

大山喬平、京都大学名誉教授：「もう一つの開発イデオロギー—重源・大部庄・狭山池」

Ôyama Kyohei, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, University of Kyoto: “Another Ideology of Land Reclamation: Chôgen, Ôbe Estate, and Sayama Pond”

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

本日は日本中世の代表的な荘園の一つである東大寺領播磨国大部庄にかかわる研究集会です。私はかつて友人たちと一緒にこの荘園の現地を歩き、現況調査に従事した経験をもっています。日本中世の荘園社会を深く理解したかったのです。その後、私の関心は河内国丹比郡にあった狭山池に移っていきました。大部庄の実質的な歴史は重源に始まるのですが、狭山池にも重源の足跡が刻まれています。そこからは大部庄では十分な手がかりを得られなかった中世の郷やムラの変化する姿が見えていました。私の荘園研究は狭山池を見ることによって、中世のムラと神々の重要性を認識するようになりました。荘園を知るためにはその下にあった郷やムラを見なければならない。

重源は13世紀はじめに（1202、建仁2）、狭山池を改修しました。流末50余郷の人民の要請に応えた工事でした。50余郷は河内の国境を越え、摂津・和泉2国にも及んでいました。これは近年、出土した重源改修のさいの石碑による情報です。ここには郷だけがあって、庄が見えません。もちろん荘園が無かったわけではない。結論をいうと当時、人びとの生活舞台は、庄(荘園)ではなく、郷(ムラ)にあったからです。説明はむづかしいのですが、郷(ムラ)と庄とは成り立ちも仕組みも違う。私流にいうと、庄は政治のユニット、逆にムラ（郷）は生活のユニットだったということです。重源は人びとの生活に密着した部分に身を寄せていたのです。

狭山池の歴史は長い。池ができたのは7世紀はじめ（616年＜推古24＞伐採の高野槇で作った水樋が出土）で、13世紀初頭の重源改修のあと、17世紀のはじめ（1608年＜慶長13＞）に片桐且元の修築があり、その後、現在に続いています。ここでは17世紀の水樋が7世紀の水樋の真上を、同方向に通っていました。慶長前後の水を受ける村数は70ないし80村程度で、重源の13世紀と同じく河内・摂津・和泉3国の村々でした。

大部庄の浄土寺は重源の7別所の一つでした。中世の大部庄の土地は浄土寺背面の広い段丘上の鹿野原(原方)と、その先の低湿地を流れくだる加古川沿いの土地（里方）とに大きく区分されました。鹿野原は浄土寺領として別所の地でありましたが、里方の土地は東大寺に直属した。重源は鹿野原の開発に着手していたが、低湿地のことはよくわからない。現在、里方には寺井(テリイ)という用水路が走っていますが、寺井の寺が重源

開削にかかわる名称なのかどうか、可能性はありますが最終判断には考古学的な知見を必要とします。

いずれにせよ重源は中世の夜明けの時代を生きた大土木事業家でした。狭山池の改修工事に参加したのは「道俗男女沙弥乞丐非人」たちでした。ここには乞食・非人といわれた人びとまでが加わっていました。重源はこのとき石造の水樋を使用しました。近在にある古墳から石棺を運び出し、これを水樋に転用しました。重源のまわりには宋人の石工集団もありました。重源の足跡は東大寺大仏殿の再建だけでなく、7別所を基点として、都から伊賀へ、あるいは瀬戸内を渡部・播磨・周防へ、さらには東アジアへと延びていきました。それは安穩国土実現のための作善行でした。

重源の石碑には空風火水地の梵字（五輪）と光明真言の梵字が刻まれています。彼の思想の根幹は覚鑁以来の真言密教でした。そこには真言密教の真理性がもつ合理的精神の存在がありました。真言の輝かしい真理の前に、7世紀の古墳の主たちは再度の奉仕を余儀なくされました。真言の呪力に裏づけられた合理性と開明性がここに見られます。重源の大規模な開発、港湾整備、橋や道路などの交通網の整備、国内顕路の確保、これらすべてが中世成立期の開明的イデオロギーの諸特質を示しています。

重源石碑には大勧進南無阿弥陀仏（重源）とともに少勧進阿闍梨鑁阿弥陀仏の名前が見えます。高野山領備後国太田庄で活躍をみせた盲目の僧鑁阿です。同じような宗教家は紀伊国加世田庄の文覚をはじめ多くいました。こうした宗教者たちは平安後期の開発領主層(武士団)と並ぶもう一つの開発イデオロギーを体現していたと思います。

This conference focuses on Ôbe estate in Harima province (present Hyôgo prefecture), a Tôdaiji holding. Together with some friends, I have explored on foot the site where the estate was once located, and have investigated its current conditions, enabling an in-depth understanding of the society of the estate system in medieval Japan. Then I turned my attention to the restoration of Sayama irrigation pond in Tachii district, Kawachi province (present Ôsaka prefecture). The actual history of Ôbe estate begins with Chôgen, and his footprints are also imprinted on the shore of Sayama pond. Study of the latter reveals changes in medieval villages (gô or mura) that cannot be adequately understood by looking at Ôbe estate. Through an examination of the restoration of Sayama pond, my research on estates recognizes the significance of medieval villages as well as religious life, the veneration of various deities. In order to understand estates, we need to focus on the villages within their borders.

Chôgen restored Sayama pond in 1202, in answer to requests from residents of some 50 villages (mura, gô) near its basin—not only in Kawachi province but also in Settsu and Izumi. Evidence comes from a stone stele that was unearthed in recent years and that dates from the time when Chôgen restored the pond. The stele refers only to villages, not to estates. Of course that doesn't mean there were no estates in the area, but this evidence indicates that the village, not the estate,

was considered the setting for people's daily lives. This is hard to explain, but the structure and mechanisms of village and estate differed. My personal assessment is that the estate was a unit of government while the village was a unit of daily life. Chôgen took part in activities closely tied to people's daily lives.

We can trace Sayama pond's long history to the beginning of the seventh century—an aqueduct made of Mt. Kôya cedar and logged in 616 (Suiko 24) has been discovered there. Restored by Chôgen at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and again in 1608 by Hideyoshi's retainer Katagiri Katsumoto, it is extant today. The seventeenth-century aqueducts are located right above those from the seventh century, indicating that the water flowed in the same direction. Around 1608, 70 to 80 villages shared the water from the pond—villages in Kawachi, Settsu, and Izumi, just as in Chôgen's day.

Jôdoji on Ôbe estate is one of seven autonomous temples established by Chôgen. In medieval times the terrain of Ôbe estate was divided between Kanohara, a broad terrace located behind Jôdoji to the west (the Harakata sector), and the lowlands further west (the Satokata sector) that had long been cultivated using water from the Kako river. Kanohara was the territory of the autonomous temple Jôdoji, while the lowlands belonged to Tôdaiji. Chôgen undertook the reclamation of Kanohara land, but we don't know if he worked on the lower terrace. Today there is a canal called Terayu ("Temple Canal") that runs through the lower terrace. It is possible that the temple in this name is connected to Chôgen's development efforts, but a final determination depends on archaeological evidence.

In any case, Chôgen was a major driver of construction projects at the dawn of the medieval age. Those who labored to restore Sayama pond included "clergy and laypersons, men and women, novices and children, beggars and outcastes." In other words, people from the lowest rungs of society—beggars and outcastes—participated in the effort. In repairing the facilities of the pond, Chôgen had stone coffins hauled from nearby burial mounds and put them together to form aqueducts—among Chôgen's associates was a band of stonemasons from China. Chôgen left his mark not only on the reconstruction of Tôdaiji, but also—in part through his seven autonomous temples—on the archipelago from the capital of Heian (Kyôto) to Iga province (present Mie prefecture), and along the Inland Sea from Watanabe in Settsu to Harima to Suô (Yamaguchi). His influence even extended more broadly to East Asia. His "good works" were meant to advance the goal of peace and tranquility in the realm.

Sanskrit characters representing the five elements and the mantra of light (kômyô shingon) are inscribed on Chôgen's plaque at Sayama pond. The basis of his thought was Shingon esotericism based on Kakuban's ideas, which contained a practical spirit. Faced with the illuminating truth of Shingon, those buried in seventh-century mounded tombs had no choice but to render service! Chôgen's activities reveal both practicality backed by Shingon magic and an effort to expand human knowledge. His large-scale land reclamation projects, his construction of port facilities, his working on the transportation network of bridges and roads and his maintaining of provincial highways all indicate the characteristics of an enlightened ideology at the dawn of the medieval age.

Chôgen himself, using the name “Namu Amida Butsu,” is listed as the chief alms collector (daikanjin) on the plaque, and the name of Ban Amida Butsu appears as assistant alms collector (shôkanjin). This is Ban’a, a blind monk who was active on Ôta estate in Bingo province (Hiroshima prefecture), a holding of Mt. Kôya. There were many similar religious figures, beginning with Mongaku, who was active on Kaseda estate in Kii province (Wakayama prefecture). In parallel with the Heian-period local magnates who opened new fields and organized themselves into military bands, such religious figures embody yet another ideology of land reclamation.