Oriental colouring, which can reasonably be taken as a forerunner of orientalism in its 19th-century sense, gained popularity in the eighteenth century and Daniel Defoe’s *The Consolidator* (1705) and Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Citizen of the World* (1762) manifest a Chinese vogue, while Japan is the setting for Jonathan Swift’s *An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan, The Perseis; or, Secret Memoirs for a History of Persia* (1745), Mr. Van-Loon’s *A Fragment of the Japanese History* (1749), and Tobias Smollett’s *The Adventures of an Atom* (1769). Formosa also constitutes part of the oriental popularity. A year before the publication of *The Consolidator* appeared George Psalmanaazaar’s *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*. This work drew the attention of his contemporaries such as Samuel Pufendorf, Patrick Barclay and Samuel Johnson. There grew a chorus of incisive critics, however, who, convinced that there was not a scintilla of truth in what it said about Formosa, refused to accept its dubious and extraordinary accounts as real historical facts, and doubts about its veracity and validity were fueled by the imposture of Psalmanaazaar who pretended to be a Japanese and/or a Formosan, which made it unescapable for him to immediately seek to clear himself of the shade of doubt cast on his descriptions. He published its second edition in 1705 in an attempt to rebuke the critics for their total ignorance of Formosa and their opprobrium against his work, asserting its authenticity in desperation.

He took his contemporaries by surprise, however, when he withdrew his assertion, confessing with deep repentance, as many of them had suspected, that the *Description* was a work purely of his own invention, and now his modern critics fail to ask if he was really an honest confessor of his sinful past and are unanimous in admitting the work as a fiction or a mere figment of an impostor’s imagination. Is it a reasonable assumption then that the names of the Japanese emperors Meryandaanoo, Chazadijn and Tampousama who make their appearance in the work are also fictitious and imaginary? History proves indeed that there were no such Japanese emperors before 1704, and this induces his modern critics to leap to the conclusion that the names of the emperors cannot be real ones. Investigation shows, however, that there is substantial evidence to reinforce the claim that their names are derived from real, historical persons and are allusively used.

First it must be questioned whether Psalmanaazaar

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utilized a work or works on Formosa and Japan for the composition of the Description. He admitted his indebtedness to George Candidius’s account of Formosa, but the names of the three emperors are not found in it, although some names of gods are found\(^6\). This suggests that as far as the names of the emperors are concerned, he did not owe to Candidius. The island is also described in some other accounts that came out before 1704: Johan Albrecht von Mandelsloe, *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors* (London, 1662), Arnoldus Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis* (London, 1671), and P. Du Val, *Geographis Universalis* (London, 1685)\(^7\). However, none of them carries the names of the three emperors, either.

Psalmanaazaar revealed that Bernhard Varenius’s *Description Regni Japoniae* was a source for his Description\(^8\). This work on Japan is interspersed with place-names, products, idols, language and money of Japan, but the names of the three emperors are not found in it\(^9\). François Caron’s *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam* is a source for Varenius’s work and carries a list of Japanese emperors, kings, and lords, but the three emperors are not included in the list\(^10\).

Meryaandanoow ravished Japan and was declared emperor of Japan. He was by Nation a Chinese, but coming to Japan while he was Young, he was by the favour of some Great Man admitted to some mean Office, in the Court of the Emperor Chazadijn\(^11\). It is true that in the eighteenth century there was trade between China and Japan at Nagasaki, Kyushu, but no Chinese were allowed to work in the Japanese government, and a young Chinese could not have been admitted to an office in the court of the Japanese emperor. Apart from the authenticity of Psalmanaazaar’s accounts of Japan, however, the name Meryaandanoow is evidently derived from English historical figures.

Meryaandanoow is a blend of Mary, Anne and danoo. The word danoo derives from a Japanese character *dono* which was used for addressing a lord or prince of any particular place\(^12\). Psalmanaazaar borrowed *dono* from Varenius, and combined it with Meryaan, which is a port-

\[\text{\textbf{WE find in our Chronicles, that above 200 Years ago, the Island Formosa had been Govern'd for some Ages by one King, who in his Administration depended upon the Representatives of the People, who are two or three Men chosen in every City and Village, to take care of their publick Concerns}}\](\(^13\)).

In 1655 Cromwell appointed major-generals to regional districts in an attempt to put the country under his control. Another part in the Description corresponds to his career:

\[\text{\textit{...he was gradually advanced from one Post of Honour in the Army to another; uttil [sic] at last he arrived at the highest, and was made Carilhan, or Chief General of all the Imperial Forces, which is the highest Office in the Empire, not only for Honour, but for Power and Trust}}\](\(^14\)).

During the Civil War Cromwell served as the commander of the Eastern Association, being promoted then to the post of a Lieutenant-general, and finally to that of a general. After General Fairfax resigned in 1650, he became the leader of the army, which was an all-powerful post.

In the *Description* Meryaandanoow is characterized as a cruel emperor. He was ‘declar’d Emperor of Japan; which was the finishing of the great design he intended to accomplish, by all the afore-mentioned Villainies and Cruelties\(^15\), and “instead of Sacrificing Beasts to the God of the Country, as he pretended, would have Sacrificed the Inhabitants to his own Ambition, if they had not prevented him by a voluntary submission to his Rule and Government\(^16\). This characterization of the emperor
clearly indicates that Psalmanaazaar had the shared perception that Japanese emperors were cruel, especially in executing and massacring Japanese Christians\(^\text{17}\). No less cruel was the Lord Protector in attacking Ireland. He massacred two thousand five hundred in Drogheda in September, 1649, and slaughtered two thousand in Wexford in October, 1649. It is reasonable to assume that Psalmanaazaar capitalized on the notoriety of Japanese emperors and Cromwell in characterizing Meryaandanoo as a cruel emperor of Japan.

Chazadijn is another portmanteau word. It is a compound of Charles II and his wife Catherine. Psalmanaazaar created the name to disguise his allusion to Charles II. The English king married Catherine in 1661 and had about thirteen mistresses including Lucy Water, Catherine Peg and Louise de Keroualle, later Duchess of Portsmouth. He fathered at least fourteen illegitimate children, but had no legitimate heir. The *Description* refers to this fact when it says:

> Meryaandanoo having thus far succeeded in his design, wanted now only to be declared Emperor, which met with some opposition from those in the Army, who favoured the Family of Chazadijn, though he had no Children by his Emperess, but only by his Concubines; and for some time there were many Cabals and Factions about the next Successor to the Empire....\(^\text{18}\)

The *Description* also treats an anecdote of the Japanese emperor and empress and a nobleman. This anecdote is similar to that of Charles II and Francis Stuart:

> First, he perswaded [sic] the Emperor that his Emperess was in Love with a certain Nobleman, whom he supposed, and she often met him, and had private conversation with him in the Garden: Whereupon the Emperor being highly enrag’d both against this Nobleman, whom he falsely accused, and against the Emperess, who was supposed to have kept company with him, desired Meryaandanoo to enquire diligently at what Hour, and in what place they were to meet together in the Garden, if it were possible for him to find it out; and then says he, come and acquaint me with it, and I will take care that neither of them shall escape out of my hands, until they have both suffer’d Death, according to the demerit of their Crime. This Meryaandanoo promised to do, as the Emperor had desired him; and sometime after he came out of the Emperor’s presence, he went to the Apartment of the Emperess, and having good assurance of her ready compliance, by his former private conversations with her, he pray’d her to meet him, at a certain Hour of that Day, in a certain place of the Garden, which she, mistrusting nothing, readily promised to do, and appointed the time and place for their meeting. Having gained this point, which was a great step towards finishing his design, he went and acquainted the Emperor, that at such an Hour the Nobleman was to come, and to meet his Emperess in such a place of the Garden. Whereupon the Emperor presently commanded his Guards to be got ready, with which he intended to seize them both together, and bring them to deserved punishment. In the mean time Meryaandanoo having changed his Clothes, and mask’d his Face, that he might not be known to the Emperor, under this disguise meets the Emperess at the time and place appointed, whom he most Barbarously stabb’d, with a poison’d Dagger, to conceal the Murder, by stopping the Effusion of Blood: The Emperor comes at first all alone into that place of the Garden to satisfy his Curiosity of seeing them together, fearing lest the appearance of the Guards would make them run away; and he perceiv’d a certain Nobleman, as he supposed, lying upon the Emperess in an unseemly posture, he called for his Guards, who were at some distance from the place....\(^\text{19}\)

Probably the emperor, the empress and the nobleman represent Charles II, Francis Stuart and the Duke of Richmond respectively. An anecdote in Anthony Hamilton’s *Memoirs of the Life of Count de Grammont: Containing, in Particular, the Amorous Intrigues of the Court of England*
in the Reign of King Charles II (1714) runs in a similar tone:

It was about Midnight; the King met in his way his Mistresses Woman, who with profound Respect and low Voice told his Majesty, that Mrs. St-t was taken very ill since he left her; but that being gone to Bed, she was, thanks to God, very quiet. That I must see, said the King, pushing her back, who had posted herself on his Passage. He found indeed Mrs. St-t a-bed, but not asleep, and he found there, to boot, the Duke of Richmond sitting near her Pillow, who, in all probability was still less inclin’d to sleep than she. The Perplexity of the one, and the Rage of the other, were such as may easily be imagin’d upon such a Surprize. The King, who of all Men was the least subject to Passion, could not, however, forbear expressing his Resentment to the Duke of Richmond, in such Terms as he never us’d before. The Duke was speechless, and perhaps something more upon it; for he saw his King and Master justly provok’d, and the first Transports which Anger suggests on such Occasions are dangerous. Mrs. St-t’s Window being convenient for a sudden Revenge, as lying just over the Thames, he cast his Eyes upon it, and seeing the King more incens’d and fir’d with Wrath, than he thought his Nature capable of, he made a profound Bow, and withdrew, without a World of Reply to repeated Volleys of Oaths, Imprecations and Menaces.

Hamilton’s work was originally published in French in 1713. Although this anecdote is not a direct source for the Description, it is possible that there was a gossip afloat which was similar to the anecdote before 1704 and that it reached Psalmannaazar’s ears. Besides, in English accounts of Japanese women, there are no anecdotes that depict a woman like Mrs St-t, and it is to be noted that even in England they were known for their chastity and modesty.

Tampousama makes his appearance in the Description when it relates the history of the introduction of Christianity into Japan. Obviously Tampousama is a blend of Tampou and sama or a Japanese character. The Japanese character is found in Arnoldus Montanus’s Atlas Japannensis. Tampousama is an allusion to Daifusama or Tokugawa Ieyasu who was the first shogun in the Edo period. Daifusama was born in 1542 and after many civil wars became shogun in 1603. Although he retired in 1605, he was still all-powerful and actually held sway until his death in 1616. Both Tampousama and Daifusama were Japanese emperors who lived at the beginning of the 17th century, and their names are similar in spelling and sound. Evidently the idea of using the name Daifusama occurred to Psalmanaazaar when he was reading Atlas Japannensis. The Description runs:

But in general I am very well assur’d, by the constant uncontroll’d Tradition of my Countrymen; that notwithstanding all the difficulties they met with, they made a wonderful progress in the conversion of that Empire between the Year 1549, in which Xaverius says he, first arriv’d at Cangoxima, and the Year 1616 or thereabout; for ’tis commonly believ’d in Formosa that in this space of time more than a third part of Japan was converted to the Christian Religion; and Tampousama himself, who was Emperor of Japan in the said Year 1616.

Francis Xavier, a Jesuit, arrived at Cangoxima (Kagoshima) in 1549. When he left Goa for Japan, he was accompanied by a Japanese, Yajiro. Atlas Japannensis runs:

So Sailing on till they came near Couohin, where they were inform’d, that the Pirats had taken the Harbor, and the Wind hindring to go back to Canton, he had no other course left, but was necessitated to Harbor that Winter in Japan, whither standing with a fair Gale, they soon arriv’d at Congoxima, the very place where young Paul was born, had dwelt, and fled from his cruel Master two years before: Here Xaverius, and the rest of the Fathers Landed, the 15 of August 1549, where they were kindly
receiv’d by the Young=mans Parents and Relations....

It is a historical fact that Xavier’s efforts to convert Japanese bore fruit. After he left Japan, the number of Japanese Christians allegedly reached approximately 300,000, but a third of Japan was not converted to Christianity between 1549 and 1616. Atlas Japannensis runs:

Yet for all this, the Christian Religion went on but slowly; partly because Angar, according to Tursellinus, could not well describe the Articles of the Christian Faith in the Japan Tongue, and withal writ so badly, that the Japaners could not make any sense thereof; and also the Japan Tongue being exceeding difficult, Xaverius could not easily learn the same: Yet in Cangoxima were those that affected Christianity, insomuch that there was some hopes of a few that would embrace the same; but this soon vanish’d. The King of this Countrey had kept Xaverius a considerable time, and permitted him to Preach the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and Baptize those that believ’d therein; which he did, not that he was any way concern’d for the Christian Faith, but because he was inform’d, that the Portuguese Merchants Ships brought very rich and costly Commodities from Europe and Goa, which might prove very advantageous to Cangoxima, if they came thither.

The Description goes:

The Emperor being a Christian, and having too much countenanced the Jesuits in their intended Massacre, was forç’d by the Pagans to leave his own Dominions, and went into the City of Goa, where he died, and his Body is still preserved in the Church of the Jesuits, where a stately Monument is erected to his Memory, with an Inscription to this purpose, Here lies Tampousama Emperor of Japan, who was banished out of his Dominions, and died a Martyr for the Christian Religion.

This part typically exemplifies Psalmanaazaar’s deliberate attempt to blend truth and fiction. Daifusama was not a Christian, nor was he banished from Japan. It was Xavier who died in Goa, and his body is still preserved in the church of Bom Jesus there.

Psalmanaazar’s account of the terrible slaughter about the year 1616 is partly faithful to Japanese history. The Tokugawa government changed its policies on the Christians around 1616, and their tragedies started. The Description says:

The slaughter was so general, that not only the Jesuits and other Missionaries of the Romish Church, but all the Japanese that had been converted by them, were put to Death whensoever they were seiz’d: Some were hang’d, some thrown into the Rivers, or old Ditches, others were beheaded, and great numbers suffered the most cruel Deaths the Pagans could invent. But tho’ the slaughter was very general, yet it cannot be imagin’d, that all the Christians were apprehended at the same time, but many of them lay conceal’d, and skulk’d up and down in Corners for several Years before they were discover’d; and after the first Heats of the Persecution were over, many of those Jesuits and Monks who were seiz’d, were for some time respited, and being cast into Prison, continued there until a new Emperor was Created, and then were put to cruel Deaths, with most exquisite Torments.

Montanus describes how severely Daifusama persecuted Christians:

But it is very well known, that Daifusama did persecute the Christians very severely, and by strict Edicts commanded all his Substitute Kings to prosecute and punish them according to the Laws; so that in the Kingdom of Bungo they were burnt, and in the Province Chicuin hang’d up by the Legs.

In 1617 Daifusama’s son, Tokugawa Hidetada, who was called Conbosama, or to be exact Kubosama, became the second shogun in the Edo period. Montanus describes a tragedy that happened to Japanese Christians in the
same year:

But when Conbosama took possession of the Imperial Throne, he feared none, since Fideri was burnt with the chiefest of the Nobility by his Father Daifusama. Thus suspecting no manner of Insurrection. Anno 1617, he began anew to raise Persecutions, endeavoring totally to subvert Christianity and utterly root out all its Professors, with the greatest torturing that could be thought on: therefore when to be nail'd on Crosses, and run through the Sides with two Lances, seem'd too easie a Death, and to be beheaded was far easier: Therefore he resolv'd to make them feel a more painful and lingering Exit; and that he perform'd by roasting them to death in this manner: First a great Post was driven into the Earth, placing several Pyles of Wood about it, and onely leaving a Gap or Passage open towards that Corner from whence the Wind blew, through which those that were to suffer pass'd to the Stake, to which they were bound by the Hands with a Rope of twelve Foot long; and about the same distance the Wood lay about the Post, excepting onely where the Gap was left, to the end the Wind might blow away the Smoak, that the Martyrs might not suddenly be choaked up, and so die sooner and easier than those bloody Persecutors desir'd, so that they were roasted by degrees, and died, if were possible, a thousand Deaths in one, undergoing the miserablest torture that could be imagin'd. This kind of burning of Mankind had a long time before been us'd in the World, but never in so cruel a method as in Japan.

Another evidence that Psalmanaazaar drew on Atlas Japannensis is provided when the Description says:

And first, the Reader is to take notice, that all the Gods which are call'd by any particular Name, such as Amida, Xakha, Nakon, Arbalo, &c. Are only Saints, or Heroes and Illustrious Men, who in former times were deified, either for their reputed Sanctity or some Noble Exploits, or wonderful Feats which they had perform'd.

Xakha was usually spelt Xaca. Nakon derives from the son of Amida, that is Canon or Kannon, while Arbalo is a fictitious name. Atlas Japannensis makes reference to Amida, Xaca and Canon:

The Japan Religion was “establish’d on better grounds of Gods Mercy, in that they had no everlasting “The Worshippers and Servants of Amida, Xaca, Canon, and other Japan “gods, exchanged by death their transitory Life for everlasting Salvation: “and if it happen’d that after death they suffer’d some torments for their sins “committed in this Life, that continu’d but a short time, according to the “Crime.

Atlas Japannensis also says: ‘The other wickednesses of their Religion appears by murdering themselves to the honor of Amida, Xaca, and Canon’ (252), ‘These wild Saints are ... without ceasing their Prayers to reconcile the Sick and Dead with their gods Amida, Xaca, Canon, or any other Idol, which in their life and prosperity they served’, (298), and ‘And so the Japanners acknowledge a God; and yet Amida, Xaca, Canon, and other Idols (whose Beginning and Original they deny not) they give Divine Worship and Honor to’ (358). Of all the English books published before 1704, the descriptions of the Japanese gods in Atlas Japannensis bear the greatest resemblance to those of them in the Description.

Given all the evidence, there is no disputing that Psalmanaazaar minted the names of the Japanese emperors Meryaandanoo, Chazadijn and Tampousama, but that they are derived from English and Japanese historical figures and are allusively used. His dissimulation about the Lord Protector, Charles II, Francis Stuart, the Duke of Richmond and Daifusama remained stashed away, because he was so adept at inventing the Japanese names that, to his contemporaries as well as to his modern critics, they sounded too peculiar to be real, and their peculiarity was a great obstacle to identification. Obviously, Psalmanaazaar enjoyed a high degree of ease and freedom under the fictitious characters of the emperors.
NOTES


2 ) Hereafter referred to as Description.


4 ) The preface to the second edition of the Description published in 1705 reads : “These unreasonable Scepticks tell you, there are Stories in my Book which they cannot believe, and therefore conclude me to be an Impostor ; but methinks any consequence is more natural than this ; for supposing that I have (tho’ I assure you, I have not) ventur’d too far upon my memory, and written some Romanick Tales, yet these wild conclusion–makers may as well say that some of your English Writers were born in Japan, as deny me my Birthright, for there are more mistakes and blunders to be found in your own Historians, than can ever be met with in my Description, &c. of my Native country Formosa’. 

5 ) Psalmanaazaar confessed : ‘...it was no other than a mere forgery of my own devising, a scandalous impostion on the public, and such, as I think myself bound to beg God and the world pardon for writing, and have been long since, as I am to this day, and shall be as long as I live, heartily sorry for, and ashamed of’. (Memoirs, London, 1764), 8.

6 ) In the preface to the Description he mentions George Candidius. Evidently Psalmanaazaar borrowed material both from Candidius’s ‘A short Account of the Island of Formosa in the East Indies’ in Awnsham and John Churchill’s Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1704), i. 526–533 and from its Dutch version, Kurtze beschreibung der Insel Formosa (1649). There is evidence that Psalmanaazaar used the Dutch version. See An Enquiry into the Objections against George Psalmanaazaar of Formosa (London, 1710), 6.


8 ) Psalmanaazaar used the 1649 edition of this work.

9 ) The Japanese words used in the Description are : Cangoxima (p. 1) (province in southern Japan), Copan (p. 5) (gold coin used in the Edo period), Tano (p. 147) (nobleman or appellation used to address a lord), Nagasaque (p. 149) (port town in which the Dutch East India Company had their factory), Amida (p. 167) (Buddhist god), Meaco (p. 167) (ancient capital of Japan), Bonzo (priest), Xakha (p. 1) (province in southern Japan), Copan (p. 5) (gold coin used in the Edo period), Tano (p. 147) (nobleman or appellation used to address a lord), Nagasaque (p. 149) (port town in which the Dutch East India Company had their factory), Amida (p. 167) (Buddhist god), Meaco (p. 167) (ancient capital of Japan), Bonzo (priest), Xakha (p. 239) (Buddhist god), Dairo (p. 240) (ecclesiastical emperor), Voo (p. 241) (king or prince), Norimons (p. 277) (litter or palanquin). And in the preface to the second edition of the work appear Yedo (now Tokyo), Jetzo (now Hokkaido), Cambadoxy (a famous Buddhist priest), Niphon (Japan or its main island called Honshu), and Quanto (province including Tokyo). The word copan does not appear in any of the works Psalmanaazaar mentions. This indicates that he had access to some other works that contained descriptions of the Japanese money. Kohan is referred to in Richard Blome’s A Geographical Description (London, 1670), 95, Jean Baptiste Tavernier’s The Six Travels (London, 1678), engraving inserted between 8 and 9, Simon de La Loubere’s A New Historical Relation (London, 1690), 72–73, and Abraham Duquesne’s A New Voyage to the East Indies (London, 1696), 112, but the coin is spelt
Dominique Bouhours, and Certainty of the Christian Religion

Ibid. 151

Description

4.


11.

Description, 150.

12.

‘danoo’ is a distortion of the Japanese word ‘dono’, which means nearly the same as the English word dear. ‘dono’ is put after a male’s name and is also pronounced ‘tono’. It is possible that Psalmanaazaar borrowed the word from Varenius’s work, although ‘dono’ is spelt ‘donus’. See Descriptio Regni Japaniae (London, 1649), 32–3, 36–7, 64, 155.

13.

Description, 147.

14.

Ibid. 150.

15.

Ibid. 155.

16.

Ibid. 160.

17.


18.

Description, 155.

19.

Ibid. 151–3.

20.

Anthony Hamilton, Memoirs of the Life of Count de Grammont: Containing, in Particular, the Amorous Intrigues of the Court of England in the Reign of King Charles II (London, 1714), 347.

21.

See Caron, A True Description, 39–47.

22.

Probably Atlas Japannensis is not the only source for the character sama, because it is also found in Morejon, A Brief Relation, 35, 47, 317, 318, Samuel Purchas, Pyrchas his Pilgrimes (London, 1625), 2, 1694, Mandelsloe, The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassador, 204, Caron, A True Description, 34, Dominique Bouhours, The Life of St. Francis Xavier, London (London, 1688), 409, and Louis Moreri, The Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionay (London, 1694), 1. Moreri and Purchas are mentioned in An Enquiry, 5, 39.

23.

Description, 299–300.

24.


25.

Ibid. 237.

26.

Description, 309.

27.

Ibid. 309–310.

28.

Atlas Japannensis, 213.

29.

Ibid. 253–4.

30.

Description, 239.

31.

Atlas Japannensis, 248.

32.

Investigation shows that accounts of the three gods, Xaca, Amida, and Canon are given in Purchas, Perchas his Pilgrimage (London, 1613), 447, and in Bouhours, The Life of St. Francis Xavier (London, 1688), 527. Purchas says: ‘To tell o [sic] of their Idoll Casunga, of whom they bege riches, Tamondea, Besomondis, Homocoones and Zoious: to which four, their superstitious opinion committeth so many heauens in custody, Canon and Xaar the sonnes of Xaca, Maristenes, Tirigis, and others, would be too tedious to report. Organtinus & [sic] talith that whiles on a time the feast of this last was solemnizing, a shoure of stones rained with such violence, that the company to the number of twenty thousand, betooke them to their heelles. But Amida is most worne in their lippes: beggers asking and blessing in his name; chapmen in buying and selling sounding and singing it: the Bonzij promising salvation to all that invoke it’. (Purchas, 447) He also mentions Daifusama: ‘He took an othe of him, & the other nobles for Daifusama, of whom they begge riches, appeased, and after some battles against his aduer-saries, inuested himselfe in the Empire, Anno 1601’. (Ibid. 448)

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