The Philippine Islands According to Pigafetta

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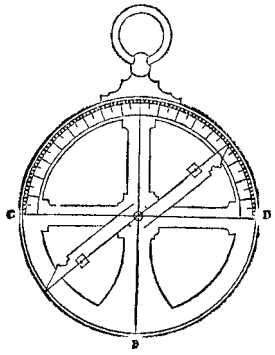

The true discoverer is not the man who first chances to stumble upon anything,
but the man who finds what he has sought.

(Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* 1860)

The European "discovery" of the Philippine archipelago is not just an event; it is a text, a construct of words. For "new worlds" to be recognized or apprehended, they had to be produced in words—in the form of narratives of navigation and exploration—and such allied devices as maps, charts, and drawings. Worlds had to be represented and, inescapably in such representations (literary, visual, popular or "scientific"), much will be discovered, as much will be disguised, distorted, or deleted. Much will be revealed of both seen and seer.

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In the case of the Philippines, the pre-eminent text of discovery is Antonio Pigafetta's *Primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (First Voyage around the World), the chronicle of the Ferdinand Magellan expedition of 1519-1522. A major narrative of European maritime exploration, it has a long and complicated history as a text.[1] Based on a diary that Pigafetta kept during the voyage (which has not survived), the account exists in four manuscript versions: one in Italian, the language in which it was originally written (now archived in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan), and three in French, all of which derive from a common source in a lost French translation of an Italian manuscript other than the Ambrosiana (two of the French manuscripts are in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, and one in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University). Taken together, these manuscripts include twenty-three coloured maps of islands encountered on the journey.

The first printed version was a French edition published in Paris by Simon de Colines in 1525. The Colines *princeps* was the basis of the first Italian edition

prepared by Giovanni Battista Ramusio and published by Zoppini in Venice in 1536. Pigafetta first appeared in English in an abbreviated version of the Ramusio text published by Richard Eden in his *Decades of the Newe Worlde* (1555). The Pigafetta text has since appeared, in full or abridged form, in numerous publications. Regarded as the finest version, the Ambrosiana manuscript was published only in 1800, by Carlo Amoretti in Milan.

Across the centuries, the Pigafetta account, in its various guises, has acquired renown as a narrative of exploration, used by historians and literary writers from Shakespeare to Gabriel Garcia Marquez.[2] It has been mined for its documentary value in tracing "the first circumnavigation of the world" and the life of Magellan, and for its lode of ethnographic data on the places visited. In particular, as Garcia Marquez puts it, Pigafetta has fascinated many for the marvels he recounts:

> "hogs with navels on their haunches, clawless birds whose hens laid eggs on the backs of their mates, and others still, resembling tongueless pelicans, with beaks like spoons. He [Pigafetta] wrote of having seen a misbegotten creature with the head and ears of a mule, a camel's body, the legs of a deer and the whinny of a horse. He described how the first native encountered in Patagonia was confronted with a mirror, whereupon that impassioned giant lost his senses to the terror of his own image."[3]

The Pigafetta account, however, remains inadequately studied as *text*, particularly as it pertains to the "discovery" of the Philippine islands. This lack stands out since Pigafetta's narrative is both a distinct literary creation and a key source in Philippine historiography. The Magellan expedition was in the waters or on the islands of the Philippines for a period of about seven months (on a voyage that totalled three years) and the section on the Philippines, which constitutes one-third of the entire account, is its centrepiece.

In this paper, I inquire into the construction of the Pigafetta narrative. Setting it in the context of early European accounts of exploration, I consider the intellectual framework and rhetorical strategies that governed how Pigafetta's navigational narrative "produced" the Philippines, converting it from the unknown into an object of knowledge for a European readership.[4]

Antonio Pigafetta was born around 1492 in Vicenza, a town about a hundred kilometres west of Venice, to Giovanni Pigafetta and a noblewoman named Lucia Muzan. The Pigafettas were a prominent family that originated from Tuscany; they arrived in Vicenza in the eleventh century and there gained prestige and wealth. In 1519, the young Antonio was in Barcelona as part of the entourage of a fellow townsman, Monsignor Francesco Chiericati (1490-1539), then apostolic protonotary and ambassador of Pope Leo X to Spain. Having heard of Magellan's plans for an expedition, Pigafetta travelled from Barcelona to Seville, bearing letters of recommendation, and joined the voyage that would take him around the world.

Pigafetta was part of a crew of between 265 and 280 men aboard five ships. Though mostly made up of Spaniards, the crew was a multinational complement that included Portuguese, French, British, German, Greek, and thirty Italian sailors, many of them from Genoa, the birthplace of Columbus. (There was at least one Malay and probably a few other non-Europeans, but they were the invisible members of the crew.) Pigafetta was enrolled in the expedition as one of the *sobresalientes,* or supernumeraries, usually young men from good families who joined expeditions from the love of adventure or the desire for advancement in military service, and had no specific duties except to be at the commander's disposal.

Upon Pigafetta's return to Spain on September 8, 1522, as one of the expedition's twenty-one survivors (eighteen Europeans and three unnamed East Indians, probably Malays), he travelled to the imperial court at Valladolid, where he presented to Charles V various gifts, among them "a book, written by my hand, concerning all the matters that had occurred from day to day during our voyage." [123] He proceeded to Lisbon, where he gave King John III an oral report, and then to France, where he presented to the Queen Mother, Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I, a "gift of certain things from the other hemisphere" (including, it appears, an account of the expedition that was later translated to French and may have been the basis of the Colines *princeps* of 1524-1525). Upon his arrival in Mantua in January 1523, Pigafetta received a commission for a book on the voyage from Federico Gonzaga, the Marquis of Mantua. Baldassare Castiglione, famous author of *Il cortegiano* (The Book

of the Courtier), was one of those whose assistance Pigafetta sought in winning the patronage of the Marquis.[5]

Vagaries in his pursuit of patronage led Pigafetta to Rome where, now working under the patronage of Pope Clement VII, he appears to have completed a version by April 1524. On October 3, 1524, the Knights of Rhodes' vacant benefice of Norcia, Todi, and Arquata was conferred upon Pigafetta. (It remains an open question whether he entered the Order of the Knights of Rhodes before or after his world voyage.) Sometime between February and June 1525, Pigafetta presented the final version of his manuscript to the grand master of the Knights of Rhodes, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. Though is it said that Pigafetta perished in battle against the Turks with the Knights of Rhodes, little can be ascertained of his last years except that he was dead by 1532.

From the little that is known of Pigafetta's early life, historian Carlos Quirino surmises:

> "Young Antonio must have studied under the scholars of his day, probably enrolled at some Italian university, and was particularly adept in writing, although he was no erudite scholar steeped in the classic lore of his time. We might describe Pigafetta as the well-educated young man of his time, genteel, possessing an avid curiosity for the world about him."[6]

On the other hand, Renaissance scholar Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., working from the evidence of the text and other sources, depicts a young patrician immersed in the Italian courtier culture of the High Renaissance. *The First Voyage*, Cachey says, is an outstanding example of travel writing within a larger Italian context that included such early sixteenth-century classics as Machiavelli's *Prince,* Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso,* and Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier.* When Pigafetta embarked on the historic voyage in 1519, he was already quite well-read in the travel narratives of the period, as he himself mentions in the *envoi* to his account that he was prepared for participating in the voyage by "having obtained much information from many books that I had read." [3-4]

Cachey sketches a literary genealogy for *The First Voyage* that connects it with what he calls the Italian americanista tradition, on one hand, and the *isolario,* or "Book of Islands" genre in Italian travel writing, on the other. The form of the Pigafetta text identifies it with the *isolario*, with which Pigafetta must have been familiar through the example of Cristoforo Boundelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (Book of the Islands of the Archipelago) (ca. 1420). *The First Voyage* has striking affinities with *Liber Insularum* in the island subject matter, the first-person authorial perspective, a literary treatment alternating between narrative and expository modes, and the combination of narrative and cartography (in a "coffee-table book" format, in which coloured maps are embedded in the manuscript and integrated into the narrative).

On the other hand, Pigafetta also descends from an Italian americanista tradition that goes back to Boccaccio's *De canaria* in the fourteenth century and Alvise da Cadamosto's travel letters in the fifteenth, a tradition of writings about distant lands (America, in particular) that was characterized— given the politically disengaged position of Italian sailors and travel writers at the time—by "an heroic ideological perspective, a relative detachment from national, political, and commercial interests, as well as a paradoxically legitimating utilization of the 'marvellous'."[7]

Geography and navigation were subjects that excited Pigafetta's generation. Italy was at its height as centre of maritime trade, home of such renowned mariners and explorers as Marco Polo, Columbus, and Vespucci. Pigafetta must have read Fracanzio da Montalboddo's *I paesi novamente ritrovati* and *Novo Mondo da Americo Vespucio Florentino intitolato,* published in Pigafetta's hometown of Vicenza in 1507. One of the earliest printed collections of discovery voyages, *I paesi novamente* was immensely popular and influential (there were at least six Italian editions). It contained narratives of the voyages to America, Africa, and India, by Vespucci, Columbus, Cadamosto, Vasco da Gama, and Pedro Álvares Cabral. It is not farfetched to deduce that Pigafetta was acquainted not only with this work but other texts of geography and travel that circulated in Italy in his time.[8]

In brief, Pigafetta worked within a distinct literary tradition. He was nurtured in an environment that encouraged an interest in the discovery of "New Worlds", a Renaissance education that placed a premium on the display of hermeneutical and rhetorical skills, and a literary milieu dominated by highly-placed patrons who prized not only the production of new knowledge but the elegance of style in which this knowledge was conveyed.

For Pigafetta, the "New World" was not an empty slate. In his time, discovery accounts and the world maps (*mappae mundi*) they generated were very much a part of the intellectual fare of Europe's educated class. It is said of Msgr. Francesco Chiericati, Pigafetta's patron: "During the missions in Spain and Portugal, Chiericati became greatly interested in the recent geographical discoveries and the voyage reports which were circulating. His house in Barcelona became a meeting-place where literature and the latest geographical discoveries were discussed."[9]

Pigafetta was not an accidental tourist. He understood the perilous and pioneering character of the Magellan voyage. It was pursuing a goal that had never been accomplished: reaching the East Indies—in particular, the fabled spice islands of the Moluccas—by sailing west (a venture that would overthrow the Ptolemaic system of geography). The East Indies had been visited by explorers and merchants (Portuguese, Persians, Arabs, and others) from Europe and the Middle East, who had travelled across the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.[10] Ferdinand Magellan himself had been to the East Indies in the service of the Portuguese king in 1505, and was present at the fall of Malacca in 1511.

Reports on these travels, however, either did not exist or were not circulated. It was not until 1510, when the *Itinerario* of Ludovico di Varthema appeared, that we have the first printed material on Southeast Asia (but without reference to the Philippines). An Italian merchant from Bologna, Varthema is reported to have reached Sumatra in 1505. Much of this world—including the Moluccas (a term which, in Magellan's time, referred vaguely to a group of islands, principally Ternate, Tidore, and Halmahera)—remained unexplored or unclaimed by Europeans. Before the Magellan voyage, very little was known in Europe about Southeast Asia except for the names and major products of a few of the leading continental states and chief islands of the region.[11] Pigafetta was venturing into a largely unknown and unmapped world.

Pigafetta joined the expedition not only for the prospect of winning fame as participant but also of writing a book on the voyage. Having heard of "the great and marvellous things of the Ocean Sea," he undertook the voyage, he says, "to experience and to go to see those things for myself, so that I might be able thereby to satisfy myself somewhat, and so that I might be able to gain some renown with posterity." [4] For such renown (and the rewards of patronage that would come with it), he wrote what was not just a bare-bones chronicle, but a consciously literary work in the style of the period.

The First Voyage opens with a dedicatory letter (*envoi*) from Pigafetta to his patron, the grand master of Rhodes, and concludes with a paragraph that recounts the activities upon his return that culminated in the writing of the book. These conventional features do not only pay homage to the book's patron and invoke his benevolence, they establish Pigafetta's authority as narrator. In his introduction, Pigafetta writes:

> "Inasmuch as, most illustrious and excellent Lord, there are many curious persons who not only take pleasure in knowing and hearing the great and wonderful things which God has permitted me to see and suffer during my long and dangerous voyage, herein described, but who also wish to know the means and manners and paths that I have taken in making that voyage; and who do not lend that entire faith to the end unless they have a perfect assurance of the beginning: therefore, your most illustrious Lordship must know that, finding myself, in the year of the nativity of Our Savior 1519 in Spain (...). [3]

Pigafetta then proceeds to relate in chronological order the events of the Magellan voyage, beginning with its embarkation from Seville on August 10, 1519, and ending with its return to Seville on September 8, 1522. Though some editions of the Pigafetta account introduce chapter divisions, the work was written as a single running account.

Travel narratives, like stories of heroic adventure, follow a tripartite structure: the setting out and separation from the familiar; the trials of initiation and adventure; and the hero's return and reintegration into society. This is the archetypal pattern of the *rite de passage*, in which the hero and his home world are thrown into relief, affirmed or subverted, by a process of radical displacement, the liminal experience of a journey.[12] In the case of Pigafetta's account, however, the pattern of initiation is not foregrounded but embedded in the experience of travel itself. The opening and closing sections of the book are spare, abbreviated, and conventional. They frame the narrative but afford little information on the narrator

(the person *before* and *after* the voyage). Much about the person behind (and in) the text, and the society from which he departs and to which he returns, will have to be drawn from the narrative of the journey itself.

The journey, the liminal middle section of *The First Voyage*, is fully developed and can be seen as falling into three logical divisions: outbound and "American" part of the voyage, the "Philippine" section, and the "Moluccan" section and the return to Spain. Such divisions are suggested not only by the structure of the voyage but, as we shall point out, stylistic features and markers in the text.[13]

The first part of the voyage—the section that has attracted the most critical attention—is the most rhetorically packed section of the book. Here, Pigafetta is tracing geographical space already filling out with literary matter, an "America" in the process of being produced for European readers by explorers and authors. In narrating America, Pigafetta relies on a mix of hearsay and observation and reiterates what had become conventional representations of the New World.[14] This may have been occasioned by the fact that America was just a way station rather than the goal of the Magellan expedition. Magellan and his men did not stay on American soil very long and their contact with the indigenous population was limited by hostility and violence. More important, the deployment of tropes from the americanista tradition can be read as a rhetorical strategy for establishing authority, creating space for a "voyage of discovery" by foregrounding the strange and the different. As Michel de Certeau writes:

> "This *a priori* of difference, the postulate of the voyage, results in a rhetoric of distance in travel accounts. It is illustrated by a series of surprises and intervals (monsters, storms, lapses of time, etc.) which at the same time substantiate the alterity of the savage, and empower the text to speak from elsewhere and command belief."[15]

It is in this stage of the journey that the "marvellous" dominates. The first marvel Pigafetta cites is the miraculous tree of Hierro in the Grand Canary islands. The leaves and branches of this tree distil water from a huge cloud that descends to encircle it at midday; the water collects at the tree's base and supplies the needs of an island otherwise waterless. As Cachey reminds us, the tree on the island of Hierro (at which the Magellan expedition did not in fact stop) was a literary *topos*, already mentioned by Pliny, that typically served as rhetorical marker in accounts of the Passage from the Old World to the New.[16] Pigafetta's catalogue of marvels includes a sea bird without feet, the female of which lays and hatches its eggs on the back of the male; another bird that lives on the ordure of other birds; swine with navels on their backs; large birds with beaks like spoons and no tongues; and an animal that has "a head and ears as large as those of a mule, a neck and body like those of a camel, the legs of a deer, and the tail of a horse, like which it neighs." All these, together with his famous description of the Patagonian giants, satisfied the appetite for the exotic and monstrous among European readers.

The final section of the book, the Moluccan sojourn and the return voyage to Spain, is harried and condensed, which is ironic since the Moluccas were the avowed destination of the expedition. This can be explained by what had happened to the expedition by this point. With the crew decimated and Magellan dead, the remaining crew faced problems of leadership and the threat of the Portuguese in Malay waters. The Spaniards were intent on making the return journey after loading up with as much cargo and spices as their remaining vessels could carry. Hence the frenetic, almost anticlimactic quality in the narration of this final leg of the voyage.

The central section of the book deals with the Pacific passage and, most importantly, with the experiences of the Magellan expedition in the Philippine islands, from the voyagers' arrival in Samar on March 16, 1521, until their departure from Palawan to Borneo on June 21, 1521. Subsequently (August-September), they wandered back into Philippine waters before they finally found their way to the Moluccas.

There is a distinct change in narrative pace and temper as the expedition crosses the Pacific and enters the "friendly" waters of the Philippines. It is as though by finding and sailing through what Europeans had imagined a mythical strait (the Strait of Magellan), the voyagers had pierced a heavy veil of fable into a new, open, and sunlit world. The passage is liminal, evoking the experience of a purifying rite. In crossing the vast Pacific, the crew was reduced to subsisting on worm-eaten biscuits, rats, ox hides, sawdust, and putrid water. Nineteen men died and twenty-five or thirty fell sick. "However," Pigafetta writes, "I, by the grace of God, suffered no sickness." [27] In his first days in the

A PRIMEIRA VIAGEM HISTÓRICA DA GLOBALIZAÇÃO

Philippines, on the feast day of the Annunciation, Pigafetta has a near-death experience when he slips into the water and nearly drowns. Again, he miraculously survives "through the mercy of that font of Charity (the Virgin)."

God has preserved him as our witness. Here the narrative takes on a different rhythm, communicating a shift in the subjective experience of time and space. The itinerary is clear, with important points in the narrative marked by dates. The telling is a measured alternation of narrative and exposition. Linear and goal-directed, the Philippine discovery is limpid in its progression and chronology. The emplotment of the Philippines thus differs from discovery narratives of America (including the first part of Pigafetta's book), in which the perceptual shock of encountering an unfamiliar, primal world is conveyed by a narrative style that is fragmentary, discontinuous, and metaphorically dense.[17] The sense of estrangement in the face of the recalcitrant otherness of a new world is largely absent from the Philippine account. Here the narrative flow is stately and harmonious.

Pigafetta assumes the stance of the observant chronicler and amateur ethnologist. He notes maritime locations and natural features, aspects of the material culture, and the physical appearance and cultural practices of the inhabitants. His gaze is curious, turned outwards. He rarely talks of shipboard interactions and the crew is largely invisible and anonymous. While he uses "I" at various turns and is frequently involved in the actions narrated, he does not call attention to himself and rarely engages in introspection. There is little description of landscape or nature for its own sake. Descriptions are purposive, relating to navigational markers, local wealth (in particular, signs of the presence of gold), the terms of the exchange of goods, local languages, and prospects for the religious conversion of natives.

There are errors, gaps, and slippages. Limited contact occasioned the misidentification and mistranscription of personal and place names. Pigafetta mistakes "Abba" (an ejaculation expressing awe or wonder) for the name of the Bisayan god.[18] He ethnocentrically observes the inhabitants' "nakedness" and calls the local *datu* and chiefs "kings" and "princes" He could only dimly perceive, if at all, the motives of the Bisayans for paying obeisance or consenting to baptism.[19] He is however restrained in his observations. He earnestly documents the use of penis wheels ("I very often asked many, both old and young, to see their penis, because I could not credit it") and is not above judging: "Those people make use of that device because they are of a weak nature."[20]

Pigafetta's account of the sojourn in the Philippines stands out for several reasons. Together with the section on the Moluccas, the Philippine section is the one part of the book where we see the greatest degree of human interaction with local inhabitants. In the nature of early maritime chronicles, the "contact zone" between Europeans and natives is mainly shipside or on shore. Inland incursions are brief and rare, and cross-cultural encounters are circumscribed by mistrust and the practical difficulties of communication. The narrow contact zone is occasioned by the purpose of the expedition. Magellan aimed at discovering navigational routes and conducting trade (or assessing its potential) in major ports, particularly in the Moluccas. The expedition was not a venture in land exploration or colonization. It was engaged in maritime and trade reconnaissance; hence, there was no driving interest in actually possessing or extending the depth of penetration into new territories.

The shallowness of the contact zone is indicated in Pigafetta's maps. The twenty-three painted maps (nine of which are of Philippine islands) are minimalist representations of brown islands in a blue ocean, with their names (local or invented) written in scroll. The shapes, sizes, and relative position of the islands are approximate or conjectural. Mactan ("Mattam") is larger than it actually is and Limasawa ("Mazzana") and Bohol are approximately of the same size. Few iconographic features decorate the maps: the drawing of a lateen-sailed catamaran with two bearded natives beside the Ladrones Islands, a tree in the map of the Moluccas with a scroll saying, "Cavi gomode, that is, the Clove tree," and some decorative green patches to signify hills or vegetation. There are a few scroll signs apart from place names: "The watering place of good signs" (Homonhon), "Here the captain-general died" (Zzubu, Cebu), "Where the pearls are born" (Sulu, Basilan), and "Where the living leaves are" (Borneo). The only islands with symbols of human settlement are Cebu, Palawan, "Cippit" and "Subanin" in

Magellan's death at Mactan depicted by Levinus Hulsius in a 1603 engraving.

Mindanao, Borneo, Tidore, and Timor. The only place marked with the symbol of a cross is Cebu.

The details are less important than the act of mapping itself. As Mary Louise Pratt puts it: "Navigational mapping exerted the power of naming… Indeed it was in naming that the religious and geographical projects came together, as emissaries claimed the world by baptizing landmarks and geographical formations with Euro-Christian names."[21] What was important was that the islands had been located, fixed, and named, and could thus be verified and reoccupied again and again. Their very incompleteness and "emptiness" stirred desire and offered the motive for their occupation and possession.[22]

Yet, given the constraints, the young voyager's narration is remarkable for the level of accuracy in the information it offers. This is occasioned by the manner in which the expedition meandered around the Philippine islands. Historians have remarked on the strange conduct of Magellan in the Philippines. Instead of quickly moving on the Moluccas, he tarried in the islands, parlayed with chiefs, inquired into their religion and succession practices, baptized them as Christians, and involved himself in local politics.

It is theorized that Magellan may have viewed the Philippines as more than a mere stopover and provisioning point, that he aimed to establish actual claim on the archipelago.[23] Maximilian of Transylvania wrote:

> "Magellan, seeing that this island [Cebu] was rich in gold and ginger, and that it was so conveniently situated with respect to the neighbouring islands, that it would be easy, made this his headquarters, to explore their resources and natural productions."[24]

Whatever Magellan's personal designs may have been, Pigafetta's representation of the archipelago (compared to that of America and the Moluccas) creates distinct anticipations, the sense of a place conquerable and exploitable. The writing on the Philippines primes it for possession.

Magellan tarried in familiar waters. Magellan and his men encountered islanders who could communicate in Malay with the interpreter in the crew, Enrique, a young Malay whom Magellan acquired as a slave when he was in Malacca in 1511. The physical features of the islands and their inhabitants, trade goods, and other aspects of local culture must have alerted Magellan to the fact that he was in the very insular region he had explored just nine or ten years earlier.

The protracted sojourn in the Philippines was also occasioned by the fact that the archipelago was the first hospitable territory reached by the expedition since its departure from Spain and after the long and arduous Pacific passage. The Europeans' first contacts with islanders were friendly. In Homonhon, they met a boatload of natives from Suluan (an island off Samar) whose "chief went immediately to the captain-general [Magellan], giving signs of joy because of our arrival." [31] Seeing that "they were reasonable men," Magellan ordered that red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, and other articles be given to them, thus initiating the gift-giving and barter of goods that typically opened the Europeans' intercourse with inhabitants. Pigafetta writes: "Those people became very familiar with us. They told us many things, their names and those of some of the islands that could be seen from that place. (...) We took great pleasure with them, for they were very pleasant and conversable. (…) When they were about to retire they took their leave very gracefully and neatly, saying that they would return according to their promise." [33] The Spaniards baptized Homonhon "the watering place of good signs," and though Pigafetta explains the name by the existence of two clear springs and "the first signs of gold which we found in those districts," he could very well have referred to the auspicious beginnings of human contact in the islands.

While there was mutual wariness in native-European interactions, the encounters conveyed to the voyagers the sense that these were a people with whom they could have productive contact. Such was the hospitality shown the visitors that Pigafetta himself easily interacted with the natives and on at least two occasions (in Butuan and in Cippit in the Zamboanga peninsula) he spent the night on land, sleeping as a house guest of local chiefs.

The Europeans were obviously meeting a people who were not wholly surprised by the appearance of white men and were wise to the rites of diplomacy and trade. At the time of Magellan's arrival, Cebu was already plugged into a trade network that extended from Timor in the south to Canton in the north, and to the west coast of the Malay peninsula facing India. Hence, in Cebu, the visitors were boldly told that it was the custom at the port for all incoming

vessels to pay tribute and that only recently a junk from Siam had called on the port for trade. Moreover, Rajah Humabon and the Cebuano chiefs were not unaware of the presence of Europeans. A Muslim merchant in Cebu, who also acted as interpreter, initially identified the Magellan expedition with the Portuguese, telling Humabon that these were the men "who have conquered Calicut, Malacca, and all India Major." [44]

Pigafetta records strange practices (mourning customs, betel-nut chewing, tattooing) and characterizes the islanders thus: "Those people are heathens. They go naked and painted." [42] That they are "naked" and "heathens" (which, in the specific context of its use, meant that they were not Muslims) signifies a lack of culture and religion that makes them objects of conversion. Yet Pigafetta also observes that they "live in accordance with justice" and goes on to note their ease with strangers, their knowledge of trade and agriculture, their social hierarchy and ceremonials. Pigafetta's narration suggests that the Europeans were with a people whose level of social organization was higher than that of the wild men they saw (or imagined seeing) in America. This was not a race of Patagonian giants whose bodies, garments, gestures, and speech were so alien that, in Pigafetta's telling, they had to be subdued and domesticated like animals.

There is a double movement in Pigafetta's description of the inhabitants of the Philippines. On one hand, he notes the features, whether of physical appearance or cultural attainment, that make them "like the Europeans." Their weighing scales, flutes, and the rooms in their houses are "like ours," and their women are "very beautiful and almost as white as our girls and as large." [49, 50] On the other hand, he remarks on those features that mark them as inferior and different. Likeness suggests that these are a people with whom Europeans can have intercourse; difference demands that they be subjected to the levelling, "civilising" power of Europe. This double movement informs both Magellan's actions and Pigafetta's narration.

This double movement underlies the diligent conceit with which Magellan impressed upon the islanders European civility and power. Such demonstration involved acts of courtesy and munificence, and the display of Spanish superiority and wealth:

> "In order to show them greater honour, the captain-general took them to his ship and showed them all his merchandise: cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, mace, gold, and all the things in the ship. He had some mortars fired for them, at which they exhibited great fear, and tried to jump out of the ship." [33]

Magellan manifested his desire for friendship but was quick to demonstrate to the islanders that he had the might to subdue them if he wished. He discharged the ship's artillery for show and took a visiting chief on a tour of the ship to show off its arsenal of cuirasses, swords, and bucklers, the sea chart and compass that allowed the Europeans to voyage for many moons across uncharted seas. This display, Pigafetta writes, left the local king "astonished." Magellan also staged a demonstration in which one of his armoured soldiers shows himself invincible to the thrust of swords and daggers. The demonstration rendered the king "almost senseless." "The king told him [Magellan] through the slave [Enrique] that one of those armed men was worth one hundred of his own men. The captain-general answered that that was a fact, and that he had two hundred men in each ship who were armed in that manner." [36] (This was a deliberate exaggeration as there were not more than fifty fully armed soldiers in the fleet at that time.)

In Cebu, Magellan was introduced to Humabon as "captain of the greatest king and prince in the world." When Humabon asked for tribute from the visitors, he was imperiously told that as "the captain of so great a king, [Magellan] did not pay tribute to any lord in the world, and that if the king [Humabon] wished peace he would have peace, but if war, then he would have war." Humabon was warned that if he "did not care to be [Magellan's] friend he would next time send so many men that they would destroy him." [44]

Magellan deployed a variety of strategies to exercise authority. A show of *noblesse oblige* was combined with naked threat. The display of the superiority of European technology and goods (even the parity between European trinkets and local gold) was combined with assertions of the superiority of European thought. Listening to Magellan speak about the Christian religion, the inhabitants are shown reduced to such awe that they cannot speak back and are instantly converted to the new faith.

Magellan won the obeisance of local chiefs and proceeded to convert them to Christianity in formal rites of baptism. Imposing his own conception of political hierarchy, he seized the opportunity to vanquish recalcitrant chiefs and subordinate them to Humabon, whom he now imagined chief vassal of Spain in the islands. It was this arrogance that embroiled Magellan in the Battle of Mactan on April 27, 1521, which led not only to his death but the massacre and capture of twenty-seven of his men in the port of Cebu four days later. Though the expedition continued to wander in Philippine waters for some time afterwards, the setback in Cebu effectively ended its Philippine sojourn.

Pigafetta's account of the Philippines is distinguished by the absence of the fabulous elements found in his narration of America. Humberto Robles finds this account, compared to the American part, "monotonous" because of the repetitive action and the "almost excessive accumulation of detail."[25] "The depiction of life on these islands does not appear nearly as alien and anomalous" as in the American section because the societies encountered are "better organized and more advanced" and because the "ulterior ideological and economic motives" of the voyage are in fuller play. The Philippine narration does not have the phantasmagoric qualities of americanista narratives in which the experience of radical alterity is conveyed in a discontinuous, emotionally charged catalogue of the mysterious, mythical, and monstrous.

Pigafetta's narration of the Philippines and the Moluccas is driven by the more pragmatic concerns of the expedition: the marking of navigation routes, the description of ethnological features, the survey of natural resources, and the initiation of political and trade contacts. Positioned as chronicler, Pigafetta adopted the stance of one urbane, detached, and observant. European-native contact in the Philippines is a patterned series of purposive acts: the exchange of gifts that initiates communication and trade; the show of military, political, and cultural superiority; and the acts of friendship, conversion, and subordination. The narration stands relatively disenchanted and demythologized. It is as if, having broken away from the dark and mysterious American continent, Pigafetta has shifted to a different mode of representation.

In a study of americanista representations in early travel literature, Stephen Greenblatt points to the "marvellous" as a key rhetorical category in early accounts of discovery and exploitation. The fabulous—with all that it suggests of the primal, a world without history or order—functions as a device for making sense of the strange. It domesticates the alien, hostile, and incomprehensible by capturing it in the idiom of Europe's knowledge of the savage and mythological. To quote Greenblatt further, this strategy veils an act of power; it glosses over real conflict by evoking "a sense of the marvellous that in effect fills up the emptiness at the centre of the maimed rite of possession."[26]

The marvellous is a problematic category in the case of Pigafetta's account. How does one explain the absence of the fabulous in Pigafetta's narration of the Philippines?

Pigafetta's account is not unmediated. What is deployed, however, is not the mimetic machinery of the fabulous, but the heroizing idiom of noblesse oblige. Contact with the islands is framed in rites and gestures of courtesy and nobility. This is shown in the repetitive pattern of symbolic acts by which the Europeans initiate contact and claim authority over the islands. Locations are marked, places are baptized, gifts are given, goods are exchanged, acts of consecration are performed (in the celebration of the Holy Mass, the planting of the cross), authority is demonstrated (in the exhibition of technological prowess, the display of "superior goods," the pronouncing of sublime speech acts, the invocation of a higher king and God), pacts of friendship are made, and acts of conversion and incorporation are carried out.

The heroic mode is illustrated in Pigafetta's portrayal of Magellan as courtly, authoritative, and fearless. Pigafetta clearly identified with the Portuguese leader who was twelve years his senior. They were both non-Spaniards on a Spanish expedition, of genteel origins, members of prestigious religious-military orders (Magellan belonged to the Military Order of St. James, Pigafetta to the Knights of Rhodes). Pigafetta praises Magellan as a bold and skilled navigator who "endured hunger better than all the others" and was "more constant than anyone else ever was in the greatest of storms." [62] Pigafetta portrays Magellan sympathetically and invests his actions with high seriousness and moral purpose. In the strong-willed Portuguese commander the young, aspiring Italian courtier clearly found his lord and the hero of his story.

Magellan's appearance in the Philippines assumes the character of a ceremonial performance. The performance is constituted by a series of premeditated acts. The first of these acts is the naming of places. It is thus that Magellan baptized the islands "archipelago of San Lazaro" as they were discovered on the Sunday of St. Lazarus. The act of nomination is charged with meaning and power. As Greenblatt says: "The founding action of Christian imperialism is a christening. Such a christening entails the cancellation of the native name—the erasure of the alien, perhaps demonic, identity—and hence a kind of making new; it is at once an exorcism, an appropriation, and a gift."[27] The performance of naming is constrained, in the Philippine case, by the fact that the Europeans had wandered into an archipelago with a forest of names. In this case, however, the recording of local names was itself a power-laden sign; it was, like map-making, an accession into the European record, a marking and encompassing of places.

Allied with naming is a whole catalogue of acts and events, carefully dated and recorded, such as sightings, landings, and the fixing of locations. Overtly symbolic were the planting of a cross and the celebration of a Mass, which "sacralized" places and placed them under the protection of higher powers. In Limasawa, Magellan caused to have a cross erected on a high place as a symbol of his appearance in the islands. He told the islanders that should other Europeans chance to visit Limasawa they would recognize the cross and behave in a friendly manner. The cross, he said, would protect the inhabitants from thunder, lightning, and storms if they made their obeisance to it every morning. [40]

Encounters with inhabitants are highly ritualized, from the giving of gifts and exchange of goods to the declarations of friendship and alliance in the form of the blood compact (*kasi-kasi*). Given the assumption of European superiority, friendship was not a relationship of parity, but one of vassalage. In the European view, all transactions with the natives were an expression of European generosity. Vassalage was a gift. Lurking behind the actions of Magellan and his men were self-interested motives. Magellan gave orders to his gold-hungry men that they should not spoil the trade in gold by giving too much in iron and trinkets in exchange for it "so that the natives should learn at the very beginning that we prize our merchandise more than their gold." [42] Yet, the inequality is not foregrounded. The Spaniards may be giving mere trinkets in exchange for gold but, in the European understanding of these encounters, they are in fact the generous ones for giving the natives more: the protection and status of being vassals of a higher king and children of a greater god.

The drama of subordination was played out in language. Magellan frequently appears speaking, subduing his listeners not just by the force of reason but the beauty of his speech. When Magellan spoke of the superiority of the European religion to the natives, "they said that they had never heard anyone speak such words, but that they took great pleasure in hearing them. The captain [Magellan] seeing that they listened and answered willingly, began to advance arguments to induce them to accept the faith." Then, "they said they could not answer the beautiful words of the captain, but that they placed themselves in his hands, and that he should treat them as his most faithful servants." The natives are shown awed and astonished by European speech. When the natives themselves speak, their words are translated, interpreted, and remotely heard, if at all. We cannot be certain as to how much of the reported speech is the narrator's gloss (or, for that matter, how much of the natives' "awe" was incomprehension or amused spectatorship). Almost always, what is foregrounded is the European speaking, the native listening.

Pigafetta knew the value of language. A notable feature of his book are the word lists or vocabularies that he compiled in the course of the voyage, a labour that expressed the Renaissance passion for the classification and inventory of culture and nature.[28] The young Italian was conscious of speech and writing as instruments of power. There is a scene during the Philippine sojourn that shows Pigafetta writing down the local words that had been spoken by the Bisayans and leaving them "astonished" when he reads back to them their own words.

In Cebu, Magellan's performance was most elaborate and incorporative. Artillery bursts from the ships announced the European coming. Pomp and ceremony accompanied Magellan on shore. Symbolic acts like the erection of a cross, celebration of the Mass, and the baptisms on April 13 and 14, 1521, were marked by gun salutes, fireworks, full-dress processions, and grandiloquent declarations. Magellan even

performed a "miraculous" healing on a sick Cebuano to demonstrate the power of the Christian faith and convince the natives to burn their idols and forsake their heathen beliefs. His actions were studied gestures of a commanding chivalry. He sprayed musk rosewater on the queen of Cebu and some of the women, who "delighted exceedingly in that scent," and then gave the queen an image of the child Jesus for memory of the son of God." [54] He sent to the Cebuano he had healed gifts of "almond milk, rosewater, oil of roses, and some sweet preserves." [55-56] He lavished gifts upon Humabon, including a ceremonial red velvet chair, instructing the Cebuano chief "that wherever he went he should always have it carried before him by one of his nearest relatives." [54] In baptizing Humabon and his followers, Magellan grandly bestowed on them the gift of new Christian names.

> "The captain-general told the king [Humabon] that he was clad all in white to demonstrate his sincere love toward them. They replied that they could not respond to his sweet words. The captain led the king by the hand to the platform while speaking these good words in order to baptize him. He told the king that he would call him Don Carlo, after his sovereign the emperor; the prince, Don Fernando, after the emperor's brother; the king of Mazaua, John; a chief, Fernando, after our chief, that is to say, the captain; the Moor, Christopher; and then the others, now one name, and now another." [52]

Subsequently, more were baptized, including the queen, named "Joann," after the emperor's mother; her daughter, Catherine; and the queen of Mazaua, Elizabeth. All told, "eight hundred souls" were baptized [53]. In the names Magellan chose for the new converts was inscribed the overweening ambition to transform them into a mirror image of his own world.

Magellan was deliberate and imperious in imposing upon what he saw his own sense of political and spiritual order. It was this drive that led to his death. Pigafetta positions this event at the exact midpoint of the book and artfully foreshadows it with a reference to the ominous sign of a mysterious, screeching "jet black bird" that hovers over the houses of Cebu every midnight.

The Battle of Mactan was literally a performance, an enactment of European superiority for the benefit of Humabon and his men who were asked to remain offshore in their boats as spectators. Though his own men asked Magellan not to go into battle, "he, like a good shepherd, refused to abandon his flock" [the Cebuanos he had put under his protection]. He chose to fight on a Saturday, April 27, because Saturday "was the day especially holy to him." He was brave, covering the withdrawal of his men, standing "firmly like a good knight," concerned for their safety to his last breath. Magellan's death, described as superbly noble and heroic, is the emotional high point of the book. Eulogizing Magellan as "our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide," Pigafetta prays that "the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times."

The defeat in Mactan undermined the European claims to power, and led to the massacre and the expedition's harried withdrawal from Cebu. In Pigafetta's telling, however, Magellan's death does not demystify the European will to power. He stages the battle on the beach of Mactan as an example of heroic combat, glossing over Magellan's arrogance and the dissension among the Spanish officers, which left Magellan to do battle with a small landing party that was (as one of Magellan's biographers puts it) "a motley contingent of stewards, grumetes, cabin boys, and sobresalientes."[29] Pigafetta only makes a quick passing reference to an earlier, inglorious event that was an important part of the background of the Mactan people's resistance: the sacking by the Europeans of the village of Bulaia. [53] He depicts the Mactan inhabitants as an army of skilled warriors, a brave match to the Portuguese commander. He pays homage to Magellan—and the warriors who vanquished him—by relating that when the Europeans offered the people of Mactan as much merchandise as they wished in exchange for Magellan's body they refused, saying (or so Pigafetta reports) "that they would not give him [the body] up for all the riches in the world, but that they intended to keep him as a memorial."[62] Pigafetta glosses over the post-battle apostasy and treachery of Humabon and his followers by ascribing the massacre conspiracy to the Malay interpreter, Enrique, who was aggrieved at having been mistreated by one of the Spanish officers after Magellan's death.[30]

Here, how the Bisayans viewed Magellan is not as important as the essential rightness of what Europe stood for. Magellan's acts were not only addressed to the inhabitants of the islands but were acts performed

for the world back home, the world of Europe. This is what makes Pigafetta's role crucial, for he is the witness-recorder whose narrative authenticates and preserves the acts of discovery and possession. He is no mere chronicler but the interpreter who clothes Magellan's actions with legitimacy.

Legitimacy is cemented in the style and sentiment of the telling. Courtliness marks Pigafetta' s narration of the Philippines. As a courtier who joined the expedition for adventure, knowledge, and fame, he does not discuss the political motive of the expedition, which was to determine whether or not the Moluccas were on the Spanish side of the line drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), dividing the globe into Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence. He does not dwell at length on the desertions and mutiny of Magellan's men, and underplays the Spanish-Portuguese conflicts that tore the expedition apart. He glosses over the fierce disagreements between Magellan and his Spanish officers during the voyage. He elides mention of the unsavoury conduct of the Europeans in Cebu: the greed, drunken behaviour, and abuse of women that, as one biographer of Magellan wrote, "had now degenerated into a saturnalia."[31] Aside from his petition for the preservation of Magellan's fame, he makes no reference to the campaign to discredit Magellan and the controversies that surrounded the expedition upon its return to Spain. Even though he was not divorced from the practical and ideological purposes of the voyage (be it the mapping of trade prospects or the assertion of European power), Pigafetta does not foreground the crasser political and mercantilist aspects of the voyage.

Modern readers of Pigafetta have remarked on his credulousness and gullibility, his tendency to dilate his account, and his lack of reliability as to the technical aspects of the expedition. (His maps, for instance, are not portolan charts or rutters for sailors, but pretty and navigationally useless paintings created for an illustrated book for general readers.) This view of Pigafetta's credulousness does not take into account the mode of the text, its epic-heroic intention to elevate and heighten the action, a mode that connects it to the tradition of the chivalric romance. The connection between early travel narratives and the courtly romance is important, but has not been drawn for the Pigafetta narrative. The romance was such a dominant form in Pigafetta's time that it did not only absorb the matter of the geographical discoveries of the age—as in the use of medieval travellers' descriptions of "Cathay" in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso—it shaped the narration of geographical travel itself.[32]

The temper of Pigafetta's narration reveals to us how much he must have modelled himself after the idea of the "perfect courtier" immortalized by Castiglione in his *Book of the Courtier*. As witness-participant, Pigafetta shows an elegance of demeanour and speech, a love of beauty, a lack of affectation, a sense of discretion, and loyalty to his lord. His gaze is not overtly dominating or acquisitive. He relates his remarkable adventures with what Castiglione calls *sprezzatura,* a studied nonchalance ("to conceal all art and make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort and almost without any thought about it").[33] Compared to the sensationalized "survival literature" of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or the sentimental travel writing of the eighteenth, Pigafetta's account is dignified and restrained. He does not sensationalize and rarely calls attention to himself. Though wounded in the Battle of Mactan, it was only after, and incidentally, that he said: "I could not go [ashore] because I was all swollen up by a wound from a poisoned arrow which I had received on my face."

The expression of fine religious sentiment is part of the pragmatics of courtliness. Pigafetta begins his account by praising God for "the great and wonderful things which God has permitted me to see and suffer during my long and dangerous voyage." [3] He invokes God and the Virgin in moments of danger and, during a storm at sea, weeps as he beholds, hovering over the ship, the apparition of the saints Elmo, Nicholas, and Claire. [8, 71, 81] (St. Elmo's fire, gathering of static electricity at prominent parts of a ship during stormy weather, was in Magellan's day associated with the apparition of Christian saints.) Upon hearing the Cebuano chiefs say they wished to become Christians, Pigafetta wrote: "We all wept with great joy." [47]

Pigafetta was gracious and refined in his dealings with the natives. He allowed himself to be led along by the hand by the king of Mazaua, followed local customs (like kissing the king's hand in response to the king's kissing his), and was a gracious house guest (sleeping on a bamboo mat, condescending to eat pork on a Holy Friday, and enjoying the entertainment of music and "quite naked girls" dancing when he was a

guest in the house of the "prince" of Cebu). He is perfectly decorous in an enigmatic audience with a local queen, somewhere in Mindanao, where we find him, the gentle, platonic knight, sitting quietly beside her as she weaves a sleeping mat of palm leaves. Pigafetta's civility frames the narrative with an aura of ethicality. His "romancing" of the Philippine discovery is a marriage of Machiavelli and Castiglione with their Renaissance belief in the power of appearance and the artfulness of power in the manipulation of the Other.

The discovery of the Philippines is an enactment of Renaissance chivalry. It is in this manner that it is turned into something wondrous and marvellous.

Greenblatt calls wonder "the central figure in the initial European response to the New World, the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference."[34] It is a central feature, he says, "in the whole complex system of representation, verbal and visual, philosophical and aesthetic, intellectual and emotional, through which people in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance apprehended, and thence possessed or discarded, the unfamiliar, the alien, the terrible, the desirable, and the hateful."[35]

The representational shifts in Pigafetta's narrative show that there is a subtle, complex range to the meaning and deployment of wonder. His narration of the Philippine sojourn is quite distinctive. Instead of a recourse to the unusual, monstrous, and fabulous, Pigafetta engages in a calculated rhetorical strategy that evokes an aesthetic and ethical response in the service of a legitimation process, the heroizing of classical and Christian rhetoric that heightens human deeds (in this case, European deeds) and invests them with sublimity and gravity.

The Philippine discovery is a piece of chivalric romance. Plotting the Philippine discovery experience as a romance means that "certain acts were to be performed, certain ends pursued, certain desires fulfilled."[36] Its witness-narrator is ravished in wonder and rapture at seeing a new world and the progression of the action takes on the character of a spiritual and moral ascent, indexed by how often Pigafetta uses such words as "awed" and "astonished." Even as the idea of use and exploitation lurks everywhere in the narrative, it is not foregrounded. Wonder and ceremony dominate.

The romance is problematized by how the Philippine sojourn ends. Magellan is killed in a battle that is not entirely epic, although Pigafetta dilates his account by suppressing the more tawdry aspects of the event. The Europeans' hasty retreat from Cebu was ignominious and, for around two months, the expedition—leaderless, limping, and lost—drifted from place to place in the southern Philippine waters before eventually finding its way to the Moluccas.

After Magellan's death, the crew was beset by problems of leadership and discipline. Lost, low on provisions, and wary of enemies, be they Portuguese or Malay, the remnants of the expedition fell into acts of piracy, attacking other vessels, killing and taking captives, including women. [75, 76, 79, 80, 82] In the Moluccas, they overloaded their ships with a hoard of cloves and when they ran out of merchandise to trade, some crew members bartered their own clothes to augment their share of the precious cargo. Pigafetta tersely wrote: "We bartered for cloves like mad." [96] The expedition was disintegrating. The ship *Concepción* was burned and abandoned off Bohol because there were not enough men to work it. The leaking *Trinidad* was left behind in Tidore when the *Victoria* made its run for the return to Europe. The *Trinidad* later attempted the voyage back to America across the Pacific but staggered back to Tidore, where both ship and crew were captured by the Portuguese. Only the *Victoria*, manned by twenty-one survivors, managed to make it back to Spain. (Much earlier, in America, the *Santiago* was wrecked and the *San Antonio*, commandeered by mutineers, returned to Spain.)

It is interesting that it is in this part of the book, which has something of the frenetic rhythm of the American stage of the voyage, that the fabulous reappears. Weaving what is mostly hearsay into the narrative, Pigafetta speaks of islands where there are "leaves which are alive when they fall, and walk"; a bird (the mythical *garuda*) which can carry off buffaloes and elephants; hairy men who "eat only raw human hearts with the juice of oranges or lemons"; an island of women who kill men and "become pregnant from the wind"; another island where the men and women have shrill voices, live in underground caves, and are "not taller than one cubit" but have ears as long as themselves (recalling Pliny, they use one ear to make their bed and the other to cover themselves); and yet still another island where can be found "the ugliest people who live in these Indies," cannibals who wear garments of buffalo hide ornamented with shells, boars' tusks, and tails of goat

skins, and wear their "beards wrapped in leaves and thrust into small bamboo tubes."[78-79, 81, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117] It is as though the fabulizing of the Other appears and increases in direct proportion to its threatening denseness and remoteness.

The Philippine section, while central, is just a stage in along journey. One is tempted to read the entire circumnavigation narrative as passing through three distinct chronological stages, each representing a change in both the practice and representation of exploration and conquest, from the evocation of primal myths (America), to the enactment of romance (Philippines), to a catalogue of naked acts of greed and piracy (Moluccas).

The mode of representation is determined not only by the anticipations of the narrator but by the actual experiences of the voyage. A discovery narrative is the product of an encounter. Such a narrative, Mary Louise Pratt reminds us, is shaped not only by the traveller's sensibilities and powers of observation, but by the "travelee's" work in directing and shaping the interaction that takes place.[37] Pigafetta's Philippine romance is occasioned by the friendly reception of the Europeans by the inhabitants of the islands. The representation of America and the Moluccas, on the other hand, is shaped by intercultural conditions of remoteness, hostility, and mistrust.

It is in the aborted romance of the Philippines that the moral centre of Pigafetta's book lies. It is here that the young Italian courtier is in his element, investing what he narrates with an aura of rightness and inexorability. The actual fate of the expedition—the death of Magellan and the disorderly retreat from Cebu, the harried sojourn in the Moluccas, and the demoralized return of the survivors to Europe—does not diminish the final and overarching purpose and logic of the voyage. Signed by the hero's sacrificial death, the Bisayan idyll, in Pigafetta's telling, is a journey to the paradisal edges of a world that is there for Europe to possess.

A discovery is not just the finding of a place, but an interpretive act and a scriptural one, an act of "writing the land" (which is what geography literally means).[38] Jacob Burckhardt writes:

> "The true discoverer is not the man who first chances to stumble upon anything, but the man who finds what he has sought. Such a one alone stands in a link with the thoughts and interests of his predecessors, and this relationship will also determine the account he gives of his search."[39]

Pigafetta found not only fame (albeit delayed) but a new world that—in Burckhardt's sense—he could interpret, narrate, and shape in ways meaningful to his European readers by linking it to "the thoughts and interests of his predecessors." Such meaningfulness, however, involved the suppression of difference. Though a discovery narrative is dialogic, shaped as it is by the communicative relationship the writer makes with the book's patron and its intended audience, it is a dialogue that excludes the people of the country, which the book has turned into an object of knowledge. One must not forget that they, too, "discovered" Magellan (in the full hermeneutical sense of what "discovery" means)—and perhaps discovered him so well that they killed him.

Though the journey is a liminal experience, there is little in Pigafetta's account that points to how he was changed by the experience. Such self-appraisal was not germane to the romance as a form: knightly manhood is already achieved in the adventure itself. Pigafetta's experience is safely bracketed by a conventional opening and closing that establish context and pay homage to the patrons of Europe's knowledge-building projects, the kings who authorize voyages of discovery and the noble personages who sponsor the production of texts that authenticate such discoveries and add them to Europe's ever-growing fund of knowledge.[40] In writing his story of the Magellan expedition in a form that borrows from the conventions of antecedent travel narratives and (most important in the case of the Philippines) the chivalric romance, Pigafetta domesticates the strangeness of other worlds.

The circumnavigation of the globe was not only a geographical feat but a literary one. Pigafetta's writing is an act of circumnavigation. It ends where it begins. By consigning it to his patrons and to posterity, he assures that, both in the imagination and the world of practical acts, the European possession of the globe will be completed again and again. RC

Editor's note: This essay is partly based on a paper written in 1999 and completed during a six-month fellowship (June-December 2000) at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, published in Mojares, Resil B., *Waiting for Mariang Makiling. Essais in Philippine Cultural History,* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002, pp. 20-51.

NOTES

1 For bibliographic notes on the provenance and publishing history of the Pigafetta manuscripts, see the prefaces and notes in the following editions of Pigafetta: Charles E. Nowell, ed., *Magellan's Voyage Around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962), 3-76; R. A. Skelton, trans. and ed., *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 1-28; Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia, eds. *First Voyage Around the World* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), xiii-xxx; Paula Spurlin Paige, trans., The *Voyage of Magellan: The Journal of Antonio Pigafetta* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), vi-xv; and Theodore J. Cachey, Jr., trans. and ed., *The First Voyage Around the World: An Account of Magellan's Expedition* (New York: Marsilio, 1995), vii-lvii.
The Nowell and Quirino-Garcia editions reprint James A. Robertson's translation of the Ambrosian Codex, which was first published in 1906 and appears as volume 34 in Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909). Skelton translates the Beinecke-Yale Codex, while the Paige translation is based on the French edition of Pigafetta published in Paris in 1525.
For sources on the Magellan expedition, see Martin Torodash, "Magellan Historiography," *Hispanic-American Historical Review* 51 (1971): 313-35.

2 See Humberto E. Robles, "The First Voyage around the World: From Pigafetta to Garcia Marquez," *History of European Ideas* 6, 4 (1985): 385-404.

3 Gabriel Garcia Marquez, "The Solitude of Latin America," *New York Times*, February 6, 1983, 4:17.

4 While I have consulted the five English editions cited in footnote 1, all page citations of the Pigafetta account enclosed in brackets refer to the 1995 Marsilio edition, a version based on the Italian edition of the *Ambrosiana* manuscript prepared by Mariarosa Masoero (Rovereto 1987).

5 Cited in Quirino and Garcia, *First Voyage*, 139-41; Nowell, *Magellan's Voyage,* 83.

6 Quirino and Garcia, *First Voyage,* xiv.

7 Cachey, *First Voyage,* xiv-xv. Boccaccio's *De Canaria et insulis reliquis ultra Hispaniam noviter repertis,* ostensibly about the Canary Islands, was written around 1341-42 (see Joseph P. Consoli, *Giovanni Boccaccio: An Annotated Bibliography* [New York: Garland Publishing, 1992], entries 866, E13, F122).

8 Among the texts circulating in Pigafetta's Italy were Columbus' letter-reports on his voyage, *De insulis inventis* and *Lettera rarissima,* Italian editions of which were published in 1493 and 1505, respectively; the widely read *Mundus novus* (1504) and *Quattuor navigationes* (1507), based on Vespucci's letters on his voyages; the Milanese Niccolo Scillacio's *De insulis nuper inventis* (1494), a newsletter based on correspondence from an Aragonese sailor who served under Columbus; and the famous letter to Hieronymo Annari (1495) of Michele da Cuneo, a nobleman of Savona who was a member of Columbus' second voyage (1493-94). See Cachey, *First Voyage,* xiv; Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance,* 1420-1620 (New York: Atheneum, 1962); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: University Press, 1992); Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (London: Seckerand Warburg, 1995).
An important part of this literature was Pliny's *Historia naturalis,* published in Venice in 1469, as well as Ptolemy's *Geographia,* translated into Latin in 1410 and printed in Pigafetta's hometown of Vicenza in 1475.

9 Cachey, *First Voyage*, 126.

10 Reports on early travel in Southeast Asia circulated late in Europe because of the Portuguese secrecy about their activities and the fact that many of the early travelers in the region were independent seafarers and merchants. Among those who found their way to Southeast Asia before the Magellan voyage were Ibn Battuta of Tangiers (who was in Asia in 1325-1355 and wrote an account of his travels), Nicolo de Conti (who left Venice in 1419 and is reported to have reached Ceylon and Sumatra), Girolamo da Santo Stefano (a Genoese merchant credited with having visited Malacca and Sumatra in 1496-1497), and Tomé Pires (a Portuguese apothecary who was in Malacca and Java and wrote a manuscript account of the region in 1513). See Penrose, *Travel and Discovery;* Donald F. Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago; University Press, 1965), offprint of the author's *Asia in the Making of Europe* [1965], 493-650.

11 Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe,* 646.

12 See Michael Harbsmeier, "On Travel Accounts and Cosmological Strategies: Some Models in Comparative Xenology," *Ethnos* 50, 3/4 (1985): 282-83.

13 Robles (*First Voyage,* 390-91) divides the narrative into four major parts: the American section, the Pacific crossing, the encounters from the Marianas to the Moluccas, and the return to Spain. Borrowing from a "*lexicon rhetoricae*" of voyage literature, he calls these sections, respectively, the *Journey, Odyssey*, *Quest*, and *Pilgrimage,* on the basis of differences in purpose and the "tone and inner tensions prevalent in the different moments of the text's linear progression." I do not find his breakdown of the plot convincing.

14 In distinguishing the American part from the Philippine-Moluccan section, Robles (*First Voyage,* 391, 393) says that while the latter is "imbued with preconceived ideas, conventions and possible bookish inspiration," the American part "rings of authenticity." America is "pristine and essentially undivulged" and "there is hardly any room for hearsay in this section." Robles misses the fact that the American narration is replete with hearsay and that Pigafetta, prior to the voyage, was more familiar with travel reports on America than those on the Pacific and Southeast Asia.

15 Michel de Certeau, "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals': The Savage 'I,' " *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other,* trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 69.

16 Cachey, *First Voyage,* 130.

17 See Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University Press, 1991); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; Routledge, 1992).

18 William Henry Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992), 120.

19 For an excellent reconstruction of the "hidden" politics of Spanish-Cebuano interactions and the drama of mutual manipulation that Pigafetta does not foreground, see Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino,* 40-63.

20 Compare Pigafetta's remarks with other, more heavily colored observations of the practice. An Englishman in the Thomas Cavendish expedition that visited the Philippines in 1588 associated the use of penis wheels with the devil: "These people wholly worship the devil, and often times have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape." The Spanish official Antonio de Morga, writing in 1609, says the practice illustrated that Bisayans were "very vicious and sensual (…) their wickedness has devised lewd ways of intercourse between men and women." The Florentine merchant Francesco Carletti, who visited the Philippines in 1596-1597, wrote: "The bisaio men (…) beguile themselves with

[their] women in strange and diabolic ways." He calls the penis wheel (Carletti paid money to be shown the device) "an invention of the Devil (…) so as to give and receive diabolic pleasure with their women" and "a pure invention of Satan, done to impede those wretched people from generating children."
See Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), 11:333; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,* trans. J. S. Cummins (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1971), 278; Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World,* trans. H. Weinstock (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 84-85.

21 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes,* 33.

22 The Philippines began to appear on European maps soon after Magellan. The earliest was an anonymous chart, prepared around 1522 and attributed to Pedro Reinel, with the inscription "Islas s. Lazaro." This was followed by an anonymous *planisphere* of 1527 attributed to Diogo Ribeiro, the first cosmographer of the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville, and an anonymous chart ca. 1535 that delineates the southern Philippines and names the islands of Cebu, Negros, and Mindanao. In 1554, a map published by Ramusio includes not only individual islands but collectively labels them Filipina, the name given by Villalobos in 1543. See Lach, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe,* 625, 643.

23 The politics of the voyage is dense and complex. The expedition to find a western route to the Moluccas and other islands and to claim these for Spain was undertaken against the background of Spanish-Portuguese conflicts over spheres of influence under the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, conflicts heightened by the lack of knowledge about the shape of the globe and the location of lands real or imagined. With the mixed Spanish-Portuguese composition of the crew, the Magellan expedition was a floating cauldron of these conflicts.
There is controversy over Magellan's intentions in the voyage. Biographer Charles Parr advances the theory that Magellan had "probably coasted about the Philippine Archipelago" while he was in Malacca in 1511-1512 and that, by reaching the Philippines in 1521, he had circumnavigated the globe. Parr theorizes that, impressed by the potential of the "gold-bearing" islands in his first visit, Magellan had a "secret understanding" with the Spanish King that he should explore the archipelago and claim it both for the King and himself (see Charles McKew Pan, *So Noble a Captain: The Life and Times of Ferdinand Magellan* [New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1953], 126, 340-54; also F. H. H. Guillemard, *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the Globe,* 1480-1521 (London: George Philip and Son, 1890).
Charles Nowell (*Magellan's Voyage,* 3-76) believes that Magellan intended not only to reach the Moluccas but to find other lands that had not yet been "discovered," in particular the islands the Portuguese referred to as *Lequios,* which Magellan imagined to be the Biblical *Tarshish* and *Ophir* (which Nowell identifies as the island cluster composed of Formosa and the Ryukyus).

24 In Quirino and Garcia, *First Voyage,* 121.

25 Robles, *First Voyage,* 391.

26 Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions,* 80.

27 *Ibidem,* 83.

28 Of the 160 terms in Pigafetta's Bisayan word list, 48 relate to parts of the body, gender, and bodily functions; around 40 to food and commodities; 10 to numbers; and the rest to simple commands and items of ethnographic interest. The premium is on "fixing" the native and cataloguing his resources (see Quirino and Garcia, *First Voyage,* 48-52).

29 Parr, *So Noble a Captain,* 357.

30 On the heroic visual representation of the Battle of Mactan in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European engravings, see Resil B. Mojares, "Mactan in the Eyes of Europe," *House of Memory: Essays* (Metro Manila: Anvil Publishing, 1997), 35-39.

31 Parr, *So Noble a Captain,* 357.

32 Donald F. Lach and Theodore Nicholas Foss, "Images of Asia and Asians in European Fiction, 1500-1800," *Asia in Western Fiction,* ed. R. W. Winks and J. R. Rush (Manchester: University Press, 1990), 16-17. See Erich Auerbach's observations on the courtly romance in Mimesis: *The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton: University Press, 1953), 127-42.

33 Baldasar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier;* trans. C. S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959), 43.

34 Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions,* 14.

35 *Ibidem,* 22-23.

36 Wayne Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America* (Chicago: University Press, 1979), 5.

37 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. On the dynamics of transcultural encounters, also see Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other,* trans. R. Howard (New York: Harper Colophon, 1984).

38 For a fine analysis of the hermeneutical and scriptural aspects of the Columbus texts, see Margarita Zamora, *Reading Columbus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

39 Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958; first published in 1860), 2 vols.

40 Michael Ryan argues that the early discoveries had little impact on the values and traditions of Europe because of how new worlds were assimilated into the European universe of discourse: "There is nothing in travel literature, in works describing the aims and goals of travel, or in the situation of observers, the best of whom were missionaries interested in the ultimate elimination of difference, that demanded or valued a type of description which had as its object the representation of difference in its own terms. The world, after all, was discovered by Europeans, not vice versa. And that fact implied a certain ownership, if not legal then at least intellectual and psychological" ("Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, 4 [1981]: 536.)
On the "science of heterology," or representations of the Other, see Michel de Certeau, "Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *Representations* 33 (1991): 221-26.