

Enrique de Malacca: A Tribute to the Philippine Bisayan Who Circumnavigated the Globe with Magellan

CANTIUS J. KOBAK, OFM

Introduction

Year 2004 reminds us that it is already 483 years ago that Magellan and his slave, Enrique de Malacca, circumnavigated the globe in that epic and momentous voyage. Historians and research scholars continue to probe, study and seek new insights into that incredible feat of history by looking selectively on some crew members of the Armada or Fleet.

This writer wishes, first, to pay a new tribute to Magellan in the words of William Manchester, penned as a *Foreword* to the relatively recent scholarly contribution entitled *Magellan* by Tim Joyner.

Secondly, a *first tribute* to Magellan's slave, *Enrique de Malacca* purchased there in the year 1511. Pigafetta speaks of Enrique's origins as coming from Sumatra. New exciting data goes on to show that his true origin was, what is now the Central Philippines or better known as the Bisayan Region.

Thirdly, the writer wishes to re-weave in a somewhat summary manner the life of Magellan from several excellent biographers and his search for the westward approach to the Moluccas. Also, the grand role that Enrique has played first as an interpreter in Malacca and regions and later as an interpreter at Humonhon, Samar, Limasawa, Leyte and Cebu and Mactan.

Finally, a tribute to the 264 heroic members on the five caravels: the *Trinidad*, the *San Antonio*, the *Concepción*, the *Victoria* and the *Santiago*.

Manchester's Incomparable Appraisal and Tribute to Magellan

It is imperative that the *Foreword* penned by Manchester be cited here as an evaluatory '*masterpiece*' and a tribute to Magellan. He has captured the spirit of Magellan like no other historian thus far.

"Magellan! His name ricochets down the canyons of nearly five centuries – ricochets, because the trajectory of his zigzagging life, never direct, dodged this way and that, ever elusive and often devious...

"He was born a son of a fourth-grade nobleman, in middle age he renounced his native land and, as a Portuguese immigrant in Spanish Seville, took on the name Fernando de Magallanes rather than Fernao de Magalhais.

"In *San Lucar de Barrameda*, before embarking for immortality on September 20, 1519, he signed his *Last Will and Testament* as '*Hernando de Magallanes*...

"On his historic voyage he sailed under the colors of Spain. Today, Lisbon proudly acclaims him: '*Ele e nosso!*' – 'He is ours!' But that is chutzpah! In his lifetime his countrymen treated him as a renegade, calling him '*traidor*' and '*suo rege transfuga*' – 'a turncoat.

"One would expect the mightiest explorer in history to have been sensitive and proud, easily stung by such slurs. In fact, he was unoffended. By our lights, his character was knotted and intricate. It was more comprehensible to his contemporaries, however, because the *capitán general* of 1519-1521 was, to an exceptional degree, a creature of his time. His modesty, for example, arose from his *faith*. In the early sixteenth century individualism, and pride in achievement, were reserved for sovereigns, who were believed to be sheathed in divine glory. Being a lesser mortal, and a pious one, Magellan assumed that the *Madonna* was responsible for his accomplishments.

"At the time he may have underrated them. That is more understandable. He was an explorer, a man whose destiny it was to venture into the unknown. What he found was, therefore, new. He had a fairly good idea of its worth but lacked accurate standards by which to measure it. Indeed, he could not even be certain what he was looking for until he had found it, and the fact that he had no clear view of his target makes the fact that he hit it squarely all the more remarkable!

"It seems that at the outset, his sponsors had seen his goals very different. If the possibility of circumnavigating the globe had crossed his mind, he left it unmentioned in his royal audience with Carlos I, sovereign of Aragon and Castile, who, as the elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles Vth, was to play a key (if largely unwitting) role in the great religious revolution which split Christendom and signaled the end of the medieval world.

"Carlos's commission to Magellan was to journey westward, there to claim Spanish possession of an archipelago which was then in the hands of his Iberian rival, Manuel of Portugal. These were the 'Spice Islands' – the Moluccas, lying between Celebes and New Guinea...

"But this Moluccan venture was, as Dr. Joyner notes, '*a scientific failure and a diplomatic disaster*'. Indeed, as the leader of the expedition, Magellan was killed before he could even reach there. Meanwhile, however, he had struck upon a different archipelago, now known as the Philippines. This was of momentous importance, for east-bound Portuguese had reconnoitered the Spice Islands nine years earlier. Therefore, in overlapping them, he had closed the nexus between the 123rd and 124th degrees of east longitude. His voyage had encircled the Earth.

"Yet, his achievements were slighted. Death is always a misfortune, at least to the man who has to do the dying, but in Magellan's case it was exceptionally so, for as dead discoverer he was unhonored in his own time. The Spanish sovereign – displaying the same lack of judgment which had marked his confrontation with Martin Luther at the *Diet of Worms* – chose to lionize the surviving seaman who had conned the fleet's one remaining vessel back to Seville. The same man had mutinied against the *captain general* off the coast of Patagonia. Even Magellan's discovery of the

strait which bears his name was belittled. Only a superb mariner, which he was, could negotiate the treacherous, 350-mile-long, now known as the *Ostrich de Magellan's*.

"In the years after his death, expedition after expedition tried to follow his lead, but they could not do it; all but two were shipwrecked or turned homeward, and those two met disaster in the Pacific. Frustrated and defeated, skippers decided that Magellan's exploit was impossible, and they broadcast the slander that it was a myth.

"Had fortune and a vicarage role in the Moluccas been Magellan's real motive, he would have been by his own lights, a failure. But the true drives of a man may be hidden from him. That was true here. Magellan's vision may have been cloudy, but his real inspiration had been *larger than greed*. The profit motive does not exalt, and throughout his epic voyage he had been a man transformed. Now we know that he had actually triumphed – had, in fact, provided the first empirical evidence that the world is round.

"In so doing, he had done much more. He had provided a linchpin for the men of the Renaissance, philosophers, scholars, and even learned men in the Church had begun to challenge stagnant medieval assumptions, among them Vatican *statement* on the shape and size of the Earth, and its position in the universe. Magellan had given men a realistic perception of the globe's dimensions, of its enormous seas, of how its mandamuses were distributed. Others had raised questions, he had provided answers, which now, inevitably, would lead to further questions – to challenge which continue on the eve of the twenty-first century.

Magellan was a commander, but he lacked commanding presence. Despite his high birth, his build was that of a peasant – short, swart, with a low center of gravity. His skin was leathery, his black beard bushy, and his eyes large, sad, and brooding. Bearing scars of battle, he walked with a pronounced limp, the souvenir of a lance wound in Morocco, he had acted recklessly then, and would again, in the last twenty-four hours of his life, but he was seldom impulsive. On the contrary, his reserve approached the stoical. A man who lived within, he saved the best of himself for himself, relishing his solitude. As a commander he could be

ruthless – ‘tough, tough, tough’, in the words of a fellow mariner, yet even officers critical of him conceded that he was always quick to reward men who performed well, and he was generally admired below decks.

“Proud of his lineage, meticulous, fiercely ambitious, stubborn, driven, secretive, and iron-willed, the *capitan general* was guided by an inner beacon which he discussed with no one, for there was a hidden side to this old seaman which would have astonished his men. He was imaginative, a dreamer; in a time of blackguards and brutes he believed in heroism. Romance had become a muted theme, although not altogether dead....

“Magellan, a man of boundless curiosity, found reality equally enthralling, devouring the works of Giovanni de Plano Carpini, who traveled east to Karakorum in 1245, and Marco Polo’s account of his adventures in the orient, dictated to a fellow prisoner in 1296. More important, the commander of the armada which would encircle the world had been inspired by the feats of Columbus and the discoverers since him. Other Europeans dreamed of following their lead. What set Magellan apart was his unswerving determination to match them and thus become a hero himself. Erasmus and his colleagues were admirable, but they were writers and talkers. Magellan had learned that deeds are supreme; he knew Meredith’s ‘terrific decree in life’ that ‘*they must act who would prevail.*’ And in his struggle for dominance his most valuable possession was his extraordinary will. He could endure disappointment and frustration with an almost inhuman patience, but he could never submit to defeat. He simply did not know how.

“Some twenty-five degrees from the south celestial pole, two luminous galaxies, easily visible to the naked eye, span the night sky. These companions of the Milky Way are the ‘Magellanic Clouds’, trails of glory which arouse awe, give the heavens grandure, and testify to the immensity of the universe. So high are they that their distance can be grasped only by a mighty sweep of the imagination. A ray of starlight from there, traveling at its speed of over 186,000 miles per second – six trillion miles a year – cannot become visible on Earth for 80,000 years. Thus the illumination which was leaving the Clouds when Magellan emerged from his Strait and crossed the Pacific will not reach this planet for another 795 centuries, a cosmic perspective which would have pleased him.

“He was not the wisest man of his time. Erasmus was. Neither was he the most gifted. That, surely was Leonardo. But Magellan became what, as a child, he had yearned to be – the era’s greatest hero. The reason is intricate, but important to understand. Heroism is often confused with physical courage. In fact that two are very different. There was nothing heroic about Magellan’s death. He went into that last darkness a seasoned campaigner, accompanied by his own men, and he was completely fearless because as he drew his last breath he believed – indeed knew – that paradise was imminent. Similarly, the soldier who throws himself on a live grenade, surrendering his life to save his comrades, may be awarded the Medal of Honor. Nevertheless his deed, being impulsive, is actually unheroic. Such acts, no more reflective than the swift withdrawal of a blistered hand from a red-hot stove, are involuntary. Heroism is the exact opposite – always deliberate, never mindless.

“Neither, if it is valor of the first water, may it be part of a group endeavor. All movements, including armies, provide their participants with such tremendous support that pursuit of common goals, despite great risk, is little more than ardent conformity. Indeed, the truly brave member is the main who repudiates the communal objective, challenging the rest of the group outright. Since no such discordant note was ever heard around the round table, young Magellan, had he been enchanted by the tales of *Arthur* or *El Cid*, had been gulled. It follows that generals, presidents – all leaders backed by blind masses – are seldom valiant, thought interesting exceptions occasionally emerge. Politicians who defy their constituents over matters of principle, knowing they will be driven from office, qualify as heroic. So, to cite a rare military instance, did General MacArthur when, protesting endless casualty lists with no prospect of an armistice, he sacrifice his career and courted disgrace.

“The hero acts alone, without encouragement, relying solely on conviction and his own inner resources. Shame does not discourage him; neither does obloquy. Indifferent to approval, reputation, wealth, or love, he cherishes only his personal sense of honor, which he permits no one else to judge. La Rochefoucauld, not always a cynic, wrote of him that he does *‘without witnesses what we could be capable of doing before everyone.’*

"In the long lists of history it is difficult to find another figure whose heroism matches Magellan's. For most sixteenth-century Europeans his *Verstellung* – to circle the globe – was unimaginable. To launch the pursuit of this vision, he had to turn his back on his own country, inviting charges of treason. Before his departure Portuguese agents repeatedly tried, with some success, to sabotage his expedition. When he did sail, his hodgepodge crews could not even communicate in the same tongue, and the background of the captains assigned to him almost guaranteed mutiny and treachery, which indeed followed. Unable even to confide in anyone else after his crushing disappointments at the *Rio de la Plata*, he stubbornly continued his search for the *strait* he alone believed in, and when he had at last found it, deserters fled with his largest ship [i.e. the *San Antonio*] and the bulk of the fleet's provisions.

"The shabby circumstances of his death are troubling, representing flagrant deviance from his code of conduct. They may be partly explained by his exhilaration after sailing around the world, and partly by the fact that, living in a God-ridden age, he was distorted by its imperatives. Yet the distortion in him was slight when measured against other chief figures of his time. The hands of contemporary popes, kings, and reformers were drenched with innocent blood. His were spotless. Granted that his misjudgments on Mattoon isle were unworthy of him, the fact remains that few men have paid so high a price for their lapses. He lost not only his life, but, of even greater moment, the triumphant completion of his voyage and indication in his time.

"His character was, of course, imperfect. But heroes need not be admirable, and indeed most have not been. The web of driving traits behind their accomplishments almost assures that. Men who do the remarkable – heroic and otherwise – frequently fail in their personal relationships. This unpleasant reality is usually glossed over in burnishing the images of the great. So many eminent statesmen, writers, painters, and composers have been tolerable sons, husbands, fathers, and friends that they may fairly be said to have been the rule. Lincoln's marriage was a disaster. Winston Churchill's charm concealed a broad streak of cruelty. Franklin Roosevelt, to put it in the kindest possible way, was a dissembler.

"They were achievers. Genuine paladins are even livelier to have been objectionable. Yet their flaws, though deplorable, were irrelevant; in the end their heroism shone through untarnished. Had Ferdinand Magellan met Jesus the Christ, the Galilean might have felt a pang of disappointment – which the *capitan general* might have shared – but Magellan, like the Nazarene, was also a hero. He still is. He always will be. Of all the tributes to him, therefore, the *Magellanic Clouds* are the most appropriate. Like them, his memory shines down upon the world his voyage opened, illuminating it from infinity to eternity." [Tim Joyner, *Magellan* (Camden, ME:International Marine Printing, 1992), "Forward by William Manchester, pp. ix-xiv].

Enrique de Malacca: A Tribute to His Origins and His Interpretative Contributions

Sources concerning Enrique de Malacca are very minimal and highly limited; one finds only brief references to him. Some of the primary references are: Pigafetta's *Chronicle*, Francisco Albo's *Journal*, biographies of Magellan of which the foremost is that of Tim Joyner entitled *Magellan*; Maximilian from Transylvania has some fragments in his *De Moluccis Insulis*, written in Valladolid in 1522.

All of these chronicles, journals, biographies, writers and even Magellan himself, refer to Enrique as a 'slave'. And surely he was such when purchased by Magellan in the slave markets of Malacca in 1511. However, in reality and actuality, Magellan treated him as a cherished friend and trusted companion; as his all-important Malayan interpreter who served him extremely well.

How deep did that friendship between Magellan and Enrique go? Let us turn to Magellan's *Will and Testament* which he legally prepared in 1519 before his departure for that epic westward voyage.

Magellan includes Enrique in His *Last Will*

Shortly prior to his departure for the incredible voyage westward, Magellan executed in Seville on August 24, 1519, his *Last Will Testament*. The paragraph cited here pertains to the Malayan Enrique, his slave.

"And by this my present will and testament, I declare and ordain as free of every obligation of captivity, subjection, and slavery, my captured slave Enrique, a mulatto, native of the city of Malacca, of the age of twenty-six years more or less, that from the day of my death thenceforward forever the said Enrique may be free and manumitted, and freed, exempt, and relieved of every obligation of slavery and subjection, and that he may act as he desires and thinks fit; and I desire that of my estate there may be given to the said Enrique the sum of 10,000 maravedis in money for his support; and this manumission I grant because he is a Christian, and that he may pray to God for my soul." (Appendix 6, Magellan's Will, p. 301, in Joyner).

In Joyner's *Appendix 3-A, Ships' Rosters*, we see Enrique listed aboard the *caravel Trinidad* with Magellan, as an interpreter with a pay of 1,500 maravedis; his origin is shown as Central Philippines. In the 'remarks column' we find this entry "Remained in Cebu after May 1, 1521". [*Appendix 3-A, Ship's Rosters*, p. 252 in Joyner, pp. 253-254].

"In addition to his affection for his slave and longtime companion, Magellan also placed a high value on Enrique's linguistic talents, enrolling him with the fleet as an interpreter and supernumerary on the *Trinidad* at 1,500 maravedis per month, which was near the top of the scale for supernumeraries. Chaplain Valderrama, Duarte Barbosa and Alvaro de Mesquita (the latter two men-at-arms who later became captains) were paid at the same rate as Enrique.

Among the supernumeraries on the *Trinidad*, Enrique's rate of pay was exceeded only by that of the ships' surgeon and the master-at-arms. Before sailing, Enrique received an advance of 6,000 maravedis." [*Appendix: 3-A. Ships' Rosters*, p. 252].

True Origins of Enrique de Malacca

In Magellan's *Ship Rosters* and enrollment records of the caravels or *Naos*, this so-called slave of Magellan is called Enrique de Malacca. However, the name Malacca is not necessarily indicative of his birthplace. He was assigned to the *Trinidad* as an interpreter. His origin is shown as from Central Philippines; and under the remarks column: "Remained in Cebu after May 1, 1521" which

was after the massacre of a large number of Spanish crew members. Enrique and Father Pedro Valderrama were not killed.

As a youth of about 18, he was acquired or purchased as a slave after the Portuguese sack of Malacca. Pigafetta stated that Enrique came from Sumatra, but Philippine linguists have suggested that the dialect spoken by the language spoken in Cebu and certainly the Bisayan dialects spoken near Humunhon, Samar and Limasawa, Leyte would not have been intelligible to someone from Malacca or Sumatra. [Jose Toribio Medina, in his *El descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico...* Chapter XVI, "*Los compañeros de Magallanes*" sketches of 268 crew members were recorded. These were taken from the Archives of the Indies in Seville].

Since Enrique understood Bisayan, he may have been raised in the Central Philippines, sold into slavery in Sumatra, and eventually taken to Malacca where Magellan bought him.

Edouard Roditi, in his *Magellan of the Pacific*, makes an interrupting observation concerning the popularity of acquiring and possessing a personal slave. He writes:

"Here in Malacca, within the next few days, even Magellan, whose purse never allowed him much extravagance, was able to acquire a Malayan slave, whom he named Enrique, because he had been purchased on St. Henry's day. [To this writer it seems that Magellan named him after the Portuguese, Prince Henry the Navigator, patron of Portuguese explorers, whom Magellan greatly admired].

"Though slavery had once been forbidden or at least frowned upon throughout the Christian Europe, it continued to be tolerated if the *slave was not a Christian at the time of his purchase*. Among the Portuguese, moreover, the ownership of a slave had become a status symbol, borrowed from constant contacts, whether in war or peace, with the Moors of the Iberic peninsula or north Africa. As a master of Enrique, Magellan now acquired a new status even in his own opinion.

"Enrique was destined to accompany Magellan back to India and Portugal, and on a campaign in Morocco, before following him to Spain and finally accompanying him on his great circumnaviga-

tion of the Earth. Somewhere Enrique was baptized and taught to live like a good Catholic."

Carlos Quirino, a fine Filipino historian/cartographer, in one of his popular articles stated that: "Enrique was a Cebuano..." Perhaps. That he was a Bisayan or one whose origin was from the Central Philippines has been noted by scholars, as shown above earlier.

Quirino also noted that "The first man around the world was a Filipino." Certainly, not! Pigafetta, Albo Francisco, data gathered by Maximilian from Transylvania, biographies of Magellan, all show clearly that it was both Magellan and his slave Enrique de Malacca who were the first two individuals to circumnavigate the Globe. Therein lies also the greatness and heroism of our Bisayan Enrique de Malacca!

While we are still on Carlos Quirino, it would be well to note another but an egregious error on his part concerning the First Mass on Easter Sunday. He states: "*The first Mass on Easter Sunday was held in northernmost Surigao.*" [*Philippine Free Press*, December 28, 1991].

It is clear from that statement that Quirino still clings to the myth presented in the mangled translation of Fabre from Italian to French. A horrendous miscontribution to history which spawned the further error the Butuan controversy that the First Mass was celebrated there. Magellan never went there! Current historians discard Fabre's translation and follow the Ambrosian Pigafetta since even before the turn of the last century.

The Date of Enrique's Birth and Age

Finally, let us make an attempt to approximate the date of Enrique's birth and age. In the year 1519 when Magellan was preparing his *Last Will*, he mentioned that Enrique's age was about twenty-six years. Now he was purchased at Malacca in the year 1511; hence, we subtract 8 years and arrive at age 18. Thus he was 18 years old when acquired by Magellan. Lastly, subtracting 26 from the year 1519, we arrive at the year circa 1493 in which he was born.

Butuanon Pseudo-Historians Call Enrique a Butanon

Some of the Butanon pseudo-Philippine historians and protagonists who claim that the First Mass was celebrated in Butuan, call Enrique, the servant of Magellan, 'a Butanon' due to his ability to understand the local language. One author wrote in 1988: "The Butanon dialect was understandable to Enrique, Magellan's Malay slave, who came from the same area." (Starweek Newsmagazine, November 5, 1988, in *Caraga Antigua*, Peter Schreurs, MSC, 1989, p. 19, footnote 19.)

It must be remembered that Magellan never sailed to Butuan nor was any First Mass offered there. These misguided writers cling to the error-filled *Fabre-Ramusio Text*, a translation of Pigafetta and not the original known as the *Ambrosian Manuscript* discovered in Milan, Italy, only in 1895.

In the same article, (box, p. 8) this pseudo writer then quotes Pigafetta's own text, containing the very sentence: "A slave, belonging to the Captain-general, who was a native of Sumatra which was formerly called Taprobana, spoke to them..."

Peter Schreurs, in his scholarly *Caraga Antigua*, writes: "The following comment is here called for:

"1. This slave had been captured at Taprobana [actually in Malacca] during a former expedition of Magellan and brought to Portugal where he was Christened Enrique.

"2. Pigafetta says that Enrique understood the local language at Limasawa. Enrique's language was not the 'Butuanon dialect' as appears from the very words of Pigafetta quoted by the author referred to: "The *dato* understood him, because in those districts the *datos* know more languages than the other people." Enrique spoke Malay of which many words will be recognizable in Bisaya."

3. Among the holdings of the *Archivo General de Indias* at Sevilla is the original of the testament made by Magellan before his departure. Among his beneficiaries he mentions: "my servant Enrique, born in Taprobana..."

According to Pigafetta and Francisco Albo, chroniclers of the Magellan's fleet and expedition, Magellan used Enrique as an interpreter at Humunhon, Samar; at Limasawa, Leyte and in Cebu

rather efficiently. Samareños, Leyteños and Cebuanos understood Enrique and Enrique understood them.

This narrative will be a re-weaving, in a rather seamless manner of what the historians have left us in their great contributions concerning Magellan and his historic voyage. This writer's intent is to select some of the best passages taken from the various biographies as presented in my Bibliography.

Fernao de Magalhaes: His Birth, Early Life Explorations and Enrique de Malacca's Grand Linguistic Interpretative Contributions

It was from the obscurity of a quiet backwater in his native Portugal that Ferdinand Magellan was drawn into the maelstrom of Renaissance Europe. The precise time and place of Magellan's birth are uncertain or even not well-known; a claim filed by a relative after the discoverer's death states that as a youth, he had lived in Nobrega, a district in northwestern Portugal. William Manchester gives the date of his birth as 1480.

When Magellan arrived in Castile, to be of service to the Spanish Crown rather than to his own king in Portugal, he registered as a resident of Porto, Portugal. Scholars are unable to determine whether this was his place of birth or merely his last residence. The Magellans were originally descendants from an adventurous French crusader who fought in the Iberian campaigns of Duke Eude (Odo) of Burgundy toward the end of the eleventh century.

The parents of Ferdinand were Rodrigo de Magalhaes and Alda de Mesquita; his paternal grandmother was a de Sousa, a noble family favored by the Royal House of Avis. His father was a sheriff of the port of Aveiro. As a teenager, Ferdinand along with his brother Diogo (who took on the surname of de Sousa) were received as pages at the court of Queen Leonor in Lisbon. At this period of Portugal's history, there were five grades of nobility below the royalty. The Magellans belonged to the fourth: "*fidalgos* entitled to a coat of arms and of noble lineage."

It must be understood that the two Magellan brothers as pages, received a full courtly education. The Magellan family was loyal to King Joao; Ferdinand's relationship then with the Duke

Manuel was strained from the start. This would eventually poison this relationships with Manuel as King and force Magellan eventually to leave the service of Portugal and offer his services to the Spanish Crown as an explorer.

All in all, it was an exciting time for the young Magellan to be at court; the King had enthusiastically resumed the policy of encouraging maritime exploration initiated by Prince Henry. Each caravel (nao) that returned from the Far East in exploratory voyage was a thrilling source of new information promising wealth and prestige for whomever might be chosen to participate in the next expedition.

Upon the completion of his services as a page at the court, Magellan and his brother Diogo appear on the register as salaried palace employees. It seems that Ferdinand was employed in the *Casa de India e da Guinea*, an annex of the royal palace. This was an agency for overseas trade and a jealously guarded repository for maps, globes, ship's logs, and reports of exploratory voyages, etc. King Joao of Portugal died in the year 1495 and Duke Manuel ascended the throne as King Manuel.

Magellan: A Military Sailor to the Far East or India

It has been estimated that between 1501 and 1508, some eighty one ships carrying 7,000 men sailed in six convoys from Lisbon to India.

The shortage of men for overseas military service brought the opportunity for which Magellan, laboring in frustration and obscurity in the palace, had been waiting. In the year 1505 he sailed for India with a fleet of 22 ships under the command of Francisco de Almeida, whom the king had named Viceroy of India. The Fleet of Almeida carried 1,500 soldiers, 200 artillerymen, and 40 supernumeraries. Among them all were Magellan, his brother Diogo de Sousa and his friend Francisco Serrao.

Scholars point out that in 1507 we find Magellan under the command of Pereira, after numerous stints in various places with Almeida. Here he was listed among the young officers along with his friend Serrao.

When Pereira was visiting Ceylon with Magellan aboard they were attacked by a combined Egyptian-Indian fleet where the Portuguese lost some 140 men. Shortly, thereafter, on February 2, 1509 another battle near Diu on the Kathiawar Peninsula at the mouth of the Gulf of Cambay, Almeida fleet was trapped in fierce battle. Magellan was recovering from the wounds received in the *Battle of Diu*.

Next, an expedition was planned against Malacca, its captain, Garcia de Sousa, had to recruit fighting men to supplement the crew. Among the seventy who signed-on were Magellan and Serrao. After erecting *padroes* in two locations in northern Sumatra where they were well received by the sultans, they anchored off Malacca on September 11, 1509. All attempts against Malacca suffered defeat and loss.

In March 1510 Albuquerque sailed from Goa with a fleet that included Serra's caravel. Magellan was with the fleet, although on what ship or in what capacity is not clear. Their destination was Aden where they intended to block shipping to Venice. Another battle on the way at Malacca after some failures succeed in subjugating Malacca in which Magellan participated in the assault "... giving a very good account of himself."

Magellan Acquires a Malayan Slave in Malacca

Magellan stayed on in Malacca gathering intelligence about the archipelago to the east from local merchants, the crews of junks anchored in the harbor, stevedores and warehousemen along the waterfront. He seems to have stayed in Malacca at least until the second half of 1512 or early 1513.

While in Malacca, Magellan either acquires or buys a young Malayan slave whom he named Enrique. Joyner stated that Enrique would be: "A loyal and devoted servant until his master's death," Enrique was to play a significant role in Magellan's great enterprise.

Magellan's close and dear friend, Serrao and six men, settled in the Moluccas on Ternate (present Indonesia) with great diplomatic success with the Malaysians. Magellan sailed for Lisbon taking along his slave Enrique along sometimes in late 1512 and early 1513. It

seems that Enrique de Malacca, as the records show his name, was christianized and baptized in Lisbon.

Magellan's Return from Malacca to Lisbon, Portugal

On October 2, 1510, before witnesses, Magellan signed contract with Pedro Annes Abiraldez, a merchant preparing to return to Portugal with the annual fleet. It was a large investment in the trade in which the merchant was involved.

When Magellan returned to Lisbon, he learned that Abiraldez had died and that the merchant's father had fled to Galicia to escape his son's creditors. Magellan had invested his entire fortune with Abiraldez. All was lost. Magellan petitioned King Manuel for the funds owed him by Abiraldez; King became upset and his courtiers even more so. Yet, Magellan and his brother were summoned to join and fight the battles in Morocco. All went well against the Moors and Magellan, a junior officer, was promoted, while others grumbled, were envious and continued rumors against poor Ferdinand.

Magellan appeared at court requesting an audience with King Manuel; the King believed that Magellan would attempt to refute all the rumor against himself, but he did not. He only requested for an increase in his *moradia*, a token allowance paid to members of the royal household. Magellan was searching for evidence of his sovereign's trust in his integrity and recognition for his years of faithful service in the Far East and in Portugal.

Magellan eventually is cleared of all wrongdoing and all rumors proven false due to others ambitions and struggle for power and prestige.

The months dragged on and Magellan turned in frustration to a new line of importuning with the King. While court chronicles do not state so clearly, he likely implored the king to allow him to take arms and supplies to the Moluccas to help his friend Serrao establish a defensible, profitable Portuguese outpost. In vain he tried to get the king and his counselors to recognize the enormous value to Portugal of his friends Serrao's achievement in the Moluccas. It was by 1515 that Serrao, living in opulent splendor on Ternate, was considered a renegade for his defiance of an order

from jealous superiors to report back to Malacca. The King and his Court did not cherish Serrao nor Magellan and found them both irritable.

Because the King had questioned Magellan's honor, rejected his suggestions concerning the Moluccas, and denied recognition and honors to Serrao, whom he idolized, Magellan had ample reason to want to cause Manuel as much anxiety as possible, perhaps.

To make matters worse, King Manuel received intelligence from Spain that King Ferdinand was preparing an expedition under Juan de Solis to explore westward along the coast of the *Castilla de Oro* (Central America). This move might derail Portuguese interests and trade in the Moluccas. Magellan quarreled with the King. The king stated that the crown had no further interest in his services. Stunned but still composed, Magellan then asked if he might go elsewhere to offer his services to a lord who would show him greater favor. The King answered icily that he may go where he pleased. When Magellan attempted to kiss the king's hand in one final act of courtesy, Manuel withdrew it and turned his back on the humiliated supplicant. Magellan limped away in utter disgrace, mortified by the gleeful tittering of the attendant courtiers.

Magellan Offers His Services to the Spanish Crown

After leaving Lisbon, Magellan took up residence in Porto, a principal port and commercial center of the region where he had lived as a child and where his brother and other relatives still resided. While there, he scoured the kingdom for information on navigation in the western Atlantic and the seas south and east of Malacca. During this phase of Magellan's life it was said of him, "...he was always in the company of pilots and concerned with nautical charts and the determination of longitude."

Magellan arrived to Seville on October 20, 1517 and received a warm welcome at the home of Diego Barbosa. Before the year was out, he married Beatriz Barbosa Caldera, one of the daughters of his gracious host. In view of the customs sovereign courtship among the Iberian nobility, the marriage probably was arranged before Magellan arrived in Seville.

Barbosa provided his daughter with a dowry of 600,000 *maravedis* (about \$84,000), a substantial sum for Magellan, who never before in his troubled life had enjoyed the luxury of adequate personal finances. Magellan gave his bride the customary *arras* and made provisions in a notarized will for the return of the dowry to his wife in the event of his death. Magellan refrained from spending any part of his wife's dowry. After two years a son was born and then followed a second child, which died in infancy, it seems.

Magellan's plan to promote Spanish interest in a westward voyage to the Moluccas was founded on his belief that these islands lay in the Spanish hemisphere, east of the extended line of demarcation. If he could convince Spanish authorities that he could reach the Moluccas by sailing west, and bring back to Spain proof of their position, he might have a reasonable chance of winning their support for his enterprise. But to establish the precise location, an accurate method for deterring longitude would be needed. Magellan's research into this problem led him to Rodrigo Ruy Faleiro.

It took Columbus seven years to win the grudging support of the Catholic Sovereigns for his enterprise, but it took less than a month for Magellan to win the enthusiastic approval while in Valladolid, Spain.

King Carlos of Spain signed the articles of agreement on March 22, 1518, and appointed Magellan and Faleiro joint commanders of the Moluccan fleet with the rank of captain general. The Armada would comprise five ships: *San Antonio*, *Trinidad* (Magellan's flagship), *Concepción*, *Victoria* and *Santiago*. The number of men that were to sail totaled some 265. Both commanders would receive an annual salary of 50,000 *maravedis*.

Magellan was ecstatic! Here was a sovereign to whom he could pledge his fealty without reservation or fear of betrayal.

All preparations completed, Ruy Faleiro left behind for health reasons, the Moluccan Fleet loosening its moorings, discharging its cannon left toward the port of *San Lucar de Barrameda* on August 10, 1519. Magellan's cherished slave, Enrique de Malacca, was assigned to the roster of the *Trinidad* with the initial rank of 'interpreter' with 1,500 *maravedis* as his pay as mentioned earlier in the Introduction.

Enrique de Malacca: A Philippine Bisayan

“Magellan had acquired Enrique in Malacca in 1511, Pigafetta said that he was from Sumatra, but Philippine scholars have suggested that a native of Sumatra could not have understood the dialect spoken in the Central Philippines.” (39 – Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages* (New York: Oxford, 1974), p. 435, in Joyner).

In the *‘Biographical Sketches’* of all the members of the Magellan Fleet, we are given this precious bit of data concerning Enrique.

“Listed in the enrollment records merely as Enrique, the name Malacca is not necessarily indicative of his birthplace. As a youth of about fourteen [actually 18], he was acquired by Magellan as a slave after the Portuguese sack of Malacca. Pigafetta said that he was from Sumatra, but Philippine linguists have suggested that the dialect spoken by the natives of Cebu and Limasawa (also on Humunhon, Samar) would not have been intelligible to someone from Malacca or Sumatra. Since Enrique understood Bisayan he may have been raised in the Central Philippines, sold into slavery in Sumatra (through Borneo) and eventually taken to Malacca where Magellan found him.

“That a strong bond of affection had developed between master and slave is evident from the terms of Magellan’s will and from Pigafetta’s account of Enrique’s grief over his master’s death. In addition to his affection for his slave and longtime companion, Magellan also placed a high value on Enrique’s linguistic talents, enrolling him with the fleet as an interpreter (supernumerary) on the *Trinidad* with the 1,500 *maravedis* per month, which was near the top of the scale for supernumeraries, Chaplain Valderrrama, Duarte Barbosa, and Alvaro de Mesquita (the latter two men-at-arms who later became captains) were paid at the same rate.

Departure of the Magellan Fleet for the Westward Voyage to the Orient

Early in 1518, on the eve of his coronation, King Carlos approved Magellan’s expedition. Their contract, drafted by Bishop Fonseca, was an intricate document worthy of a Wall Street lawyer. King

Carlos would provide five ships and cover all expenses – in return for which Magellan and Ruy Faleiro, co-captains, pledged to deliver a lucrative cargo of spices. They were to receive one twentieth of the profits, and they and their heirs could govern the lands they dissevered in perpetuity. To symbolize his patronage, King Carlos dubbed them *Knights of the Order of Santiago*, a pried award.

The Portuguese, worried by this threat to their claims in Asia, tried to sabotage the voyage and even contemplated assassinating Magellan. He, meanwhile, was being nagged by Spanish bureaucrats directives on everything from trade practices and accounting procedures to the rules of conduct for his crews. They were prohibited from gambling, using blasphemous language, molesting native women and under the pain of death, practicing homosexuality and sodomy.

Thus, on the morning of September 20, 1519, after a year and a half of preparations, Magellan stood on the bridge of his flagship, the *Trinidad*, and shouted the traditional departure command: "*Larguen en el nombre de Dios!*" The flotilla then sailed from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, twenty-five miles down-river from Seville.

The heavily equipped and armed vessels or caravels ranging from 75 to 123 tons in size, carried the usual items in voyaging with hardly any space for the crew members.

The five *naos* were: the *Trinidad* with Magellan as Captain general with a crew of 61 Portuguese, Spanish, Genoese, English, French, Bisayan Enrique de Malacca, Italians, Greeks and Flemish. Its chaplain was Father Pedro de Valderrama; it must be noted that in this armada only two chaplains sailed out.

The *San Antonio* with Juan de Cartagena as Captain and inspector general with a crew of 57 from various nations and with a chaplain, Fr. Bernarde Calmette or also known as Sanchez de la Reina. He would be punished for promoting a mutiny at the Port of San Julian in Patagonia and left on the shores with another crew member as punishment. Thus bringing only one chaplain to the Philippines for the rest of the voyage.

The *Concepcion* with Gaspar de Quesada of Castile as Captain with some 63 crew members from mixed nations.

The *Victoria* with Luis de Mendoza as Captain and treasurer with a crew of 45 from a mixture of nations.

The *Santiago* with Juan Rodriguez Serrano as Captain and pilot with a crew of some 31 members from various nations.

Antonio Pigafetta: The Dutiful Chronicler of the Fleet

Antonio Pigafetta, to whose lively and dedicated pen we owe a detailed day-by-day account of Magellan's epic voyage, was an observant and communicative young nobleman, a native of Vicenza, in Northern Italy, not very far inland from Venice.

Little is known of Pigafetta's life before he met Magellan in Seville, and his last years are likewise shrouded, after his return from his circumnavigation of the Earth, in an obscurity that still puzzles many scholars.

Magellan was fortunate to meet, shortly before setting sail from Seville, this faithful and talented reporter. He immediately signed Pigafetta on as *Criado del Capitan y sobresaliente*, aide to the admiral and supernumerary. In addition to the duties which might be imposed on him as *sobresaliente* in an emergency when all hands were needed, Pigafetta was the official historian of the expedition. He survived Magellan and was one of the few who returned to Seville aboard the battered *Victoria* three years later.

At this point, we may also mention another journal keeper in the person of Francisco Albo, who was a pilot aboard ship. He also returned to Seville with Pigafetta aboard the *Victoria*. After their return, Carlos the Vth, who was anxious to collect and preserve all documents and any useful testimony concerning Magellan's voyage, had one of his secretaries, Maximilian of Transylvania, write and publish in Latin, in 1523, *De Moluccis insulis*, a treatise on the Spice Islands which contains some otherwise unrecorded facts about the voyage. This narrative is not very reliable since it was a hurriedly gathered testimony of the eighteen crew members who returned on the *Victoria*.

Hence, Pigafetta remains the most important source, though he deliberately avoided to related the full story of some of Magellan's difficulties with Juan de Cartagena and other Spanish

officers. Part of the troubles, were that many Spanish crew members were highly prejudiced against Magellan since he was Portuguese; the two Iberian elements did not mix very well.

In his vivid detail in *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*, his published chronicle or journal, Pigafetta revered and later eulogized Magellan: "*He was more constant than anyone else in greatest adversity. He endured hunger, better than all others, and more accurately than any man did he understand sea charts and navigation... No other had such natural talent nor the boldness to circle and world, which he did.*"

William Manchester stated: "*Magellan deserved high praise. Along with his superb skill as a seaman, he was guided by a single-minded conviction in his mission. He was aloof and frequently arrogant, but he commanded his crew with an artful mixture of firmness and compassion. He displayed his abilities in a grave crises that nearly ruined the expedition.*"

Search for the Westward Passage

After more than two grueling months at sea, the fleet reached the coast of Brazil, then headed south in search of a westward passage. Magellan probed almost every inlet and cove, the crew becoming increasingly restive as each proved to be a dead-end. By late March 1520, he had gone as far as Patagonia as the southern winter neared. He decided to sit out the cold weather in beautiful *San Julian Bay*, sheltered from the storms sweeping up from the Antarctic, and ordered half rations to conserve food. When the men objected, he appealed to their pride, patriotism and religious fervor. He brought most of them around, but four of his senior officers began to conspire against him.

Some resented his commanding or imperious manner and as Spaniards, had never reconciled themselves to a Portuguese commander. On the night of *Palm Sunday*, the captains of two vessels seized a third ship, murdered its master and threatened to sail home. His enterprise in jeopardy, Magellan resorted to a ruse. He sent emissaries to the rebels, ostensibly to negotiate, but instead they killed the chief mutineer, and the others surrendered. Magellan executed only the one responsible for the murder. He marooned

another on the desolate Patagonian coast, along with Father Bernard Calmette who was party to the mutiny. He pardoned forty others – among them Juan Sebastian del Cano, a Basque officer who, two years later, was to lead the survivors back to Spain. Let us mention that it was here in Patagonia that the caravel *Santiago* was wrecked on May 27, 1520.

Late in August 1520, as winter waned, he resumed the journey south with four seaworthy ships. Now he confronted the rigorous test of locating and navigating the presumed southwest passage to the sea on the other side. To aggravate his plight, he suddenly found that the suppliers in Spain had faked the records and furnished him with inadequate food rations. He assembled his officers, swearing them to keep the shortages a secret. The trip would continue, he declared, even if they had to ‘eat the cowhide off they yard-arms’ – as they eventually did.

The Great Strait of Magellan as it Would Be Known

The Strait of Magellan, as it was later named, is one of the world’s most treacherous waterways – a maze of concealed islands, sandbars and rocks stretching for three hundred and seventy miles through the southernmost tip of South America. Magellan plunged blindly into the tortuous channel in late October. His caravels buffeted by gales and spun by swirling currents, zigzagged and backtracked as they groped for an opening. When the largest ship, the *San Antonio*, disappeared, Magellan scoured the area, only to learn to his dismay that its captain had deserted with most of the fleet’s few provisions.

Finally, after nearly seven horrendous weeks, the three remaining vessels debauched into the ocean. Already at sea for more than a year, they still faced the biggest expanse of water on earth. Deceived by its unusual calmness, Magellan christened and misnamed it the Pacific. But another ghastly experience awaited him and his men. *“In truth, the like of this voyage will never be made again,”* Pigafetta wrote later.

As their spare food supply dwindled, they subsisted on crumbs of biscuits infested with worms and stinking of rat urine. The rats themselves were a rare delicacy that sold for half a *ducat* each. They

ate sawdust – and, then as Magellan had predicated, the cowhide off the yard-arms, softened in seawater and grilled over braziers went through the gullets. Their water supply turned yellow from putrefaction, but they drank it nonetheless. Nineteen men succumbed to starvation and only benign weather favored the ships, permitting them to sail as many as seventy leagues a day. Had it not been for that blessing, Pigafetta recalled, “we should all have died of hunger.”

By early March they all were close to disaster, when they ran into an island chain. Dropping anchor at one of them – later named Guam – they were greeted by a swarm of cheerful natives who climbed aboard the ships and proceed to take things apart and steal everything available. Magellan claimed the chain of islands for Spain and appropriately dubbed them the Ladrões. After stocking up on rice, fruit and fresh water, he left hastily, certain that he was near the Moluccas, his goal.

Humunhon Islet, Samar and Suluan Folks

At dawn of March 17, 1521, which was about ten days after their departure from Guam, Magellan spied distant peaks above the morning mist. He was approaching the great Island of Samar, somewhere past today’s Borongan; high rocky cliffs and deep waters did not permit anchorage. They kept sailing till they entered a strait between Samar and what is now known as Mindanao. Sighted an Islet known later as Suluan but no possible anchorage and hence they moved on toward another Island to be known as Humunhon with deep waters and with no inhabitants on it.

Suluan Islet Samareños: The First to Discover the Magellan Fleet

On March 18th, after a half-day, they saw arriving from Suluan Islet toward them, on Humunhon, a vessel manned by nine men. It is thus that the Samareños of Suluan island discovered the Magellan Fleet.

Pigafetta in his *Primo Viaggio* relates how well-received they were by these people, as can be seen from the paragraphs and citations that follow.

"The people were friendly with us and we received their kindness with pleasure because they seemed good and respectful. It is from them we knew the names of many things and about the neighboring islands. To honor our General [i.e. Magallanes], they brought in their boats some of their goods which were cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nut *moscada*, bark of the same, gold and other things. They informed us that those are the products in these islands where we are coming... The Captain General also invited them to see our ship; he showed them as much as was notable and new to them. When they were preparing to return to land, the Captain had a gun-shot fired and they became greatly frightened; so much so, that some almost hurtled into the water to escape. However, we were able to calm them, assuring them that there is nothing to fear. After this incident they left, requesting leave prefaced with a lot of gracefulness and courtesy. They assured us that they would return bringing along food as they earlier promised us. Enrique established a great rapport which his knowledge of the language.

"The islanders fulfilled their promise, because on Friday March 22 they returned in two boats, bringing coconuts, oranges, palm-wine [tuba], sweets and a rooster; all as if samples of what they have there. All showed great joy in being with us. We purchased everything that they had brought. The head of them was rather old; he had a painted [tattooed] face and had hoops of gold in the ears. The others wore bracelets of gold and a cloth [*pudong*] rolled around the head..."

Non-Chronicles Masses Offered near Humunhon along with Palm Sunday and Monday of Holy Week

The Spaniards remained on Humunhon Islet for eight full days until March 24 celebrating *Palm Sunday*, the beginning of Holy Week. On the following day, Holy Monday, the ships left to scout the region.

Now during the eight days that the Magellan Fleet tarried on the Isle of Humunhon, the chronicler, Pigafetta, had not recorded anything about Masses being celebrated during their stay. One must first remember that celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass daily was a common practice; an ordinary morning activity. It must be underlined that only one priest was left in the fleet

when it reached Samar; that is, Father Pedro de Valderrama. The other was Father Bernard Calmette, as mentioned, whom Magellan left on the shores of Patagonia since he supported the mutiny.

Now that no mention of the Mass or other public acts of worship was made in historical writing does not imply an absence of the ritual or denial of its celebration. Also, there is no apparent reason why Mass would have not been celebrated daily; what more, on a Solemn and a Glorious feast as "*Palm Sunday*" and initiating Holy Week. Finally, perhaps Pigafetta was so pre-occupied with all the newness, differentness, strangeness and the great joy of respite on the island with spring waters, captivating visitors from the neighboring Islet of Suluan, that the common, the ordinary events did not catch his attention. Besides, as an Italian, he was not too religious. Hence, *unrecorded, non-chronicled* 'First Masses', if you will, were offered near (aboard the ships) Humunhon Island. Father Pedro de Valderrama was the only chaplain now with the Fleet; there was no mention that he was ill.

F.C. Borlongan put it thus: "It is one thing to present the first written record of a celebration of a Mass and it is another and an entirely different matter to say it was *the* First Mass." [*Philippine Daily Express*," June 21, 1977].

Why was Humunhon Islet Uninhabited?

Father Alzina, in his *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas... 1668*, wrote that he learned from the elderly Samareños in early 1636 at Giuan, Samar, that the 'God' of the Bisayans had his dwelling on the Island of Humunhon.

"Another island which belongs to this town of Giuan and which is sighted only after having gone around the protection twice, which points towards the east, is the Island of Humunhon. It is called so by the Bisayans, and '*Isla Encantada*' by the Spaniards. This island was a celebrated one in their ancient times. They say that the people from nearby places would repair to it in pilgrimage to offer rites and rituals to the *Diwata* (who, as they said, had his abode there) so that he would grant them health, prosperous harvest, etc. They said (and this was common knowledge and something

very much believed everywhere in Ibabaw (Eastern Samar) to such a degree, that they still pass down word about it up to our day (i.e. 1668). It seems that there is no apprehension or any fear about it; so deeply ingrained is this which came to them from their great ancestors, that *Makapatag*, the Son of *Malaon* lived on this island and is considered the greatest of the *Diwatas* – like Jupiter for the Romans.

“ Speaking about him [i.e. *Makapatag*], they said that he was the owner and god of this islet. Unless they requested his permission before hand, they could not take anything from it. For example, if they fetched water (that water there is sweet and potable, even though the island is very small) it would turn salty like seawater; if they would take dry firewood, it would turn green and damp and they would be unable to burn it and so on and on with many other matters. But upon requesting permission (and this consisted in a sort of obeisance and incantations which they would perform) whatever they would take from there, would prove useful.

“We may still add this: that when they were sailing toward that island and nearing it, they were able to see the town, houses, and people, but upon arriving there they were unable to find anything. It is for these reasons that the Spaniards call it ‘*Isla encantada*’. Very few and scarce are they who muster enough courage to visit it or even much less to spend a night there. They say that without anyone noticing it, the boats are found unmoored and at times underwater.... This is something they call here in Bisayan, *sinapit*; or for unknown reasons, they attribute this to the *Diwata* and his displeasure for their stay on the island.

“When the first Jesuits arrived to these towns, on this entire coast as far as Catarman (there was a plague with a high mortality). The Bisayans attributed it to *Makapatag*. They said that he had gone around the coastlines and infected the atmosphere. In order to obtain health, they offered many *paganitos* [i.e. sacrifices] to him. The Fathers expended no little toil and later even more (for they were not so well-versed in the language) so as to make them aware of this error, which still endures to this day among the more unlettered ones” [Alzina, *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas...* 1668, Part II, Lib. 3, Cap. 25].

People of Limasawa Isle, Letye were the Second to Discover the Magellan Fleet

When the Magellan ships left Humunhon Islet on Holy Monday, March 25, they sailed WSW scouting the region. The Leyte historian, Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, in his *Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte* (1914) cites the great Dr. Pardo de Tavera, who in turn quotes the *Ambrosian original* of Pigafetta concerning the 'Limassana' [SIC] Islet [10] encounter. Tavera is cited in Spanish. This writer shall transcribe it into an English translation.

"... On the night of March 27 we saw fires on an island and so we headed toward on the following morning which was the 28th of March [i.e. *Holy Thursday*] and we knew it was *Limasawa* or *Mazawa*. Approaching it we saw a boat which they call *baloto*; in it were eight men coming toward the *Capitana*. The Captain-General's servant, Enrique spoke to them and they understood him. He told them to come closer to the ship, but they remained at a good distance. Seeing their reluctance, the Captain General threw into the water a red cap and other trifles tied to some pieces of wood. They picked-up everything and very joyfully left rowing to call attention, perhaps, to their dato.

"Some two hours had elapsed when we saw two *balangays* so-called – big boats, full of men that came toward us. In the largest one, under an awning, there was the dato. Upon arriving and staying some distance the slave mentioned earlier, spoke to them. ... The eight men were called up to the *Capitana* and some remained in the *balangay*. They were very courteous and polite to Magallanes and to all he gave some objects. The *dato* also wanted to give him a cup made of gold and a basket filled with *gengibre*; the Captain General made him know that he thanked him for it a lot but could not accept that kind of gift. In the afternoon all our ships approached the coast and they anchored near the *poblacion* where the dato has his dwelling."

Two Dato Brothers Show Great Friendship and Hospitality on Limasawa, Leyte

"On the following day, which was 'Good Friday', the Captain-General went on land along with the servant as an interpreter to

ask the dato that if there was something to eat, they should prepare it and bring it aboard for which we will pay and be friends and not like enemies. As soon as the dato received that message he came to the Captain with six or eight of his men; when seeing the Captain, he hugged him and presented him with three containers filled with rice and two large golden vessels. He [the *dato*] received some red and yellow Turkish-like cloth with a very fine red cap; to the companions were given mirrors, spoons and all that serves for eating. Then the dato, by means of the interpreter, said to Magellan that he desired the kind of *casi-casi* relationship with him and all of them. In turn, the dato was presented some cloth in various colors, silk, corals and other various merchandise. Also the artillery fired some shots that greatly alarmed all of them. Ours then put on the full armor while other three attacked them with swords and daggers in mock-battle; the king was surprised that these were not wounded. Through Enrique, they told them that they could even fight against two hundred men in this fashion if they had them in these vessels. They were also shown all the battle gear, weaponry, shields, etc. Then too, the dato was accompanied to the '*castillo de popa*' where he was shown the compass and the charts. Through the interpreter he explained to them how they found the Strait and how they arrived here by way of many, many moons without seeing land. All that greatly astonished the dato. Before saying farewell, the dato requested the Captain that he allow his companions to see what he had.

"When they returned to land the dato lifted his hands to the sky and turning to us left for his *balangay* some 80 spans long and similar to a galley. We sat down there at the '*popa*', and we spoke by way of signs so as to understand each other.

"Those of the dato's retinue remained armed with swords, daggers, lances and spears...

"Prior to dinnertime, I [Pigafetta] gave the *dato* several items I had taken with me and asked him to name some and several others and I wrote it down. They looked at me with admiration when I read it back and repeated the words which they pronounced for me.

“While having dinner, they brought two large porcelain plates; one with rice and another with pork in sauce. At dinner they repeated the same ceremonies as we had during an earlier repast.

“Once gathered there we found the *dato* sitting on mats of bamboo with the legs crossed like the tailors do at the bench. After a half-hour they served us another refreshment that consisted of fish roasted in pieces; *ginger* and wine. Arranging ourselves then, the Prince-heir arrived and the *dato* made him sit-down at our side. They brought the fish then with broth and rice and we also had to eat in the Prince’s company. My partner drank so much that he became intoxicated.

“To provide light, they used a kind of torch that is made of palm leaves saturated with a resin called *anime* [i.e. bot. *courbaril*; *courbaril copal*] and then twisted. Soon after having finished our dinner, the *dato* made signs that he wanted to leave and so we did too. We slept on a mat of bamboo beside the Prince, having for a pillow a mess of leaves.

“The following morning the *dato* came to look for us to stop to have breakfast; taking us by the hand, he took me to the room where we had dinner. However, since the boat arrived to look for us, we left soon thereafter...

“...the *dato* went about adorned and dressed in accordance wit their custom; he was quite handsome with black hair which hung loose at the back. He wore a turban of silk around the head, hoops of gold hung from his ears; at the waist to the knees he was covered with a cotton cloth embroidered in silk and at his side dangled a dagger with a great hilt of gold and a handle of worked wood. In each tooth he had three pegs of gold, so that apparently the denture was riveted with gold. His color was like an olive tree and was tattooed and wore the fragrance of *estoraque* and *benjui*.

“The two *datos* ordinarily reside in the *poblacion*, on the Island of Butuan and Calagan; however when they wish to come together they gather on this island of Limasawa where we are. The first one is called *Dato Kulambo* and the second, *Dato Si Ago*.

First Easter Mass in Limasawa

"On Sunday, the last day of March was *Easter* and the Captain General sent very early on land the chaplain with some men, so that they prepare the necessary things to offer Mass. Through the interpreter (Enrique) we told the *dato* that we will disembark not to eat but to do a religious observance or duty. Informed, the *dato* sent two slaughtered pigs on board through his messengers.

"About fifty of us went down onto the shore without armor, but with weapons and the best dressed that we could be. Before anchoring the boats to the bank, the ships shot six cannon blasts as a sign of peace. When we jumped on land, the two *datos* that were waiting for us, hugged the Captain General and placed him among them. We were lined-up at the place where the Mass would take place near the beach.

"Prior to beginning the Holy Sacrifice, the Captain General sprinkled the two kings with musk water. At the Offertory, the two *datos* adored the cross with us, but they did not make the offering; at the elevation they knelt down, remaining with the crossed arms imitating our posture. Then there was a shot from a rifle on land which was the conventional sign, and the ships made a general salvo. At this end some of ours received Holy Communion while the Captain General and others made a spectacle in the handling of arms which pleased the *datos*.

"Later he brought a cross with nails and a crown where the islanders following our example, revered it. By means of the servant, the *dato* said the cross as an emblem should be planted on this soil... a cross then would be planted high on the islands hill.

"Then, he [the Captain] made them ask whether they were Moros or gentiles and what their beliefs were. They answered that they did not adore anything on earth; but if God is mentioned they raise their arms toward the sky whom they call *Abba*. Greatly elated the first *Dato* [Kulambo] raised his arms to the heavens and said that he wanted to demonstrate the appreciation that he feels..."

Dato Kulambo Suggest that the Cross be Planted Atop Limasawa's Hill

"In accordance with the kings agreement, it was fitting that we fix a cross on the high hill after eating again...

"Completing the meal we returned to land dressed in armor; the datos did not wait on the beach from where we all went toward the summit of the high mountain where the Cross was planted. All prayed a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, and at once we returned to shore crossing some planted fields; we entered the *balangay* where the dato served a good repast.

"The Captain General wanted to take notice of the island from which he could take provisions and store them in exchange for his merchandise under better conditions. They told him that there were three such: Ceilon [*meaning, Leyte*] Kalagan and Zebu, this last being the best and they offered to take us to them. So, the erection of the cross completed, the Captain fixed the following day as our departure, manifesting how much he regretted leaving this land...

"We attended to the datos, but the following morning when we were prepared to sail, the Dato Kulambo came to us to say that one of them would come along with us and help us with the voyage practically. However, it would be necessary to wait for him for a few days, since he needed to gather the crop or *palay* and other field products. He begged the captain that if he left him some men for assistance in the tasks, it would be completed quickly.

"The Captain General consented to everything; the men went on land, but nothing could be done since the kings spent the whole day sleeping because they were intoxicated from the previous day's drinking and were indisposed. But they all worked together the following days and the harvest was made.

Pigafetta: A Perceptive Observer

"In the days that we were on Limasawa we were able to observe the customs of those natives. They tattooed the face and the body; they are partly nude and cover their privates with a piece of cloth and they drink much. The women go covered even below

the waist with bark cloth; they have black hair and so long that it almost touches the floor. In their ears they have rings and pendants of gold. All of them almost constantly chew a fruit one calls *areca* similar to a pear; they cut it in four pieces, wrap it with leaves of a tree (that is called *betel*) and mix it with some lime. These leaves resemble the mulberry; they say that it refreshes them at heart and that they would die if they stopped using it."

The chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta, was an incredibly perceptive observer; almost intuitively he could grasp what is transpiring in the communication made so frequently through gestures and facial expressions. Hearing the words of the language spoken, he had the ability to repeat them meaningfully and correctly to their amazement.

Finally, it is apparent from this narrative of Pigafetta that he has mentioned clearly that "On Sunday, the last day of March, which was Easter, the Captain General [Magellan] sent the chaplain to prepare all that is necessary to hear Mass."

First Recorded Mass on Limasawa

Further, "Before the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, the Captain General sprinkled the two kings with '*agua almizclada*...'" Here we have explicitly recorded and chronicled that Easter Mass was celebrated.

Now, it would be well to note closely that nowhere is it stated that there was celebrated a 'First Mass'.

Also, the Magellan Fleet landed on Limasawa Island on Holy Thursday, a very Holy and a Solemn day observing the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, during Holy Week 1521. Did they celebrate it on the island or on the Flag Ship? It is not stated. Then, there was the Liturgy of Good Friday and Holy Saturday with the *Tenebrae*. None are mentioned specifically, but we presume they were celebrated even though not mentioned, and most probably on the ships with the single priest they had aboard.

So what now? How must we state the reality? At Homonhon it seems that the first masses were celebrated on the ships near the Island of Humunhon. Perhaps, if one would have been cele-

brated on the Homonhon shore, Pigafetta might have made a record of it as he did with Limasawa.

First Mass on Philippine Soil at Limasawa Islet, Leyte

Thus, in conclusion we may clearly state that the 'First Mass' celebrated *on what would be Philippine soil*, took place on the very shores of Limasawa Islet at Leyte. Perhaps, this view or posture may satisfy both, the Samareños and the Leyteños. After all, celebrating Mass within the jurisdiction or in Samar territory is a truly valid stance. May we assert that this might be the final statement in our 'First Mass Revisited at Samar and Leyte'?

Magellan Fleet Enters Cebu

On April 7, 1521, with banners and pennants flying high, the squadron of Magellan hove-to directly in front of the bustling port of Cebu. Intent to make a grand impression, Magellan ordered the squadron's gunners to fire a salute using all their artillery. It had the desired effect: many of the town's terrified inhabitants fled into the hills.

The three *naos* nosed into the harbor and dropped anchors, and Magellan sent his young relative Cristovao Rebelo with Enrique as interpreter to locate the authorities and assure them of his peaceful intentions.

Negotiations were finalized with Dato Humabon when Dato Kulambo intervened and assured his ally that these visitors were friendly and should be welcomed.

Enrique and Kulambo worked marvels with Humabon who agreed that he would sign the peace treaty and that they were all eager to be baptized. Pigafetta chronicled: "Magellan wept with joy. Then he took the hands of the prince and the Dato of Limasawa between his own and told them all that by his Faith in God, his loyalty to his sovereign the emperor, and by the crusader's habit he wore, he swore that perpetual peace would exist between the kings of Spain and Zebu."

While Magellan was experiencing heady success with his religious efforts, he was also busy establishing a commercial base in

Cebu. His crew was ordered to set-up a *factoria* (trading post) in a building provided by Humabon, who promised protection for the enterprise and four Spaniards were assigned by Magellan to run it. The trading post opened for business on April 12, 1521.

Magellan himself did a lot of evangelizing and proclaiming the Faith and most assuredly through Enrique his efficient interpreter, who seemed eloquent in Cebuano. On Sunday April 14, 1521, Humabon, his wife, and all important retainers and his ally, Kulambo, were all baptized in public ceremony in the central square of Cebu by the chaplain Father Pedro de Valderrama.

Regrettably, while Magellan and the Chaplain went about Christianization efforts, the sailors and some of the officers were up their usual tricks with the local women. Magellan learning that Barbosa had left his ship for a love nest ashore, was furious. He removed Barbosa from command of the *Victoria*, replacing him with Cristovao Rebelo.

When Humabon was baptized, he told Magellan that several independent local *datos* would not submit to his authority. Determined to make Humabon the undisputed ruler of these islands, Magellan sent messages to the independent *datos* ordering them to acknowledge Humabon's authority. If they failed to do, so he warned, they would suffer death and confiscation of their property. Several village *datos* outrightly refused.

The great *dato* on the island of Mactan, called Lapulapu, would not submit to Magellan and his King under no circumstance. The Captain General was now determined to go to battle. Humabon opposed such an undertaking, as did Juan Serrano, Magellan's senior and most experienced captain, who told him that such a campaign would be foolhardy. This was sound advice and Magellan would have been wise to heed it.

Since most of Magellan's officers and crew members did not support the planned attack on Mactan, Magellan asked for 60 volunteers and thought that sufficient for the battle. He asked Humabon not to participate. Spanish power will work its wonders alone; they could be in the background somewhere.

Lapulapu mustered thousands of fighters to face the small brigade dressed in their unwieldy armor. We know the rest from

Philippine history, oftentimes exaggerated on both sides. Magellan lost his life along with six or eight of his men and no more. Lapulapu was victorious; seemingly not many of his fighters lost their lives either. When Magellan was slayed the Spanish warriors all backed away and left quickly.

The Magellan fleet wanted to recover the body but Lapulapu would not surrender it; it was his trophy as a grand victor.

Now the *Victoria* need a new squadron commander and a captain. Regrettably Duarte Barbosa was chosen even though many did not trust him.

A Tragic Banquet Prepared for the Spanish Fleet at Cebu

Barbosa, the new high command, mean, ruthless, cruel initiates some devastating measures. One of the first decisions was to close-down the *factoria* and reload the trade goods in the ships, to Humabon's great disappointment. He was indignant at their intent to abandon Cebu and thus the Spaniards were destroying any traces of goodwill he may have retained for them.

Enrique, Magellan's Malay slave and the expedition's interpreter, fought alongside his master at Mactan and received a minor wound. Despondent over Magellan's death, he brooded aboard the *Trinidad*, nursing his injury. Magellan had stipulated in his will that upon his death Enrique would be freed from bondage and provide with funds for his support.

When Barbosa ordered Enrique ashore to help recruit native pilots with his interpretative skill, Enrique declined, because, of his wounds. Enraged at the slave's refusal, Barbosa swore that as brother to Magellan's wife, he would make sure that Enrique would never be manumitted or released from slavery, but remain her slave for life. Furthermore, he fumed, if Enrique did not get out his bunk and do as ordered, he would have him flogged. Seething with resentment and wounded pride – *amor proprio* – Enrique went to negotiate with Humabon. It would have been better for the expedition if he had not! Now, Barbosa is undoing all that Magellan had achieved with the goodwill of Humabon of Cebu.

On May 1, 1521, Enrique returned to the *Trinidad* with an invitation from Humabon for the captains, principal officers, and ranking men of the squadron to attend a 'ceremonial banquet' where they would be presented with fine jewels, a gift for the Christian Emperor, etc.

Barbosa was eager to go; Serrano advised caution, but was mocked by Barbosa for lack of courage. His Castilian pride stung, Serrano ordered a longboat made ready and was the first to leap into it. He was followed by Barbosa, the *Victoria's* new captain, Alfonso de Goes, the pilots San Martin and Carvalho, ships' clerks Espelea and Heredia, the chaplain, Valderrama, master-at-arms, Gomez de Espinosa and Enrique. Sixteen others, including supernumeraries, able seamen, and a cooper, accompanied them. Pigafetta did not go; his face was swollen from a poisoned arrow that he grazed his forehead during the battle at Mactan.

The party landed on the shore and were all warmly welcomed by Humabon, but as they were led to the banquet site, Espinosa and Carvalho noticed that the prince who had been miraculously cured by Magellan quietly took aside the priest, Valderrama and escorted him to his house. Suspecting a trap, Espinosa and Carvalho hurried back to the longboat and rowed back to the *Trinidad*. They were telling the crew of their suspicions when they heard shouting and a great tumult ashore.

Suddenly, they realized that their shipmates had been ambushed, Carvalho, now the senior officer, ordered the ships to move closer to shore and begin bombarding the town. As the gunners opened fire, Serrano, bound and bleeding was dragged toward the beach. He called out to his comrades on the ships to cease fire, or he would be killed. Asked what had happened to the others, he shouted that their throats had all been cut, except for Enrique and Valderrama who had been spared.

On this matter, there is considerable divergence in the accounts of the survivors. Pigafetta, who obviously disliked Carvalho, said that Serrano had implored us "...to redeem him with some of the merchandise; but Johan Caravaio, his boon companion, would not allow the boat to go ashore (fearing treachery)," Instead, Carvalho ordered the ships to set sail, leaving Serrano on the beach,

weeping. He "...asked us not to set sail so quickly, for they would kill him." Serrano, wrote Pigafetta, prayed that on Judgment Day, God would hold Carvalho accountable for his conduct.

There is a rather different version which was provided by an anonymous Portuguese survivor of the voyage, probably Vasquito Galego, son of the deceased pilot of the *Victoria*, Vasco Galego. After the death of his father during the crossing of the pacific, Vasquito apparently continued his father's log. The original manuscript is in the University of Leiden, in the Netherlands.

Now, in this version of the episode, Serrano's captors had demanded two lombards (artillery pieces) as ransom for their prisoner. When Carvalho sent these ashore in a skiff, the natives upped their demands. The crew of the skiff said that Carvalho would give whatever they asked for Serrano's freedom, but requested that he be released at a location where he would be picked up safely. When his captors refused to do this, Serrano called out that they were stalling and would try to capture the ships as soon as reinforcements arrived. He shouted to his shipmates that they had better leave quickly, for "*...it were better for him to die than all should perish.*" Less dramatic than Pigafetta's, this version may come closer to reality. During the voyage, Serrano had proved himself a loyal, capable, and a brave officer.

Magellan made one grave mistake in taking to battle at Mactan; all his undertakings in that long grand epic were heroism unlimited. *Enrique de Bisaya's* contributions were unparalleled throughout his association with his master Magellan. Both are worthy, indeed, of the greatest tribute for all posterity. Perhaps, Enrique can stand shoulder to shoulder with Lapulapu.

Nao Victoria Completes the Circumnavigation

"SEPTEMBER 6, 1522, SAN LUCAR DE BARAMEDA, SPAIN. A WEATHER-BEATEN, BARNACLE-ENCRUSTED SAILING SHIP WITH AN EMACIATED CREW OF EIGHTEEN EUROPEANS AND FOUR MALAYS, ITS HOLD CRAMMED WITH SPICES, HOVE-TO OFF THE BAR AT THE MOUTH OF THE GUADALQUIVIR TO PICK UP A PILOT. VICTORIA, THE LAST OF A FLEET OF FIVE

SHIPS THAT HAD PUT TO SEA NEARLY THREE YEARS BEFORE, HAD CIRCUMNAVIGATED THE PLANET. FOR THE FIRST TIME, MANKIND HAD A REALISTIC BASIS FOR ESTIMATING THE EARTH'S TRUE DIMENSIONS AND THE HITHERTO UNSUSPECTED EXTENT OF ITS OCEANS. THE MEASURE OF THE FORBIDDING SEAS HAVING BEEN TAKEN, EUROPEANS WERE NOW POISED TO MOVE OVER THEM IN UNPRECEDENTED NUMBERS. [*Magellan*, "Prologue", p. 1.]

It would be well to add, that the *Victoria* sailed 42,000 miles and some 22,000 miles through some of the most treacherous storm-belts on all the earth.

It is also most amazing to learn and to know that when the *Victoria* was purchased along with the other four ships, it had already served on the high seas for some thirty years. All these ships were not built for the Magellan Voyage, they were purchased.

Thus, we must state that the first two humans who circumnavigated the globe were Magellan and his Philippine Bisayan cherished companion, known in the records as Enrique de Malacca whom now it would be well to term as: *Enrique the Philippine Bisayan*.

A Tribute to the 264 Members of the Magellan Fleet

Finally, we cannot bring this historical re-weaving of Magellan's historic, epic voyage, without paying a tribute of highest regard to the 264 daring, risking, sacrificing explorers.

This challenge brought the entire crew of the five caravels to the very limits of human endurance: furious storms, battered sails and masts, hunger, scurvy, illness of every sort, miss-understandings, tensions, uncertainties, lack of space and quarters, constant sea-spray without much shelter, etc, etc.

It is surprising that only one *Nao*, the *San Antonio* mutinied and turned back to Spain; the inhuman conditions broke-down their endurance totally. The fear of the unknown Westward Passage terrorized them to death.

The loss of life throughout the entire voyage, was incredible, greater than decimation. The highest and most heroic members of

the expedition were the eighteen survivors aboard the *Victoria* who arrived at San Lucar on September 6, 1522. There were also three Malayan Moluccans who embarked on the vessel in Tidore.

Also there were other thirteen crewmen who were seized in Cape Verde islands and returned to Spain by 1523.

Lastly, four more survivors or crewmen returned to Spain in 1525-1527. Hence, altogether out of the 264 only 25 members of the grand expedition returned to Spain. We honor and pay a tribute of great praise for their stupendous achievements, superior heroism. □