



The Izusan Shrine. Atami City.

and proceeded from Takenoshita in Shizuoka Prefecture through the Ashigara Pass, entering Kamakura by way of post stations at Sekishita (Sakashita) and Sakawagawa. The latter crossed the Hakone mountains from the Mishima post station in Shizuoka Prefecture, passed through Yumoto, and entered Kamakura via post stations at Kawawa, Aizawa and other points.

While Minamoto Yoritomo was raising his army in Izu he was particularly devoted to three shrines, the Izu Mishima Shrine, the Hakone Shrine and the Izu Gongen Shrine. He made pilgrimages to these shrines at the beginning of every year. When such pilgrimages became customary, the route over the pass at Hakone gradually increased in importance, and by the Muromachi period (1334–1573) the Ashigara route had declined and the Hakone route was used instead. The Hakone route led through Ashikawa, Yumoto, Odawara, Kawawa, Gunsui, Shiomi, Hiratsuka, and Futokorojima to

Kamakura. This route became the main artery along which pulsed the course of Japanese history. Along it traveled emissaries of the Kamakura shogunate; along it men of letters, scholars, and performers from Kyoto summoned by the shogun made the journey to Kamakura and back; at other times retainers came from the western provinces to serve as guards in the city, or warriors from the eastern provinces traveled along it to Kyoto in order to serve there as military governors (*shugo*) and bodyguards to the imperial court; and parties to lawsuits traveled along it to Kamakura to appeal to the shogunal courts to settle their disputes—embracing different objectives and different hopes they all traveled up and down this road. During the middle ages, the Tōkaidō functioned as the main artery of political and cultural life.

Other important arteries feeding into the Tōkaidō were the highways known as the Kamakura *ōkan*. (In the Edo period these would be called the Kamakura *kaidō*.) These highways were built between Kamakura and each of the eastern provinces in order to facilitate the mobilization of the government's vassals whose domains were concentrated in those areas. Three roads—the Upper Road, the Central Road, and the Lower Road—formed the core of the system. The Upper Road ran north from Kamakura through central Musashi, then on through Kōzuke and Shimotsuke toward Shinano. The Central Road left Kamakura and headed in a northerly direction midway between the Upper Road and the shores of Tokyo Bay, on its way to Utsunomiya and Mutsu. The Lower Road proceeded north along Tokyo Bay, then branched off along the coast towards Kazusa and Shimōsa, while another branch went off in the direction of Hitachi. In addition to these three roads, there was the Mitsuura road which started from Kisarazu in Kazusa, crossed Tokyo Bay by ferry, came ashore at Mitsuura in Musashi, passed through Kanazawa, and entered Kamakura. There was also a road from the province of Kai to Kamakura over the Misaka and Kagosaka passes. These roads and others enabled retainers to hasten to Kamakura ready to fight at a moment's notice when an emergency occurred there. They also provided escape routes by which to flee the city when a samurai sensed his life to be in danger. Furthermore, they served as the roads for the Kantō army when it marched out in strength at the time of Yoritomo's conquest of Ōshū

in 1189 and again during the imperial court's abortive attempt to overthrow the shogunate in 1221, the so-called Jōkyū Disturbance.

Building the city of Kamakura

Other highways also converged on Kamakura. There were in all seven approaches (*nanakuchi*) to the city from these highways, at Gokurakuji, Daibutsu, Kewaizaka, Kobukurozaka, Mitsuura, Nagoezaka, and Kotsubo. No documentary evidence survives to tell us exactly when these seven approaches were opened, but each of them served as the starting point for one of the Kamakura highways. The Gokurakuji and Kewaizaka approaches led out to the Tōkaidō road; the Kobukurozaka to the Lower Road; the Mitsuura to the Mitsuura highway; the Nagoezaka and the Kotsubo approaches opened on to the road to Awa through the Miura Peninsula and



Kewaizaka, one of the seven approaches to the medieval city of Kamakura.

across the Uraga Channel. Since all of these cut through (*kiridōsu*) the hills that ringed the city, they were also called *kiridōshi*.

When on the advice of the Chiba family and others Yoritomo established his residence in his newly built quarters at Kamakura, 311 of his retainers took up residence there as well. Their residences, however, were not laid out with some grand scheme of city planning in mind. At the time, Kamakura was a military stronghold, and it would not be until the rule of the Hōjō regents following Yoritomo's death in 1199 that shogunal officials became aware of the need for the architectural planning of this new center of Japanese government. Yoritomo did, however, indicate the general shape he wished the city to take. A warrior punctilious in his devotion to the Shintō gods and the Buddhas, Yoritomo moved the Hachiman Shrine from Yuigahama to Tsurugaoka near his Ōkura residence as soon as he established himself there. He widened the approach in front of the shrine all the way to Yuigahama and built a raised ceremonial highway paved with *kazura* stone leading up to it, modeled on Suzaku Avenue which led to the imperial palace in Kyoto. Construction in the city began with the Shōchōjuin Temple built in 1185 (Bunji 1), and the Yōfukuji Temple built in 1189 (Bunji 5). Buddhist services were frequently held there for Yoritomo and his wife. Construction of the roads leading to these temples was allotted as a punishment to warriors who had been negligent in their duties. Consequently, the roads were not completed until the Hōjō regency.

With the passage of time, as more emphasis was placed on the administrative element of the *bakufu* government and as more residences for samurai were built there, artisans and merchants flocked to the city to supply their needs. Goods were unloaded at Yuigahama, and the harbor bustled with activity. The *Kaidōki*, a travel diary written in 1223 (Jōō 2), two years after the Jōkyū Disturbance, took note of the activity at Yuigahama: "Looking around, I can see several hundred ships at their moorings just like along the shores of Ōtsu, and over there are the eaves of a countless number of houses, no different from the the view from the bridges over the Ōyodo." (Ōyodo refers to the harbor at the mouth of the Yodo River in Yamashiro while Ōtsu was in Ōmi, and both served as ports for Kyoto.) In these words is an appreciation of the fact that Kamakura, with the bustle and stir of activity at Yuigahama, was a capital city



Wakaejima, Kamakura City.

that rivaled the imperial capital of Kyoto. On August 14, 1263 (Kōchō 3), dozens of ships in Yuigahama were destroyed in a violent storm, and sixty-one ships bound for Kamakura with tribute from Kyūshū were lost at sea off Izu during a storm two weeks later. In order to avoid just such disasters from wind and wave, the artificial island of Wakaejima was constructed in 1232 (Jōei 1) from subscriptions collected by the priest Ōamidabutsu.

In July 1215 (Kempo 3) the shogunal government made Yūki Munemitsu city magistrate and prescribed the number of merchants allowed to do business in Kamakura. This is a clear indication that urbanization had already advanced to the point that it had become necessary to regulate the number of merchants in the city. Construction of main thoroughfares such as the Komachi-ōji, Kotsubo-ōji, Yoko-ōji, Ima-ōji, Higashi-ōji and Nishi-ōji also proceeded apace. In

1240 (Ninji 1) magistrates charged with maintaining the peace were appointed to investigate and prosecute thieves, tramps, molesters of women, and other ruffians and to regulate street vendors and entertainers, outdoor *sumō* bouts, and pushy salesmen. The administrative divisions over which these magistrates had jurisdiction were patterned after similar divisions in Kyoto. Also patterned after Kyoto and instituted at the same time was the establishment of *kagariya*, a kind of night-time police force: watch fires were lit at strategic places throughout Kamakura, and the local residents took turns standing guard. Such measures tell us of the increase in urban crime.

At just about this time, after much drinking and revelry at an eatery off Wakamiya-ōji near Gebabashi, a quarrel broke out between warriors of the Miura and Koyama clans, which threatened to become an affair of serious consequences until order was finally restored by the direct intervention of the Hōjō regent Yasutoki. In 1252 (Kenchō 4) the *bakufu* government, in an ordinance issued for Kamakura and all the provinces, prohibited the sale and production of *sake* and had the *sake* jugs in Kamakura counted, the total coming to 37,284 in all. The magistrates of the peace permitted one jug per household, destroying the remainder, and decreed that the one remaining jug was to be used for anything but *sake*. Such legislation gives some idea of how overrun with drunkards the city of Kamakura had become.

It was also the duty of these magistrates to evict vagabonds loitering in the city. These eviction campaigns had to be frequently repeated, an indication of yet another side of Kamakura's urbanization process. In December 1251 (Kenchō 3), the area in which merchants could do business—until that time unrestricted—was prescribed by law and limited to Ōmachi, Komachi, Komemachi, Kamegayatsu-no-tsuji, Wakae, and the top of Kewaizaka. Issued at the same time were ordinances aimed at the prevention of congestion and littering in these areas, which forbade the tethering of cows on side streets and urged that the streets be kept clean. In 1265 (Bunei 2) Iyomachi, Musashiōjishita, and Sujikaebashi replaced Kamegayatsu-no-tsuji, Kewaizaka, and Wakae as tradesmen's areas, and high-pressure salesmen, street vendors, and door-to-door selling outside the prescribed areas were forbidden. In July 1253 (Kenchō

5) official prices were set on five items which had become particularly expensive: charcoal, firewood, miscanthus, hay and rice bran. These five items were essential staples for the samurai—cooking and heating fuel and fodder for his horses.

2. The Flourishing of Kamakura Culture

Culture imported from Kyoto

In the process of setting up the shogunal government, Minamoto Yoritomo summoned Ōe Hiromoto, Miyoshi Yasunobu and others from Kyoto to establish the public documents office (*kumonjo*) and the administrative board (*mandokoro*) which were to serve as the central institutions of the shogunate, and placed these men in charge of administrative affairs. In other words, much of the pattern of Yoritomo's military government drew on Kyoto for its inspiration. With his retainers he frequently held gatherings at which music was performed and poetry composed—proof that even his retainers were proficient in music and dance. Probably their knowledge of these arts was not acquired in their native eastern provinces, but learned in Kyoto while they were serving as guards at the imperial court during the Taira regime. In 1191 (Kenkyū 2) Yoritomo invited a number of Kyoto musicians including Ō no Yoshikata and Ō no Yoshitoki to Kamakura to impart their skills. So great was his enthusiasm that after they had returned to Kyoto he sent Ōe Hisaie and twelve others to Kyoto to study under Yoshikata.

Yoritomo's successor, the second shogun Yoriie, was so fond of *kemari* (a form of football played by the aristocracy in Kyoto) that he was criticized for neglecting government affairs and eventually placed under house arrest in Izu because of it. The third shogun Sanetomo also enjoyed the sport and had books on *kemari* sent to him from Kyoto. Sanetomo was also a devotee of *waka* poetry and received lessons in poetic composition from the best-known court poet of the day, Fujiwara Teika of Kyoto. Sanetomo left many outstanding poems which have come down to us in the anthology called the *Kinkai wakashū*. Furthermore, he selected performing artists and established a center of learning where *waka* poetry and the history and traditions of China were recited. Eighteen warriors, including



Minamoto Sanetomo's burial mound, Hadano City.

his uncle Hōjō Tokifusa and the future regent Hōjō Yasutoki, were among the artists selected. Kujō Yoritsune, who had been summoned from Kyoto in 1219 to serve as the fourth shogun after the Minamoto house died out with Sanetomo, chose as his attendants in the lesser board of retainers (*kozamurai-dokoro*) individuals skilled in calligraphy, archery and horsemanship, *kemari*, instrumental music and singing. Several poems composed by the Hōjō regents and vice-regents who came after Hōjō Yasutoki were selected for inclusion in the imperial *waka* anthologies. This too is evidence of the influence of Kyoto culture on Kamakura.

Yoritomo's faith in the Shintō gods and the Buddhas was very strong. But he was interested as well in the practice of astrology and the Chinese cosmological principles of Yin and Yang. As a result, many practitioners of Chinese cosmology took up residence in Kamakura.

Culture imported from Kyoto was also represented by the Kanazawa Library, established by Kanazawa Sanetoki, a member of a

branch family of the Hōjō clan, and by the flowering of scholarship which this library supported. The library was founded in 1275 (Kenji 1) on Kanazawa family land (now Kanazawa Ward, Yokohama), and for three generations Sanetoki, his son Akitoki, and his grandson Sadaaki took instruction in the Confucian classics of from the Kiyohara family of Kyoto, received copies of Japanese literary classics from the imperial court, and stored them all in the Kanazawa Library. This collection of Chinese and Japanese classic texts contains works on two hundred fifty different subjects, from politics and law to agriculture, military strategy and literature. Clearly, the Kanazawa family attempted to transfer the learning of Kyoto to Kamakura in a wide variety of fields.

Buddhist culture

The culture of Kamakura is referred to as the culture of the warrior class, but it was also a religious culture, centered on the Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. During Yoritomo's lifetime, three



Ippen Shōnin attempting to enter Kamakura.

(From *Ippen Shōnin eden*, in the collection of the Kankikōji Temple)

great temples, among them the Shōchōjuin, were built, and the construction of temples was continued by the shoguns and Hōjō regents who succeeded him. Zen Buddhism, which had recently been introduced from China, was practiced in Kamakura from the early years of the shogunate: Eisai, the founder of the Rinzai sect of Zen, was warmly received there in 1199 to dedicate the Jufukuji Temple, which had been built earlier by Yoritomo. Enni, another monk of the Rinzai sect and the founder of Tōfukuji Temple in Kyoto, made the journey to Kamakura several times, and even Dōgen, the founder of the Sōtō sect, came and preached there.

The Hōjō regents and the warriors under them welcomed these visiting Zen masters, and in time steps were taken to build a Zen temple and invite Zen priests directly from China to serve in it. The fifth regent Hōjō Tokiyori invited the Chinese Zen master Rankei Dōryū to Kamakura in 1249 and built the Kenchōji Temple. His son, the eighth regent Hōjō Tokimune, invited Mugaku Sogen from Song China and founded the Engakuji Temple in 1282. Gotta Funei, who was the second abbot of Kenchōji Temple, and Daikyū Shōnen, who served successively at Kenchōji, Jufukuji and Engakuji temples, were but two of the many Zen priests who came to Kamakura at the invitation of the Hōjō regents.

Many novices gathered at the temples of these important Zen masters. Engakuji Temple, for example, had a regular complement of one hundred monks, one hundred aides known as *anja*, and fifty others to do odd jobs; the religious community at Kenchōji Temple has been estimated to number two thousand people. The life of these monks, of course, followed the observances of the Zen sect, not the monastic rule of the older Tendai and Shingon sects. Utensils for daily life in the new Zen style were required in large quantities. Implements of this kind, in the Song Chinese style, were brought by ship to Yuigahama and Wakaejima, and a Zen-based culture began to evolve. Among Zen's contribution to the arts were, in the area of painting and sculpture, the realistic portraits (*chinzō*) of Zen masters which were traditionally given to their disciples; the development of a distinct literary aestheticism, despite, or perhaps because of, the belief that enlightenment cannot be attained through the study of texts; and the Chinese style (*karayō*) of architecture.

In contrast to the somewhat exotic flavor of Zen, new sects devel-



Portrait sculpture of the Zen priest Mugaku Sogen.
(Engakuji Temple, Kamakura)

oped within Japan from the older forms of Buddhism, and soon made their way to the eastern provinces. One manifestation of this were the itinerant religious men called *nembutsu* priests for the mantra they chanted in prayer. In 1200 (Shōji 2) the black robes worn by *nembutsu* priests were prohibited and all such robes burned. Disliking these black robes, the second shogun Yoriie had *nembutsu* priests arrested and forbade the chanting of the *nembutsu* mantra: *namu amida butsu*, "I take my refuge in the Buddha Amida." This happened seven years before the chanting of the *nembutsu* was banned in Kyoto and the founder of the Jōdo (Pure Land) sect, Hōnen, and his followers were exiled or beheaded. In spite of this, not all traces of Hōnen's followers had been obliterated among the warriors of the

eastern provinces. Dōhen of Ishikawa (Ishikawa, Fujisawa City), who had studied under Hōnen, returned from exile and continued to adhere to his teachings. Another believer in the efficacy of the *nembutsu* mantra was Mōri Saia, a member of the shogunal High Court who shared the fate of the Miura family when it was destroyed by the Hōjō regency in the Hōji Conflict of 1247.

In 1227 (Antei 1) Saia had given shelter at the Kōfukuji Temple in Iiyama within his Atsugi domain to Ryūkan, Hōnen's foremost disciple, who had been exiled to Mutsu during one of the many proscriptions of the *nembutsu* and was passing through Sagami on his way there. Saia was with him when he died. Ryūkan's disciple Chikyō was responsible for propagating the Pure Land sect throughout the eastern provinces.

In 1280 Ippen, founder of the Ji sect of Pure Land Buddhism, attempted to enter Kamakura at Kofukurozaka on his return from a pilgrimage to the grave of his grandfather Kōno Michinobu in Ōshū. He was denied entry to the city by Hōjō Tokimune, but at nearby Katase he conducted several days of *odori-nembutsu* services, which involved ecstatic dancing while chanting the *nembutsu* mantra, before leaving for western Japan. In 1302 (Kengen 1) a disciple of Ippen named Shinkyō founded Muryōkōji Temple at Taima (Sagamihara City) in Sagami, then handed over the position of "Wayfaring Saint," as the abbot there was called, to a disciple named Chitoku and went into retirement in a hermitage. Even after his retreat, however, Shinkyō continued to play an active role in disseminating his faith, founding close to one hundred seminaries in the Kantō region and winning converts among members of the Hōjō family and other prominent figures in the shogunal government. So successful was he that when asked by the nobles of Kyoto to come there he replied, "I am so busy with these rough warriors of the Kantō that they allow me no leisure to do so."

Shinkyō's successor Chitoku was in turn succeeded by Donkai, the younger brother of the land steward (*jitō*) of the Matano estate (which encompassed both Fujisawa City and Totsuka Ward, Yokohama). In 1325 (Shōchū 2), after Chitoku's death, Donkai passed on the abbacy to a disciple called Ankoku who lived at the Shibo post station in Musashi (Nishi Ward, Yokohama), and founded the Shōjōkōji Temple in Fujisawa, which became the temple to which the



Myōan Yōsai
(Jufukuji Temple, Kamakura)

“Wayfaring Saints” after Donkai retired. Because it was near Kamakura, warriors would gather here for *nembutsu* services, and at the time of the collapse of the Kamakura shogunate in 1333, both the attacking Nitta forces and the Hōjō defenders went to battle chanting the *nembutsu*. It was reported that all the priests of the seminary there walked out to the shore near Kamakura where the battle raged and exhorted the wounded to chant the *nembutsu* so that they might achieve rebirth in paradise. The faith in the power of the *nembutsu* of all who witnessed this grew even deeper.

One opponent to the popularity of the *nembutsu* was the priest Nichiren, who in 1253 (Kenchō 5) was driven out of Kiyosumidera Temple in Awa for preaching against the Jōdo sects and the practice of the *nembutsu*. He came to Kamakura, took up residence in a hermitage at Matsubagayatsu in Nagoe and began preaching in



Rankei Dōryū (Kenchoji Temple, Kamakura)

the streets. In 1260 (Bunō 1) he wrote the *Risshō ankokuron* (On the Establishment of Righteousness for the Security of the Realm) and presented it to the regent Tokimune, but to no avail. Instead, his hermitage was attacked that year by followers of the *nembutsu* faith, and Nichiren, who barely escaped with his life, took refuge with Toki Jōnin, a warrior from Shimōsa who had earlier become one of his followers. The next year he returned to Kamakura and during his subsequent stay he violently attacked not only Jōdo but the Zen, Shingon, and Ritsu sects as well. Since all these sects included members of the Hōjō regency and officials of the Kamakura *bakufu* among their adherents, in 1271 Nichiren was arrested, subjected to an inquisition into his religious beliefs at Tatsunokuchi (Fujisawa City), and only miraculously escaped execution. He was exiled to

Sado, but in 1274 (Bunei 11) he was pardoned, and returned to Kamakura where he expounded his beliefs to the Hōjō regents' powerful house steward, Taira Yoritsuna, but failed to convert him. Finally, on May 12, 1274, he left Kamakura once more and withdrew to the Minobu mountains in the province of Kai, the domain of his followers, the Nambu family.

From his retreat in Kai, Nichiren continued to propagate his beliefs through his writings, and after nine years had succeeded in spreading his creed to the provinces of Shimōsa, Musashi, Suruga, Sado and to Kamakura itself. However, he was increasingly plagued by illness, and in 1282 (Bunei 5), on the advice of his followers, he set out for a hot springs in Hitachi belonging to the Nambu family to take the waters, but died in the middle of his journey at the residence of Ikegami Munenaka in the village of Senzoku in Musashi province (Ōta Ward, Tokyo). Today the Ikegami Hommonji Temple is located on the site.

Thus, with the exception of Shinran, the founders of the new Buddhist sects during the Kamakura period and their disciples all traveled in Kanagawa Prefecture with the city of Kamakura as their destination. Nevertheless, the shogunate had religious services for the safety of the shogun and the state conducted by the older established sects of Tendai and Shingon. In particular, priests from the Sammon and Jimon (Enjōji Temple) branches of the Tendai sect were invited to Kamakura and appointed to serve as abbot (*gusō*) and attendant priests (*bettō*) at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine. At the Shōmyōji, the Kanazawa family's temple, a visit by Eison of the Saidaiji Temple in Nara provided the opportunity for initiating intensive study of the precepts of the Saidaiji school of the Ritsu sect under the patronage of the Kanazawa family. A vast collection of Buddhist writings, the results of these theological studies by Shinkai, Kenna, Tan'ei, and others, has been preserved as a part of the Kanazawa Library.

Eison's disciple Ninshō also greatly enhanced the prestige of the Ritsu sect while at Gokurakuji Temple. Cherishing the memory of Shōtoku Taishi, the early seventh century statesman and patron of Buddhist institutions, Ninshō founded a number of hospitals in the area which are said to have treated some 46,800 people. He also established the first hospital for horses in Japan at Sakanoshita,

extending his compassion even to animals. Even the normally acerbic Nichiren acknowledged his work, saying: "From the lord of the realm to the lowliest of the masses, all revere Ryōkan Shōnin (Ninshō) as a living Buddha."

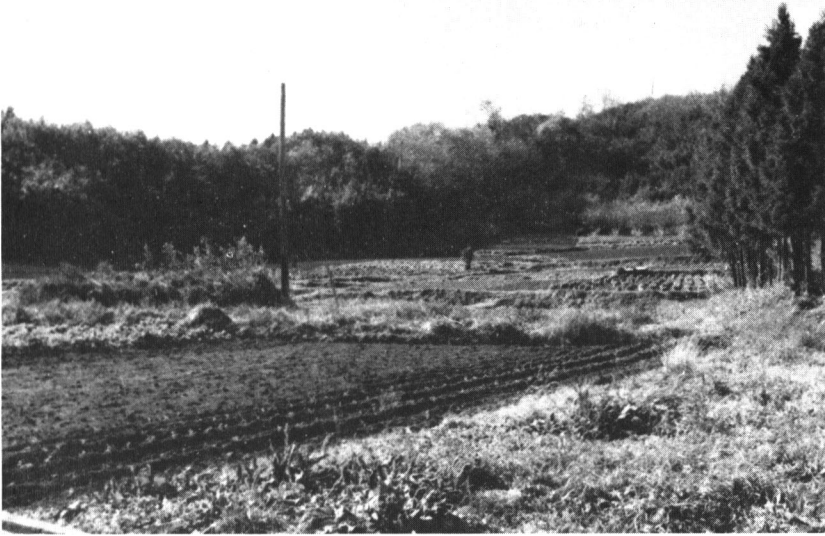
Kakuenji Temple, built by the ninth regent Hōjō Sadatoki, and Shōjōkongōji Temple at Iiyama, though home to a number of different sects and teachings, both became centers for the revival of the Ritsu sect, yet another proof that Kamakura was not dominated solely by the Zen sects and their adherents.

3. The Waning of Sagami's Warrior Class

The samurai of Sagami: a topography

At the end of the Heian period, a number of feudal houses appeared in the provinces of Sagami and Musashi, developing their own domainal holdings and participating in the founding of Yoritomo's shogunal government at Kamakura. From their genealogies these families can be divided into three main lines of descent. The first is the Miura family. Based on the Miura Peninsula but extending their sway west into central Sagami and eastward across the Uraga Channel into the province of Awa, they were pre-eminent among the samurai bands of Sagami.

The Miura family traced its ancestry back to the Takamochi branch of the Kammu Heishi, the Taira house which claimed descent from the emperor Kammu. However, it is thought that they were originally an old and powerful local family, with roots in the Miura Peninsula dating back to ancient times, which had established a relationship with the Kantō branch of the Taira family sometime in the eleventh or twelfth century and changed their name accordingly. The first historical personage who can authoritatively be claimed as an ancestor of the clan is Taira Tametsugu, who was a follower of Minamoto Yoshiie during the Later Three Years' War. Tametsugu's sons, Yoshitsugu and Yoshiakira, took the title of Miura *shōji*, and as local officials responsible for public lands, both were involved in Yoshitomo's abortive attempt to abolish the Ōba public estate (*mikuriya*). Yoshiakira later became assistant governor of Sagami, and thereafter his descendants were known as Miura-no-



Site of the Nakamura family mansion. Odawara City.

suke. Yoshiakira's younger brother, Yoshizane, established his headquarters at Okazaki in the Ōsumi district (Hiratsuka City), assuming the name Okazaki Shirō, and married a daughter of Nakamura Munehira of the Nakamura estate. This union was the beginning of two branch houses of the Miura family, who later adopted the surnames Tsuchiya and Sanada, both of which remain as place names in present-day Hiratsuka city. Yoshizane's nephew, Tametsuna, took the place name of Ashina in the Miura Peninsula as his surname. The Ishida family of Ishida in Aikō district (Isehara City) was a further branching off from Tametsuna's line.

When Yoritomo attempted to raise his first army in 1180, Yoshiakira responded without a moment's delay, and set out to join him from the Miura Peninsula, but he was prevented by a storm from arriving in time to fight at Ishibashiyama. As he was pulling back his troops, he was surrounded by the Hatakeyama family and killed in battle; but his son Yoshizumi and others escaped to Awa, where they

joined up with Yoritomo. Henceforth, as retainers who had rendered distinguished service to Yoritomo from the earliest days of his campaigns, the Miura family carried considerable weight in the councils of the shogunal government. The first administrator of the board of retainers (*samurai-dokoro*), Wada Yoshimori, was a grandson of Yoshiakira, who had taken his surname from his home village of Wada in the Miura Peninsula.

Counterbalancing the Miura family in the east was the Nakamura family, the overseers of the Nakamura estate (the area now comprising Nakai Township and the eastern part of Odawara City) which flourished in the western part of the Kanagawa region. The Nakamura family also claimed descent from the Kammu Heishi, but the first identifiable personage in their family tree was the overseer of the Nakamura estate, Taira Munehira, who acted in concert with Miura Yoshiakira in the Ōba public estate affair. Munehira's eldest son, Shigehira, succeeded him as overseer, and his second son, Sanehira, took the name Toi and headed a branch of the family in Toi hamlet (now Yugawaramachi). His third son, Munetō, formed the Tsuchiya branch of the family in Tsuchiya (Tsuchiya, Hiratsuka City); the fourth son, Tomohira, was given the Kawawa estate in Ninomiya (Ninomiya Township) and formed the Ninomiya family; and the fifth son, Yorihiro, formed the Sakai family on the northern boundary of the Nakamura estate. The services of Toi Sanehira were particularly noteworthy, for it was he who helped Yoritomo to escape to Awa after his defeat at Ishibashiyama; and Yoritomo was to rely greatly on him.

Extending their sway over the area between those occupied by the Miura and Nakamura families were the members of the Kamakura band. They too traced ancestry back to the Kammu Heishi. But the fact that they are referred to as a "band" indicates that originally they were a grouping of several different families. One of these families bore the surname Fujiwara and was descended from Fujiwara Kagetsuna, a follower of Yoriyoshi in the Earlier Nine Years' War, who was also known as Kamakura Godayū. Another family was descended from the developer-proprietor of the Ōba estate, Taira Kagemasa, better known as Kamakura Gongorō Kagemasa, who showed much valor as a retainer of Yoshiie during the Later Three Years' War. Kagemasa's descendents include Ōba Kageyoshi and his