

野田泰三、京都光華女子大学、「大部荘と武家―室町時代を中心に」

Noda Taizô, Kyoto Kôka Women's University: "Warriors and Ôbe Estate in the Muromachi Period"

(A copy of the Powerpoint for this presentation in .ppt format can be viewed [here](#).)

まず、南北朝・室町期の播磨国における守護支配と荘園の関係を確認しておきたい。

内乱期を通じて播磨はしばしば戦場・前線となり、その過程で守護赤松氏は戦争遂行のため“一国総動員体制”を構築していく。具体的には①国内荘園公領に対する兵糧米や飼葉・材木等の物資、城拵人夫といった様々な課役・夫役の賦課と、②寺社本所領の代官・沙汰人に対する軍事動員（「寺社本所代官着到」）である。大部荘でも暦応年間

（1338-42）、預所・公文代官の守護方としての参陣が確認できるが、荘官側にも軍勢催促に応じることによって在地での所領所職を確保するという現実的な問題があった。

守護による賦課は恒常化し、やがて「守護役」として定着する。国衙機能や一国祭祀なども掌握することにより、守護は分国内に支配を浸透させていくことになる。荘園の経営を保障するのは究極的には幕府であるが、より実質的には守護であった。したがって、荘家から守護方に対しては恒例・臨時の礼物や夫役、炭・材木といった物資の提供・贈与が日常的になされ、そのもとで荘園経営が保障された。

とはいえ、大部荘の代官職請文に「守護方権門之者等」と契約をしない文言が盛り込まれたように、一般的に寺社本所領荘園は荘園経営に対する武家の介入・干渉を忌避する傾向がある。正長元年（1428）秋から翌年にかけて畿内近国で猖獗した土一揆は「寺社権門領等之領内ニ専此一揆在之」と言われ、寺社本所領が一揆の温床と目されたが（東寺領矢野荘、法隆寺領鵜荘、宍粟郡伊和社領などで一揆の発生が確認される）、寺社本所領は相対的に領主支配が緩やかであった。

ついで嘉吉の乱後の守護職の交代と在地社会への影響に注目したい。嘉吉の乱により赤松氏は没落し、守護職は山名氏に与えられた。将軍近習の赤松満政が奉行する明石・三木・加東三郡も文安元年（1444）正月には満政から山名氏へ与奪され、同年十月には満政らが播磨で挙兵、さらに享徳三年（1454）冬には赤松則尚が再び播磨で蜂起する。新たに入部した山名氏は寺社本所領の実態調査（「郡散号」）を実施し、代官・給人を配置するなど強圧的な支配と荘園押領を進め、「表濫吹之輩」「奪取寺社本所・武家人々所領年貢等、猛悪無度云々」と評された。

守護の交替により、赤松方被官は没落・牢籠する一方、新たに山名方被官として台頭するものもあり（垂井中務丞など）、在地社会は混乱をきたしたが、大部荘では享徳三年則尚下国の直前に百姓五郎左衛門が殺害される。五郎左衛門は山名方と被官関係にあったが、「常陸方（則尚）へ連々内通心さしお存候間、地下人等於以後其煩と申候て、去年十月卅日夜おしよせ」て殺害したのである。このように守護方との間に形成された被官関係が荘園現地に様々な影響や混乱をもたらすようになる。

また五郎左衛門の死後、山名氏がその跡に給主を据えようとしたように、荘園内部における相論や政治的混乱を契機として、守護方をはじめとする武家は根拠の有無に関わりなくしばしば介入を図る。鎌倉末期以来、王氏一族間での相論が続く公文職も、南北朝期には豊福氏の押領を招き、最終的には足利義満によって塔婆造営料所として東大寺に寄進された。五郎左衛門が押領を企てた図師職にも山名氏は干渉し、応仁元年（1467）には赤松氏被官が所持するところとなっている。こうした事態の既成事実化により、荘園内部に武家領が形成されていくことになる。

First, let us consider the connections between provincial control by military governors (shugo) and the estate system in the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods.

During the civil war period, Harima province experienced frequent warfare. In order to prosecute the war, the Akamatsu, who occupied the military governor's office, established a province-wide mobilization system. This involved, first, the imposition of levies of rice—as provisions for soldiers, fodder, lumber, and laborers working on fortifications—on all estates and public lands in the province. And second, they ordered the military mobilization of deputy managers and officials on temple and shrine holdings. We know that between 1338 and 1342, deputies of the Ôbe estate custodian (azukaridokoro) and the reeve (kumon) joined the shugo's armies. On a practical level, estate officials had to protect their own land rights by complying with demands for troops.

Levies by military governors became routine, and then were established as regular levies (shugoyaku). By seizing control of public lands and important religious rituals in the province, the authority of the military governor permeated the earlier control system in which entire provinces had been handed over to members of the court. The de jure guarantor of the security of estate management was the bakufu, but the de facto guarantor was the military governor. Thus in return for guaranteeing officials' control over their estates, the military governor exacted contributions: labor service, supplies such as charcoal and lumber, and gifts on both a routine and an arbitrary basis.

However, there was a general tendency for temple and shrine proprietors to challenge military intervention in their affairs, as seen in a 15th-century document of reply from the deputy manager of Ôbe estate to “those in authority in the military governor's office.” Beginning in the autumn of 1428 and continuing into the following year, peasant uprisings raged in nearby Kinai provinces. It was said that “shrine and temple holdings had nothing but uprisings,” depicting

such holdings as hotbeds of peasant unrest. Although we know that uprisings occurred on Harima holdings such as Tôji's Yano estate and Hôryûji's Ikaruga estate, and also on the holdings of Iwa shrine in Shiso district, generally speaking, shrine and temple holdings were comparatively peaceful.

Next, I want to consider the transfer of the military governor's position in the aftermath of the Kakitsu uprising of 1441, and its effect on local society. In this affair, Akamatsu Mitsusuke—military governor of Harima, Bizen, and Mimasaka—assassinated the shogun, fled to Harima, and then was attacked and defeated by armies of his rivals, the Yamana, who then replaced the Akamatsu as military governors. Specifically in the first month of 1444, the three Harima districts of Akashi, Miki, and Katô, which had been administered by the shogun's personal retainer Akamatsu Mitsumasa, were confiscated and handed over to the Yamana. And in the tenth month of that year, Mitsumasa mustered troops in Harima, only to face defeat. Then in the winter of 1454, Akamatsu Norinao launched another insurrection. The Yamana, drawn anew into the fray, searched temple and shrine holdings, violating estate borders, and used strong-arm tactics such as replacing estate officials with their own men. They were described as “gangs of alien thugs” and accused of “plundering rents that belonged to temple and shrine proprietors and to the military,” while their actions were deplored as “limitless savagery.”

Because of the change of military governors, retainers of the Akamatsu were defeated and captured, and retainers of the Yamana, such as Tarui Nakatsukasa no jô, came to the fore. Provincial society was racked by warfare, and on Ôbe estate, just before Norinao arrived in the province in 1454, the prominent cultivator Gorôzaemon was murdered. Gorôzaemon was a Yamana retainer, but he was killed “when he kept communicating with Hitachi (Norinao), and local people complained of his treachery, thronging to attack him on the 30th day of the tenth month of the previous year.” In this way, retainer relationships formed with military governors brought various influences and unrest to local estates.

Warriors from the military governor on down frequently planned to interfere, whether or not they had any good reason, taking disputes and unrest on the estate as an opportunity. For example after Gorôzaemon's death, the Yamana armed their own supporters among local landholders. The dispute over the reeve's position that had continued within the Ô family since the Kamakura period brought about invasion by the Toyofuku family, and the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu eventually donated the post to Tôdaiji to finance the reconstruction of their pagoda. The Yamana also seized the position of record-keeper (zushi), from which Gorôzaemon had plotted his rebellion. But in 1467 that post was taken over by an Akamatsu retainer. Through such changes in conditions on the ground, military fiefs were formed within the estate.