

brother, Kagechika; the former led the Taira army to victory over Yoritomo in the battle of Ishibashiyama; the latter was a follower of Yoritomo who served as the official in charge of the construction of Yoritomo's residence in Kamakura. A younger brother, Kagehisa, took his surname from a place called Matano in the Kōza district, and the surname adopted by their uncle Kagehiro, Nagao, also came from a place in Kōza district. Later, this Nagao family became the household stewards of the Uesugi family, the shogunal deputies for the Kantō region during the Muromachi period (1338–1573). Kajiwara Kagetoki, a close confidant of Yoritomo whose surname was taken from Kajiwara in Kamakura, was also a member of this family.

In the Hadano Basin stretching from the central to the north-western part of Kanagawa Prefecture, the Hatano family held sway. This family claimed descent from the Fujiwara regents, but originally they belonged to the Saeki family, descendants of Saeki Tsunenori, who served Minamoto Yoriyoshi for more than thirty years and died for him during the Earlier Nine Years' War.

This family developed the Hatano estate owned by the Fujiwara regents in the Hadano Basin, and from there they expanded into the Kawawa River valley, spreading their control into the surrounding hamlets of Kawamura, Matsuda, and Ōdomo, and setting up branch families in Matsuda, Ōtsuki (Yurugi district), Kawamura, Ōdomo, and Numata (Minami Ashigara City). One theory claims that the Yamanouchi Shudō family who held dominion over the Hayakawa estate (Odawara City) were the descendants of Kimikiyo, the elder brother of Tsunenori, the ancestor of the Hatano family.

The Kasuya family, the overseers of the Kasuya estate which once occupied the entire area of present-day Isehara City, also called themselves Fujiwara, but they were in fact descendants of Saeki Motokata, one of the picked troops from the Bandō region serving Yoriyoshi during the Earlier Nine Years' War. The family formed several branches including the Kasuya, Shinomiya and Kidokoro (both of Hiratsuka City).

The Yokoyama band occupied the Tama highlands in the northern part of Kanagawa Prefecture. This band, which took its name from a place called Yokoyama (Hachiōji City, Tokyo), was originally known as the Ono family, and its members were officials in charge of public lands in Musashi. The founder of the band, Yokoyama

Nodayū Tsunekane, served Yoriyoshi in the Earlier Nine Years' War. In 1113 (Eikyū 1) an order to hunt down and destroy more than twenty members of the Yokoyama band for the murder of Naiki Tarō was issued in the five provinces of Sagami, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke, Kazusa, and Musashi, an indication of how powerful the Yokoyama band was. Branch families of the band include the Ebina, Aikō, Hagino, Homma (Atsugi City), Tairako and Ishikawa (both of Yokohama), Ogura, Sugao and Ida (all of Kawasaki City).

In the three districts of Musashi in the northern part of Kanagawa Prefecture, there were several families which had branched off from the Chichibu clan, based in what is now the Chichibu district of Saitama Prefecture. The Chichibu family claimed descent from the Kammu Heishi, but most likely they were originally descended from the local governors of Chichibu province in the pre-Taika reform period. The family had several illustrious warrior branches including the Hatakeyama, Kawagoe, Kassai, Toshima and Edo families; and it also extended into what is now Kanagawa Prefecture. Some of its branch families there include the Kawasaki (Kawasaki City), the Oyamada (Oyamada estate which spanned both Machida and Kawasaki cities), the Inage (Kawasaki City), and Harigaya (Yokohama). The Shibuya family (Yamato City), the so-called warlords of Sagami province, were also members of this family.

As we can see, almost all the warriors active in the earliest stages of the Kamakura shogunate were members of a local elite with a long history in the area and a relationship to the Minamoto family that dated back to the time of Minamoto Yoriyoshi. The only warrior house which came to the area from Kyoto was the Mōri family, proprietors of the Mōri estate (Atsugi City), which had been given to Ōe Hiromoto by Yoritomo.

The waning of Sagami's warrior class

The warriors of Sagami who were the prime movers in establishing the political dominance of the eastern provinces were soon to disappear from the lands of Sagami and Musashi. Many were wiped out by the Hōjō family, once a minor power in Izu province who made use of their son- and brother-in-law Yoritomo to further their own ends, while many others relocated themselves permanently on

lands they held elsewhere in the country, rather than risk remaining in their original homelands.

Of the former group, the first Hōjō victim was Kajiwara Kagetoki. Once known as Yoritomo's most trusted retainer, he was ousted from office and driven from Kamakura after Yoritomo's death by sixty-six leading shogunal vassals including Miura Yoshimura, Wada Yoshimori, and Koyama Tomomitsu, at the instigation of Awa-no-tsubone, the wet nurse of Yoritomo's son Hachiman (later known as Sanetomo) and the sister of Yoritomo's widow, Hōjō Masako. Kagetoki took refuge at his Sagami estate at Ichinomiya and appealed to Kyoto to grant him asylum there. In 1200 (Shōji 2) he left Sagami, but was attacked by local warriors in the vicinity of Kiyomigaseki in Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture) and was killed with his entire family.

The next victims were the Wada family. In 1213 (Kempo 1) the second Hōjō regent Yoshitoki spread the rumor that a plot had been uncovered supporting the claims of the heir of the second shogun, Yoriie, who had been assassinated in 1204 while under house arrest in Izu. Yoshitoki arrested the sons of Wada Yoshimori as members of the conspiracy. This goaded Yoshimori into action. He issued an urgent appeal to his own and related clans and attacked Yoshitoki. For a time he was successful, but was defeated when Miura Yoshimura switched sides. The entire Wada clan was killed in battle as were members of the following families: the Yokoyama of the Yokoyama band; the Awaiihara, Furugori, Yanai, Tsuchiya; the Yamanouchi of the Yamanouchi band; the Okazaki, Yui, Takai, Ōtawa, Ōkata, Nariyama, Takayanagi, Toi, Shibuya, Mōri, and Kajiwara of the Kamakura band; and the Usami, Aikō, Kaneko, Hemmi, Ebina, Ogino, Mutsuura, Matsuda, Aida, Hatano, Shionoya, Shirane, Sanada, and Tsukui. Their domains were confiscated and given to the victorious followers of Hōjō Yoshitoki. Both attacked and attackers were Sagami warriors, and many families died out during these struggles. Yoshitoki took charge of the board of retainers (*samurai-dokoro*) in place of Wada Yoshimori, and together with his duties as head of the administrative board (*mandokoro*) which he had previously held, he occupied the two highest posts in the political apparatus of the Kamakura *bakufu*. These two positions would thereafter become hereditary through the eldest Hōjō son, thus setting on



Monument to the Wada family. Kamakura City.

a firm footing, for generations to come, the political ascendancy of the main branch of the Hōjō family.

Next came the Hōji Conflict. The Miura family, which had switched allegiance to the Hōjō family during the Wada affair, were related to them by marriage and wielded considerable influence. But in 1247 (Hōji 1) they were defeated in a power struggle with the fifth Hōjō regent Tokiyori and his maternal grandfather Adachi Kagemori, who had consolidated his influence through his relationship with the Hōjō family. The head of the Miura clan, Yasumura, and more than five hundred of his followers committed suicide at the Hokkedō monastery, which Yoritomo had founded. Among the dead were all of Yasumura's family and members of the following clans: the Takai, Sahara, Nagae, Shimōsa, Sanuki, Inage, Usui, Hatano, Utsunomiya, Kasukabe, Seki, Tatara, Ishida, Itō, Hiratsuka (Doyō), Sano, Tokutomi, Hangaya, Nagao, Akiba, Okamoto, and

Tachibana. Those captured alive included members of the Kana-mochi, Nagao, Toyoda, Mōri and Ōsuga families. The warriors from Sagami who had survived the Wada affair had been dealt a second devastating blow. Moreover, this time the circle of destruction had even reached into Shimōsa province.

The final blow for the vassal warriors of Sagami and Musashi fell in 1285 (Kōan 8) with the so-called Shimotsuki Incident, in which Taira Yoritsuna, the Hōjō family's house steward, falsely accused and thereby brought about the destruction of Adachi Yasumori, who is thought to have been a descendant of a family of district administrators in the Adachi district of Musashi under the old *ritsuryō* system. Those who committed suicide with Yasumori included all of the Adachi clan, and members of the Ōsone, Banno, Ogasawara, Ueda, Kobayakawa, Mishina, Ashina, Adachi, Futokorojima, Tsunashima, Ikegami, Namekata, Nikaidō and other families. The affair reached into Shinano, Musashi and Kazusa, and even involved the Muto family of far-off Chikuzen (Fukuoka Prefecture). In all, nearly five hundred people are reported to have committed suicide. Worth noting here is how few of these were from Sagami warrior families compared with the earlier incidents.

Since the time of the second regent Hōjō Yoshitoki, the Kamakura shogunate had in fact been taken over by the Hōjō regency and had grown increasingly despotic. At the root of the Hōjō family's success lay the destruction of the other vassal houses in Sagami and Musashi. However, the Hōjō family in turn would soon disappear without a trace from Sagami, destroyed by warriors from the Kantō on orders from the emperor Go-Daigo in 1333 (Genkō 3).

In contrast to the warrior houses destroyed by the Hōjō were the warriors of Sagami and Musashi who had sided with the shogunate during the period from the end of the Taira-Minamoto wars in the 1180s to the Jōkyū Disturbance of 1219. These families were rewarded for their valor with territories confiscated from the government's enemies. The territorial possessions of these retainers from Sagami and Musashi extended throughout the country, and family branches were established in these far-flung domains, so that even though the main branch of a family may have died out in Sagami, many warriors of the clan still flourished in outlying areas. The Miura-Wada clan of Echigo (Niigata Prefecture), the Mōri family of Aki (Hiro-

shima Prefecture), the Kobayakawa family, the Ōtomo family of Bungo (Ōita Prefecture), the Irikiin family (also called the Shibuya family) of Satsuma (Kagoshima Prefecture), and the Nagao family (also called the Uesugi family) of Echigo are only some of the more noteworthy regional branches of Sagami's warrior clans.

II. An Age of Warfare

1. The Establishment of the Kamakura-*fu*

Ashikaga Takauji plots rebellion in Kamakura

On May 22, 1333 (Genkō 3), the Kamakura *bakufu*, which had lasted one hundred thirty years, came to an end with the destruction of the Hōjō family by Nitta Yoshisada, who marched south against Kamakura from the Nitta estate in Kōzuke province. At this time Ōtawara Yoshikatsu, a member of a branch of the Miura family and leading forces composed of members of the Matsuda, Kawamura, Toi, Homma, and Shibuya clans, joined forces with Nitta Yoshisada to strike down the Hōjō. Despite the Hōjō family's attempts to exterminate them, the warriors of Sagami had tenaciously managed to survive. In contrast, the Hōjō family, with the exception of Hōjō Tokiyuki, who escaped and took refuge with the Suwa family of Shinano (Nagano Prefecture), was completely wiped out.

Nitta Yoshisada, the man responsible for their destruction, left for Kyoto to take part in the formation of a new government restoring direct imperial rule by the emperor Go-Daigo. The government, which would be known as the Kemmu Restoration, appointed Ashikaga Tadayoshi governor of Sagami at the request of his brother, Ashikaga Takauji. Tadayoshi was sent to Kamakura in the service of Prince Narinaga, the emperor's son. As regent for the prince, Tadayoshi had jurisdiction over the ten provinces of the Kantō region, and Kamakura was designated as the local capital from which the region was to be administered. However, in July 1335 (Kammu 2), Hōjō Tokiyuki raised an army in Shinano, invaded Musashi, and at Idenosawa (Machida City) defeated Tadayoshi, who had engaged him in battle there. Tadayoshi did not return to Kama-



Grave of Prince Morinaga. Kamakura Shrine, Kamakura City.

kura but fled west along the Tōkaidō road. Prince Narinaga and Ashikaga Takauji's eldest son, Yoshiakira, who had first come to Kamakura as a hostage of the Hōjō family, both headed for Kyoto after Tadayoshi. At about this time, another of Go-Daigo's sons, Prince Morinaga, who was being held under house arrest at the Nikaidō in Kamakura for his involvement in a plot to replace Tadayoshi, was put to death by one of Tadayoshi's men. Hōjō Tokiyuki entered Kamakura on July 25, 1335. But Ashikaga Takauji came to the aid of Tadayoshi and Yoshiakira, joining forces with them at the Yahagi post station in Mikawa (Aichi Prefecture). From there they returned to Kamakura, drove Tokiyuki out on August 19 and recaptured the city. Tokiyuki's dream of restoring the Kamakura shogunate had ended in little more than twenty days.

After Takauji entered Kamakura, he lived in a new residence which he had built on the site of the old shogunal palace on Wakamiya Avenue. Ignoring the emperor's orders recalling him to Kyoto,

he petitioned to be allowed to hunt down and destroy Nitta Yoshisada. The emperor refused this request and, instead, ordered Yoshisada to eliminate Takauji. At the head of a large army, Yoshisada marched down the Tōkaidō road, defeating the Ashikaga forces along the way, but Yoshisada's army was routed in turn in a battle at Takenoshita (Koyama Township, Shizuoka Prefecture) on December 12. Three days later, Takauji decided to march westward. Leaving Yoshiakira in charge at Kamakura, he and Tadayoshi pursued Yoshisada's army and advanced on Kyoto. The Ashikaga brothers were now in open revolt against the Kemmu Restoration government they had helped to establish two years earlier.

Only about a fortnight after Takauji left Kamakura, the Ōshū army of Kitabatake Akiie entered the city with imperial orders to crush Takauji. They remained there only a few days before heading west toward Kyoto in pursuit. Takauji had marched into Kyoto but soon fled to Kyūshū, eluding Kitabatake's troops. In Kyūshū he defeated the forces of the Kikuchi clan which had taken to the field to meet him and, after regrouping his army, he proceeded east along the Inland Sea to defeat the loyalist forces of Nitta Yoshisada and Kusunoki Masashige at Minatogawa in Settsu (Osaka). On June 14, 1336 (Engen 1), he once again entered Kyoto, where he forced the emperor Go-Daigo to abdicate and replaced him with the emperor Kōmyō. On December 21 Go-Daigo fled south to Yoshino and set up a rival court there. The war-torn Northern and Southern Courts Period (1336–1392) had begun.

Kitabatake Akiie, who had returned to Ōshū after chasing Takauji out of Kyoto, once again headed westward in August 1337 at the head of an army more than ten thousand strong. Ashikaga Yoshiakira, who was in Kamakura at the time, met them at the Tone River with eighty thousand warriors from Musashi and Sagami, including Uesugi Noriaki, Hosokawa Kazuji, and Minamoto Shigemochi. He was defeated and Akiie's army stormed into Kamakura. There were skirmishes at Ijima and Sugimoto, but once again the results were unfavorable to the Ashikaga side. With the aid of Miura Takatsugu, Yoshiakira went into hiding in the Miura Peninsula, and it was not until a half-year later when Akiie, who had been occupying Kamakura, left for Kyoto that Yoshiakira was able to return to the city.

Miura Takatsugu's grandfather Moritoki had allied himself with

the Hōjō family during the Hōji Conflict which had destroyed the main branch of the Miura family in 1247. He thus became head of the Miura clan. Takatsugu's father, Tokitsugu, had been put to death for siding with Hōjō Tokiyuki when the latter had tried to reestablish the Kamakura shogunate. But Takatsugu himself had fought valiantly on the Ashikaga side and was awarded several fiefs, chief among them the one at Misaki in the Miura Peninsula. His son, Takamichi, became the military governor (*shigo*) of Sagami and the head of the premier warrior family in the province.

Ashikaga Tadayoshi dies in Kamakura

Ashikaga Takauji himself had originally supported the Hōjō family against the emperor Go-Daigo. When he left the eastern provinces in 1333 to subdue the imperial army on their orders, he left his eldest son Yoshiakira behind in Kamakura as a hostage. Yoshiakira skillfully managed to escape with his life on two occasions—when his father shifted his allegiance to the emperor's side and when the Hōjō family was exterminated in Kamakura. His popularity among the warriors of the eastern provinces exceeded even that of Nitta Yoshisada. After the collapse of the Kemmu Restoration, he was stationed in Kamakura and became the leader of the Ashikaga forces in the Kantō region. But in 1349 (Jōwa 5) Takauji summoned his son to Kyoto and sent Yoshiakira's younger brother Motouji, assisted by Uesugi Noriaki and Kō no Morofuyu, to Kamakura in his stead.

Earlier, in 1338 (Ryakuō 1=Engen 3, by the reckoning of the Southern Court), Takauji had been appointed shogun by the Northern Court, and founded the Muromachi shogunate in Kyoto. With his brother Tadayoshi, he had taken charge of the government. But, in time dissension arose between the two, and the Ashikaga forces split into the Takauji faction and the Tadayoshi faction. Their quarrels reached open warfare when Tadayoshi switched his allegiance to the Southern Court in 1350 and fought with it against Takauji. This incident is known as the Kannō Disturbance after the era name given that year by the Northern Court. In Kamakura, Kō no Morofuyu of the Takauji faction supported Motouji and attacked Uesugi Noriaki who sided with the Tadayoshi faction. Morofuyu succeeded in driving Noriaki out of Kamakura. However, since Motouji himself



Ashikaga Takauji

(From *Zusetsu Nihon no rekishi*, published by Shūeisha)

had originally belonged to the Tadayoshi faction, he attacked Morofuyu, who died in the battle of Suzawa Castle in Kai (Yamanashi Prefecture).

The death of Morofuyu had immediate repercussions in the capital. Takauji and Tadayoshi came to a reconciliation, and the powerful retainer who had manipulated Takauji, Kō no Moronao, was killed by Uesugi Yoshinori. The brothers were soon at odds again, however, and Tadayoshi fled north and finally came to Kamakura. Takauji quickly made peace with the Southern Court and headed off to subdue Tadayoshi. He defeated his brother's army at Hayakawajiri in Sagami (Odawara City), entered Kamakura, forced Tadayoshi to come to terms and later had him poisoned.

In this manner, the Kannō Disturbance was brought to an end in 1352.

Takauji remained in Kamakura, but as soon as the Kannō Disturbance was over, the conflict between the Northern and Southern Courts flared up once again. The sons of Nitta Yoshihisa, Yoshioki and Yoshimune, marched toward Kamakura from the Nitta estate. Joining them in the attack were Sagami warriors who had sided with the Tadayoshi faction, including the Sakawa, Matsuda, Kawamura, Koiso, Ōiso, Sakama, Yamashita, Kamakura, Tamanawa, Kajiwara, Shinomiya, Sannomiya, Takada, and Nakamura families. Fighting against them in Takauji's army, which sallied forth from Kamakura under generals Hatakeyama, Niki, and Imagawa, were members of the Tsuchiya, Toi, Ninomiya, Shibuya, Ebina, Kobayakawa, Toyoda, and Homma families. The armies met at Kumegawa in Musashi (Higashi Murayama City) and at Kotesashihara (Tokorozawa City). Takauji withdrew to Ishihama (Taitō Ward, Tokyo), and the Nitta army approaching from Sekido and Kanagawa forced its way into Kamakura at Yukinoshita. Motouji and others with the caretaker force guarding the city managed to escape and joined up with Takauji's army at Ishihama. They defeated the Nitta army at the Usui Pass and recovered Kamakura. Nitta Yoshioki withdrew to Echigo, and for the time being the land of Sagami was at peace.

To assist Motouji, Takauji appointed Hatakeyama Kunikiyo to the office of shogunal deputy for the Kantō region, replacing Uesugi Noriaki of the Tadayoshi faction. Furthermore, in preparation for another attack by the Nitta army, he stationed Motouji at Irimagawa in Musashi. Motouji would be encamped there for several years and became known as the Lord of Irimagawa. In 1353 (Bunna 5=Shōhei 8), having placed his sons and retainers in strategic positions, Takauji returned to Kyoto.

The establishment of a regional government at Kamakura

Takauji died in 1358 (Enbun 3=Shōhei 13), and Motouji's elder brother, Yoshiakira, became shogun. The brothers divided the country between them; one ruling in the west and the other in the east. The eastern division became known as the Kamakura-*fu*, the Kamakura regional government. The head of this government, called the *kubō*, had the same powers as the shogun in Kyoto, the

capital of the western region. The shogunal deputy (*kanrei*) appointed to assist him had the same rank as official of that title in the Muromachi shogunate in Kyoto and performed the same duties vis-à-vis the Kantō *kubō*. The descendants of Motouji had hereditary rights to the office of Kantō *kubō*, however, while the Muromachi shogun in Kyoto had the right to appoint the shogunal deputy for the Kantō region.

Hatakeyama Kunikiyo, who replaced Uesugi Noriaki in the office of shogunal deputy, was related to Motouji by marriage (his sister was Motouji's wife), but eventually his treatment of the Kantō warriors became so high-handed that he received a signed pledge from more than one thousand of them vowing to have him expelled from office. According to the *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of the Great Peace) Motouji was forced to admit: "If I ignore their demands, the eastern provinces will never have a day of peace," and banished his brother-in-law Kunikiyo. Kunikiyo left Kamakura accompanied by his brothers and his retainers and built a castle at Shuzenji in Izu (Shizuoka Prefecture), but fled from there when it was attacked by Motouji. Kō no Moroari, the nephew of Kō no Morofuyu who had previously held the office, succeeded Kunikiyo as shogunal deputy, but Motouji wanted to reinstate Kunikiyo's predecessor, Uesugi Noriaki, who had left to become military governor of Echigo, and eventually did so.

Motouji died in Kamakura in 1367 (Jōji 6=Shōhei 22), and his nine-year-old son Kaneōmaru (Ujimitsu) became the master of Kamakura. In the same year, the second shogun Yoshiakira died in Kyoto, and his ten-year-old son Yoshimitsu became shogun with Hosokawa Yoriyuki as his shogunal deputy. The following year, the Taira Revolt occurred in Musashi. Uesugi Noriaki put down the revolt on behalf of his young lord, and Kaneōmaru then attacked Utsunomiya Ujitsuna of Shimōsa, who had been in sympathy with the rebels, forcing him to surrender. The next year, Noriaki died at age sixty-three, and his son Yoshinori and his nephew Tomofusa, known as "the two Uesugis," were appointed to succeed him. After their deaths, Yoshinori's younger brother Noriharu became shogunal deputy, but in 1379 he committed suicide in protest against Ujimitsu's attempt to take advantage of the conflict between Hosokawa Yoriyuki and Shiba Yoshimasa over the office of shogunal deputy in

Kyoto and mount a revolt against the Muromachi shogunate. Noriharu's brother Norikata would replace him as deputy in Kamakura.

The Uesugi family as shogunal deputies and the military rule of the Kantō *kubō*

Ujimitsu gave up his anti-shogunal activities after Noriharu's suicide in protest against them. But in 1380 (Kōryaku 2=Tenju 6), he went to war against Oyama Yoshimasa, who had refused to abide by the terms of a court ruling Ujimitsu had made. The resistance of the Oyama family continued until 1397 (Ōei 4) when Oyama Wakainumaru committed suicide at Aizu in Ōshū. Meanwhile, Ujimitsu advanced his forces as far as Shirakawa in Ōshū. While Ujimitsu was pursuing the Oyama family, shogun Yoshimitsu added Ōshū (the provinces of Mutsu and Dewa) to the provinces controlled by the Kantō *kubō*. When Ujimitsu died at Kamakura in 1398 (Ōei 5), he was succeeded by Mitsukane, who sent his two younger brothers to Ōshū to govern these two newly appropriated provinces. They established their residences (*goshō*) at Inamura and Sasagawa. Mitsukane himself set out from Kamakura to make a tour of the Ōshū provinces and make his influence felt there. But this act only succeeded in antagonizing the local aristocracy and led to the rebellion of the Date family, which was suppressed only with great difficulty. The youthful Mitsukane, aided by his shogunal deputies Uesugi Tomomune and Uesugi Norisada, frequently set out for battle from the Eastern Palace at Jōmyōji Temple in Kamakura, which had served as the palace for the Kantō *kubō* since the time of Yoshiakira. For the next eleven years until his death in 1409 (Ōei 16), he administered the provinces under his control through military force.

From the time of Uesugi Noriaki, the Uesugi family monopolized the office of shogunal deputy of the Kantō region. Originally descended from the aristocratic Kanjūji family of Kyoto, they took the name Uesugi from the estate they controlled in Tamba province (Kyoto). The family first came to Kamakura at the time of Uesugi Shigefusa, who was in the retinue of Prince Munetaka when he arrived there in 1252 to become the sixth Kamakura shogun. Shigefusa's grand-daughter Kiyoshi became the wife of Ashikaga Sadauji and bore him two sons, Takauji and Tadayoshi. Because of this rela-



Portrait of Ashikaga Yoshinori. (Myōkōji Temple, Kyoto)

tionship, the entire family were ardent supporters of the Ashikaga. The descendants of Uesugi Shigefusa in the Kantō flourished and eventually divided into four branches: the Yamanouchi, Ōgigayatsu, Inukake and Takuma, each taking its name from the section in Kamakura where it had built its residence. Yet, if the Uesugi family monopolized the office of Kantō shogunal deputy, all too often they were called upon to act as mediators between successive shoguns and those Kantō *kubō* who tried to resist the Muromachi shogunate.

Shogun vs. Kantō *kubō*: confrontation of fire and water

After the death of the Kantō *kubō* Mitsukane in 1409, his eldest son Kōōmaru, then aged thirteen, succeeded him, taking the name Mochiuji, part of which he borrowed from the name of the current shogun Yoshimochi. The hereditary positions of shogun and Kantō *kubō* which had their origins with the two Ashikaga brothers, Yoshi-

akira and Motouji, had reached the fourth generation. Though the blood relationship had weakened over the years, the consciousness that they were both of Ashikaga descent remained strong. The activities of the Kantō *kubō* which were prompted by this consciousness often served as an irritant to the shogun and increased the tensions between the two. The second *kubō* Ujimitsu nursed ambitions to replace Yoshimitsu as shogun; and the third *kubō* Mitsukane showed similar tendencies when he responded to the call of Ōuchi Yoshihiro, who had raised an army against the shogunate at Izumi Sakai (Osaka). But military operations by both *kubō* came to nothing, remaining within the confines of Sagami province and never crossing over the Ashigara Pass. This was entirely due to the efforts of the shogunal deputies of the Uesugi family who interceded between the *kubō* and the shogun. But by the time of Mochiuji in the fourth generation, even the mediating efforts of the Uesugi family had reached their limits, and the Kantō region became a battleground. This state of affairs had its beginnings in 1416 (Ōei 23) with the rebellion of Zenshū.

Zenshū was the Buddhist name for the shogunal deputy Inukake Ujinori. Provoked by his political rival Yamanouchi Norimoto and by Mochiuji, he had been forced to resign this office. He then responded to an invitation to join forces with Ashikaga Yoshitsugu, who had designs on the Muromachi shogunate. He convinced Mochiuji's uncles Ashikaga Mitsutaka and Ashikaga Mitsusada, who governed the two provinces of Mutsu and Dewa, to join them and also won over the Chiba family of Shimōsa, the Iwamatsu (Nitta) family of Kōzuke, the Nasu of Shimotsuke, and the Takeda of Kai. On October 2, 1416, Zenshū, who had been confined to his residence at Kamakura, joined forces with Mitsutaka, and made a surprise attack on the *kubō*. But Mochiuji was able to escape to the residence of Yamanouchi Norimoto. In June, the warriors of the Kantō massed at Kamakura, and in the ensuing battle the forces of Mochiuji were defeated. He fled to Odawara by way of Katase and Koshigoe and hid in the Hakone mountains, while Yamanouchi Norimoto fled to Echigo.

Zenshū and Mitsutaka now held Kamakura in their grasp and sent troops into Sagami and Musashi to search for and destroy the remaining partisans of Mochiuji. When the Muromachi *bakufu* real-

ized that the rival claimant to the shogunate, Yoshitsugu, was involved in the uprising, it ordered Uesugi Fusakata, the military governor of Echigo, and Imagawa Norimasa, the military governor of Suruga, to destroy Zenshū. Early in 1417 the two men approached Kamakura from the north and the west, and began the attack. Zenshū sallied forth to meet them and won the encounter at Setagaya (Tokyo), but harried by the Imagawa forces, who had crossed the Ashigara Pass, he was forced to go on the defensive. When many of his allies went over to the enemy, Zenshū committed suicide with his entire family at a monastery at Yukinoshita in Kamakura on December 10. Zenshū's control over Kamakura had come to an end after only three months.

Once again master of Kamakura, Mochiuji dealt harshly with those warriors who had sided with Zenshū. One after another, he carried out punitive expeditions against the Chiba of Shimōsa, the Takeda of Kai, the Iwamatsu of Kōzuke, the Oyama of Hitachi, and Hon of Kazusa. However, most of these warriors were vassals of the Muromachi shogunate which had for some time supported them from Kyoto with special stipends to act as a check on Mochiuji, and his actions against them appeared to be a direct challenge to the shogun. Thus the shogun, Yoshimochi, decided to dispatch an army to subjugate the Kantō *kubō*. Learning of this, Mochiuji sent a written pledge twice reaffirming his fealty to the shogun and thereby saved himself from destruction.

When Yoshimochi died in 1428 (Shōchō 1), his brother Gien, the head of the Tendai sect, returned to secular life to become shogun, taking the name Ashikaga Yoshinori. Mochiuji was incensed and immediately made plans to raise an army and march on Kyoto. But he was dissuaded from doing so by his shogunal deputy Uesugi Norizane. He did, nevertheless, refuse to use the new era name of Eikyō, which had just been adopted in Kyoto with the accession of the new shogun, thereby showing his desire for independence from the western capital. For his part, Yoshinori used the pretext of an excursion to Mount Fuji to make a show of force, bringing his retinue as far as Suruga province. Mochiuji ignored this and offered a prayer written in blood at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine, beseeching the gods for victory over his sworn enemy, the shogun Yoshinori.

In 1435 (Eikyō 7), Mochiuji refused to listen to Norizane's

attempts to dissuade him and advanced his troops against the province of Shinano, which was at the time a shogunal domain. Realizing all was lost, Norizane left Kamakura and took refuge in Kōzuke province, but Mochiuji pursued Norizane and advanced his troops as far as Fuchū in Musashi (Fuchū City, Tokyo). Norizane appealed to the Muromachi shogunate for help, and on orders from the emperor, Yoshinori sent off an expeditionary army. While this army was moving eastward along the Hakone and Ashigara roads, Norizane left Kōzuke and headed south to Bunbaigawara (Tokyo). Even the military governor of Sagami, Miura Tokitaka, abandoned Mochiuji and went over to Norizane's side. He attacked Kamakura, set fire to the city, and burned Mochiuji's palace to the ground. Mochiuji's proposals for a truce went unheeded, and he was confined under house arrest at Yōanji Temple in Kamakura. Norizane appealed to Yoshinori to spare Mochiuji's life, but this request too went unheeded, and in 1439 Mochiuji committed suicide with his uncle Mitsutada and thirty or so others.

The following year, Yūki Ujitomo of Shimōsa raised an army in the names of Mochiuji's young sons, Yasuōmaru and Haruōmaru. The war stretched into the next year, but then Ujitomo died in battle, and the two children were taken prisoner and subsequently murdered while being sent under armed guard to Kyoto. These two events are known as the Eikyō Uprising and the Yūki Conflict.

The end of Kamakura as a center of government

Mochiuji's suicide in 1439 created a vacuum in the hereditary succession of the Kantō *kubō*, and Kamakura came under the control of the Yamanouchi Uesugi family. Uesugi Norizane became a monk to atone for his part in the Eikyō Uprising and the death of his lord Mochiuji. For the next ten years, Kamakura lacked a *kubō* and peace prevailed in Sagami. But in 1449 (Hōtoku 1) Mochiuji's son Shigeuji was welcomed as the new Kantō *kubō* and became master of the Kamakura regional government; Norizane's heir Noritada became his shogunal deputy. The Kamakura regional government was now revived, but the Muromachi shogunate increased its own authority over the eastern provinces and markedly circumscribed the jurisdiction of the *kubō*. Shigeuji banded together his father's old retainers with the intention of restoring the *kubō*'s authority. He then

lured Noritada, a strong supporter of shogunal interests, to his residence in the Western Palace in Kamakura and had him killed there.

Noritada's steward Nagao Kagenaka and others supported Noritada's brother Fusaaki and allied themselves with Mochitomo of the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi against Shigeuji. They fought the army which Shigeuji had dispatched against them at Shimagawara in Sagami (Hiratsuka City), then fortified themselves in Oguri Castle in Hitachi. Shigeuji took the field against them himself and showed his superiority in an assault on the castle and in other encounters. Meanwhile, the military governor of Suruga, Imagawa Noritada, stormed Kamakura on orders from the shogunate and burned down Shigeuji's palace and the rest of the city as well. Shigeuji fled to Koga in Shimōsa never to return to Kamakura. This event marked the beginning of the Koga *kubō* and heralded the passing of Kamakura as a center of government. The year was 1455 (Kōshō 1); four generations and nearly one hundred years had elapsed since the reign of the first Kantō *kubō* Ashikaga Motouji, and 275 years since Minamoto Yoritomo entered Kamakura in 1180 (Jishō 4).

In order to supply a successor to Shigeuji, the Muromachi *bakufu* sent the eighth shogun Yoshimasa's younger brother Masatomo to the Kantō. But the atmosphere in Kamakura must have been extremely hostile towards him, for Masatomo could not cross the Hakone mountains and remained at Horikoshi in Izu. He was henceforth known as the Horikoshi *kubō*. Kamakura had been under the control of the Uesugi family, but after Shigeuji left for Koga, they too left Kamakura: the Yamanouchi Uesugi moved to Shirai Castle in Kōzuke province, which their family governed, while the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi based themselves at Kawagoe Castle in Musashi and continued to oppose Shigeuji from there.

The real wielders of power were the Uesugi stewards (the leaders of the house vassals), the Nagao family for the Yamanouchi Uesugi and the Ōta family for the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi. The Ōgigayatsu governed Sagami and Musashi, and their steward Ōta Dōkan excelled at literature as well as being renowned as an outstanding steward and military strategist. At Edo Castle, which he had built in 1457 to hold Shigeuji in check, Dōkan entertained the literati from Kyoto, and it was through his efforts that the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi