



The Later Three Years' War.

(From *Go sannen gassen ekotoba*, Tokyo National Museum)

control, but three years passed without their being able to do so. The devastation to the area was said to exceed that which occurred during Masakado's revolt. Finally the imperial court transferred the command to Minamoto no Yoritomo. Thereupon Tadatsune offered no further resistance and surrendered himself at Yoritomo's headquarters bringing his revolt to a speedy conclusion.

Although Taira no Naokata had failed suppress this rebellion, he had built a fortress in Kamakura while residing in the eastern provinces and left descendants there. They would eventually form the Hōjō clan, who in the next century would help to establish the Kamakura shogunate. Impressed by the military prowess of Yoritomo's son Yoriyoshi, he welcomed him into the family as a son-in-law and handed over his Kamakura fortress to him. Three sons were born of the union between Yoriyoshi and Naokata's daughter:

Hachiman Tarō Yoshiie, Yoshitsuna, and Yoshimitsu. With them the age of the Minamoto clan was to dawn.

Yoriyoshi had first accompanied his father to the east at the time of Tadatsune's rebellion. When he returned there in 1037 (Chōryaku 1) as governor of Sagami, it is said, the entire populace pledged their allegiance to him, tax resisters paid up like obedient servants, and most of the men in the lands east of Osaka (in Ōmi, now Shiga Prefecture, the westernmost border of the eastern provinces) who could shoot an arrow or ride a horse became Yoriyoshi's personal retainers. When the Earlier Nine Years' War (*Zen Kunen no Eki*) broke out in Mutsu (Aomori Prefecture) in 1501, Yoriyoshi, who had become governor there, assembled an army from the soldiers of the province and his vassal warriors from the eastern provinces, who fought together throughout the war. For twelve years hard-fought battles were waged repeatedly, but the solidarity of the leaders of the revolt, the powerful Abe clan, was unwavering. In November of 1056 (Tengi 4) Yoriyoshi suffered a great defeat at the battle of Kiumi (Fujisawa Town, Higashi Iwai district, Iwate Prefecture), and for a time he was presumed dead. At this juncture Saeki no Tsunenori, who had himself narrowly escaped being surrounded by the enemy, returned to the fray declaring, "For thirty years I have followed my general and I intend to accompany and serve him even in the underworld." Saeki's men responded, "If our lord intends to die for the general it will not do for us to survive without him." They followed their master, fought bravely with him, and died in battle. Saeki no Tsunenori is said to be the ancestor of the Hatano family, who later became powerful vassals of the shogun in the Hatano area of Sagami. As this story indicates, by the eleventh century strong feudal relationships had already begun to develop. Other followers of Yoriyoshi who fought valiantly in the same battle were Fujiwara no Kagemichi and his son Kagesue, who are thought to be the ancestors of the Kamakura band of Sagami province.

Warriors from Sagami again formed the core of the army led by Yoriyoshi's son Yoshiie when, some twenty years after the Earlier Nine Years' War, the Later Three Years' War (*Go Sannen no Eki*) broke out. Yoshiie had intervened in an internal dispute within the Kiyowara family, who had come to the aid of Yoriyoshi in the bitter fighting of the earlier war and had become rulers of Ōshū after

leading him to victory. Famous among the Sagami warriors of the Later Three Years' War was Kamakura Gongorō Kagemasa. He was sixteen when he became a warrior; yet, when shot in the right eye by an enemy arrow which pierced through to the nape of his neck, he did not waver but shot and killed his opponent with an arrow and then returned to camp where he collapsed. The renowned warrior Miura Tametsugu approached Kagemasa, stepped on his face with his leather-soled boots and tried to pull the arrow out. Thereupon Kagemasa suddenly tried to stab at Tametsugu from below and kill him. To the astonished Tametsugu he said, "To be shot with an arrow and die in battle is a desirable end for a warrior, but it is unforgivable for anyone to put his foot on my head while I am still alive. You are my enemy." The samurai spirit is said to be a combination of fierceness and a sense of honor. Its origins can be seen in the warriors of Sagami. Not without cause, Kagemasa was later deified at the Goryō Shrine in the city of Kamakura.

With warriors such as these serving under him, it is no wonder that the nobles of Kyoto called Yoshiie "the premier warrior in all the realm."

### **Manorial estates and the warrior class**

The hero of the Later Three Years' War, Kamakura Gongorō Kagemasa, assembled a band of vagabonds at the beginning of the twelfth century to develop the highland area near what is now Ōba, Fujisawa City. With the permission of the provincial governor he donated this land to the Great Shrine of Ise as a *mikuriya*. *Mikuriya* were large estates which provided foodstuffs such as vegetables, fish and shellfish as an annual tribute to be offered to the emperor, the gods of the imperial household, and various shrines. The followers of Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie, or at any rate their descendants in the Kamakura period, were all developers or proprietors of lands from which they took their surnames.

The Ōba *mikuriya* had formerly been land in the village of Ōba which belonged to the province, but by the time Kagemasa donated it to the shrine's control the area consisted of twelve villages. By 1144 (Ten'yō 1) the area extended approximately nine kilometers to the east and west and about seven kilometers north to south, having as its borders the Matano River, which separated it from the mano-

rial estate at Tamanawa on the east; the sea to the south; Ichino-miya, the village belonging to the Samukawa Shrine in the west; and Ōmakizaki in the north. It was in 1144 that retainers of Minamoto no Yoshitomo, using the fortress at Kamakura as their stronghold, claimed that Kugenuma village in the Ōba *mikuriya* estate was part of the Kamakura district, invaded it with the aid of provincial authorities and tried to make the estate provincial property. Provincial representatives were then urging the province's interests against the villages of Tonobara and Kagawa (Chigasaki City) in the western portion of the *mikuriya* as well.

When, near the close of the Heian period, the domination of the Fujiwara Regents had ended, it was replaced by the so-called cloistered government (*insei*) of ex-emperors who still in fact continued to rule. Under the auspices of these cloistered governments a movement to return land to provincial control was carried on. The disputes over the Ōba estate probably were a part of this general trend. But the movement against the Ōba estate, even when backed by the military might of the Minamoto clan, ultimately ended in failure. So great was the might of the Ise Shrine that it could oppose even the warrior class.

The Ōba *mikuriya* was located in the south, but the Inage estate was established in the north of the province. This manorial estate (*shōen*), comprising the area spanning Takatsu and Nakahara Wards in Kawasaki City, was developed by Inage Saburō Shigenari, who was the proprietor of Ozawa village, the area now occupied by Hosoyama, Kanahodo and Suge in the northern part of Tama Ward, Kawasaki City. Inage Shigenari was also a powerful Kamakura warrior. It is uncertain when he developed the area, but it is thought to have been later than the Ōba *mikuriya*. The area was divided into the original Inage estate and the new estate. The original estate included the villages of Inage, Odanaka, and Ida. Since these names do not appear in the tenth-century *Collection of Japanese Names* (*Wamyōruijushō*), they were probably villages which were created at the time the area was developed, as many villages were in the medieval period. Lands under rice cultivation comprised 263 *chō* (261 hectares), uncultivated lands 262 *chō* (260 hectares), for a total of more than five hundred *chō*. An additional fifty-five *chō* (54 hectares) of recently opened land was also recorded and the annual

tribute per *chō* was two rolls of silk eighty feet long. Payment in silk cloth was specified since the estate was in an area where mulberry was grown, silkworms raised, and silk produced. Although originally the land along the Tama River had been an area that produced bleached linen, an annual tribute in silk probably means that they were forced to make silk instead. Proprietorship of this estate eventually passed to the Kujō family.

The enormous Kasuya estate in the western part of the prefecture encompassed Kamikasuya, Shimokasuya, Takamori, Koinaba (all in Isehara City) and Konabeshima (in Hiratsuka City). In 1154 (Kyūju 1) it became a manorial estate (*shōen*) and in 1159 (Heiji 1) it came under the control of Anrakujuin, a cloister founded by the ex-emperor Toba within the Toba Imperial Villa. The Kamakura warriors of the Kasuya clan, judging from their name, were probably involved in the development of this estate. According to their genealogy the clan was descended from Fujiwara no Motokata, but it seems highly probable that their ancestor was in fact Saeki no Motokata, a follower of Yoriyoshi during the Later Three Years' War, who probably served as a provincial officer during the Heian period.

In addition, many other manorial estates (*shōen*) had been established within the prefecture by the end of the Heian period, and each became the domicile of origin for the warriors who would take their family names from them. These samurai, it may be supposed, were the developers or proprietors of these estates.

The following are estates within the province of Sagami itself: the Ōi estate in the Ashigarakami district (now Ōimachi, Odawara City; property of Enshōji Temple, Kyoto; samurai developer unknown), the Ōdomo estate (Higashi and Nishi Ōdomo, Odawara City; property of the Hachimangū Shrine, Kamakura; samurai developer, the Ōdomo family), the Narita estate (Narita, Odawara City; property of the Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yorinaga, after the revolt of the Hōgen era, property of the cloistered emperor Goshirakawa, who donated it to the Shin Hiei Shrine, Kyoto. In the middle of the Kamakura period control was transferred to the empress Daigūin Saionji Kitsuko, wife of the emperor Gosaga, and to the daughter of the emperor Kameyama, Shōkeimonin Yoshiko); the Soga estate (Minami Ashigara City; samurai developer, the Soga family); Hayakawa estate (Odawara City; property of Nagaie, son of

Fujiwara no Michinaga; but virtual control was in the hands of Ōe no Kinsuke; samurai developer, the Doi family); the Nakamura estate (Nakai Township; samurai developer, the Nakamura family); the Kawawa estate (Ninomiya Township; property of the daughter of the emperor Toba, Hachijōjoin Shōshi); the Hatano estate (Hadano City; property of the imperial household, later of the Konoe family; samurai developer, the Hatano family); the Sakitori and Shinomiya estates (Hiratsuka City; property of the imperial household); the Toyoda estate (Hiratsuka City; samurai developer, the Toyoda family); the Aikō estate (Atsugi City; property of Kumano Temple; samurai developer, the Aikō family); the Mōri estate (Atsugi City; samurai developer, the Mōri family); the Shibuya estate (Ayase and Fujisawa cities; samurai developer, the Shibuya family); the Yoshida estate (Yokohama; samurai developer the Shibuya family); the Yamanouchi estate (Kamakura; samurai developer, the Yamanouchi Sudō family); the Miura estate (Yokosuka City; samurai developer, the Miura family); the Misaki estate (Miura City; property of the daughter of the emperor Sanjō, Reizeiin, later of the Konoe family); the Mutsuura estate (Yokohama; samurai developer, the Kanazawa family); the Kase estate (property of the daughter of the emperor Goshirakawa, Senyōmonin Mieko); the Kawasaki estate (Kawasaki City; samurai developer, the Kawasaki family); the Tachibana *mikuriya* estate (Kawasaki City; property of the Ise Grand Shrine); the Hangaya *mikuriya* estate (Yokohama; property of the Inner Shrine at Ise; samurai developer, the Hangaya family); the Oyamada estate (Machida City; samurai developer, the Oyamada family). These are the main *shōen* established in Kanagawa Prefecture by the end of the Heian period and the names of the samurai families who took their surnames from them.

### Public domains and the warrior class

Until recently it was commonly believed that when the manorial estates (*shōen*) developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the system of government-owned lands collapsed, and the public domains (*kōryō*) managed by the provincial governors disappeared without a trace. Certainly in some provinces the governors themselves openly acknowledged such a state of affairs. But recent



Looking toward the old Miura estate from the ruins of Kinugasa Castle. Miura City.

scholarship has pointed out that, in fact, just the opposite occurred. The theory has even been advanced that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the formation of a political and economic system of public domains which paralleled that of the manorial estates and that both forms of land tenure should be given equal importance. The need for further research into the public domains of the middle ages from this perspective has come to be recognized. Unfortunately there are few documents from which these public domains can be clearly identified as such; public domains were not called *shōen* but given such names as *gō*, *hō*, *mura*, *myō*, and *yama*. To complicate the matter, in the middle ages these names were widely used in reference to places within a *shōen*. For this reason a great deal of uncertainty accompanies any attempt to try to distinguish between the systems of public domains and manorial estates. Mindful of these difficulties and proceeding with great caution, Ishi Susumu has determined from a study of prefectural historical documents that by the end of the fourteenth century there were as many as 120 public domains in the region around Kanagawa Prefecture.

The basic unit for an overwhelmingly large number of the public

domains was the village (*gō*). However, the names of only seven of these villages in Sagami and only three in Musashi correspond to those listed in the tenth century “Collection of Japanese Names” (*Wamyōruijushō*), which records as villages communities of fifty households. Instead, in a large majority of instances the names of villages in the public domains tend to correspond to village names from the early modern period, and four place names have been handed down from then to the present day. This means that compared to the villages established under the old *ritsuryō* system, those in the public domains of the middle ages were smaller in scope and laid the basis for communities which would continue through the early modern period into modern times. A number of villages were also created within the manorial estates of the middle ages. They had exactly the same characteristics as their counterparts within the public domains, a fact which suggests the homogenizing process that these two systems of land tenure had undergone.

In the villages of the public domains a village chieftain (*gōshi*) was installed to supervise the area and collect taxes. Since they were officials with direct links to the provincial government, second only in importance to the district chiefs (*gunshi*), powerful local residents were appointed to the post. The names of some of these chieftains have survived in historical documents: the Kondōta family of Furushō village, Aikō district (near Iiyama, Atsugi City); the Ōdomo family, who had hereditary rights to the office in Ōdomo village, Ashigarashimo district (Higashi and Nishi Ōdomo, Odawara City); Ebina Toshikage of Ebina village, Kōza district. At the beginning of the Kamakura period some samurai families are thought to have held the office in their respective localities: the Matsuda branch of the Hatano family who controlled Matsuda village (Matsuda Township); the Kawamura family of Kawamura village, Yamakita Township; and the Toi family, who held power in both Yugawara Township and Toi village, Manazuru Township. This pattern suggests that influential samurai land developers had established themselves even within the public domains. Belonging to this group of samurai developers were the Ōdomo, Matsuda, Kawamura, Toi, Okazaki, Furushō, Iida, Nagao, Ashina, Wada, Tairako, Onda and Ichigao families.



### The administration of Sagami and Musashi under Yoshitomo and his sons

One such public domain was the area which included the villages of Yui, Kobayashi, Ōkura and Fukazawa in the Kamakura district, an area which now comprises the greater part of the city of Kamakura. This area was the base of operations for Minamoto no Yoshitomo, who had taken up residence in the fortress there when, with the backing of court officials, he attempted to abolish the Ōba *mikuriya* estate. Yoshitomo had his eldest son Yoshihira by a daughter of one of these court officials, Miura-no-suke Yoshiakira, and a second son, Tomonaga, by the sister of Hatano Yoshimichi, the proprietor of the Hatano estate. Tomonaga's residence was located in Matsuda village within the Hatano family's territory. Something of its size can be deduced from the fact that frontage of the samurai barracks and headquarters (*samurai-dokoro*) was twenty-five *ken* (45.5 meters), far larger than the structure built when another of Yoshitomo's sons, Yoritomo, set up his shogunate in Kamakura, with a frontage of only eighteen *ken* (27.3 meters). From this it is possible to surmise the troop strength of the Hatano family and the size of the contingent of Yoshitomo's forces which had been integrated into the Hatano family's troops. The army of Miura-no-suke Yoshiakira was even larger.

In time Yoshitomo returned to Kyoto, and on the retirement of his father Tameyoshi, succeeded him as head of the Minamoto clan. After Yoshitomo left Kamakura, his eldest son Yoshihira inherited the administration of Musashi and Sagami. He was a violent man who while very young had been nicknamed "*Kamakura no Aku-Genta*," "the bad boy of Kamakura." At the tender age of fifteen he made a sudden leap into prominence as a warrior when he attacked and killed his uncle Tatewaki Senjō Yoshikata at the Ōkura mansion in Musashi (Saitama Prefecture). At one stroke he had eliminated Yoshikata, who from his stronghold in Tako district, Kōzuke province, had formed an alliance with the powerful warrior of Musashi, Chichibu Shigetaka, and had set his sights on the lands in Sagami and Musashi that formed Yoshitomo's power base. Yoshikata's posthumous child Yoshinaka took refuge in the Kiso valley of Shinano, one day to confront Minamoto no Yoritomo.

### Warriors of Sagami and Musashi at war in the capital

In 1156 (Hōgen 1) the Hōgen Insurrection broke out in Kyoto, when the power struggle between Emperor Goshirakawa and his chief minister Fujiwara no Tadamichi on the one hand and ex-Emperor Sōtoku and the Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yorinaga on the other developed into armed conflict. Both the emperor Goshirakawa's party and the party of Sōtoku called on the support of warriors from the Minamoto (Genji) and Taira (Heike) clans in the conflict. Yoshitomo led a large band of warriors from the eastern provinces in support of Emperor Goshirakawa. The warriors from Sagami who joined Yoshitomo's contingent included Ōba Heita Kageyoshi and Ōba Saburō Kagechika; Yamanouchi Gyōbu-no-jō Toshimichi and his son Takiguchi Toshitsuna, Ebina Genpachi Toshisada, Hatano Kojirō Yoshimichi and, from the three districts of Musashi within the present prefectural borders, the name of the Morooka family can be added to the list. Yoshitomo's other followers in that attack included, from Musashi, the Toshima, Chūjō, Narita, Hazuta, Kawachi, Beppu, Nara, Tamanoi, Tanji, Saitō, Hanzawa, Kodama, Chichibu, Aihara, Inomata, Kaneko, Kakuno, Tebaka, Murayamatō Kaneko, Yamaguchi, Hirayama, and Kawagoe families. Although the Ōba family of Musashi had fought against Yoshitomo in the Ōba *mikuriya* estate affair, the fact that their name is included here bespeaks the success of Yoshitomo and Yoshihira's efforts after the defeat of Yoshikata to reconstruct their warrior band in Musashi and Sagami.

In contrast, the followers of Yoshitomo's father Tameyoshi, who took the opposing side in the conflict and who had failed in his attempt to organize a band of warriors in the eastern provinces under Yoshikata, were mainly made up of his sons living in Kyoto: Yorikata, Yorinaka, and Tamemune, whose mother was a concubine of Minamoto no Motozane; Tamenari, whose mother was the daughter of the guardian of the Kamo Shrine, Narimune; Chinzei Hachirō Tametomo, whose mother was a courtesan at Eguchi (Higashi-Yodogawa Ward, Osaka). Tameyoshi's own mother was concubine of Fujiwara no Aritsuna, undersecretary for the empress. Thus, his ties with the eastern provinces were slight.

Yoshitomo made a great contribution to the victory in the Hōgen



Sculpture portrait of Miura Yoshiakira.  
(Manshōji Temple, Yokosuka City)

Insurrection, but in spite of his service his pleas that Tameyoshi's life be spared went unheeded. He was compelled to put to death his father and a number of his brothers who had surrendered to him, and to make matters worse, his rewards were far less than those bestowed on the family of Taira no Kiyomori, who had also sided with Emperor Goshirakawa. Nursing these grievances Yoshitomo joined forces with Fujiwara no Nobuyori and fought against Kiyomori in the Heiji Insurrection (1159), but was overwhelmingly defeated. Warriors from Sagami and Musashi fought with Yoshitomo in this revolt as well. Conspicuous among them were Yamanouchi Toshitsuna, who died in the attack at Rokujō-Kawara in Kyoto, and his father Toshimichi, who died fighting in the rear guard of Yoshitomo's retreating army.

After both the Hōgen and Heiji rebellions the victorious parties were merciless in tracking down the defeated. The entire family of Minamoto no Tameyoshi was wiped out for their part in the Hōgen Insurrection, and after the Heiji Insurrection all of Yoshitomo's family, including little children, were beheaded. The only children to escape were Minamoto no Yoritomo at the request of Ike no

Zenni, Taira no Tadamori's widow, and Yoshitsune and his two brothers, whose lives were spared in return for their mother Tokiwa-  
gozen becoming Kiyomori's mistress. Yoritomo was exiled to Izu  
into the custody of the trusted Heike retainer Yamaki Kanetaka.  
Yoshitsune hid in a mountain temple and became a monk.

If the Taira clan was merciless in its pursuit of the main branch of  
the Minamoto family, they were magnanimous to the warrior bands  
of the eastern provinces which had massed together under Mina-  
moto leadership. At home these men were heads of landed estates or  
of villages, or held public office. As members of a defeated army  
they were not allowed to bear arms, but they did not lose their  
previous occupations. Furthermore, since the feudal system was  
still imperfectly developed, the relation between warriors and their  
overlord was not as absolute as it would become in the middle ages.  
Of the several hundred warriors in the eastern provinces, only  
a handful died for their Minamoto masters. The majority deserted  
the battlefield as the shadows of defeat grew darker and returned  
to their lands or remained in Kyoto to serve as bodyguards at the  
imperial palace, under the protection of the Taira family, who com-  
manded the guard.

The Taira made concerted efforts to reorganize the former army  
of the Minamoto under their own control. For example, Ōba Kage-  
chika, who had fought valiantly for the Minamoto in both the Hōgen  
and Heiji revolts, was made commander of the Taira troops, and  
members of the family of Yamanouchi Sudō, who had died for Yoshi-  
tomo during the Heiji Insurrection, and of the Hatano family, who  
had built the enormous residence for Yoshitomo's son Tomonaga,  
were enlisted under the Taira banner. A survey of Taira retainers  
taken at the height of the clan's fortunes lists fifty-nine warrior  
families from Ise, followed by forty-six from Musashi and thirty-  
eight from Sagami. These included: Matano Kagehisa (Matano vil-  
lage in the Ōba *mikuriya* estate), Nagao Tamekage (Nagao village,  
Kamakura district), Kajiwara Iekage (Kajiwara village, Kamakura  
district), Yagishita Masatsune (Yagishita village, Ashigarashimo  
district), Kagawa Gorō (Kagawa, Kōza district), Shibuya Shigekuni  
(Shibuya estate), Kokubu Tarō (Kokubunji estate), Homma Gorō  
(Homma, Aikō district), Soga Sukenobu (Soga estate), Kasuya Mori-  
hisa (Kasuya estate), Kawamura Yoshihide (Kawamura village),

Iida Gorō (Iida, Kōza district), Mōri Kageyuki (Mōri estate), Tsuchiya Yoshikiyo (Tsuchiya estate), Doi Sanehira (Doi village), Miura Yoshizumi (Miura district). They came from both manorial estates and public domains alike and the majority of them would follow Ōba Kagechika, the general of the collected forces of the Taira, and make life difficult for Minamoto no Yoritomo as he commenced raising an army of his own.

# THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

## I. Kamakura: Warrior Capital of Japan

### 1. The Birth of the Lord of Kamakura

#### **Yoritomo enters Kamakura**

Twenty years passed after the Heiji Insurrection. Minamoto Yoritomo, who was fifteen when he was exiled to Hirugakojima on the Izu Peninsula (Shizuoka Prefecture), was now thirty-five years old and in the prime of life. In 1180 (Jishō 4), he received an edict issued by Prince Mochihito (second son of the emperor Goshirakawa) at the advice of Minamoto Yorimasa in Kyoto, commanding him to raise an army and overthrow the Taira family. After receiving this edict, on the night of August 17, 1180, Yoritomo rose in revolt. He was joined by Hōjō Tokimasa, a local government official in Izu and the father of his wife Masako, and by warriors from Izu and western Sagami with whom he had previously established contact. They made a surprise attack on the deputy-governor of Izu, Yamaki Kanetaka, killing him and seizing control of the provincial capital. Then, displaying at the head of his army Prince Mochihito's edict entrusting him with authority over the eastern provinces, Yoritomo advanced toward the Kantō region. But at Ishibashiyama, in the southern part of what is now Odawara City, he was met by more than three thousand mounted warriors led by Ōba Kagechika and soundly defeated. Finally, with the help of Toi Sanehira, Yoritomo escaped by sea at Manazuru, fleeing to the province of Awa at the tip of the Bōsō Peninsula.

In Awa, Yoritomo joined forces with the Miura family, who had responded to Yoritomo's call for their support from their stronghold



Site of the Battle of Ishibashiyama. Odawara City.

in the Miura Peninsula, but had arrived too late to join him in battle, and had been driven into Awa by the forces of the Hatakeyama clan. Regrouping his forces, Yoritomo accepted the submission of Kazusa-no-suke Hirotsune, the vice-governor of Kazusa, and Chiba Tsunetane of Shimōsa, and entered Musashi. In that province he formed a huge army, incorporating into the troops under his control the powerful warrior bands of the Hatakeyama, Edo, and Kawagoe families. He then entered Sagami, where on the advice of Tsunetane he established his headquarters at Kamakura, his ancestral stronghold. Yoritomo entered Kamakura on October 7, 1180 (Jishō 4). Shortly thereafter he transferred the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine near Yuigahama, at which his ancestor Yoriyoshi had worshipped, to Tsurugaoka in Kamakura. He designated Ōkura, just east of the shrine, as the site for his own residence and put Ōba Kageyoshi in

charge of its construction. This was the beginning of Kamakura as the warrior capital of Japan.

Later that month, Yoritomo took to the field at Kashima in the province of Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture), engaging the Taira army which had advanced from Kyoto. The confrontation of the two armies in the Battle of Fujigawa led to a rout of the Taira forces. Yoritomo was prepared to give chase but stopped on the advice of Chiba Tsunetane and Miura Yoshizumi. On October 25, he entered Matsuda Castle in Sagami, then reversed course and went in pursuit of Satake Hideyoshi of Hitachi, put Hagino Toshishige to death, and returned to Kamakura on November 17. That very day, he appointed Wada Yoshimori administrator of the *samurai-dokoro* (the board of retainers), and on December 12 he moved into his newly completed residence at Ōkura.

The vassals in immediate attendance on him, 311 men under Wada Yoshimori, took up residence in their respective lodgings in Kamakura. Kamakura thus established itself as the capital city of the military class. Where previously no one but fishermen and peasants had lived, samurai houses lined the streets.

The Taira family still held the reins of power in Kyoto at this time. In November 1183 (Jūei 2), however, they were attacked there by Yoritomo's cousin Kiso Yoshinaka, who had risen in revolt in the Hokurikudō (the seven provinces along the northern part of the Japan Sea coast), and forced to flee eastward by sea. With control of the country divided among the Taira, Yoshinaka, and Yoritomo, Kamakura became the capital of the eastern provinces, including Ise, and the province of Sagami leapt onto the center stage of Japanese history. Yoritomo himself did not leave Kamakura, but sent his half-brothers Yoshitsune and Noriyori to Kyoto at the head of the army of the eastern provinces. In 1184 (Genryaku 1) they defeated Kiso Yoshinaka, and in March 1185 (Bunji 1) they destroyed the entire Taira clan in a land and sea battle at Dannoura in Nagato province (Yamaguchi Prefecture). With the defeat of the Ōshū Fujiwara family in 1189 (Bunji 5), Yoritomo unified the country under his control. These victories were entirely due to the efforts of warriors from the Kantō region centered on Sagami and Musashi. During this period Yoritomo received the title "Lord of Kamakura," and even when the imperial court in Kyoto changed the era name



to Yōwa in 1181, Yoritomo retained the old era name of Jishō. These were two clear signs of the independent government which he had established.

### **Establishment of the Kamakura *bakufu***

The first things that Yoritomo did after he shifted his base from Awa to Kamakura were (1) to create the *samurai-dokoro* to oversee military affairs and to consolidate his control over the warriors under him, (2) to appoint Wada Yoshimori to preside over this institution in the office of *bettō*, and (3) to employ courtiers from Kyoto who had remained in touch with him even during his exile as secretaries in charge of government affairs, thus completing the arrangements for his administrative system. With men of exceptional literary ability like Miyoshi Yasunobu, a nephew of his wet nurse; Nakahara Chikayoshi, who had previously been in charge of his education and was a friend of long standing; and Chikayoshi's brother, Ōe Hiromoto, acting as liaisons with the imperial court, Yoritomo made great headway in establishing his rule over the eastern provinces. In 1184 (Genryaku 1) he created the *kumonjo* (public documents office) and the *monchūjo* (board of inquiry) modeled on similar institutions in the imperial court, and put Ōe Hiromoto and Miyoshi Yasunobu in charge of each of them respectively. In 1185 (Bunji 1), after Yoritomo was promoted to the second court rank, junior grade, the public documents office was absorbed into the *mandokoro*, as his new and expanded administrative institution was called.

In 1192 (Kenkyū 3) Yoritomo was appointed supreme commander of the Japanese army (*Sei-tai-shōgun*), and the shogunate at Kamakura became the *de jure* as well as *de facto* capital of his warrior government.

In December 1185 (Bunji 1), in order to defeat Yoshitsune, who, estranged from his brother, had plotted to raise an army of his own, Yoritomo had forced the imperial court to issue edicts authorizing the pursuit and execution of Yoshitsune as well as the division of the provinces of Japan among Hōjō Tokimasa and other major Minamoto vassals. These edicts also permitted the levying of a commissariat tax of five *shō* (one *shō*=1.8 liter) of rice per *tan* (993 square meters) on all estates, both public and private. An imperial edict was



Portrait of Minamoto Yoritomo. (Jingoji Temple, Kyoto)

also promulgated appointing Yoritomo chief military commissioner (*sōshugo*) and chief lord of all the manors of Japan, and making important members of his retinue military governors (*shugo*) and land stewards (*jitō*) in the various provinces. This put Yoritomo in charge of all the land stewards in the country and placed in his hands the powers of maintaining law and order. Nor did his power stop there, for the imperial edict also put the Lord of Kamakura in charge of public lands and placed under him all officials responsible for these lands, all minor officials on public and private estates, and all local military commanders.

Through these measures Yoritomo's retainers were appointed as land stewards (*jitō*) in the territories formerly controlled by the Taira clan and by Yoshitsune. This series of imperial edicts and decrees amounted to official recognition of the military regime

created by Yoritomo. The military governors (*shugo*) and land stewards (*jitō*) appointed were warriors from Sagami, Musashi, Izu, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke, Kazusa and Shimōsa who had fought in the front lines for Yoritomo since he had first raised his army. Thus they held dominion not only over the lands from which they had taken their surnames but over the lands in which they served as *shugo* and *jitō* as well. Such appointments became the mechanism by which the warriors of Sagami and Musashi spread throughout the country during the middle ages, while Kamakura, where the shogun who ruled over all these warriors lived, became a political center rivaling the imperial capital of Kyoto.

### Development of the Kamakura highway system

When Kamakura became the capital of the shogunate, travel between Kamakura and Kyoto on both public and private business rapidly increased. The Tōkaidō road had previously connected Kyoto with the capital of Sagami (which at the time was located in present-day Ōiso), then passed inland until it reached the capital of Shimōsa (Ichikawa City). Now the old pre-Taika route which crossed the Uraga Channel and cut vertically through the Miura Peninsula was reactivated. The post stations built under the old *ritsu-ryō* system were reorganized, and a number of inns were established along the route between Kyoto and Kamakura.

In 1252 (Kenchō 5), when Prince Munetaka proceeded to Kamakura to assume the office of shogun, he listed thirty inns between Kyoto and Kamakura in his travel diary. There are, however, certain discrepancies between this list and accounts given by other travelers on this route from about the same period, the *Kaidōki*, for example, a travel diary written by Minamoto Mitsuyuki in 1223 (Jōō 2), the *Tōkan Kikō* written by Minamoto Chikayuki in 1242 (Ninji 3), and the *Izayoi Nikki* of 1277 (Kenji 3), a diary kept by the *waka* poetess Abutsu Ni. Abutsu died in Kamakura after journeying there to make a personal appeal to the shogunate for adjudication of a dispute over the property of the Reizei family, the foremost family of poets of the day. In order to accommodate these conflicting accounts, it must be assumed that there were two routes, one through the Ashigara Pass, the other through the Hakone mountains. The former was basically an extension of the Tōkaidō built during the Heian period,