

9 January 2020



Dr. Rene R. Escalante
Chairperson
National Historical Commission of the Philippines
T.M. Kalaw St., Ermita, Manila

Dear Dr. Escalante:

I am formally submitting herewith *The Final Report of the Mojares Panel of the Butuan-Limasawa Controversy on the Location of the 1521 First Easter Mass in the Philippines*, setting forth the conclusions and recommendations of the panel after a review that ran from November 2018 to November 2019. I am submitting the report in my name, as chair of the review panel, and in behalf of the other members of the panel, Dr. Danilo M. Gerona, Dr. Francis M. Navarro, Dr. Carlos Madrid Alvarez-Piner, Fr. Antonio Francisco B. de Castro, S.J., and Dr. Jose Victor Z. Torres.

In the name of the panel, I wish to express our thanks for the support of NHCP and the National Quincentennial Commission and, in particular, its secretariat. We also thank the representatives of the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines and the Association of Church Historians for their presence and contributions in the meetings conducted by the panel.

We thank you and the NHCP for the opportunity to be able to contribute to the review of an important question in Philippine history.

Truly yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Resil B. Mojares".

Dr. Resil B. Mojares
Chairperson
2019 Review Panel on the Issue of the Location of the 1521 First Easter Mass in the Philippines
(called, for convenience of reference, the "Mojares Panel")

**THE FINAL REPORT OF THE MOJARES PANEL
ON THE BUTUAN-LIMASAWA CONTROVERSY
ON THE LOCATION OF THE 1521 FIRST EASTER SUNDAY
MASS IN THE PHILIPPINES**

CONTENTS

PART I	Page
Introduction	3
I. The Mojares Panel	5
II. Historical Background of the Controversy	6
a) The Butuan Tradition	7
b) The Limasawa Tradition	10
III. Government Action	11
a) The Butuan Forum Group Discussion	12
b) The Cebu Meeting	13
c) The Hontiveros Article	14
d) The Tacloban Meeting	14
e) The Manila Meeting	16
PART II - LIMITS AND METHODS	
I. Parameters of the Current Review	17
II. Sources Used	18
III. Site Inspections	20
IV. Navigational Information	21
V. On Other Evidence	22
PART III – ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS	
A. On the Butuan Presentation	22
a.1 The Malvar Presentation	23
a.2 The Atega and Hontiveros Article	23
a.3. On the Accuracy of the Pigafetta Codices and Translations	23
a.4 On Longitude	45
B. Determining Limasawa	52
b.1 Similarities of the Coordinates	54
b.2 Retracing the Magellan Voyage	57
C. Regarding Other Evidences	64
c.1. Location	64
c.2. Other Issues	68
D. On the Limasawa Presentation	70
PART IV – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	

Submission of Report	71
----------------------	----

PART V - APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - A List of the Government-Commissioned Panels Formed to Investigate the First Easter Sunday Mass Controversy	75
--	----

PART VI - PHOTOGRAPHS 76

A. Introduction

On May 8, 2018, President Rodrigo Duterte signed Executive Order 55¹ that began the preparations for the coming 500th year anniversary (Quincentennial) of the Christianization of the Philippines. The celebration was to start in 2019 and end in 2022. The Executive Order included, among its provisions, the following:

WHEREAS, various entities have been proposing to the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) the conduct of certain activities for the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines, *the celebration of the First Mass in the Philippines* (italics supplied), the circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan-Juan Sebastian Elcano for 1519 to 1522, the victory of Lapu-Lapu in the Battle of Mactan, and the events associated, thereto;²

It is in this context that the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) through its Executive Director, NHCP Chair Dr. Rene R. Escalante, reopened the case of a

¹ Executive Order No. 55 “Constituting A Steering Committee for The Commemoration of The Quincentennial of The Arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in The Philippines, The Victory of Lapu-Lapu in The Battle of Mactan, and other Historic Events that Happened from 1519 to 1522” signed May 8, 2018. Amended by Executive Order No. 103, s. 2019.

² Executive Order 55, 2.

controversy in Philippine history---the location of the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines.³

This long-standing issue of the exact location of the Easter Sunday Mass that Fr. Pedro Valderama, chaplain of the expedition, celebrated on 31 March 1521 was discussed and resolved by the National Historical Institute (forerunner of the NHCP) through various fora before a panel of experts in 1980, 1995, and 2008.⁴ All of these panels concluded that the site of the mass was on Limasawa Island in Southern Leyte.

However, some groups (mostly proponents of the Butuan theory) claimed that they were not given ample time to present their position papers before the three panels. Others (both the Butuan and Limasawa proponents) have also indicated that since the last time this issue was discussed, new documents and interpretations have surfaced and need to be included in the narrative of the controversy.

³ Instead of calling the event “First Mass,” the NQC has adopted the use of the term “Easter Sunday Mass” (31 March 1521) to differentiate it from the mass in Bolinao, Pangasinan allegedly celebrated by the Italian-Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone sometime in 1324. More so, it will also eliminate the undocumented masses that Fr. Valderama probably celebrated when they were at sea in the area of Samar. The NQC finds the Easter Day Mass more historically significant because it was documented by Pigafetta, happened on Philippine soil and local residents participated in the event.

⁴ These committees are: the Live-In Workshop on the Site of the First Mass of the Philippines (February 22-25, 1980); the Gancayco Committee headed by former Supreme Court Justice Emilio Gancayco (1995); and the Legarda Committee headed by historian and writer Dr. Benito J. Legarda (2008) (See Appendix 1 for a complete list of the previous panel members and workshop participants on the First Easter Mass controversy)

In the interest of fairness and to further enrich the historical literature about this controversial event, Dr. Escalante decided to reopen the case and give everyone the opportunity to present their previous and latest findings. As stated in the memorandum on the creation of a new panel:

Notwithstanding the possibilities that reopening this controversy may open old wounds or even create new ones, the NHCP and the NQC want everyone to be somber, respectful, and professional. Moreover, all must follow the basic rule of doing historiographical studies, i.e., every assertion must be supported by credible, authentic, and verifiable primary sources. Second, everyone should be guided by the fact that no one has a monopoly on truth and all must be given equal opportunity to articulate his position on this issue. Lastly, we should be prepared to accept the possibility that the NQC may not be able to settle this issue conclusively because of the unavailability and ambiguity of the sources.⁵

I. The Mojares Panel

To help the NQC settle this controversy, a panel of respectable scholars was constituted that will evaluate the position paper/s of the Butuan and Limasawa proponents. The members of the panel are the following:

Chairperson

Dr. Resil B. Mojares

Panel's Historian

National Artist for Literature

Professor Emeritus, University of San Carlos, Cebu City

⁵ Memorandum on the Guidelines for the Deliberation of the Mojares Panel on the 1521 Easter Sunday Mass Celebration, 12 December 2018, 3.

Members**Dr. Danilo M. Gerona**

Panel's Historian

Acting Director, Partido Studies Center

Partido State University, Goa, Camarines Sur

Dr. Francis M. Navarro

Panel's Historian-Paleographer

Assistant Professor, Ateneo de Manila University

Dr. Carlos Madrid Álvarez-Piñer

Panel's Historian

Spanish Pacific Historian

Director of Research of the Micronesia Area Research Center

Fr. Antonio Francisco B. De Castro, S.J.

Panel's CBCP Representative

Guest Professor, Ateneo de Manila University

Dr. Jose Victor Z. Torres

Panel's Secretary General

Panel's Historian and FGD Moderator

Full Professor, De La Salle University-Manila

The selection of the panelists was carefully done to make sure that all disciplines and expertise are represented. None of the panel members came from Butuan, Leyte or Samar, so they can decide based on the merits of the position papers and not on regional or territorial interests. The NQC also invited the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) to monitor and participate actively in this exercise because the event under consideration is identified with the Roman Catholic Church.

II. Historical Background of the Controversy

The controversy of the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines in 1521 began in the last years of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century when historical research by scholars of that period – both foreign and local – shifted from

the traditionally recognized site of Butuan in Agusan del Norte to Limasawa Island in Leyte. The following is a short history of this controversy.

a) The Butuan Tradition

In 1872, a monument commemorating the First Mass in the Philippines was erected near the mouth of the Agusan River in what is today the municipality of Magallanes. As Jesuit historian, Miguel Bernad, SJ wrote:

... that monument is a testimonial to the tradition that remained vigorous until the end of the 19th century, mainly that Magellan and his expedition landed at Butuan and celebrated there the first Mass ever offered in the Philippines.⁶

The Butuan tradition can be traced to the 17th century when the earliest mention of the location of the First Easter Sunday Mass in Butuan was made in two missionary chronicles: Francisco Colin, S.J.'s *Labor evangelica* (1663) and Francisco Combes, S.J.'s *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (1667). These two works, Bernad pointed out, "exercise a strong influence over subsequent writers" so that, by the 19th century,

The Butuan tradition was taken for granted, and we find it mentioned in writer after writer, each copying from the previous and, being in turn, copied by those who came after.⁷

⁶ Miguel A. Bernad, S.J. "Butuan or Limasawa? The Site of the First Mass in the Philippines: A Reexamination of the Evidence" in *Tradition and Discontinuity. Essays on Philippine History and Culture* (Manila: NBS, 1982), 124.

⁷ Bernad, 127.

In 1981, William Henry Scott traced what he believed to be Colin's source for his information (or misinformation). This was a summarized version of Pigafetta's *Viaggio atorno il mondo* published in Gian Battista Ramusio's three-volume work, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550).⁸ Scott, in fact, pointed out:

That Father Colin used this text is indicated by the fact that his account is a summary of its pertinent passages; indeed, Father Bernad's own summary of Colin's summary might serve just as well as a summary of pages 393-396 of Vol. I of the 1554 second edition of Ramusio.⁹

In 1800, Carlo Amoretti, the prefect and conservator of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, Italy published a transcription of the Pigafetta account from a manuscript found in the library¹⁰. The Amoretti work would become the standard source on the Magellan

⁸ How this summary came into publication is colorful in itself. Pigafetta gave a copy of his book to the Regent Mother Louisa of Emperor Francis, who had it translated into French by philosopher Jacques Antoine Fabre. According to Ramusio, Fabre "made only a summary, leaving out the things that were too detailed, which was printed in French with too many errors" (Translation by Scott in his article "When Then The Butuan Tradition?" cited in Bernad, 262). The Pigafetta account is found in folios 380-397 of the Ramusio 1550 edition. Another edition was published in 1554.

⁹ Scott in Bernad, 263.

¹⁰ Carlo Amoretti. *Primo Viaggio Intorno Globo Terracqueo Ossia Ragguaglio Della Navigazione Alle Indie Orientali Per La Via D'Occidente Fatta Dal Cavaliere Antonio Pigafetta* (Milan: Giuseppe Galiazi, 1800)

Expedition for almost a century. Translations were later made from this transcription. The popular English translation was by Lord Stanley of Alderley entitled *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan* (1874) under the auspices of The Hakluyt Society.¹¹ Robertson later said that the Amoretti transcription was in a “wofully (sic) mutilated form, as Amoretti has edited the manuscript almost beyond recognition in some places, with the result that Pigafetta’s words are twisted into new meanings.”¹²

The controversy over the site began in 1894 after the publication of a new edition of the Ambrosiana manuscript transcribed by Italian archivist Andrea Da Mosto entitled *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta E Le Sue Regole Sull'arte Del Navigare*. (1894).¹³ But this time, it was a full transcription that included parts that were missing or edited out by Amoretti.¹⁴

It was in this year that new questions arose on the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass site.

b) The Limasawa Tradition

¹¹ Lord Stanley of Alderley. *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan*. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1874).

¹² James A. Robertson. *Magellan’s Voyage Around the World by Antonio Pigafetta*. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), 13-14.

¹³ Andrea Da Mosto. *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta E le sue regole sull'arte del navigare*. (Roma: Auspice Il Ministero Della Pubblica Istruzione, 1894)

¹⁴ As would be later shown in this report, Carlo Amoretti had, in fact, already noted that the First Easter Mass was on Limasawa Island. However, because of the unreliability of his transcription, this fact became lost to historical scholars.

The shift to the Limasawa tradition happened following the publication of the Da Mosto transcription and the examination of the log of *Victoria's* pilot, Francisco Albo. The log appeared for the first time in the collection of documents published by Martin Fernandez de Navarette in 1837¹⁵. Upon study of these two sources, two Philippine scholars---Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Fr. Pablo Pastells, SJ---concluded that it was a historical error that Butuan was deemed the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass.

A reading of the Da Mosto work showed a telling footnote that stated his conclusion following a study of the Albo logbook, the Transylvanus work¹⁶ and another published *roteiro* (rutter) of one of the expedition's crewmembers who became known in historical circles as "the unidentified Genoese pilot":

(3) Il Roteiro (loc. cit. p. 278, r. 4) la chiama «Macangor » e le dà la latitudine di 9°. Aggiunge che dista venti leghe dall'isola Hummunù. Albo (loc. cit. IV, 22o) la mette a 9° 4o di latitudine nord e la chiama « Mazava ». Il Transylvano (loc. cit. IV, 268) dice che vi approdarono, spinti da un fortunale, che aveva loro impedito d'approdare a Selana, e le dà il nome di «Masana ». Quest'isola corrisponde molto probabilmente all'odierna Limasana.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Diario ó derrotero del viage de Magallanes desde el cajbo de San Agustín en, el Brasil, hasta el regreso a España de la nao Victoria, escrito por Francisco Albo* in Martin Fernandez de Navarette, *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos Que Hicieron Por Mar Los Españoles Desde Fines Del Siglo XV. Tomo IV* (Madrid: La Imprenta Nacional, 1837), 209-248.

¹⁶ Maximilianus Transylvanus. *De Molucci Insulis* (1523)

¹⁷ Da Mosto, footnote 3. 74.

Pardo de Tavera first published the findings in an article in *El Comercio* in 1895. In 1921, in celebration of the Quadricentennial of the arrival of the Magellan Expedition in the Philippines, he wrote the program for the Limasawa Exhibit in 1921 establishing the First Mass in Limasawa.¹⁸ This transfer of the location from Butuan to Limasawa was affirmed during the celebration. This was followed by early 20th century scholars like Jaime de Veyra and influenced historians to establish the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass on Limasawa Island.

But the change of the site was not taken lightly, especially by Butuan residents and pro-Butuan scholars. The contention lasted for over three decades as these proponents wrote to the local and national government (including the President) petitioning for these authorities to issue a decision that would transfer the First Easter Sunday Mass site back to Butuan.¹⁹

III. Government Action

The first official government action taken on this controversy was done through the National Historical Institute (NHI) in 1980 and was followed by the formation of two more panels in 1995 and 2008. As mentioned earlier, the officially constituted bodies, upon review of the evidence, decided that the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass was on Limasawa Island.

¹⁸ Trinidad Pardo de Tavera. "*Quien es Limasawa*" in Souvenir Programme for the Limasawa Exhibit: Leyte, January-February, 1921 (Manila: La Pilarica, 1921).

¹⁹ See the letters and government memorandums dating back to the 1950s in the files at the NHCP office.

In 2018, with the continued clamor by Butuan proponents to present their position papers and the decision by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) to settle the controversy before the Quincentennial Celebration of the Christianization of the Philippines, plans were laid out by the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) and the NHCP that led to the creation of what came to be called the “Mojares Panel” in order to review anew the issue of the location of the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines.

The following activities were done by the NHCP and the Mojares Panel following this decision:

a) *The Butuan Focus Group Discussion (FGD)*

A focus group discussion (FGD) was done solely for the Butuan proponents of the First Easter Mass. As mentioned in the Guidelines for the Paper Presentors, the objective of the FGD was to “collate position papers which present the same or similar arguments and cite the same sources, reducing the number of position papers to be considered by the panel of experts to at most three.”

In the last week of September 2018, the NHCP issued a Call for Papers for the proponents of the Butuan claim. Two Butuan proponents responded---Gabriel Atega and Dr. Potenciano Malvar---and they provided their papers before the submission deadline. The FGD was held on November 9, 2018 at the Balanghai Hotel and Convention Center in Butuan City, Agusan del Norte.

Facilitating the discussion were NHCP personnel led by Ms. Cielito Reyno (Supervising History Researcher) and Mr. Ian Alfonso (NHCP Senior History Researcher and NQC Secretariat Head). Also in attendance were Department of Budget and

Management (DBM) Usec. Agnes Joyce Bailen (representing the NQC) and Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) Secretary-General Fr. Marvin Mejia. Other local historians and observers also participated in the discussion.

The two papers presented were:

1. "First Easter Day Sunday Mass Celebration at the Island of Baug, Magallanes, Agusan del Norte (Spanish Period Butuan)" by Gabriel Atega
2. "Pigafetta's 9°2/3N, 'Hidden Facts'" by Dr. Potenciano Malvar

Two one-hour open fora were held after each presentation during which the evidence presented by the two proponents was clarified and commented on. It was during the second open forum that Atega and Malvar agreed to thresh out the differences in their papers and consolidate their data into one paper to be presented to the NQC. The paper was to be prepared with the help of historian and De La Salle University professor Michael Charleston "Xiao" Chua.²⁰

b) The Cebu Meeting

The Cebu forum was the first meeting of the Mojares Panel. This was held at the Harolds Hotel, Gorordo Street, Cebu City on 12-13 December 2018.

During this two-day meeting, the Mojares Panel evaluated the previous reports of the NHI Workshop on the First Mass (1980), the Gancayco Panel (1995), and Legarda Panel (2008). Also, with the formal convening of the panel, Gabriel Atega and Dr.

²⁰ Unfortunately, in the course of efforts to consolidate the two papers, disagreements arose on the facts to be presented to the NQC. With permission from Dr. Malvar, Mr. Chua decided to submit the two reports separately, along with a summary of their differences and similarities.

Potenciano Malvar formally presented their position papers on the Butuan claim. This was followed by a preliminary assessment by the panel of the evidences presented by the two proponents and the preparation by the panel and the NHCP for the meeting to be held in Tacloban, Leyte for the Limasawa proponents.

c) The Hontiveros Article

On January 19, 2019, an article by Butuan proponent Gregorio Jose Hontiveros entitled “A Fire on the Island: Reasserting the Pro-Masao Position”²¹ published in 2017 was endorsed to the NHCP by Archbishop Antonio Ledesma of Cagayan de Oro---who was then acting as Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Butuan---for consideration as part of the pro-Butuan evidence for the Mojares Panel. Hontiveros was unavailable when the FGD was convened in Butuan City in 2018, as he was out of the country at that time. The article was passed on to the Mojares Panel on February 6 by the NQC.

After deliberations, the panel members decided to accept Hontiveros’ paper as part of the presentation of evidence.

d) The Tacloban Meeting

The second meeting of the Mojares Panel was held at the Luxury Suites Hotel, Tacloban City, Leyte on 25-26 April 2019. The members of the panel present were:

Dr. Resil Mojares (Chair)
Dr. Francis Navarro (Member)
Dr. Carlos Madrid (Member)
Fr. Tony de Castro (Member)
Dr. Jose Victor Torres (Secretary General)

²¹ Gregorio Jose P. Hontiveros. “A Fire on the Island: Reasserting the Pro-Masao Position” *Tambara* 34: 2 (2017), 51-88.

Panel member Dr. Danilo Gerona was unable to join the meeting because he had to attend to official matters in his institution.

The representatives of the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) were:

Bishop Nereo Odchimar
Fr. Amado Tumbali, SJ
Fr. Ted Torralba

Members of the NQC Secretariat from NHCP were also present.

The panel met in Leyte to listen to the presentation of Limasawa proponent Dr. Rolando Borrinaga entitled "Limasawa was Phonetically Called Masawa until 1602 and the Western Mazaua Site of the Easter Sunday Mass in 1521".

In his paper, Borrinaga not only reiterated that Limasawa Island was the place of the first Easter Sunday Mass; he also proposed that another site, Barangay Triana, on the western side of the island, be recognized as the place where the First Easter Sunday Mass was celebrated, and not Barangay Magallanes on the eastern side where the existing shrine of the First Mass is located. He also identified a nearby hill named Saub Point overlooking Saub Bay as the place where a cross was planted by Magellan's men and Pigafetta reportedly saw the "three islands" which may be part of Camiguin, Bohol, and Surigao.

The panel then proceeded to prepare for the evaluation of both papers of the Butuan and Limasawa proponents and the drafting of an initial report of the findings. The panel agreed to meet for the final evaluation on July 23 in Manila.

On April 26, members of the panel went to Limasawa Island to conduct an ocular inspection of the First Easter Mass site in Barangay Magallanes. They then proceeded

to Barangay Triana where they visited the site proposed by Borrinaga and climbed Saub Point to the area that was theorized to be the point where the cross may have been erected. It is worth noting that both sites in Limasawa actually had a view of the three islands reportedly seen by Pigafetta.

e) The Manila Meeting

The Mojares Panel met on July 23 and 24, 2019 at the National Quincentennial Committee office at the NHCP building along T.M. Kalaw St. in Manila. Present at the meeting were:

Dr. Resil Mojares (Chair)
Dr. Francis Navarro (Member)
Dr. Carlos Madrid (Member)
Fr. Tony de Castro (Member)
Dr. Danilo Gerona (Member)
Dr. Jose Victor Torres (Secretary General)

Representatives of the CBCP at the meeting were:

Fr. Emil Quilatan, OAR
Fr. Ted Torralba
Fr. Amado Tumbali, SJ
Fr. Antolin Uy, SVD
Fr. Albert Flores

Also present were representatives of the NHCP and the NQC

Dr. Rene Escalante, NHCP Chair and NQC Executive Director
Alvin Alcid, Chief, RPHD
Cielito Reyno
Ian Christopher Alfonso – Head, NQC Secretariat
Gerwill Cruz
Ayesha Sayseng
Josef Alec Geradila

In the course of the two-day meeting, the Mojares Panel agreed on the parameters for the evaluation of the issue and the issuance of a formal report on the panel's recommendation to the NHCP (see below).

PART II - LIMITS AND METHODS

I. Parameters of the Current Review

In defining the limits and scope of the current review, the panel decided on the following parameters

- 1) It was decided that since the three previous groups or panels formed to study the Butuan-Limasawa controversy had concluded that the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass was Limasawa Island in Leyte, the burden of proof to change the site is on the Butuan proponents. The focus of the panel will be on the *new* evidence presented for the current review, or evidence that in the panel's judgment had not been adequately addressed by the previous panels or reviews.
- 2) The panel agreed that only the papers of Gabriel Atega, Potenciano Malvar, and Gregorio Hontiveros would be evaluated for the Butuan side. The Atega and Malvar papers were presented in the FGD in Butuan on 9 November 2018 and the Mojares Panel meeting in Cebu City on 12-13 December 2018. The Hontiveros article was endorsed by Archbishop Antonio Ledesma as a contribution for evaluation by the panel.

On the other hand, Rolando Borrinaga's paper, presented for the Limasawa side in Tacloban, was accepted for consideration by the panel.

As of July 23, the panel decided it would no longer accept further presentation of evidence by the Butuan and Limasawa proponents.

- 3) The panel will review the decisions of the previous panels only in so far as these relate to new evidence presented by the Butuan and Limasawa proponents as well as new data independently collected by members of the panel in aid of the work of evaluation.
- 4) The panel members agreed that only the evidence as to the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass would be evaluated. Other evidence presented may or may not be considered depending on its weight on the decision regarding the site.

Based on the presentations made before the panel, there were four specific sites considered as the scene of the 1521 Easter Mass and the associated event of the planting of the cross by Magellan and his men:

- (1) the municipality of Magallanes on Baug Island in Agusan del Norte
- and (2) Pinamanculan in Butuan City, and (3) Barangay Magallanes and
- (4) Barangay Triana, both in Limasawa.

II. *Sources Used*

Present-day technology used in the Internet and the digitization of rare books and archival documents proved advantageous for the panel members, for it provided access to needed sources. It also made immediate communication possible with foreign institutions where the Pigafetta manuscripts are kept. These repositories have digitized and uploaded their collections on their websites thus making it possible for the panel to collect needed sources on the Magellan expedition.

For the purpose of the panel's work, the four known original Pigafetta manuscripts were obtained by the NHCP in digitized format through coordination and in agreement with their respective repositories:

- a) The Ambrosiana Codex - Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, Italy
- b) The Yale-Beinecke Codex - Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- c) Manuscript 5650 - Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris
- d) Manuscript 24224 - Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

In addition, the NHCP obtained a digitized copy of the original Robertson transcription of the Ambrosiana manuscript listed as Ayer Collection MS 1391 v. 23 of the Robertson Papers. The panel also downloaded a digitized copy of the 1894 published transcription of the Pigafetta manuscript by Italian archivist Andrea Da Mosto, who was the first to transcribe a complete version of the Ambrosiana manuscript.²²

It was from these manuscripts that new translations were commissioned by the panel to be done by translators from the Ateneo de Manila and the University of the Philippines Department of Languages. One of the translators was panel member Dr. Francis Navarro who translated some of the sources from Spanish to English.

²² A digital copy of the Robertson transcription was obtained by the NHCP from the James A. Robertson Papers at the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. The same collection also has a copy of the Da Mostao book, but it could not be located by the librarian while the research for this resolution was taking place. The panel finally located a copy online at the website, Internet Archive (archive.org).

The translations that were made were limited to the period before and after the event of the First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines. These translations were then compared to the ones that were used by both the Butuan and Limasawa proponents specifically the Robertson (Ambrosiana) and Skelton (Yale-Beinecke) editions of Pigafetta.

Aside from the abovementioned sources, the panel members and the NHCP consulted the various published translated editions of the Pigafetta account and translations of the sources related to the Magellan Expedition like those of Gines de Mafra, Francisco Albo, and the “Genoese Pilot”. At least 28 books in different languages, most of them in digital format, were obtained for the examination by the panel.

III. *Site Inspections*

The NHCP and the Mojares Panel members also inspected the sites where the proponents said the First Mass took place. These places were:

1. Baug, Magallanes in Agusan del Norte, the site of the 1872 First Mass Monument in Butuan. The site was visited by the NHCP during the second day of the Focus Group Discussion in Butuan City on November 10, 2019.
2. Limasawa Island in Leyte where the First Mass of 1521 was celebrated, according to the decision of official government panels formed by the National Historical Institute and the NHCP in 1980, 1995, and 2008. Two locations were inspected by Mojares panel members on April 26, 2019.

- a) Barangay Magallanes on the eastern side of the island where the present First Easter Sunday Mass Shrine is located.
 - b) Barangay Triana on the western side which was proposed by Limasawa proponent Dr. Rolando Borrinaga, as the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass and the cross.
3. Mount Minga-aso near Butuan City where Magellan and his men erected a cross, according to Butuan proponent Potenciano Malvar. The site was visited on July 12, 2019 by panel member Dr. Carlos Madrid, accompanied by Gerwill Cruz of the NHCP as well as Malvar and some of his assistants.

IV. *Navigational Information*

A principal issue brought up by Butuan proponent Gabriel Atega was the matter of coordinates that Pigafetta recorded in his account. Comparing and collating these coordinates with latitude and longitude measurements and related navigation issues from various sources, Atega contends that these definitely point to Butuan as the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass.

For the navigational issues, the panel requested through Dr. Madrid the assistance of naval engineer and historian Ignacio Fernandez Vial, founder of the Fundacion Nao Victoria in Spain. It was Vial who designed and built a replica of one of Magellan's ship *Victoria*, which retraced Magellan's voyage from 2004 to 2006, thus providing extensive data on the route of the Magellan expedition.

Madrid also procured a copy of Vial's unpublished manuscript detailing the route of the Victoria. Chapter 8 of the manuscript entitled "Filipinas-Brunei-Filipinas" was translated for the use of the panel.

The panel also consulted present-day articles on the Magellan expedition although they are only partly related to the issue at hand:

1. Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Richard Callaghan. Magellan's crossing of the Pacific: Using computer simulations to examine oceanographic effects on one of the world's greatest voyages. *The Journal of Pacific History*. 43:2 (Sep., 2008), 145-165.
2. Ana-Cornelia Badea, Gheorghe Badea, Doina Vasilca, and Camelia Georgiana Semen. The first voyage around the world - An old story told using a new application." Papers of the 16th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference SGEM, 2016, 503-510.

IV. *On Other Evidence*

The panel members considered other evidence presented by the proponents on such matters as narrative details, land formations, and archaeological characteristics, in so far as they have direct bearing on the questions raised in the current review.

PART III - ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The findings and conclusions of the Mojares Panel on the various papers and evidences presented are as follows:

A) *On the Butuan Presentation*

a.1. *The Malvar Presentation*

The evidence presented by Malvar in his paper that Pigafetta's latitude measurement of 9°3/4' was part of a plan to conceal the actual location of the First Easter Sunday Mass to protect the route to the Moluccas is based on conjectures from *ideas derived from secondary sources including a fictional account of the Magellan Expedition*.²³

The panel contends that if there was such a plan or intent to conceal the route of the expedition, the part of the route that should have been hidden would be the coordinates to the passage through the Strait of Magellan at the tip of South America and not that of the Philippines. It was this passage to the West that was one of the primary objectives of the expedition as it was the way to get to the Spice Islands through a western route beyond Portuguese territory.

Malvar's thesis was, therefore, not accepted by the panel.

a.2. *The Atega Presentation and Hontiveros Article*

The Atega paper and the Hontiveros article were evaluated based on the quality of their research and use of primary sources. The panel appraised their evidence and arguments comparing them with existing information as well as new data obtained by the panel. The following are the findings on the two presentations:

a.3. *On The Accuracy of the Pigafetta Codices and Translations*

²³ John Regan. *A Singular Captain: Magellan's Astounding Voyage* (self-published, 2016).

This is listed as a fictional account of the Magellan voyage by the author.

Both Atega and Hontiveros contend that the Yale-Beinecke codex is the most accurate of the Pigafetta journals. Atega has raised this point time and again in his arguments and has even concluded that Robertson's translation of Pigafetta was based on the transcription that was made by Carlo Amoretti of the Ambrosian Codex and published in 1800. According to Atega, this was where the Limasawa controversy began.

It is already known that the Amoretti version was heavily-edited and full of inaccuracies and it is on this basis that Atega contends that the French Pigafetta text, now called the Yale-Beinecke codex, is the "accurate one" in showing the nautical coordinates of the Magellan expedition.

An examination of the bibliographical sources in Atega's paper shows, however, that this allegation on the Robertson translation was made without consulting the bibliographical history written by Robertson on the Pigafetta manuscripts, in which he asserts:²⁴

Pigafetta, an Italian of noble family and an ardent admirer of Magalhaes, kept a journal during the voyage, from which evidently this relation is compiled. This is called the Ambrosian Manuscript, from its place of conservation in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan Italy. It is the oldest of the four manuscripts... and dates back from either shortly before or shortly after 1525... It was discovered among the papers of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana by Dr. Carlo Amoretti, prefect or conservator of that library, and first made known to the

²⁴ Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds. *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909), 53:144.

world in his *Primo viaggio* (Milan, 1800) *although in a wofully (sic) mutilated form, as Amoretti has edited the manuscript almost beyond recognition in some places, with the result that Pigafetta's words are twisted into new meanings.*

Robertson was, in fact, reiterating a statement that he made in the introduction to his own translation of the Pigafetta manuscript:

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Dr. Carlo Amoretti, prefect of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, at Milan, Italy, recognizing to a slight degree the value of the original manuscript which he discovered among the treasures entrusted to his care, published the relation in both Italian and French, *but committed the sin of editing the precious document, almost beyond recognition in places.*²⁵

In the same history, Robertson mentioned the publication of the first complete text of the manuscript in 1894:

The text of the Italian manuscript, edited by Andrea da Mosto (part v, vol. iii, of *Raccolta di documenti e studi*, published by the Italian government in Rome, 1894 - in honor of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America) has proved, all things considered, the most useful edition of Pigafetta's relation hitherto given to the public. Its usefulness is limited, however, as it is

²⁵ James A. Robertson. *Magellan's Voyage Around the World by Antonio Pigafetta*. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), I: 13-14.

available to only Italian readers. *Mosto's transcript, although in general tolerably faithful, contains a few errors and some serious blemishes from the standpoint of historical accuracy*, such as the spelling out of all abbreviations, the rendering of the frequently occurring Spanish abbreviation "q" (for "que") by the Italian "che," and the arbitrary insertion of punctuation not in the original.²⁶

The panel asked: *If Robertson knew that the original manuscript existed and that the Amoretti edition was badly translated, why would he use the latter?*

Based on an examination of his original notes, Robertson translated directly from the Ambrosiana codex since he did know where it was. Moreover, in spite of the fact that a published edition had already been in circulation in 1894 by Andrea Da Mosto for the IV Centenary Celebration of the Discovery of the Americas, Robertson decided to translate from the original copy and included a transcription of the Italian text in his work.

A reading of his bibliographic history also shows that he knew of the Yale-Beinecke codex. Robertson apparently saw the codex with its owner before it was obtained by Yale University. It was then known as the "Nancy Manuscript":

The bibliography is as complete as possible at the present time; in its preparation, the editor has had the advantage of personal assistance from librarians of many great libraries, public and private, both in Europe and America, where rare Pigafetta manuscripts or books are conserved. He would call especial attention to the fact that more complete and definite details are

²⁶

Robertson, 14.

presented of the four existing manuscripts than has yet appeared anywhere, *especially of the Nancy Manuscript*.²⁷

In his listing of the "Bibliography of Pigafetta Manuscripts and Printed Books", Robertson describes the French manuscripts that can be found in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and one in the private collection known as the Nancy Manuscript. The description as stated by Robertson, was written by the owner of the collection:

Nancy Manuscript.

The Nancy Manuscript was first mentioned in 1841, by Thomassy who found it in the library of Mons. Beaupre, judge of the court of first instance at Nancy, France; and who described it and gave various passages from it... The catalogue of the Libri sale (July, 1862, p. 92, no. 456) says "this MS. belonged to the secretary of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and... was in the convent of St. Leopold at Nancy. There is every reason to suppose that this is the manuscript copy of the relation of his voyage which Pigafetta had addressed to the Duke of Lorraine, as Vespucci (at the beginning of the same century) addressed his letters on America to another Duke of Lorraine." From the library of Mons. Beaupre, the manuscript passed into the possession of

²⁷ Robertson even mentioned the name of the previous owner of the Nancy manuscript: To Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, England, for definite information concerning the Nancy MS. of Pigafetta's relation which was owned by his grandfather, Sir Thomas Phillipps (Robertson, 16-17).

the Paris bookseller Potier, by whom it was sold in 1855 into the Solar collection. At the demise of Mons. Felix Solar in 1861, it came into the possession of a London bookseller, who paid 1,650 francs for it. The Venetian canon Pietro Marasca tried to acquire the manuscript for the library of his city, first at Nancy, and then at Paris, but in vain, and after it was taken to London lost all trace of it. It appears next at London in the Libri sale (July, 1862), where it was bid in by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Cheltenham, England, for £135; and is still in possession of his heirs, its pressmark being "MS. Phillipps, 16405." It has been partially described by Thomassy... and by the Solar and Libri catalogues, which sources Harisse and Mosto follow; but we are indebted for the most complete description of this document yet furnished to the courtesy of Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps (who died in 1872), and are thus able to present facts that have hitherto escaped attention. The description that follows is mainly that of Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, although we have at times availed ourselves of the other sources:

Small folio, finely bound in red morocco, tooled and gilt (Divin binding). Written on fine white vellum in a beautiful French hand of the sixteenth century, and the volume as a whole is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 99 leaves with writing, 11x7 1/2 in. In addition, at the beginning are one paper flyleaf and two blank vellum leaves, and at the end two blank vellum leaves and one paper flyleaf. On the verso of leaf I is written in an ordinary eighteenth century hand, "*S* Leopoldi Nanceani an. 1720*" [St.

Leopold's, Nancy, 1720"]. Beneath this is a coat-of-arms, and the inscription (in sixteenth century hand): "*Viro clarissimo eruditissimo et integerrimo Christophoro Gastynaso Illustrissimi Cardanalis a Lotharingia ex consiliis secretioribus Senatori et libellorum supplicum magistro dignissimo*" [i.e., "To the most noble learned, and virtuous man, Christophorus Gastynaesus, member of the most secret council, and counselor of the most illustrious Cardinal of Lorraine, and the most worthy master of petitions."]

This is followed by another coat-of-arms or bookplate with the inscription "*Joannes Cognetius eidem Principi Pharmacis et Cubiculis hunc librum D. D.*"²⁸

If one reads the description and look at the pictures of the Yale-Beinecke facsimile edition which Atega included in his self-published book on page 28-29, it is clearly the same codex.²⁹

Why is it important to mention this detail? For one thing, Robertson tried to trace the provenance of the manuscript and came to the conclusion *that it was so far the best and most complete of the French manuscripts as compared to the other two found in the Bibliotheque Nationale*. But, he also added *that it may have been translated directly from the Ambrosian MS*.

²⁸ Robertson, 262-264.

²⁹ See Gabriel B. Atega. *Where Is Mazzawa?* (Expanded Edition). (Davao City: Gabriel A. Atega, 2012). The panel members agreed that it was unnecessary to trace the history of how the manuscript copy became a part of the library of Yale University.

A complete collation of the Nancy MS. might prove it to be the oldest of the French MSS., though its resemblance in chirography to MS. 24224 (if true) is against such a hypothesis. It is by far the best and most complete of the French MSS., for it contains all the vocabularies (although we cannot state at present whether they are exactly as in the Ambrosian MS.), and so far as can be stated from our slight collation is not abridged as is MS. 5650. From the slight collation that we have been able to make of it with the Ambrosian MS., and the description so kindly furnished us, it appears that it (or an earlier copy) was translated directly from the Ambrosian MS., or from another copy of the relation reading as the latter.³⁰

As to the language used by Pigafetta in writing the journal, Robertson wrote that "The evidence is in favor of the Italian, and therefore the Ambrosian is the oldest or a copy of the oldest manuscript."³¹

To sum up, Atega's allegation that the Robertson translation is from Amoretti is erroneous. But his claim that the Nancy-Yale-Beinecke codex is an "accurate" work may be correct if we are to follow Robertson's explanation that the codex was a translation of the Ambrosian manuscript. This assertion will be further confirmed in the comparison of the translations of the Pigafetta versions.

³⁰ Robertson, 262-264.

³¹ Robertson, 264. Robertson's arguments in reaching this conclusion are too long to be printed in this report. It is best to be read on pp. 264-272 in Volume 2 of Robertson's translation.

Hontiveros, on the other hand, quoted R.A. Skelton in his article describing the “accuracy” of the Yale-Beinecke codex:

Is there any basis for accepting these other primary sources, and would these have a positive consequence to our search for historical truth? Take the case of the original Pigafetta chronicles: A good number of Magellan and Renaissance navigation scholars see the Yale codex as exhibiting a far superior narrative. The eminent Renaissance navigation scholar and Pigafetta translator, R.A. Skelton, would describe the Yale codex in the following terms: “Certainly the most magnificent of the four manuscripts in respect to its writing, its illumination, and its maps.”³²

Hontiveros, however, took the Skelton quotation out of context. Skelton was not discussing the text or the accuracy of the contents of Yale-Beinecke codex. He was speaking of the artifact, Pigafetta’s presentation copy of his manuscript to its recipient in his search for a sponsor to publish his work. The full quote from Skelton’s book below includes his description of the Ambrosiana codex and also refers to the two French draft manuscripts. The underlined portions are by the panel:

The Italian manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, may be described as workmanlike rather than elegant. Written on paper in a neat humanistic hand, unilluminated, and illustrated by twenty-three map sketches, it is nevertheless the only remaining representative to the textual tradition deriving from Pigafetta’s original draft and thus supplies a useful datum for

³² Hontiveros, 53

interpretation or emendation of the French versions.... The third and most complete French manuscript is the Nancy-Libri-Phillipps-Beinecke-Yale codex, here translated, *which is certainly the most magnificent of the four manuscripts in respect of its writing, its illumination, and its maps....* that they are all early, that is, executed within a few years after Pigafetta's original draft, has not been seriously disputed. *Collation of the texts suggest that each of the three manuscripts derives from a common source in a (lost) French text translated from the Italian, with some editorial manipulation.*

In the great majority of cases where these two manuscripts (the French drafts) disagree, however, *the reading of the Beinecke-Yale is supported by that of the Ambrosiana manuscript and this may be supposed to reproduce more faithfully Pigafetta's own text.*

Both Robertson and Skelton agree that the Yale-Beinecke codex has more details than the Ambrosiana codex. But the two translators also agree that both codices supported each other with regard to a study of the text and its contents.

In line with its findings of the Pigafetta texts and to settle the arguments on accuracy of the translations, the panel presents here comparisons of the Robertson and Skelton translations. In addition, the panel hired the assistance of European language translation scholars to make its own translation based on the original Ambrosiana and the Yale-Beinecke codices. The translations are limited to the portion of the events of the First Easter Sunday Mass as described by Pigafetta and are shown here for comparative purposes:

Robertson Translation from the Ambrosiana Codex	Skelton Translation from the Yale-Beinecke Codex
<p>Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king who came to our ships. All the dishes of that king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out [<i>molto in ordine</i>] and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. At his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all of gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his teeth appeared as if bound with gold. He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted [i.e. tattooed] all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Calagan. When those kings wished to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we were. The name of the first king is Raia Colambu,</p>	<p>CHAPTER XIX</p> <p><i>Of the king Raia Calambu, brother of the first king called Raia Siaiu. Of his accoutrements, and of his country. The mass of Easter Day and other ceremonies. Of the two aforesaid kings. Of a cross set up by their consent. Interrogation between one of the kings and the captain. The said king's offer to the captain. That king wished to guide the captain. What he did.</i></p> <p>On the island of that king who came to the ship are mines of gold, which is found by digging from the earth large pieces as large as walnuts and eggs. And all the vessels he uses are likewise [of gold], as are also some parts of his house, which was well fitted in the fashion of the country. And he was the most handsome person whom we saw among those peoples. He had very black hair to his shoulders, with a silk cloth on his head, and two large gold rings hanging from his ears. He wore a cotton cloth, embroidered with silk, which covered him from his waist to his knees. At his side he had a dagger with a long handle, and all of gold, the sheath of which was of carved wood.</p>

<p>and the second Raia Siaui.</p> <p>Early on the morning of Sunday, the last of March, and Easter-day, the captain-general sent the priest with some men to prepare the place where mass was to be said; together with the interpreter to tell the king that we were not going to land in order to dine with him, but to say mass. Therefore, the king sent us two swine that he had had killed. When the hour for mass arrived, we landed with about fifty men, without our body armor, but carrying our other arms, and dressed in our best clothes. Before we reached the shore with our boats, six pieces were discharged as a sign of peace. We landed; the two kings embraced the captain-general, and placed him between them. We went in marching order to the place consecrated, which was not far from the shore. Before the commencement of mass, the captain sprinkled the entire bodies of the two kings with musk water. The mass was offered up. The kings went forward to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer the sacrifice. When the body of our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshiped Him with clasped hands. The ships fired all their artillery at once when the body of Christ was elevated, the</p>	<p>Withal he wore on his person perfumes of storax and benzoin He was tawny and painted all over. His island is called Butuan and Calaghan. And when the two kings wish to visit each other, they go hunting on the island where we were. Of these kings, the aforesaid painted one is named Raia Calambu, and the other Raia Siaui.</p> <p>On Sunday the last day of March, and Easter Day, the captain early in the morning sent the chaplain ashore to celebrate mass. And the interpreter went with him to tell the king that we were not landing to dine with him, but only to hear mass. Hearing this the king sent two dead pigs. And when the hour for saying mass came, the captain with fifty men went ashore, not in armour, but only with swords, and dressed as honourably as it was possible for each man to do. And, before we reached shore with the boats, our ships fired six shots as a sign of peace. When we landed, the two kings were there, and they received our captain kindly, and put him in the centre between the two of them. Then we went to the place prepared for saying mass, which was not far from the shore. And before mass began the captain threw much rose muscat water over those two kings. Then</p>
---	--

<p>signal having been given from the shore with muskets. After the conclusion of mass, some of our men took communion. The captain-general arranged a fencing tournament, at which the kings were greatly pleased. Then he had a cross carried in and the nails and a crown, to which immediate reverence was made. He told the kings through the interpreter that they were the standards given to him by the emperor his sovereign, so that wherever he might go he might set up those his tokens. [He said] that he wished to set it up in that place for their benefit, for whenever any of our ships came, they would know that we had been there by that cross, and would do nothing to displease them or harm their property [<i>property: doublet in original MS.</i>]. If any of their men were captured, they would be set free immediately on that sign being shown. It was necessary to set that cross on the summit of the highest mountain, so that on seeing it every morning, they might adore it; and if they did that, neither thunder, lightning, nor storms would harm them in the least.³³</p>	<p>when it came to the offering of the mass, those two kings went to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer anything. And at the elevation of the body of our Lord they knelt as we did and worshipped our Lord with clasped hands. And the ships fired all their artillery at the elevation of our Lord's body. After mass was said, each did the work of a good Christian, receiving our Lord.</p> <p>Then the captain ordered swordplay by his men, in which the kings took great pleasure. This done, he had a cross brought, with the nails and the crown, to which those kings did reverence. And the captain caused them to be told that these things which he showed laces where he should go and travel. And he told them that he wished to set them up in their country for their benefit, so that if any ships of Spain came afterward to those islands, they seeing the said cross would know that we had been there. And by this token they would do them no harm, and if they took any of their men, being immediately shown this sign, they would let them go. Moreover, the captain told them that it was necessary that the cross</p>
--	--

³³

Robertson, 117-121

	be set up at the top of the highest mountain in their country, so that every day, seeing the said cross, they might worship it, and that, if they did this, not thunder, lightning, nor tempest could harm them. ³⁴
--	--

A comparison of the two early English translations shows marked differences in syntax and details. The panel recognized the fact that the Ambrosian Codex was a manuscript that was “workmanlike rather than elegant” as Skelton pointed out and may have been directly derived from the original Pigafetta journal while the Yale-Beinecke was a presentation copy to a sponsor. Thus, one suspects that *Pigafetta may have reworked some of his text to attract possible sponsors and, later explorers who may use his account for further voyages to the islands of the West.*³⁵

The comparison of the English translations with those made by the translators of the Mojares Panel follows:

³⁴ Skelton, 69-71

³⁵ One example is the change in the original text of “pieces of gold” in the Ambrosiana Codex to “mines of gold” in the Yale-Beinecke, which can make the reader assume that the islands explored by the Magellan Expedition were rich in gold. The method of finding gold was also changed from “sifting” (which means panning) to “digging” (suggesting lodes below the earth) thus, giving the impression of a rich land. This change is also seen in a recent translation of the Ambrosian codex. See Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., ed. *The First Voyage Around the World: An Account of Magellan’s Expedition [by] Antonio Pigafetta* (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1995), par. 61.

Mojares Panel Translation	Robertson Translation
<p>In the island of this king who came to our ships one can find pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs, abundantly covering the land. All this king's jars are made of gold as well as a portion of his house, the king said so himself. According to their customs, he was very neat and was the finest-looking man we laid eyes upon among these people. He had pitch black hair that reached his shoulders with a silken cloth atop his head and two large golden earrings fastened on him. He wore a clothing made of cotton wool all embroidered with silk which covered him from the waist to the knees. At his side hung a dagger which handle was somewhat long, all made of gold, and which sheath was made of carved wood. Each of his teeth had golden spots which seemed to be fastened with gold. He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was dark olive-skinned and tattooed all over. His island is called Butuan and Calagan. When these kings desire to see each other, they go on a hunt in this island where we were. The first king is named</p>	<p>Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king who came to our ships. All the dishes of that king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out [<i>molto in ordine</i>] and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. At his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all of gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his teeth appeared as if bound with gold. He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted [i.e. tattooed] all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Calagan. When those kings wished to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we</p>

<p>Raia Colambu while the second one is called Raia Siaui.</p> <p>Early morning on Easter Sunday, the last day of March, the captain general sent the priest with some men to set the place up for saying mass, together with the interpreter to inform the king that we were not heading ashore to dine with him, but to hold mass. The king thereby sent us two slain swine. When the hour for mass arrived, about fifty of our men went ashore without our body armors but carrying our other arms and dressed as best as we could. Before we reached the shore aboard our boats, six cannon shells were discharged as a sign of peace. When we landed, both kings embraced the captain general and placed him between the two of them. We went in marching order to the consecrated place, not far away from the shore. Before mass began, the captain sprayed musk water all over the bodies of the two kings. The mass was offered up. The kings went to kiss the cross as we had done, but they did not do the offering. When the body of Our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshipped Him with clasped hands. The ships fired all the artillery at once</p>	<p>were. The name of the first king is Raia Colambu, and the second Raia Siaui.</p> <p>Early on the morning of Sunday, the last of March, and Easter-day, the captain-general sent the priest with some men to prepare the place where mass was to be said; together with the interpreter to tell the king that we were not going to land in order to dine with him, but to say mass. Therefore, the king sent us two swine that he had had killed. When the hour for mass arrived, we landed with about fifty men, without our body armor, but carrying our other arms, and dressed in our best clothes. Before we reached the shore with our boats, six pieces were discharged as a sign of peace. We landed; the two kings embraced the captain-general, and placed him between them. We went in marching order to the place consecrated, which was not far from the shore. Before the commencement of mass, the captain sprinkled the entire bodies of the two kings with musk water. The mass was offered up. The kings went forward to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer the sacrifice. When the body of our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshiped Him with</p>
---	--

<p>when the body of Christ was raised up, with muskets having given signal from the shore. When mass ended, some of our men took communion. The captain general had a fencing tournament arranged for which the kings were greatly pleased. He then had a cross with nails and a crown brought in to which they made immediate reverence. Through the interpreter, the captain general said that this was the banner given to him by his lord the emperor, so that wherever he may go, thereupon he might place this as a symbolic token. He told the kings that he wished to place it there for their benefit, so that if any of our ships came, they would know that we had been in this place and would do nothing to harm them nor their possessions. And if any of their men were to be taken away, they would immediately be released as soon as they show them this token. He further said that it was worthwhile to place the cross on the summit of their highest mountain so that they might worship it, laying sight upon it every morning, and by doing so, neither thunder nor lightnings will not the least harm them amid a storm.</p>	<p>clasped hands. The ships fired all their artillery at once when the body of Christ was elevated, the signal having been given from the shore with muskets. After the conclusion of mass, some of our men took communion. The captain-general arranged a fencing tournament, at which the kings were greatly pleased. Then he had a cross carried in and the nails and a crown, to which immediate reverence was made. He told the kings through the interpreter that they were the standards given to him by the emperor his sovereign, so that wherever he might go he might set up those his tokens. [He said] that he wished to set it up in that place for their benefit, for whenever any of our ships came, they would know that we had been there by that cross, and would do nothing to displease them or harm their property [<i>property: doublet in original MS.</i>]. If any of their men were captured, they would be set free immediately on that sign being shown. It was necessary to set that cross on the summit of the highest mountain, so that on seeing it every morning, they might adore it; and if they did that, neither thunder, lightning, nor storms would harm them in the least.</p>
---	--

Note that except for some differences in the syntax of the English translations, the content of the Mojares Panel translation and that of the Robertson translation are almost the same. In her note in translating the Ambrosian Codex, Jillian Melchor explained her method:

Antonio Pigafetta wrote his account of the expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan in a “bizarre Italo-Venetian language with Spanish words mixed in”.³⁶ Moreover, the account was written before the publication of Pietro Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), a prescriptive text which helped shape what is now deemed as “standard Italian”. Pigafetta’s language is thus complex for various reasons. The manuscript was written in a form that predates a standardized Italian language and its author drew vocabulary from different languages, including sixteenth-century Spanish and the Venetian vernacular. For this reason, the translator referred to several dictionaries to come up with an adequate translation of certain lexical ambiguities.

I used the transcription of the Ambrosiana codex that appears in Blair and Robertson as source text for this translation and subsequently counter-checked it with the digitized Ambrosiana codex. Throughout the translation process, I referred to Robertson’s English translation of the Ambrosiana manuscript and the English translation of Robert Yu from the French

³⁶ Magnaghi, Alberto. “PIGAFETTA, Antonio in “Enciclopedia Italiana”.” In “*Enciclopedia Italiana*”, www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-pigafetta_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29

manuscript Beinecke MS 531 to settle and/or discuss certain ambiguities. My translation is accompanied by footnotes to draw attention to some of these ambiguities, as well as to explain certain words which I opted to retain in the source language for lack of a precise equivalent in English. The words cited by Pigafetta in the indigenous language are italicized and follow the orthography of the transcription. Place names also follow the spelling that appear in the manuscript to reflect orthographic inconsistencies on the part of Pigafetta. Lastly, the translation starts from the part in the account where Magellan's crew sighted Zamal and ends with their brief sojourn in a port located between the islands of Saranghani and Candighar.³⁷

Mojares Panel Translation	Skelton Translation
CHAPTER XIX	CHAPTER XIX
<i>Of the king Raia Calambu, brother of the first king Raia Siaiu. Of his clothes and his country. Easter mass and other ceremonies. Of the said two kings. Of a cross planted with their consent. Interrogation between one of the kings and the captain. Offer of the said king to the captain. Said king wished to bring the captain to his destination. What the king actually did.</i>	<i>Of the king Raia Calambu, brother of the first king called Raia Siaiu. Of his accoutrements, and of his country. The mass of Easter Day and other ceremonies. Of the two aforesaid kings. Of a cross set up by their consent. Interrogation between one of the kings and the captain. The said king's offer to the captain. That king wished to guide the captain. What he did.</i>
On the island of this king who came to	On the island of that king who came to

³⁷ Translation note by Jillian Loise Melchor in Mojares Panel Translation of the Ambrosiana Codex.

<p>our ship, there were mines of gold which they find by rummaging through the ground; and they were in pieces as big as nuts or eggs. All the containers he used as well as some parts of his house were made of it, which was customary in the country.</p> <p>He was the most handsome man that we saw among these peoples. He had very black hair, long that it reached his shoulders, with a silk cloth on his head and two large gold earrings on his ears. He wore a cloth of cotton with some silk embroidery on it, which covered him from his waist to his knees. On his side, he had a dagger with a long shaft made of gold; the sheath of which was made of carved wood. He also wore scents of storax and benzoin. He was tan and his body painted all over. His island was called <i>Butuan</i> and <i>Calaghan</i>. When these two kings wanted to visit each other, they went hunting on this island where we were. Of these kings, the name of the painted king was <i>Raia Calambu</i> while the other one was <i>Raia Siaiu</i>.</p> <p>On Easter Sunday, the last day of March, the captain sent the chaplain early morning on the shore to celebrate mass.</p>	<p>the ship are mines of gold, which is found by digging from the earth large pieces as large as walnuts and eggs. And all the vessels he uses are likewise [of gold], as are also some parts of his house, which was well fitted in the fashion of the country. And he was the most handsome person whom we saw among those peoples. He had very black hair to his shoulders, with a silk cloth on his head, and two large gold rings hanging from his ears. He wore a cotton cloth, embroidered with silk, which covered him from his waist to his knees. At his side he had a dagger with a long handle, and all of gold, the sheath of which was of carved wood. Withal he wore on his person perfumes of storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted all over. His island is called <i>Butuan</i> and <i>Calaghan</i>. And when the two kings wish to visit each other, they go hunting on the island where we were. Of these kings, the aforesaid painted one is named <i>Raia Calambu</i>, and the other <i>Raia Siaiu</i>.</p> <p>On Sunday the last day of March, and Easter Day, the captain early in the morning sent the chaplain ashore to celebrate mass. And the interpreter went with him to tell the king that we were not</p>
--	--

<p>The slave interpreter went with him to tell the king that they were not coming on land to have dinner with him, but only to hear mass. Upon hearing it, the king sent two dead pigs. As the time for mass came, the captain together with fifty of his men went ashore, without firearms but only with their swords, dressed up in the best possible way they could. Before arriving on land, our ships fired six cannon shots as a sign of peace. Upon our descent ashore, the two kings were there, amicably receiving our captain, and placed him between themselves. We then went to the place that was prepared to hear mass, which was not far from the shore. Before the mass started, the captain threw some musk rose water on the two kings. When the offertory of the mass came, the two kings went to kiss the cross like we did; but they offered nothing. At the elevation of the body of our Lord, they were kneeling like us and adoring our Lord with hands clasped. The ships fired all the artillery at the elevation of the body of our Lord. After the mass has been said, each one did what a good Christian would do, that is, to receive the Lord. Afterwards, the captain had some of his people engage in swordplay, in which the two kings took great pleasure.</p>	<p>landing to dine with him, but only to hear mass. Hearing this the king sent two dead pigs. And when the hour for saying mass came, the captain with fifty men went ashore, not in armour, but only with swords, and dressed as honourably as it was possible for each man to do. And, before we reached shore with the boats, our ships fired six shots as a sign of peace. When we landed, the two kings were there, and they received our captain kindly, and put him in the centre between the two of them. Then we went to the place prepared for saying mass, which was not far from the shore. And before mass began the captain threw much rose muscat water over those two kings. Then when it came to the offering of the mass, those two kings went to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer anything. And at the elevation of the body of our Lord they knelt as we did and worshipped our Lord with clasped hands. And the ships fired all their artillery at the elevation of our Lord's body. After mass was said, each did the work of a good Christian, receiving our Lord.</p> <p>Then the captain ordered swordplay by his men, in which the kings took great pleasure. This done, he had a cross</p>
---	---

<p>The captain then had a cross brought in, with nails and the crown, to which the kings showed reverence. The captain told them that the things he showed them were signs of the emperor his master and lord, who tasked and commanded him to place it in all the places he will go to and pass by. He told them that he wanted to place it in their country for their own good, so that if any more ships from Spain would come to the islands, they would know we had been there, and as such they will not cause any harm. If they took any of the kings' people, by showing them the sign, they will let the people go. Apart from that, the captain told them that they had to put the cross on the summit of the highest mountain in their country, so that by seeing it daily, they may adore it; and that if they did so, no thunder, lightning or tempest will destroy them.³⁸</p>	<p>brought, with the nails and the crown, to which those kings did reverence. And the captain caused them to be told that these things which he showed laces where he should go and travel. And he told them that he wished to set them up in their country for their benefit, so that if any ships of Spain came afterward to those islands, they seeing the said cross would know that we had been there. And by this token they would do them no harm, and if they took any of their men, being immediately shown this sign, they would let them go. Moreover, the captain told them that it was necessary that the cross be set up at the top of the highest mountain in their country, so that every day, seeing the said cross, they might worship it, and that, if they did this, not thunder, lightning, nor tempest could harm them.</p>
---	---

A comparison of the English translations made by Skelton and the Mojares Panel showed some marked differences in syntax but very small differences in content.

Following an examination of the known Pigafetta codices and their translations, the panel made the following conclusion:

³⁸ Translation by Robert John Yu.

The statements made by Butuan proponents about accuracy and precedence of the Pigafetta codices and their English translations are mostly baseless. Although an examination of the original texts of the Ambrosiana and Yale-Beinecke codices showed slight differences in content and syntax, one should consider the context in which the sources were written.

Skelton mentioned that the Ambrosian codex is “workmanlike rather than elegant” while the Yale-Beinecke is “the most magnificent... in respect of its writing, its illumination, and its maps.” The former, as Skelton said, was apparently the only remaining representative to the textual tradition deriving from Pigafetta’s original draft while the latter was a presentation copy to impress a possible sponsor to publish the account.

But considering that both Robertson and Skelton agree that both codices complement each other, it is not decisive, except on a few specific details, to consider what is accurate or not with the facts contained in both manuscripts.

a.4. On Longitude

The Atega paper emphasizes the determination of longitude to pinpoint the location (in this case, Butuan) of the First Easter Sunday Mass. Citing primary sources and contending that the coordinates cited in the Pigafetta, Albo, and the unknown Genoese pilot logs were relatively “accurate,” Atega traced the route taken by the expedition fleet and concluded that 9¾ degrees latitude combined with his reading of longitude coordinates in other sources does in fact lead to Butuan as the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass.

Although Atega's research is commendable, the panel reiterates that longitudinal measurements during the Age of Exploration are imprecise and unreliable because these navigational coordinates are estimates and are not scientifically precise. This is because the chronometer – the instrument invented by John Harrison to measure longitude accurately – was only invented in the 1760s. Before that, primitive instruments and guesswork were used to determine longitude.

This point was raised and discussed by Legarda Panel member Pedro Picornell, in his report for the Legarda Panel:

Navigators in the early 16th Century had no accurate way of determining longitude and this would have to wait until late in the 18th Century with the development of the marine chronometer.³⁹

Although a history of longitude will be too long to discuss here, research work by the panel confirms Picornell's statement:

Science writer Dava Sobel wrote in her book, *Longitude* (1995):

The measurement of longitude meridians... is tempered by time. To learn one's longitude at sea, one needs to know what it is aboard ship and also at the time at the home port or another place of known longitude – at that very same moment. The two clock times enable the navigator to convert the hour difference into a geographical separation. Since the Earth takes twenty-four hours to complete one full revolution of three hundred sixty degrees, one hour

³⁹ Pedro Picornell. "Where was the First Mass on Philippine Soil Celebrated?" Report for the Legarda Panel, January 13, 2009, 7.

marks one twenty-fourth of a spin, or fifteen degrees. And so each hour's time difference between the ship and the starting point marks a process of fifteen degrees of longitude to the east or west. Everyday at sea, when the navigator resets his ship's clock to local noon when the sun reaches its highest point in the sky, and then consults the home-port clock, every hour's discrepancy between them translates into fifteen degrees of longitude.

She then pointed out the problem of measuring longitude:

These same fifteen degrees of longitude also correspond to a distance traveled. At the equator, where the girth of the Earth is greatest, fifteen degrees stretch fully one thousand miles. North or south of that line, however, the mileage value of degree decreases. One degree of longitude equals four minutes of time the world over, but in terms of distance, one degree shrinks from sixty-eight miles at the Equator to virtually nothing at the poles.

Precise knowledge of the hour in two different places at once... was utterly unattainable up to and including the era of pendulum clocks. On the deck of a rolling ship, each clock would slow down or speed up, or stop running altogether....

For a lack of a practical method of determining longitude, every great captain in the Age of Exploration became lost at sea despite the best available charts

and compasses. From Vasco da Gama to Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, from Ferdinand Magellan to Sir Francis Drake – they all got where they were going willy-nilly, by forces attributed to good luck or the grace of God.⁴⁰

In his work on the discovery of longitude, Derek Howse also wrote that determining longitude was not possible “because at that time, it could not be done at sea.”⁴¹

This does not dismiss the fact there were attempts to measure longitude by the early navigators. But, again, these methods and resulting coordinates are, at best, estimates.

In 1314, it was proposed by a German mathematician, Johann Werner of Nuremberg, to use the lunar-distance method in determining navigational measurements using an instrument known as the cross-staff and an almanac and charts with estimates of the distance between the moon and fixed stars. But Howse, pointed out the problem with this method:

In practice, neither the instruments nor the tables were at that time accurate enough to give a useful result. Furthermore, Werner omitted to take in account lunar parallax – the fact that the Moon appears in a different position

⁴⁰ Dava Sobel. *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995), 4-6. Also see Simon Winchester. *The Perfectionist: How Precision Engineers Created the Modern World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2018), 29-36.

⁴¹ Derek Howse. *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of Longitude* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 161

according to the observer's position on Earth – something which is absolutely fundamental if accuracy is desired.⁴²

As early as the 15th century, new attempts of navigation were being conceptualized by Portuguese explorers. One of these was the use of astronomy “to supplement the time-honored methods of compass, lead line, and informal estimates of ship's speed.”⁴³ This method was apparently mentioned by Pigafetta in his *Treatise of Navigation*.⁴⁴

But, as Howse explained, this new method was effective for a latitude reading as ships traveled from a north-south direction. But it was the east-west direction that proved to be a problem. The first astronomical measurements of longitude were done in the late 14th century to the early 16th century but this was possible only if done on land. There was also a need for the appropriate instruments of the time like the cross staff and almanacs to determine such navigational measurements. *A check into the lists of the navigational instruments of the expedition showed that Magellan had no such instruments on board his ships.*⁴⁵

⁴² Howse, 8.

⁴³ Howse, 4.

⁴⁴ Antonio Pigafetta. “Treatise of Navigation” in Lord Stanley of Alderley (trans.). *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan*. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1874), 167-171.

⁴⁵ “Extracto de la la habilitación que tuvo y viage que hizo la Armada del Emperador Carlos V, de que era Capitán general Fernando Magallanes, compuesta de las cinco naos nombradas Trinidad, S. Antonio, Concepción, Victoria y Santiago” in Martin Fernandez de Navarette. *Colección de los Viages y Descubrimientos, Que Hicieron Por Mar Los Españoles Tomo IV*. (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1837), 8.

Naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison also discussed the difficulties of determining both latitude and longitude saying much of it was estimates because of the lack of navigational instruments. Furthermore, he pointed out that even after instruments were invented, it took some time before they were actually used by the ships they were made for.

For instance, the chronometer, which first enabled a navigator to get accurate longitude, was invented in 1750, but the royal French navy in 1833, with 250 ships, had only 44 chronometers. To assume that once an instrument is invented or a rutter or nautical almanac published, every offshore shipmaster is familiar with them, is a complete fallacy.⁴⁶

Morison summarized in his discussion on navigational methods with these words:

In general, the navigational methods in effect around 1500 lasted, with many refinements but no essential changes, until 1920-1930. Then radio beams, timers, echo-finders, and the like were first installed on warship and big steamships, replacing the navigator's dependence on his own efforts with shipboard instruments.⁴⁷

So, how did Magellan navigate his expedition?

⁴⁶ Samuel Eliot Morison. *The European Discovery of America, the Southern Voyages. (AD 1492-1616)*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 141.

⁴⁷ Morison, 142.

Magellan's navigational method is described by Pigafetta in his account as "*carteava et navigava*"⁴⁸. Skelton mistranslated this as "made sea charts"⁴⁹ while Robertson translates it as "understand sea charts"⁵⁰ to which Morison agreed, noting that:

The first word does not mean "make charts" but "navigated by the charts" (i.e. dead reckoning), *navigava* means using celestial navigation.⁵¹

As for the length of the *legua* by which the expedition pilots measured their distance, Morison cited Navarette on the various measurement of the *legua* during Magellan's time:

The legua used by Spaniards and Portuguese in Magellan's day equaled 3 3/7 nautical miles, "or 17.5 to the degree" which almost works out as almost 3.5 nautical miles.⁵²

The panel reiterates the fact presented by the Legarda Panel that a determination of the accuracy of longitude during Magellan's time was not possible and, at best, the navigational measurements made by Pigafetta, Albo, and "the Genoese pilot" are estimates. These have to be studied carefully in order to determine how these

⁴⁸ Robertson, 176.

⁴⁹ Skelton, 94.

⁵⁰ Robertson, 177.

⁵¹ Morison, 437.

⁵² Morrison, 433. He also cites Robertson for a discussion of the number of leagues the ship made through the measurement of its speed using the *catena*. See Robertson, 245 endnote 172.

measurements led to the conclusion that the First Easter Sunday Mass was on Limasawa Island.

B. Determining Limasawa

Before going into the arguments on the Limasawa presentation, the panel went over the evidence presented by the Butuan proponents. One of their main points of argument for locating the First Easter Sunday Mass in Butuan was the use of the Yale-Beinecke manuscript as the more reliable guide to navigational coordinates and transcriptions.

However, the panel, upon examination of the R.A. Skelton translation of the Yale-Beinecke codex, noted the footnote “*Mazzaua*” on page 74:

That island is in the latitude of nine and two thirds degrees towards the Arctic Pole, and in the longitude of one hundred and sixty-two from the line of demarcation. And from the other island, where we found the springs of fresh water, it is twenty-five leagues distant. And that island is called *Mazzaua*⁵³

In the footnote marked with a cross, Skelton wrote the following entry: “*Limasawa*.”⁵⁴ See the photograph of the page below:

⁵³ Skelton, 74.

⁵⁴ Skelton, 74.

Magellan's Voyage

74 that they could not live without it. In that island there is great quantity of dogs, cats, ^{pigeons} poultry and goats, of rice, ginger, coconuts, figs, * oranges, lemons, millet, wax and gold mines. That island is in the latitude of nine and two thirds degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in the longitude of one hundred and sixty-two from the line of demarcation. And from the other island, where we found the springs of fresh water, it is twenty-five leagues distant. And that island is called Mazzaua.†

We remained seven days in this place, then we laid course to the south-west, passing through five islands, namely, Ceylon, Balan, Canighan, Baibai, and Gatighan.‡ In this island of Gatighan are a kind of birds called *barbastigly*, who are as large as eagles.§ Of which we killed a single one, because it was late, which we ate, and it had the taste of a fowl. There are also in that island pigeons, doves, turtledoves, parrots and certain black birds as large as a fowl, with a long tail.|| They lay eggs as large as those of a goose, which they bury a good cubit deep under the sand in the sun, and so they are hatched by the great heat made by the warm sand. And when those birds are hatched they emerge. And those eggs are good to eat.

From the said island of Mazzaua to that of Gatighan it is twenty leagues. And leaving Gatighan we went westward. But the king of Mazzaua could not follow us, wherefore we awaited him near three islands, namely Polo, Ticobon, and Pozzon.¶ When the king arrived, he was astonished at our sailing, and the captain-general made him come on board his ship with some of his principal men, at which they were very pleased. And so we went to Zzubu, which is fifteen leagues distant from Gatighan.

* Bananas.

† Limasawa.

‡ The islands of Panaon (south of Leyte), Bohol (southwest of Leyte) and Canigao; the district of Baybay (in central Leyte); and the island of Apit or Himuquetan (?). The ships were sailing north through the Canigao Channel, along the west coast of Leyte.

§ These were 'flying foxes' or large fruit-eating bats.

|| Megapodes.

¶ The Camote Islands, west of Leyte: Poro, Pasijan, and Poson.

The Skelton footnote undercuts the Butuan proponents' argument since the very source they are using to prove their arguments (Butuan) endorses the point they are arguing against (Limasawa).

However, in order to provide further clarity on the case of Limasawa, the panel investigated the sources used. The following are the findings and conclusions of the panel:

b) Similarities of the Coordinates

The Atega presentation argued that the origin of the Limasawa controversy was Robertson's use of the Amoretti transcription. This argument is based on a confusion clarified earlier in this report.

However, the panel would also points out that, in spite of the problem mentioned by Robertson with the Amoretti transcription, *there is consistency with regard to the navigational coordinates* mentioned in the two main Pigafetta codices (the Ambrosiana and the Yale-Beinecke) and that subsequent transcribers and translators of both codices concluded that the island indicated by the coordinates (and, therefore, the site of the First Easter Mass) was Limasawa Island.

Based on the note found in the published Amoretti transcription, his conclusion was derived from an examination of the coordinates as they appeared on the 1752 Philippine map made by Jacques Nicolas Bellin (*Carte Des Philippines Dressee sur la Carte Espagnole du R.P. Murillo de Velarde. 1752*)⁵⁵. See the text of the Amoretti version (apparently edited but with no change of the coordinates) below:

⁵⁵ Bellin, however, did not include the Magellan Expedition route as originally shown in the Murillo Velarde map. He merely showed the areas of the Visayas and Northern Mindanao for

Situazi-
one di
Maffa-
na .

L'isola di *Maffana* è a gr. 9.° 40' di lat. boreale, 162.°
dalla linea di spartizione (a), e dista 25 leghe da *Humunù* .

Photograph No. 2, Mazawa location according to the Amoretti book.

And the subsequent footnote:

(a) Se *Maffana* è l'isola *Limassava* che vedesi nella Carta del *Bellin*, come v'è tutta la probabilità di crederlo, sta essa veramente a gr. 9.° 40.' di lat. bor., ma sta a gr. 190.° di long. occid. dalla linea di spartizione .

Photograph No. 3, Note on Photograph No. 2 from the Amoretti Book.

Alderney, in his translation of the Amoretti book, retained the same text and footnote, reinforcing the contention that the island in question was Limasawa.⁵⁶

The Da Mosto transcription of the Ambrosiana codex also included *the same coordinates* but now included the text that was edited out by Amoretti.

el core. se restasseno de uzarle, morirebenno. in questa isola sonno cany, gati, porci, galine, capre, rizo, gengero, cochi, figui, naranzi, limoni, miglio, panizo, sorgo, cera et molto oro. sta de latitudine in nove gradi et due tersi al Artico, et cento et sesanta dui de longitudine della linea de la repartitione, et vinticinque legue longi de la *Acquada*, et 20 se chiama *Mazana*. (1)

Photograph No. 4, Changes in the Da Mosto Transcription.

As translated by Robertson:

the cartographer's use. This observation is based on existing digital copies of the map on the Internet. See photo in Photograph Section

⁵⁶ See Alderley, 83.

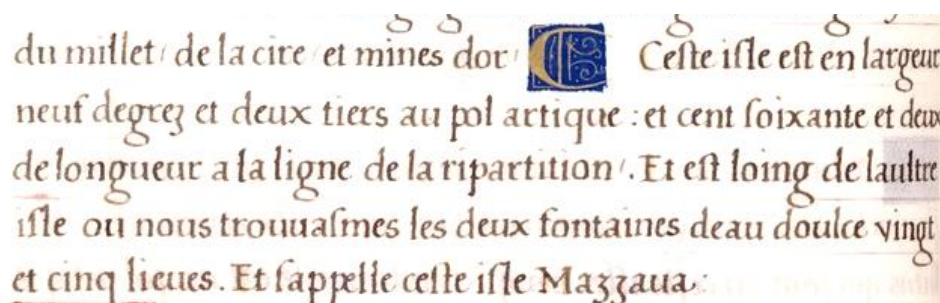
It lies in a latitude of nine and two thirds degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. It is twenty-five from the Acquada, and is called Mazaua.

The corresponding footnote is an analysis by Da Mosto comparing the various sources (the *Roteiro* of the “Genoese Pilot”; Albo’s journal; Transylvanus’s work, and Pigafetta’s) containing texts and coordinates that, although different, approximate each other with small margins of differences. His conclusion was that the island that corresponds to the coordinates was Limasawa Island:

(3) Il *Roteiro* (loc. cit. p. 278, r. 4) la chiama « Macangor » e le dà la latitudine di 9°. Aggiunge che dista venti leghe dall’isola Hummunù. ALBO (loc. cit. IV, 220) la mette a 9° 40’ di latitudine nord e la chiama « Mazava ». Il TRANSYLVANO (loc. cit. IV, 268) dice che vi approdaron, spinti da un fortunale, che aveva loro impedito d’approdare a Selana, e le dà il nome di « Masana ». Quest’isola corrisponde molto probabilmente all’odierna Limasana.

Photograph No. 5, Da Mosto’s conclusion of Mazaua.

The Yale-Beinecke is no different with regard to the coordinates as we can see in the photograph of the manuscript page:



du millet de la cire et mines dor. Ceste isle est en largeur
neuf degrez et deux tiers au pol artique : et cent soixante et deux
de longueur a la ligne de la ripartition. Et est loing de laultre
isle ou nous trouuames les deux fontaines deau douce vingt
et cinq lieues. Et s'appelle ceste isle Mazzaua.

Photograph No.6, Yale-Beinecke Coordinates on Mazaua.

See the Skelton translation of the text above and the subsequent footnote mentioning the said coordinates as that of Limasawa.

In effect, in spite of the Butuan proponents' claim that the "error" in replacing Butuan with Limasawa was derived from Robertson, the identification of Limasawa as the island in question was already made as early as the beginning of the 19th century. The panel concludes that, in spite of the various transcriptions and translations of the Pigafetta codices, the navigational coordinates (even though they are estimates) refer to the island of Limasawa.

b.2. Retracing the Magellan Voyage

An important contribution to studies on the Magellan voyage are the modern attempts to reenact the voyage as well as the use of modern technology to trace its route.

In 1971, the naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison retraced the Magellan route in a two-month journey under sail and in the air (using a low-flying aircraft), guided by such sources as the Francisco Albo log and other documents from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville. With him in the expedition was Mauricio Obregon, a Colombian historian with much experience in similar ventures (together with the Magellan voyage, he retraced thirteen voyages of discovery, starting with that of the Argonauts)⁵⁷

In the Philippines, Morison and Obregon were assisted by Pedro M. Picornell, historian, business executive, and avid yachtsman with much experience sailing

⁵⁷ Henry Raymont, "Adm. Morison to Sail in the Wake of Magellan," *The New York Times* (Nov. 4, 1971), 49; Raymont, "Morison Rates Magellan Above Columbus as a Seaman," *The New York Times* (April 24, 1972), 2.

southern Philippine waters. (In the early 1980s, Picornell also accompanied Obregon when the latter again retraced the Cebu-Moluccas leg of the Magellan voyage.) Picornell was a member of the Legarda Panel whose report to the panel is particularly informative because of his knowledge of 16th-century ships and navigation and experience with actual sailing conditions in the southern Philippines.

In 2006, the Spanish Society for International Exhibitions (SEEI) organized a more impressive and deeply researched retracing of the Magellan voyage, using an exact replica of the *Victoria* constructed by Fundacion Nao Victoria. Only materials employed 500 years ago were used to build the replica, which was equipped with 16th-century navigational instruments – astrolabe, quadrant, backstaff, lead line – along with state-of-the-art marine electronics.

The 20-member crew (which included specialists in navigation and naval engineering) was headed by naval engineer Ignacio Fernandez Vial, the leading Spanish expert in reconstructing working replicas of historic ships. In the research leading to the project, 428 written documents, drawings, and archaeological artifacts were used in the design of the replica, together with 164 documents referring to the Magellan expedition from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. Jose Luis Ugarte, a merchant marine captain, was in charge of navigation. He is considered Spain's premier transoceanic yachtsman and had twice sailed solo around the world.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Yvette Varvaressou, "Reconstruction of Magellan's Victoria docks in Piraeus on last leg of worldwide voyage." In www.ekathimerini.com/39030/article/ekathimerini/news/reconstruction-of-magellans-victoria-docks-in-piraeus

A copy of Vial's as-yet unpublished manuscript on *Victoria's* retracing of the Magellan voyage was shared with the panel through the efforts of panel member Dr. Carlos Madrid. Chapter 8, entitled "Filipinas-Brunei-Filipinas," details the Philippine section of the voyage, that included a stop at Limasawa (*Massana, Masaua*) in Leyte, which Vial located between 9°58'N and 9°53'E.

Both Morison and Vial are cognizant of the contradictions, variability, and imprecisions in the nautical measures and reckonings of 16th-century eyewitness accounts. *Yet, both the Morison and Vial expeditions found and identified Limasawa in Leyte (rather than Butuan) as the site in question.*

With today's technology, modern scholars have also tried to trace the Magellan expedition's route with the aid of computers. The panel reviewed a scholarly article authored by Doina Vasilica, *et al.* and noted the following observations.

Based on the findings of Vasilica, *et al*, designing a map of the Magellan expedition is "problematic" because of the following factors:

- a) the identification of the islands mentioned by Pigafetta have been changed since the beginning of the 16th century;⁵⁹
- b) the coordinates recorded by Pigafetta "proved useless because during that time longitudes could not be precisely determined"⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The word "changed" is a misnomer. What the authors probably meant was that the place names in the Pigafetta codices and other related sources were corrected based on their known names today.

Although the researchers recognized the problem of creating a precise map of the expedition, the data they obtained through computerized mapping proved to be significant for the panel's report.

According to the researchers, one of their main steps in designing their map involved:

- **Add layers:** layers featuring the grid of latitude and longitude at intervals of 1, 5, 10, 15 and 30 degrees have been added to the map... in order to check those points with geographical coordinates in Pigafetta's journal.⁶¹

The results of the method are shown in the table below:

⁶⁰ Doina Vasilica, et al. "The First Voyage Around the World – An Old Story Told Using a New Application" Proceedings of the 16th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference SGEM 2016, 509.

⁶¹ Vasilica, et.al., 505.

Table 1

Pigafetta's journal			Present			Differences	
Name	Latitude	Longitude from the Demarcation Line (47°37' W Greenwich) Longitude from Greenwich	Name	Latitude	Longitude from Greenwich	Latitude	Longitude
Ladrones Islands	12° N	146° 166°23'E	Mariana Islands (Guam)	13°30'N	144° 48' E	1°30'	-21°35'
Zamal Island	10° N	161° 151°23'E	Samar Island	11°50'N (10°57'N - 12°53'N)	125°03'E (124°23'E - 125°50'E)	1°50'	-26°20'
Masawa Island	9° 40' N	162° 150°23'E	Limasawa Island	09°56'N	125°04'E	0°16'	-25°19'
Zebu Island	10° N	154° 158°23'E	Cebu Island	10° 45' N	123° 45' E	0°19'	-34°38'
Bohol Island (Chilut harbor)	8° N	167° 145°23'E	Bohol Island	9°53'N (9°33'N-10°10'N)	124°13'E (123°44'E-124°35'E)	1°53'	-21°10'
Palawan Island	9° 20' N	171°20' 141°03'E	Palawan Island	9°30'N	118°30'E	0°10'	-22°33'
Borneo (Borneo) Island	5° 15' N	176°40' 135°43'E	Borneo Island	01°00'N (4°05' S-6°55' N)	114°15'E (109°24'E-119°07'E)	4°15'	-21°27'
Tidore Island	0° 27' N	161° 151°23'E 148°53'E	Tidore Island (Maluku Islands)	0°41'N	127°24'E	0°14'	-23°59'
Timor Island	10°S	174°30' 138°23'E	Timor Island	9°14'S	124°56'E	0°46'	-13°27'
Cape of Malacca	1°30'S	-	Cape of Malacca	2°12'N	102°15'E	0°42'	-
Cape of Good Hope	34°31'S	-	Cape of Good	34°21'S	18°28'E	-0°10'	-

As the table shows, Pigafetta's coordinates of 9° 40"N as measured by the researchers with the aid of computers corresponded to Limasawa Island with the coordinates 9° 56' N with only a 0°16' difference in the latitude and a difference of - 25°19' from the 125°04'E longitude measured from the Line of Demarcation which was at 162°. *We must take into account that the researchers have no personal interest in the present controversy and the creation of the map and the inputting of coordinates for its creation was for the sake of scholarship.* The fact is that *Limasawa Island (with the cited margin of error) coincided with the coordinates that were taken from the Pigafetta journal.*⁶²

Of interest as well in shedding some light on the controversy are the Spanish expeditions that came in the wake of the Magellan voyage since they were, in effect, attempts in retracing the voyage with the aim of finding survivors and extending the reach and purposes of the Magellan expedition. Clearly, they voyaged equipped with the knowledge (including the nautical) gained in the Magellan expedition.

⁶² Vasilica, et.al., 508. Based on their bibliography, the researchers used Pigafetta, A., *Primer Viaje en torno del Globo*. Versión castellana d Don Federico Ruiz Morcuende, Edición del IV Centenario, Espasa Calpe, Madrid, pp. 29-37, 1922.

The coordinates determined by the researches were measured from the Line of Demarcation as was also done by the transcribers of the Pigafetta codices from Amoretti to Robertson. Atega, in his presentation, measured his coordinates from the Port of San Julian which, as he explained, was the beginning of the Albo journal. This would, understandably, provide a different navigational measurement from the point of the original departure of the expedition and the navigational coordinates from the Line of Demarcation.

Four expeditions followed the Magellan voyage: Juan Garcia Jofre de Loaysa (1525-26), Alonso de Saavedra (1527-28), Ruy Lopez de Villalobos (1542-43), and Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (1565+). Both the Loaysa and Saavedra expeditions reached Mindanao but were mainly limited to coasting eastern or southeastern Mindanao (Surigao, Davao, Sarangani). They were interested in sailing northward to Cebu but did not gain headway because of adverse winds and currents.

The Villalobos expedition went deeper into the archipelago. As historian Nicholas Cushner, S.J. narrates, “the fleet struck north, heading for Limasawa [*Mazagua*], off the southern tip of Leyte,” but finding the southeast winds too strong, the fleet turned back and stayed on the southern side of Mindanao. However, the galiot *San Cristobal*, which had been separated from the fleet by a storm, made it to Limasawa where the “crew lived off the island for two months, so it was apparently well-stocked with food.” Villalobos and the rest of the fleet wanted to go to this “land of plenty” but were prevented from doing this due to “the prevailing northeasterlies which blew down the eastern coast of the Philippines.” The fleet scattered; some made their way to the Leyte-Samar area on the way back to Mexico while others found their way to the Moluccas.⁶³

⁶³ Nicholas Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, Institute of Philippine Culture, 1971), 30-39. See the maps showing the tracks of the Loaysa, Saavedra, Villalobos, and Legazpi expeditions in Cushner, 33 and 49, and in V.B. Licuanan & J.L. Mira, *The Philippines Under Spain: A Compilation and Translation of Original Documents* (Manila: National Trust for Historical and Cultural Preservation of the Philippines, 1990), I:76, 166, 172.

The Loaysa and Saavedra expeditions had no contact with either Limasawa or Butuan, while the Villalobos expedition, based on the sources cited, had contact with Limasawa but not Butuan.

The Legazpi expedition entered Philippine waters in eastern Visayas, including Limasawa, and set sail for Butuan but was stopped by contrary winds and tricky tides. Legazpi sent a party instead, headed by Juan de la Isla, to trade and procure supplies in Butuan while he and the rest of the fleet stayed behind in Leyte and Bohol before heading for Cebu.

If Butuan were the place where the First Mass was celebrated and, perhaps more important, where the cross was planted (sign of Spanish presence and possession), and where moreover the Magellan expedition had a long, productive stay, one would expect that Butuan would be a prime destination of the expeditions that followed Magellan. Why does it not appear to be so?

The panel concludes that in spite of the problems to the determination of longitudes and the navigational coordinates recorded by the sources on the Magellan Expedition, the island where the First Easter Sunday Mass was celebrated was Limasawa Island.

C) Regarding Other Evidence

For the purpose of clarifying some of the arguments in this case, the panel presents hereunder additional information on points raised by the Butuan and Limasawa proponents.

c.1) Location

As stated earlier, members of the panel and the NHCP staff inspected the sites where the proponents said the First Mass took place. For the Butuan side, the following places were visited:

1. Baug, Magallanes, Agusan del Norte, the original site of the 1872 First Mass Monument in Butuan (November 10, 2018); and,
2. Mount Minga-aso near Butuan City which was inspected by Dr. Carlos Madrid accompanied by Gerwill Cruz of the NHCP (July 17, 2019). Dr. Potenciano Malvar claims that this mountain was the site of the cross erected by Magellan's men. It is also from this site where "the three islands" can be seen.

Based on the observations and recommendations of the site inspectors, the following conclusions were made:

1. The panel was unable to visit Mt. Panaytayon in Baug, the site where the cross was planted and from which the "three islands" can be seen, according to Atega. In the meeting in Cebu in December 2018, however, Atega said that *Mt. Panaytayon can be reached on foot from the seashore in 45 minutes.*
2. The site inspection of Mount Minga-aso by Dr. Carlos Madrid showed that the place could not possibly be the site of the cross planted by Magellan and his men. For one thing, the place is around 30-45 minutes by car from the nearest shoreline and this is too far for Magellan and his men to walk carrying a heavy wooden cross. The time does not

include climbing the mountain with its steep and rocky trails. Unfortunately, the rainy weather in the area at the time of the visit prevented the observation of the alleged “three islands” from the mountain top. In addition, Dr. Madrid also noted that the archaeological material found at the site do not appear to be of sixteenth-century vintage. In any case, no proof has been advanced that they date back to the time of Magellan (see photos in Photograph Section).

In Limasawa, the proposed site where the planting of the cross took place as recorded by Pigafetta was visited by members of the panel.⁶⁴ At Saub Point, Dr. Madrid identified the easternmost of the two summits, which is the highest of the two and with a wider view of the horizon from all sides, as the most probable site of the planting of the cross ⁶⁵ (see photograph in Photograph Section).

c.2. Other Issues

Time constraints prevent the panel from addressing all the issues in this decades-long controversy beyond what has been dealt with in this report. There are a few more specific points however that the panel will mention if only to illustrate questions of

⁶⁴ The climbing of the summit by Dr. Madrid and Dr. Borrinaga was done with the assistance of Officer 1, Rodmark Calasang, and the young explorers Niel Armosada, Joshua Escobedor, Chaney Armosada, to whom we express our gratitude.

⁶⁵ The Samsung S9 used to record the Google Maps coordinates signaled 9, 56', 9"N and 125, 04' 57.2" E, marked by Google Maps as 9.939936, 125.082550 on April 26, 2019, at 3:40pm, from the top of the rock formation seeing in the picture. The Google Maps coordinates may be altered over time.

historical interpretation that problematize the claims that some of the proponents have made.

c.2.1. Hontiveros cited two church documents to demonstrate the depth of the Butuan tradition. One of them was *Anales ecclesiasticos de Filipinas 1574-1683* from which he cites the following statement (Atega also cites this source as lending official church recognition of Butuan as the site of the First Mass.)

“On Easter Sunday, the First Mass was celebrated by his [Magellan] captain in Butuan”

Hontiveros mistook the church document as originating from the late 16th or early 17th century. In fact, the *Anales* was believed to have been written in the “second half of the XVIIIth century” based on the examination of Dominican archivist Fr. Pablo Fernandez, O.P. of the actual bound manuscript.⁶⁶ Fernandez also notes:

The first part of the ANNALS clearly has little historical value as the author sincerely confesses that he lacked documents⁶⁷

⁶⁶ The 1994 English translation by the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila (AAM) of the *Anales* is in fact, the second time it was translated. The first translation into English was done by University of Santo Tomas Faculty of Law Dean Antonio Molina and was serialized in the *Philippiniana Sacra* journal of UST as part of its “Philippiniana Records” series beginning in 1967. The introduction to the series was made by Fernandez. Unfortunately, the translation was not completed. See “Philippiniana Records: *Anales Ecclesiasticos de Filipinas*” in *Philippiniana Sacra*. II:4 January-April, 1967, 177-202.

⁶⁷ *Anales*, 178

Later, in the entry that Hontiveros cited, the following footnote by Fernandez appears:

In regard to the first Mass, modern criticism holds that it was said in the island of Limasawa, although an ancient Spanish tradition, which the author records here, favours Butuan, north of Mindanao, as its site.⁶⁸

As for the second church document, the 1886 *Breve reseña de diocesis de Cebu*, the relevant citation on Butuan as the site of the First Mass comes from Augustinian Gaspar de San Agustin's *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, first published in 1698 after several additions and corrections were made by his fellow Augustinians before publication.⁶⁹

To conclude, the statements cited by Hontiveros draw from what has been called the "Butuan tradition" that, as has been argued, originated with errors believed to have been derived from Jesuit missionaries Francisco Colin, SJ and Francisco Combes, SJ. The statements cited have little value in themselves.

c.2.2. An interesting issue is the testimony of Gines de Mafra, a member of the Magellan expedition who would in 1543 return to the Philippines as one of the pilots in the Villalobos expedition (on this expedition, see above). This makes him a "privileged"

⁶⁸ *Anales*, 200

⁶⁹ See the introduction by Manuel Merino, OSA to the edition of Gaspar de San Agustin, OSA. *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698) published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas (CSIC) in Madrid (1973).

witness since he returned to *Macagua* where he and his companions were stranded for some five months. What he said about *Macagua* “unlocks” the mystery of its location, say the Butuan proponents. In particular, they point to Mafra’s statements that the island is 15 leagues “below” [i.e., 45 n.m.] Butuan and that it has a “circumference” of three or four leagues [which would translate into an area of 2,200 to 3,900 has.] These figures can only refer to Butuan (or “Butuan” as construed in Magellan’s time); they could not possibly mean Limasawa, it is argued.

Documents, however, are mediated and rarely transparent. To begin with, one must note that Mafra’s account was not written by him; he was reminiscing to a scribe some years after the event and it was published only in 1920 in Madrid in a volume edited by Antonio Blasquez and Delgado Aguilera.⁷⁰

Leyte historian Rolando Borrinaga has also pointed out that mistranslations of the Mafra account have created problems of interpretation, saying that the pertinent portions should have been translated as “15 leagues north of Butuan” instead of “15 leagues below Butuan” and that “circumference” should have been “circuit” (as it is in the original, *circuito*), thus correcting an equivalence as high as 3,900 hectares to around 700 hectares. These corrections, Borrinaga argues, would put Mafra’s *Macagua* well within the location of Limasawa. Moreover, Mafra’s statement that “there is a good harbor on its western side,” which Butuan proponents say could not have been the case for

⁷⁰ See Laurence Bergreen, *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan’s Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe* (New York: William Morrow, 2003), 420n.

Limasawa, has been clarified by a correction by Borrinaga as added proof that the place is Limasawa and not Butuan.⁷¹

D. On the Limasawa Presentation

In the Tacloban Meeting on April 25-26, 2019, the members of the panel listened to the presentation of the Limasawa proponent Dr. Rolando Borrinaga entitled “Limasawa was Phonetically Called Masawa until 1602 and the Western Mazaua Site of the Easter Sunday Mass in 1521”.

In his paper, Borrinaga not only reiterated that Limasawa Island was the place of the first Easter Sunday Mass; he made the following arguments based on his research:

- a) that another site, specifically Barangay Triana on the western side of the island, was the place where the First Easter Sunday Mass was celebrated and not Barangay Magallanes on the eastern side where a shrine of the First Mass is now located.
- b) A nearby hill named Saub Point overlooking Saub Bay was the place where a cross was planted by Magellan’s men;
- c) The three islands Pigafetta saw can be seen from Saub Point and these are believed to be those of Camiguin, Bohol, and the Surigao area of Caraga.

⁷¹ Rolando O. Borrinaga, “Barangay Triana: The Right Site of the First Mass in 1521,” *Leyte-Samar Shadows: Essays on the History of Eastern Visayas* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2008), 1-10.

To investigate this historical assertion, members of the panel went to Limasawa Island on April 26 to conduct an ocular inspection of the First Easter Sunday Mass shrine in Barangay Magallanes. They then proceeded to Barangay Triana where they visited the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass proposed by Borrinaga and climbed Saub Point, which was theorized to be the point where the cross may have been erected. *It was noted that the site proposed by Borrinaga as the place where the cross was erected is easily accessible through a plateau located on one side of the mountain. It is also worth noting that both sites in Limasawa have a vantage point for seeing the three islands allegedly seen by Pigafetta.*

PART IV – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

On the First Easter Sunday Mass Controversy

The panel has concluded that, based on the evidence presented and the research it has conducted in aid of the evaluation, the evidence and arguments presented by the pro-Butuan proponents, while commendably serious and substantial, are not sufficiently conclusive as to demand a repeal or reversal of the current government ruling on the case of the First Easter Sunday Mass. The panel therefore recommends that Limasawa Island, Leyte, be sustained as the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass of 1521.

On Butuan

The panel, however, recognizes the deep historical significance of the greater Butuan area as a precolonial trading center and base in the Christianization of Mindanao, a significance that transcends the question of whether or not it is the site of the “first mass.” The panel therefore recommends that the National Historical

Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) initiate and support the promotion of Butuan as a one of the country's premier historic sites.

On Limasawa

The panel endorses the changes proposed by historian Dr. Rolando Borrinaga to wit: That Barangay Triana instead of Barangay Magallanes (both in Limasawa) be recognized – after proper consultation with the local stakeholders or government units – as the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass, and that Saub Point in Triana be likewise recognized as the site of the cross planted by Magellan and his men.

SUBMISSION OF REPORT

This Report has been duly discussed and edited by the panel members. The signatures are hereby affixed in concurrence with the Conclusions and Recommendations presented and is hereby submitted to the Chairman and Board Members of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) for information and appropriate action.

Signed this ____th day of _____, 2019

DR. RESIL B. MOJARES

Chairman

DR. DANILO M. GERONA

Member

DR. FRANCIS M. NAVARRO

Member

DR. CARLOS MADRID ÁLVAREZ-PIÑER

Member

FR. ANTONIO FRANCISCO B. DE CASTRO, S.J.

Member

DR. JOSE VICTOR Z. TORRES

Secretary General

This report is accepted and duly noted by the Chairman of the National Historical

Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) this ____ day of _____, 2019

DR. RENE R. ESCALANTE

Chairman, National Historical Commission of the Philippines &
Executive Director, National Quincentennial Committee

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - A List of the Government-Commissioned Panels Formed to Investigate the First Easter Mass Controversy

A. LIVE-IN WORKSHOP ON THE SITE OF THE FIRST MASS IN THE PHILIPPINES COVELANDIA, BINAKAYAN, KAWIT, CAVITE. 22-25 FEBRUARY, 1980

Chairman - Samuel K. Tan
Members - Vicente L. Calo
Epifanio M. Dagza, Sr.
Regino Dodds Giagonia
Isagani R. Medina
Alfredo T. Tiamson
Rosalinda N. Caneda
Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr.
Ma. Minerva A. Gonzales
Demy P. Sonza

The workshop panel's decision was to uphold "the Limasawa view on the site of the First Mass in the Philippines."

B. THE GANCAYCO PANEL (1998)

Chairman - Emilio A. Gancayco
Members - Bartolome C. Fernandez Jr.
Ma. Luisa T. Camagay

The panel resolution issued on March 20, 1998 concluded that "the first-ever Christian Mass on Philippine soil on March 31, 1521 was celebrated in the island of Limasawa, South of Leyte."

C. THE LEGARDA PANEL (2009)

Chairman - Benito Legarda, Jr.
Members - Fr. Jose Cruz, SJ
Pedro Picornell

The panel concluded that the site of the First Mass in the Philippines was on Limasawa Island. The panel also added a postscript with the assertion of Butuan's historical and archaeological importance in Philippine history.

PHOTOGRAPH INDEX

- P. 53 Photograph No. 1, Pigafetta Translation by B.R. Skelton, p. 74
- P. 55 Photograph No. 2, Mazawa location according to the Amoretti book.
- P. 55 Photograph No. 3, Note on Photograph No. 2 from the Amoretti Book.
- P. 55 Photograph No. 4, Changes in the Da Mosto Transcription.
- P. 56 Photograph No. 5, Da Mosto's conclusion of Mazaua.
- P. 56 Photograph No.6, Yale-Beinecke Coordinates on Mazaua.
- P. 61 Photograph No. 7, Vasilica, et. al. Table of Coordinates