúan four leguas from one island to the other.” (Plin 91) The distance between Panaón and Surigao's headland, Bilaa Pt., is 11 nautical miles, short by just a mile to be exactly 4 leguas. **(Fig. 22)** Bilaa Pt. is in 9^o 49' N and 125^o 26' E. Plin's Butúan cannot be today's Butúan which is 58 n.m. below Panaón. Plin gives us another clue. He states Cabalian (San Juan in today's maps) and Butúan are separated by 7 leguas or 28 n.m. (Plin 91) Cabalian to Surigao is a distance of 31 n.m., just 3 n.m. short. Whereas the distance between San Juan and Butúan City is 78 n.m. Limasawa is therefore above Mafra's Butúan, to be precise 18 n.m. northwest of 1521

Butúan. Mazaua was 45 n.m. below 1521 Butúan.

W.E. Retana confirms this geographical conception in his notes to his edition of Zuñiga. He states: “Butúan (Corregimiento de).—Old name of the province of Caraga. This land was the first which Magellan incorporated to the Spanish Crown.” (Zuñiga 364) And, he adds, “Caraga.—Old province of the island of Mindanao, the first to be incorporated to Spain since it was done so in 1521 by Magellan.—In the beginning it was named corregimiento de Butúan, later, Caraga and in 1849 it was called Surigao, a name which it uses at present.” (Zuñiga 368)

Thus, when the NHI dismissed Mafra, it willfully refused to allow evidence that will compel a correction of the Limasawa belief. And thus, when it affirmed Limasawa is Mazaua it is deceiving the readers by proclaiming what is untrue. Worse, it is deceiving itself.

Latitude Question: Fallacy of the Circular Proof

At this point let us examine the key argument which is the sole basis for the Limasawa hypothesis. This is Pigafetta’s latitude $9^{\circ} 40' N$. Recall that it was the only property used by Amoretti to identify Limasawa as Pigafetta’s Mazaua.

Limasawa advocates argue Pigafetta’s $9^{\circ} 40' N$ is “quite close to” or “corresponds to” Limasawa’s $9^{\circ} 56' N$. (Bernad 28) This idea was reinforced by an amanuensis error showing Navarette’s Albo’s latitude was also $9^{\circ} 40' N$. (CVD 202) Navarette’s Albo was based on the Madrid copy. In the British Museum copy, as read by Stanley, Lagoa and Denucé, Albo’s latitude is $9^{\circ} 20' N$. Which is correct? Logic dictates $9^{\circ} 20' N$ is right. Albo placed Homonhon at $9^{\circ} 2/3^{\circ}$ or $9^{\circ} 40' N$ (Albo 224); from here the fleet traveled three days and 25 leguas (100 n.m.) southwards to Mazaua. *It could not have sailed that long and far down and still remain at $9^{\circ} 40' N$.* This Albo latitude has escaped notice of Philippine historiographers.

One historian based his faith in the correctness of $9^{\circ} 40' N$ being proof of Limasawa being Mazaua on the fact “he [Albo] was certainly the most qualified in this [navigational] regard.” (Schumacher 15) Will this argument backfire now that it turns out Albo’s latitude is

not $9^{\circ} 40' N$ but $9^{\circ} 20' N$? Also, is this proof Limasawa is not Mazaua?

There are several flaws to the Limasawa “corresponds” to Mazaua argument:

1) First, it assumes Pigafetta’s latitude is correct based on the misconception that since his account is the most comprehensive and the best of all the eyewitness accounts this translates as overall authority and credibility in all aspects including navigation. One historian concedes Pigafetta is weak on navigational matters (Schumacher 15) citing as authority Torodash who is actually only quoting Brand. But Schumacher overcomes this by citing Albo’s (wrong) $9^{\circ} 40' N$ latitude. But the issue of who is the better navigational expert is irrelevant when proving which latitude is correct. Nor is it a question of how many navigators also read the same latitude. They could all be wrong. The final arbiter of correctness is if there is an isle in that latitude that answers to all the description of Mazaua. No isle is found in either $9^{\circ} 40' N$ or $9^{\circ} 20' N$ or $9^{\circ} N$. So all three could be wrong. And this is why I describe it as the lost port: It can’t be found in the three latitudes. Or so it seemed until year 2001.

2) More to the point, the notion of “corresponds to” constitute the logical fallacy of the circular proof. This is a trick of reasoning that has waylaid many careful thinkers. We know $9^{\circ} 40' N$ is wrong because no isle exists in that latitude. How much was Pigafetta’s error? To say $9^{\circ} 40' N$ is “near to” $9^{\circ} 56' N$, Limasawa’s latitude, is to assert Pigafetta erred by only 16 nautical miles. That is to assume $9^{\circ} 40' N$ is to be applied to Limasawa. Which is to assume what one is supposed to prove. Another way of putting this is that one has to assume Pigafetta was in Limasawa “shooting the sun” to be able to say he was off by only 16 minutes. That, again, assumes what one is being asked to prove.

3) The possibility the fleet could have gone to $9^{\circ} 56' N$ (Limasawa’s latitude) is tied to the premise the anchorage is east of Mazaua and that it sailed on a northwest track from the tip of Seilani (Panaón). Mafra invalidates the east port notion, while Albo specifically states they took a west southwest track from the tip of Panaón, a downward track that

The 80 N.M. Run From Mazaua To 10° N

“We remained there [Mazaua] seven days, after which we laid our course toward the northwest, passing among five islands, namely, Ceylon, Bohol, Canigao, Baybay, and Gatighan...As it was late we killed one [bat] which resembled chicken in taste...There is a distance of twenty leagues from Mazaua to Gatighan. We set out westward from Gatighan.”

Antonio Pigafetta [tr. by Theodore J. Cachey Jr.]

“We departed from Mazaba and went N., making for the island of Seilani, and afterwards we coasted the said island to the N.W. as far as 10°, and there we saw three islets; and we went to the W.”

Francisco Albo [tr. by Lord Stanley of Alderley]



Fig. 23. Here we see a dramatic illustration that Limasawa can't be Mazaua. The distance traveled from Mazaua to 10° N (from Albo) or to Gatighan (as differently expressed by Pigafetta) was 20 leguas (80 nautical miles). If Limasawa were Mazaua, it takes only 1 legua (4 n.m.) to reach 10° N. To know where Mazaua is, we have to work our way backwards 80 n.m. taking the opposite track of northwest coming towards Gatighan or southeast. Allowing for some margin of error, it is unlikely that the starting point is at 9° 40' N where Pigafetta said Mazaua was located, a distance of only 20 n.m. Or at 9° 20' N, Albo's location for Mazaua, a distance of 40 n.m. The least error, comparatively speaking, for all three latitude readings is 9° N, the Genoese Pilot's latitude, a distance of 60 n.m.

Also, the fleet took all day to traverse the 80-mile distance. Assuming the Armada left with a fresh crew at, say, 7 a.m. (to coincide with the change of watch as practiced in the Age of Discovery) and reached 10° N at 7 p.m. which is not very late at sea, it would have taken all of 13 hours to travel from Mazaua to Gatighan. It's not sensible to think it will take 13 hours to negotiate 4 n.m. from Magallanes, Limasawa at 9° 56' N to sail up to 10° N.

Sailing Beyond Baybay

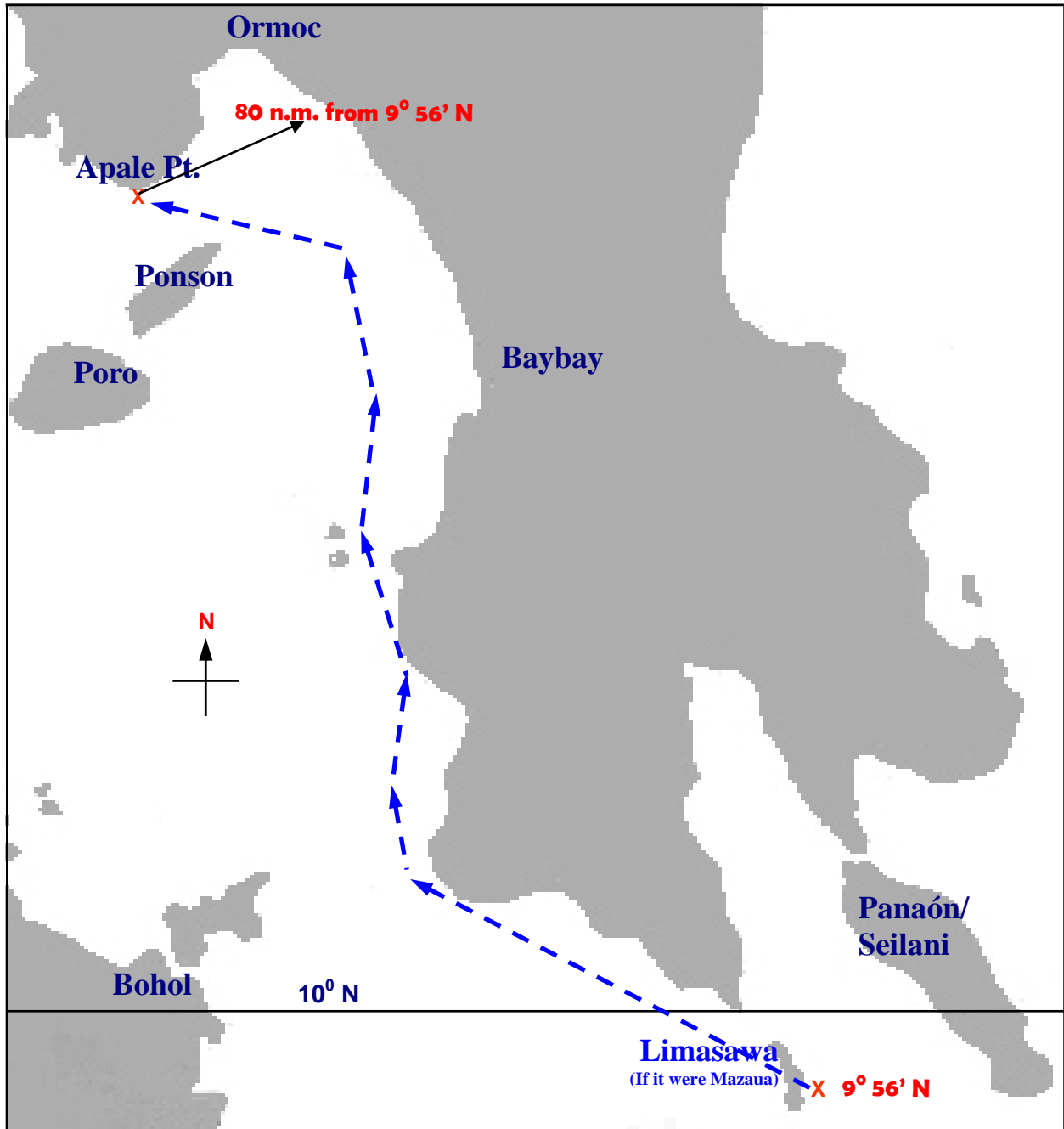


Fig. 24. The 20 leg, or 80 nautical-mile sailing distance from Mazaua to Gatighan at 10° N will bring to Apale Pt. the fleet if Mazaua were Limasawa. The Armada did not go beyond Baybay at which point the three *naos* went westward. This illustration serves to further emphasize the improbability of the Limasawa hypothesis if closely analyzed along navigational aspects.

brings the fleet away from Limasawa.

4) No valid argument has been offered against the Genoese Pilot's 9° N.

Schumacher's peremptory dismissal based on its literary merits or profound lack is silly. The fact that he merely quoted Torodash makes it doubly so. In fact 9° N is the only latitude where an isle exists. But it takes a geomorphologist to see it.

It must be pointed out the three latitudes have something in common. They all point to an isle *below* Limasawa. This fact is consistent with and is correlated to the downward track of the fleet. **(Fig. 18)** The track Albo drew makes the fleet sail downwards from the tip of Panaón at $9^{\circ} 53'$ N. An intrepid analyst foresaw this problem which would nullify the Limasawa theory.

One way to determine if Mazaua were in Limasawa's latitude is through Pigafetta's estimate of the distance traveled by the fleet from Mazaua to Gatighan on its way to Cebu. He estimated it took them 20 leguas or 80 n.m. to reach Gatighan at which point the fleet went west. Albo expresses this same reality differently. He states the fleet went to latitude 10° N at which point they veered west. If Mazaua were Limasawa at $9^{\circ} 56'$ N, it takes only one legua (4 n.m.) not 20 to reach Gatighan. **(Fig. 23)** This dramatically demonstrates Limasawa can't be Mazaua. Viewed another way, from Limasawa the fleet would reach Apale Pt. in $10^{\circ} 52'$ N if it traversed all of 80 n.m. Apale Pt. is way above Baybay, the point where the Armada again veered west to one of the Camotes Islands. There is no isle that answers to the description of Gatighan at Apale Pt. **(Fig. 11)**

More important, according to Albo, the fleet did not sail past Baybay at which point the fleet went west to the Camotes Islands. "We departed from Mazaba and went N., making for the island of Seilani [Panaón], and afterwards coasted the said island to the N.W. as far as 10° , and there we saw three islets [Camotes Islands]; and we went to the W., a matter of 10 leagues, and then we fell in with two islets, and at night we stopped; and on the morrow we went S.W. and $1/4$ S., a matter of 12 leagues, as far as $10 \frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$, and there we en-

tered a channel between two islands, one called Matan...” (Albo**b** 225)

Ignorance Is Bliss?

It must be pointed out that most errors from both camps are not motivated by any depraved desire to deceive. In many cases, these are innocent errors that stem from a blurred understanding of the accounts or a wrong turn of logic. Without exception, participants in the Mazaua debate are not Magellan scholars or navigation historians, so flawed interpretation of technical details stem from failure to completely grasp what is dimly understood. Even Schreurs’ fabrication of a law that is supposed to have proclaimed Butúan as site of the first mass was not so much out of malice as a tormented soul’s obsession to trump his Butúanon parishioners who once turned their backs on the good priest.

There are however clear attempts at deceiving the readers. As I pointed out earlier an advocate of the Butúan hypothesis concocted a gazetteer entry that is non-existent. Another instance is the deliberate suppression of a sentence in the *1945 Coast Pilot* that states there is no anchorage for large ships in Limasawa. (Tan/Medina 35) This act was clearly intended to hide an awkward truth.

Phenomenal Memory of Ginés de Mafra

One of the co-authors of this questionable effort subsequently became head of the National Historical Institute and presided over the deliberations of the panel that came out with its March 1998 “resolution” that can only be described as casuistry.

As earlier related, the panel accepted Mafra’s account. No authority has doubted its veracity. There is only one question raised and this has to do with the assertion of Brand, which a Magellan historiographer repeats (Torodash 320), that Mafra’s account is nothing more than a recollection of the *Tratado* and other papers of Andrés de San Martín, the fleet’s chief pilot-celestial navigator. These were entrusted to Mafra before San Martín’s demise in the massacre in Cebu. Mafra had these in his possession until confiscated from him by the Portuguese just before Mafra was released from a Portuguese prison in 1527.

Brand's assertion is pointless and unproductive and impossible to prove since San Martín's papers were lost in the Lisbon earthquake or in Spain where these were accessed in the 17th century by historians like Herrera. But even granting the charge is valid, it does not vitiate the value of Mafra. In fact this only raises its credibility and authority since Mafra may reflect the common observations of two masterful pilots. Thus, technical details found in Mafra are all the more valuable for their accuracy, based on the acuity of San Andrés' uncommon ability in celestial navigation.

Furthermore, if true Brand's charge is a high commendation of Mafra's ability to recall or eidetic memory and raises even further the account's credibility and reliability.

NHI Style Of Historiography

For nearly two years the NHI panel had in their hands Mafra's account with exhaustive documentation of expert critical analysis of it. In that period members of the panel had all the time to gather contrary opinion to nullify Mafra's testimony. One of NHI's division head was in Madrid during this period and could easily have accessed Mafra in Madrid or Sevilla, if NHI wanted to know the truth. For NHI therefore to dismiss Mafra arbitrarily without reason is not just rank irresponsibility but, worse, opens it to the charge of distorting truth to favor a particular point of view. And by sticking to this lie, *it is foisting a hoax on all of us.*

There are other deliberate suppression of facts and evidence by NHI. In the Yale codex the map of Mazaua shows a cross planted atop a hill located in the western part of the isle. **(Fig. 2)** This cross corroborates the testimony of Mafra that the port was west of Mazaua. The NHI willfully ignores the Yale codex, making pretense it does not exist. It does the same with Ms. fr. 5650 which contains Pigafetta's testimony also found in the Nancy ms. that Mazaua had plenty of gold mines. "In this island there is a great quantity of...gold mines." (Pigafetta *g* 83, *d* 145, *f* 72) Limasawa has no gold mine and is not known to have any before. By willful ignorance NHI did not have to deal with these contrary facts.

The NHI report is replete with fallacious arguments, some so ill-informed as to raise doubts about its worth and if it should be taken seriously at all. Let us take the issue of Limasawa's shoreline being too deep to afford anchorage plus the fact east Limasawa is a lee shore and therefore there is no way for a sailing ship to anchor there. Here is how NHI meets these problems: "The Panel cannot discount the possibility of Limasawa being able to then provide the kind of anchorage necessary for Magellan's ships. Given the reality that Magellan was a first timer/new-comer when he sailed into Philippine shores in 1521, he could not have anticipated up front which island had adequate anchorage for ships. There is logic in assuming that he anchored his fleet in whatever island he touched at..." This is akin to saying if a man did not know of the law of gravity, his ignorance will save him if he jumped from the top of the Taipan Towers at Ortigas. This assertion also contains the fallacy of the hypostatized proof. NHI theorizes Limasawa *could* have been different in 1521, it then reifies this and thus is able to see Magellan anchoring in east Limasawa.

The Casuists at NHI: Purveyors of Fraud

Its handling of the latitude issue gives us an insight into the style of the panel, style defined by Alfred North Whitehead as the "ultimate morality of the mind." The NHI declares: "Parenthetically, while it may be true, as alleged by the pro-Masaoans, that there is no island found exactly at latitude 9 degrees and 40 minutes N, which is the equivalent of Mazaua's latitude as translated by Robertson, such latitude is closer to and approximates Limasawa which is 9 degrees and 55 minutes N than to Masao, Butúan which is 9 degrees and 00 minutes N (according to a Philippine Gazetteer)." (NHI 14) After affirming Pigafetta's latitude refers to Limasawa, it adds: "At this juncture, a word of caution is in order. Admittedly, the navigational instruments used by Magellan's men at that time were primitive and, hence, not accurate in plotting locations at sea, particularly in determining latitude. It is safe to assume then that the delineation of distances and plotting of positions and location made by Pigafetta, Albo, et al. might well have been inaccurate or imprecise, or

that Pigafetta, et al. were not beyond erring in giving latitudes. At best, these delineations should be taken as mere estimates or approximations.” (NHI 14)

David Hackett Fischer calls this zigzag argumentation the fallacy of the double-reversing generalization. “It is a species of bet-hedging, which in an extreme form becomes no interpretation at all but a maze of mutual qualifications or a cunning balance of casuistical contradictions, or a trackless wilderness of pettifogging detail, or a slippery ooze of substantive (as well as semantical) shilly-shally.” (Fischer 125)

Suppressio veri, assertio falsi

It is hard to imagine the dismissal of Mafra, the snub on the Yale codex, Ms. fr. 5650, the London copy of Albo, and the brushing aside of the *Coast Pilot* are due to inattention rather than willful ignorance. The net effect of NHI’s action is to affirm the maxim, “The suppression of truth is an assertion of falsehood.”

What NHI hopes to gain by this is unclear. Its cavalier attitude is counterproductive. Ironically in a left-handed way NHI actually affirms the proposition Limasawa is *not* Mazaua by refusing to face head on the evidence that nullify Limasawa. If Limasawa and Mazaua are identical there should be no reason not to deal with contrary evidence.

What prompted NHI to behave as it did may be difficult to know but not impossible to explain. Its chief officer at the time, who presided over panel discussions, was one of the key ghostwriters of Ferdinand Marcos’ historical works. In the NHI panel, as far as I can tell, he is the only one with ties to the Marcoses. Very likely the patroness of the Limasawa hypothesis had reached out to the panel through the NHI’s chairman.

Even so the corruption of the NHI process of finding the truth directly led to the discovery of an isle that is most likely the lost port of Magellan.

Where Then Is Mazaua Today?

The first clue to Mazaua’s identity is obvious. The word Mazaua is found in only one of over 100 languages and dialects in the archipelago. In Butúanon it means bright or light.

This meaning is clear from the Vicentine diarist's description of the landfall, "...as we had seen a fire on an island [Mazaua] the night before, we anchored near it." The light amidst the blackness of night is reminiscent of Columbus' first landfall; the Genoese mariner claimed he saw a light from the incredible distance of 35 miles.

Butúanon is a dying tongue; the generation after mine no longer speak it. But those who still speak it will invariably use the word "masawa" in the course of the day. When the moon is bright, the Butúanon will say, "Masawa ang buwan." Or, a well-lighted street will be described by the Butúanon as, "Masawa ang dan."

There are two other possible linguistic "remains" of the March 31, 1521 episode. The isle inside Butúan are named Pinamanculan and Bancasi. These are not Butúanon words. Only recently these were found to be Higaonon. "Pinamangkuan" means "the place where a ritual is held" and "bangkasu" means "a table on which an offering to God is placed" or to the Christians, "an altar." Are these authentic linguistic "remains" of the incident of March 31, 1521, the Easter Sunday mass celebrated by Magellan, 50 of his crew, Raia Siau of Mazaua, his brother, Raia Colambu of Butúan, and their peoples? The Butúan and Mazaua peoples evidently spoke Butúanon, the word "masawa" is found only in that language and also Tausug, which in his lexicostatistical study A. Kemp Pallesen (*Culture Contact and Language Convergence*, 1985. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines) dated as derived from Butúanon.

It may be hypothesized, as the Mr. Greg Hontiveros, President of the Butúan Historical and Cultural Foundation Inc. has done, that "pinamangkuan" and "bangkasu" may be mystical testifiers to a religious event on March 31, 1521. Hontiveros' idea, I think, finds support from an observation of the discoverer of the lost isle of Pinamanculan-Bancasi, Dr. Javelosa, who has asserted that the burying of several *balanghais* in Butúan (3 have been dug up, 5 others have been pinpointed but their locations kept secret) was a result of a cataclysmic geomorphological event after 1521. He based this notion on two geologic fault lines

discovered across Butúan. And the fact the thickness of soil above the *balanghais* was too thin as to be the accumulation of over 300 years before 1521. This cataclysm may have resulted in the exodus out of and the emptying of Butúan and Mazaua of its population, and possibly subsequent entry of the Higaonons. Dr. Javelosa's observations, as these were not based on exhaustive study because these were not directly germane to his work, needs to be refined to achieve scientific precision.

So we are left with intriguing questions. Why would Higaonon words, not Butúanon, attest to the incident of March 31, 1521? How did the presumed occupiers know of the event? Was it widely known through word of mouth? Assuming Mazaua was emptied of its natives, how long did the Higaonons reside in it? When did the natives return? Or did they? Are today's supposed "native" residents of Pinamanculan in fact Higaonons rather than Butúanon?

If a line were drawn under every piece of evidence and extended, these will all intersect at 9° N, the Genoese Pilot's latitude. This spot is in Mindanao, to be precise in Butúan where Ramusio, by a mystifying error, located the events of March 28-April 4, 1521. It is 45 n.m. below Mafra's Butúan, today's Surigao. West of this spot is an excellent port, in a weather or protected shore. Here there are two hills, Pinamanculan and Dalindingan, just as there are two shown in Pigafetta's map. Facing the hills are rice fields and gently rolling farms devoted to other crops, e.g., coconuts and fruit trees. The area is famous for gold and gold mines; even today, illegal gold panning is still going on although on a much smaller scale ever since the government tightened the ban against it. Stilt houses are a common sight as flooding is recurrent. Wild game, e.g., deer, wild pig, civet, crocodile, used to be plentiful here.

That Mazaua was in Mindanao, as earlier discussed, was suggested by Pigafetta in his geographical description of Chippit, a port in Zamboanga: "That part of the island [Chippit] is one and the same land with Butúan and Calaghan, and lies toward Bohol, and borders on

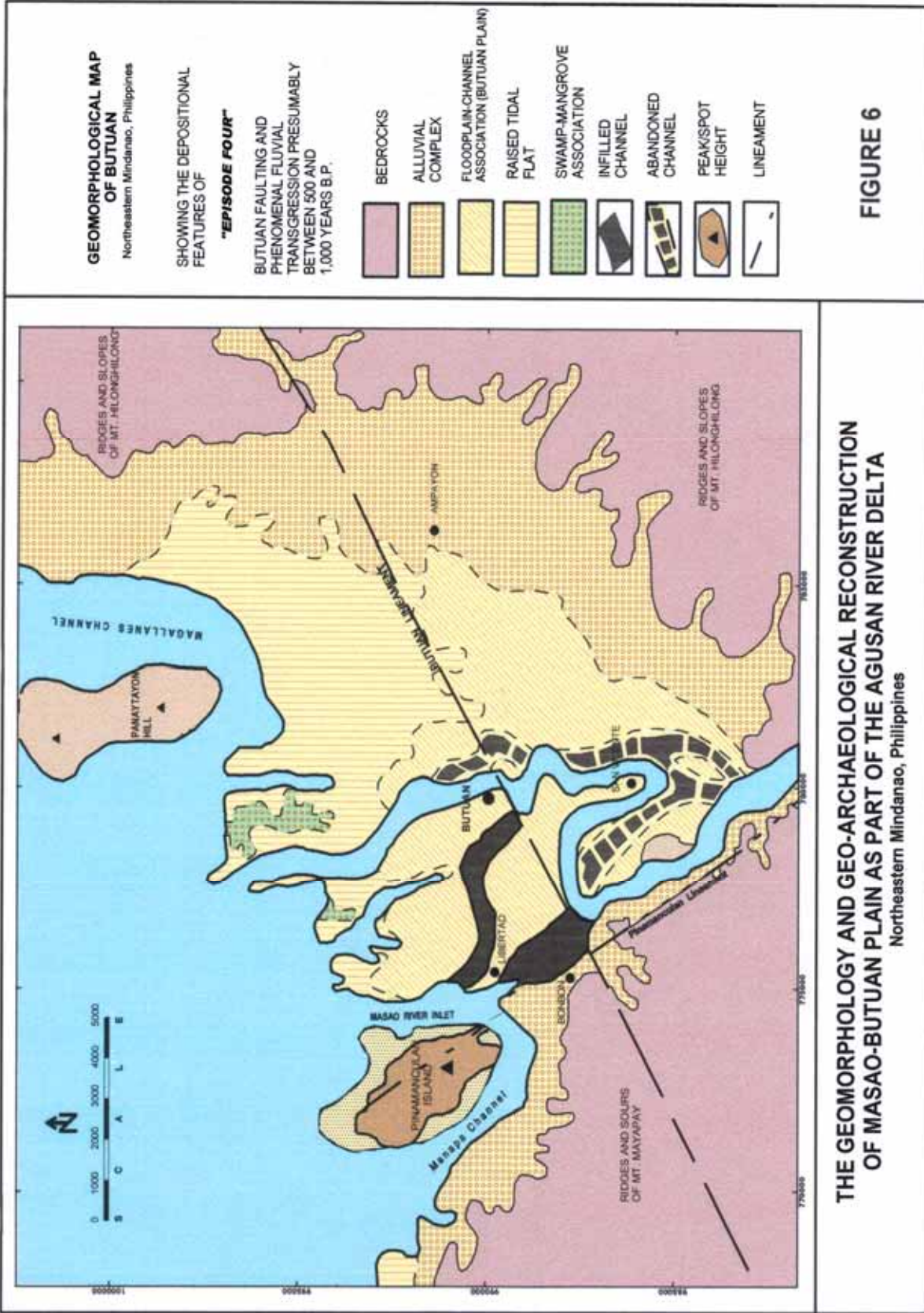


Fig. 25. Pinamanculan 500-1,000 years before the present which encompasses the period of the Spanish entrada. This diagrammatic illustration of the geomorphological discovery of the isle of Pinamanculan at 9° N, the exact latitude of Mazaua.

Mazaua.” (Pigafetta 1995) This correlates positively with Mafra’s location of Mazaua at 45 n.m. below Surigao.

If all the hallmarks of Mazaua are found in 9° N, one big problem looms large to nullify the notion Mazaua was here. No isle can be seen!

Digging For Truth

But where the historiographer and geographer see nothing the archaeologist and geomorphologist may discern a buried fact. Immediately after NHI came out through news reports of its findings in 1998 affirming Limasawa is Mazaua, I wrote a memorandum to then Mayor Democrito Plaza II that in a backhanded way NHI had in fact affirmed the Mazaua=Pinamanculan hypothesis. This was so because it had to turn truth on its head to affirm Limasawa: by corrupting the process of discovering truth. NHI could not invalidate the Pinamanculan hypothesis using the instruments of modern historiography. It had to resort to Jose E. Marco’s equipments to do this. I recommended a geomorphological-archaeological investigation be made to validate the notion an island exists at 9° N. Inside Butúan! This was a leap of faith based on solid historiographical arguments.

After some delay, the earth scientists began work in year 2000-2001 while the nation was convulsed by EDSA 2. In March 2001 Dr. Javelosa found the features in Pinamanculan-Bancasi (**Fig. 25**) that proved to him this was an island.

On May 30, 2001 atop a Pinamanculan hill, at Buud, archaeologist Mary Jane Louise Bolunia of the National Museum decided on a whim to do exploratory diggings. She directed four hired hands to dig where she was standing. The hands suggested they dig left or right of where Louise was. But for no reason, she insisted they dig on the spot where she stood.

Almost near the surface they struck Ming shards, “dating” or hinting the stratum could be within the 15-17th centuries. A little deeper they struck metal. When at last the object was fully cleaned they at first thought it was a baby barbell. Next someone suggested

Fig. 26. Artifacts found at Pinamanculan



Corroded iron objects



Earthenware, Age of Contact design



Blue and White ceramic sherd, ca. Ming Dynasty



Copper ring



Earthenware w/ Age of Contact design



Pestle discoverers. At left, Augusto Radaza, owner of lot



Mystery pestle: European design. Bronze. 16th c.?

Fig. 27. Unique discovery of isle inside Butúan: a geomorphological-archaeological first



Archaeological test digs at Dalingdingan Elem. Sch. The area is near a cove facing Butúan Bay. The archaeologist found a no. of artifacts here where pothunters have dug up metal objects incldg. a metal mortar, bronze bracelets & necklaces, metal basins.



Geologist Abe Gatdula, a geophysics expert, inspects a site before doing georesistivity survey



Geomorphologist Dr. Ricarte S. Javelosa (with hands in pocket) inspects augur drilling as geologist Fred Carpio takes notes.



Massive limestone at Buud, east Pinamanculan. This aside from showing this was an isle also proves a fault passed through this area. Buud is where the pestle was found.



Javelosa inspects soil of Manapa



1-m section of tidal flood deposit

an aspergillum. But they dismissed the idea because the two ends had no perforations. Later it was determined the artifact was a copper pestle. In a Magellan biography (Guillemard 329-336) there is a list of all the official items owned by the monarch carried by the fleet. It had one and only one brass pestle valued at 653 maravedis. Guillemard reckoned 1000 maravedis was worth US\$3 in gold in 1890. A navigation historian said it was worth \$7 in 1974 (Morison 355).

The Philippine Nuclear Research Institute analyzed the artifact under x-ray fluorescence spectrometer. PNRIC analysis established the pestle is bronze thus it's not the fleet's. It has not been dated up to now—Oct. 13, 2004.

The National Geographic Society expressed interest in the artifact which might be crucial to its decision to help Butúan financially in the search for Mazaua. Also, it indicated that once an authentic remains of the Magellan voyage is found it will send its editorial staff to write an article for the magazine. At the J. William Reinhard Antique Mortar and Pestle Collection, The History of Pharmacy Museum, College of Pharmacy, The University of Arizona in the U.S. there is an almost exact copy of the Pinamanculan pestle. It is in the brass section. You can view this at this site www.pharmacy.arizona.edu/museum/collection/mortar/brass.html.

Artifacts dug up by a professional archaeologist prove the place was inhabited before the Spanish *entrada*. Some are of European design and provenience—copper ring, iron objects. Others are earthenware with Age of Contact design, gray ware bowl ca. 15th c., blue and white ceramic sherd ca. Ming Dynasty. Some objects found by pothunters are a metal mortar, metal bracelets, metal basins, iron spear, etc.—that may or may not turn out to be ca. 16th century. There are 15th and 16th century Chinese artifacts. Some of these are shown in **Fig. 26**. Disarticulated bones, pre-Hispanic, have also been dug up.

The metal objects *may*, if dated, be 16th century materials. But that is a thought fathered by a wish. Conceivably these could have been brought by Magellan's men or Ginés

de Mafra and his mates. What is clear is that focused diggings concentrated at the cove will likely yield many more artifacts that may be traced to Magellan or Mafra. All that is needed now is enough funding to support comprehensive archaeological digs at Dalingdingan where the cove is located. It will be recalled the Mazauan village was facing a cove. If Pina-manculan-Bancasi is the isle of Mazaua, the cove promises to be productive.

The Ultimate Irony

The historiography of Mazaua is for all intents and purposes complete. What's left to be said is that the prevailing belief Limasawa is the site of the first mass—which is the framework against which the popular mind seeks to know the identity of Mazaua—is the supreme irony of this puzzle. Limasawa signifies rejection of the very notion and reality of an Easter mass in the archipelago. Fr. Francisco Combés, S.J., inventor of the word Limasawa who linked that isle to the voyage of Magellan, had rejected all his sources that said there was an Easter mass. His sources were:

1. Fr. Francisco Colín, S.J., Spanish missionary writing four years before Combés, who said the mass was celebrated in Butúan where a cross was planted. He named the Leyte isle Dimasaua to specifically denote it is *not* (“di”) the isle (Masaua) where a mass was held on 31 March 1521;
2. Antonio de Herrera, 16th century Spanish crown’s *cronista mayor*, who wrote the Easter mass and cross planting were held at “Mazagua” on 31 March 1521;

His third source was an edition of G.B. Ramusio—the corrupted and irremediable distortion of Antonio Pigafetta’s relation—represented by an English translation by Samuel Purchas. This version mentions no mass being held anywhere in the Philippines on that date. This is the version of the incident Combés adopted. Why did he accept Ramusio’s *no-mass* story? Because Combés thought it was the real eyewitness account of the Vicentine diarist rather than what Colín had accessed.

Like Colín before him, Combés’ operation was, indeed, a valid use of the principle

of immediacy. An eyewitness testimony (Pigafetta to Combés, Ramusio in actuality) had a greater evidentiary value than the secondary accounts of Herrera and Colín.

The notion Limasawa *is* Mazaua was bootlegged into history by Carlo Amoretti. His idea is self-contradictory: Limasawa—which unknown to him embodies rejection of the historical fact and reality of an Easter mass—is the perfect, exact, total equal of Mazaua where the first mass was indeed held. Philippine historiographers who uncritically accepted Amoretti's guess, though it was unsupported by solid proof and reasoned argument, have unknowingly edified the very antithesis of the “first mass” notion.

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GINÉS DE MAFRA: ITINERARY OF 2ND VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINES, 1542-1544

By Vicente C. de Jesús

- 1542** Oct. 25 Fleet, under Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, of 6 ships---*Santiago* (the flagship), *San Jorge*, *San Antonio*, *San Cristobal*, *San Martin*, and *San Juan de Letran*—with almost 400^{Noone} men leave Navidad near Acapulco, New Spain (Mexico) on All Saints' Day,,^{J.T. Medina} Eight priests joined the fleet.^{Noone}
- Nov. 1 Leave Juan Gallego port, in today's prov. of Guerrero, for "the Islands of the West."^{Escalante} (Portuguese authors referred to the Philippines as "the Islands of the East."^{Lach})
- Dec. 25 Heads towards Revilla Gigedo in the west coast of Mexico^{Noone} and sights low islands thought to be Saavedra's "Los Reyes."
- Dec. 26 Anchors at low islands at 9 or 10° N that they named "Islas del Coral."
- 1543 Jan. 6 Sights 10 islets in same latitude and names these "Los Jardines" (*The Gardens*) which Andrew Sharp believes may be Wotje, Kwajalein and Ujelang.
- Jan. 23 Galiot *San Cristobal*, w/ Ginés de Mafra as pilot (he was officially hired as pilot of *San Juan*), gets separated from fleet during a storm before reaching Matalotes (=Babelthuap in Carolinas?^{Howgego} Feis?^{de la Costa}). Ship finds itself in Mazaua.
- Jan. 26 Found a larger island where they were greeted by the natives "¡Buenos días, matalotes!" ("Ahoy, mates!"). Name island "Arrecifes" (=Yap? or Ulithi?) for the reefs.
- Feb. 2 Sights Bonin Is.^{Howgego}
- Feb. 29 Enters Baganga Bay^{Santisteban} (which they rename "Malaga") on east Mindanao. Villalobos names Mindanao "*Caesaria Karoli*" because it was big and "seemed as though the majesty of the name suited it."^{Escalante} Fleet stays 32 days.^{Rebelo} Crew suffers extreme hunger.
- Mar 31 Leave Baganga in search of Mazaua for food.^{Escalante, Rebelo} but because of northerlies Could not make any headway.^{Escalante}
- Ap 14 After 10-day struggle, fleet drops down & reach Sarangani.^{Escalante}
- Jul 2 Date of letter of Portuguese commander Jorge de Castro^{Santisteban} brought by Antonio de Almeida (bastard son of comptroller-general)^{Rebelo} About this time *San Cristobal* arrives from Mazaua bringing food.^{Noone, de la Costa}
- Aug 4 Villalobos dispatches *San Cristobal* to "*Davuio*" & *Maguindanao* to get aid.^{Escalante}
- Aug 7 Antonio de Almeida arrives at Sarangani.^{Escalante} Villalobos responds dated Aug.9,^{Santisteban}
- Aug 27 *San Juan* leaves for Mexico w/ Bernardo de la Torre as captain.^{Escalante & Rebelo}
- Sep 2 Date of second letter of de Castro to Villalobos, handcarried by Belchior Fernandes Correia, who responds on Sept. 12.^{Santisteban}
- Sep 23 Villalobos quits Sarangani. *San Juan* and *San Cristobal* leave for Abuyog, Leyte but fails to make it because of headwinds.^{Santisteban}
- 1544** April Fleet leaves for Ambon (Amboina) in the Moluccas.^{Santisteban}
- May 28 Alvarado is sent to *Felipinas* (name for Leyte, later for whole archipelago) to conduct back certain of the boats sent there when fleet left Sarangani.^{Santisteban}
- 1545** May 16 Ship leaves Tidore for Mexico but return to Tidore Oct. 3, 1545.
- 1546** Feb 18 Fleet leaves Ternate for Amboina, proceeded to Malacca where 117 survivors arrived.
- Mar 10 Portuguese fleet under Fernao de Sosa da Tavora arrive at Amboina. Arrival witnessed By Fr. Francis Xavier de Loyola, S.J.^{Lach}
- Ap 4 Villalobos dies.^{Noone, Santisteban}
- May 17 Survivors leave in ship for Lisbon; 30 elect to remain in Malacca.^{Santisteban} Most likely one of them was Ginés de Mafra, who at 53 was an ancient mariner too old for the rigors of ocean crossing. He hands to a mate his account of the Magellan voyage (Laurence Bergreen in *Over the Edge of the World* gives this incident a contrived Marco Polo-like twist by making it appear Mafra had dictated to an anonymous mate his re-

collection of the circumnavigation which is belied by the mate who states he merely received the papers of Mafra's account of Magellan's voyage which "slept" for centuries in a Madrid archive until found and published in 1920.^{JOYNER} Nothing more is heard of Ma-fra after this.

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Galeota

Often Englished as *galliot*; part of a family of ships that includes the *bergantina*, Spanish and Portuguese "counterpart" to French *galion* and the English *pinnace*, a small craft not more than 40 ft overall with 1 or 2 masts and a bank of oars. She could be brought across "knocked-down" (in pieces) in a ship's hold, and easily assembled on any coast where there was suitable ship timber for planking. She may be classified with the galleys. In that family of ships the biggest in order were the *galeota*, the *fusta*, and the *bergantina*. Galeotas had 14 to 20 benches with one oar and rower to a bench. All these types originated in the Mediterranean. Keith Pickering estimates it could take in 90+ men. Sources: Samuel E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*. New York, p. 550. Alan Hartley, from email exchange w/ VCJ. Hartley maintains a site devoted to navigation terms at <http://www.d.umn.edu/~ahartley/>. Keith Pickering, a member of the Discovery Web list used to maintain an award-winning website on Christopher Columbus. Responding to a query sent to the list, he calculated the size of the crew of Ginés de Mafra's ship based on traditional distribution of crew esp. during the Columbus voyages. Some galleys would cram 215 men to man the oars, see http://brunelleschi.imss.fi.it/michaelofrhodes/life_1401_1406.html