

**The Uesugi:
a study of a Japanese warrior family's political and military
involvement in eastern Japan, 1252-1455**

2: Military activities, 1336-1350

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I wish to express my profound gratitude to Japan's Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum, the owner of the document shown on p. 3 (Letter from Ashikaga Tadayoshi to Uesugi Noriaki/上杉憲顕宛足利直義書状), for providing me with photographs of the document and for permission to reproduce them in this essay; and to Thomas D. Conlan of Princeton University and PMJS (Premodern Japanese Studies) network member Ivan Tyulenev for their kind assistance with interpreting a tricky historical source.

Military activities, 1336-1350.

The present essay, the second in a projected series of essays collectively entitled *The Uesugi: a study of a Japanese warrior family's political and military involvement in eastern Japan, 1252-1455*, examines the Uesugi family's involvement in the first fourteen years of the warfare that plagued Japan from Kenmu 2 (early 1336) to Genchū 9 (1392).¹ The immediate cause for the outbreak of hostilities was the breakdown of the relationship between Emperor Godaigo and one of his leading generals, Ashikaga Takauji: the emperor had, by the 19 day of the 11th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336), come to regard Takauji a rebel and dispatched, on that day, troops under Nitta Yoshisada (?-1338) against him in Kamakura.²

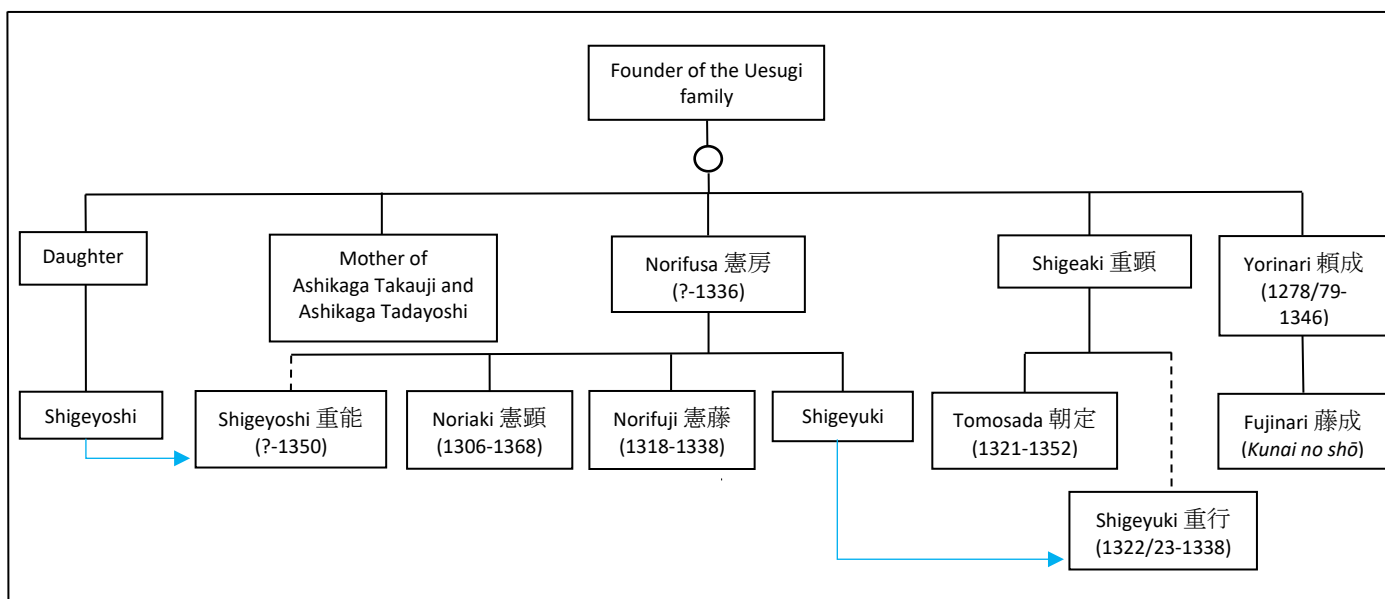
Despite some military successes Godaigo was far from having subjugated Takauji and his supporters when, in the 8th month of Engen 1 (1336), a reconciliation of sorts between the two parties was worked out and an Ashikaga-backed rival for the throne was enthroned. This led to the de facto establishment of a new Ashikaga-led shogunate in the 11th month, but also to Godaigo's decision in the 12th month (early 1337) to challenge his rival's claim to the throne by establishing a court of his own in Yoshino south of the capital (in Yamato Province) and reignite the struggle from there.³ The conflict thus continued with the added issue of imperial legitimacy; it had turned into what is known as the Disturbance of the Southern and Northern Courts (*nanbokuchō no dōran*), with the Southern Court of course being that of Godaigo and his successors and the Northern Court that of his Ashikaga-backed and Kyoto-based rival and *his* successors.⁴

Godaigo's intention to subjugate the Ashikaga and the question of who was to be the emperor of Japan were not issues of much, or even any, importance to most of those who took up arms during the conflict. Warriors generally participated in order to protect and further their own interests (or family interests, in the case of a minority of warriors), not in genuine support of some higher, 'national' cause. They expected rewards for services rendered, military and otherwise, in battle, and readily switched sides if they deemed it to be in their best interest; and they might use their professed allegiance to one of the courts in order to legitimise actions that had nothing to do with the 'national' issues at stake (for instance, to expand their landholdings or attempt to destroy long-standing rivals by force of arms).⁵

Such, in short, was the basic nature of the conflict which saw the participation of several members of the Uesugi family in support of the Ashikaga. The conflict ended, as noted, only in Genchū 9 (1392), that is, the year the two courts were united. But this essay closes with the outbreak of another conflict in Shōhei 5 (1350), the Kannō Disturbance (*Kannō no jōran*),⁶ not because members of the Uesugi family were not militarily active during and after that struggle, but because the struggle was a turning point in the family's fortunes. The period under consideration in this essay saw a rise in the Uesugi's fortunes (in terms of

positions in the new Ashikaga regime), and we must examine that rise before we can return to the family's military activities and the accompanying deterioration of fortunes.

Members of the Uesugi family became involved in the Ashikaga's conflict with Godaigo from the very start, acting as military advisors to Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi even before any actual fighting had broken out: one or more Uesugi were included when Takauji, after having received reports to the effect that the emperor had raised a punitive force in the capital, assembled representatives from a



A genealogy of the Uesugi dealt with in the present essay (based on sources cited in the following or in the preceding essay).

number of warrior families in order to discuss how to deal with situation; and a few days later Uesugi Norifusa was in attendance when also Tadayoshi consulted with supporters.⁷

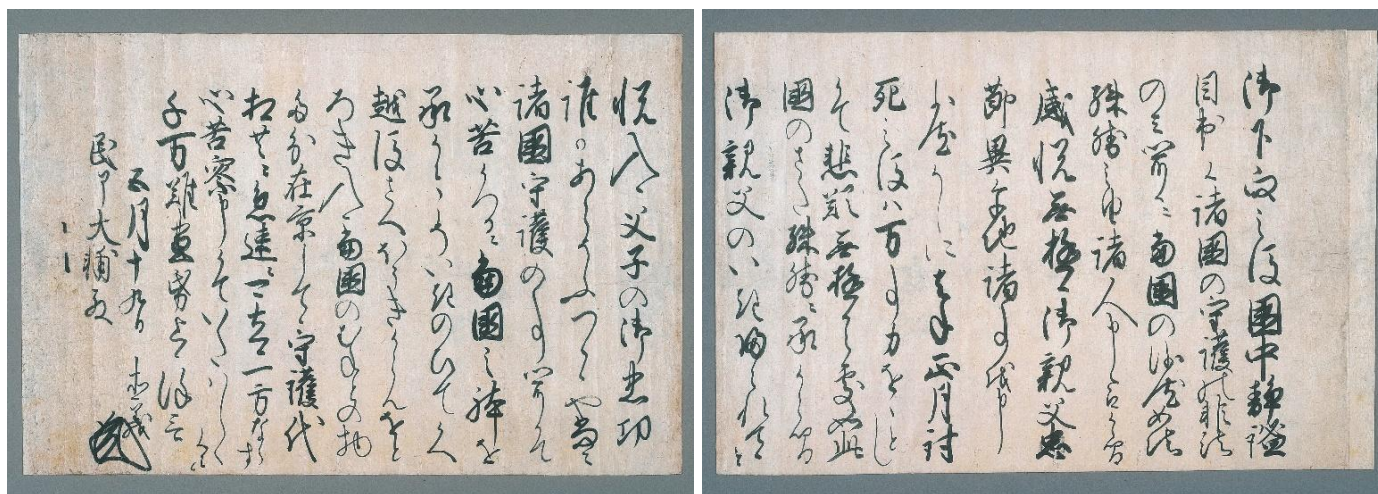
Norifusa, a second-generation descendant of the Uesugi family's founder, was the Ashikaga brothers' maternal uncle, and he had, consistently to all appearance, been their supporter since at least the Genkō Disturbance which resulted in the Kamakura shogunate's destruction in the 5th month of Genkō 3 (1333).⁸ Unsurprisingly, he had received rewards for his support along the way, among which was land granted after Takauji's suppression of the so-called Nakasendai Rebellion in the 9th month of Kenmu 2 (1335).⁹ Then, just as reports of Godaigo's punitive force reached Takauji in Kamakura a couple of months later, he was appointed to the office of military governor of Kōzuke Province by the latter.¹⁰

After his appointment Norifusa proceeded to Kōzuke 'to make preparations,'¹¹ but Noriaki and Shigeyoshi (his son and adopted son, respectively) were included in an Ashikaga army that left Kamakura, under the command of Tadayoshi, to check Nitta Yoshisada's advance.¹² Tadayoshi was anything but

successful in halting the imperial forces' advance. Three times in the 11th and 12th months of Kenmu 2 (early 1336) he engaged them in battle, and each time he was forced back towards Kamakura: the first engagement took place on the 24th day of the 11th month in Mikawa Province, the second four days later in Tōtōmi, and the third on the 5th day of the 12th month in Suruga.¹³ We have no details of neither Noriaki's nor Shigeyoshi's involvement in that campaign.

On the 8th day of the 12th month Takauji himself launched an offensive against the approaching imperial army, an offensive that would take him all the way to Kyoto.¹⁴ An Uesugi contingent was included in the army as it set out from Kamakura,¹⁵ and it is reasonable to assume that both Norifusa and Shigeyoshi were part of it from the very start because both of them participated in battles soon after it had left the city. Thus, we find Norifusa taking part in a battle at Aisawahara near Hakone Pass on the 11th day of the 12th month,¹⁶ that is, while the army was still en route to the capital; and Shigeyoshi in the battles for Kyoto once it had reached the city (which it did on the 11th day of the 1st month, Engen 1 (1336)).¹⁷

Norifusa also participated in the battles for Kyoto and found his death there on the 27th day.¹⁸ 'After he died in the Kyoto battle in the first month last year I was discouraged and grieved deeply ...,' Ashikaga Tadayoshi would lament the following year in a letter, dated the 19th day of the 5th month, to Noriaki.¹⁹



Left and right half of Ashikaga Tadayoshi's letter to Uesugi Noriaki (image copyright: Yonezawa City, Japan).

Takauji retreated to Tanba Province with his army on the same day as Norifusa died, and from there he went, in stages, to Kyushu, where he fought Godaigo supporters at Tatarahama on the 2nd day of the 3rd month.²⁰ Shigeyoshi participated in the battle,²¹ and he must have accompanied Takauji when the latter left Kyushu in order to return to the capital: Takauji left the island a month after Tatarahama, at one point splitting his army into two forces, one continuing by land and one by sea,²² with Shigeyoshi belonging to the latter and apparently in command of a boat.²³

On the 25th day of the 5th month, while en route to the capital, the Ashikaga famously defeated an imperial army at Minatogawa.²⁴ During that battle the Uesugi contingent was held in reserve for some time before being deployed against the troops of the famous Godaigo stalwart, Kusunoki Masashige (?-1336).²⁵

After Minatogawa Takauji re-entered Kyoto, where, after more clashes with imperial troops both in and outside the city, a reconciliation with the emperor was reached.²⁶ One clash took place on the 30th day of the 6th month, when Nitta Yoshisada and other Godaigo supporters descended on Takauji's headquarters in Kyoto, the famous temple Tōji,²⁷ and the only example we have of Uesugi involvement at the time is that of Shigeyoshi on that day: he was, we find, one of the Tōji defenders, whose efforts outside the temple gates ensured to the defeat of the attackers.²⁸ The defeat has been judged to have been a heavy blow to the imperial forces.²⁹

The historical sources contain only a few more indications of military activities on Shigeyoshi's part after the Tōji battle, and none of these pertain to activities after Engen 3 (1338). We have examples of his acting as military advisor in the 7th month of Engen 1 (1336) and in the following year (probably in the 3rd or 4th month)³⁰ and as a battlefield commander in Engen 3 (1338), that is, after the conflict had been reignited by Godaigo's decision to challenge his Ashikaga-backed rival's claim to the throne.

The role of battlefield commander is indicated by six petitions for reward (*gunchūjō*). At the time, after having participated in a battle, a warrior would draw up a petition for reward (or have a fellow warrior do it for him), listing in it his activities during the fighting, special acts of valour, wounds sustained etc., and then submit it to the person who had been his commander. It was the prerogative of the commander to validate the petition, and when he (or she; there were female military leaders in fourteenth-century Japan) had had its content verified, he would add his monogram to it and have it returned to the petitioner.³¹ As the monogram added to the six petitions is that of Shigeyoshi, there can be no doubt that he was the petitioners' commander at the time:

- One petition concerns a battle at 'the southern capital' on the 28th day of the 2nd month.³² It was fought at Hannyazaka in Nara (for which 'the southern capital' is of course another term) against Godaigo supporter Kitabatake Akiie (1318-1338), who was defeated and retreated to Kawachi Province.³³
- Two petitions concern another battle against Kitabatake Akiie on the 15th day of the 3rd month at Watanabe in Settsu Province.³⁴ This time Akiie emerged victorious.³⁵
- The last three petitions are concerned with campaigns from the end of 5th month to the end of the 8th month at and around Yawata just to the south of Kyoto.³⁶ (A letter written by

Ashikaga Tadayoshi on the 11th day of the 7th month confirms that Shigeyoshi was indeed present at Yawata, at least some of the time.³⁷⁾

Around the time the Ashikaga army set out from Kamakura in the 12th month of Kenmu 2 (early 1336) Uesugi Noriaki was involved in a military campaign far to the northwest of the city. An Etchū warrior, Fumon Toshikiyo (?-?), is believed to have allied himself with the Ashikaga early the 11th month and, on the 27th day of the same month, he and other local warriors rebelled against the province's imperially appointed governor, forcing him to escape to a Noto temple where he perished on the 12th day of the 12th month during an attack.³⁸ By order of Takauji, Noriaki sent his retainer, Nagao Kagetada (?-?), to participate in the attack on the temple and rewarded him with land for his efforts.³⁹

As for Noriaki himself, one *Taiheiki* variant has him accompanying Takauji's army as it left Kamakura and all the way to Kyushu,⁴⁰ and according to Kubota Jun'ichi, he quite conceivably did so.⁴¹ According to other scholars, however, he remained in Kamakura,⁴² and Akasawa Kazuma has claimed (claimed, albeit, without citing sources or providing arguments in support of the claim) that he went to Kōzuke and campaigned there in the first four months of Engen 1 (1336), obtaining military control of the province.⁴³

Two documents combine to indicate that Noriaki did indeed campaign successfully in Kōzuke at the time, campaigned, in fact, as commander-in-chief. The first document is a petition for reward from the *Ochiai Monjo* collection. From this it is clear that Ashikaga supporter Shiba Ienaga (?-1338) victoriously led troops in a string of battles in the province during said four months,⁴⁴ resulting in the all but complete destruction of the province's Southern-Court forces.⁴⁵ The petition does not mention any involvement in Ienaga's campaign on Noriaki's part, but the already cited letter from Ashikaga Tadayoshi, dated the 19th day of the 5th month,⁴⁶ appears to link him to it: Tadayoshi, reminiscing about the recent past (including, as we have seen, Uesugi Norifusa's death), expresses his great delight at Noriaki's pacification of a province after having been dispatched there.⁴⁷ The province has been identified as Kōzuke,⁴⁸ so it seems reasonable to conclude that Noriaki was present at, and in charge of, Ienaga's campaign (though we cannot say anything about whether he himself was active on the battlefields).

Tadayoshi's letter also indicates that Noriaki most probably led a military campaign in Echigo sometime in the middle of Engen 2 (1337). Because he wrote that he was surprised to hear rumours of unrest in the province and ordered Noriaki to promptly depart for the province with Kōzuke warriors, including that province's deputy military governor (*shugodai*).⁴⁹

Later in the year and the following year we find Noriaki engaged in battles against Godaigo supporter Kitabatake Akiie. On the 11th day of the 8th month Akiie set out for the capital from his base in Hitachi

Province, attacking on the way there an Ashikaga-affiliated stronghold in Shimotsuke Province.⁵⁰ (This was about six and a half months prior to his defeat at Nara.⁵¹) A directive (*migyōsho*) from Ashikaga Tadayoshi to Noriaki dated the 3rd day of the 9th month reveals that the latter had hurried to Shimotsuke to help the defenders and had distinguished himself there.⁵²

The stronghold fell in the 12th month (early 1338), and Akiie, instead of proceeding to Kyoto, descended on Kamakura and briefly gained control of the city before being ordered to the capital by Godaigo. An Ashikaga army pursued him but was defeated in a battle at Aonogahara in Mino Province on the 28th day of the 1st month, Engen 3 (1338).⁵³ Noriaki participated in both the defence of the Kamakura and the battle at Aonogahara.⁵⁴

On the 9th day of the 6th month Noriaki was making his way from Kyoto to Kamakura.⁵⁵ So he must have gone to the capital region at some point after Aonogahara, and it is certainly possible, as Kubota Jun'ichi has noted, that he went there soon after the battle and got involved in the confrontations with Akiie in the region.⁵⁶ But we cannot say for sure that he did; in fact, we know of no further military activities on his part prior to Kōkoku 2 (1341).

That year he campaigned in Echigo: on the 7th day of the 6th month he was able to announce the capture of all enemy strongholds there,⁵⁷ and on the 14th day that more than three hundred enemy troops had been executed and that only a few had either pledged obedience or escaped.⁵⁸ The success was temporary because it is clear from a combination of three documents from the 9th and 10th months the same year that he also campaigned in the province (together with his retainer Nagao Kagetada) around that time.⁵⁹

In early Kōkoku 4 (1343) he was still trying to obtain military supremacy in Echigo. A directive written by Ashikaga Tadayoshi to him on the 27th day of the 1st month suggests that he had by then embarked on a campaign in the province.⁶⁰ And on the 19th day of the 2nd month an estate steward (*jitō*) in the province was informed of his intention to remain there because of recurring unrest.⁶¹

We do not know for how long Noriaki campaigned in Echigo, but he must have headed for the Kantō before the year was out because it is clear from a petition for reward dated the 12th month (early 1344) that he had by then commanded troops in battle against two enemy strongholds in Hitachi Province.⁶² This is the last military activity on his part that we know of prior to the Kannō Disturbance, but it has been conjectured, and it is certainly very conceivable, that it was part of a larger campaign.⁶³ In any case, on the 4th day of the 7th month, Kōkoku 5 (1344), he was back in Kamakura.⁶⁴

Only a few more members of the Uesugi family appear in the historical sources in connection with the fighting taking place in the period under consideration in this essay: Noriaki's brothers Norifuji and Shigeyuki, his paternal uncle Yorinari, his cousin Tomosada and one 'Uesugi *kunai no shō*.' Very little is revealed about their involvement in the fighting.

Norifuji was among the defenders of Kamakura at the time of Kitabatake Akiie's attack in Engen 2 (early 1338),⁶⁵ and 'Uesugi *kunai no shō*' participated in the battle against Akiie at Aonogahara in Mino.⁶⁶ The latter was likely Uesugi Fujinari. He was the son of Norifusa's brother Yorinari and was invested with that title,⁶⁷ apparently the only one to have been so among the Uesugi conceivably old enough to engage in military activities at the time.

Norifuji may well have been part of the Ashikaga army that pursued Akiie as he retreated westward from Kamakura because we find him arriving in Kyoto on the 5th day of the 2nd month, Engen 3 (1338), seven days after Aonogahara.⁶⁸ According to *Uesugi Keizu Taigai*, he died in battle by the river Watanabe in Settsu Province.⁶⁹ The source does not say when it happened, but as we have already seen, a battle took place there on the 15th day of the 3rd month, Engen 3 (1338) (the battle against Akiie, which also saw the participation of Uesugi Shigeyoshi).⁷⁰ And there can be little doubt that this was the battle in which Norifuji fought, since an entry in the diary of the Buddhist monk Gidō Shūshin (1325-1388) enable us to deduce that his death indeed occurred on 15th day of the 3rd month, Engen 3 (1338).⁷¹

The only things we know about the involvement of Shigeyuki and Yorinari are that the former also fought and died in the battle at Watanabe in Settsu,⁷² and that the latter was dispatched to help protecting Kyoto as Akiie was approaching the city after Aonogahara.⁷³

Finally, Tomosada, the son of Norifusa and Yorinari's brother Shigeaki, was involved in the prolonged pacification of Echigo and also campaigned in Shinano: a document dated the 10th day of the 1st month, Kōkoku 2 (1341), has him ordering an ally to take the field against an enemy in the former province,⁷⁴ while another document from the same year's 6th month, a petition for reward, reveals that he the previous month had led warriors in a successful campaign against the Nitta in Shinano and, early in the same month, attacked and incinerated a Nitta stronghold in Echigo.⁷⁵

We noted at the beginning of the essay that in general, warriors involved themselves in the conflict in order to protect and further their own interests, not because they believed in some higher, 'national' cause.⁷⁶ This is also the most credible explanation for the Uesugi's involvement. They must surely have found it potentially more advantageous to become associated with the power structure that Ashikaga Takauji began to establish after his suppression of the Nakasendai Rebellion in the 9th month of Kenmu 2

(1335) than with the imperial court. The Ashikaga, for their part, quickly began to recruit members of the family into the new power structure. As already noted, Norifusa was made military governor of Kōzuke Province just as reports of Godaigo's punitive force reached Kamakura,⁷⁷ and most of those of his kinsmen known to have rendered military service to the Ashikaga in the following months and years, plus a few others not known to have done so, were also appointed to various positions. The following essay shall examine these appointments.

Notes.

Abbreviations used in the following:

DNK: Dainihon Komonjo	SNKB: Shinsen Nihon Kōten Bunko
DNS: Dainihon Shiryō	SNKS: Shinchō Nihon Kōten Shūsei
ES: Essa Shiryō	SZKT: Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikai
GK: Gunma Kenshi, shiryōhen	SZSS: Shintei Zōho Shiseki Shūran
GR: Gunsho Ruijū	ZGR: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū
KSS: Kaitei Shiseki Shūran	ZZST: Zōho Zoku Shiryō Taisei, bekkān

- ¹ Here and in the following (as well as in the following essays), years, except in the cases of persons' dates of birth and death, are written: JAPANESE PERIOD NAME followed by YEAR NUMBER followed by a pair of brackets with the corresponding year according to the Gregorian calendar, occasionally preceded by an 'early.' Thus, Kenmu 2 refers to the 2nd year of the Kenmu period, and the 'early' has been added because while most of Kenmu 2 corresponds to 1335, approximately the last two months, during which the warfare broke out, correspond to early 1336.
- ² Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran to nanbokuchō no dōran*, p. 54. See also Andrew E. Goble, *Kenmu, Godaigo's revolution*, pp. 244-251, for instance, for the deterioration of the Godaigo-Takauji relationship.
Throughout this essay, years of birth and death, including the '?', are from Kokushi Daijiten Henshū linkai (compilation), *Kokushi daijiten*, unless otherwise noted.
- ³ Sakurai Yoshio, *Dōran no Tōgokushi 4: nanbokuchō nairan to Tōgoku*, pp. 41-44 and 46-56.
- ⁴ Two different period names were in use at the time: in the 2nd month of Kenmu 3 (1336) Godaigo had changed the name to Engen while his Ashikaga-backed rival for the throne continued to use Kenmu. The era of two different period names lasted until the end of the *nanbokuchō* conflict, but in this essay, as well as in the following ones, only the period names associated with Godaigo and his successors are used.
- ⁵ Thomas Donald Conlan, *The Culture of force and farce: fourteenth-century Japanese warfare*, p. 11, and *State of war; the violent order of fourteenth-century Japan*, pp. 6-7 and pp. 141-144. P. 143, specifically, outlines the great variety of services warriors are known to have been rewarded for during armed conflicts.
- ⁶ 'Kannō' (観応) was the year name used by the Northern Court at the time. The two characters are also read 'Kan'ō.'
- ⁷ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 38*, p. 323-324.
- ⁸ See my *Early association with Court and warriors and emergence on the politico-military stage of eastern Japan, 1252-1336*, pp. 5-7.
- ⁹ See *Early association with Court and warriors ...*, pp. 5 and 7.
- ¹⁰ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, p. 72.
- ¹¹ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, p. 72. The Japanese scholar Kubota Jun'ichi has conjectured, not quite convincingly, that Norifusa' appointment to military governor of Kōzuke and his departure for the province occurred just after Takauji's suppression of the Nakasendai Rebellion in the 9th month (see Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: Uesugi Noriaki*, pp. 47-48).
- ¹² *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 38*, pp. 325-326.
- ¹³ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁴ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 55-56.
- ¹⁵ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 38*, p. 337.
- ¹⁶ *Nagato Kumagaike Monjo* cited in Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 49. For the battle, see Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 55.
- ¹⁷ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 38*, p. 423. For Takauji's arrival at Kyoto and the subsequent fighting there, see Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 56-57.
- ¹⁸ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, p. 89, according to which he was killed in a rearguard action. Other sources have him retiring to a temple and committing suicide (*Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 58, and *Nanpō Kiden* in *KSS 3*, p. 6 (separate pagination)).
- ¹⁹ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, p. 8, doc. no. 15.
- ²⁰ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 57-58.

- ²¹ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, p. 21.
- ²² Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 59.
- ²³ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, p. 299.
- ²⁴ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 59-61.
- ²⁵ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, p. 73.
- ²⁶ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 61, and Itō Kiyoshi, *Nihon no rekishi 8: Nanbokuchō no dōran*, pp. 191-192.
- ²⁷ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 61.
- ²⁸ *Baishōron* in *SNKB 3*, pp. 303-305.
- ²⁹ See Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 61.
- ³⁰ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, pp. 145-146 and pp. 256-58.
- ³¹ Thomas Donald Conlan, *State of war; ...*, p. 50, and *The Culture of force and farce ...*, p. 3-4.
- ³² *Nogami Bunshō* in *DNS 6, 4*, pp. 715-716.
- ³³ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 67.
- ³⁴ *Ikeda Monjo* and *Shirakawa Monjo* in *DNS 6, 4*, pp. 741-742.
- ³⁵ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 67.
- ³⁶ *Amano Monjo*, *Shirakawa Monjo* and *Nanshu Ibun* in *DNS 6, 4*, pp. 838-840.
- ³⁷ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, p. 13, doc. no. 20.
- ³⁸ Tanahashi Mitsuo, *Nanbokuchō jidai no Etchū*, pp. 283-285. Toshikiyo's 'dates' are from Kubo Naofumi, *Inoueshi*, p. 167.
- ³⁹ *Nagao Keizu* in *ZGR 6, jō, keizubu*, pp. 250-251. (Kagatada's 'dates' are from Yasuda Motohisa (ed.), *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten konpakutohan*, p. 433.)
- ⁴⁰ Cited in Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, pp. 52-53.
- ⁴¹ Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 53.
- ⁴² Tanabe Hisako, *Kamakura sōsho 14: ransei no Kamakura*, p. 37, and Yamada Toshiyasu, in *Nanbokuchō ni okeru Uesugi ichizoku*, p. 85. Interestingly, years before his *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...* Kubota Jun'ichi also subscribed to this view (see Kubota Jun'ichi, *Nanbokuchō nairan to Kōzuke; Muromachi Bakufu no seiritsu to shugo Uesugishi no Kōzuke shihai*, p. 320).
- ⁴³ Akasawa Kazuma, *Nanbokuchōki no Echigo Nittashi*, pp. 151-152.
- ⁴⁴ *Ochiai Monjo* in *GK 6, chūsei 2*, pp. 536-537, doc. no. 744.
- ⁴⁵ Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 55.
- ⁴⁶ See p. 3.
- ⁴⁷ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, p. 8, doc. no. 15.
- ⁴⁸ See, for instance, Yonezawashi Uesugi Hakubutsukan, *Kokuhō Uesugike monjo zusetzu; komonjo ga katarihajimeta*, p. 11, Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 56, Sugiyama Hiroshi, *Ashikaga Motouji*, p. 7, and Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen*, p. 197.
- ⁴⁹ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, pp. 8-9, doc. no. 15.
- ⁵⁰ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, p. 64.
- ⁵¹ Touched upon on p. 4.
- ⁵² *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, p. 9, doc. no. 16.
- ⁵³ Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran ...*, pp. 64-66.
- ⁵⁴ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, p. 290, 294, 297, 298 and 301.
- ⁵⁵ *Tsurugaoka Shamu Kiroku* in *SZSS 25, shūkyōbu,shintō ·jishihen*, p. 29.
- ⁵⁶ See Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: ...*, p. 62. Koyō Hiroshi, too, has speculated that Noriaki proceeded to Kyoto soon after Aonogahara, though without commenting upon any military activities he might have engaged in while in the capital region (see Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō; sono ichi*, p. 4). And according to Oguni Hirohisa, *Ōshū ryōkanrei to Kantō ryōshitsuji; shoki Kamakura fu to Ōshū* in *Kamakurafu taisei to Tōgoku*, p. 232, he 'chased' Akiie westward after Aonogahara and 'entered the capital' after the latter had died in battle in the 5th month.
- ⁵⁷ *Tsurugaoka Shamu Kiroku* in *SZSS 25, shūkyōbu,shintō ·jishihen*, p. 32.
- ⁵⁸ *Buke Nendaiki* in *ZZST*, p. 162.

- ⁵⁹ *Dokushidō Komonjo* in *ES 2*, pp. 438-439.
- ⁶⁰ *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, p. 15, doc. no. 23.
- ⁶¹ *Miura Wada Monjo* in *ES 2*, p. 444.
- ⁶² *Shimazu Monjo* in *GK 6, chūsei 2*, p. 921 doc. no. 1229.
- ⁶³ See Kubota Jun'ichi, *Nanbokuchō nairan to Kōzuke; Muromachi Bakufu no seiritsu ...*, p. 323.
- ⁶⁴ *Tsurugaoka Shamu Kiroku* in *SZSS 25, shūkyōbu, shintō jishihen*, p. 35.
- ⁶⁵ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, p. 294.
- ⁶⁶ *Taiheiki* in *SNKS 58*, p. 301. *Kunai no shō* was a bureaucratic title.
- ⁶⁷ *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, p. 133.
- ⁶⁸ *Kenmu Sannen Iraiki* in *DNS 6, 4*, p. 706.
- ⁶⁹ *Uesugi Keizu Taigai* in Katagiri Akihiko, *Yamanouchi Uesugishi Echigo shugo Uesugishi no keizu to keifu – Yonezawa Uesugi kahon no kisoteki kōsatsu*, p. 84.
- ⁷⁰ See p. 4.
- ⁷¹ See *Kūge Nichiyō Kufū Ryakushū* in Tsuji Zennosuke (ed.), *Kūge Nichiyō Kufū Ryakushū*, p. 37, according to which an incense-burning ceremony commemorating Norifuji's thirty third death anniversary was held on the 15th day of the 3rd month, Kentoku 1 (1370).
It may be noted that according to another source, Norifuji died in battle, on the 15th day of the 3rd month, in Shinano rather than Settsu (*Uesugi Keizu* in *ZGR 6, ge, keizubu*, p. 61). Although this idea has appeared in at least one modern work (namely Yuyama Manabu, *Kenmu shinseiki no Kamakura goshō; 'Kantō hisashiban sadamefumi' ni kansuru kōsatsu*, p. 24), it goes without saying that we cannot do not accept it.
- ⁷² *Uesugi Keizu Taigai* in Katagiri Akihiko, *Yamanouchi Uesugishi ...*, p. 84.
- ⁷³ *Yamanouchi Sudō Monjo* in *DNS 6, 4*, p. 710.
- ⁷⁴ *Iioka Monjo* in *ES 2*, pp. 429-430.
- ⁷⁵ *Ichikawa Monjo* in *ES 2*, p. 435.
- ⁷⁶ See p. 1.
- ⁷⁷ See p. 2.

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