

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

***3: Recruitment into the Muromachi shogunate, 1336-1350***

By Dennis Darling

June 2026

Copyright © 2026 by  
Dennis Darling

All rights reserved

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Japan's Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum, the owner of the documents shown on pp. 3 and 7 (Ashikaga Takauji's appointment edict/足利尊氏補任下文 and Ashikaga Tadayoshi's directive to Uesugi Noriaki/上杉憲顕宛 足利直義御教書), for providing me with photographs of the documents and for permission to reproduce them in this essay; and to Shinozaki Yōko of The Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko) in Tokyo for drawing my attention to the photographic reproductions of the source *Tajima no Kuni, Sasaki no Shō Gusho* on the website of The National Museum of Japanese History (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan) in Tokyo.

## ***Recruitment into the Muromachi shogunate, 1336-1350.***

The present essay, the third 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 recruitment into some of the Muromachi shogunate's institutions prior to the outbreak of the Kannō Disturbance in late Shōhei 5 (1350). One such institution was that of provincial military governor.

Military governors were important elements in the Muromachi shogunate's decentralised power structure, means for extending the Ashikaga's influence to areas where the family hitherto had none.<sup>1</sup> To begin with their duties, inherited from their Kamakura-period predecessors, were recruiting troops for guard duty and war, punishing crimes of rebellion and murder and of brigandage and piracy. But in Shōhei 1 (1346) punishing illegal harvesting of crops was added these. Also, in the two decades after the conflict between Ashikaga Takauji and Emperor Godaigo had broken out the military governors were invested with new prerogatives: in Engen 1 (1336) they were given the right to requisition between one half and two thirds of the rice rent during military emergencies (commissariat rice/*hyōrōmai*); in Shōhei 7 (1352) the military governors of a select number of provinces were given the right to use half the rent from land in their assigned provinces as provisions for troops in times of war (half-rights/*hanzei*), a right that was extended to the military governors of all provinces at war in Shōhei 10 (1355); and in Shōhei 12 (1357) they were given the right to requisition half of the land rather than half of the rent. At the same time they were also allowed gradually to take control of the headquarters of the imperially appointed governors and of the public land they administered.

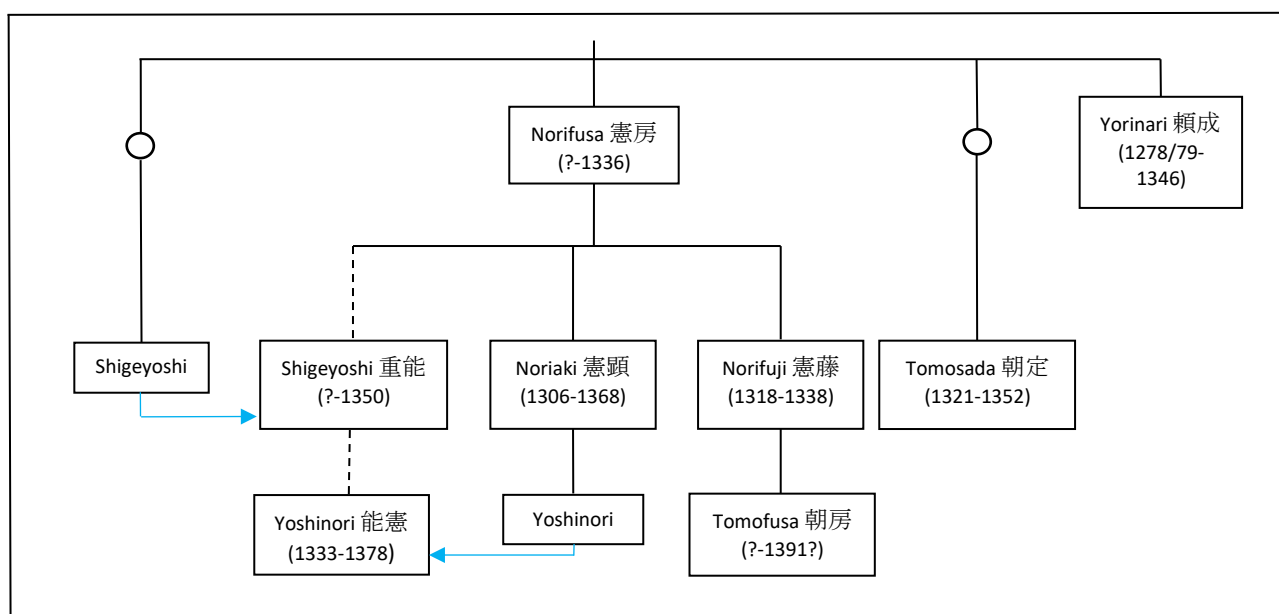
With a few exceptions Takauji recruited members of the Ashikaga clan (*ichimon*) to the military governorships. Admittedly, there were provinces where a local warrior family, too powerful to be ignored, had its position recognised by Ashikaga Takauji, but in such cases he would place a clan member or another close ally alongside it, either as a second military governor (a *bungun shugo*), thus dividing the governorship in two, or as what has been termed a supra-provincial military commander (*kunitaishō*), that is, a warrior with command powers outweighing those of the local military governor.

Although the Uesugi were not members of the Ashikaga clan,<sup>2</sup> they were clearly regarded as such, at least with respect to their appointments as military governors. The remainder of this section examines these appointments.<sup>3</sup>

**Norifusa and Noriaki.** The previous essays in this series have already noted the first appointment of an Uesugi to the position of military governor, namely that of Takauji's maternal uncle Norifusa. In an instance of exercising shogunal authority that had not been granted to him, Takauji, it will be recalled, appointed

him military governor of Kōzuke around the middle of the 11th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336).<sup>4</sup>

It has also already been noted that Norifusa accompanied Takauji's army when on the 8th day of the 12th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336), it launched its offensive from Kamakura against an approaching imperial army; and that he died in Kyoto on the 27th day of the 1st month, Engen 1 (1336), without having returned to the Kantō.<sup>5</sup> As we argued in the preceding essay, by that date a campaign led by Norifusa's son Noriaki against Godaigo's supporters in Kōzuke had been successfully under way for some time,<sup>6</sup> and there can be little doubt that Norifusa would have been in charge of it had he stayed in the Kantō. So Noriaki must have been substituting for his father; he must have been the de facto military governor, as it were, during Norifusa's absence, and it seems safe to assume that he remained so until he was appointed to the position after his father's death. We do not know when this happened, but since the military and political advantage to both him and the Ashikaga would surely be greater if he were formally appointed than if he were not, it also seems safe to assume that it happened almost immediately after Norifusa's death.<sup>7</sup> In any case, Tadayoshi's letter of the 19th day of the 5th month, Engen 2 (1337),<sup>8</sup> is the earliest indication of Noriaki holding office; it does not say directly that he was military governor, but since it orders him to embark on a campaign in Echigo with his deputy military governor and Kōzuke warriors, there can be little doubt that he was.<sup>9</sup>



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

Satō Shin'ichi has taken a series of five documents, the earliest dated the 16th day of the 9th month, Engen 3 (1338), and the latest dated the 23rd day of the 12th month, Shōhei 5 (early 1351), to indicate that Noriaki remained in office as the military governor of Kōzuke until at least the latter date.<sup>10</sup> However, according to Koyō Hiroshi, three of the documents, among them the latest, rather indicate that Noriaki

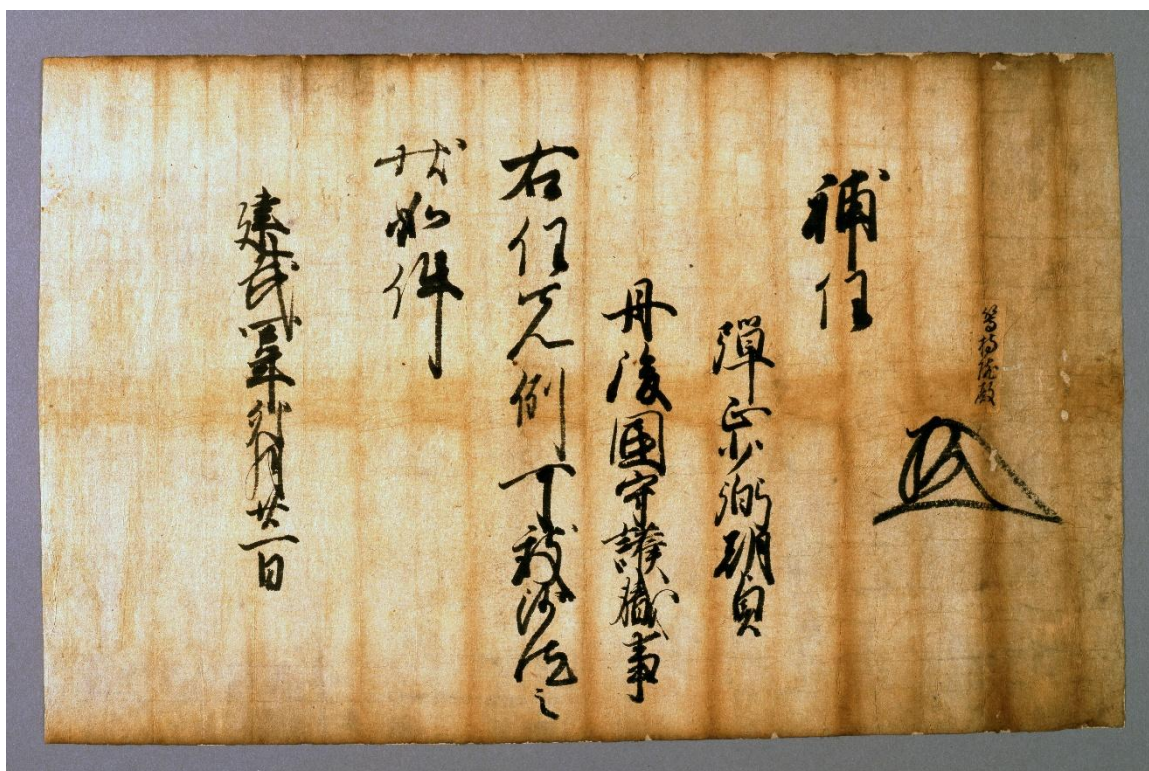
held another office, namely that of Kantō deputy,<sup>11</sup> and that is definitely a more credible interpretation of them.

We shall take a closer look at the office of Kantō deputy and Noriaki's association with it in the next section. Here we note that the 20th day of the 8th month, Kōkoku 4 (1343), that is, the date of the latest of the remaining two of Satō's five documents,<sup>12</sup> is the latest indication we have that Noriaki was in office as the military governor of Kōzuke.

Noriaki also became military governor of Echigo. The earliest documentary evidence we have of his appointment is dated the 4th day of the 3rd month, Kōkoku 4 (1343),<sup>13</sup> but as Haga Norihiko has argued, he was likely recruited before Kōkoku 2 (1341), a view shared by other scholars.<sup>14</sup>

The latest evidence we have of Noriaki holding office is a document dated the 3rd month, Shōhei 5 (1350),<sup>15</sup> but as we shall see in the next essay, it has been argued that he retained the position until almost a year after the outbreak of the Kannō Disturbance.

**Tomosada.** Tomosada, one of Norifusa's nephews, came to serve as military governor of Tango and parts of Tanba. An edict (*kudashibumi*) from Ashikaga Takauji dated the 21st day of the 4th month, Engen 2 (1337), appointed him to the former position.<sup>16</sup> We do not know for how long he served, but we can infer



Ashikaga Takauji's edict appointing Tomosada military governor of Tango (image copyright: Yonezawa City, Japan).

from a document dated 24th day of the 12th month, Engen 4 (early 1340), that another Ashikaga supporter had replaced him by then.<sup>17</sup>

Tomosada turned sixteen in the year of his appointment, so it is perhaps not surprising that he chose, or had chosen for him, a close, older and undoubtedly more worldly-wise relative as deputy military governor. That person's identity and appointment to the office is clear from a combination of two documents, the document cited above (the one dated 24th day of the 12th month), which concerns illegal acts perpetrated by 'the previous deputy military governor,' and one of a later date, which allows us to identify the perpetrator as Tomosada's paternal uncle, Norifusa's brother Yorinari.<sup>18</sup>

With regard to Tanba, there can be little doubt that Niki Yoriakira (1299-1359) was military governor from at least the 2nd month, Engen 1 (1336), to the beginning of the 12th month, Kōkoku 4 (1343), when he was replaced by Yamana Tokiuji (?-1371).<sup>19</sup> The Niki were part of the Ashikaga clan,<sup>20</sup> and Yoriakira himself had been a supporter of Ashikaga Takauji since the latter's involvement in the overthrow of the Kamakura shogunate in Genkō 3 (1333).<sup>21</sup> But his appointment to the position of military governor was somewhat atypical. Two documents dated the 23rd day of the 12th month, Kōkoku 3 (1342), and the 11th day of the 3rd month, Kōkoku 4 (1343), respectively, indicate that Uesugi Tomosada was military governor for at least the period between those two dates,<sup>22</sup> so the position was in fact divided at some point, though not between a powerful local warrior already entrenched in the province and an Ashikaga ally or clan member, but between two Ashikaga supporters.

We do not know when Tomosada was appointed or for how long he served. But Imatani Akira has persuasively conjectured that his term in office stretched from at least the 2nd month, Engen 1 (1336), to at least the 11th month, Kōkoku 5 (1344),<sup>23</sup> that is, until after Niki Yoriakira had been replaced by Yamana Tokiuji.

**Shigeyoshi.** A document dated the 27th day of the 5th month, Engen 3 (1338), from Ashikaga Takauji's deputy (*shitsuji*) in Kyoto, Kō Moronao (?-1351), to Shigeyoshi indicates that Shigeyoshi held the position of military governor of Izu at the time.<sup>24</sup> He was the second Ashikaga supporter to hold the position, the first being Ishidō Yoshifusa (?-1355), who had probably stepped down in 1st month, Engen 3 (1338).<sup>25</sup> We have no documentary evidence of how long Shigeyoshi remained in office, but Satō Shin'ichi has convincingly argued that he served in both Shōhei 1 (1346) and the following year, and that he indeed remained in office until he in Shōhei 4 (early 1350) fell out of favour with Ashikaga Takauji and was exiled to Echizen Province.<sup>26</sup>

**Tomofusa (?-1391?).** Tomofusa was Uesugi Norifusa's grandson.<sup>27</sup> He had a brief stint as military governor of Tajima Province at some point between the 4th month, Shōhei 4 (1349), and the 7th month, Shōhei 5 (1350). The earliest and latest indications of his appointment are two documents dated the 25th day of the 12th month, Shōhei 4 (early 1350), and 28th day of the 3rd month, Shōhei 5 (1350), respectively.<sup>28</sup>

The Kamakura *fu* was another Muromachi institution with which members of the Uesugi family became associated during the years under consideration in this essay. As noted in the first essay of this series, the *fu* was an organisation charged with administering the eastern provinces, formally established in Kenmu 1 (1334) by Emperor Godaigo with one of his sons as its nominal head, though in practice created and led by Ashikaga Tadayoshi.<sup>29</sup> When the Ashikaga set out from Kamakura in the 12th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336), to confront the army the emperor had sent against them from Kyoto,<sup>30</sup> they left behind them Takauji's son Yoshiakira (1330-1368) to be in charge of the organisation,<sup>31</sup> and it is generally accepted that Shiba Ienaga was the first Ashikaga supporter to serve as his deputy.<sup>32</sup>

At the time the *fu* dealt mostly with military matters, as Ashikaga Takauji and Tadayoshi not only continued to take all the important politico-administrative decisions concerning the east but also bypassed the *fu* when communicating such decisions to the eastern military governors.<sup>33</sup> However, over time this changed, and the *fu* increasingly became involved in managerial matters. According to Koyō Hiroshi, the change began in the years after the Kannō disturbance, i.e. after Shōhei 7 (1352).<sup>34</sup> But as Tanabe Hisako has observed, it rather seems that the *fu* began functioning as shogunate's administrative intermediary for the region in the years Engen 4 and Kōkoku 1 (1339 and 1340); that during these years the shogunate increasingly communicated important decisions to the eastern military governors through the *fu*, thus in effect making it their immediate superior.<sup>35</sup> As an early example of this new chain of command, Tanabe has cited a shogunal order dated 14th day of the 5th month, Kōkoku 2 (1341), to Kantō deputy Kō Morofuyu (?-1351), directing him to transfer the ownership of landholdings in Sagami to a monk from the temple *Zuishin'in*.<sup>36</sup> Another, albeit later, example is also an order for the transfer of land ownership – this time in Kōzuke – and is dated the 28th day of the 8th month, Shōhei 4 (1349).<sup>37</sup>

We noted above that Shiba Ienaga was the first Ashikaga supporter to serve as Kantō deputy and that he was appointed to the office at the time the Ashikaga led troops from Kamakura in order to confront the army the emperor had sent against them from Kyoto. That was in the 12th month, Kenmu 2 (early 1336). Ienaga committed suicide late in the 12th month, Engen 2 (early 1338), during Kitabatake Akiie's attack on Kamakura,<sup>38</sup> and presumably he served as Kantō deputy until then. But the latest documentary evidence we have of his appointment is a letter dated the 18th day of the 8th month, Engen 2 (1337).<sup>39</sup>

For some of the time Ienaga was in office another Ashikaga supporter also served as Kantō deputy. As Tanabe Hisako has observed, a document dated the 12th day of the 4th month, Engen 2 (1337), indicates that Kō Shigemochi (?-?) had been appointed by that date,<sup>40</sup> and three other documents indicate that he remained in office until at least the 23rd day of the 2nd month, Engen 3 (1338), i.e. until after Ienaga's death.<sup>41</sup>

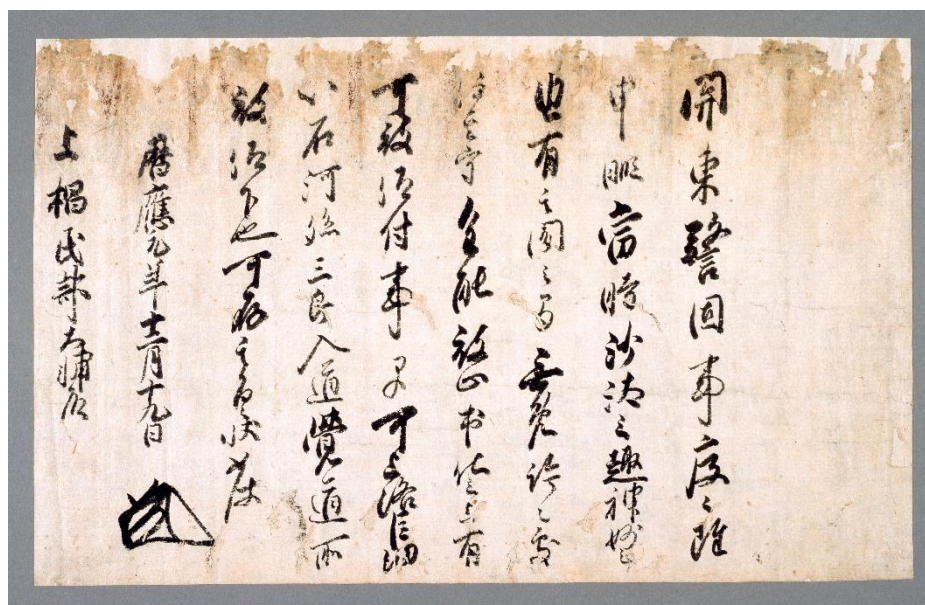
So far as we can reasonably tell, Noriaki was the first and only Uesugi to serve as Kantō deputy prior to

the Kannō Disturbance. Admittedly, according to *Kamakura Ōnikki*, the first one to be appointed to the position was Noriaki's brother Norifuji, whom it records as having been made deputy in Engen 2 (1337),<sup>42</sup> and this has been accepted by some modern scholars.<sup>43</sup> But we cannot concur because not only has *Kamakura Ōnikki* Kō Shigemochi *succeeding* Norifuji rather than serving concurrently with Ienaga and continuing to serve after his death, it also gives Noriaki's year of appointment as Kōkoku 1 (1340).<sup>44</sup> In other words, the source is too inconsistent with documentary evidence – namely, the four documents pertaining to Kō Shigemochi's tenure cited above, and an order from Kō Moronao to Noriaki dated the 27th day of the 5th month, Engen 3 (1338), cited below – to be considered credible, at least regarding the first few generations of deputies.<sup>45</sup> Instead, we shall consider a suggestion made by some scholars to the effect that Noriaki's appointment occurred at the time of Ienaga's death,<sup>46</sup> that is, late in the 12th month, Engen 2 (early 1338). On the face of it, this also seems difficult to accept, for would Noriaki really have been appointed at that time, only to leave the Kantō shortly thereafter in pursuit of Kitabatake Akiie, engaging him in battles at Aonogahara, possibly continuing to confront him in the capital region and eventually ending up in Kyoto?<sup>47</sup> Well, it is certainly not unlikely that he would. Because, as we shall see below, when he was campaigning in Echigo in the early years of the Kōkoku period (early 1340s), he had by that time been reappointed Kantō deputy after another spell in Kyoto (if he had ever been out of office during the spell).<sup>48</sup> So clearly, holding the office was not a hindrance to campaigning outside the Kantō. And when viewed in light of the power struggle that existed between Ashikaga Tadayoshi and the shogun's deputy, Kō Moronao,<sup>49</sup> the suggestion seems decidedly likely rather than merely not unlikely: by having Noriaki succeed Ienaga upon his death, Ashikaga Tadayoshi secured a close ally serving alongside Moronao's kinsman Kō Shigemochi, whom we may reasonably regard as Moronao's representative in the east.<sup>50</sup>

The order from Kō Moronao to Noriaki mentioned above is the earliest documentary evidence we have of Noriaki's serving as Kantō deputy. Dated, as noted, the 27th day of the 5th month, Engen 3 (1338), it directs him to suppress lawlessness in a Sagami village and transfer the proprietary rights in the village to a Buddhist temple in Izu.<sup>51</sup> Granted, some scholars have taken the document to indicate that Noriaki held a different position. In the view of Tanabe Hisako, Sakata Yūichi and Kubota Jun'ichi, for instance, it indicates that Noriaki was military governor of Sagami.<sup>52</sup> But this has been convincingly rebutted by Matsumoto Kazuo, who, like Satō Shin'ichi before him, has found it very probable that Sagami was without a military governor at the time, and according to whom the document instead suggests that Noriaki was 'an influential person' at the Kamakura *fu*.<sup>53</sup> Koyō Hiroshi has interpreted Moronao's order to indicate that Noriaki held 'some kind of position at the Kamakura *fu*' other than that of deputy, albeit without explaining why he believes this to have been the case or what the other position might have been.<sup>54</sup> However, since Moronao at a later date ordered Noriaki, in his capacity of Kantō deputy, to transfer proprietary rights,<sup>55</sup> it

is difficult not to regard the earlier order as having been issued to him in the same capacity. In other words, Noriaki already seems to have been Kantō deputy at the time of the earlier order.

The earliest documentary evidence of Noriaki serving as Kantō deputy after Moronao's order to suppress unrest in a Sagami village is dated the 19th day of the 6th month, Kōkoku 1 (1340),<sup>56</sup> but little is known about his activities during the intervening period. We noted in the previous essay that he was making his way to from Kyoto to eastern Japan at the beginning of the 6th month, Engen 3 (1338),<sup>57</sup> so he must surely have left the capital shortly after Moronao issued his order. However, we have no evidence of any military action to suppress unrest in the Sagami village in the ensuing months. What is clear is that a directive (*migyōsho*) from Tadayoshi ordered him to Kyoto in the 12th month, Engen 3 (early 1339), because he was to assume his brother Shigeyoshi's otherwise unspecified duties.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, it



Ashikaga Tadayoshi's directive ordering Noriaki to Kyoto (image copyright: Yonezawa City, Japan).

appears that he became associated with the central bureaucracy's Board of Coadjutors (*Hikitsukekata*) at some point. The Board was a body in charge of court cases related to the infringement of landholding,<sup>59</sup> and Noriaki's association with it is indicated by a single document. It is dated the 4th day of the 8th month, Engen 4 (1339) and concerns the suppression, by the military governor of Tanba Niki Yoriakira, of lawless acts being perpetrated against two estates in the province belonging to the Kyoto temple Jingoji.<sup>60</sup> We do not know when Noriaki became associated with the Board, nor for how long this association lasted.

With regard to Noriaki serving as Kantō deputy from the 19th day of the 6th month, Kōkoku 1 (1340), onwards, a number of documents indicate that he remained in office until well into the Kannō Disturbance,<sup>61</sup> with Kō Morofuyū serving alongside him for several years.<sup>62</sup>

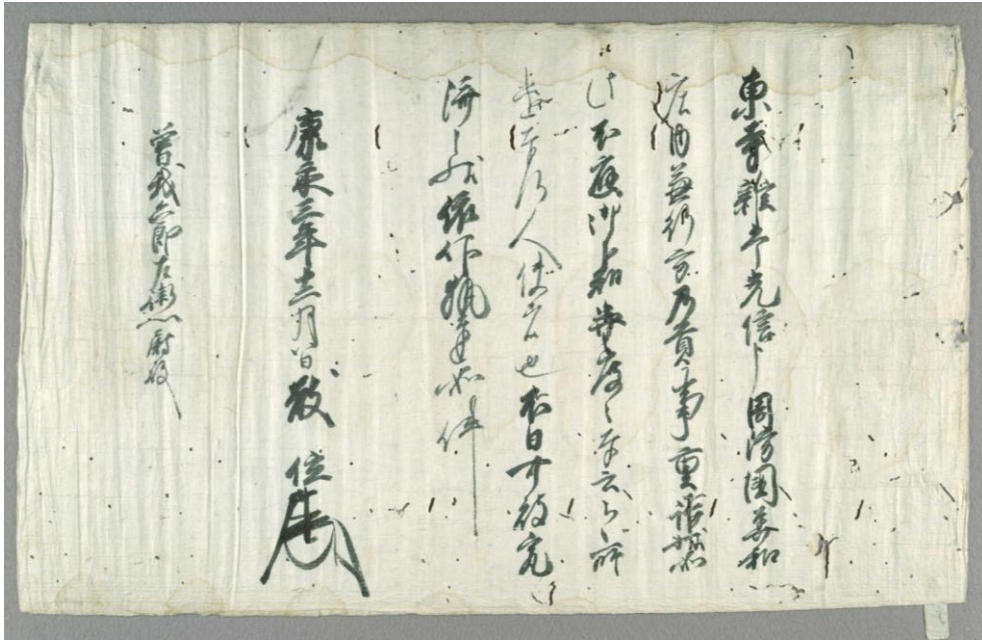
One other Uesugi also appears to have served the Kamakura *fu*. Uesugi Yoshinori (1333-1378) was one

of Noriaki's sons and adopted by Uesugi Shigeyoshi,<sup>63</sup> and we can infer from a document dated the 20th day of the 1st month, Shōhei 7 (1352), that he must have served as military steward of the Aikō estate in Sagami,<sup>64</sup> an estate believed to have been under the direct authority of the *fu*.<sup>65</sup> The document has nothing to say about when Yoshinori had been appointed, but since it transfers the position from him to another warrior, it seems safe to assume that he had served for at least some of the time during the decades under consideration in this essay.

**N**oriaki's cousin Tomosada also became a member of the Board of Coadjutors. Not only does an undated document in the *Yūki Monjo* collection contain a list of the board's members as of the 21st day of the 3rd month, Kōkoku 5 (1344), with Tomosada figuring as the head of one of the board's five bureaus.<sup>66</sup> We also have a number of documents that indicates that he had actually held the position since at least the 28th day of the 10th month, Engen 2 (1337).<sup>67</sup> In Kōkoku 5 (1344) the Board of Coadjutors was thoroughly reorganised, giving rise to a new board, the *Naidankata*.<sup>68</sup> The members of this body are also listed in the undated *Yūki Monjo* document, with Tomosada as the head of a bureau.<sup>69</sup> And again a number of documents indicate that he held the position for some years, until at least the 28th day of the 8th month, Shōhei 2 (1347).<sup>70</sup>

Another of the *Naidankata*'s bureau heads appears on the list as 'the governor of Izu.'<sup>71</sup> There can be little doubt that this warrior was Uesugi Shigeyoshi. Recall that he had been appointed governor of Izu by the 6th day of the 3rd month, Kenmu 1 (1334),<sup>72</sup> and an entry for the 18th day of the 5th month, Kōkoku 5 (1344), in the diary of the nobleman Nakahara Moromori (?-?) indicates that he still held this position, as it mentions 'the Izu governor, Shigeyoshi.'<sup>73</sup> A number of documents, all of which have been signed 'the Governor of Izu' but without any name, indicate that he was bureau head from the establishment of the board until at least the 25th day of the 7th month, Shōhei 4 (1349).<sup>74</sup>

**I**n the previous and present essays we have examined the military and institutional aspects of the Uesugi-Ashikaga relationship since the outbreak of hostilities in Kenmu 2 (early 1336), and we should be left with no doubt that the Uesugi were close and trusted supporters of the Ashikaga, just as they had been during Emperor Godaigo's imperial restoration attempt. We may wonder what role, if any, the two families' bonds of kinship played in sustaining this relationship. Such ties do seem to have mattered to Ashikaga Takauji when he prioritised whom to appoint to, for instance, the position of provincial governor,<sup>75</sup> but we have no way of knowing whether they played any role at all, or even to a lesser degree, in the Uesugi's support for the Ashikaga. Given the nature of the relationship at the time between those who needed warriors to fight for their cause and the warriors who offered their services,<sup>76</sup> however, it is difficult to



One of the documents (doc. no. 木函/23) issued by Tomosada in his capacity of one of the Naidankata's bureau heads (image copyright: Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives, Japan\*).

imagine that self-interest and the prospect of receiving rewards for military service were not the Uesugi's overriding motivations for their support. And the Uesugi would discover in Shōhei 4 (1349) that there were also clear limits to how far Ashikaga Takauji allowed kinship considerations to influence appointment decisions, when, during what has been called Kō Moronao's *coup d'état*,<sup>77</sup> Takauji complied with Moronao's demand that Uesugi Shigeyoshi be exiled. The coup, and the Uesugi's involvement in the armed conflict between Takauji and his brother that it precipitated, are the subject of the following essay.

\* The image is CC BY-licensed and has been downloaded from the website of the institute's *Toji Hyakugo Archives*. I am obliged to state that I have cropped it slightly in order to reduce the grey backdrop.

## Notes.

### Abbreviations used in the following:

DNK: Dainihon Komonjo	NBCI: Nanbokuchō Ibun	SZSS: Shintei Zōho Shiseki Shūran
DNS: Dainihon Shiryō	SK: Shizuoka Kenshi, shiryōhen	ZGR: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū
GK: Gunma Kenshi, shiryōhen	SM: Sugaura Monjo, jō	ZYJM: Zōho Yasaka Jinja Monjo
KK: Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen	SS: Shiryō sanshū	ZZST: Zōho Zoku Shiryō Taisei
KS: Kanō Shiryō	SSS: Sagaken shiryō shūsei, komonjohen	
MK: Miyazaki Kenshi, shiryōhen	SZKT: Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei	

- <sup>1</sup> This and the following paragraph are based on Thomas Nelson, *Bakufu and Shugo Under the Early Ashikaga*, pp. 79-80 and 85, David Spafford, *A Sense of Place; the political landscape in late medieval Japan*, pp. 80-81, and John Whitney Hall, *The Muromachi Bakufu*, p. 198.
- <sup>2</sup> See Taniguchi Yūta, *Ashikaga ichimon saikō - 'Ashikagateki chitsujo' to sono hōkai*, p. 43.
- <sup>3</sup> For a genealogy of the Uesugi dealt with in this essay, see p. 2.
- <sup>4</sup> See my *Early association with Court and warriors and emergence on the politico-military stage of eastern Japan, 1252-1336*, p. 9, and *Military activities, 1336-1350*, pp. 2 and 8.
- <sup>5</sup> See *Military activities, 1336-1350*, p. 3.
- <sup>6</sup> See *Military activities, 1336-1350*, p. 5.
- <sup>7</sup> Thus, we cannot agree with Akasawa Kazuma's claim in *Nanbokuchōki no Echigo Nittashi*, p. 151, according to which Noriaki was appointed in Engen 2 (1337).
- <sup>8</sup> For this letter, see *Military activities, 1336-1350*, pp. 3 and 5. The document can be found in *DNK, iewake 12, 1*, pp. 8-9, doc. no. 15 (*Uesugike Monjo*).
- <sup>9</sup> Japanese scholars, too, have taken the letter to indicate that Noriaki had been appointed military governor by then, though without explaining why they believe this to be the case (see Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen*, pp. 197-198, and Haga Norihiko, *Echigo ni okeru shugo ryōgoku keisei; shugo to kokunjin no kankei o chūshin ni*, p. 88).
- <sup>10</sup> See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, p. 198. The documents can be found in *DNS 6, 5*, p. 57 (*Chōrakuji Monjo*), *DNS 6, 6*, pp. 654-655 (*Nitta Iwamatsu Monjo*) and *DNS 6, 12*, p. 904 (*Maedake Shozō Monjo*); and *KK 3, kodai chūsei 3, jō*, p. 338, doc. no. 4056 (*Masaki Monjo*).
- <sup>11</sup> Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō; sono ichi*, p. 5. The three documents are *DNS 6, 6*, pp. 654-655 (*Nitta Iwamatsu Monjo*), and *DNS 6, 12*, p. 904 (*Maedake Shozō Monjo*); and *KK 3, kodai chūsei 3, jō*, p. 338, doc. no. 4056 (*Masaki Monjo*).
- <sup>12</sup> *Nitta Iwamatsu Monjo* in *DNS 6, 6*, p. 655.
- <sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Kubota Jun'ichi, *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: Uesugi Noriaki*, p. 76. The document can be found in *DNS 6, 7*, pp. 577-578 (*Irobe Monjo*).
- <sup>14</sup> See Haga Norihiko, *Echigo ni okeru shugo ryōgoku keisei ...*, p. 88, Yamada Kuniaki, *Echigo no dōran*, p. 186, and Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, pp. 264-265. (Satō Shin'ichi here also conjectures that Noriaki had likely been appointed not earlier than late in the 10th month, Engen 4 (1339). Another, less convincing, conjecture has it that the appointment took place in either Kōkoku 4 (1343) or two years later (see Akasawa Kazuma, *Uesugishi no Echigo no kuni nyūbu to Kannō no jōran*, pp. 170-171.)
- <sup>15</sup> See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, p. 266. The document can be found in *GK 6, chūsei 2*, pp. 616, doc. no. 877 (*Miura Wada Monjo*).
- <sup>16</sup> *Uesugike Monjo* in *DNK, iewake 12, 3*, pp. 230-231, doc. no. 1181.
- <sup>17</sup> See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, ge; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen*, p. 18. The document can be found in *DNS 6, 5*, p. 861 (*Chōfukuji Monjo*).
- <sup>18</sup> *Chōfukuji Monjo* in *DNS 6, 5*, pp. 861-862.
- <sup>19</sup> See Imatani Akira, *Muromachi sengokuki no Tanba shugo to dogō*, pp. 308-311. Yoriakira's name is written 仁木頼章. It appears variously as Nikki Yoriaki, Niki Yoriaki and Niki Yoriakira in secondary sources. I follow the reading given in Ishikawa Toshio, *Nikishi*, p. 255, i.e. Niki Yoriakira. Throughout this essay, years of birth and death, including the '?', are from Kokushi Daijiten Henshū linkai (compilation), *Kokushi daijiten*, unless otherwise noted.
- <sup>20</sup> Taniguchi Yūta, *Ashikaga ichimon saikō ...*, p. 38.

- <sup>21</sup> Ishikawa Toshio, *Nikishi*, p. 250 and 255.
- <sup>22</sup> See Imatani Akira, *Muromachi sengokuki no Tanba ...*, p. 310 (which gives the date of one of the documents as 23rd day of the 11th month instead of 23rd day of the 12th month. There can be no doubt that this is a misprint.) The documents can be found in *DNS 6, 7*, pp. 300-301 (*Ankokuji Monjo*). Unconvincingly, Sakata Yūichi, in *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; Uesugi Tomosada ·Noriaki ·Shigeyoshi o chūshin ni*, pp. 46-47, dismisses the idea that Tomosada was military governor without offering an alternative interpretation of the two documents.
- <sup>23</sup> See Imatani Akira, *Muromachi sengokuki no Tanba...*, p. 310.
- <sup>24</sup> *Tanaka Noritadashi Shozō Monjo* in *SK 6, chūsei 2*, p. 100, doc. no. 201.
- <sup>25</sup> Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, pp. 118-119. Yoshifusa's dates are from Yasuda Motohisa (ed.), *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten konpakutohan*, p. 53.
- <sup>26</sup> See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, pp. 117-119. More on Shigeyoshi's falling out of favour in the following essay.
- <sup>27</sup> *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in *SZKT 59*, p. 134.
- <sup>28</sup> See Satō Shin'ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, ge ...*, p. 30. The documents can be found on the website of The National Museum of Japanese History (*Tajima no Kuni, Sasaki no Shō Gusho*, photographic reproductions of doc. nos. 6 and 23).\*
- <sup>29</sup> See *Early association with Court and warriors ...*, pp. 7-8.
- <sup>30</sup> For the Ashikaga's offensive, see *Military activities, 1336-1350*, p. 3.
- <sup>31</sup> Itō Kiyoshi, *Nihon no rekishi 8: Nanbokuchō no dōran*, p. 244.
- <sup>32</sup> Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, p. 1. Koyō Hiroshi here gives Ienaga's title as 'Kantō kanrei.' But as Tanabe Hisako has noted, at the time this title was in fact held by Ashikaga Yoshiakira as head of the *fu*, and after him, for some years, by his brother and successor Motouji (1340-1367) (Tanabe Hisako, *Kantō kubō Ashikagashi yondai; Motouji ·Ujimitsu ·Mitsukane ·Mochiuji*, pp. 11-12). Ienaga's title was 'Kantō shitsujii' (Oguni Hirohisa, *Ōshū ryōkanrei to Kantō ryōshitsujii; shoki Kamakura fu*, p. 230, for instance), but in time the deputies did come to hold the *kanrei* title (for a discussion of this, see Kuroda Motoki, *Kantō kanrei Uesugishi no kenkyū*, pp. 26-28). In this and the following essays, we refer to the office simply as 'Kanto deputy', regardless of the deputy's official title at any given time.
- <sup>33</sup> Tanabe Hisako, *Chūsei, Kamakurafu; Kamakurafu no seiritsu*, p. 783.
- <sup>34</sup> Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantōfu shōron; bakufu to no kankei o chūshin ni shite*, pp. 256-257.
- <sup>35</sup> Tanabe Hisako, *Kamakura Sōsho 14: Ransei no Kamakura*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39. The document can be found in *NBCI, Kantōhen 2*, p. 141, doc. no. 1217 (*Yamashiro Zuishin'in Monjo*). Tanabe does not say anything about whom she believes the military governor of Sagami was at the time, that is, to whom Moronao would have addressed the order had he wished to bypass the Kamakura *fu*. We have no documentary evidence revealing the person's identity, but a cautious guess would be that it was Miura Takamichi (?-?). Because an entry for the 24th day of the 4th month, Kōkoku 4 (1343) in *Tsurugaoka Shamu Kiroku* indicates that he had been appointed to the office by then (*SZSS 25, shūkyōbu,shintō ·jishihen*, p. 34). Takamichi's 'dates' are from Tanabe Hisako, *Miurashi*, p. 330.
- <sup>37</sup> *Maedake Shozō Monjo* in *DNS 6, 12*, p. 904.
- <sup>38</sup> Mizuno Hiroki, *Zukai Kannō no jōran to nanbokuchō no dōran*, p. 65.
- <sup>39</sup> *Sōma Okada Monjo* in *KK 3, kodai ·chūsei 3, jō*, p. 68, doc. no. 3338.
- <sup>40</sup> See Tanabe Hisako, *Nanbokuchōki no Musashi no kuni ni kansuru ikkōsatsu*, p.12, note 4. The document can be found in *NBCI, Kantōhen 1*, p. 247, doc. no. 684 (*Saitama Kenritsu Monjokan Shozō Abo Monjo*). Shigemochi's 'dates' are from Yasuda Motohisa (ed.), *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten ...*, p. 190.
- <sup>41</sup> *Hosaka Junjishi Shozō Monjo* in *NBCI, Kantōhen 1*, p. 280, doc. no. 773, and *Beppu Monjo* in *ibid.*, p. 287, doc. no. 795, and p. 288, doc. no. 800.
- <sup>42</sup> *Kamakura Ōnikki* in *ZZST 51*, p. 220.

\* To access the documents, go to <https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp> and click on the 🔍. Enter '館蔵資料データベースの検索' in the search field and click on 'Search'. On the resulting page, click on 'Kanzou shiryō database (syuz)'. Enter '但馬国雀岐庄具書' in the '資料名称 (漢字)' search field and click on 検索. In the search result, click on '1', then on the small images of the documents to view them enlarged.

- <sup>43</sup> For instance, Tanabe Hisako, *Chūsei, Kamakurafu; ...*, p. 810, and Yuyama Manabu, *Kenmu shinseiki no Kamakura Goshō; ‘Kantō Hisashiban sadamefumi’ ni kansuru kōsatsu*, p. 24.
- <sup>44</sup> *Kamakura Ōnikki* in ZZST 51, pp. 220-221.
- <sup>45</sup> For other arguments dismissive of the entry on Norifuji’s appointment in *Kamakura Ōnikki*, see Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, p. 2, and Komami Keisuke, *Nanbokuchōki Kamakurafu taiseika no Inugake Uesugishi; Uesugi Tomofusa no dōkō o chūshin ni*, p. 91.
- <sup>46</sup> For instance, Itō Kiyoshi, *Shoki no Kamakurafu*, p. 258, Kinoshita Satoshi, *Taiketsu no Tōgokushi 5: Yamanouchi Uesugishi to Ōgigayatsu Uesugishi*, p. 8, Shichinomiya Keizō, *Kantō kanrei Uesugi ichizoku*, p. 62, and Endō Iwao, *Ōshū kanrei oboegaki – toku ni seiritsu o meguru mondai seiri* –, p. 30.
- <sup>47</sup> For Noriaki’s participation in the pursuit of Akiie and ending up in Kyoto, see *Military activities, 1336-1350*, p. 6.
- <sup>48</sup> For Noriaki’s Echigo campaigns, see *ibid.*
- <sup>49</sup> For this power struggle, see, for instance, Mori Shigeaki, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi; ani Takauji to no tairitsu to risō kokka kōsō* (Kindle edition, ver. 002), *Chapter 3: Kannō no jōran, section 1: Tadayoshi no yabō – Jōran no haikai and Jōran no kōzō*.
- <sup>50</sup> For other suggestions – or, in some cases, unsupported assertions – as to when Noriaki was appointed deputy, none of which is convincing, see: **a) appointed in the 5th or 6th month, Engen 3 (1338), while he was still in Kyoto** (for instance, Sakurai Yoshio, *Dōran no Tōgokushi 4: nanbokuchō nairan to Tōgoku*, p. 122, Kuroda Motoki, *Kantō kanrei Uesugishi no kenkyū*, p. 18, Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, pp. 3-5, and Oguni Hirohisa, *Ōshū ryōkanrei to Kantō ryōshitsuji; ...*, p. 231); **b) appointed around Engen 2 (1337)** (Sakata Yūichi, *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; ...*, p. 45); **c) appointed in Kōkoku 1 (1340)** (for instance, Yamada Kuniaki, *Echigo no dōran*, p. 187, Akasawa Kazuma, *Uesugishi*, p. 228, and Kubota Jun’ichi, *Muromachi bakufu no seiritsu to shugo Uesugishi no Kōzuke shihai*, p. 321).
- <sup>51</sup> *Tanaka Noritadashi Shozō Monjo* in SK 6, *chūsei 2*, p. 100, doc. no. 202.
- <sup>52</sup> Tanabe Hisako, *Chūsei, Kamakurafu ...*, pp. 766-767, Sakata Yūichi, *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; ...*, pp. 52-53, and Kubota Jun’ichi, *Chūsei bushi senshō 13: ...*, p. 63.
- <sup>53</sup> See Matsumoto Kazuo, *Sagami shugo no tokushitsu*, pp. 352-354, and Satō Shin’ichi, *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō ...*, p. 126.
- <sup>54</sup> See Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>55</sup> See DNS 6, 12, p. 904 (*Maedake Shozō Monjo*).
- <sup>56</sup> *Daigoji Monjo* in KK 3, *kodai chūsei 3, jō*, p. 138, doc. no. 3483.
- <sup>57</sup> See *Military activities, 1336-1350*, p. 6.
- <sup>58</sup> *Uesugike Monjo* in DNK, *iewake 12, 1*, p. 14, doc. no. 21.
- <sup>59</sup> Satō Shin’ichi, *Nihon no Rekishi 9: Nanbokuchō no dōran*, p. 203.
- <sup>60</sup> *Jingoji Monjo* in DNS 6, 5, p. 642.
- <sup>61</sup> See Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, pp. 5-6. The documents can be found in KK 3, *kodai chūsei 3, jō*, pp. 231-232, doc. no. 3728 (*Makabe Monjo*), p. 332, doc. no. 4036 (*Mishima Jinja Monjo*), p. 338, doc. no. 4056 (*Masaki Monjo*), pp. 341-342, doc. no. 4070 (*Fūken Monjosan Kyūjū Shoshū Yūki Monjo*), p. 342, doc. no. 4074 (*Kanazawa Bunko Monjo*), p. 343, doc. no. 4077 (*Iwata Saheishi Shozō Monjo*), p. 344, doc. no. 4081 (*Butsunichian Monjo*), p. 346, doc. no. 4086 (*Bannaji Monjo*), and pp. 346-347, doc. no. 4088 (*Yatabe Monjo*); DNK, *iewake 12, 1*, p. 10, doc. no. 18, p. 15, doc. no. 23, p. 16, doc. no. 26, p. 17, doc. no. 27, p. 19, doc. no. 30, and p. 74, doc. no. 123 (*Uesugike Monjo*); and DNS 6, 6, p. 198, and DNS 6, 15, pp. 298-299 (*Chōrakuji Monjo*), DNS 6, 6, pp. 654-655 (*Nitta Iwamatsu Monjo*), DNS 6, 9, p. 934 (*Hitachi Mitsuzōinzō Komonjo*), and DNS 6, 12, p. 904 (*Maedake Shozō Monjo*).
- It may be noted that according to a conjecture made by Itō Kiyoshi based on two of the documents cited above (*Makabe Monjo* and *Hitachi Mitsuzōinzō Komonjo*), Noriaki was military governor of a part of Hitachi Province around the 12th day of 8th month, Kōkoku 5 (1344) (see Itō Kiyoshi, *Shoki no Kamakurafu*, pp. 260-262). For a convincing rebuttal of Itō’s argument, see Matsumoto Kazuo, *Uesugi Noriaki Hitachi bungun shugo no kanōsei – Itō Kiyoshi setsu no saikentō*, pp. 211-216.
- <sup>62</sup> For Kō Morofuyu’s terms in office, see Koyō Hiroshi, *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō ...*, pp. 6-8.
- <sup>63</sup> *Uesugi Keizu* in ZGR 6, *ge, keizubu*, p. 65.
- <sup>64</sup> See KK 3, *kodai chūsei 3, jō*, p. 358, doc. no. 4129 (*Matsura Monjo*).
- <sup>65</sup> See Yamada Kuniaki, *Kamakurafu to Kantō; chūsei no seiji chitsujō to zaichi shakai*, pp. 203-204.
- <sup>66</sup> *Yūki Monjo* in DNS 6, 8, p. 177.

- <sup>67</sup> See Sakata Yūichi, *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; ...*, p. 47-48. The documents listed by Sakata can be found in *ZYJM, ge 1*, pp. 487-489, doc. nos. 1727 and 1730 (*Yasaka Jinja Monjo*); *DNS 6, 4*, pp. 952-953 (*Tashiho Monjo*), *DNS 6, 5*, p. 90 (*Gekinikki Uragaki*), pp. 159-160 (*Yamanouchi Sudō Monjo*), and p. 564 (*Tōji Monjo*), *DNS 6, 6*, p. 73 (*Eihoji Monjo*); and *NBCI, Kyūshūhen 2*, p. 120, doc. no. 1688 (*Satsuma Nikaidō Monjo*). But one document is missing from the list: *ZYJM, ge 1*, p. 490, doc. no. 1731 (*Yasaka Jinja Monjo*), dated the 18th day of the 4th month, Kōkoku 1 (1340).
- <sup>68</sup> Tanaka Makoto, *Kōei sannen ni okeru Muromachi Bakufu hikitsukekata kaihen ni tsuite*, pp. 712-714.
- <sup>69</sup> *Yūki Monjo* in *DNS 6, 8*, p. 179. Actually, the term 'Naidankata' does not appear in this document. However, one of the three lists of names it contains has been identified as referring to that body (see, for instance, Tanaka Makoto, *Kōei sannen ni okeru Muromachi Bakufu ...*, pp. 713-714).
- <sup>70</sup> See Sakata Yūichi, *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; ...*, pp. 47-48. The documents can be found in *DNS 6, 8*, pp. 521-522, and *DNS 6, 10*, pp. 642-644 (*Sanbōin Monjo*); *DNK, iewake 17, besshū 5*, p. 271, doc. no. 744 (*Shinjuan Monjo*); *SSS 18*, p. 40, doc. no. 33 (*Tachibana Nakamura Monjo*); and on the website of the Toji Hyakugo Archives operated by the Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives in Japan (*Tōji Hyakugō Monjo*, photographic reproductions of doc. nos. 七函/12, み函/29/2/3 and 六函/23).\*
- <sup>71</sup> *Yūki Monjo* in *DNS 6, 8*, p. 179.
- <sup>72</sup> See *Early association with Court and warriors ...*, p. 8.
- <sup>73</sup> *Moromoriki* in *SS, daiikki*, pp. 133-138.
- <sup>74</sup> See Sakata Yūichi, *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; ...*, pp. 55-56. The documents can be found in *MK, chūsei 2*, p. 207 (*Kita Masakishi Shozō Monjo*); *DNS 6, 9*, pp. 376-377, *DNS 6, 10*, p. 303, and *DNS 6, 12*, pp. 488-489 (*Maedake Shozō Monjo*), *DNS 6, 9*, p. 377 (*Katsura Monjo*), and p. 378 (*Tōji Monjo*), *DNS 6, 10*, pp. 144-145 (*Shingōji Monjo*), *DNS 6, 12*, pp. 535-536 (*Tōdaiji Monjo*), and p. 807 (*Kennai Monjo*); *NBCI, Kyūshūhen 2*, p. 331, doc. no. 2264, and p. 365, doc. no. 2356 (*Yamashiro Hachiman Zenpōji Monjo*); *DNK, iewake 14*, pp. 103-104, doc. no. 86 (*Kumagaike Monjo*); *KS, nanbokuchō 1*, p. 401 (*Sanada Yukinarishi Shozō Monjo*); *SM*, pp. 51-52, doc. no. 141 (*Sugaura Monjo*); and on the website of the Toji Hyakugo Archives (*Tōji Hyakugō Monjo*, photographic reproductions of doc. nos. み函/29/1/4, ほ函/36/3, せ函/武家御教書並達/24, せ函/武家御教書並達/25, せ函/武家御教書並達/26 and ヒ函/47).
- <sup>75</sup> See p. 1.
- <sup>76</sup> For the nature of this relationship, see *Military activities*, p. 1.
- <sup>77</sup> For instance, in Tanabe Hisako, *Kamakura Sōsho 14 ...*, p. 47, Satō Shin'ichi, *Nihon no Rekishi 9 ...*, p. 241, and Mori Shigeaki, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi ...* (Kindle edition, ver. 002), *Chapter 3: Kannō no jōran, section 2: Nyoiō to Yoshiakira – Tadayoshi · Moronao aida no kōsō to sono naijitsu*.

\* To access the *Tōji Hyakugō Monjo* documents, go to <https://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp> and click on '文書をさがす.' On the resulting page, enter the document number (e.g., 七函/12) in the search field and click on the search button. In the search result, click on the small image of the document to view it enlarged.

## **Bibliography.**

### PRIMARY SOURCES:

- *Ankokuji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 7 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1908; facsimile edition published in 1983).
- *Bannaji Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen* 3, *kodai•chūsei* 3, *jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Beppu Monjo* in Satō Kazuhiko, Itō Kazuhiko, Yamada Kuniaki & Tsunoda Tomohiko (eds.), *Nanbokuchō Ibum, Kantōhen* 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2007).
- *Butsunichian Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen* 3, *kodai•chūsei* 3, *jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Chōfukuji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 5 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1906; facsimile edition published in 1982).
- *Chōrakuji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 6 and 6, 15 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1906, 1907 and 1917, respectively; facsimile editions published in 1982, 1982 and 1983).
- *Daigoji Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen* 3, *kodai•chūsei* 3, *jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Eihoji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 6 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1907; facsimile edition published in 1982).
- *Fūken Monjosan Kyūjū Shoshū Yūki Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen* 3, *kodai•chūsei* 3, *jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Gekinikki Uragaki* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 5 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1906; facsimile edition published in 1982).
- *Hitachi Mitsuzōinzō Komonjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 9 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1910; facsimile edition published in 1983).
- *Hosaka Junjishi Shozō Monjo* in Satō Kazuhiko, Itō Kazuhiko, Yamada Kuniaki & Tsunoda Tomohiko (eds.), *Nanbokuchō Ibum, Kantōhen* 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2007).
- *Irobe Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 7 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1908; facsimile edition published in 1983).
- *Iwata Saheishi Shozō Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen* 3, *kodai•chūsei* 3, *jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Jingoji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō* 6, 5 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1906; facsimile edition published in 1982).

- *Kamakura Ōnikki* in Takeuchi Rizō (ed.), *Zōho Zoku Shiryō Taisei 51* (Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1979).
- *Kanazawa Bunko Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Katsura Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 9* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1910; facsimile edition published in 1983).
- *Kennai Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 12* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1913; facsimile edition published in 1983).
- *Kita Masakishi Shozō Monjo* in Miyazakiken (compilation), *Miyazaki Kenshi, shiryōhen, chūsei 2* (Miyazaki: Miyazakiken, 1994).
- *Kumagaike Monjo* in Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Komonjo, iewake 14* (Tokyo: Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku; 1937).
- *Maedake Shozō Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 9; 6, 10 and 6, 12* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1910, 1911 and 1913, respectively; facsimile editions published in 1983, 1971 and 1983, respectively).
- *Makabe Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Masaki Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Matsura Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Mishima Jinja Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Miura Wada Monjo* in Gunma Kenshi Hensan linkai (compilation), *Gunma Kenshi, shiryōhen 6, chūsei 2* (Maebashi: Gunmaken, 1984).
- *Moromoriki* in Fujii Sadafumi & Kobayashi Hanako (revision): *Shiryō sanshū, daiikki 1* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1969).
- *Nitta Iwamatsu Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 6* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1907; facsimile edition published in 1982).
- *Saitama Kenritsu Monjokan Shozō Abo Monjo* in Satō Kazuhiko, Itō Kazuhiko, Yamada Kuniaki & Tsunoda Tomohiko (eds.), *Nanbokuchō Ibun, Kantōhen* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2007).
- *Sanada Yukinarishi Shozō Monjo* in Kanō Shiryō Hensan linkai (compilation), *Kanō Shiryō, nanbokuchō 1* (Kanazawa: Ishikawaken, 1993).
- *Sanbōin Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 8 and 6, 10* (Tokyo:

- Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1908 and 1911, respectively; facsimile editions published in 1983 and 1971, respectively).
- *Satsuma Nikaidō Monjo* in Seno Seiichirō (ed.), *Nanbokuchō Ibun, Kyūshūhen 2* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1981).
  - *Shingōji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 10* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1911; facsimile edition published in 1971).
  - *Shinjuan Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Komonjo, iewake 17, besshū 5* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo, 2002).
  - *Sōma Okada Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai·chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
  - *Sonpi Bunmyaku* in Kuroita Katsumi & Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai (eds.), *Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei 59* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1966).
  - *Sugaura Monjo* in Shiga Daigaku Nihon Keizai Bunka Kenkyūjo Shiryōkan (compilation), *Sugaura Monjo, jō* (Ōtsu: Shiga Daigaku Nihon Keizai Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1960).
  - *Tachibana Nakamura Monjo* in Saga Kenritsu Toshokan (compilation), *Sagaken shiryō shūsei, komonjohen 18* (Saga: Saga Kenritsu Toshokan, 1977).
  - *Tajima no Kuni, Sasaki no Shō Gusho*. Photographic reproductions on the website of The National Museum of Japanese History (Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan) (<https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp>).
  - *Tanaka Noritadashi Shozō Monjo* in Shizuokaken (compilation): *Shizuoka Kenshi, shiryōhen 6, chūsei 2* (Shizuoka: Shizuokaken, 1992).
  - *Tashiro Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 4* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1904; facsimile edition published in 1982).
  - *Tōdaiji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6,12* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1913; facsimile edition published in 1983).
  - *Tōji Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6,9* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1910; facsimile edition published in 1983).
  - *Tōji Hyakugō Monjo*. Photographic reproductions on the website of the Toji Hyakugo Archives, operated by the Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives (Kyoto Furitsu Kyotogaku·Rekisaikan) (<https://hyakugo.pref.kyoto.lg.jp>).
  - *Tsurugaoka Shamu Kiroku* in Shintei Zōho Shiseki Shūran Kankōkai (complication), *Shintei Zōho Shiseki Shūran 25, shūkyōbu, shintō·jishihen* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1967).
  - *Uesugi Keizu* in Hanawa Hokiichi & Ōta Tōshirō (eds.), *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū 6, ge, keizubu* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1928; third revised edition, 1957).

- *Uesugike Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Komonjo, iewake 12, 1* and *iewake 12, 3* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1931 and 1963, respectively; both volumes facsimile editions published in 2001).
- *Yamanouchi Sudō Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 5* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1906; facsimile edition published in 1982).
- *Yamashiro Hachiman Zenpōji Monjo* in Seno Seiichirō (ed.), *Nanbokuchō Ibun, Kyūshūhen 2* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1981).
- *Yamashiro Zuishin'in Monjo* in Satō Kazuhiko, Itō Kazuhiko, Yamada Kuniaki, Shimizu Ryō & Tsunoda Tomohiko (eds.), *Nanbokuchō Ibun, Kantōhen 2* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2008).
- *Yasaka Jinja Monjo* in Yasaka Jinja Shamusho (compilation), *Zōho Yasaka Jinja Monjo, ge 1* (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1940; facsimile edition published in 1994).
- *Yatabe Monjo* in Kanagawaken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, shiryōhen 3, kodai•chūsei 3, jō* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1975).
- *Yūki Monjo* in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo (compilation), *Dainihon Shiryō 6, 8* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1908; facsimile edition published in 1983).

#### SECONDARY SOURCES:

- Akasawa Kazuma. *Nanbokuchōki no Echigo Nittashi* in Akasawa Kazuma, *Kannihonkai rekishi minzokugaku sōsho 6: Echigo Uesugishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōshi Shoin, 1999).
- Akasawa Kazuma. *Uesugishi* in Imatani Akira & Fujie Fumitada (eds.), *Muromachi Bakufu shugo shokuka jiten, jō* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988).
- Akasawa Kazuma. *Uesugishi no Echigo no kuni nyūbu to Kannō no jōran* in Akasawa Kazuma, *Kannihonkai rekishi minzokugaku sōsho 6: Echigo Uesugishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōshi Shoin, 1999).
- Darling, Dennis. *Early association with Court and warriors and emergence on the politico-military stage of eastern Japan, 1252-1336* (available at [www.uesugi.dk](http://www.uesugi.dk) and <https://hcommons.org/members/dduesugi/>, 2020, revised 2024).
- Darling, Dennis. *Military activities, 1336-1350* (available at [www.uesugi.dk](http://www.uesugi.dk) and <https://hcommons.org/members/dduesugi/>, 2023, revised 2026).
- Endō Iwao. *Ōshu kanrei oboegaki – toku ni seiritsu o meguru mondai seiri* – in the journal Tōhoku Shigakkai (ed.), *Rekishi 38* (Sendai: Tōhoku Shigakkai, 1969).
- Haga Norihiko. *Echigo ni okeru shugo ryōgoku keisei; shugo to kokunjin no kankei o chūshin ni* in Abe Yōsuke (ed.), *Sengoku daimyō ronshū 9: Uesugishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1984).
- Hall, John Whitney. *The Muromachi Bakufu* in Kozo Yamamura (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Japan, vol. 3: Medieval Japan* (Cambridge; New York, NY; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

- Imatani Akira. *Muromachi · sengokuki no Tanba shugo to dogō* in Imatani Akira, *Shugo ryōgoku shihai kikō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1986).
- Ishikawa Toshio. *Nikishi* in Imatani Akira & Fujie Fumitada (eds.), *Muromachi Bakufu shugo shokuka jiten, ge* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988).
- Itō Kiyoshi. *Nihon no rekishi 8: Nanbokuchō no dōran* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1992).
- Itō Kiyoshi. *Shoki no Kamakurafu* in Itō Kiyoshi, *Chūsei kokka to Tōgoku · Ōu* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1999).
- Kinoshita Satoshi. *Taiketsu no Tōgokushi 5: Yamanouchi Uesugishi to Ōgigayatsu Uesugishi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2022)
- Kokushi Daijiten Henshū linkai (compilation). *Kokushi daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979-1997).
- Komami Keisuke. *Nanbokuchōki Kamakurafu taiseika no Inugake Uesugishi; Uesugi Tomofusa no dōkō o chūshin ni* in the journal Meiji Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka (ed.), *Bungaku kenkyū ronshū 39* (Tokyo: Meiji Daigaku Daigakuin, 2013).
- Koyō Hiroshi. *Kantō kanrei honin enkaku shōkō; sono ichi* in the journal Hōsei Daigaku Shigaku Kenkyūshitsunai Hōsei Shiron Henshū linkai (ed.), *Hōsei shiron 5* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Daigakuin Nihon Shigaku, 1978).
- Koyō Hiroshi. *Kantōfu shōron; bakufu to no kankei o chūshin ni shite* in Toyoda Takeshi sensei koki kinenkai (ed.), *Toyoda Takeshi sensei koki kinenkai – Nihon chūsei no seiji to bunka* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980).
- Kubota Jun'ichi. *Chūsei bushi sensho 13: Uesugi Noriaki* (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan, 2012).
- Kubota Jun'ichi. *Muromachi bakufu no seiritsu to shugo Uesugishi no Kōzuke shihai* in Gunma Kenshi Hensan linkai (compilation), *Gunma Kenshi, tsūshihen 3, chūsei* (Maebashi: Gunmaken, 1989).
- Kuroda Motoki. *Kantō kanrei Uesugishi no kenkyū* in Kuroda Motoki (ed.), *Shiriizu chūsei Kantō bushi no kenkyū 11: Kantō kanrei Uesugishi* (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan, 2013).
- Matsumoto Kazuo. *Sagami shugo no tokushitsu* in Matsumoto Kazuo, *Chūseishi kenkyū sōsho 1: Tōgoku shugo no rekishiteki tokushitsu* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2001).
- Matsumoto Kazuo. *Uesugi Noriaki Hitachi bungun shugo no kanōsei – Itō Kiyoshi setsu no saikentō* in Matsumoto Kazuo, *Chūseishi kenkyū sōsho 1: Tōgoku shugo no rekishiteki tokushitsu* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2001).
- Mizuno Hiroki. *Zukai Kannō no jōran to Nanbokuchō no Dōran* (Tokyo: Sutandāzu Kabushiki Kaisha, 2018).
- Mori Shigeaki. *Ashikaga Tadayoshi; ani Takauji to no tairitsu to risō kokka kōsō* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2015), Kindle edition, ver. 002.

- Nelson, Thomas. *Bakufu and shugo under the early Ashikaga* in Jeffrey P. Mass (ed.), *The origins of Japan's medieval world; courtiers, clerics, warriors, and peasants in the fourteenth century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- Oguni Hirohisa. *Ōshū ryōkanrei to Kantō ryōshitsuji; shoki Kamakura fu to Ōshū* in Oguni Hirohisa, *Kamakurafu taisei to Tōgoku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001).
- Sakata Yūichi. *Nanbokuchō zenki ni okeru Uesugishi no dōkō; Uesugi Tomosada ·Noriaki ·Shigeyoshi o chūshin ni* in Kuroda Motoki (ed.), *Shirizū chūsei Kantō bushi no kenkyū 11: Kantō kanrei Uesugishi* (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan, 2013).
- Sakurai Yoshio. *Dōran no Tōgokushi 4: nanbokuchō nairan to Tōgoku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012).
- Satō Shin'ichi. *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, ge; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988).
- Satō Shin'ichi. *Muromachi Bakufu shugo seido no kenkyū, jō; nanbokuchōki shokoku shugo enkaku kōshōhen* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1967).
- Satō Shin'ichi. *Nihon no Rekishi 9: Nanbokuchō no dōran* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1974).
- Shichinomiya Keizō. *Kantō kanrei Uesugi ichizoku* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2002).
- Spafford, David. *A sense of place; the political landscape in late medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).
- Tanabe Hisako. *Chūsei, Kamakurafu; Kamakurafu no seiritsu* in Kanagawaken Kenminbu Kenshi Henshūshitsu (compilation), *Kanagawa Kenshi, tsūshihen 1, genshi ·kodai ·chūsei* (Yokohama: Kanagawaken, 1981).
- Tanabe Hisako. *Kamakura Sōsho 14: Ransei no Kamakura* (Kamakura: Kamakura Shunjūsha, 1990).
- Tanabe Hisako. *Kantō kubō Ashikagashi yondai; Motouji ·Ujimitsu ·Mitsukane ·Mochiuji* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002).
- Tanabe Hisako. *Miurashi* in Imatani Akira & Fujie Fumitada (eds.), *Muromachi Bakufu shugo shokuka jiten, ge* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1988).
- Tanabe Hisako. *Nanbokuchōki no Musashi no kuni ni kansuru ikkōsatsu* in the journal Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko (ed.), *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū 197* (Yokohama: Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko, 1972).
- Tanaka Makoto. *Kōei sannen ni okeru Muromachi Bakufu hikitsukekata kaihen ni tsuite* in the journal Ritsumeikan Daigaku Jinbungakkai (ed.), *Ritsumeikan bungaku 624* (Kyoto: Ritsumeikan Daigaku Jinbungakkai, 2012).
- Taniguchi Yūta. *Ashikaga ichimon saikō - 'Ashikagateki chitsujo' to sono hōkai* in the journal Komatsu

Hisao (ed.), *Shigaku zasshi 12* (Tokyo: Shigakkai, 2013).

- Yamada Kuniaki. *Echigo no dōran* in Niigataken (compilation), *Niigata kenshi, tsūshihen 2, chūsei* (Niigata: Niigataken, 1987).
- Yamada Kuniaki. *Kamakurafu to Kantō; chūsei no seiji chitsujo to zaichi shakai* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995).
- Yasuda Motohisa (ed.) *Kamakura Muromachi jinmei jiten konpakutohan* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1990).
- Yuyama Manabu. *Kenmu shinseiki no Kamakura Goshō; 'Kantō Hisashiban sadamefumi' ni kansuru kōsatsu* in Yuyama Manabu, *Yuyama Manabu chūsei shironshū 4: Kamakurafu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2011).