

Rebellions in the Provinces and the Death of Mitsunaga, 1<sup>st</sup> Month Jishō 5 (1181)  
(KW08-Shiryō 13 Gyokuyō, Sōkanshoku secchi)  
FINAL FINAL

Source:

『玉葉』治承五年正月各日 惣官<sup>1</sup>職設置より

*Gyokuyō* (published by Sumiya Shobō Vol. 2, p. 465): Establishing the position of commander in chief.<sup>2</sup>

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## 原文

正月十六日

申刻、左少弁行隆来云、諸国之勇士、併有謀叛之心、仍先五畿内及近江・伊賀・伊勢・丹波等国、可被補武士、以禦遠国之凶徒之由、故院被仰置了、但每国不可必任武勇之国宰、只件等国、惣而可被置管領之司。綽依新儀、内々被問大外記師尚之処、勘申旨如此〈即持来之状也〉、此事是非可計奏、者、余申云、故院遺詔、不可及異儀、其上事不及申可否。早任外記勘申旨、可被計行者也、者、余称疾不謁、以人伝示也。件外記申状、聖武天皇御時、七(道)通被補鎮撫使〈每道、或一人、或二人〉、以彼例可被准抛之由所申也。近日之事、不能善惡左右、只以被計行可為是、敢不可出異儀者也。仮令、鎮西之都督、管領九国二島之例、可被模云々。

十八日

伝聞官兵等入美乃国、攻光長城、相互死者多、遂梟光長首云々。彼国源氏等、光長之外、党類不幾云々。而已誅伐為宗者了。於今者、美乃・尾張両国、共以非可敵対云々。

## 読み下し

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<sup>1</sup>惣官：総官とも記す。最初は奈良時代に五畿内の鎮撫使みたいな官ですが、名なものとして平氏政権下養和元年（1181）に、叛乱軍追討のための軍事的指揮権を主たる内容として設置されたものがある。同職には平宗盛が補任され、臨時的軍政官の色彩が強く、五畿内・近江・伊賀・伊勢・丹波の九か国を対象として、追捕・検断権を行使し当該地域の武士の指揮・統轄の任に当たった。（『平安時代史事典』）

<sup>2</sup>惣官(*sōkan*): Originally used in the Nara period to refer to a military position with power over the provinces of the Kinai, it is best known as the Heike government appointment created in Yōwa 1 (1181). The appointee was given martial power to pursue and punish rebel armies. This position was given to Taira no Munemori for the five Kinai provinces as well as Ōmi, Iga, Ise and Tamba. He was given command of all local *bushi*. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

正月十六日

申の刻、左少弁行隆（ゆきたか）<sup>3</sup>、来たりていわく、「諸国の勇士、併（しかしながら）謀叛（むほん）の心有り。よって先（まず）五畿内及び近江・伊賀・伊勢・丹波等の国、武士を補せらるべし。以って遠国の凶徒（きょうと）を禦ぐの由、故院（こいん）<sup>4</sup>[高倉]<sup>5</sup>、仰せ置かれおわんぬ。但し、国毎に必ずしも武勇の国宰を任ずべからず、只件等の国、惣而（すべて）管領<sup>6</sup>の司を置かるべし。緯（こと）新儀によりて、内々に大外記<sup>7</sup>師尚（もろひさ）<sup>8</sup>に問わるるの処、勘申の旨此の如し（即ち持ち来たる状なり）。此の事是非を計らい奏（そう）すべき、」てへり、余<sup>9</sup>申し云く、「故院の遺詔（いしょう）<sup>10</sup>、異儀（いぎ）<sup>11</sup>に及ぶべからず、其の上の事可否を申すに及ばず。早く外記の勘申の旨に任せ、計らい行わるべき者なり」てへり、余、疾（やま）いと称し謁（え）<sup>12</sup>せず、人を以って伝え示すことなり。件の外記の申し状（もうしじょう）<sup>13</sup>、「聖武天皇の

<sup>3</sup> 藤原行隆（ふじわらのゆきたか）（1129－1187）当時正五位下。永万2年左小弁、正四位下を解官されたが、治承3年十月十七日、14年ぶりに還任、翌日蔵人に補された。『平家』三に、解官された行隆が突然、平清盛の呼び出しを受け、再び出仕することを許され、更に行隆が支配すべき荘園の認定書類などを贈られ驚喜する場面も描いている。（『平安時代史事典』）兼実に訪ねたのは、後白河の使として派遣されたのである。

<sup>4</sup> 亡くなった院

<sup>5</sup> 高倉天皇。在位 1168－1180。後白河天皇の第七皇子。母は建春門院(平滋子)。八歳で即位。平氏との関係深く、岳父清盛の専権と父の院政の間にあつて傀儡的存在であつた。父の院政停止により政務をみることになった高倉天皇が摂政に天下のことは沙汰にしてほしいと語っていたがその五ヶ月後、治承5年1月14日死去（21歳）。（『平安時代史事典』）

<sup>6</sup> 管領（この場合、「かんりょう」）：領有し、支配すること。また、その人。

<sup>7</sup> 外記：太政官内の官。外記には、職掌上経学を修め、文筆に長じた者が任ぜられたので、平安中期以降は明経道を家学とした中原・清原両氏が多数この地位を占めた。（『平安時代史事典』）。平安中期以来、外記の役割は情報を作ったり、先例の勘申を奉ったり、除目の管理したり、いろいろな文書・記録を作成・保管した。そのため、儀式などの過去の先例調べることが、重要な役割のひとつとなっていた。（『外記補任』p. 402）

<sup>8</sup> 中原師尚（なかはらのもろひさ）1131 - 1197. 平安末期の明経道の学者。大外記明経博士師遠の孫で同師元の子。明経得業生、大学少允、院文殿、少外記を経て、承安四年（1174）八月十三日条の外記官人が多数占める文殿衆中、師尚は「奉行」と注されている。このときに正五位下。（『外記補任』p. 146、『平安時代史事典』）

<sup>9</sup> =藤原兼実（ふじわらのかねざね）：当時右大臣従一位。（『公卿補任』Vol. 1, p. 495）

<sup>10</sup> 遺詔：先帝の遺言。

<sup>11</sup> 異儀：先例、儀式と異なること。

<sup>12</sup> 謁：身分の高い人、目上の人に会うこと。

<sup>13</sup> 申状：下位の者から上位の者に上申する文書。

御時（おおんととき）、七道の鎮撫使（ちんぶし）<sup>14</sup>を補さる（ごと）に、或は一人、或は二人）。彼の例を以って准拠（じゅんきょ）せらるべきの由」申す所なり。近日（きんじつ）の事、善悪左右に能（あた）わず。只だ計らい行わるるを以って是（ぜ）と為すべし。敢へて異儀を出だすべからざる者なり。仮令（たと）うるに鎮西<sup>15</sup>の都督（ととく）<sup>16</sup>、九国二島を管領するの例を模（も）さるべし、と云々。

十八日

伝聞（でんぶん）<sup>17</sup>す、官兵等（かんぺいら）美乃国に入り、光長城を攻めの、相互（そうご）に死者多し。遂に光長首を梟（きょう）すと云々。彼の国の源氏<sup>18</sup>等、光長の外、党類（とうるい）幾（いくばく）ならずと云々。而こうして已に宗（むね）<sup>19</sup>と為る者を誅伐（ちゅうばつ）<sup>20</sup>しおわんぬ。今に於いては、美乃・尾張両国、共に以って敵対すべからずと云々。

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<sup>14</sup> 鎮撫使：奈良時代、天平三年（731）に山陽・山陰・南海の三道に置き、のち諸道に置いた臨時の官。諸国の治安を巡察し、国司・郡司の治績を監査させたもの。使、判官、主典などが置かれた。畿内のは惣管という。同一八年（746）四月にも置かれたが、同年一二月廃止。

<sup>15</sup> 大宰府を指す。律令制下、筑前国にあって、対外的には軍事と外交、内政上は西海道の九国三島（天長元年（824）より二島）を総管することを任務とした特殊な地方官庁。「筑紫將軍所」・「筑紫大宰」等と号した[筑紫＝筑前・筑後（福岡県の北部と南部）]。しかし、「大宰府」の号はそのものは、天智天皇十年（671）の「筑紫大宰府」が初見である。唐・新羅などの外国使節や帰化人に対しては、来朝の理由を問い、所持の文書・方物を検し、直ちに政府に報告し、その指示をうけて、(中略)、わが遣新羅使・遣唐使も、府の「供給」を受けるのが常であった（国史大辞典）。

<sup>16</sup> 都督：大宰府の責任者の唐名。大宰の帥（そち）、権帥（ごんのそち）または大式（だいに）。これは詳しく、藤原仲麻呂（ふじわらのなかまろ）が764年に補した官吏。仲麻呂がすぐ後で捕られて、殺されたので、この先例は兼実の希望を表すだろう。（Farris, *Heavenly Warriors*, p. 287, 国史大辞典）

<sup>17</sup> 伝聞：人から伝え聞くこと。噂に聞くこと。また、その噂。

<sup>18</sup> 美濃源氏：美濃国を根拠地にもつ清原源氏の一流。『尊卑分脈』などによれば、経基・満仲・頼光・頼信・頼国ら、初期の清原源氏のなかで美濃守を経験した者が多く、美濃国にはこの系統の源氏と深い関係にあった豪族たちが存在したと考えられ、美濃源氏の成立と発展にはその辺りの要素が大きいにかかわっていたと見なされる。美濃源氏にはいくつかの流れがあったが、その中で大きな勢力を養ったのは美濃七郎を号した頼国の子国房で、多芸郡に住居を構え、私領を拡大し、それらは子の光国に伝えられていっそう強大となっていた。その武力行使の背景として、光国らが美濃国で養成した郎党の存在が確認されるのである。光国の子光信は土岐郡（ときぐん）に移住して土岐氏の祖となり、さらにのちには船木・隠岐（おき）氏などの諸流に分かれている。（『国史大辞典』巻5、頁150）。追加資料を参照。

<sup>19</sup> 宗[とする]：大将とする。

<sup>20</sup> 罪のある者を攻め討つこと。罪人を切り殺すこと。

## 現代日本語訳

申の刻、左少弁行隆が来て、「諸国の武士が皆謀反を企てているので、まず畿内及び近江・伊賀・伊勢・丹波等の国司に武士を補任すべきである。[これによって]遠い国の凶徒を防げ」と、亡くなった[高倉]院が仰せ置かれました。但し、国毎に必ずしも武士の国史を補任しなければならない訳でもなく、ただ件の国々を全て管領する司を設置すべきである。これは新儀ではありますので、内々に大外記師尚（もろひさ）に諮問したところ、検討の結果はこの通りです。〈[行隆が]持参した状である<sup>21)</sup> このことの是非を検討して申し上げ下さい」と言った。

私は次のように申した：「亡くなった院の遺言は反対を申し上げるべきではありません。その上のことの可否を申しません。早く外記の検討の結果に任せて、[後白河が]判断なさるべきでしょう。」

私は病気と言って、[行隆と]会わず、[他の]人を通じて伝えた。[行隆の持参した]外記の申状[は次の通り]、「聖武天皇の時代、七道に鎮撫使（ちんぶし）<sup>22)</sup>を任命されました（道ごとに、或は一人、或は二人）。彼の例に準拠すべきであります」と[外記が]申した。近日の事は事柄の良し悪しについていうことは無駄である。だだ[後白河の]判断されたことは正しいのである。私はあえて異論を出すべきではない。例えるならば、大宰権帥が、九州全体を管領することに倣うべきという説もある。

十八日

伝え聞くこと：朝廷の兵士達が美濃国に入って、光長<sup>23)</sup>の城を攻撃した。互いに死人が多数であったが、結局光長は首をうたれたということである<sup>24)</sup>。この国の

<sup>21)</sup> この説明は行隆が持参した大外記が書いた状の要約したものである。

<sup>22)</sup> 奈良時代、天平三年（731）に山陽・山陰・南海の三道に置き、のち諸道に置いた臨時の官。諸国の治安を巡察し、国司・郡司の治績を監査させたもの。使、判官、主典などが置かれた。畿内のものは惣管という。同一八年（746）四月にも置かれたが、同年一二月廃止。

<sup>23)</sup> 平安後期の衛門府官人。清原源氏。父は光信。『平家』等では出羽半官の名で知られるが、出羽守、伯耆守（ほうきのかみ）の経歴を持ち、従五位下で兼検非違使左衛門尉であった。光長は美濃国に勢力を持っていたようで平氏軍と争乱した（『平安時代史事典』）

<sup>24)</sup> 光長は美濃国で平氏軍と争乱し、梟首との風聞もあったが誤報であった。養和元年（1181）三月に解官されている。この後、（源）義仲とともに平家都落ち後の京中守護に従事したこ

源氏達は光長以外に武士団はわずかであるという事である。そして、すでに大将と成るような者は成敗された。今の段階では美濃と尾張は、ともに「朝廷に」敵対する者はいないということである。

## 英訳

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1<sup>st</sup> month, 16<sup>th</sup> day:

At the hour of the monkey,<sup>25</sup> Lesser Controller of the Left Yukitaka<sup>26</sup> came and said: “The fierce warriors of various provinces all have treasonous thoughts. As far as this is concerned, [our] *bushi*<sup>27</sup> should be assigned to the five provinces of the Kinai<sup>28</sup> as well as the provinces of Ōmi, Iga, Ise and Tanba. The retired *tennō* [Takakura]<sup>29</sup> has commanded this due to the [actions of] thugs in far-off provinces. However, we should not appoint a martial governor in every province; but in all of these aforementioned provinces,

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とがしられるが、まもなく義仲と対立し、義仲軍と交戦した。寿永二年七月二日には光長をはじめとする百余の首が五条河原に懸けられた。

<sup>25</sup> 3:00 – 5:00 pm.

<sup>26</sup> 藤原行隆 Fujiwara no Yukitaka (1129–1187): At this time his rank was senior fifth rank lower. In Eiman 2 (1166) he was removed from the post of junior controller of the left, senior fourth rank lower, but on the 17<sup>th</sup> day 10<sup>th</sup> month of Jishō 3 (1180), he was reinstated for the first time in fourteen years and appointed as royal secretary the following day. In the *Heike monogatari*, there is a scene in which the demoted Yukitaka suddenly receives a summons from Taira no Kiyomori and is allowed to again be appointed to office. Furthermore, he is pleasantly surprised by being presented a certificate of authorization allowing him to manage a shōen. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*) In this scene, Yukitaka is visiting Fujiwara no Kanezane as a messenger from Retired Tennō Go-Shirakawa.

<sup>27</sup> We chose to leave the term *bushi* (武士) as a transliteration of the Japanese word rather than translating it as “samurai,” which is a slightly anachronous term, or as just plain “warriors.” The original term better reflects the special nature of the troops being discussed, who in this case were actually officially sanctioned warriors. The term *bushi* then stands more clearly in opposition to the “fierce warriors” (*yūshi* - 勇士) of the previous sentence. We also changed the translation of *yūshi* (which would normally be something closer to “brave warriors”) in order to convey the negative nuance suggested by their “treasonous thoughts.”

<sup>28</sup> Yamato, Yamashiro, Kawachi, Settsu, Izumi.

<sup>29</sup> 高倉天皇 Takakura Tennō (1161 – 1181): The seventh son of Go-Shirakawa Tennō, born of Kenshunmon-in (Taira no Shigeeko), he reigned from 1168 – 1180, taking the throne at age eight. He had strong ties with the Taira family, and was caught between his father-in-law Taira no Kiyomori’s demonstrations of power and his father’s system of governance by the retired *tennō* (*insei*). When Go-Shirakawa’s *insei* was halted, it fell to Takakura to manage the affairs of state, but he stated that he wanted the regent to oversee the land. Five months later, he passed away at age 21 on the 14<sup>th</sup> day, 1<sup>st</sup> month of Jishō 5. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*).

overseers need to be placed. Since this is unprecedented, when I consulted with Morohisa,<sup>30</sup> senior secretary of the Council of State,<sup>31</sup> his opinion was as follows. <It was brought to me [by Yukitaka] in a letter>.<sup>32</sup> We must weigh the pros and cons of this issue and report to the *Tennō*.”

I replied, “I cannot go against<sup>33</sup> the will<sup>34</sup> of the late retired *tennō* [Takakura].<sup>35</sup> I can not even discuss the pros and cons of such matters. Let it be quickly carried out according to the advice of the senior secretary of the Council of State.” I said I was sick and did not meet him<sup>36</sup> [Yukitaka], and I passed my thoughts on via [another] person. The advice<sup>37</sup> of the secretary says, “In the age of Shōmu Tennō, martial overseers<sup>38</sup> were appointed to each of the seven circuits. <Each road had either one or two appointees>.” [So] the secretary of the Council of State suggests that we follow this precedent. These days, I have no influence. [Still] we must consider this and do something, but without any unprecedented acts. [For example,] in Chinzai, just as the head<sup>39</sup> [of the Dazaifu]<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> 仲原師尚 Nakahara no Morohisa (1131-1197): Late Heian Period expert in the way of the classics. He was the grandson of the Senior Secretary of the Council of State cum Classics Professor Morotoo, and son of Moromoto, who held the same title. He was a graduate student (as per Borgen) in the classics, a minor functionary of the University, and a member of the retired *tennō*'s Documents Bureau (*Fumidono*). Eventually he became a junior secretary of the Council of State, and later a senior secretary of the Council of State. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*) At this time, he held senior fifth rank lower. (*Geki bunin* p. 146)

<sup>31</sup> 大外記(*daigeki*): Senior secretary of the Council of State. In addition to their official duties they mastered the Confucian classics. Because the post was given to skilled literati, starting in the middle of the Heian Period the position frequently went to the Nakahara and Kiyohara families, because they specialized in the study of the classics. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*). From the mid-Heian Period on, the function of the *geki* included various records and document-related functions including finding and reporting on precedents, compiling reports, and managing the appointment ceremonies. (*Geki bunin*, p. 402)

<sup>32</sup> The explanation Kanezane offers here is an abbreviated version of the letter brought by Yukitaka, which was itself from Morihisa, the senior secretary of the Council of State.

<sup>33</sup> 異儀 (*igi*): To differ from precedent or accepted etiquette/practice.

<sup>34</sup> 遺詔 (*ichoku*): The last will/testament of the late *tennō*.

<sup>35</sup> Takakura had died two days earlier.

<sup>36</sup> 謁する (*essuru*): Refers to meeting with an individual superior to oneself.

<sup>37</sup> 申し状 (*mōshijō*): A document/report given from a low-ranking person to a high-ranking one.

<sup>38</sup> 鎮撫使 (*chinbushi*): In the Nara Period, 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Tempyō (731), this extraordinary post had as its venue the three main circuits of the San'yō, San'in, and Nankai. Martial overseers functioned as a security patrol and monitored the administration of provincial and district governors. Third- and fourth-level managers were usually assigned. This post was called *sōkan* (惣管) in the Kinai. It was assigned in the 4<sup>th</sup> month of Tempyō 18 (746) but was discontinued in the 12<sup>th</sup> month of the same year.

<sup>39</sup> 都督 (*totoku*): Chinese-style appellation for the person responsible for the Dazaifu. It can refer equally to the governor-general (大宰の帥), the provisional governor-general (權帥), or the senior assistant governor-general of Dazaifu (大貳). In this case, *totoku* refers to the similar position established in 764 by Fujiwara no Nakamaro. Being as this was shortly before Nakamaro's arrest and execution, this precedent may indicate wishful thinking on Kanezane's part. (Farris, *Heavenly Warriors*, p. 287, *Kokushi daijiten*).

<sup>40</sup> 大宰府 Dazaifu: Located in Chikuzen province, under the *ritsuryō* system the *Dazaifu* dealt with foreign

governs all of the nine provinces [of Kyushu] and the two islands [of Iki and Tsushima]. People are saying this should be taken as a model.

18<sup>th</sup> day:

I heard that official forces have entered Mino province and taken Mitsunaga's<sup>41</sup> fortress. There were many deaths on both sides, [but] it was said that in the end Mitsunaga's head was taken and hung from a tree.<sup>42</sup> It is also said that there are few bands of Genji<sup>43</sup> in this province other than Mitsunaga's, and their leaders<sup>44</sup> have all been executed. And so, in both Owari and Mino, there are none who can oppose [the court].

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relations and external military affairs. Domestically it was a special government office that managed the nine provinces and three islands (which dropped to two in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Tenchō (824)) of Kyushu. It was originally called “*Chikushi Shōgundokoro*”, “*Chikushi Dazai*”, etc. [*Chikushi* = Chikuzen province and Chikugo province (the northern and southern sections of modern-day Fukuoka prefecture, respectively)]. However, the term “*Dazaiifu*” can initially be seen in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Tenchi Tennō (671) as “*Chikushi Dazaiifu*”. Officials in the *Dazaiifu* were responsible for questioning those returning to Japan from abroad, as well as envoys from Tang China and Silla. They also inspected the documents and wares of these envoys and conveyed everything to the central government and received instructions on the best course of action. It was also common for the Japanese envoys to the Silla and Tang to receive “supplies” from the *Dazaiifu*. (*Kokushi daijiten*)

<sup>41</sup> 源光長 Minamoto no Mitsunaga (?-1183): He was a late Heian-period official in the Gate Guard, and one of the Seiwa Genji. His father was Mitsunobu. Mitsunaga is known through his post as second lieutenant in the Royal Police posted in Dewa according to *The Tale of the Heike*, but he was also recorded as having occupied the posts of provincial governor in Dewa and Hōki. In addition, as a junior fifth rank lower he was both an agent of the royal police and a second lieutenant of the Left Gate Guards. Mitsunaga held power in Mino province and fought against the armies of the Heishi (Taira) (*Heian jidaishi jiten*).

<sup>42</sup> Mitsunaga fought against the armies of the Heishi (Taira) in Mino Province, and he was rumored to have been beheaded [and had his head hung from a tree] as a result, but this turned out to be false. Instead, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Yōwa (1181), he was demoted. After that, and following the fall of the Heishi, he and (Minamoto no) Yoshinaka are known to have been named constables (*shugo*) of the Heian capital. However, soon after, he opposed Yoshinaka and they engaged in warfare. On the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Jūei (1183), Mitsunaga's head was displayed, along with approximately one hundred others, on the banks of the Kamo River at Gōjō [in the Heian capital].

<sup>43</sup> Mino Genji: A cadet branch of the Seiwa Genji based in Mino Province. According to the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, many of the early Seiwa Genji (such as Tsunemoto, Michinaka, Yorimitsu, Yorinobu and Yorikuni) had experience as provincial governors of Mino. It is thought that the local elite of Mino also had a deep relationship with this bloodline of the Genji. It should be noted that this connection probably played a large role in the establishment and development of the Mino Genji. The Mino Genji had several branches, but among those who developed great power was Mino no Kunifusa, son of Yorikuni (called Mino no Shichirō), who lived in Taki district and expanded his personal holdings, before passing these lands on to his son Mitsukuni, in whose hands they continued to grow. Amidst a background of growing military power, we can confirm that Mitsukuni was recruiting vassals in Mino. Mitsukuni's son Mitsunobu moved to Toki district and became the progenitor of the Toki clan, which later divided into the cadet clans, Funaki and Oki (*Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 150). See the Minamoto (Genji) genealogy at the end of this translation. (Piggott, translated in *Capital and Countryside*)

<sup>44</sup> 宗 (とす) (*mune [to suru]*): To command troops.

追加資料

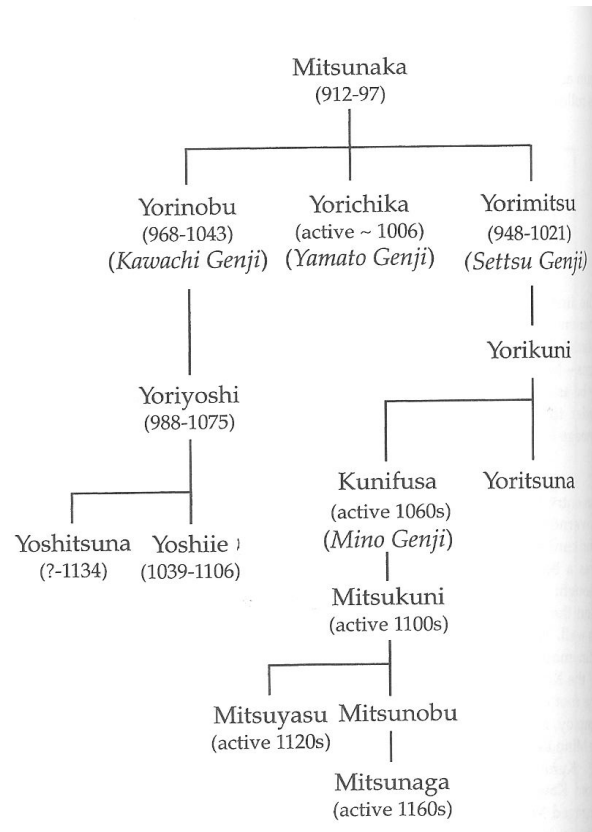


Figure. Mino Genji lineage of Mitsunaga. From Piggott, *Capitals and Countrysides*, p. 284