

## Magotaro: An Eighteenth Century Japanese Sailor's Record of Insular Southeast Asia

NOMURA TORU

### ABSTRAK

*Walaupun dipanggil Magoshichi, Mogotaro, pengembara Jepun dari kurun ke 18 dan lahir barangkali pada 1747 ini dirujuk sebagai Magotaro berdasarkan transkrip wawancaranya di pejabat majistret di Nagasaki. Nama yang sama digunakan dalam rekod lain, iaitu Oyakugashira Kaisen Mokuroku, rekod bisnes pada keluarga Tsugami, agen perkapalan di kampung halamannya. Dalam kertas ini, saya cuba mengesan pengalamannya dalam beberapa buah dokumen dan rekod. Yang paling penting dan yang boleh dicapai adalah An Account of a Journey to the South Seas. Ia menyiarkan kisah daripada wawancara dengannya pada usia tuanya. Dokumen rasmi lain mengenainya adalah Ikoku Hyoryu Tsukamatsurisoro Chikuzen no Kuni Karadomari Magotaro Kuchigaki yang merupakan transkrip soal siasat ke atasnya di Pejabat Majisret di Nagasa bila dia tiba di Nagasaki pada 1771. Selain itu, terdapat juga Oranda Fusetsugaki Shusei yang diserahkan kepada Natsume Izumizunokami Nobumasa, majistret Nagasaki oleh Arend Willem Feith, kapten kapal Belanda yang membawa Magotaro dihantar balik ke Jepun. Sumber-sumber lain, termasuk manuskrip, mempunyai gaya sastera, tetapi kurang dipercayai.*

*Kata kunci: Korea, Jepun, China, membuat kapal, pengangkutan marin, Banjarmasin*

### ABSTRACT

*Although called Magoshichi, the eighteenth century Japanese adventurer, Mogotaro, born probably in 1747, was referred to as Magotaro, based on the transcript of his interview at the Nagasaki Magistrate Office. The same name is used in another record, Oyakugashira Kaisen Mokuroku, a business record of the Tsugami family, a shipping agent in Magotaro's home village. In this paper, I attempt to trace his experiences in a number of documents and records. Some are reliable, while the others not. The most important and accessible source is An Account of a Journey to the South Seas. It contains an account from an interview with him in his old age. Another important official document about him is Ikoku Hyoryu Tsukamatsurisoro Chikuzen no Kuni Karadomari Magotaro Kuchigaki, which is the transcript of the Nagasaki Magistrate Office's interrogation of Magotaro when he arrived in Nagasaki in 1771. There is also*

Oranda Fusetsugaki Shusei submitted to Natsume Izumizunokami Nobumasa, the Nagasaki Magistrate, by Arend Willem Feith, the captain of the Dutch ship aboard which Magotaro was repatriated. The other sources, including manuscripts, have a more or less literary flavor but are not reliable.

*Key words:* Korea, Jepun, China, ship building, marine transport, Banjarmasin

## MARITIME ACTIVITIES IN PRE-TOKUGAWA

Japan's contacts with Korea can be traced to prehistoric times with some anthropologists arguing that Japanese people migrated South through Korea from their original homeland in the Mongolian steppes sometime in the first millennium B.C. They argued that these people had finally settled in the Japanese archipelago and eventually pushed the Ainu people who are the native inhabitants to the north. The nomadic elements of these people are evidenced in archeological artifacts excavated in various parts of Japan such as harnesses that reveal Korea-Manchurian influence. This suggests that there might have been a commercial trade relationship between the Koreans and the Japanese since the dawn of history. Similarities between the megalithic monuments excavated in South Korea and in North Kyushu, particularly in Fukuoka prefecture, indicate strongly that these two regions might have a common cultural root.

When *Paekche*, Japanese ally in Korea, was besieged by forces allied to *Tang-Silla* in 660AD, Empress Saimei herself led an army and set up base in Northern Kyushu. Two years later, a Japanese expedition giving support to *Paekche* met the allied forces from *Tang* in China and *Silla*. They were defeated bitterly in a naval battle called *Paekchongang* which the Japanese documented as *Hakusukinoe*. Nevertheless, the events prove that the sea-route across the Korean channel along the West coast of Korea was well established in the seventh century.

The relationship between Japan and China was hampered by the perilous East China Sea throughout the first five centuries of the Christian era. Only later did ships bound for China sail northward along the West coast of Korea until the vicinity of Kwanghwa Island before moving West across the Yellow Sea to reach Shandong Peninsula. With the emergence of the ancient kingdom of Yamato in Nara region at the end of the fourth century, Japanese interest in Chinese civilization grew steadily. This encouraged direct contacts with the Chinese kingdoms that resulted in the discovery of a new and shorter route to South China and significantly shortened the journey and avoided the perils of pirate attacks.

The reunification of China in 589 during the reign of the *Sui* dynasty was troubled by North-South rivalry that lasted for three centuries. Newly emerged

Yamato regime, led by sagacious Prince Shotoku, sent a string of missions, known as *Kenzuishi* (Jian-sui-shi) amongst the Japanese historians to *Sui* dynasty in China. Due to lack of knowledge on oceanic meteorology, especially the raging typhoons, these missions often met with disasters that ended with many lives lost. The circumstances forced many of the Japanese on the missions to settle in China. Among them is Abe-no-Nakamaro, a promising young Japanese student, who went to Chang-an, now Xi-an, then the capital of *Tang* dynasty, with hopes to bring knowledge from China to Japan in order to spur development in Japan.<sup>1</sup>

However, he was blown as far south as Hainan Island by a treacherous storm. Finally he gave up hope of repatriation and became a prominent mandarin in the Tang court. There were, on the other hand, quite a few Chinese who overcame perilous seas to visit Japan and disseminated advanced knowledge among the Japanese society. Among them, Reverend Yanzhen (known as Ganjin Wajo by Japanese) who played an important role in upgrading the standard of Japanese Buddhism in the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> In fact, he had been blown off course several times en route, during which time his eyes were badly damaged, eventually making him blind. His harsh experiences indicate the difficulty early travelers faced during their voyages. The difficulty of overseas travel established curiosity among Japanese about foreign civilization; they cherished various folktales in which a hero, traveling overseas, often by chance and after a breathtaking adventure, finally brought back many precious treasures, which, no doubt, implies the advanced knowledge abroad.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to the *Tokugawa* era, Japanese trading boats had been sailing as far as Bantam, Java and Melaka (Malacca).<sup>4</sup> Their frequent visits to Southeast Asia had resulted in the establishment of *Nihon-machi*, Japanese quarter, in many important port-cities, including San Miguel and Dilao, located in the outskirts of Manila, Ayutthaya in Thailand and Faifoo in Central Vietnam, with the last port being the place with the largest number of Japanese sailors learning the technique of pelagic sailing from Chinese and Portuguese sailors. *Genna Kokaizu*, sailing chart of *Genna* era (1615-23), testified to the high standard of contemporary sailing techniques.<sup>5</sup>

## THE TOKUGAWA BAKUFU'S CLOSED-DOOR POLICY

Following the political reunification of Japan in 1600, *Tokugawa Bakufu*, the *Shogunate* government, began to restrict interaction with overseas countries, a policy known as *sakoku seisaku*, translated as "Closed Door Policy." This culminated in the prohibition of all foreign contact in 1639, except for official trade with the Netherlands and China. Dejima, a tiny reclaimed island off the port of Nagasaki, was then Japan's sole window to outside world. Gradually, the techniques of pelagic sailing acquired in the past were forgotten. Nevertheless, the stabilization of domestic politics by the middle of seventeenth

century sparked off rapid development in domestic industry and commodity distribution taking place in the cities, in particular the *bakufu*'s capital city, Edo (now Tokyo) and the commercial city of Osaka. Commodities exchange between them thrived with each forming the center of a network of commercial linkages with other parts of the country. This resulted in the expansion of marine transport which made bulk transportation possible.

But, the marine transport expansion was offset by growing maritime accidents due to treacherous seas and raging winds in the Sea of Kumano, off Wakayama Prefecture and Sea of Enshu, off Shizuoka Prefecture, stretching between Edo and Osaka. As celestial navigation using instruments like the astrolabe, introduced by Europeans in the sixteenth century, was forgotten after the establishment of *sakoku seisaku*. Sailing was finally restricted to coastal waters using "land watching navigation" (*Yamami koho*) depending entirely on the sighting of on-shore landmarks.<sup>6</sup> There was no way to locate ships blown far out into the ocean during heavy storms. Due to strict closed-door policy there was hardly any chance of them being rescued by any passing foreign vessel since there were virtually no foreign ships in Japanese waters, except for the Dutch and Chinese junks in the East China Sea. The tragic cases of boats drifting for months in open seas until food and water were depleted with crews dying of starvation rose in numbers. The lucky ones drifted ashore on deserted islands and spent the rest of their lives without any means of returning home. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a marked increase of Japanese crews rescued by foreign vessels, particularly the American whaling ships who extended their operations to the West side of the Pacific Ocean. Many individuals who were stranded and endured hardships in foreign countries where they were shipwrecked were eventually sent home.<sup>7</sup> The majority of these lucky ones had drifted South and then sent back to Nagasaki aboard Chinese trading junks.<sup>8</sup>

#### SHIPWRECK SURVIVORS ACCOUNTS AS HISTORICAL SOURCES

Due to strict prohibition against Christianity, the Tokugawa Shogunate government usually conducted a thorough investigation on the experience of survivors of shipwrecks who returned to Japan. Information brought into Japan by these survivors during the closed-door period was valuable to reports prepared by prominent scholars at the Shogun's request.<sup>9</sup> Based on Daikokuya Kodayu's adventures, Katsuragawa Hoshu, who had achieved prominence for his knowledge of Western medicine and who was on the Shogun's household staff, was able to compile *Hokusa Bunryaku* (*A Brief Report on the Northern District*).<sup>10</sup> But in order to maintain the closed-door policy, the Shogunate did not want the repatriated survivors to relate their experience freely to common

folks. Thus, *Nagasaki bugyosho* (Nagasaki Magistrate's Office) not only resettled the survivors in places faraway from their original villages, but also prohibited them from speaking freely about their experiences abroad. Nevertheless, the Tokugawa Shogunate's stringent closed-door policy had instead heightened curiosity about overseas. In other words, the experiences of survivors attracted the attention of local progressive scholars and intellectuals who had secretly circulated their accounts in the form of hand-written manuscripts. One such account is Magotaro, or Magoshichi's account. He is a young sailor from the port of Karadomari before he was shipwrecked and his adventures were recorded by intellectuals in Fukuoka.

These records of shipwreck survivors allowed Japanese intellectuals a window to the outside world which helped to form an open-door policy in the nineteenth century. The influence of these accounts on modern Japanese history was perhaps greater than that acknowledged previously. Among the contemporary survivors who deserves special attention is Joseph Heco, also known as America Hikozo. As a fisherman, he was a native of Harima (Hyogo Prefecture) and was rescued by an American whaling ship based in Honolulu, Hawaii. Under the auspices of several American philanthropists, he was educated in the United States and eventually obtained American citizenship. However, upon his repatriation to Japan in 1859, after a decade in the United States, he began to play an active part in as a mediator between the Tokugawa Shogunate and America strengthening US.-Japan diplomatic relations. Juxtaposed against domestic feudal rivalries, these international exchanges under the Meiji regime had culminated in an open-door policy and eventually led the way to Japan's modernization.

Apart from spurring modernization of Japan, the shipwreck survivors' records provided vivid descriptions of contemporary Japanese society with valuable historical, ethnographical and anthropological data. Traditionally, these records had been labelled as "curious tales," which negated their true value. This paper hopes to show that Magotaro's adventures in Southeast Asia is more than just "curious tales."

## MAGOTARO

Magotaro's experiences is generally recounted literary and in a documentary style. *Nankai Kibun (An Account of a Journey to the South Seas)* (National Diet Library Collection, Ishii Kendo ed.) is the most important as it contains an account from an interview with Magotaro in his old age. The interview was conducted by a *Rangaku* (Western medicine) scholar of eighteenth century in Fukuoka, Aoki Okikatsu (1760-1812). While the account was posthumously compiled by Aoki's disciples a modern Japanese version was published in 1991 by Ikeda Akira which made it more accessible.<sup>11</sup>

Another work that appears to be reliable is *Hyofutan (Castaway's Record)*, which, according to Arakawa, was found by its present owner in a small shrine. The other manuscripts all have a more or less literary flavor and are not reliable. For example, the time indicated in *Kaikunenroku (A Record of Nine Years in China and Barbarian Countries)* is three years later than the actual ones, apparently an attempt to deceive the Shogunate's censor.

The most important contemporary official documents concerning Magotaro are *Ikoku Hyoryu Tsukamatsurisoro Chikuzen no Kuni Karadomari Magotaro Kuchigaki (The Interrogation of Magoshichi from Karadomari, Chikuzen, Who Drifted Ashore to a Foreign Country)* (Tsuko Ichiran, vol.20) which is the transcript of the Nagasaki Magistrate Office's interrogation of Magotaro when he arrived in Nagasaki in the sixth month of 1771. There is also *Oranda Fusetsugaki Shusei (A Collection of the Report from the Dutch Captain) no. 176* submitted to Natsume Izumizunokami Nobumasa, the Nagasaki Magistrate, by Arend Willem Feith, the captain of the Dutch ship aboard which Magotaro was repatriated.

Although called Magoshichi in *Hyofutan*, Magotaro the Japanese adventurer is referred to as Magotaro in *Nankai Kibun*, based on the transcript of his interview at the Nagasaki Magistrate Office. The same name is used in another record called *Oyakugashira Kaisen Mokuroku* which is a business record of the *Tsugami* family, a shipping agent in Magotaro's home village.<sup>12</sup> According to the record of his interview at the Nagasaki Magistrate's Office, Magotaro is said to have later changed his name to Magozo, which appears in the register book (*Shushi ninbetsucho*) of Gankaiji temple where his ancestral tomb is located. But it is the name of Magotaro that is used in nearly all of the authoritative sources.<sup>13</sup>

Born probably in 1747, Magotaro's home was the port town of Karadomari, Shima County, Chikuzen.<sup>14</sup> Today, this area is incorporated into the Western suburbs of Fukuoka City which is the largest city in Kyushu. The name *Karadomari* literally means Gateway to China/Korea. It is located at the entrance to Hakata Bay, which Fukuoka faces, and from ancient times ships which set sail for China and Korea often waited for favorable winds at this port. The name appears in the *Man'yoshu*, Japan's oldest anthology of poetry compiled as early as the eighth century which indicates Karadomari's importance as a port for maritime activities in West Japan at that point of time.

From the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, the twin villages of Karadomari and Miyanoura flourished along with Imazu, Hamasaki and Noko Island—all ports in Hakata Bay where cargo ships then called *Gokaura kaisen (Five Port Shipping)* were based.<sup>15</sup> Though today Karadomari has become a small lonely fishing village, during the eighteenth century the crew which were mostly local people helped to transport tributary rice from Fukuoka domain to Edo and also manned cargo ships that sailed exclusively between Hokkaido and Kyushu.

## SHIPBUILDING UNDER THE CLOSED-DOOR POLICY

With implementation of the closed-door policy, the building of ocean-going vessels such as *shuinsen* (*vermillion-seal boat*) of the late sixteenth century was prohibited by the Shogunate. Japanese trading vessels that once flocked to various ports of Southeast Asia disappeared from the international scene and were replaced by the monopoly of Dutch ships and Chinese junks. As foreign trade was entrusted entirely to the Dutch and Chinese who visited Nagasaki annually, the shipbuilding technology acquired from the Portuguese and Spaniards in the sixteenth century was forgotten.

Because the Tokugawa Shogunate did not permit large trans-oceanic vessels to be built, it gave rise to the development of a medium-sized cargo boat, the *bezai* boat, primarily for use in the Inland Sea waters between Kyushu and Osaka. In a sense, it embodied the technical advancement of a new era because it could make use of adverse winds, a technique unknown to navigators of the previous century. However, it was engineered for sailing in inland waters that relied on the on-shore landmarks.

While both Dutch ships and Chinese junks had a strong keel to sustain the hull, the *bezai* boat was built of a flat wooden plank which made up its bottom. Thus, it was too fragile for oceanic navigation because it could not survive rough seas. In addition, the rudder was simply tied up with rope to the helm and was often lost when the boat met a storm. This resulted in frequent shipwrecks causing a great number of castaways. The majority of castaways, can be perceived as victims of the Shogunate's stringent closed-door policy.<sup>16</sup>

Magotaro was on one such ship, the 1600 *koku* (one *koku* is equivalent to 5.119 bushels) named Ise Maru with a crew of twenty-one. Owned by Aoyagi Bunpachi, it left the port of Kodomari near Cape Tappi, in modern Aomori Prefecture early in the seventh month of 1764, loaded with lumber before disembarking in Obuchiura on Ojika Peninsula in present day Miyagi Prefecture. On the thirteenth day of the tenth month, it left Obuchiura to set sail for Cape Shioya in Ibaraki Prefecture. leaving the coast of Japan to be blown off course. Having been blown out to the Pacific Ocean by the Big West Wind, it appears that Ise Maru was caught by the *kuroshio*, the ocean current that flows from the Philippines to the North Pacific along the east coast of Japan, then up to the area of 40° latitude and 150° longitude. Presumably it was then blown south by the Northwest monsoon to about 5° latitude before it was picked up by the North Equatorial Current, enabling it to reach the east coast of Mindanao Island.

## LIFE IN MINDANAO AND SULU

Magotaro and his crew arrived at an island on the first of the first month in 1765, and began looking for signs of human habitation. Failing to find any,

they continued sailing to the East for 14 to 15 *ri* (one *ri* is equivalent to 4 km.) until they reached a big island. On this island, they also searched for signs of humans for several days and spent their nights on the beach. Suddenly, they found themselves surrounded by about 100 natives who began to rob Magotaro and his crew of their belongings and items from the barge. Then the sailors were taken to a boat and traveled for five days to a place called Karagan. Here, they were brought up to an old man, most likely a chief, who recognized them as *Jiwapon* or Japanese.

*Nankai Kibun* identifies the second island they reached as *Magintarou*. It seems reasonable to assume that this is the part of Magindanao on the coast of the modern Mindanao Island. As for *Magintarou* being Mindanao, J. F. Warren writes in his book, *The Sulu Zone*, as follows:

The Word *Magindanao* is derived from the root “*danao*” which means inundation by sea, river or lake. Magindanao means “that which has been inundated”. It is the most appropriate term that could have been designated to describe the broad lowland of the Rio Grande de Cotabato, because of the often-flooded condition in which this intermontate basin and neighboring river valleys are found. It was Magindanao, people of the flooded plain, who lent their name to the vast island which the Spaniards shortened and corrupted to Mindanao.<sup>17</sup>

*Nankai Kibun* describes *Karagan* (also written as *Karakan*) as a small island at the south of Mindanao, and most likely it would have been Karakelong Island in the Talaud Islands. *Beknopte Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsche-Indië* (1921) explains the Talaud Islands as follows:

Groep van eilandjes, Noord-Oosterlijk van de Sangigroep (N.O. van Celebes), een onderafdeeling vormende van de af. Menado der residentie Menado, onder bestuur van een Controleur met standplaats Boe op het eiland Karakelong...

*De belangrijkste eilanden zijn: 1. Karakelong, het grootste eiland der Talaudgroep.....”*

[Group of small islands located in Northeast of the Sangi group (Northeast of Celebes), a subdivision of Menado Division of Menado Residency, under the administration of the [Dutch] Inspector with the office on the island of Karakelong...

The most important islands are 1. Karakelong, the biggest island of the Talaud group....]

The above explanation indicates that the island of Karakelong is the center of the whole of the Talaud Islands. Nowadays, the Talaud Islands are included within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. Magotaro and his group were eventually enslaved by Sulu pirates, who were active in the region and may have used Karakelong as a supply base. During their three month stay in *Karagan*, it is said that some of Magotaro’s comrades were sold as slaves. Finally in about July of 1765, the remaining seven were put on a boat which traveled for about fifteen days until it reached a place called *Sauroku*, namely Sulu. There they were also enslaved for half a year. The description of *Sauroku* is not given in any real detail. Magotaro simply says that the town of *Sauroku*

was located about three *ri* (ca. 12 km) up a big river and that there were about 400 to 500 houses. One of the reasons for his scanty memory about Sulu may be attributed to his slave status which did not allow him much freedom. But, it is certain that this is most probably either Jolo or Balangingi, ports in the Sulu Kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

Sulu was a unique country with an economy based upon piracy. *Hai-lu*, the Chinese topographical work of the early nineteenth century, describes large amounts of cargo brought from Sulu to Pontianak and Banjarmasin. It may indicate the lucrative trade between Sulu and South Kalimantan in the eighteenth century, of which the flesh trade like Magotaro himself was a major commercial trade.<sup>19</sup> Magotaro also recalls that he met people from Manila and *Bogesh* (*Bugis*) on board the boat bound for Banjarmasin. These people might have been the victims of Sulu piracy.

### LIFE IN BANJARMASIN

Half a year later, Magotaro and Kogoro from Hamasaki village were separated from the other five Japanese and put on board a boat. However, Kogoro died of illness during the voyage, so Magotaro was left alone. After sailing for thirty-five days, the ship reached Banjarmasin, a large city in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Hyofutan* describes this city as follows:

After sailing for about thirty-five days, the boat finally entered a big river. This country is called "Banjaramaashi" and is located within India [Tenjiku].<sup>20</sup> It is a "kurobo" (*negro*) country and has various kinds of products. There are about 300 Chinese shops. There is an incalculable number of "negro" houses, too. This country is a very hot place and summer lasts forever.

Here Magotaro was taken in by Taikon-kan, a Hokkienese merchant of Zhengzhou origin, and worked for him for several years. The ending "kan" in the name Taikon-kan would suggest that the merchant himself, like other Hokkienese gentry, was of status equivalent to the mandarins (*guan*).<sup>21</sup>

The majority of Magotaro's records concern Banjarmasin, for it was here that he stayed longest during his years away from Japan. He must have had a chance to learn in detail about the local manners and customs of the society, for both *Nankai Kibun* and *Hyofutan* describe the trade and commercial activities, annual events and various ceremonies of Banjarmasin in minute detail. Thus, they constitute primary materials not only for the study of Banjarmasin, but also for understanding of larger Insular Southeast Asia in the eighteenth century. Since Magotaro worked for a Chinese merchant family, his records contain valuable information about Chinese customs. Therefore, it is also an important document for studying the history of ethnic Chinese society. Yet because it is often hard to distinguish Chinese customs from those of the local people, careful attention is needed.

*Nankai Kibun* recounts the daily life of Taikonkan and his family in great details:

After Taikonkan purchased Magotaro with thirty pieces of silver (Dutch *stuivers*; 60 Dutch cents), he provided me with a gun, a sword, a spear, shirts and some other personal effects and called me “*Japan*”.....

Taikonkan, the owner of the shop was a native of *Chakuchiu* (Zhengzhou), China; his mother was a native of *Hokuchiu* (Fuzhou). He had a wife called *Kinton*; his brother was called *Kanbenkan*. He hired two Chinese managers who were called *Kimurayuteki* and *Laihon*, respectively. He also hired four native *Negro* servants; among them, *Chinchai* and *Wondon* were general servants whereas the other two, *Areshi* and *Mouzeri*, were sailors; the latter two were married and lived independently. There were also three female servants called *Hirakan*, *Ukin* and *Barou*. They were also *Negros* but of origins other than Banjarmasin.

My job there was to accompany my lord and managers with a bulk of commodities when they went out for trade. When my lord dispatched his own boat, I manned it as a crewmember. While at home, I was engaged in cutting firewood and watering from the well...

Taikonkan dealt in porcelain and cloth at his shop. When a customer came in, he treated him/her hospitably with tobacco. They used lamp oil to light it. After some time, he served a cup of tea and betel nuts.

Floors inside the house were paved with firebricks; they usually sat on stools and benches. They decorated a beautiful Buddhist altar in a back room. Senior women often prayed at it as if they served a living master. Every morning and evening, when they made an offering at the altar, they used to mutter some words. Those ladies always remained in the back rooms and never showed up at the shop.

Taikonkan was very rich, but he never showed off his wealth and lived quite modestly. I was told that the owners of the neighboring shops were all his former clerks.

The resident Chinese in Banjarmasin seem to have adopted local customs and manners to some extent and appear to have been in harmony with the local community. Nevertheless, kinship ties with their homeland were never severed. The following passage, for instance, suggests their strong ties with China.

One day Kanbenkan, Taikonkan’s younger brother, married a girl called Chire. She was a daughter of a Chinese merchant resident in Banjarmasin, too.

Both Taikonkan and Kanbenkan used to return to China every other year to register their names in a census register and to purchase Chinese commodities. They told me that a whole trip took about half a year.

Taikonkan’s frequent visits to China imply that junk trade thrived between Southeast Asia and such ports in South China as Ningpo, Fuzhou, Zhengzhou, Chuanzhou, Xiamen (Amoy) and Guangzhou (Canton).

In Volume II of *Nankai Kibun*, Aoki Okikatsu describes in detail commodities traded at Banjarmasin as well as the local customs and manners prevalent there, a full translation of which is now being undertaken by the present author. We cannot expect much information from him about the political situation of eighteenth century Banjarmasin from his accounts because Magotaro's life was constrained to the home of his master. Nevertheless, what is provided is quite valuable as a primary source of the lives of the Chinese migrants in Banjarmasin. However, there is little information about the Banjarese kingdom. But, Magotaro's record is one of the few accounts of the last glory days of the Banjarese Sultanate. Magotaro stayed in the city when the Dutch presence became more and more conspicuous and the Sultan's power dwindled day by day.

Pepper was a major product of Banjarmasin; it was pepper which motivated the Dutch to hold this port and its surrounding area. As Magotaro was working in the Chinese trading house, he was aware of the importance of this major local product, a description of which he records in Volume II of *Nankai Kibun*.

The Dutch presence in Banjarmasin was so conspicuous that it did not escape even the eyes of a casual observer such as Magotaro. *Nankai Kibun* quotes him as saying:

Upon arrival at Banjarmasin, I saw hundreds of thousands of ships, big and small, from China, Holland and other foreign countries flock to the harbor, and it seemed quite thriving. I saw 400 to 500 houses, all with tiled roofs and mortar walls lined up along the riverbank. These were all Chinese trading houses. The native quarter was located a little further from the Chinese quarter. The Dutch factory was located on the opposite bank and it looked like a castle; it had a high stonewall soaring right above the river. It was guarded by scores of artillery.

When we look at the nineteenth century map of Banjarmasin in *Nederlandsche Bezittingen van Oost-Indië* (1885) and *Kaart van Bandjarmasin en Omstreken* (1899), the Chinese quarter (*Chineesche kamp*) was located on the South bank of *Martapoera* (Martapura in modern spelling) River, the tributary of Barito, which the city of Banjarmasin faces. The residential quarters of the Dutch Resident (*Woning van den Resident*) was on the opposite bank, together with the Dutch fortress (*versterking*) and *Kampong Bugis* (Buginese village). This testifies to the accuracy of Magotaro's account. The nineteenth century map also locates the warehouse and customs office (*pakhuis en havenkantoor*) further down Martapura River on its right bank. The location is exactly as Magotaro recalls it in the *Nankai Kibun*:

Banjarmasin was a thriving port to which many ships from various countries flocked. Its wealth often became the target of pirates. Therefore an office called *babean* [*pabean*; i.e. customs office] was set up about half a *ri* [ca. 2 km] downstream from the city. It was equipped with canons, spears, guns, an iron-chain 10 *jo* [ca. 30 m.] long and a garrison of the native soldiers on sentry.

Carl Bock, a Norwegian naturalist who visited Southeast Kalimantan in the 1870s recounted a similar situation in his work entitled *The Head-hunters of Borneo* (1881, London)

Here is a fort, with a garrison, admirably situated from a strategical point of view, commanding Barito and Nagara river opposite, and entirely closing the entrance to the interior of the country... (p. 166)

When Magotaro talked about the native authorities of Banjarmasin, he referred to them as *kaitan* and to their chief as *rato*. While *rato* may most probably be either Malay *datuk* (sir) or Javanese *ratu* (king), the term *kaitan* is more difficult to identify. In *Nederlandsche Bezittingen van Oost-Indië* a township named *Kajoe Tangi* (modern spelling being *Kayu Tangi*) is found South of Martapoera,. Carl Bock also referred to *Kajoe Tangi* as one of the suburban regions of Banjarmasin. *Kaitan* could therefore be a clumsy transcription of *Kajoe Tangi*, the township to which the Sultan retreated when Banjarmasin was overwhelmed by the Dutch military presence. Magotaro writes of *kaitan* and its *rato* as follows:

There was a place called *kaitan* 14 to 15 *ri* upstream from Banjarmasin. It was where the native chief resided. Taikonkan took me there several times for trade. Unlike *Sauroku* (Sulu) and *Karakan*, there could be found about 10,000 houses that seemed prosperous.

The chief was called “*rato*.” His residence was surrounded by wooden walls made of rosewood planks and opened several loopholes thorough which artillery were deployed. The whole premise was further guarded by a moat. It had a tower gate on which were engraved reliefs of strange beasts. Inside the gate could be found three sedan chairs with brass roofs. The buildings on the premise were covered with red roof tiles and they resembled our temples.

One day, I was granted an audience with *rato*. He was dressed in a beautiful costume and sat on a chair; he was attended by many subjects. Thereupon Taikonkan clasped his hands and greeted him respectfully. His attending subjects urged me to follow my master’s manner. However as I thought it ridiculous to do so for the “*negro*” chief, I kept standing still in front of him, pretending that I could not understand what they meant. I uttered some insulting words, too. However, as they did not understand my language, they neither blamed nor punished me.

## HEADHUNTING

Especially valuable are his comments on *Biyaaajo* or *Biaju* (commonly known as *Ngaju Dayak*) village, a fourteen to fifteen day voyage from Banjarmasin up the Kapuas or Kahayan River. His descriptions of tattoos, hunting and the headhunting of the indigenous people provide valuable material for learning about Ngaju Dayak people in the eighteenth century.

The *Biaju* or *Ngaju Dayak* tribe was situated on the confluence of the Kahayan River and Rungan River in Central Kalimantan.<sup>22</sup> *Nankai kibun* records the following:

*Biyaajo* was a mountain village up river from *Banjaramaashi*. It took fourteen to fifteen days to sail there. It was not under the control of *kaitan* [i.e. Sultan of Banjarese Kingdom], and its people formed an independent district. The local people were hunters and they made their living by trading forest animals. Men wrapped their curled hair with a white cloth, and wore tattoos of snakes and monsters on their bodies. They wore coiled brass wires on their arms below their elbows and on their legs from the knee to ankle, and wore a white cloth around their hips. Women wore fresh flowers on their heads. Both men and women wore earrings. The women's earrings had two to three loops. Both wore basically the same costume.

#### BLOWPIPE:

Using guns was prohibited in *Biyaajo*. Foreigners with guns were not allowed to enter their territory. *Negroes* used blow pipes as their chief weapons. The length of the pipes was five or six *shaku* [17-20 cm], and they were made in the same way as Japanese pipes. The length of the wooden arrows was six or seven *sun* [2-3 cm] (there was a little hollow to catch the wind), and the points were made of poisonous fish bones. Local people used them very cleverly. Once, Magotaro saw them hunting. They were all naked and barefoot. As they walked deep into the mountains, they knocked down thorny trees to scare away wild bulls and goats, which they shot with their blowpipes. They never wasted even one arrow, and the arrows had exactly the same effect as bullets. They could kill a beast with a single shot, a marvelous technique.<sup>23</sup>

#### SELLING HEADS:

Taikonkan's father-in-law had been staying in *Biyaajo* for several years trading for domestic animals. Once when he wanted to find out how his father-in-law was doing, Taikonkan sent his younger brother Kanbenkan and Magotaro. They loaded some pottery on a boat and set out for the journey. This was Magotaro's first journey to *Biyaajo*. After sailing for ten days by boat, they found themselves deep in the mountains with huge old trees on both sides of the river. From time to time, they heard the howls of strange animals from the desolate wastes. As they approached the village, they changed their course to sail up the center of the stream, and soon arrived at *Biyaajo*'s port, *Irinkawa*. There they unloaded the boat, and went to the inn where the father-in-law was staying. The next day Kanbenkan ordered Magotaro to carry the pottery and they walked about for sale. When they dropped in at one house, they saw three human heads placed on a shelf. Magotaro's hair stood up in fright, and he asked Kanbenkan about them in a hissing voice. His reply was that the heads were commodities. Magotaro

could not understand his explanation. Therefore, when they returned to the inn that evening, he asked Kanbenkan about the human-head trading once again. Magotaro also told his master that he was frightened so much that he did not want to stay there any longer. Kanbenkan, however, reassured him, saying,

Feel safe. I come here often and know many people. They do not harm Chinese merchants. But, when we are here, we cannot sail the river after dark. The local people build an elevated stand on the bank with a trap on it, and tie up small boats. When a passenger boat passes by, they drop the trap suddenly and chop off the passenger's heads. Therefore sailing at night is dangerous even for Chinese.

The local custom was to offer a head when some family member died. They carved a wooden snake and placed a human head on it. They then placed it on a mound of the grave. If this offering was not made, it was believed that the dead soul would curse the people. Therefore rich people caught or bought outsiders in advance and took care of them. To prevent them from escaping, an iron plank was chained between their legs and suspended from the neck by a chain. In this way, the chain was so heavy that the captives could not walk more than one hundred steps even in a couple of days. When a funeral was to be held, a captive's head was chopped off and used. Because poor people could not afford keeping such captives alive, they bought dried human heads as a store. What Magotaro saw in *Biyaajo* were such heads. The heads were smoke-dried for preservation, thus extending their "shelf life." Magotaro said he had often seen such heads on mounds.<sup>24</sup>

## LOCAL VOCABULARY AND POPULAR SONGS

Both *Nankai Kibun* and *Hyofutan* contain examples of the local vernacular and the Chinese dialect spoken by Magotaro's master. In addition, three popular songs are also included. These songs seem to have been popular during the time he was in Banjarmasin. Among these languages, what Magotaro generally terms "*Negro's language*" would appear to be Malay. However, words like *parai* (*palay* in *Tagalog* and some other Austronesian languages, meaning *rice*) and *pettou* (*pitu* in *Minahasan*, meaning *seven*) are also included. It seems that Magotaro learned these words on his journey to Banjarmasin by way of Mindanao and Sulu. It is regrettable that the amount of vocabulary is small; yet these are valuable materials since they contain the earliest examples of Malay vocabulary known to Japanese.

The Chinese vocabulary seems chiefly to represent the *Minnan* (i.e. South Hokkien) dialect of Zhengzhou. However, words such as *bintan* (*bintang* in Malay, meaning *star*), which obviously ought to be in the general category of *Negro's* vocabulary, are also included due to Magotaro's misunderstanding. There are some words for some kinship terms. It is hard to identify their original words. This seems to be due to Magotaro's poor memory. But could this not

indicate the development of some sort of hybrid language in the Chinese community of Borneo (e.g. *Baba Malay* of the Malay Peninsula at a later period)—a mixture of local vocabulary and Chinese language that was different from any dialect found in Mainland China?

At the end of the vocabulary list, under the title of *three negro's popular songs*, the words of songs are recorded in *katakana* (a Japanese syllabary), with their meaning rendered in classical Chinese. Classical Chinese was used instead of Japanese for the translation because the intellectuals of the day, such as Aoki Okikatsu, regarded official documents in classical Chinese as most authentic. It takes only a glance to learn that these popular songs are Malay *pantun* (quatrains). Their content suggests that these songs had greater relevance to the Chinese community than to the indigenous society. Words as “Encik” and “Nyai” deserve special attention because these terms usually imply Chinese people rather than local people. They strongly suggest the existence of a localized Chinese society and a creolized Chinese vernacular spoken in eighteenth century Banjarmasin.

## REPATRIATION

During Magotaro's several years of life in Banjarmasin, he began to think about how he could return home. As his master Taikonkan was a dutiful son, he developed a plan to persuade him. Although Magotaro had only one elder brother at home, he lied to his master that his parents were still alive, and begged him, saying, “*I have been leading a very happy life with a generous master, but my parents are still alive in my hometown and they must have been wondering what became of their son. I would like to return to my hometown to reassure them and then come back here.*” Thereupon Taikonkan replied with a smile, “*Do you really want to go home that much? You say you will return to Banjarmasin, but do you know how far Japan is? I meant to keep you as a slave forever, but I understand that you really are thinking of your parents; I will find an opportunity for you to return home.*”

Later Chinese junks came to the port, but according to Magotaro, he was not allowed to board them because he was not willing to wear his hair in a pigtail.<sup>25</sup> Finally, when a regular Dutch ship arrived from Batavia, he begged his master to talk to the Dutch captain, and managed to get permission to take passage to Nagasaki.<sup>26</sup> Taikonkan gave Magotaro some pocket money and souvenirs, such as tortoise shell and a parrot, which Magotaro had kept, and gave him a warm send-off with family and neighbors.

After staying overnight at the Dutch factory in Banjarmasin, at 12 p.m. on the 4th April in 1774, the ship left the pier of Banjarmasin. It sailed down the Barito River, and unloaded at the river mouth for three days before it reached the Java Sea. It took seven to eight days to sail to *Sorobaaya* (Surabaya). Nobody disembarked but the ship unloaded using a barge. The vessel then proceeded to

*Jagatara* (Jakarta) arriving there at six in the evening, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May. Here they unloaded cargo and sailed up the Ciliwung River and docked at the water gate. They stayed overnight “in a captain’s house.” On the third day, they went to the office in a cart drawn by two white horses and met *Zenetaraaru* (General). The Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company then was P. A. Van der Palla (1761-1775) in office. Thus there is a possibility that the Governor-General himself might have interviewed Magotaro out of curiosity. However, it is more likely that the Japanese castaway simply met a naval or military officer.

The annual boat bound for Japan was supposed to leave Batavia in early May. However, fortunately for Magotaro, *wopuropu* (*opper-hoofd*, meaning perhaps captain) was so sick that the departure was delayed and rescheduled for three days later. The captain agreed to send Magotaro to Japan. On the 5th, Magotaro boarded one of the two boats and left Batavia. Three days later, they dropped anchor in the offing of *Purenban* (Palembang) for a celebration. From then on, they sailed North in accordance with the winds of the monsoon, and arrived at Nagasaki on the 16th of the eighth month.<sup>27</sup> The Dutch ship that Magotaro was on was either the *Walcheren* or *Burgh*, and the captain was Arend Willem Feith.

Upon his arrival in Japan, Magotaro was questioned by the Nagasaki Magistrate, Natsume Izuminokami Nobumasa.<sup>28</sup> He received clearance from Edo on the 21st of the same month, and the next day he left Nagasaki. He arrived in Karadomari at the end of the eighth month. Nine years had elapsed since he left his home village aboard *Ise Maru* and within this time he had had many unusual experiences that set him apart from his own people. The famous Swedish botanist, Peter Thunberg who visited Nagasaki in 1775 and authored *Flora Japonica*, wrote of “a Japanese sailor who wears a costume like Malays” in his travel book, *Resa uti Europa, Africa Asia forradiad aren 1770-79*.<sup>29</sup> Presumably Magotaro’s odd garments and his unusual tales about adventures abroad might have attracted local people’s attention so much so that Thunberg observed that his experiences were repeated even a year after his repatriation.

## AFTERMATH

Magotaro seems to have been visited often by Fukuoka intellectuals and others who were interested in his colorful adventures. Copies of his narratives were circulated widely around Northern Kyushu which proved contemporary curiosity. Among those who sought Magotaro’s acquaintance, Aoki Okikatsu often invited Magotaro for interviews, compiled as *Nankai Kibun* in two volumes in 1820. Thus, it may be said that Magotaro played an important role in helping the intellectuals of Fukuoka to turn their attention to foreign countries.<sup>30</sup>

As it turned out, Magotaro was quite lucky to have drifted ashore to the non-Christian region in Mindanao, and then find his way to Banjarmasin, where there was already a factory of the Netherlands, the only European nation that had commercial contacts with Japan. In contrast, five sailors aboard Mura Maru from Noko Island, who were shipwrecked off the coast of Ibaraki at exactly the same time as Magotaro, drifted ashore at Cebu in the Christian influenced region of the Philippine Islands. They returned to Nagasaki in 1767 by way of Zhapu in the Zhejiang Province in China only to find themselves suspected by the Shogunate of having converted to Christianity. The local records of Noko Island recount that they spent the rest of their lives under house arrest.<sup>30</sup> Thus, while Magotaro drew the attention of many intellectuals, his five contemporaries who had traveled abroad from Noko Island left no record except those of the Nagasaki Magistrate's examination. No doubt Aoki Okikatsu must have been aware of those castaways of Noko Island but he might have kept aloof from them to avoid the government's unnecessary suspicion. In other words, there seems to have been a tacit accord among the contemporary Fukuoka authorities that Magotaro's narratives had no negative influence. That is why many of the intellectuals including Aoki Okikatsu could have access to Magotaro. *Hyofutan*, claimed to be written in 1801, contains a portrait of Magotaro, called *Magoshichi* in this book, at the age of fifty-eight. In this portrait, he has his right hand on what looks like a sword's hilt without blade. It must be the hilt of a Malay *kris* (traditional Malay dagger with a wavy blade), which, according to *Nankai Kibun*, was presented by Taikonkan on his departure from Banjarmasin and later, when he was in Nagasaki, confiscated by the authorities. However, this picture suggests that the dagger's blade might have been detained but the hilt returned to Magotaro after examination.

Kajiwara Shikei, Aoki Okikatsu's disciple and compiler of *Nankai Kibun* recorded in its epilogue that Magotaro passed away in 1807, five years prior to Aoki Okikatsu's death. Aoki Okikatsu passed away in June 16, 1812. He survived till the age of sixty-three or sixty-four. We have no idea about his marital status either. *Nankai Kibun* records that when Magotaro was about to leave Taikonkan's house, Ukin, one of the female servants, gave him her own brassiere as her gift. When Aoki Okikatsu interviewed him some three decades later, he still wore it around his waist. Aoki recorded that the belt was made of gray woven silk with a flower and grass patterns on it. *Nankai Kibun* describes that local women in Banjarmasin covered their breasts with a piece of wide *batik* cloth about 5 *shaku* (ca. 1.5 m) long. What Ukin gave Magotaro must have been this kind of cloth. As silk cloth must have been much more expensive than locally made *batik* cloth it is implied that Ukin had obtained it from her Chinese master. It also suggests that Magotaro might have remained celibate for the rest of his life and cherished this memento of his life with Ukin in Banjarmasin. Since castaways could not be hired as sailors, Magotaro could not have supported a family even if he had wished to.

## EPILOGUE

When I visited Karadomari in 1982 to conduct field investigations, I met one of Magotaro's descendants (most likely his brother's descendant), the late Mr. Itaya Den'ichi, and inquired about Magotaro's grave. I learned that, unfortunately, the old cemetery had been transformed into a public park several years prior to my visit, but Mr. Itaya's widow showed me the place where the grave once had been. She recalled that until quite recently, Magotaro had been known as *Tohmagō san* (*Uncle Mago of China/ Foreign Country*). The local people used to talk about him, and many gamblers visited his grave all the way from Fukuoka city to scratch powder from his gravestone to use as talismans. This suggests that Magotaro remained in local memory as a man endowed with extremely good fortune.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Sugimoto Naojiro, *Abe-no-Nakamaro denkenkyu* (Abeno-no-nakamaro), Tokyo, 1940
- <sup>2</sup> Omi no Mifune, *Todaiwajotouseiden*, orig. 1762 (reprinted 1979)
- <sup>3</sup> Seki Keigo[ed.], *Nihon no mukashibanashi*, 2002, Tokyo
- <sup>4</sup> Iwao Seiichi, *Nan'yo Nihon machi no kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1966, pp.10-14
- <sup>5</sup> cf. Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyoo Nihon-machi no Kenkyu* (*A Study of Japanese Quarters in Southeast Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*), 1966, Tokyo; Furuta Ryoichi, *Kaiun no Rekishi* (*History of Shipping*), Tokyo; Makino Nobutaka, *Kitamaebune* (*The Kitamae Shipping*), Tokyo.
- <sup>6</sup> Tanikawa Ken'ichi (ed.), "Hyoryu (Castaways)", *Nihon Shomin Seikatsu Shiryo Shusei* (Collections of Materials Concerning Common People's Life) vol. 5, 1968, Tokyo. pp. 869-884; Arakawa Hidetoshi, *Ikoku Hyoryu Monogatari* (Stories of Castaways Abroad), Tokyo, 1969.
- <sup>7</sup> For example, both John Manjiro and Joseph Hico, two famous castaways of the late Edo period were rescued by American whaling boats based in Honolulu, Hawaii. cf. Kondo Haruyoshi, *Joseph Heco*, Tokyo, 1963; Nakagawa Tsutomu and Yamaguchi Osamu(tr.), *Amerika Hikoza Jiden* (*Autobiography of America Hikoza*), 1964, Tokyo.
- <sup>8</sup> Arano Yasunori, "Kinsei Nihon no Hyoryumin Soukan Taisei to Higashi Ajia (The System of Repatriation of Castaways in Early Modern Japan and East Asia)", *Rekishi hyoron*, no. 400; Katsuragawa Hoshu, *Hokusa Bunryaku*, 1943, Tokyo; Kamei Takataka, *Daikokuya Kodayu*, 1964, Tokyo; Murayama Shichiro and Kamei Takataka (ed.), *Roshia Mojishu* (Collection of Russian Language), 1967, Tokyo.

Of those who drifted north, many were returned to Ezo (present day Hokkaido) by the Russian authorities. For example, a sailor from Ise (Mie Prefecture) known by the name of Daikokuya Kodayu was blown out to high sea in 1782 during a storm off Shizuoka and drifted ashore in the Aleutian Islands. He had an interview with the Russian Empress Ekatherina II in St.Petersburg, and after ten years, returned to Hokkaido with the Russian mission commanded by Adam Laxman.

- <sup>9</sup> The major source of foreign news was the reports of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki, which were presented annually to the Shogunate in Edo. Contrary to popular assumption, the Shogun and his close retainers were so well informed about world affairs that they even knew about the Napoleonic War in Europe.
- <sup>10</sup> Katsuragawa Hoshu, *Hokusa Bunryaku*, 1943, Tokyo.
- <sup>11</sup> The others of a documentary value include: "Nankai Kibun," Ishii Kendo (ed.), *Hyoryu Kidan Zenshu (Collected Strange Tales of Castaways)*, pp. 148-225, 1900, Tokyo; Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shusei, vol. 5, 1968, Tokyo; "Hyofutan," (Tateishi Ihei Private Library, Fukuoka City). Among those of a literary nature are: "Kaikunenroku" (*A Record of Nine Years in China and Barbarian Countries*), Arakawa Hidetoshi (ed.), *Kinsei Hyoryukishu (Collected Records of Early Modern Castaways)*, 1969, Tokyo, pp. 122-159; "Fukinagare Tenjiku Monogatari" (*A Narrative of Being Blown to India*), Ishii Kendo (ed.), op. cit. 109-148; "Kunenroku Karadomari Magoshichi Jitsuden Monogatari" (*The True Story of Magoshichi of Karadomari's Nine Years in India*), (Fukuoka City Library); "Karadomari Magoshichi Tenjiku Banashi" (*Karadomari Magoshichi's Tale of India*), (Karadomari Fishery Cooperative Library).
- According to Takada Shigehiro, a local historian living in Fukuoka, there are some other records related to Magotaro's adventures scattered throughout the northern part of Kyushu, but a complete survey of them seems impossible. This remark is based upon an interview with Takada in 1984.
- Ikeda Akira (ed.), *Nankai Kibun, Toko Kibun and Hikojo Hyoryuki, Kaigai Tokoki Soshō*, vol. 4, 1991, Tokyo
- <sup>12</sup> Takada Shigehiro, *Chikuzen Gokaura Kaisen (The Five-port Shipping of Chikuzen)*, 1975, Fukuoka, pp. 119-127; Unpublished documents of the Tsugami family, Hamasaki, Fukuoka.
- <sup>13</sup> The record of his interview at the Nagasaki Magistrate's Office indicates that Magotaro was twenty-six years old when he returned to Nagasaki in 1771, thus suggesting that he was born in 1747.
- <sup>14</sup> *Chikuzen Domain of the Edo period roughly coincides with present day Fukuoka Prefecture.*
- <sup>15</sup> Takada Shigehiro, 1975, pp. 29-56
- <sup>16</sup> Tanikawa Ken'ichi (ed.), *Hyoryu*, pp. 864-67.
- <sup>17</sup> F. J. Warren, *The Sulu Zone: 1768-1898*, 1981, Singapore, xxi, footnote.
- <sup>18</sup> Magotaro narrates that he and his comrades were "purchased" by a certain "Gorou," the captain of a Sulu boat, though this may not have been his real name. The capital of the Sulu Kingdom then was located on the island of Jolo. Jolo's "j" is pronounced with a strong guttural sound resembling German "ch". Therefore, when the captain told them that he was from Jolo, most probably accompanied by gestures, the Japanese castaways might presumably have taken this word for his own name.
- <sup>19</sup> J. F. Warren, in his *The Sulu Zone: 1768-1898*, explains the institutions of the Sulu and piracy in detail. Some documents regarding the Sulu Kingdom appear in the Spanish records, but they are all written from the viewpoint of the enemy side. On the other hand, Magotaro's record, in spite of its simplicity, may be considered very valuable as the sole record from the point of view of an insider.
- <sup>20</sup> The term "Tenjiku" originally meant India. However, later, it came to mean all other foreign countries but Korea and China.

- <sup>21</sup> It is well known that the father of the famous *Koxinga*, the anti-Manchu hero, used to be called by his nickname, *Zheng Yi-guan*, instead of his real name, *Zheng Zhi-long*. The numerals usually precede *guan* to denote brotherly order. As Taikonkan's younger brother was called Kanbenkan, both of these names are not likely real names. I would rather like to assume them as nicknames. cf. Ishihara Dosaku, *Nihon Kisshi no Kenkyu*, 1945, Tokyo, pp. 265.
- <sup>22</sup> R. M. Koentjaraningrat, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan Indonesia*, 1971, Jakarta, pp. 118-142; Aoki Okikatsu, the compiler of *Nankai Kibun*, quotes a classical Chinese work, *Yin-du hai-tu* (Navigation Chart of the Indian Ocean), as saying that Chinese used to call *Biyajo Mai-wa-rou* or *Mei-ya-rou* during the *Ming* period (1368-1644). He also quotes it as saying that there was a place called *Yusutaburafu* in that region, from which arose a big river flowing down to Banjarmasin. Unfortunately Aoki did not mention its source.
- <sup>23</sup> Carl Bock, *The Head-Hunters of Borneo*, 1881, London (reprinted, Oxford, 1985), pp. 73. Bock refers to the poisoned arrows used among the *Dayaks*.
- <sup>24</sup> Carl Bock states that four wooden idols were placed upon the grave but does not mention the snake-shaped object. He also refers only to the Dayak chieftain's funeral where human heads were offered, but he does not refer to the preservation of heads. Carl Bock, 1881, p. 225, pp. 215-17.
- <sup>25</sup> Magotaro was perhaps reluctant to wear a pigtail for fear of prosecution or even expulsion by the Nagasaki Magistrate for adopting foreign customs.
- <sup>26</sup> V.O.C. had established commercial relationship with the Sultan of Banjarmasin as early as 1606, and from 1733, the V.O.C. monopolized the pepper trade of Banjarmasin. See *Beknopte Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsche-Indië*, 1921, pp. 36-7.
- As for the early history of Banjarmasin, it relates as follow:
- “*Het voormalig rijk van Bandjarmasin omvatte vroeger het geheele zuidelijke of benedengedeelte van het stroomgebied van de Barito. Omtrent de oudste geschiedenis zij hier vermeld, dat een landschap Baritoe in 1365 onder de bezittingen van het Javaansche rijk Madjapait genoemd wordt en dat Banjdjarmasin omstreeks 1520 cijnbaar werd aan Demak op Java.*
- In 1606 knoopten de Nederlanders handelsbetrekkingen met dat rijk aan, en bestond de uitvoer voornamelijk in peper, stofgoud, rotan en andere boschproducten. In 1733 werd bij verdrag de alleenhandel in peper aan de Comp. gewaarborgd; in 1787 stond de Sultan zijn rijk aan de Comp. af en ontving het van haar in leen.*”
- (The Kingdom of Bandjarmasin once ruled almost all part of the southern and lower basin of the Barito River. As for its earliest history, the Barito river region was under the possession of the Javanese Kingdom of Madjapait in 1365 and in about 1520, it used to send tribute to the Kingdom of Demak in Java.
- In 1606, the Kingdom signed a commercial treaty with the Netherlands and became major exporter of pepper, gold dust, rattan and other forest products. In 1733, the Dutch East India Company secured a monopoly of pepper trade with the Kingdom. In 1787, the Sultan eventually ceded his kingdom to the Company and became pensioner.)
- <sup>27</sup> Nichiran Gakkai and Hosei Rangaku Kenkyukai (ed.), *Oranda Fusetsugaki Shusei* (Collection of the Dutch Captains' Reports), 1979, Tokyo, vol. 2, pp. 52-3.
- <sup>28</sup> *Tsuko Ichiran* (Collection of Official Documents of the Nagasaki Magistrate's Office), 1913, Tokyo, vol. 270.

- <sup>29</sup> C. P. Thunberg, *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, forratiad aren 1770-1779*, (tr. into Jap. by Yamada Tamaki, 1928, Tokyo), pp. 449-50.  
<sup>30</sup> Sugimoto Kaoru, *Chikuzen Rangaku Kotohajimeko*, (Fukuoka), pp. 23-34.  
<sup>31</sup> Takada Shigehiro, 1975, pp. 99-119.

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Nomura Toru PhD.  
Keio University  
Faculty of Policy Management  
Shonan Fujisawa  
Fujisawa  
Kanagawa.  
E-mail: nomura@sfc.keio.ac.jp.