

**Sanctuary:
Kamakura's Tōkeiji Convent**

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The littel daughter of Fidaia Samma is [a] shorne non
in this [Tōkeiji] monestary, only to save her life, for
it is a sanctuary and no justis may take her out.

SO COMMENTS Richard Cocks (d. 1624), Captain of the English Factory at Hirado, in a marginal note of his diary for the entry of 18 October 1616. Cocks and his employee, Will Adams (Miura Anjin, 1564-1620), had been to Edo to negotiate trade agreements with the Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1544-1616), and were passing through Kamakura on their return to the small trading island off the coast of Kyushu (Thompson 1883). It was the year after the battle for Osaka Castle, where Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1665), Hideyoshi's son and successor, committed suicide after his defeat by the forces of Ieyasu. "The littel daughter of Fidaia [Hideyori] Samma" was taken to the Tōkeiji and became its twentieth abbess, Tenshū (1608-1645).

Tōkeiji, the convent at which Hideyori's daughter became a "shorne non," was founded in 1285 by Kakusan Shidō (1252-1306), widow of the eighth Hōjō regent, Tokimune (1251-1284). A convent in the traditional sense, it has been better known for being a "sanctuary" for the few unhappy women who managed to be accepted within its confines. Their total number cannot have been very large, but the Tōkeiji at least served as a symbol of social justice for six centuries until the early Meiji period. Its role gives us insight into one function which religion played for

women in pre-modern Japan.

We experience the world as both social creatures and as individuals. Our institutions and our philosophies attempt to reconcile group commitments to personal needs and aspirations, for any imbalance jeopardizes the quality of our lives. Without effective social controls, selfish interests infringe on the common good and the strong dominate the weak. Conversely, when the individual is not given adequate institutional and philosophical means to evade the tyranny of majority opinion, his frustration may be resolved by madness or suicide. Or, if his lot is endurable, he may protest by attempting social change, or by escape into dissipation.

Women have often found themselves victims of this tyranny, in both Japan and the West; and in both parts of the world the convent has been available as an alternative to the more extreme solutions to the problem of social alienation. It has provided a way out, sanctuary, asylum, for those whom the world would break in its grip.

In Japan, convents have been a conspicuous part of the religious establishment since the early decades after the inception of Buddhism there (A.D. 538 or 552, according to traditional reckoning). Among the noted nunneries in pre-Kamakura times are the Chūgūji, attached to Nara's Hōryū-ji; Murōji, popularly known as "Women's Kōya" (Nyōnin Kōya), in the hills outside Nara; and Jakkōin, Kenreimon'in's retreat in Ōhara, northeast of Kyoto, after the Battle of Dan-no-Ura (1185).

Tōkeiji became a household word during the Tokugawa period, when it was a center for disaffected wives of the commoner (but not the samurai) class. For those who served in the convent for a specified period of time, the Tōkeiji arranged for a divorce to be given them by their husbands. It was during this time that the popular nicknames, which are still used today, came into currency—Enkiridera, the "Temple for Severing the Relationship," and Kakekomidera (also, Kakeiridera), the "Temple into which One Runs for Refuge."

But these nicknames tell only part of the story. Especially in its early years from its foundation to early Tokugawa, Tōkeiji was a sanctuary for some who sought protection and isolation from society, but not for marital reasons. In this group we find Tōkeiji's fifth abbess, Yōdō (1318-1396), daughter of Emperor Go-Daigo; also Hideyori's daughter, Tenshū; and, as we shall see later, Mume, wife of a slain Edo merchant, who was caught in a double-bind of Confucian morality.

Important as it is, the temple's role in divorce needs to be understood as an outgrowth of the earlier, more general, function of sanctuary, asylum. So we shall first give an outline of the history of the Tōkeiji, then examine some of the surviving accounts of the legal proceedings which gave the convent its popular reputation.

Tokimune and Lady Horiuchi, the Nun Kakusan. The early Tokugawa writer of tales, Nakagawa Kiun (1636-1705),¹ includes this brief description of Matsu-ga-oka (literally, "Pine Grove") in his *Kamakura monogatari* ("Kamakura story") of 1659:

Within a temple gate standing along the road east of the Engakuji, on which it fronts, is a nunnery con-

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1. Recent biographical references to Nakagawa Kiun give his dates as 1555-1625, so that *Kamakura monogatari* would have been published well after his death. In any case, it is one of the earliest of Tokugawa gazetteers and miscellanea which are helpful in piecing together the history of Tōkeiji. See also (1) *Shūpen Kamakura shi* [Newly Edited Guide to Kamakura], a 5-fascicle directory to the area completed in 1685 by Kawai Tsunehisa (see Kawai 1962); (2) *Sōshū* [or *Sagamī no kuni Matsu-ga-oka kakochō*] [Historical Notes on Matsu-ga-oka at Kamakura in Sagami Province], a listing of the first twenty-one abbesses of the Tōkeiji followed by a group of names and dates whose precise significance is unknown (author and date also unknown but probably from the early eighteenth century; Hanawa 1959); (3) *Kamakura ranshōkō* [Kamakura's Select Sites], an 11-fascicle guide completed by Ueda Mōshin in 1829 (Ueda 1962); (4) *Shūpen Sagami no kuni fudoki kō* [Draft Gazetteer for Sagami Province, Newly Edited], attributed to Hayashi Mamoru, et al., ca. 1830-40 (see Hayashi 1962); (5) Unpublished temple records of the Tōkeiji (see Inoue 1980).

sisting of seven cloisters. They are the Waki-bō, Taishūan-in, Shōshiji, Eifukuji, Myōkiji, Seishūin, and the head temple, Tōkeiji of Mt. Matsu-ga-oka. In the days of the Great Commander of the Right [Yoritomo]² there was a temple here called Dōshinji. Lord Yoritomo's aunt [Lady Mino]³ became a nun and was abbess of this convent. From this time the temple continuously prospered.

The consort (*midaidokoro*) of the Governor of Sagami Province, [Hōjō] Tokimune, decided to reside at Tōkeiji. By an edict of the Retired Emperor Go-Uda she became the second founder of the convent, and subsequently a series of widows of the Hōjō family were its abbesses. The Hōjō were followed by fourteen generations of women among [Ashikaga] Takauji's descendants,⁴ after which the fortunes of the temple gradually declined. The daughter of Lord Hideyori, Great Minister of the Left,⁵ was instated in this convent, being called, indeed, Abbess Tenshū.⁶ Around

2. In 1190 Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) was awarded the court rank of Provisional Major Counselor, Great Commander of the Imperial Body Guards of the Right (*Gondainagon ukonoe taishō*). He is frequently referred to by this title, or some abbreviation thereof.
3. Mino no Tsubone. Presumably a sister of Yoritomo's father, Yoshitomo (1123-1160), but, in any case, not to be confused with her contemporary, consort of Emperor Toba (1103-1156) and mother of Cloistered Prince Kakukai (1134-1181), Jien's mentor.
4. Takauji (1305-1358), first of the Ashikaga shoguns, thwarted the political ambitions of Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339), father of Tōkeiji's fifth abbess, Princess Yōdō (1318-1396). The "Historical Notes" (see note 1, item 2) lists the names of fourteen abbesses between Yōdō and Hideyori's daughter, Tenshū.
5. Sadaijin. In fact, Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615) was awarded the court ranks of Provisional Major Counselor (*Gondainagon*, 1601) and Great Minister of the Right (*Udaijin*, 1603); but not, apparently, the higher rank of Sadaijin (*Kugyō bunin*).
6. Nakagawa probably uses the emphatic particle, *zo*, in this clause to call our attention to the fact that one of the characters in the name Tenshū is derived from her father's—the *on* reading of "Hide" being "shū." "Historical Notes" includes the following notation: "Daughter of Toyotomi Hideyori. In Genna 1 (1615), by order of the Lord of the Tōshō Daijin Shrine [Tokugawa Ieyasu, 1542-1616], she took the habit.*"

the first or second year of Shōhō (1644-45) she was laid to rest here. These noble women are buried in the grove behind the Main Hall of the temple.

As a rule, those who enter this convent have some reason to reproach the world and lament their state in life. There are those who leave behind disagreeable husbands or who escape some unendurable servitude. Others, sunk in grief, look forward to the afterlife; and some seek a peaceful place to purify their hearts. There have been many charming women at this convent who were not nuns.

Matsu-ga-oka no
Kohaku ya yoseshi
Hana no chiri

Held on amber
Rosin within Pine Grove
Blossom dust.

(Kokusho Kankōkai 1910, p.14)

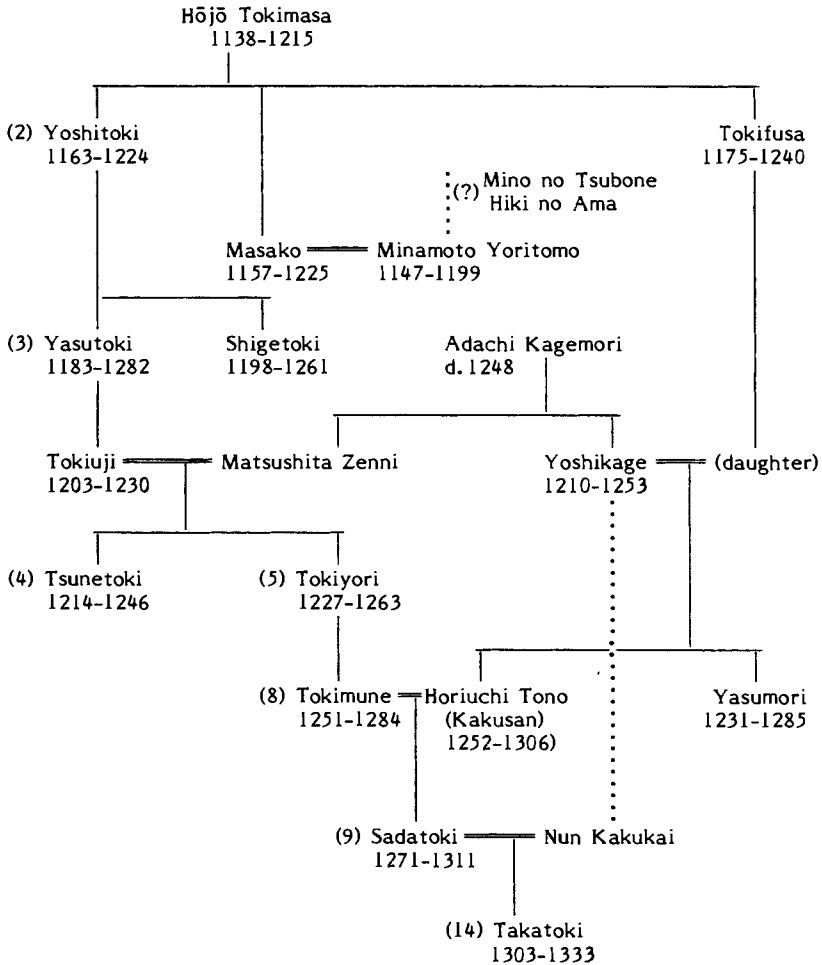
The view that Yoritomo's aunt, Lady Mino, was the first to live at the Tōkeiji had already been called into question by later Tokugawa guides to Kamakura, and is not supported today by any evidence. Nakagawa may simply have been recording a local tradition of his day. A still more tenuous view holds that the honor belongs to Yoritomo's wet-nurse, a certain Hiki no Ama (Barth 1970 II, p.249).

Kakusan is generally regarded as the convent's proper founder. Her birth is noted in the *Azuma kagami* ("Mirror of the East," ca. 1270), in the entry for 7/4 of Kenchō 4 (1252): "The sky was clear. At noon the wife of Yoshikage, Superintendent of Akita Castle, had an easy delivery of a girl....She was called Horiuchi-dono" (Kuroita 1965, p.523). Lady Horiuchi had eight brothers and three sisters, among them Adachi Yasumori (1231-1285),⁷ who is sometimes mis-

*She died on the seventh day of the second month in Shōhō 2 (1645). Behind the Buddha Hall is a stone pagoda which lists a donation to the temple, under an official cinnabar seal (*goshuin*), for 112 kan, 380 mon" (*Gunsho ruijū* XXIX, p.254).

7. "Essays in Idleness" (*Tsurezuregusa*, ca. 1340) speaks of Yasumori as an incomparable horseman (#185; Keene 1967, p.158).

Chart I
 Kakusan's Relationship to the Hōjō and Adachi Families



_____ Direct parent-child relationship
 Links in the relationship omitted
 = Relationship through marriage
 () Number in the sequence of Hōjō regents (*shikken*)

taken for her father. The confusion probably arose since Yasumori succeeded as head of the Adachi clan when Yoshikage died the year after Horiuchi's birth.

In spite of her family's prominent position in the Kamakura military establishment, we know few details about Lady Horiuchi's life. But since she was raised in harsh times dominated by the spartan ideals of the newly-risen samurai class, we can make some confident inferences about the kind of person she must have been. We should envision neither a court lady of Heian society nor a disenfranchised woman of the merchant or peasant classes of the Tokugawa era. Horiuchi was nurtured in the tradition of Kiyomori's wife, Nii-dono,⁸ who sank beneath the waves with Emperor Antoku at the Battle of Dan-no-Ura; of Yoshitsune's mistress, Shizuka Gozen; of Yoshinaka's wife, the warrior Tomoe; of Hōjō Masako (1157-1225), the "Nun Shogun"; of Horiuchi's aunt, Matsushita Zenni, whose thrifty patching of *shōji* is extolled in "Essays in Idleness";⁹ and of the aristocratic but forceful wife of Fujiwara Teika's son Tameie, the nun Abutsu (d. 1283).¹⁰

Horiuchi's future husband, Hōjō Tokimune, had been born a year earlier (1251) at the Adachi residence in Kamakura's Hase-Amanawa neighborhood. If the two children did not actually live under the same roof, they were surely acquainted during their early years. Horiuchi was raised at the Adachi residence in the shadow of her stern aunt, Matsushita Zenni, who would also become her grandmother-in-law by marriage. Matsushita's dates are uncertain, but even if she was not physically present during Horiuchi's childhood her influence would have been felt. Tokimune's father, Tokiyori (1227-1263), was the object of Matsushita's lesson on thrift. The young girl's father,

8. Tokiko, wife of Kiyomori, mother of Tokuko (Kenreimon'in), and thus grandmother of Emperor Antoku.

9. *Tsurezuregusa* #184; Keene 1967, pp. 157-158.

10. Abutsu-*ni* made the famous trip to Kamakura recorded in her "Diary of the Waning Moon" (*Izayoi nikki*) during 1277-80, just a few years before Kakusan founded the Tōkeiji.

Adachi Yoshikage (1210-1253) died when she was a year old, and, as we have noted, his paternal role was assumed by her older brother, Yasumori.

Tokimune was ten and Lady Horiuchi only nine when the two were married in 1261. By the custom of the time they were neither too young nor too closely related. The couple then moved from the Adachi's to Tokimune's own residence. We know that Lady Horiuchi would later establish a convent famous for providing sanctuary for harrassed wives, and it is tempting to speculate whether this may have been influenced by her relationship with Tokimune. But there is no reason to believe that Tokimune was an inconsiderate husband (Inoue 1980, p.29), and we will see that there were other sufficient reasons for Horiuchi's action.

Tokimune succeeded Masamura (1205-1273) as the eighth Hōjō regent in 1268, when he was still in his teens. His administration faced two great challenges: the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281. After Khubilai, the Great Khan of the Mongols, became Emperor of China and set up his capital at Peking in 1264, he sent a series of messages demanding that the Japanese submit to his rule. When they refused, the Khan sent a fleet of ships from Korea to the northern coast of Kyushu in 1274. As many as 13,000 Mongol, Chinese, and Korean troops perished when the invading force was repelled by the Japanese garrisons, aided by inclement weather. Khubilai assembled an armada for the second invasion in 1281; but this met an even more disastrous fate, with casualties to the mainland army approaching 100,000 (see Sansom 1958, pp.438-450).¹¹ The Hōjō policies saved Japan from a long, and possibly catastrophic, war; but their own administration was fatally wounded. The costs of defense had been enormous and the military government did not have the material resources to reward those who had repelled the invaders. The Hōjō

11. In Marco Polo's (ca. 1254-1324) brief reference to Japan [Chipangu] in *Il Milione*, we find a Mongol account of these events.

gradually lost the confidence of their supporters, and in 1333 Kamakura was razed by the troops of Nitta Yoshisada. Within a few years the Ashikaga were the military rulers of the country.

For the two decades following 1266, when the first of the Khan's demands was received, both the court in Kyoto and the *bakufu* in Kamakura had been totally preoccupied with the Mongol threat. It was on the occasion of the third demand in 1271 that the fiery religious reformer, Nichiren (1222-1282), sent letters to Tokimune and other prominent leaders, denouncing the government for not meeting the challenge by adopting his program for religious reform. This was merely the latest in a series of attacks—which began with the famous *Risshō ankokuron* ("The Establishment of the Legitimate Teaching for the Security of the Country," 1260) presented to Tokimune's father, Tokiyori—directed at the secular authorities and at the other sects of Buddhism. It was the last straw. Nichiren was sentenced to be executed at a spot in Kamakura known as Tatsu no Kuchi (the "Dragon's Mouth"), but "by some unexplained stroke of fortune" (Sansom 1958, p.428), his punishment was commuted to exile on the island of Sado. Pious tradition counts the event among Nichiren's four major persecutions,¹² and considers his release to have been a miracle. But in a letter which Nichiren himself wrote in 1276,¹³ he evidently understood that he escaped beheading because Tokimune's wife was pregnant and that an execution would have been an inauspicious omen. Later that year (12/2) Lady Horiuchi, at the age of nineteen, safely delivered a boy, Hōjō Sadatoki (1271-1312), who would succeed his father as regent.

The Hōjō were ardent supporters of Buddhism, especially of the Zen practices newly imported from China. Myōan Eisai (1141-1215), the first of the Kamakura Zen pioneers, had been well received by the Minamoto military establish-

12. *shidai-hōnan*; Petzold 1978, p.6.

13. *Shuju ofurumai goshō* (Letter on the Various Activities [of Nichiren] shown on Various Occasions). Cited in Tsuji 1980, p.33.

ment early in the thirteenth century, and by Tokimune's day the movement had developed substantial roots in Japan. His father, Tokiyori, was also a serious student of Zen meditation (*zazen*). In 1253 he completed construction of the Kenchōji—perhaps the first Zen monastery in Japan completely independent of earlier, especially Tendai, affiliations—and installed the Chinese Rinzai monk, Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (Rankei Dōryū, 1213-1278; posthumous title, Daikaku Zenji) as its founder-abbot (*kaisan*).¹⁴ When Lan ch'i died in 1278, he was succeeded by another Chinese emigrant, Wu-hsueh Tsu-yuan (Mugaku Sogen, 1226-1286; posthumous title, Bukkō Zenji). After the defeat of the Mongols in 1281, Tokimune began construction of another large Zen temple as a monument to the warriors on both sides who had fallen in battle.¹⁵ The Engakuji was completed in 1282 and Wu-hsueh was installed as its founder-abbot.¹⁶

Both Tokimune and Lady Horiuchi were Wu-hsueh's spiritual disciples, not merely as donors for temple building but as active participants in meditation exercises. When Tokimune unexpectedly became ill on the fourth day of the fourth month in 1284, both he and Lady Horiuchi took the tonsure and put on the robes of monk and nun under Wu-hsueh's auspices.¹⁷ Tokimune took the religious name

14. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Zen and the Hōjō regents, see Colclutt 1981, pp. 57-84.

15. Tokimune's impartiality in this matter is noted in Wu-hsueh's *Bukkō zenji goroku* [The Records of Zen Master Bukkō]; cited in Inoue 1980, p. 33.

16. During the sixteenth century when the Odawara Hōjō controlled Kamakura, Kenchōji, Engakuji, and Tōkeiji were sometimes referred to as the "Three Kamakura Temples" (*Kamakura sangajū*; Inoue 1980, p. 65). A somewhat earlier grouping was the "Five Nun Mountains" (Ama goson), parallel to the Five Mountain monasteries in both Kamakura and Kyoto. The five Kamakura nunneries (Kyoto has a corresponding set) were the Taiheiji (the head temple), Tōkeiji, Kokuonji, Gohōji, and Zemmyōji. Only the Tōkeiji survives today; the other four are discussed in Nuki 1980.

17. Wu-hsueh's Chinese poems written on this occasion for Tokimune and*

Hōkōji-dono Dōkō; Lady Horiuchi, Kakusan Shidō. Tokimune died later that day, at the age of thirty-three.

Sadatoki (1271-1311) was only thirteen when he succeeded his father as Hōjō regent in 1284. During the following year he and his mother collaborated to establish the Tōkeiji,¹⁸ Sadatoki as the convent's financial patron (*kaiki*) and Kakusan as its abbess-founder (*kaisan*). Tokimune's private residence was in Kamakura's northern Yamanouchi ("Within the Mountains") district, so that the regent was often referred to as Yamanouchi-dono. This is also the neighborhood of the Kenchōji, the Engakuji, the Saimyōji (where Tokimune died), and, from 1285, Matsu-ga-oka Tōkeiji, a few hundred yards from the main gate of the Engakuji, in what is today Kita-Kamakura. From her convent Kakusan could fondly view her old home where she had lived with Tokimune.

To commemorate the third anniversary of her husband's death, Kakusan personally made a manuscript copy of the large, 80-fascicle, Garland Sutra (*Kegonkyō*, T. 279), which was presumably enclosed in the Garland Stupa (*Kegontō*) which Sadatoki erected at the Engakuji for this occasion. The stupa was destroyed by fire in 1374, and the present whereabouts of the sutra is unknown, if it still exists at all (Inoue 1980, pp.38-42).

Few details of Kakusan's subsequent activities at the Tōkeiji are recorded. She died on the ninth day of the tenth month in 1306, and it is believed that both she and Tokimune are buried at the Butsunichian, the Hōjō memorial temple within the confines of the Engakuji.¹⁹ She was given the posthumous name of Chōon'in.

*Horiuchi are to be found in his *Goroku* (see note 16), T. 2549, vol. 80, p.174; cf., Inoue 1980, pp.33-34, for a colloquial rendering of Horiuchi's.

18. The full name of Tōkei Sōji Zenji, the "Tōkei Zen Nunnery." "Sōji" is a common esoteric term for *dharani*, mystic verse; but in this context it is used to inductate a Zen nunnery, after the name of Bodhidharma's disciple, the nun Tsung-chih (Ni Sōji; Inoue 1980, p.25).
19. A five-tiered stone monument (*gorintō*) bearing her name at the Tōkeiji cannot be satisfactorily explained (Inoue 1980, pp.48-50).

Sanctuary. Tōkeiji's popular reputation as the "Divorce Temple" (Enkiridera) derives largely from its activities during the last two centuries of the Tokugawa era. But providing asylum for abused wives is only one facet of its larger function as a place of sanctuary for the individual from the crushing forces of society.²⁰ Buddhism, like any universalistic religion or ideology, provides the rationale for the individual to assert his right to independence from the group by appealing to a principle which transcends the world of social relationships. Tōkeiji's assertion of sanctuary from civil authorities can be seen as a concrete expression of the characteristic asocial stance of Buddhism.²¹

Although Tōkeiji did provide a mechanism for women to divorce their husbands even since Kakusan's days, it is more aptly described during its first four hundred years as Kakekomidera (sometimes, Kakeiridera), the "Temple into which One Runs for Refuge." Its three prominent abbesses—Kakusan, Yōdō, and Tenshū—were seeking refuge, asylum, sanctuary. Their presence was not the result of unhappy marital relationships.

For Kakusan, the seeds of the notion of a convent as sanctuary may very well have been planted by the well-known anecdote of the time which involved the Kegon monk, Myōe (Kōben, 1173-1232) with earlier generations of Adachis and Hōjōs (see chart).

At the time of the Great Disturbance of Shōkyū 3

20. The practice of sanctuary developed independently in various societies. We find it in ancient Greece and Rome, and in the West until the end of the eighteenth century. For an informative discussion of these later stages and the abuses which led to its elimination, see Chadwick 1981, pp. 47-59.

21. This is not to ignore the fact that Mahāyāna Buddhism, whose paradoxes reflect those of human experience, is at the same time a profoundly social way of thought and behavior through its ideal of selfless action in the world, as represented by the bodhisattva. The goal of religious practice is simultaneously detachment from, and involvement in, the world of everyday affairs: being in the world but not of it.

[1221], the Commander of Akita Castle,²² [Adachi] Yoshikage,²³ hearing that a large contingent of imperial forces was hiding in the mountains of Toga-no-o [site of Myōe's Kōzanji], sent a force to seek them out. How can one imagine the uproar that ensued? The soldiers bound the Shōnin and led him away to Rokuhara,²⁴ saying that he had been ordered to appear before the general, Lord Yasutoki [1183-1242].

Just as they arrived, Lord Yasutoki was in conference, seated among his followers and ranged around with warriors both above and below. Yoshikage, pushing the Shōnin ahead of him, came before Yasutoki and explained what had happened. When Lord Yasutoki was living at the Rokuhara some years earlier, he had heard of Myōe's virtue; and his first response at their meeting was surprise. Filled with awe, he left his seat and gave Myōe the place of honor. Seeing what was happening, Yoshikage felt that he had probably blundered; and this sobered him up. This is what the Shōnin said:

"There is a report that I have given refuge to a large number of stragglers, and this is indeed true. The reason for their coming is perhaps because over the years people have come to hear of my [i.e. Kōben's] position on the matter. From the days of my youth after I left my first temple²⁵ and wandered about aim-

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22. Akita-jō no Suke. Title of the head of the Adachi clan, which had its roots in the northern province of Akita; first used by Kagemori (see following note).
23. Commentators agree that this is a mistake for Yoshikage's father, Kagemori (d. 1248), Kakusan's grandfather. Although Yoshikage (1210-1253) did succeed his father in holding the title of Akita-jō no Suke, he would only have been a youth of eleven in 1221. Kagemori's date of birth is uncertain, but he seems the most probable agent in this confrontation.
24. Kyoto headquarters of the Kamakura military establishment.
25. *Honji*. Usually, "this temple"; but here Myōe probably refers to the Jingōji on Mt. Takao, where he went to live in 1181 when he was eight. Subsequently he stayed at Tōdaiji's Sonshōin and at various sites in*

lessly here and there, I have not held steadfast even to the everyday principles of holy writ, which I entertain in theory. Moreover, I have lived withdrawn for many years without once giving thought to the affairs of the world.

"Now although people may talk of trying to make allies with others on the basis of social status, this is not the way a monk behaves. By chance such an idea may occur to him, but he will not pursue this train of thought. Why should I show the slightest partisanship to others? Many have asked me to pray for a certain person on the basis of their relationship to that individual. And I reply to them: 'I will indeed perform these prayers, if only to help you begin to pray for all the sentient beings who are submerged in suffering within the Three Paths.²⁶ After we have brought them all up from the depths with our supplications, then surely we can pray for those momentary whims which are like dreams in this floating world. Minor matters do not take precedence over what is fundamental.' Thus have I passed my years and months without giving a second thought to such concerns; nor do I take seriously those who would ask me to offer special prayers in their behalf.

"Because this mountain temple is a site dedicated to the Three Treasures of Buddhism, it is a place where taking life is forbidden. Birds pursued by falcons and animals fleeing from hunters all conceal themselves here just to survive. Thus I accept responsibility for the fact that soldiers fleeing from their enemies—their only thought being to save their lives—conceal themselves here in the roots of trees and the clefts of

*Kii province before settling down at the Kōzanji in 1206. Myōe was forty-eight at the time of this meeting with Yasutoki (see Morrell 1982, pp.180-181).

26. *Sanzu*; elsewhere, *san'akudō*, the "Three Evil Destinies": of those in the hells, of the hungry-demons, and of those in the animal world.

rocks. Could I, because I thought that otherwise I would have trouble with the authorities, heartlessly chase them away? And could I overlook their being seized by their enemies and deprived of their existence?

Long ago in an earlier life our original teacher, Skilled-in-Benevolence,²⁷ even gave his body, in place of a dove, as food for a falcon; and on another occasion he offered his flesh to a starving tiger. I cannot aspire to such great compassion, of course. But how could I not do something under the present circumstances? I really felt that if I could, I would hide these stragglers in my sleeves or under my surplice. And I intend to help them next time and the time after that. If this is in violation of the way of good government, then you should without delay sever this foolish monk's head."²⁸

Kakusan knew this story, and it well may have shaped her view of the convent as sanctuary (Inoue 1980, p.28); events late in the very year of Tōkeiji's founding can only have reinforced it. When the young Sadatoki succeeded Tokimune as regent in 1284, his major advisers included Kakusan's brother, Yasumori, and a certain Taira Yoritsuna (d. 1293). The two were ambitious rivals, and Yoritsuna managed to convince Sadatoki that Yasumori was plotting to become Shogun. In what is known as the November Incident (*shimotsuki sōdō*) during the eleventh month of 1285, Sadatoki ordered the extermination of Yasumori, his son Munekage, and many other members of the Adachi clan. It is reasonable to assume that Kakusan would have wanted

27. Nōnin. Han dynasty translation of the name, Śākya-muni.

28. From the *Togano-o Myōe Shōnin denki* (Biography of the Venerable Myōe of Toga-no-o); Kubota and Kawaguchi 1981, pp.163-1654; Hiraizumi 1980, pp.206-208, 210-211. See also Morrell 1982, pp.183-185. Myōe's integrity greatly impressed Yasutoki, who later in the "Biography" explains to Myōe his reasons for opposing Emperor Go-Toba during the Shōkyū Disturbance Lieteau 1975, pp.203-210.

to provide refuge at least to the people in her family who were innocent of any wrongdoing. And perhaps she did: the historical record gives us no details. But the incident is certain to have influenced her views on sanctuary far more than any supposed dissatisfaction with her husband, Tokimune.

There is no indisputable evidence that Kakusan was even concerned with the problem of divorce. Often we can only rely on much later Tokugawa traditions, which may tell us more about current practice than about the sober historical facts. They must be examined sceptically, but not dismissed out of hand. According to one late record of uncertain date and authorship, Kakusan asked Sadatoki to establish regulations at the Tōkeiji for women who asked for divorce from oppressive husbands. If such a wife were to serve at the convent for a period of three years, she could leave as a free woman. Tradition says that Sadatoki forwarded the request to the emperor, who approved it (Hozumi 1924, pp. 36-37; Inoue 1980, p. 123).

Several decades after Kakusan's death, during the abortive attempt by Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339) to restore the political power of the monarchy, his son, Prince Morinaga (1308-1335) was seized under imperial warrant by Ashikaga Takauji (see note 5) and later taken from Kyoto to Kamakura, where he was killed. Tradition says that his half-sister, Princess Yōdō (1318-1396),²⁹ then secluded herself at the Tōkeiji to mourn his death.

The "Historical Notes" (see note 2, item 2) lists Yōdō as Tōkeiji's fifth abbess, and she is credited with several

29. Princess Yōdō is something of an enigma, being among the less prominent of some sixteen sons and nineteen daughters sired by Emperor Go-Daigo. The *Dainihon shi* (Great History of Japan), *kan* 105, notes that her mother's name and family are unknown (Gikō Seitan Sanbyakunen Kinenkai 1928, p. 543); and Yōdō never officially received the title of Naishinnō ("Princess"; Inoue 1980, p. 58). Moreover, even allowing for the fact that Kamakura was a ghost town in the decades following its destruction in 1333, we might expect to see the name of an imperial daughter, who administered Tōkeiji for over half a century, to appear occasionally in contemporary records.

important innovations. The term of service was reduced from three full years to a period in which any part of the first year would count for the whole year (*ashikake*). This meant that the term could be as short as two years and a day, or simply, by some accounts, twenty four months ("Draft Gazetteer"; see note 2, item 4). Moreover, since the abbess was an imperial princess, nuns at the convent were permitted to wear a purple habit (the color purple being associated with royalty). And from this time the convent was often called Matsu-ga-oka Goshō (Pine-Grove Palace), or Kamakura Goshō.

Yōdō's tenure at Tōkeiji roughly corresponds to the Period of the Northern and Southern Courts (Nambokuchō, 1336-1392), during which Go-Daigo's southern court at Yoshino was in rivalry with Kyoto's northern court of Emperor Kōmyō (1321-1380) and his successors. After the following two centuries of political instability, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu once again unified Japan under a strong centralized military government, this time in Edo. The climax of the long, fierce conflict was the burning in 1615 of Osaka Castle,³⁰ where, as we have mentioned, Tenshū's father Hideyori perished. His seven-year old daughter was placed under the tutelage of Tōkeiji's nineteenth abbess, Keizan (d. 1644), of the Kitsunegawa family (which plays an important role in the later history of the convent). Hideyori's wife, Senhime (1597-1666), who was Tenshū's stepmother, also survived the battle and is important to our story for having later sponsored the founding of a noted "divorce temple" called Mantokuji at Terada in the Nitta district of Kōzuke province (Hozumi 1924, pp.175-230).

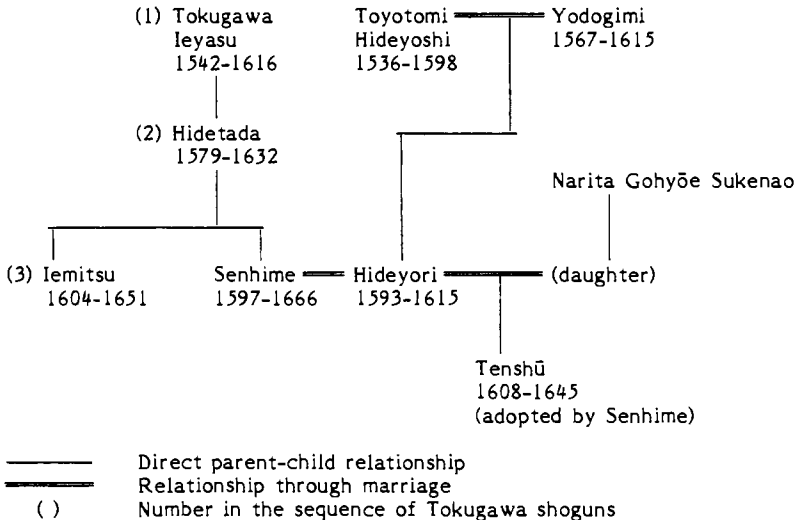
The view of Tōkeiji as maintaining the principle of sanctuary in the broad sense, not just divorce, predominates through the early decades of the seventeenth century,

30. For a detailed account of the battle, see Murdoch 1964, pp.507-553. This reprint, however, omits two maps which appeared in the original edition showing the disposition of troops.

as the following anecdote from the temple records illustrates.

Katō Yoshiaki (1563-1631) was a famed warrior who created a large estate in the service of Hideyoshi, and later Ieyasu. His son Akinari, who succeeded him as head of the family, was dissolute and would not heed the advice of his chief advisor, Hori Mondo. When Hori finally brought his complaints to the attention of the shogunate, Akinari was outraged and tried to arrest him. But Hori went into hiding on Shingon's Mt. Kōya, entrusting his wife and children to the Tōkeiji. Akinari appealed to Iemitsu, the third Tokugawa shogun, who delivered Hori to him to be killed. He then sent an assassin to the Tōkeiji to seize Hori's family, but Abbess Tenshū angrily rebuffed him, claiming sanc-

Chart II
The Relationship of Senhime and Tenshū to the Toyotomi and Tokugawa Families



tuary. She appealed to her powerful stepmother, Senhime, demanding that Akinari be punished. In 1643 the bakufu confiscated his property (Inoue 1980, p.77).

We find a similar attitude in *Karaito sōshi*, a late Muromachi-early Tokugawa story (*otogizōshi*) on the theme of filial piety. In 1183 Kiso Yoshinaka (1154-1184) is general of one of the two main branches of the Minamoto army. Karaito, daughter of Tezuka no Tarō Mitsumori, Yoshinaka's retainer, is serving at Yoritomo's headquarters in Kamakura. Having informed Yoshinaka of her lord's plan to destroy him,³¹ she is given a sword with which to assassinate Yoritomo. The sword is discovered under her robe, but Karaito insists that she is carrying it simply as a memento of Yoshinaka. Yoritomo is not convinced and orders that she be held at the Tōkeiji³² until the matter can be investigated. But when a retainer is later sent to the Tōkeiji to fetch Karaito, the abbess refuses to turn her over, claiming sanctuary. For the time being Yoritomo relents; but later Karaito is captured by the arch-villain, Kajiwara Kagetoki, as she attempts to flee to her native province of Shinano. Yoritomo imprisons her in a cave, but Karaito is eventually released through the help of her daughter, Manju, whose dancing pleases Yoritomo (Ichiko 1958, pp.124-147; Inoue 1980, pp.127-128).

Tokugawa's "Divorce Temple" (Enkiridera). In 1647, two years after Abbess Tenshū's death, Tōkeiji asked the Bakufu's Magistrate of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) to provide it with an abbess from among the daughters of Kitsunegawa Takanobu. The Kitsunegawa was a branch family of the Ashikaga, but not very prosperous, and they valued their association with the Tōkeiji. (The name,

31. *Heike monogatari* IX:4 tells how Yoshitsune's troops under the command of his younger brother, Noriyori, destroyed Yoshinaka and his retainers, including Mitsumori, at Awazu in 1184.

32. Anachronistically, unless the writer assumed that Tōkeiji was founded by Lady Mino a century earlier than Kakusan.

Kitsunegawa, "Fox River," was later changed to the more auspicious sounding, Kitsuregawa, "River of Glad Companions.") While the Bakufu officials temporized, temple affairs were conducted by the Inryōken, a hall within the Tōkeiji compound. The Kitsuregawa took as their model the Inryōken within the Rokuon'in at Kyoto's Shōkokuji, which had been established by Ashikaga Yoshimochi (1386-1428) as his channel of communication to the Registrar General of Monks (*sōroku*), who exercised administrative control over Kyoto's Five Mountain (*gosan*) network of Rinzaï monasteries (Collcutt 1981, pp.119-123).

In 1655 a daughter of the Kitsuregawa, Eizan (1639-1707) entered the Tōkeiji at the age of sixteen and was finally appointed its twenty-first abbess in 1670. Her disciple, Tesshū, was acting head of the convent after Eizan's death until the next abbess, Gyokuen came to supervise the Tōkeiji from 1728 to 1737. Subsequently the convent had no abbess but was administered until the Meiji period by an acting head nun at the Inryōken (Inoue 1980, pp.87-92).

As family institutions became increasingly rigid with time and official government support of male-oriented Neo-Confucianism during the Tokugawa era (1615-1867), the number of women seeking divorce at the Tōkeiji correspondingly increased.³³ Tōkeiji and Senhime's Mantokuji became widely known as "divorce temples." By some estimates more than 2000³⁴ divorces were arranged through

33. On the decline in women's legal and social status from the Kamakura period to Meiji see Ackroyd 1959.

34. Exact figures are not available. However, we do have a breakdown of the number of women in residence during the year Keiō 2 (1866), which gives a sense of the scope of the convent's operations. Records indicate that at this time there were four nuns and one woman resident, an applicant for orders who was not accepted. Decisions were made on 38 applicants for divorce: 1 was not accepted (possibly due to prior criminal involvement), 4 requests were withdrawn with the women's consent, 1 was withdrawn without the woman's consent, 3 were reconciled to their husbands, 25 received divorces from their*

the Tōkeiji during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa period. Records for only 380 cases survive, represented by over 800 documents, none of which was executed before 1738.³⁵ When we consider the entire population of Japan over a period of a hundred and fifty years, 2000 cases of divorce must represent a miniscule fraction of unhappily married women. And the geographical locations of Tōkeiji and Mantokuji limited their influence to a few adjacent areas in the Kantō region. For the most part they served as symbols of a persistent social problem rather than providing any viable alternative for the majority of abused wives. Tōkeiji, the "Divorce Temple," entered the popular literary world of ideas, the 5-syllable "Matsu-ga-oka" being conveniently available for the first or last lines of a 17-syllable *senryū*.³⁶

In the tenth month of 1745 Ōmura Yosōsaemon, an official employed by the Tōkeiji, submitted to the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines a summary of the convent's history and operations known as "Temple Notes" (*Jirei-sho*).³⁷ It is the oldest extant document on Tōkeiji's temple code concerning divorce, which appears to have been fully in effect for at least half a century. This is deduced from the fact that the Nagai Naotaka mentioned in the text was

*husbands, and the disposition of 4 cases is not known. Of four pending cases which were decided in subsequent years, 1 was not accepted, 2 were admitted for temple service, and one returned home. This brings the total number of residents for the year to 47 (Inoue 1980, pp.198-202).

35. Earlier this century Tōkeiji had in its possession a number of documents dating from as early as 1733, a ten-volume diary of events from 1690, and other miscellanea; but they were lost in the Great Earthquake of 1923 (Kamakura Shishi H.I. 1959, pp.351-352).
36. Hozumi 1924, pp.151-173, appends a representative selection of 134 examples of this popular verse form in which Matsu-ga-oka figures.
37. The *kanbun* text of this document is reproduced in Hozumi 1924, pp.38-40. It is believed to have been based on an extant draft prepared in the sixth month of the same year by another official, Murakami Kadayū. Both the *Jirei-sho* and its draft are summarized in Inoue 1980, pp.120-126.

Magistrate of Temples and Shrines from 1694 to 1709 (Kamakura shishi H.I. 1959, p.351). The gist of the statement is as follows:

(A) The Tōkeiji has upheld its traditions ever since the days of its founder, Kakusan. But it does not grant asylum without proper justification.

(1) At her hearing the wife is encouraged to consider reconciliation with her husband. But if her decision to leave her husband is firm and irreversible, she will be allowed to remain at the temple, which will inform her husband of the situation.

(2) Anyone with opinions about the case should come to the temple office, accompanied by the village head, and make them known.

(3) A Certificate of Divorce (*enkiri shōmon*) will be prepared if the grievances are verified.

(4) If, however, those with contrary views prevail, the temple will encourage the couple to reconcile. The parents of both parties, relatives, and the village head will be consulted. A document will be issued stating that there are no reservations, and the fugitive will be returned home with her husband.

(5) A woman who has long been abused by her husband and who may be in danger of committing suicide will, out of compassion, be rescued through divorce according to the temple regulations.

(B) Originally a fugitive could obtain a divorce without a certificate (signed by her husband). As long as she completed the required service at the temple, the relationship was considered to be severed. But some women had trouble with their former husbands after leaving the convent, and cases were brought to trial. So Nagai Iga-no-kami (Nagaoka), the Magistrate of Shrines and Temples, promulgated an order that the Tōkeiji inform both the woman's parents and her husband that a Certificate of Divorce (signed by them) must be issued. It has been so since that time (summary and organization after

Inoue 1980, pp.122-123).

To implement these procedures the Tōkeiji bureaucracy employed a battery of forms (*Matsu-ga-oka monjo*):

1. "Summons" (*yobidashijō*). This was sent by the temple to the parents of a woman seeking divorce requesting that they come for a hearing.
2. "Notice of Official Visit" (*Shutsueki tassho*) sent to the village head requesting that the husband of a woman seeking divorce be made available for a hearing on a specified date. A temple official's presence was requested when negotiations between the husband and the wife's family were deadlocked.
3. "Second Summons" (*Yobidashi aihikyaku*, or *shōkan tokusokujō*) to the woman's parents if they did not respond to the first Summons. If they were unable to appear because of illness or other reason, a proxy might be sent.
4. "Acknowledgment of Summons and Request for Time Extension" (*Yobidashi seisho narabini hinobe negai*) to be returned to the temple signed by the woman's parents and the village head. It stated that a private settlement had been reached between them and the husband and requested an extension of time before their appearance at the temple.
5. "Application for a Period of Retreat" (*Azukari onna azukari gansho*) submitted by the parents of a woman who wished to be admitted to the Tōkeiji for a limited period of time to conduct religious exercises.
6. "Request for the Woman's Release after Private Divorce Settlement" (*Naisai rien hikitorijō*) submitted to the Tōkeiji after a divorce settlement has been arranged privately between the husband and the wife's parents. It promises that the temple will not be involved in the case again.
7. "Letter Acknowledging Release of a Woman under

- the Temple's Care" (*Azukari onna hikitorijō*) from the parents of a woman in retreat at the Tōkeiji for spiritual exercises (see item 5).
8. "Letter Requesting the Woman's Release from the Temple" (*Sage hikitorijō*) from the woman's family to the temple with her consent to leave.
 9. "Letter Requiring the Woman's Release from the Temple" (*Negai sage hikitorijō*) from her parents and husband without considering her wishes inasmuch as the outside parties had arrived at a settlement. The temple might then try to persuade the woman to leave, or simply release her if it felt that her case did not have sufficient merit. With either letter (8 or 9), a statement of gratitude is presented to the temple office for its part in the negotiations.
 10. "Request to a Local Inn that the Woman be Permitted to Remain there in Seclusion" (*Yado azukari onna—azukarinagai shōmon*) submitted by her parents in the event that the fugitive is not accepted by the temple. The parents agree to be responsible for any inconvenience this might cause to any party.
 11. "Letter Acknowledging the Woman's Return Home and Reconciliation" (*Kien hikitorijō*) sent by the woman's family to the Tōkeiji expressing gratitude for its efforts in restoring the relationship between husband and wife.
 12. "Notice that a Woman has Taken Refuge at the Temple" (*Kakaeoki gohōsho—jihōsho*) sent from the Tōkeiji to the woman's parents and husband. They are to notify the temple office if the woman has committed any crime against the bakufu regulations.
 13. "Request for Release after an Extension of the Required Time" (*Terairi nengengo taizai gezan negai*). After her *ashikake* three-year stay at the temple, the woman's parents might request that she be permitted to remain longer. Subsequently a request for her release so that she might remarry, or for some other reason, would be submitted.

14. "Notice that a Divorce has been Granted in accordance with the Temple Code" (*Jihō rien shōmon*) from the husband to the Tōkeiji stating that he has accepted all the conditions and that he will not interfere with the woman's remarriage.
15. "Certificate of Divorce" (*Rienjō*) from the husband to the wife stating that he will not interfere with her remarriage. This was usually composed in the traditional three and a half lines.
16. "Letter of Guarantee for a Woman Entering the Temple" (*Nyūji shōmon*) from her parents stating that the woman will abide by all the rules set by the temple and not be a burden to anyone.
17. "Letter of Release from the Temple after the Woman has Fulfilled the Requirements" (*Jihō hikitorijō*) sent by the woman's parents to the Tōkeiji stating that she had received a divorce from her husband after fulfilling the temple requirements. Includes expressions of gratitude for the temple's help.

The bureaucratic reality of official forms and carefully-defined social commitments is far removed from the popular romantic vision of the desperate wife being granted sanctuary merely by throwing one of her sandals over the convent wall. It should be noted that although the distraught woman initiated the proceedings, all negotiations were carried on between her parents and husband, with the Tōkeiji acting as intermediary. The Certificate of Divorce (item 15) was not issued by the temple but by the husband, on whom the Tōkeiji brought social and legal pressures.

On entering the convent a woman might submit a statement of grievances, as we see in the following case from Kaei 3 (1850):

"Eight years ago when I was fourteen, I was adopted by the landlord, Shichibei, of 2-chōme, Kanda, [Edo]. Four years later I became Kanjirō's wife, through the

help of Kanematsu, a tenant of Tauemon of Renjaku-chō; and we moved to the house owned by Tauemon.

"Kanjiro, my husband, would frequent houses of prostitution and seldom came home. Our household became so destitute that I appealed to my own father, Kinbei, of 4-chōme, Hongō, who kindly gave me some rice. I pawned my clothes. When my husband ordered me to ask my father for more money and I objected, he became furious and struck me on the head with a geta until I was badly hurt. I knew that he was short-tempered, so I endured these abuses.

"Then Kanjiro wanted me to become a prostitute, but I told him it was out of the question. He became very disagreeable, refused to earn a livelihood, and often would not come home for three days.

"Having become helpless, I left Kanjiro this year in the Fifth Month. With only the summer dress I had on, I went to my mother's native home to live with Uncle Sōemon at Neriki-mura in Kazusa Province. In the hope of leaving Kanjiro, I sent Kanematsu an envelop containing a lock of my hair and combs for my husband, together with a letter requesting that a divorce be arranged. But Kanjiro only caused trouble, and the mediator was unable to bring about the divorce.

"Finally I decided to seek refuge in your honorable temple. I have not violated my integrity as a woman. But there is little left to me except to throw myself into the sea or a river if my plea is not heard. I beg you to graciously arrange a divorce for me.

Kaei 3 (1850), the twenty-first day
of the Tenth Month
4-chōme, Hongō
Landlord Kimbei
Daughter Kane (Seal)"

Kane also notified the temple that her personal property consisted of seven items: two kimonos in a striped

pattern, two sashes, two hair ornaments, and a mirror. She stated that these were taken by Kanjirō to a pawn shop; and she testified that she took neither money nor any other goods from Kanjirō's household.

Tōkeiji then issued a summons to Kanjirō and to Kane's family. But Kanjirō had already filed a petition with the Town Magistrate, Toyama Saemon, to recover his wife, so he and Kane's father sent an acknowledgment to the Tōkeiji for the summons and indicated that they would come to the temple after they received instructions from the Town Magistrate. When Kanjirō subsequently instituted a counter-suit for divorce, the statement by Kane's father confirmed his daughter's list of grievances to the temple. Although the later documents have not survived, it is believed that Kane served her term of service at Tōkeiji and was granted the divorce (Inoue 1980, pp.294-298; Hozumi 1924, pp.82-93).

Although divorce was the focus of activity at the Tōkeiji during the Tokugawa period, a few women continued to take Holy Orders from serious spiritual commitment, and others found their way to the convent as a refuge from society. The case of Mume is intrinsically interesting, but it is also noteworthy for having involved a decision by the famous Confucian scholar and adviser to shoguns, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1727).³⁸

Late in the eighth month of 1711, Mume's elder brother, Shirobei, invited her husband, Ihei, to visit him at his farm in Komabayashi village near Edo. On the second of the following month, Shirobei told his sister that her husband had gone to his native village on business and would soon return. The following day he took her to the home of their father, Jingobei. About ten days later Mume heard that a drowned man had been found in a nearby river, and,

38. The following is summarized from the lengthy account in Ackroyd 1979, pp.197-204, to which the reader is referred for the tortuous arguments for and against the decision; cf. Inoue 1980, pp.131-132.

since her husband had still not returned, she went to examine the body, fearing for the worst. It was indeed Ihei. Under questioning, Mume's father and elder brother admitted to strangling him two weeks earlier and throwing his body in the river.

The problem which faced the Confucian advisers was Mume's conflict of loyalties: did the relationship of parent to child take precedence over that of husband to wife? Informing on a parent was a most serious offense, according to Confucian moral standards; but a wife also clearly had an obligation to her husband. Hayashi Nobuatsu (Hōkō, 1644-1732), the official bakufu Confucian, called for the death penalty for Mume on the traditional grounds that "any man can become a husband; only one man can be the father" (Ackroyd 1979, p.199).

Hakuseki, however, argued that the woman's duty to her husband took precedence, and, in any case, Mume had not been aware of her father's guilt when she reported to the authorities that the dead man was her husband. He recommended that she not be punished. But, out of concern that she would lose her chastity now that she was utterly without protection and that the laws of the country would be broken, he suggested that she be encouraged to become a nun to mourn her father and her husband. The government accepted Hakuseki's recommendation and Mume became a nun at the Tōkeiji.³⁹

The Meiji Period and Beyond. The new Meiji government was quick to implement the intentions of the Constitution of 17 June 1868. The old system of court and shogunate, with considerable local autonomy, was replaced by a centralized authority in Tokyo. Proclamation (*fukoku*) No. 162 by the Council of State (Dajōkan) dated 15 May 1873 gave

39. Odaka and Matsumura 1964, pp.342-343. The Tōkeiji records in the case were unfortunately destroyed by fire in the Great Earthquake of 1923 (cf., n.36).

women the right to sue for divorce (Inoue 1980, p.344). With this, "divorce temples" lost their reason for existing.

Two years earlier the Inryōken had sent a petition to the Kanagawa Prefectural Office requesting that the Tōkeiji be permitted to continue its services for unhappy women. After the Prefectural Office forwarded the petition to the Council of State, the Office of Civil Affairs (Minbushō) advised the Council that the request be denied since a uniform code of laws should be administered throughout the country.

Moreover, in 1872 the Office of Education (Kyōbushō) directed that all independent temples be affiliated with a major sectarian headquarters (*honzan*), and this notice was sent to the Tōkeiji, as well as to Kamakura's Jufukuji, Jōmyōji and Jōchiji, three temples of the old Five Mountain (*gosan*) temple system. The Jufukuji and Jōmyōji became affiliated with the Kenchōji, the Jōchiji and Tōkeiji with the Engakuji.

The nun Junsō (1825-1902) became abbess of the Tōkeiji in September 1872, the first to hold that position since Gyokuen left in 1737, and also the last. In 1877 the Main Hall was converted into the Yamanouchi School, providing a meeting place for the children of the neighborhood until a new school building was constructed in 1893. Five halls in the temple compound were reduced to three between 1870 and 1872. The temple office and the nearby inns closed; and the Inryōken fell into ruin. The nuns either left or died, and in time Tōkeiji was left with only one.

Abbess Junsō was succeeded by Furukawa Gyōdō (1872-1961), the first monk to administer Tōkeiji. A disciple of Sōen (1859-1919) of the Engakuji, he was in residence from 1902 to 1905, when he was replaced by his mentor.

Sōen was a man of considerable flair and accomplishment. In 1883 he came to live at Engakuji's Butsunichian, where Kakusan and Tokimune are buried. He attended Keiō Gijyū Daigaku and came to know the great Meiji liberal, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901). After graduating from Keiō in 1887, Sōen went to Ceylon to study Pali. In 1892, two

years after his return to Japan he became head monk of the Engakuji. He was only thirty-three.

During the summer of 1894 the great Meiji novelist, Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), came to practice Zen meditation at the Engakuji under Sōen. What he saw and heard at this time provide the background for his novel, "The Gate" (*Mon*, 1910; English translation, Francis Mathy, 1972). Within the precincts of the Engakuji is a stone tablet on which is inscribed this haiku by Sōseki:

Busshō wa
Shiroki kikyōni
Koso arame

The white bellflower
Certainly appears to have
The Buddha-nature!

Sōen was head priest of the Tōkeiji from 1905 until his death in 1919, when he was given the title of Restoring Founder of the Temple (*chūkō kaizan*). Matsu-ga-oka Bunko, the library of his distinguished disciple, Suzuki Daisetz (1870-1966) is located at the top of a stone stairway behind the temple.

Sōen was followed by his disciple Satō Zenchū (1883-1935), the abbot in residence during the Great Earthquake of 1923. After his death the Tōkeiji was administered for six years by Asahina Sōgen (1891-1979), abbot of the Jōchiji, and after 1941, head of the Engakuji. Zenchū's disciple, Inoue Zenjō (1911-), who pursued his studies and Zen training during this time, became resident abbot of the Tōkeiji in 1941.

Buried along "pleasant walkes amongst pyne and spruce trees" in the hills behind Tōkeiji today are not a few who have left their mark on modern letters: the philosophers Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945) and Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960); the *nō* scholar Nogami Toyochirō (1883-1950); the pioneer of Zen studies in the West, Suzuki Daisetz; Iwanami Shigeo (1881-1946), founder of the noted publishing house; Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945), the novelist; and R.H. Blyth (1898-1964), the English translator and writer of Zen, haiku and *senryū*.

Kamakura's Tōkeiji Convent

Here too is the grave of the poet, Ōta Mizuho (1876-1955), who recalled the old convent of Princess Yōdō's purple-clad nuns:

Kado ireba
Mazu me ni tomaru
Harukusa no
Sumire aware nari
Matsu-ga-oka dera

The gate entered,
Our eyes first light upon
Purple violets,
So fine in the spring grass
of Pine-Grove Convent

Glossary

Arai Hakuseki 新井白石
ashikake 足かけ
Bukkō Zenji goroku 仏光禪師語録
Butsunichian 仏日庵
Chōon'in 潮音院
chūkō kaizan 中興開山
Dōshinji 道心寺
Eizan 永山
Engakuji 円覚寺
Enkiridera 縁切寺
enkiri shōmon 縁切証文
Furukawa Gyōdō 古川養道
Go-Daigo Tennō 後醍醐天皇
gosan 五山
Gyokuen 玉淵
Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤
honji 本寺
Horiuchi-dono 堀内殿
Inryōken 隆涼軒
Jireisho 寺例書
Jisha bugyō 寺社奉行
Junsō 順莊
kaiki 開基
kaisan 開山
Kakekomidera 駈込寺
Kakusan Shidō 覚山志道
Kamakura sangaji 鎌倉三ヶ寺
Karaito sōshi 唐糸草子
Katō Yoshiaki 加藤嘉明
Kegonkyō 華嚴經
Keizan 叡山
Kenchōji 建長寺

Kitsunegawa 狐川
Kitsuregawa 喜連川
Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (Rankei Dōryū)
蘭溪道隆
Mantokuji 万徳寺
Matsu-ga-oka 松ヶ岡
Matsushita Zenni 松下禅尼
monjo 文書
Murakami Kadayū 村上嘉太夫
Myōe 明恵
Nagai Naotaka 永井直敬
Nakagawa Kiun 中川喜雲
Nōnin 能仁
Ōmura Yosōsaemon 大村与惣左衛門
Ōta Mizuho 太田水穂
Rissō ankokuron 立正安国論
Satō Zenchū 佐藤禅忠
sanzu 三途
Senhime 千姫
shimotsuki sōdō 霜月騒動
Sōen 宗演
sōroku 僧録
Taira Yoritsuna 平頼綱
Tatsu no kuchi 龍の口
Tenshū 天秀
Toga-no-o Myōe Shōnin denki
桐尾明恵上人伝記
Tōkei (sōji) zenji 東慶総持禅寺
Wu-hsueh Tsu-yuan (Mugaku Sogen)
無学祖元
Yōdō 用堂

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