

Mazaua: The First Mass in the Philippines

A Reevaluation of the Evidence Presented by the Limasawa and Masao Advocates

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Introduction

On Easter Sunday, 31 March 1521, the first recorded Christian mass (henceforth to be referred to as the First Mass) in the Philippines was celebrated on an island called Mazaua¹ by members of the Magellan Expedition (1519-1522). In three years' time, the 500th anniversary of the First Mass will be celebrated on Easter Sunday, 4 April 2021, but the exact location of Mazaua is still being hotly contested. Is Mazaua the island of Limasawa in Southern Leyte, or is it Masao, in Butuan City?

This controversy was actually the subject of an investigation by the Gancayco Commission which was convened by the National Historical Institute (NHI) in 1996 in response to the petition of Butuan historians who firmly believe that Masao, Butuan City was the site of the First Mass. The Gancayco Commission was composed of retired Supreme Court Justice Emilio A. Gancayco, Atty. Bartolome C. Fernandez, Jr., and Dr. Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, as members. The ex-officio members were from the NHI: Chair and Executive Director Dr. Samuel K. Tan, Asst. Director Emelita V. Almosara, and Prof. Augusto V. de Viana. The Limasawa advocates (henceforth, the pro-Limasawans) and the Masao advocates (henceforth, the pro-Masaoans) argued their case before the commission and submitted additional documents afterwards. In 1998, after almost two years of deliberation, the NHI issued its decision that favored Limasawa. However, the pro-Masaoans rejected the conclusion of the NHI and continue to challenge it until today.

Statement of the Problem

This paper seeks to review and reevaluate the key arguments and pieces of evidence presented to the Gancayco Commission on four main issues about Mazaua: 1) the identity or land form, 2) the latitude or location, 3) the distances between islands (route of the Magellan Expedition), and 4) the presence of an anchorage in Mazaua. Several side issues and other supportive evidence were also discussed during the investigation.

The Gancayco Commission considered only the primary documentary sources, in this case, the eyewitness accounts of the Magellan Expedition, as the basis for its decision. There were two primary sources which were acceptable to both sides of the controversy: 1) Antonio Pigafetta's account of the expedition that exists in several versions, and 2) Francisco Albo's logbook.

Antonio Pigafetta, a Venetian Italian, was the official chronicler of the Magellan Expedition. He was one of eighteen survivors of the expedition who returned to Spain on the *Victoria* in 1522. He wrote a book entitled *The first voyage around the world*, the original of which is lost. What we have are four known copies. The Ambrosiana codex in Italian as transcribed by Andrea da Mosto is considered the superior transcription. The three other editions in French are: The Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecke-Yale codex (henceforth, the Nancy-Yale codex), MS 5650, and MS 24224. There are now some thirty derivative editions in seven languages of Pigafetta's account, as noted by Butuan historian Vicente de Jesus (2007, 5).

Francisco Albo, who was also one of the eighteen survivors, kept a logbook as the pilot in Magellan's flagship *Trinidad*. This logbook is called *Derrotero* or *Log-book of the voyage of Fernando de Magallanes*. The pro-Masaoans had also wanted the account of Gines de Mafra to be accepted as evidence, but this was not accepted by the Gancayco Commission. What is remarkable about Mafra was that he was able to return to the Philippines with the Villalobos Expedition (1542-1544). However, his account contained in *Libro que trata del descubrimiento y principio del Estrecho que se llama de Magallanes* is questioned by some experts as merely a recollection, since it was written some twenty years after the Magellan Expedition. It is, therefore, considered unreliable.

Methodology

The reevaluation of the key arguments and evidence presented to the Gancayco Commission will use not only Pigafetta and Albo, but also Mafra. Although considered unreliable, we will give Mafra a voice and check his information against the other evidence. Two English translations of Pigafetta's account will be referenced, one by Lord Stanley of Alderley and the other by James Alexander Robertson. Stanley's translation (published in 1874) was based mainly on the Nancy-Yale codex and augmented with the other French editions. Robertson's translation was based on the Mosto Italian edition and published as part of the 55-volume *The Philippine islands 1493-1898* (1903-1909) edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (henceforth, Blair and Robertson, and simply BR). Robertson was aware of and made comments on Stanley's translation. Both translations contain many helpful explanatory endnotes.

We will also include other primary accounts from around the same period as confirmatory evidence about Mazaua. Miguel Lopez de Legazpi headed an expedition (1564-68) from Mexico, duplicating Magellan's first landfall in the Philippines at Zibabao (Ibabao), also identified as Samar. Legazpi, who finally conquered and settled the islands, wrote several accounts. Another credible source is Miguel de Loarca who was described as an early *conquistador* and who had lived in the islands for some time when he wrote a report in 1582 from Arevalo (now Iloilo City). Loarca's report contains a census of the various islands, including the beliefs and practices of the inhabitants. Legazpi and Loarca's accounts help clarify many contentious issues about Mazaua.

The main focus of the present study is to track the most important criteria in determining the identity of Mazaua: Land form, latitude (location), and distance (directions and distances from one island to another). Other contentious issues, such as the presence of goldmines and an anchorage in Mazaua, its size and shape, and the identities of other islands such as Seilani/Ceylon will also be analyzed. The information from Pigafetta and other primary accounts will be evaluated. This will allow the readers to journey in the close reading and analysis of the primary texts and to follow the logic of

the arguments and interpretations of both the pro-Limasawans and the pro-Masaoans. In this way, we can get a fuller understanding of the similarities and differences between Limasawa in Southern Leyte and Masao, Butuan City and match them against Magellan's Mazaua. Through this exchange of analyses, we enrich our knowledge in the continuing search for the truth.

An important tool is a modern map that should scope the areas of Samar, Leyte, Cebu, and northern Mindanao to situate the Pigafetta maps/sketches. A helpful internet tool is Google Maps which can measure distances from one point to another on the map.

Before proceeding to the review of the decision of the Gancayco Commission and the reevaluation of the arguments and evidence of the two opposing sides, let us revisit the centuries-old tradition of the Butuan First Mass.

The Butuan Tradition of the First Mass

Miguel A. Bernad, SJ (1981, 1-35) relates that the Butuan tradition was already so established by the mid-1650s that Francisco Colin, SJ would write in his *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesus* (1663) that Magellan celebrated mass "in the territory of Butuan." This was reinforced by Francisco Combes, SJ in his book *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (1667) who said that Magellan planted a cross on a hillock in Butuan, although Combes did not mention any mass being held there. Other authors who followed the Butuan tradition were the Augustinian Fray Juan de la Concepcion in his 14-volume *Historia general de Philipinas* (1788) and the Augustinian Fray Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga's *Historia de las islas Filipinas* (1803.)

Based on the strength of this centuries-old tradition, the Augustinian parish priest of Butuan built in 1872 a monument commemorating the First Mass on the right bank of the mouth of Agusan River which was then part of Butuan, but which is now part of the town of Magallanes. Many other authors, including Rizal, would echo the Butuan tradition.

However, with the publication of *The Philippine islands 1493-1898* by Blair and Robertson which contains, among others, the original account of Antonio Pigafetta in Italian with an English translation, the Butuan tradition

was swept aside. The Pigafetta account clearly states that the First Mass was held on an island called Mazaua. And since Colin and Combes had also recorded that Magellan went to Dimasawa or Limasawa, as distinguished from Butuan, it naturally followed that Mazaua was Limasawa, the name of an island south of Leyte.

Bernad says that actually, Pablo Pastells, SJ was the first to state that “Magellan did not go to Butuan” in a footnote for Pastells’s own edition of Colin’s *Labor evangelica* that was published in 1903. Pastells had apparently restudied Pigafetta and Albo, and realized the error of the Butuan tradition. But the more known Blair and Robertson book was mainly responsible for sounding the death knell of the Butuan tradition since it contains the original text of Pigafetta’s account.

Many local authors had since then adopted the Limasawa view, including early 1900s Filipino scholars such as Dr. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Jayme de Veyra. In 1953, the Philippine Historical Commission affirmed it. This view was legitimized when the Philippine Congress passed Republic Act (RA) 2733 in 1960 that declared Limasawa as the site of the First Mass.

However, the Butuan tradition was revived when, according to de Jesus (2007, 46), an old man named Generoso Copin wrote in 1965 a brief history of Butuan in Visayan in which he said that he had heard his parents and other old folks talk about Magellan’s visit to Butuan. This excited Butuan historians and scholars who dug up as much evidence as they could to support their claim. It so happened that three or four kilometers south of the mouth of Agusan River there is a village called Masao. The battleground shifted. It was no longer between Butuan and Limasawa. It was now between Masao, Butuan City and Limasawa, Southern Leyte. Which of the two sites is Magellan’s Mazaua?

Armed with technical details like “latitude, tides, currents, winds, etc.,” the Butuanons mounted their challenge to the Limasawa orthodoxy in various fora beginning in the 1970s. Their cause was strengthened with the discovery of an ancient *balangay* boat in Butuan in 1976, followed by more archaeological finds in the mid-1980s. Pigafetta mentioned the large *balanghais* boats while he was in Mazaua, so the Butuan historians linked Mazaua to Masao, a delta barangay in Butuan. In 1977 the Butuan City Historical Committee published

a book entitled *The controversial first mass, Limasawa, Leyte or Masao, Butuan*. In 1995, Rep. Charito Plaza of Butuan filed a bill to declare Masao, Butuan City as the site of the First Mass. In 1996, the NHI finally responded to the clamor of the Butuan historians by convening the Gancayco Commission which investigated the controversy. It took the commission two years to study the case before it arrived at a decision in favor of Limasawa.

The NHI Resolution of 1998

These are the key points of the 1998 NHI resolution on the Mazaua controversy based on the findings of the Gancayco Commission:

Landform. Pigafetta clearly states that Mazaua was a small island. Albo also calls Mazaba (Mazaua) a small island. All Pigafetta editions agree on this point. The pro-Limasawans and pro-Masaoans do not contest this. But while Limasawa is clearly an island, Masao is not. It is a coastal village attached to the mainland in Butuan City. To get out of this difficulty, the pro-Masaoans argued that in 1521, Masao was an island, but that over time, it became fused to the mainland. The Panel rejected this explanation.

Location. Pigafetta states that the location of Mazaua was at latitude *noue gradi e dui terse*. Robertson's translation is at latitude "nine and two-thirds degrees." The pro-Limasawans had no problem with this translation, but the pro-Masaoans declared the translation as erroneous. They insisted that the correct translation should be "nine degrees and two-third minutes." Without going into technical details, Robertson's translation would mean that Limasawa, rather than Masao, would more or less fit the location of Mazaua. If, on the other hand, the translation of the pro-Masaoans is followed, then Masao would more or less fit the location of Mazaua.

The panel favored the argument that the term "two-thirds" refers to degrees and not minutes, based on the principle of *noscitur a sociis* (the meaning of an unclear word may be known from accompanying words). The word "two-thirds" can only mean degrees, because the word "degrees" accompanies the word "two-thirds." Had Pigafetta wanted to mean "minutes," he would have said so.

Albo's location for Suluan was $9\frac{2}{3}^0$ north latitude and in 189^0 longitude from the meridian. His location for Mazaba (Mazaua) was $9\frac{1}{3}^0$ north latitude. These figures contradict Pigafetta's record, as Pigafetta had Mazaua at $9\frac{2}{3}^0$ north latitude. Experts agree that the scribe who copied Albo's account committed an error. As already noted, the manuscripts that are available to us now were copied from the original documents by scribes or copyists who could make errors in copying. At any rate, neither the pro-Limasawans nor the pro-Masaoans used Albo's latitudinal details to buttress their respective positions.

Route (First Leg: Humunu to Mazaua). Pigafetta states that Magellan's route from Humunu (Homonhon) to Mazaua was west southwest, covering a distance of 25 leguas (leagues). They passed between four small islands, namely Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien before anchoring near a small island called Mazaua.

Albo says that from Gada² [Humunu] they sailed west, and fell in with a large island called Seilani. They coasted the island, going west southwest to a small island called Mazaba. Albo does not mention any island on the way to Mazaba. However, as far as the directions are concerned, Pigafetta and Albo are in agreement. Albo identifies a large island called Seilani to the west of Humunu which they coasted west southwest before reaching Mazaba.

The pro-Masaoans said that the distance between Homonhon and Limasawa is only 16.09 leagues, against Pigafetta's 25 leagues from Humunu to Mazaua. They arrived at this figure by finding the "differences in latitude between Homonhon and Limasawa on one hand, and that between Homonhon and Masao on the other. Then the two distances are compared to 25 leagues in terms of degrees and minutes." The end result of the pro-Masaoan computation is that the "Humunu-Mazaua distance of 25 leagues given by Pigafetta is equivalent to 1 degree and 26 minutes, which matches closely the Homonhon-Masao distance of 1 degree and 34 minutes, rather than the Homonhon-Limasawa distance of only 50 minutes."

The pro-Limasawans, meanwhile, gave a straightforward conversion of 1 league = 6.7 km. The 1 league = 6.7 km conversion was based on Pigafetta's statement that "24 leagues is equal to 100 miles" (BR vol. 33,

67).³ That is, 100 miles x 1.6 km = 160.9 km/24 leagues = 6.7 km. The pro-Limasawans measured the distance between Homonhon and Limasawa and obtained 167 km or 24.9 leagues more or less. This is close to Pigafetta's Humunu-Mazaua distance of 25 leagues. On the other hand, they found that the distance between Homonhon and Masao was 235 km (35.2 leagues), which is longer than Pigafetta's 25 leagues by 10 leagues or 67 km. The directions and distance showed that Limasawa, not Masao, would best fit Mazaua. This explanation was accepted by the panel.

Route (Second Leg: Mazaua to Zubu). Pigafetta states that from Mazaua they went toward the northwest, sailing between five islands, namely, Caylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baybai, and Gatighan. From Mazaua to Gatighan was 20 leagues. From Gatighan they went westward and waited for the king of Mazaua near the three islands of Polo, Ticobon, and Pozon. From Gatighan to Zubu was a distance of 15 leagues. Albo says they went north for the island of Seilani, then coasted the island to the northwest as far as 10⁰, and saw three islets, and they went west for 10 leagues, then fell in with two islets where they stopped for the night. The next morning they went southwest and ¼ south, a distance of 12 leagues, then entered a channel between Matan and Subo. As far as directions from Limasawa to Cebu are concerned, both Pigafetta and Albo are in agreement; however, their measurements of distances vary.

The pro-Masaoans said that Pigafetta's distance from Mazaua to Cebu was 35 leagues (169 mi. or 270 km), but the distance from Limasawa to Cebu is only 80 miles (128 km). Further, modern commercial travel from Masao to Cebu is the same as the distance given by Pigafetta, a total of 35 leagues. On the other hand, the pro-Limasawans argued that Magellan first went from Mazaua to Catighan located some distance off Baybai, Leyte covering 20 leagues, and from there sailed to Cebu covering 15 leagues, or a total of 35 leagues. The pro-Masaoans insisted that Gatighan was Canigao (Canighan) Island located off Matalom, Leyte, making the distance from Limasawa to Catighan only at 6.39 leagues or 42.8 km, instead of 20 leagues or 132 km.

The panel rejected the identification of Catighan with Canigao (Canighan), as they are two distinct islands mentioned by Pigafetta. The panel said that

the route tracked by Pigafetta and Albo from Mazaua to Subu could only be possible from Limasawa to Cebu, not from Masao, Butuan City to Cebu.

Summary of the NHI Resolution

In summary, the NHI stated that Pigafetta was a credible source; that Robertson's translation was "faithful" to the original; that Mazaua was an island that fits the description of Limasawa, while Masao is not an island but a barangay in the delta area of Butuan City of northern Mindanao; that the latitude and position of Mazaua correspond substantially to that of Limasawa; that the distance from Homonhon to Limasawa and the distance from Limasawa to Cebu check with or approximate the distances as computed by Pigafetta from Humunu to Mazaua and from Mazaua to Zubu; that the Magellan Expedition never touched Butuan; and that anchoring in Limasawa was not a problem. In conclusion, the NHI stated that the first-ever Christian Mass on Philippine soil on 31 March 1521 was celebrated on the island of Limasawa south of Leyte.

But the pro-Masaoans were not satisfied with the NHI resolution of 1998. Their most prolific advocate, Vicente de Jesus, raised many criticisms against the NHI. De Jesus was commissioned by the Butuan City Government to research about the First Mass and to argue for Masao at the NHI investigation. His most comprehensive defense of Masao is contained in his 86-page paper entitled "Mazaua: Magellan's lost harbor" which he presented at a seminar on Pacific Maritime History at the Marine Science Institute, University of the Philippines, Quezon City on 13 October 2004, and updated in October 2007.

In this paper, de Jesus (2007, 73) presents a reconstructed map of the mouth of Agusan River ca. 1521, showing an island that was supposedly Mazaua. The reconstructed map was the result of a geomorphological study in 2000-2001 showing that some 500 to 1,000 years before the present (in which the year 1521 CE would fall under), Masao as well as its neighboring Barangay Pinamanculan was once an island. In addition, there's a hill today in Buud that could have been the place where Magellan had planted the cross. Archaeological digs on the site showed a mix of artifacts, including Ming shards and European

objects that date to around the 15th-17th centuries. This is on top of the discovery of the balangay boats in the Butuan area in the 1970s and 1980s.

De Jesus cites the Nancy-Yale codex which describes Mazaua as having “gold mines,” of which Limasawa has none. He also cites Mafra who says that the circumference of Maçagua (Mazaua) was 3 to 4 leagues, and that the settlement of Butuan ca. 1521 was located at the tip of Surigao, not in today’s Agusan River. In his “Table of Correspondence” updated in 2003, he lists thirty-two criteria about Mazaua that fit Masao, Butuan City, with not a single criterion fitting Limasawa (de Jesus 2007, 20).

De Jesus (2007, 76-77) shows a bronze pestle of European design found in the Buud Hill of Pinamanculan. It remains undated as of 2004. If finally dated, say, to around the 16th century, this will strengthen the position of the pro-Masaoans, although they have to show that the pestle was deposited there by Magellan between 28 March and 3 April 1521, and not by subsequent Spanish incursions into the area.

With the continuing opposition of the pro-Masaoans, the NHI held a public forum at the National Museum in 2014, but which de Jesus did not attend. In the forum, the NHI reaffirmed its position that Limasawa is Mazaua and that it was where the First Mass was held (Samson 2014). This position is upheld by the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP). But the pro-Masaoans are not convinced to this day.

A Reevaluation of the Evidence

In reevaluating the evidence, we will take note of the similarities and differences between the accounts of Pigafetta, Albo, and Mafra. We will reference the two English translations of Pigafetta, one by Robertson, which is based on the Italian edition, and the other by Stanley, which is based mainly on the French Nancy-Yale codex. We will cite pertinent passages in the original Italian and French editions with the aid of Google Translate.⁴ We will also use the primary accounts of Legazpi and Loarca as corroborative information. Loarca wrote an account in 1582, a gap of sixty-one years from Magellan’s time. There seems to have been no major geological upheavals,

and, therefore, no major changes in Philippine geography, from the time of Magellan to the time of Loarca. What would have happened though, and did happen, were the changes of the names of some islands and the relocation of some settlements from one area to another. We will pay close attention to the arguments of de Jesus who probably articulates most if not all of the views of the pro-Masaoans in their defense of Masao as the site of the First Mass.

We will begin by recounting the first landfall of Magellan in the Philippines. According to Pigafetta, on 16 March 1521, they came upon an elevated stretch of land called Zamal/Samar. The next day Magellan decided to go ashore on another island where they set up tents for the sick. This island was called Humunu, which Magellan renamed *Acquada da li buoni Segnialli* (the Watering-place of Good Signs). There they met the first natives of the Philippines who were from a neighboring island called Suluan, with whom they had their first exchange of items. From Humunu they went west southwest passing between four islands, namely, Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien, and then they anchored near an island named Mazaua.

Albo has a slightly different version. He says on 16 March 1521, they saw land that trended north and had many shoals near it, so they went south and fell in with another small island and anchored there. The island was called Suluan. The first was named Yunuguan (Guiuan?). Leaving these islands, they went west and anchored in an island very free from shoals called Gada. Then they went west, and fell in with a large island called Seilani. They coasted Seilani, going west southwest, to a small inhabited island called Mazaba.

We observe that Albo does not mention Samar, while Pigafetta does not mention Yunuguan. Pigafetta's Humunu is Albo's Gada. Pigafetta does not mention the large island Seilani, while Albo does not mention the four islands of Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien. Pigafetta calls the small island Mazaua, while Albo calls it Mazaba.

Landform. There is no doubt that Mazaua was an island. All primary sources identify Mazaua as such. That being the case, Limasawa, which is an island, best fits the descriptions by Pigafetta and Albo of Mazaua/Mazaba.

However, the pro-Masaoans showed a reconstructed map proving that Masao was once an island in 1521 but which was later fused to the mainland. Figure 1 shows an island called Pinamanculan in the southern part of the mouth of Agusan River. Pinamanculan Island is bounded to the west by Butuan Bay, to the north by the Masao River Inlet, and to the south by the Manapa Channel. The Masao River Inlet and the Manapa Channel are conjoined to the east, thus totally separating Pinamanculan Island from the mainland. This island is identified by de Jesus as Magellan's Mazaua of 1521. Another island is located in the Magallanes Channel in the northern part of Agusan River marked with the Panaytayan Hill.

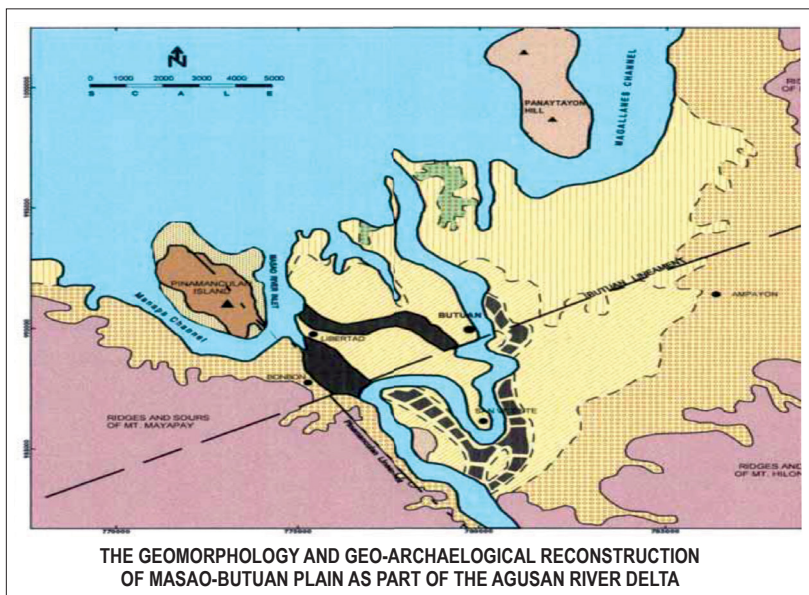


FIGURE 1. A reconstructed Masao (Pinamanculan Island) ca. 1521, identified as Magellan's Mazaua (de Jesus 2007, 73). Note that the island is almost enclosed by a landmass – to the north, east, and south.

Let us grant that Masao was once an island ca. 1521. What we have to do then is compare and contrast this map with Pigafetta's map of Mazaua. Pigafetta drew several maps of the places they went to or passed by. These were reproduced in the Italian edition and in the French Nancy-Yale codex as well as in several other editions. It should be stressed that Pigafetta did not intend to present an accurate map of the islands. He even drew islands that the expedition did not round, like Ceylon and Mindanao. He thought Baibai was an island.⁵ In another sketch, he would draw Bohol and Mactan in the shape of a boomerang, and Cebu somewhat round when it is elongated (Figure 2).



FIGURE 2. Boomerang-shaped Bohol and Mactan, and the dipper-shaped Cebu as drawn by Pigafetta (Pigafetta 1906, 132; see also BR vol. 33, 136.) This sketch tells us that Pigafetta did not know the shape or size of the islands.

But we get the general idea of their relative locations. The maps/sketches were to serve as locational guides for the other expeditions to follow as Magellan was entering *terra incognita* for the first time. We must approach the sketches/maps, therefore, with caution and use our better judgment in interpreting them.

Another caveat: There were copyists who were not too careful with their job. In the Nancy-Yale codex, the sketched islands of Mazaua, Bohol, Ceylon, etc., have scrolls for placenames but are empty (Figure 3). To know the names of these islands, we must look at the maps of the other Pigafetta editions.



FIGURE 3. Map from the Nancy-Yale codex, with scrolls but no placenames. Compare this with the map (Figure 4) from Blair and Robertson vol. 33, 113.

The map from the Mario Pozzi edition of the Ambrosiana and the map of the French MS 24224 show different spellings of Ceilon/Ceylo and Camganit/Canighan (de Jesus 2007, 9-10). This tells us that the maps/sketches were done by different copyists. Incidentally, when looking at a Pigafetta map, we should turn it upside down because the convention then was to draw it with the south above, and the north below, instead of the other way around as is done today.

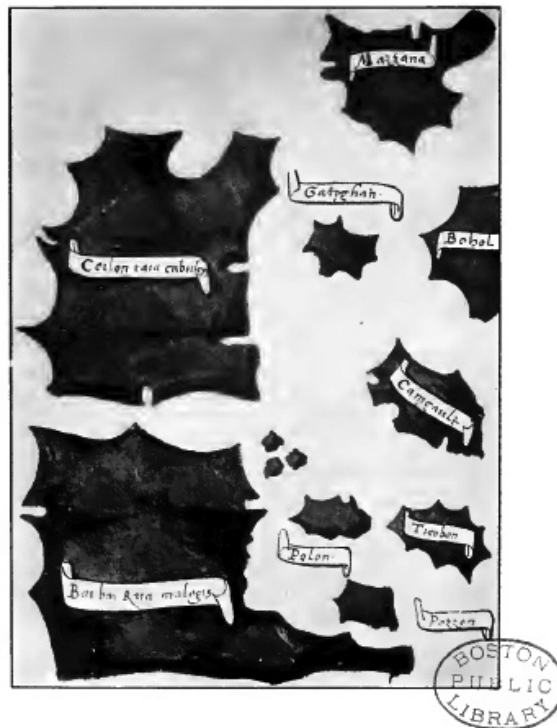


FIGURE 4. A Pigafetta map showing Mazaua in relation to the islands of Ceilon, Baybai, Bohol, Gatighan, and the faraway Camotes Islands (Pigafetta 1906, 108; see also BR vol. 33, 112). This map does not show the delta of Butuan that almost swallowed Masao in the reconstructed map of Butuan as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 4 is a Pigafetta map that is the same as Figure 3 but with placenames. This map shows the island of Mazaua (upper right corner) scoped with the islands of Ceilon, Gatighan, Bohol, Camganit/Canighan, Polon, Ticobon, Pozzon, and Baibai. We note that these islands are to the north of Mazaua. We can surmise how distant Mazaua is to Ceilon (Leyte), Bohol, and the island labeled Gatighan which is erroneous as the island between Bohol and Ceylon (Leyte) is Canighan or Canigao off Matalom, Southern Leyte.

Careful analysts question why the large land mass of Butuan/Calagan (Mindanao) and Pinaytayan Island in the vicinity of Masao/Pinamanculan Island are not shown in the Pigafetta map if indeed Mazaua is Masao. Magellan was instructed to note “the exact location of all lands” (BR vol. 1, 256). Pigafetta should have drawn Mazaua being almost enclosed by a deltaic land mass as shown in the de Jesus reconstructed map (Figure 1). In some Pigafetta maps, he drew a cross and houses on posts on Mazaua Island itself. If Masao/Mazaua was later fused to the mainland that means the channels surrounding Masao/Mazaua were not deep enough or wide enough. How could Pigafetta not include in his map the land mass of Butuan which was maybe just a few kilometers away? Why would Pigafetta instead show Bohol, Leyte, Cebu, and even the Camotes Islands of Polon, Ticobon, and Pozzon which were more than 200 km away?

Even if Masao, Butuan City was an island ca. 1521, it could not be Mazaua because the Mazaua sketch of Pigafetta has no landmass surrounding it as shown in Figure 3 or Figure 4. Pigafetta’s sketch shows many islands to the north of Mazaua, but not Mindanao. We conclude that Magellan did not go to Masao, Butuan City.

Location. The Pigafetta Italian text records the latitude of Mazaua at *noue gradi et dui tersi* (BR vol. 33, 132) which Robertson translates into “nine and two-thirds degree.” The pro-Masaoans objected to the translation by Robertson, saying that the correct translation should be “nine degrees and two-thirds minutes.” The French Nancy-Yale text reads *neuf degrez et deux tiers* which Stanley translates into “nine degrees and two-thirds.”

Following the principle of *noscitur a sociis*, we agree that the word “two-thirds” can only mean “degrees,” because the word “degrees” accompanies the word “two-thirds.”

We can see this logic by way of a parallel construction but using more familiar units of measurement. For example: “Five feet and a half” or “five and a half feet.” The meaning of either phrase is “five feet and one-half foot,” or “five feet and six inches,” one-half foot being six inches. The phrase cannot mean “five feet and one-half inch.” The Robertson translation of the latitude of Mazaua is, therefore, correct, and affirms the position of the pro-Limasawans that the location of Mazaua matches that of Limasawa, not Masao.

Route (Leg one: Humunu to Mazua). Pigafetta says that from Humunu they went toward the west and southwest (*il ponente et garbi* in BR vol. 33, 110) and (*le pennant et garbin* in the Nancy-Yale codex, 64) between four islands namely Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien. Albo says from Gada (Humunu), they sailed west and fell in with a large island called Seilani, and coasted it, going west southwest to a small inhabited island called Mazaba. All these directions are clear: From Humunu, first, they went west, then southwest to reach Mazaba or Mazaua. Seilani or Ceylon, or any other variant spelling is a large island to the west of Humunu/Homonhon. It could only mean today’s Leyte, not Panaon, as de Jesus believes. Leyte is west of Gada/Humunu/Homonhon. Panaon is southwest of Homonhon, as shown on any map.

In arguing that it was impossible for Magellan to reach Limasawa from Homonhon, de Jesus (2007, 53) shows a sketch in which Limasawa is in a west northwest track from Panaon (labelled Ceilon or Seilani), which is opposite of Pigafetta’s west southwest route from Homonhon to Mazaua (Figure 5). However, there are three problems with this tracking by de Jesus, even if we grant that Panaon is Ceilon/Seilani. First, the directional arrows should begin from Homonhon, not Panaon. Second, the direction from Panaon to Limasawa is essentially west; at most it is only slightly northwest, as shown in the sketch. Third, the west southwest (WSW) arrow has no

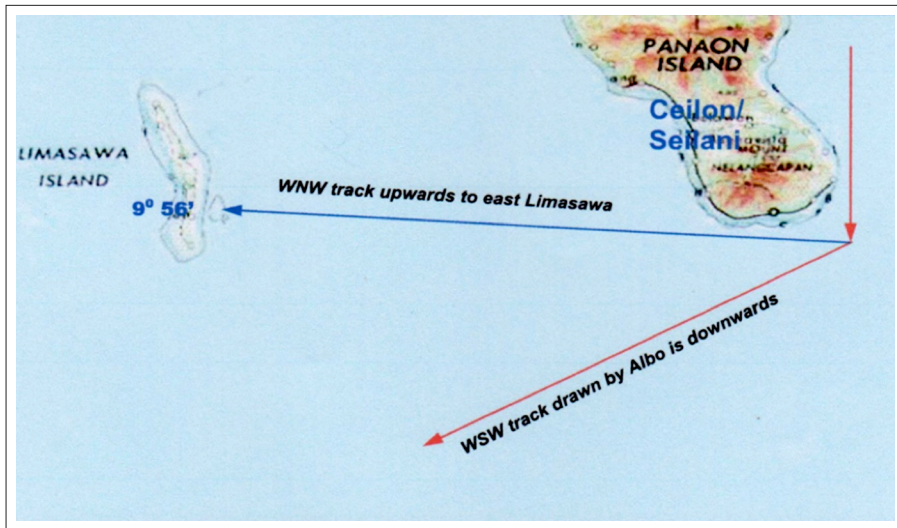


FIGURE 5. This is the tracking made by de Jesus of Albo's account in going west southwest from Gada (Homonhon) to Mazaua, showing that Limasawa could not be Mazaua because it is in the west northwest track. However, this sketch does not prove either that Mazaua is Masao, Butuan City as the WSW arrow beginning at Panaon does not have an endpoint. The readers are invited to follow de Jesus's WSW arrow to see whether, indeed, it will lead them to Masao, Butuan City.

endpoint. If we follow the WSW arrow to its logical end we will be heading towards Camiguin Island, not Masao, Butuan City.

When we look at the map showing all the islands around Leyte and Samar, we can immediately see that going west and southwest from Humunu to Mazaua fits the direction and location of Homonhon and Limasawa. If we go west from Homonhon and strike Seilani (Leyte), and from Seilani we go southwest, we can never reach Masao, Butuan City. To reach Masao, Butuan City from Homonhon, we will have to go south, then a bit southeast, which is opposite of the southwest route taken by Magellan. Even if we grant that Panaon is Seilani, we can never reach Masao, Butuan City by going west and then southwest from Panaon. Neither can we reach Masao, Butuan City by going southwest from Panaon.

The route taken by Magellan from Humunu to Mazaua is the same route going from Homonhon to Limasawa, not to Masao, Butuan City.

Distance (Humunu to Mazaua). According to Pigafetta, whether in the Italian or French edition, the distance from Humunu to Mazaua is 25 leguas (leagues). A pro-Masaoan defined a league according to some complex formula that ends up a league being converted into degrees, rather than in terms of familiar distance measurements like a mile, or a kilometer, or a meter. On the other hand, the pro-Limasawans gave the league a length of 4.16 miles or 6.7 km. In his computation of the size of Mazaua, de Jesus (2007, 56) provides the length of a Spanish league at 3 nautical miles, where each nautical mile is equivalent to 1,853 meters or 1.85 km. In other words, a league (3 nautical mi.) is equivalent to 5.56 km, more or less. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* says that between 1400 CE and 1600 CE, the Spanish *legua nautica* (nautical league) was equal to 5,903 meters (or 5.9 km).

This gives us three lengths of a Spanish league: 6.7 km according to the pro-Limasawans, 5.56 km according to de Jesus, and 5.9 km according to the *Britannica*. The variations are not so wide, with the pro-Limasawans having an extra kilometer. Since we are not after precise measurement, we can pick any of the three lengths as our general guide, on the condition that we apply it consistently whether it was Pigafetta, Albo, Mafra, Legazpi, or Loarca who made the measurement, and regardless of whether they went east, west, north, or south. We presume that by the 1500s the Spaniards would have standardized their use of the league, and would have a common understanding of its length. So, the distance from Humunu to Mazaua is 25 leagues, which is equal to 167.5 km, or 139 km, or 147.5 km, depending on which conversion we want to use. Let us pick de Jesus's length of 139 km representing 25 leagues from Humunu to Mazaua.

A rough measurement of the distance between Homonhon and Masao, Butuan City using any map with its own scale yields around 200 km or 35.9 leagues, which is 10 leagues longer than Pigafetta's 25 leagues. The distance between Homonhon and Limasawa is around 120 km or 22 leagues, 3 leagues shorter than Pigafetta's 25 leagues. Meanwhile, using Google Maps Distance Measure, we find that the distance between Homonhon and Masao, Butuan City is more or less 215 km or 38.6 leagues, as against Pigafetta's 25 leagues.

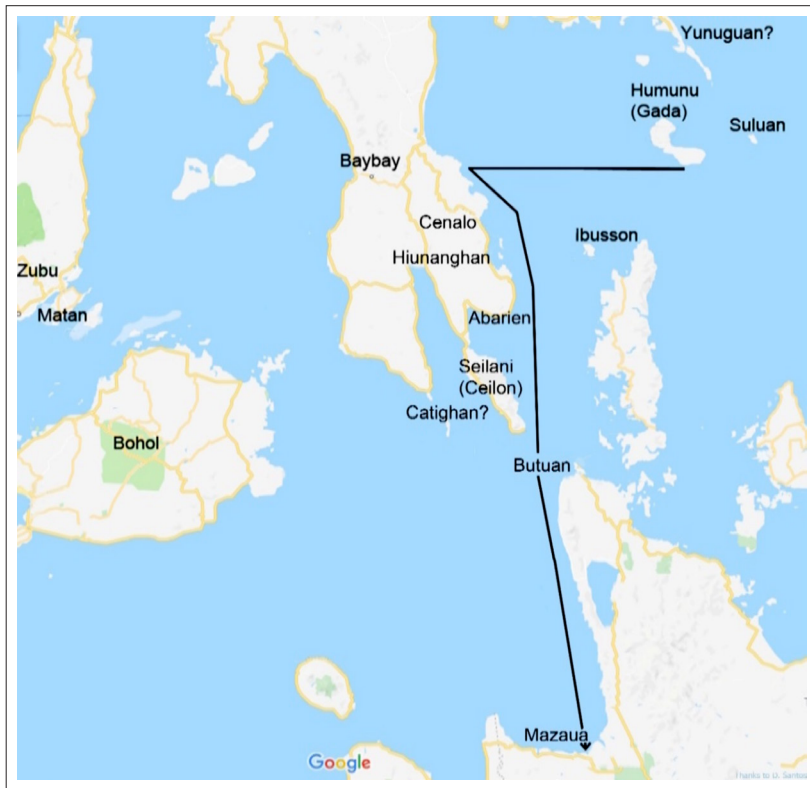


FIGURE 6. The route from Homonhon to Mazaua, identified as Masao, Butuan City by the pro-Masaoans. The tracking shows that the route from Homonhon to Masao, Butuan City goes west and then all the way south, even turning a little southeast to reach Masao at the mouth of Agusan River. This track does not match both Pigafetta and Albo's accounts which say that they went west from Humunu/Gada and then southwest to reach Mazaua/Mazaba.

Note that Butuan is placed at the tip of Surigao, as argued by de Jesus (2007, 60).

The distance between Homonhon and Limasawa is around 125 km or 22.7 leagues, roughly the same as Pigafetta's 25 leagues. In other words, Masao, Butuan City at 215 km (39 leagues) is too far from Homonhon to be the Mazaua of Pigafetta. Limasawa, not Masao, is Magellan's Mazaua.

Figure 6 shows the route taken by Magellan from Homonhon to Mazaua (Masao) as interpreted by the pro-Masaoans. De Jesus (2007, 18) identifies Cenalo as Silago, Hiunanghan as Hinunangan, and Abarien as Cabalian (renamed San

Juan in 1961) on the Leyte mainland, and Seilani/Ceylon as today's Panaon. In this map, the settlement of Butuan is located at the tip of Surigao del Norte, and Mazaua way down at the mouth of Agusan River on the Mindanao mainland (de Jesus 2007, 60, Figure 22). De Jesus is silent on the name of Limasawa in 1521. It could not be Canighan (Canigao) as it is an island located off Matalom, Southern Leyte. It could not be Gatighan because it was mentioned last in the sequence of names after Ceylon, Bohol, Canigao, and Baybay.



FIGURE 7. The route from Homonhon to Limasawa, Southern Leyte according to the pro-Limasawans. The tracking above shows that the route from Homonhon to Limasawa goes west and then southwest to reach Limasawa, Southern Leyte. This track matches both Pigafetta and Albo's accounts which say that they went west from Humunu/Gada and then southwest to reach Mazaua/Mazaba.

Figure 7 shows the route taken by Magellan as interpreted by the pro-Limasawans based on the west southwest track and the distance between Homonhon and Limasawa. According to Albo, they struck Seilani going

west from Homohon, which could only be Leyte. Panaon could not be Seilani as it is southwest of Homonhon. According to Pigafetta, they passed between four islands, namely, Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien before anchoring near Mazaua. It so happens there are actually four islands that we encounter when we coast Leyte southward then going westward to Limasawa. On the starboard (right) side we have San Pedro Island, San Pablo Island (off the town of Hinunangan), and Panaon Island, while on the port (left) side we have Hibuson Island.

We recognize Ibusson because it has resisted name change over the centuries. We propose that Cenalo is now San Pedro Island, Hiunanghan is now San Pablo Island,⁶ and Abarien is now Panaon Island, as it was the last island mentioned before Mazaua, and Panaon is a neighboring island of Mazaua/Limasawa. It is possible that in 1521, a settlement called Abarien was located in Panaon. De Jesus identified Abarien as Cabalian. However, present-day Cabalian/San Juan is on the Leyte mainland, while Abarien was called an island by Pigafetta. Is it possible that the settlement of Cabalian was once located on Panaon Island?

Legazpi stayed around Cabalian in 1565 but he did not mention Panaon in his first account of 1565 (BR vol. 2, 204-205), not even when he went to Maçagua (Mazaua) from Cabalian, which should pass by Panaon. When he asked his officers and others about the advisability of colonizing one of the islands, they chose the “island of Cabalian” for a settlement. Here is an interesting account by the English explorer and navigator William Draper who reconnoitered the Philippines ca. 1759 as part of the English plan to conquer the southern Philippines:⁷

This Island (Leyte) abounds in fine timber for ship building and harbours for their security. Besides Quibot there are several on the west Coast, Palompong, Lagnoag, Tigas, Leyti, etc. Leyte is the only one on the N^o, - Cacaliaton on the E. - and on the S^o, Liloan formed by this Island (Leyte) and Panaon which strait is very famous for being the entrance of Magellan and Legaspi to the Islands; and there are still **remains of some small guardhouses built by Legaspi** (emphasis supplied) (BR vol. 49, 43).

A French pilot of the Legazpi expedition, Pierres Plin (or Plun)⁸ states: “We passed between Panæ [today’s Panaon] and the cabeza of Butuan four

leguas from one island to the other” (cited by de Jesus 2007, 61, from Licuanan and Mira, eds. 1990, 89-92). De Jesus uses this sentence to support his reading of Mafra that places Butuan at the tip of Surigao, not at Agusan River. At any rate, Panaon is definitely not Seilani/Ceylon, as Seilani/Ceylon was a large island, while Panaon is a small island as explained below.

Route (Leg 2: Mazaua to Zubu). Pigafetta, in both the Italian and French editions, says that they went northwest, passing between five islands, namely Caylon, Bohol, Canighan (Canigao), Baybai, and Gatighan. And then from Gatighan they went westward and waited near the three islands of Polo, Ticobon, and Pozon (the Camotes Islands) before proceeding to Zubu. His distance from Mazaua to Gatighan was 20 leagues, and from Gatighan



FIGURE 8. This is the pro-Masaoan interpretation of the Magellan route from Mazaua to Zubu (Cebu), which begins at Masao, Butuan City. Pigafetta’s computation of the Mazaua-Cebu route is 35 leagues or around 195 km, whereas the Masao, Butuan City route to Cebu is around 300 km.

to Zubu, 15 leagues or a total of 35 leagues, which is equivalent to 195 km using de Jesus's league-kilometer conversion.

Albo says that from Mazaba they went north, making for the island of Seilani, coasting it to the northwest as far as 10⁰, and there they saw three islets, then they went west for 10 leagues where they fell in with two islets, stopping there for the night. The following day they went southwest for 12 leagues, and entered the channel between Matan and Subo. Albo's total distance from Mazaba to Cebu was 22 leagues or 122 km.

As far as directions are concerned, both Pigafetta and Albo are in agreement. They went north then west, or southwest. But their distances differ. Pigafetta has a total of 35 leagues (195 km) from Mazaua to Zubu, through Gatighan, while Albo only has a total of 22 leagues (122 km.) Interestingly,

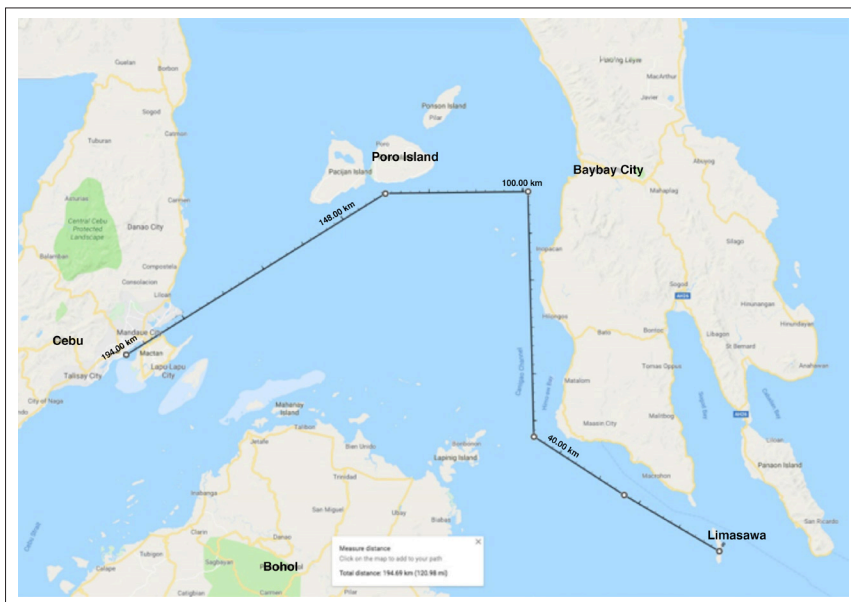


FIGURE 9. This is the pro-Limasawan interpretation of the Magellan route from Mazaua to Zubu (Cebu), which has a distance of 194 km, closely matching Pigafetta's computation of 35 leagues or around 195 km.

Albo mentions again the island of Seilani that was north of Mazaba, the Ceylon of Pigafetta. We recall that from Humunu going west, Albo says they bumped into a large island called Seilani. This is worth emphasizing: Seilani/Ceylon is a large island west of Humunu/Homonhon and north of Mazaua/Mazaba/Limasawa. We check the map, and there is only one island that fits that description: Leyte. De Jesus erred in identifying the large Seilani/Ceylon as the small Panaon Island. Panaon Island is southwest of Homonhon, not west, and it is east of Mazaba/Limasawa, not north.

Albo doesn't mention the names of the other islands, not even Gatighan where, according to Pigafetta, they stopped for the night. However, Albo does mention that between Subo and Seilani, they saw a very high land to the north, called Baibai which had much gold and food.

Keeping in mind the difference in distance recorded by Pigafetta and Albo, let us pick Pigafetta's measurement and apply it to the distance between Limasawa and Cebu and between Masao, Butuan City and Cebu, and then compare the results. Using the map scale method, we find that the Limasawa–Cebu route is 200 km, while the Masao-Cebu route is 300 km. Google Maps Distance Measure from Limasawa to Cebu is 164 km, and from Masao to Cebu is 267 km. Pigafetta's 25 leagues is 195 km, so that gives the Limasawa-Cebu distance a shortage of 31 km, while the Masao-Cebu distance has an overage of 72 km. These distance estimates favor Limasawa over Masao as Magellan's Mazaua (Figure 9).

To summarize, all the critical categories of evidence—landform, location, route, and distance—prove that Limasawa was Magellan's Mazaua. Figure 10 shows the complete route taken by Magellan beginning at Humunu/Gada (Homonhon). From Homonhon they go west, then southwest to reach Mazaua (Limasawa). From Limasawa, they head north, then west or southwest to reach Cebu. Magellan did not go to Masao, Butuan City.



FIGURE 10. Based on Pigafetta and Albo's accounts, this is the likeliest route taken by the Magellan Expedition. On Easter Sunday, 31 March 1521, the Spaniards hold the first recorded mass in Mazaua, today identified as Limasawa.

Issues against Limasawa

All the evidence supports the position of the pro-Limasawans that the First Mass on Easter Sunday, 31 March 1521 was held in Limasawa, not Masao, Butuan City. But there are other issues that need to be resolved about Limasawa, as listed in the "Table of Correspondence" that de Jesus has drawn up. Some of the thirty-two items on the list can no longer be verified, such as the names of the *rajahs* and their wives, their kinship ties, the kind of houses, the exact location of the cross, etc. However, we can resolve the most decisive issues, like the presence of goldmines and anchorage in Limasawa, and its size

and area. Let us reevaluate the evidence of the primary accounts that touch on Mazaua and check them against the reality today.

The absence of goldmines. De Jesus took issue with the NHI for not referencing the Pigafetta French Nancy-Yale codex in which a description of Mazaua, as translated by Stanley, stated that it had “gold mines.” The pro-Masaoans declare that there are no goldmines in Limasawa, so it could not be Mazaua. Let us read the pertinent sentence from Stanley (1984, 83): “In this island (Mazzava/Mazaua) there is a great quantity of dogs, cats, pigs, fowls, and goats, rice, ginger, cocos, figs, oranges, lemons, millet, wax, and gold mines.” This is the sentence of Robertson: “There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs (i.e., bananas), oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo, wax, and a quantity of gold in that island” (BR vol. 33, 133.) A great quantity of “gold mines,” according to Stanley vs. a quantity of gold, according to Robertson.

The original French sentence says: “*En ceste isle ya grande quantite de chiens, de chatz, de pourceaux, de poullard, les et cheures, du rizi, du gingebre, cochi, figues, oranges, lymés, du millet, de la cire, et mines dor*” (Nancy-Yale codex, Chapter 19, 76). The original Italian sentence says: “*In questa izolla sonno cany, gati, porci, galine, capre, rizo, gengero, cochi, figui, naranzi, limoni, miglio, panizo, sorgo, cera, et molto oro*” (BR vol. 33, 132). This is not a case of Stanley’s translation vs. Robertson’s translation. This is a case of Pigafetta in French vs. Pigafetta in Italian. How could Pigafetta equate mines dor (gold mines) with molto oro (much gold)?

In itself, the presence of gold in Limasawa should not be an issue. The Spaniards⁹ saw a lot of gold (molto oro) in Mazaua. Magellan was given a large bar of gold which he refused, pretending not to be interested in gold so as to reduce its value. In fact, he ordered his men not to trade any item for gold. Magellan was told that the island (of Butuan and Calagan) had gold the size of walnuts and eggs that can be found by just sifting the earth. The king’s dishes as well as a portion of his house were reportedly made of gold. The king wore two large golden earrings and had three spots of gold on each tooth, looking as if his teeth were bound with gold.

This molto oro in Limasawa was not necessarily mined in Limasawa but elsewhere, as there was gold not only in Butuan but also in Leyte. A deserter of the Magellan Expedition Martin de Ayamonte (cited in Schreurs 2000, 92) tells of seeing “people wearing much gold,” and being told that “there was so much gold in the island of Cebu.” Albo’s account mentions about gold being gathered in “small pieces like beans and like lentils” (Albo, 225).¹⁰ Legazpi himself reports that “[m]ore or less gold is found in all these islands; it is obtained from the rivers, and in some places, from the mines, which the natives work,” and further, “we see that the land possesses much gold; for all men, whether they be chiefs or not, whether freemen or slaves, extract and sell gold, although in small quantities” (BR vol. 3, 56-57).

So, even slaves had gold. Gold was a trade item in the form of beans and lintels. Limasawa did not have to have mines in order for its people to have much gold in 1521. So, the question is: Why would Pigafetta write in Italian that there was molto oro in Mazua, and in French there was a great quantity of mines dor in Mazaua? Are these the original words of Pigafetta, or is this a case of a copyist’s carelessness? To solve this linguistic puzzle, let us reread the French sentence and its English translation. First observation: It does not include two items, *panicum* and *sorgo*, that are included in the Italian list. Second observation: Pigafetta was very orderly and logical in his sequence of items on the list, first mentioning the animals, then the fruits and grains, then the non-edibles wax and goldmines.

We ask, if Pigafetta had meant there were many goldmines in Mazaua, shouldn’t he have written a separate sentence for it because goldmines are a totally different category from the other items on the list? Goldmines are places where we dig for gold (as distinguished from placers where we gather gold pieces from rivers). How could goldmines (or even placers) be included in the list of small items like dogs, rice, and wax? Did Pigafetta really see this “great quantity of gold mines” in his seven days of stay at Mazaua? Isn’t it more logical for him to see molto oro (much gold), as he wrote in Italian?¹¹

Since the authenticity of the Nancy–Yale codex is not questioned, and that both the French mines dor and Italian oro are actually Pigafetta terms,

then how do we reconcile them? Did Pigafetta commit a serious error of fact? Or is it possible that oro and mines dor were synonymous during that period (1500s)? To solve this problem, we must dig into the historical context of the term mines dor to understand its historical usage. Fortunately, there is a document that explains the meaning of mines dor. We can find it in the protocol of trading during that period which was strictly defined so that the Spanish king would get the biggest share in the business. The pertinent passage comes from the instructions issued by the Royal Audiencia in Mexico to Legazpi before his departure from Mexico in 1565. The trading rules state:

All trading must be at the lowest possible price, and fixed figures shall be established. Native weights must be used. The royal officials are to have entire charge of all trading, of whatever nature, and no individual shall presume, under severe penalties, to trade for himself, for in that case prices will be raised by the natives. These officials shall trade first, merchandise to the value of fifty thousand pesos of gold dust⁴³ for the king, and then ten thousand pesos for private individuals; then another fifty thousand for the king, and so on; but all drugs, spices, and some other articles are the king's alone, and no one may trade for them without his express permission.

And the meaning of gold dust is revealed in footnote 43 which states:

The total cost of the preparation of Legazpi's fleet was 382,468 pesos, 7 tomines, 5 grains of common gold; and 27,400 pesos, 3 tomines, 1 grain of gold dust. These expenses cover the period from December 13, 1557, until March 2, 1565.

The **gold dust** here mentioned (Spanish *oro de minas*) means gold in the form of "gravel" or small nuggets, obtained usually from placers, or the washings of river-sands. The "common" gold (oro comun) is refined gold, or bullion, ready for coinage" (emphasis supplied) (BR vol. 2, 97).

So, oro de minas means gold dust or small gold nuggets, Albo's "beans and lintels." It is to be observed that it is not minas de oro, but oro de minas. We enter the Spanish *oro de minas* in Google Translate and we get the French equivalent of *mine d'or*! The English translation is mine gold, not goldmine. So the Italian molto oro is the same as the French *grande*

quantite de mine d'or.¹² They were interchangeable. However, we should take note that it is mine d'or, without the letter "s" after mine. In the original Nancy-Yale French text, it is mines d'or, with the letter "s" after *mine*. Here is the complication: The English translation of mines d'or is "gold mines!" Mine d'or is oro de minas or mine gold but mines d'or is *minas de oro*, or goldmines! So, actually, Stanley was correct in translating the French mines dor into English as "gold mines," but he created an awkward sentence in lumping goldmines together with dogs, cats, pigs, fowls, and goats, rice, ginger, cocos, figs, oranges, lemons, millet, and wax!

Now that we understand the context of the French term mine d'or as the equivalent of the Spanish oro de minas, we also understand now who the source of the confusion was: The copyist. It could not be Pigafetta, who was a linguist. We recall the copyist who did not put the placenames on the scrolls for the islands in Pigafetta's sketch. This copyist added the letter "s" to mine dor, making it mines d'or. A single letter, but what a geographic upheaval it has created! At any rate, as Pigafetta was Italian, his Italian should take precedence over his French. He said molto oro, "much gold." He did not say many gold mines or in Italian, *molte miniere d'oro*. So, let us correct the copyist's error of the Nancy-Yale codex by removing the guilty letter "s" from mines dor to make it mine dor, and retranslate the French sentence: "In this island (Mazzava/Mazaua) there is a great quantity of dogs, cats, pigs, fowls, and goats, rice, ginger, cocos, figs, oranges, lemons, millet, wax, and gold dust." The sentence now makes sense of the original French, and jibes with the sense of the Italian, which Robertson translates into: "There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs (i.e., bananas), oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo, wax, and a quantity of gold in that island." Molto oro and *grande quantite de mine d'or* mean the same thing. Much gold.¹³

There were no goldmines in Mazaua in 1521, only gold, or mine gold, or gold dust, or gold nuggets (Albo's small gold pieces like beans and lintels) possessed by the people there. Magellan's Mazaua fits Limasawa.

Anchorage in Mazaua. The pro-Masaoans declared that there is no anchorage in Limasawa, citing the *Coast pilot and sailing directions* that Limasawa is “fringed by narrow, steep-to reef, off which the depths are too great to afford anchorage for large vessels” (*Hydrographic* 482, cited in de Jesus 2007, 15). Thus, Magellan could not have anchored in Limasawa, whether on the east coast or on the west coast of the island. Unfortunately, the source cited by de Jesus is too sweeping. It does not show the navigational charts indicating the depths and the types of sea bottom around the coast of Limasawa. It doesn’t show how narrow the “narrow steep-to reef” is that fringes Limasawa so that we can appreciate it. Are there no spots around and near Limasawa’s barangays Lugsongan and Magallanes on the east coast and Triana¹⁴ on the west coast, where sailing ships could anchor?

According to Pigafetta: “On Thursday morning, March twenty-eight, as we had seen a fire on an island, the night before, we anchored near it” (BR vol. 33, 113). How near is near? We are not told. Albo is not helpful either, only saying that they coasted Seilani, “and went WSW, to a small inhabited island called Mazaba.” However, Albo gives a lot of anchoring details as they coasted Brazil and passed through the Strait of Magellan. He mentions sounding depths of from 4, 5 up to 80 fathoms (480 ft) as well as spotting bottomless depths. He reports anchoring sites of from 7 fathoms (42 ft) to 18 fathoms (108 ft) (Albo, 213-215). Martin de Uriarte of the Loaysa Expedition (1526) mentions being forced to anchor in five fathoms or 30 ft while passing the same Strait (Markham 1911, 91). Similarly, a US Navy textbook says a sailing ship could anchor at 5 fathoms (Luce 1891, 268.) This was probably for the shallowest allowable anchorage site. Meanwhile, Legazpi was able to anchor in 45 brazas deep (1 braza = 5.48 ft)¹⁵ or 247 ft (BR vol. 23, 142). So, we have an idea that Spanish sailing ships—the caravels and carrack—of the 1500s could anchor at a spot that is 30 to 247 ft deep.

It was not only Magellan who anchored at Mazaua. Villalobos did too, based on Mafra’s account. Legazpi also anchored at Maçagua, although he, too, did not provide anchoring details. But he gave a very important

piece of information. This is the account of Legazpi while at Cavalian/San Juan in Leyte:

This chief, Canutuan, by signs and as best he could, informed me of the names of the islands, of their rulers and the people of importance, and their number. He also promised to take us to the island of Mancagua, which was **eight leagues** from this island (Cavalian) (emphasis supplied.) We set sail with the Indian, and when we reached Maçagua I sent him and three others, who went with him to their village in a canoe, after giving them some clothes. He was quite well satisfied, according to his own words, and became our friends.

This Maçagua, although small, was once a thickly-populated island. The Castilians who anchored there were wont to be kindly received. Now the island is greatly changed from former days, being quite depopulated – for it contains less than twenty Indians; and these few who are left, are so hostile to Castilians, that they did not even wish to see or hear us. From this island we went to another, called Canuguinen (Camiguin) (BR vol. 2, 205).¹⁶

This particular detail from Legazpi's account provides a solid anchor for the pro-Limasawans: Maçagua is eight leagues (44 km) from Cavalian¹⁷ in Leyte. This distance fits Limasawa, as can be seen on any map and through Google Maps. On the other hand, Masao at the mouth of Agusan River is too far away from Cavalian at 144 km (26 leagues, not 8 leagues)! So, Legazpi "set sail with the Indian," and reached Maçagua. There was no problem at all in looking for an anchorage in Limasawa. With the corroborative account of Legazpi, we conclude that in 1521, Magellan anchored near Limasawa. In 1543, Villalobos anchored in Limasawa, in the same way that in 1566, Legazpi also anchored in Limasasa.

More recent developments validate this conclusion. An article by Mercado (2017) debunked the claim of the pro-Masaoans that Limasawa has no anchorage by citing the actual visit twice to Limasawa of the cruise ship *M/S Caledonian Sky* that brought tourists to the island. In fact, more cruise ships, like the *M/S Bremen*, owned by Hapag-Lloyd Cruises of Germany and the *L'Austral*, owned by the Compagnie du Ponant, planned to stopover in

Limasawa (PNA, 5 August 2017). The actual visits of cruise ships in Limasawa further strengthen the evidence that Magellan anchored near Limasawa in 1521. There was and there is an anchorage near and around Limasawa.

The size and area of Mazaua. In Figure 3 and Figure 4, Pigafetta drew Mazaua as a “stingray-shaped, almost circular” island, as described by de Jesus. We know Pigafetta was a linguist, but a poor cartographer, drawing Bohol and Mactan like boomerangs. That should alert us to be cautious about Pigafetta’s sketches and not judge the size of his islands without other details. According to Mafra, the circumference of Maçagua (Mazaua) was 3 to 4 leguas (leagues). Using this figure, de Jesus shows a computation done by an official of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) resulting in an area of 2,224 ha (based on a circumference of 3 leagues) or 3,930 ha (based on a circumference of 4 leagues) for Mazaua. In contrast, Limasawa has an area of 698 ha. In a pictorial comparison, de Jesus shows a worm-shaped Limasawa looking puny beside Pigafetta’s stingray-shaped Mazaua (de Jesus 2007, 6) (Figure 11).

What is curious about this computation is that it is solving a non-problem. What Mafra gave was the circumference of Mazaua at 3 to 4 leagues, that is, from 16.68 to 22.24 km (we recall the de Jesus conversion of 1 league = 5.56 km.) What de Jesus should have done was to measure the circumference of Limasawa to check it against Mafra’s Maçagua circumference. Since de Jesus did not do it, let us do it ourselves. Using Google Maps, we come up with Limasawa’s circumference of 18.98 km, more or less, and dividing it by 5.56 (a league), we get 3.4 leagues. Mafra’s circumference for Mazaua checks with Limasawa. We cannot say that of Masao because there is no Masao Island today.

The computed area of 2,224 ha or 3,930 ha for Mazaua based on its 3-4 leagues circumference with no other information is not convincing. The formula for computing an area requires length and width of the thing being measured. De Jesus relied on Pigafetta’s sketch of Mazaua as “stingray-shaped” and “almost circular” to speculate about its area to match it with



FIGURE 11. De Jesus presented this comparison between today's Limasawa (left) and Pigafetta's sketch of Mazaua/Mazzana (right), arguing that Mazaua could not be Limasawa.

However, Mafra (1545) says that Maçagua/Mazaua's circumference is 3-4 leagues (17-22 km), while Loarca (1582) says Maçagua's circumference is 4 leagues with a width of 1 league (6 km.), which matches Limasawa's shape and size. If we reverse Pigafetta's sketch to actual north-south alignment, we find that Mazzana's western side follows the curve of Limasawa.

the reconstructed Masao/Pinamanculan Island. But as explained, Pigafetta's sketches were not necessarily accurate. Was Mazaua an "almost circular" island or was it a narrow island like Limasawa?

Again, we are fortunate to have a corroborative account about Mazaua and we do not need to speculate. While Mafra is silent on the width of Mazaua, Loarca gives both the circumference and the width. Upon instruction of the governor, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (1580-1583), Loarca wrote a report dated June 1582 comprising eleven chapters, which included, among others, a survey of the known islands, their population, and the *encomenderos*. Here is the pertinent part about Maçagua or Mazaua:

Island of Maçagua. West of the island of Baybay is a small island called Maçagua, about which father Fray Andres de Urbaneta related so many wonders. It is four leagues in circumference and **one league** wide (emphasis supplied); it has about sixty inhabitants, as well as an *encomendero*. The people are poor and wretched, possessing nothing but salt and fish (BR vol. 5, 51-53).

So, the width of Mazaua is one league! It is a narrow island, not “stingray-shaped,” not “almost circular” as drawn by Pigafetta. Mazaua did not have 2,224 ha or 3,930 ha. The best fit for Mazaua is Limasawa, with 698 ha.

Limasawa is a mountainous island, and Magellan chose the summit of the highest mountain to plant the cross so that it could be seen by Spanish ships and the local people could adore it.¹⁸ After planting the cross, they descended through the “cultivated fields” to the balanghai boat.¹⁹ The king of the island asked Magellan for some men to help harvest the rice, and Pigafetta says: “The captain sent him some men, but the kings ate and drank so much that they slept all the day. Some said to excuse them that they were slightly sick. Our men did nothing on that day, but they worked the next two days” (BR vol. 33, 129-131).

The rice harvest in Mazaua. To support their contention that Mazaua was big and had large “cultivated fields,” the pro-Masaoans claimed that Magellan sent 100 men to help harvest the rice, or that some Spaniards helped 100 of the rajah’s men to harvest the rice.²⁰ But there is nothing in the Pigafetta account that mentions 100 men working in the harvest, not in the Robertson translation nor in the Stanley translation. What Robertson simply noted was that “they worked the next two days” after the native kings wasted a day to drinking too much that they got slightly sick and slept all the day.

It should be noted that “the cultivated fields” mentioned by Pigafetta were located on the mountainside. After planting the cross on the summit, according to Pigafetta, “we descended through their cultivated fields, and went to the place where the balanghai was” (BR vol. 33, 129). “Descended through their cultivated fields,” that is, they went down through the cultivated fields on the mountainside. This shows that the Mazauans practiced upland farming where they planted not only rice but also other crops such as millet, sorghum, bananas, oranges, etc.

Actually, the two-day time frame was the counter-request of the Mazaua king when Magellan requested for native pilots to guide him to Cebu. The king volunteered to become the pilot himself, provided that Magellan should “wait two days until he should have his rice harvested, and other

trifles attended to” (BR vol. 33, 129). So, it was not only the rice harvest that the king was worried about, but he also had to have “other trifles attended to.” After all, he would be away for some time to go with Magellan to Cebu. Other reasons for taking two days to finish the harvest could be: The terrain of the cultivated fields on the mountainside hampered work. Perhaps, the men were always drunk. Perhaps, they lacked harvesting tools. Perhaps, they held harvest rituals or celebrations. But certainly it was not because the cultivated fields were large. The fact was, there was little food in Mazaua. Even with this two-day harvest, the Spaniards still wanted to leave Mazaua. When asked why there was so little to eat there, the king replied that he did not live in that place but only visited to see his brother. And which port was the best to get food? They replied: Ceylon, Zubu, and Calaghan (BR vol. 33, 129).

Maçagua, Mazaua, Limasawa. We note that Loarca locates Maçagua/Mazaua west of the island of Baybay (which in the 1560s to the 1580s was often interchangeable with Leyte). That makes Mazaua very far from Agusan River indeed. Based on location (west of Baybay, according to Loarca), distance (8 leagues from Cavalian, according to Legazpi), and the circumference (3-4 leagues, according to Mafra and Loarca) and width (one league, according to Loarca), we conclude that Mazaua is Limasawa. Masao in Butuan City is not Mazaua.

We also note that Ceylon (Leyte) was identified as one of the ports to get food. De Jesus identified Seilani/Ceylon as Panaon. But Panaon could not have been the best port to get food at that time. This is what Loarca wrote about Panaon in 1582:

Island of Panaon. Between this island (Baybay or Leyte) and that of Mindanao, which lies north and south, is the island of Panaon. It is about eight leagues in circumference, and three leagues wide. The population is poor, and numbers only about a hundred men, who belong to one encomendero (BR vol. 5, 51).

Meanwhile, we also note that by 1582, the name Seilani/Ceylon was no longer used for Leyte. We read somewhere that the word Seilani or Ceylon,

or any other variant spelling is the transliteration of the Cebuano word for Silong, meaning “Below,” in reference to Samar which is Ibabao or “Above.” Overtime, Silong became disused as more important settlements like Baybay and Leyte came to be associated with the island, with Baybay and Leyte becoming interchangeable to refer to Leyte. However, in the long run, the name Leyte prevailed. Ibabao and Samar were also interchangeable during the time of Loarca, but ultimately Samar would also claim the entire island.

By identifying Seilani/Ceylon as Panaon, de Jesus’s geography of 1521 became distorted. He places Butuan at the tip of Surigao del Norte, not in today’s location at the mouth of Agusan River. What he puts at the mouth of Agusan River is Mazaua (now supposedly Masao). Thus, in 1521, Mazaua was in Mindanao below Butuan 15 leguas or 83 km away. His evidence for this altered geography is a quote from Mafra: *Butúan [que] es en la isla de Mindanao que es de la parte del norte della quince leguas de Maçagua*.²¹ Google has this translation: “Butúan [que] is on the island of Mindanao which is from the northern part of the fifteen leagues of Maçagua.” Even with this garbled translation, we get the sense of what de Jesus is asserting: In 1521, Mazaua was in Mindanao, 15 leagues south of Butuan which was then located in Surigao.

Schreurs was doubtful about de Jesus’s Mafra quote and sought the original Mafra text. His translation reads:

From this chief of Maçagua, Magellan had heard that in a region named Butuan, located in the northern part of the island of Mindanao, which is 15 leagues away from Maçagua, there was much gold to be found, and that from other places people came to obtain it together with other kinds of merchandise.²²

In this translation, we clearly understand that Butuan is located in the northern part of Mindanao. It does not tell us the location of Maçagua, except that it is 15 leagues or 83 km away from Butuan. This distance is more or less the distance between Limasawa and Butuan. Unfortunately, Schreurs did not provide the original Mafra text so that the reader can make his own translation and conclusion. The internet does not yield the specific Mafra

text, either. It was a good thing that de Jesus mentioned that Ateneo de Manila University has a Mafra copy, and after a long search,²³ this is what the original Mafra text states:

Por este senhor de Macagua soube Magalhães que numa provincia chamada Butuan, situada na parte norte da ilha de Mindanao, a qual dista quinze leguas de Macagua, havia grande quantidade de ouro, e que doutras partes vinham ali so para o carregar, com algumas mercadorias.²⁴

Let us note the difference between de Jesus's Mafra quote and the Ateneo Mafra text. In the de Jesus quote, the phrase "que es de la parte del norte" is placed after Mindanao, while in the Ateneo text, the phrase "situada na parte norte da ilha de Mindanao" is placed after Butuan.

Below is the unedited Google translation of the Ateneo Mafra text:

For this lord of Macagua, Magalhathes knew that in a province called Butuan, in the northern part of the island of Mindanao, which is fifteen leagues from Macagua, there was a great deal of gold, and that other parts came only to carry it with some merchandise.²⁵

In the Ateneo Mafra text as well as in the Google translation, we note that the locational phrase "in the northern part of the island of Mindanao" refers to Butuan, not Mazaua. This is similar to Schreurs's translation. The original Mafra text clearly indicates that Butuan is located in northern Mindanao, 15 leagues away from Maçagua. If we substitute Limasawa for Maçagua, everything falls into place. But because de Jesus wants to show that Mazaua was in Mindanao, and since Mafra says that it was 15 leagues away from Butuan, then de Jesus is forced to put Butuan at the tip of Surigao in 1521.

All primary sources from the 1500s to the 1600s associate the settlement of Butuan with Butuan River (it was not yet called Agusan River). The settlement of Butuan and Butuan River were inseparable. In the "Account of encomiendas" in 1591, the settlement at the river of Butuan was listed as an encomienda of Doña Luisa de Loarca (widow or daughter of Miguel de Loarca?) who collected 1,200 tributes out of 4,800 persons. Masagua or Mazaua was lumped with Payta in Ibabao (Samar) under the encomendero Christoval Espinosa who collected 137 tributes, representing 548 persons

(BR Vol 8, 127-132.) All these details distinguish Mazaua/Maçagua from Masao of Butuan City. Mazaua is Limasawa.

Summary of Issues against Limasawa

In summary, these are our findings: On the goldmines. There were no goldmines in Mazaua/Limasawa, only gold, mine gold, gold dust, oro de minas, mine d'or. On anchorage. Magellan in 1521, Villalobos in 1542, and Legazpi in 1565 anchored near Mazaua/Limasawa. On size and area. Mazaua/Limasawa is 4 leagues in circumference, one league in width, and has an area of 698 ha. (Masao/Pinamanculan Island might have 3,930 ha, but not Magellan's Mazaua). Mazaua/Limasawa is west of Baybay (Leyte), and is 8 leagues from Cavalian, Leyte, and 25 leagues from Homonhon. Butuan in 1521 was in Butuan River, now called Agusan River, not in Bilaa Point, Surigao del Norte.

As with the Gancayco Commission, our reevaluation of evidence shows that Pigafetta's Mazaua or Albo's Mazaba is Limasawa.

Conclusion

At dawn of 16 March 1521, Magellan and his men struck a high land called Zamal/Samar. They coasted Samar to the north but there were too many shoals and so they turned south. They passed by Yunuguan (Guiuan?) and anchored at Suluan where they met the first Filipinos with whom they exchanged some trifles for food. Then they went west to an island where they set up tents for the sick. The island was called Humunu/Gada/Homonhon, which Magellan renamed Acquada da li buoni Signialli. There they stayed for one week, meeting people who were "painted," that is, tattooed, and who wore gold armlets on their arms; their old chief wore two gold earrings.

From Humunu/Gada/Homonhon, they went west and struck a large island called Seilani/Ceylon/Leyte. They coasted it south and southwest, passing between four small islands, namely Cenalo (San Pedro Island), Hiunanghan

(San Pablo island), Ibusson (Hibuson Island), and Abarien (Panaon Island), before anchoring near a small island called Mazaua, also called Mazaba/Mačagua/Limasawa on 28 March, Thursday. Mazaua/Limasawa's distance from Homonhon was 25 leagues (139 km). There they became friends with two brother kings, one of whom was from the island of Butuan and Calagan where "pieces of gold the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth." The king's teeth were embedded with gold.

On Easter Sunday, 31 March 1521, about fifty Spaniards dressed in their best clothes went down to the shore to celebrate mass with the two kings in attendance. Then Magellan chose the summit of the highest mountain to plant the cross to claim the island for Spain. After planting the cross, they descended through cultivated fields to the place where the balanghai boat was.

They stayed seven days in Limasawa where there were "dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs (i.e., bananas), oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo, wax, and a quantity of gold" or "gold dust," in the form of oro de minas, or mine d'or, or beans and lintels.

Only 4 leagues (67 km) in circumference and one league (5.56) km in width, Mazaua/Mačagua/ Limasawa was a small island, and there was so little to eat there. The Spaniards asked the kings where they could get food, and the kings replied Ceylon (Leyte), Zubu (Cebu), and Calagan (in Mindanao).

When Magellan wanted to depart, the kings asked Magellan for some men to help in the rice harvest, but the kings ate and drank so much they slept the whole day. But they continued the next day, finishing the work in two days. Their work done, Magellan left Limasawa, going northwest, and passing by five islands, namely Ceylon (Leyte), Bohol, Canighan (Canigao), Baybai (in Leyte), and Gatighan (possibly Apit or Himuquitan, one of the Cuatro Islands). From Gatighan they went west, or southwest, finally reaching Cebu.

Postscript: In September 1522, the *Victoria* limped its way to Seville, Spain with eighteen survivors, making history as the first circumnavigation of the world. The survivors were interviewed by Maximilianus Transylvanus who wrote a letter-report to the Archbishop of Salzburg that was published

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Quipit, and Suban(in) are placed on one large island (Mindanao). An island located south of Ceilon (Leyte) and northeast of Butuan (Mindanao) is labeled Mazaba, Pigafetta's Mazaua. Mazaba is surrounded by sea, far from any deltaic land mass. We know that island today by the name of Limasawa, where the first recorded mass in the Philippines was held.

Notes

- ¹ Variant spellings of Mazaua include Mazaba, Maçagua, Maçava, and others. Some spellings may be copyist's errors; other spellings may be issues of transliteration.
- ² Gada refers to Humunu which Magellan called "Acguada da li buoni Segnialli" (BR, vol. 33, 106).
- ³ This has a footnote 120, and it says, "MS. 5,650 reads: 'twenty-five leagues'" (BR vol. 33, 308). We take the pro-Limasawan conversion of 1 league = 6.7 km at face value.
- ⁴ We were warned Google Translate is "sometimes" not accurate, so we welcome improvements of the Google translation used in this article.
- ⁵ Pigafetta also called Birahan Batolach (Batulaki) an island, when in fact it is the tip of Tinaka Point bordering Davao Occidental and Sarangani Province. Helen M. Wallis observed the "common mistake of seeing peninsulas as islands, and bays as straits," when sailors are too far from the site (cited in William A. Lessa (1974) in Francis Drake in Mindanao? *The Journal of Pacific History* 9: 62).
- ⁶ San Pedro Island was most probably named after the *San Pedro*, the flagship or *capitana* of the Legazpi Expedition, and San Pablo after the *San Pablo*, the second ship or *almiranta* of the Legazpi fleet.
- ⁷ This was part of the Seven-Years' War (1756–1763) that pitted England against France, with Spain on the side of France. The English occupied Manila and Cavite for almost two years (1762-1764), but restored them to Spain after a peace treaty.
- ⁸ Pierres Plin was hanged for mutiny by Legazpi (BR vol. 2, 144). Legazpi henceforth required all crewmembers to speak only Spanish.
- ⁹ Magellan's crew was multinational. Magellan himself was Portuguese.
- ¹⁰ "Beans and chickpeas" is Robertson's translation (BR vol. 33, 326).
- ¹¹ Compare this with the description of Cebu (Nancy-Yale, 110): "*En ceste isle (Cebu) on trouve chiens, chatz, ris, millet, gingebre, figues, oranges, lymons, cannes doulces, miel, coches, sucre, chairs de plusieurs sortes, vin de palme, et or.*" English translation: "In this island (Cebu) are found dogs, cats, rice, millet, ginger, figues, oranges, lemons, sugarcane, honey, coconuts, sugar, flesh of many kinds, palm wine, and *gold*." Pigafetta here merely uses the French word *or* for gold.

- ¹² *Mine d'or* would probably be Middle French. The Google translation of “much gold” into Modern French is “beaucoup d’or,” gold dust “poussiere d’or,” and gold nugget “pépité d’or.” In Italian gold dust is “polvere d’oro,” and gold nugget “pépita d’oro.” In a document printed in Barcelona in 1566, oro en polvo is translated into “gold dust” (BR vol. 2, 222-223); another passage says “all their gold is in the form of dust” (BR vol. 2, 229).
- ¹³ This is Mafra’s account about gold in Maçagua: “Magellan noticed that there was gold on that little island because the people were wearing it, and he said that this was a place which he liked.” Peter Schreurs (2000, 94). “The voyage of Fernão de Magalhães: Three little-known eyewitness accounts.”
- ¹⁴ Triana, Limasawa was named after a district in Seville, Spain where the church of Santa Maria de la Victoria de Triana is located, and where Magellan pledged loyalty to Spain. The ship *Victoria*, the lone Magellan ship that returned to Spain, was named after this church in Triana, Seville.
- ¹⁵ A braza is officially 5.48 U.S ft. (1.67 meters) in Spain.
- ¹⁶ The original footnote states, “Apparently the same as Massaua in earlier documents.”
- ¹⁷ The distance from present-day Cavalian (San Juan) in Leyte to Limasawa through Surigao Strait, rounding the southern tip of Panaon Island is more or less 75 km or 13 leagues. From Cavalian through the Panaon Strait (at Liloan) we travel 42 km or 7.5 leagues to reach Limasawa, matching Legazpi’s distance from Cavalian to Macagua at 8 leagues or 45 km. This suggests that Legazpi travelled through Panaon Strait, and did not round the southern tip of Panaon Island to reach Limasawa, as usually thought. After all, Panaon Strait is navigable to large ships, as attested to by the locals. But whether Legazpi went through Panaon Strait or Surigao Strait to Macagua/Mazaua, he could never reach Masao, Butuan City. We reread Draper (BR vol. 49, 43): “Liloan formed by this Island (Leyte) and ***Panaon which strait is very famous for being the entrance of Magellan and Legazpi*** to the Islands” (emphasis supplied). There is a need to rethink the route of Magellan from Homonhon to Limasawa.
- ¹⁸ The real reason for planting the cross on a summit was to make a sign that the land “belonged to the king of Spagnia,” as what they did in San Julian (now Argentina) (BR vol. 33, 67).
- ¹⁹ The balangay boats were not unique to Butuan but were a common sea craft in ancient Philippines. Pigafetta mentions the balanghai of Raia Calanao of Chipit/Quipit/Kipit (in Labason, Zamboanga del Norte) (BR vol. 33, 205).
- ²⁰ The version about the 100 Spaniards helping in the harvest is by Vicente de Jesus in “Doubts about Limasawa mount,” *Mazaua*. February 1996, 4. The version about the 100 rajah’s men is by Fr. Joesilo Amalla as quoted by Erwin Mascariñas in “Butuan historians ask CBCP to resolve first mass controversy in city’s favor” *MindanaoNews*/03 April 2012.
- ²¹ De Jesus 2007, 58. The source of de Jesus is from Mafra of Antonio Blazques y Delgado Aguilera (eds), Madrid, 1920. Those who can access Mafra of Blazques and Delgado Aguilera might like to check pages 179-212 and compare the pertinent Macagua-Butuan section with the Ateneo Mafra (Quezon City) 1986, 218.

- ²² Schreurs 2000, 97.
- ²³ My thanks to Julian de la Cerna, and especially to Aimee Virador and Manny Cagayan, who gave me a photocopy of the pertinent Mafra text from the Ateneo de Manila University Libraries.
- ²⁴ Gines de Mafra. *Livro que trata do descobrimento do estreito de Magalhaes*, Filipiniana Series in Ultramar No. 1. 1986, 218. Presented by Linda Timi Patria B. Wionzek. *Book about the discovery of the Strait of Magellan* by Gines de Mafra found in Fernan de Magelhaes – *a primeira viagem a volta do mundo contada pelos que nela participaram*. Portugal.
- ²⁵ The Ateneo Mafra text was entered as a Portuguese language source in the Google Translate into English.

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