

The Fall of Go-Shirakawa, and Direct Rule by Nijō Tennō (KW08-Shiryō 7,
Hyakurenshō: Goshirakawa-in no Shikkyaku, Nijō Shinsei)
FINAL FINAL

Source:

『百練抄』¹ [後白河院の失脚、二条²親政³]

*Hyakurenshō*⁴: *Shintei zōko kokushi taiki*

Michelle Damian
Dan Sherer
Kevin Wilson
January 17, 2009

原文

(応保元年九月十五日) 右少弁時忠已下解官。是彼妹小弁殿〈上西門院女房〉、
誕上皇々子之旨、世上嗷々之説云々。

(同月二十八日) 右馬頭伊隆〔信隆〕、左中将成親已下、上皇近習之輩解官。

(十月十九日) 内大臣已下、於殿上定申受領所望輩事〈今日即有除書被任也〉

(応保二年閏二月一日) 権僧正覺忠〈園城寺、大殿息〉、補天台座主。延暦寺衆
徒蜂起。仍覺忠進解状。以重愉、補之。

(長寛元年六月九日) 延暦寺大衆発向園城寺、焼払本堂已下。事起覺忠僧正座主
事、去三月園城寺衆徒追捕大津東浦、斬神人首之故也。

(同月二十三日) 内大臣已下、於殿上定申園城寺焼失間事。

¹ 「国史大系」本は「百練抄」とするが、「百練抄」が正しい。神武天皇から後深草天皇正元元年(1259)に至る国史で二十卷あったが、現在は第四卷冷泉天皇以後の十七卷を存している。幕府側の「吾妻鏡」と並んで重要である。後白河・二条両天皇の条は今日全く失われた平親範の日記を抄したものである。(『平安時代史事典』)

² 第七十八代天皇。康治二年六月十七日、後白河天皇の第一皇子として誕生。母は大納言藤原経実女懿子。母が出産直後卒したため、美福門院に養育される。平治の乱が起こり、父とともに藤原信頼らにより内裏に幽閉されるが、平清盛の計略により六波羅邸に脱出する。

³ 時忠が解官された理由は二条・後白河両天皇の関係にも関わっているようである。応保元年に後白河と二条の確執により、二人が対立が深刻になったといわれる。(『保元の乱・平治の乱』p. 130-133) 小弁殿が出産する子供(高倉天皇)を二条はライバルとみなした。小弁殿の身代わりに、その兄の時忠を解官することで、その怒りを表したのである。(アドルフソン・『ゲーツ・オフ・パワー』pp. 130-131)

⁴ The *Hyakurenshō* is a twenty-volume written record of Japanese history originally extending from Jimmu Tennō's reign (600? – 585 BC) to that of Go-Fukakusa (ending in 1259). At present, however, only the fourth (Reizei Tennō, 967 - 969) and later volumes are extant (17 volumes total). It is considered to be equal in importance to the bakufu's *Azumakagami*. There is an abridged version of the otherwise lost Taira no Chikanori's diary (*Sōrenbō enchi ki*) that refers to the incident of Go-Shirakawa Tennō and Nijō Tennō (1143 – 1165): The 78th *tennō*, Nijō was born the first prince of Go-Shirakawa Tennō on the 17th day of the 4th month of the 2nd year of Kōji (1143). His mother was Yoshiko, daughter of Major Counselor Fujiwara no Tsunetzane. When the Heiji Incident broke out, Nijō and his father were imprisoned in the Sanjō Palace by Fujiwara Nobuyori (and Minamoto no Yoshitomo, both of whom supported Sutoku, a rival to Nijō for the recently vacated throne of Japan). They were rescued by virtue of a ruse by Taira no Kiyomori, who evacuated them to Rokuhara. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

(七月十日) 延暦寺僧徒・日吉社神民等、京中猥入、出挙物譴責之輩、可擲進之由宣下。

読み下し

(応保元年九月十五日) 右少弁時忠(ときただ)⁵已下(いか)⁶解官。是れ彼の妹小弁殿⁷(上西門院女房⁸)、上皇の皇子(おうじ)を誕ずる旨、世上嗷々(ごうごう)の説と云々。

(同月二十八日) 右馬頭伊隆(これたか)⁹[信隆]¹⁰、左中将成親(なりちか)¹¹已下、上皇の近習(きんじゅう)¹²の輩、解官。

⁵ 平時忠(たいらのときただ 1128-89) : 姉時子(ときこ)は平清盛の妻。異母妹滋子(しげこ)は後白河天皇の女御。最上の官は権大納言。「平氏にあらざれば、人にあらず」とうそぶいた事が有名。源平戦争後、能登に流されて没。応保元年に正五位下、右衛門権佐(うえもんごんのすけ)。(『平安時代史事典』)

⁶ 已下: これより下。その下。以下。

⁷ =建春門院。平滋子(たいらのしげこ 1142 - 1176) : 後白河天皇の女御、高倉天皇の生母。父は兵部権大輔(ごんだいすけ)平時信(たいらのときのみぶ)、応保元年(1161)高倉天皇を生み、仁安元年(1166)十月従三位に叙せられ、翌二年正月女卿になった。翌三年高倉天皇即位の日、皇太后となる。翌嘉応元年(1169)四月十二日院号宣下。安元二年(1176)八月十日院号・封戸・年官・年爵を辞退して同二十八日受戒。翌七月八日法住寺殿に崩御。(国史大辞典、第5巻、頁166)

⁸ 統子内親王(むねこないしんのう 1126 - 89) : 鳥羽天皇第二皇女。母は大納言藤原公賢女璋子(待賢門院)。同母兄弟に禧子内親王、後白河天皇、通仁・君仁・本仁親王(覚性法親王)がいた。大治元年七月二十三日誕生。本名恂子。同年十二月着袴。翌年四月、無品のまま三后に准ぜられ、賀茂斎王に卜定。長承元年(1132)病のため在任六年にして退下。同三年、式部大輔藤原敦光の勘申により改名。康治二年(1143)新造三条烏丸第に移徙。久安元年(1145)母待賢門院の崩後はその所領を伝領。同三年、三条東洞院第に遷る。保元三年(1158)、同母弟後白河天皇の准母として皇后に冊立。翌平治元年院号を宣下され、上西門院と号した。永暦元年(1160)法金剛院において出家。法名を真如理といった。寿永元年(1182)関白藤原基房の子家房を養子とする。文治五年七月、六条院において崩御。法金剛院において火葬に付された。(『平安時代史事典』)

⁹ 伊隆は、信隆の誤りと考えられる。

¹⁰ 藤原信隆(ふじわらののぶたか 1126-?) 藤原信輔(のぶすけ)の一男。正四位下非参議。久寿三年に右馬頭。(『公卿補任』 Vol. 1 p. 468)

¹¹ 藤原成親(ふじわらのなりちか 1138-77) : 平安後期の官僚。中納言家成の三男。母は中納言藤原経忠女。康治元年(1142)五歳で叙爵。その後越後守、讃岐守、侍従、左近衛少将、右近衛中将となる。平治元年(1159)平治の乱の際、藤原信頼にくみして解官されるが、平重盛の婿であるところから死罪を免れた。応保元年(1161)右中将に還任。同年九月、平時忠らとともに時忠の妹滋子所生の後白河院の皇子憲仁親王を皇太子に立てようと陰謀をめぐらした罪により再び解官、翌年召還され、仁安元年(1166)正月左中将に還任、同年六月蔵人頭、八月任参議、十二

(十月十九日)内大臣¹³已下、殿上において受領所望(しよもう)¹⁴の輩の事を定め申す¹⁵〈今日即ち除書¹⁶有りて[彼等を]任ぜらる也〉。

(応保二年閏二月一日)権僧正(ごんのそうじょう)覺忠(かくちゅう)¹⁷〈園城寺¹⁸、大殿息(おおとののそく)¹⁹〉、天台座主(ざす)²⁰に補す。延暦寺²¹衆

月五人の上臈を越えて正三位に叙される。翌二年二月権中納言。嘉応元年(1169)十二月、成親が知行国主であった尾張国の目代が美濃国平野荘の中堂御油寄人を凌辱した事件により延暦寺大衆より訴えられ、二十四日備中国に配流となるが、二十八日後白河院によって召還され、三十日には本官に復した。これに対し延暦寺大衆は再び成親を訴え、翌二年二月解官された。同年四月還任、檢非違使別当、左右衛門督を経て、安元元年(1175)権大納言となる。治承元年(1177)左近衛大将を望むが、平重盛と宗盛の兄弟が左右の大將に任ぜられたことによりその望みは遂げられず、これを不満とした成親は同年五月鹿ヶ谷で後白河院の近臣たちと平家追討の謀議を進めた。しかし、この陰謀はこれに参加していた源行綱の密告によって未然に発覚、六月逮捕され、備前国に配流。配所において殺害された。(『平安時代史事典』)

¹² 近習: 主君の側近く仕えること。伺候すること。また、その人。近侍。近臣。近習者。近辺衆。きんしゅう。きんじゅう。きんず。平安時代の朝廷にすでにこの称がみえ、鎌倉幕府には数人ずつ交代で将軍のもとへ伺候(しこう)する近習番の制度が設けられていた。

¹³ 藤原宗能(ふじわらのむねよし 1083-1170): 藤原宗忠の子。応保元年九月十三日内大臣補した。正二位。

¹⁴ 所望: ある物がほしい、またこうしてほしいと、望むこと。

¹⁵ 「定め」については、追加資料を参照。

¹⁶ 除書: 本来は任官といい、官職任命の政務。官に任ずることを除(じょ)といい、もとの官を去って新しい官につく意。

¹⁷ 覺忠(かくちゅう 1118-77): 天台宗寺門派の僧。父は関白の藤原忠通。権僧正増智(そうち)の弟子。近衛・二条・六条天皇の護持僧でしられた。

¹⁸ 園城寺(おんじょうじ): 近江国滋賀郡内、現在の滋賀県大津市園城寺町に所在する天台宗寺門派の総本山。三井寺ともいう。草創は白鳳時代に始まると考えられ、金堂下の土中から白鳳時代の古瓦を出土しており、渡来系氏族大友村主氏の氏寺として建立されたようである。園城寺が天台寺院として確立したのは、智証大師円珍によって天台別院とされてからである。円珍は在唐六か年ののち、天安二年(858)帰国すると、貞観四年(862)大友氏の氏寺園城寺の別当に補された。同八年五月十四日付太政官牒(『座主記』所収)によると、同年滋賀郡の少領大友村主夜須良麻呂は当寺を天台別院となし、円珍を主持の人とし、別当には永く円珍の血脈の僧を挙用することを上請して、太政官に許可された。

¹⁹ 大殿=大臣。この場合、摂政関白・太政大臣藤原忠通。

²⁰ 座主: 一座の中の学徳兼備の上首をいうが平安初期以後、大寺の寺務を統括する管主の職名として用いられている。山の座主とも呼ばれる延暦寺の天台座主が最初。(『平安時代史事典』)

²¹ 延暦寺(えんりやくじ): 滋賀県大津市にある天台宗の総本山。山号は比叡山。平安京の北東方、鬼門に当たることから、王城の鎮護とされた。延暦寺は七八八年(延暦七)最澄によって開創された。開創から一世紀を経ずして、早くも九世紀中ごろに延暦寺は仏教界最大の勢力となった。10世紀に入ると、九〇五年宇多法皇が登山受戒したところから、皇室-撰関家の信仰を集め、10世紀中葉の座主良源の時代、966年山上諸党焼矢の厄もあったが、次々と復興され、大衆三千と言われる学徒が雲集し、当寺は全盛期を迎えた。しかし、このころから滋覚(円仁)-智証(円珍)両門徒の対立が進行激化し、ついに993年に至って慶祚以下の智証派1000余人は下山して、園城寺(三井寺)に拠った。山門と寺門(三井寺)の対立はここに始まり、以後、鎌倉末期に至るまで、山門衆徒が園城寺を焼くこと七度に及んだ。僧兵下した山徒の横暴は平安時代の院政期にもっともはなはだしく、座主の任命や寺領の問題で朝廷に強訴をかけることがたび重な

徒（しゅと）蜂起（ほうき）²²す。よって覚忠解状（げじょう）を進（まいら）す。重愉（ちょうゆ）²³を以って、之れに補す。

（長寛元年六月九日）延暦寺大衆、園城寺に発向（はっこう）し、本堂²⁴已下を焼き払う。事、覚忠（かくちゅう）僧正座主の事に起きる。去三月園城寺衆徒、大津東浦²⁵を追捕し、神人の首を斬る故なり。

（同月二十三日）内大臣已下、殿上において園城寺焼失（しょうしつ）の間の事を定め申す。

（七月十日）延暦寺僧徒（そうと）・日吉社の神民等、京中（けいちゅう・きょうじゅう）²⁶にみだれ入り、出挙物（すいこもつ）²⁷譴責（けんせき）²⁸の輩、搦（からめ）進（まいら）すべきの由を宣下（せんげ）²⁹す。

り、1095年から強訴のとき日吉の神輿をかつぎ出すことが例となった。白川上皇が天下三不如意の一つとして、「山法師」をあげたというのは、まさにこの時代の山門僧兵のことである。

（『日本史大辞典』）

²² 蜂起: はちのむれがいっせいに飛びたつように、事件・兵乱などがあちこちでいっせいにおこること。

²³ 重愉（ちょうゆ 1096-1164）：平安後期の延暦寺僧。参議藤原為房孫。右衛門権佐重隆男。但し、実父は為房という。僧正仁実（にまこと）に師事。仁平三年（1153）律師に任ぜられ、保元二年（1157）少僧都、翌年法印に叙される。応保二年（1162）閏二月、座主職をめぐる延暦寺衆徒の蜂起により座主覚忠は任を解かれ、重愉が第五十一代の天台座主に補される。時に法印権僧正であった。但し治山四か月にして座主職を辞し、代わって快修が座主に就任した。長寛二年正月に至り入寂。二条・六条天皇の護持僧を務め、禅智房に止住し、禅智房座主と号した。

²⁴ 本堂: 寺院で本尊（ほんぞん）を安置する建物。

²⁵ 大津東浦: 寛和二年(九八六)大津以北、衣川（きぬがわ）郷以南の地が殺生禁断となり、当地にも延暦寺の支配が及ぶ(「日本紀略」同年二月一六日条)。一一世紀後半頃より同寺と園城寺の対立が顕在化するに伴い、大津および大津浦住人もその渦中に巻き込まれる。延暦寺と坂本日吉社の大津浦支配は、土地を媒介としない日吉神人への編成化という形で進められ、「中右記」永久二年(1114)三月一二日条には、日吉駕輿丁神人として大津神人の名がみえる。一方、この頃には大津浦住人が山門分・寺門分に分裂しており、保安元年(1120)には、後三条天皇の日吉行幸の際に広げられた新大路に山門分の大津浜住人によって鳥居が建てられたが、園城寺によって破却されている(同書同年四月二八日条)。同二年六月九日の日吉社宛宣旨(宮事縁事抄)には「当社領大津ノ東浦ノ神人」とみえ、山門領としての大津東浦の形成が確認され、寺門領西浦の成立もこの頃と推測される。（『平安時代史事典』）

²⁶ =洛中(京都の中央)

²⁷ 出挙: 古代、農民へ稲の種もみや金銭・財物を貸し付け、利息とともに返済させた制度。国が貸し付ける公出挙(くすいこ)と、私人が貸し付ける私出挙(しすいこ)とがある。すいきよ。この場合は、日吉神人が京都の人々に貸した物を表現している。

²⁸ 譴責: 年貢などを厳しく催促すること。

²⁹ 宣下: 天皇が宣旨(せんじ)を下すこと。また、宣旨が下ること。

現代日本語訳

(応保元年九月十五日) 右少弁時忠以下、解官された。彼の妹、小弁殿〈上西門院女房〉が上皇の皇子を出産したと、世の中、噂がさわがしく飛びかっている。

(同月二十八日) 右馬頭信隆、左中将成親以下、上皇の近習の者達は解官された。

(十月十九日) 内大臣以下が、内裏の殿上の中で受領所を希望する者達について審議を行った。(今日即ち除目があって任命された)

(応保二年閏二月一日) 権僧正覺忠〈園城寺[の僧正]、大殿[忠通]の息子〉が天台の座主(ざす)に補任された。延暦寺衆徒が蜂起した。これ[衆徒の蜂起]により、覺忠が解状を提出した。[その解状の結果は] 重愉に[天台座主を]補任された。

(長寛元年六月九日) 延暦寺の大衆は園城寺へ出発し、本堂とその他の建物を焼き払った。[その]事件の原因は覺忠僧正座主のことであった。去三月に園城寺の大衆徒が大津の東浦を追捕して、[日吉神社]神人の首を斬ったためであった。

(同月二十三日) 内大臣とその他の人は園城寺が焼失することについて殿上定を行った。

(七月十日) 延暦寺の僧侶たち・日吉神社の神人がに京中にみだり入って、出挙物をきびしく取り立てている。そのような者達を捕縛せよと天皇の命令が下った。

英訳

(15th day, 9th month, Ōhō 1 [1161]) The Lesser Controller of the Right Tokitada³⁰ and others were removed from office.³¹ People were gossiping everywhere [that this was

³⁰ 平時忠 Taira no Tokitada (1128-1189): He was the younger brother of Taira no Kiyomori's wife Tokiko and older brother of Go-Shirakawa's wife Shigeko. His highest rank was that of provisional senior counselor. He is known for having boasted "If you are not a Heike, you are not a person." After the Genpei War, he was banished to Nōto, where he died. His rank and post as of Ōhō 1 was Provisional 1st Lieutenant of the Right Gate Guards. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

³¹ The reason for his demotion was said to be because of the ire of the reigning *tennō*, Nijō. Though Nijō was Go-Shirakawa's son, the latter had abdicated in favor of his son with the intent of controlling politics

because] his younger sister Kobendono³² (Lady-in-Waiting of Jōsaimon'in)³³ gave birth to the child of the senior retired *tennō* [Go-Shirakawa].

(28th day, same month). Captain of the Right Bureau of Horses Koretaka³⁴ (Nobutaka),³⁵ Middle Captain [of the Inner Palace Guards] of the Left Narichika³⁶ and others, along with the intimates³⁷ of the retired *tennō*, were removed from office.

through him, but Nijō did not want to allow his father to remain in control. They therefore became the heads of two different factions. The birth of another son to Go-Shirakawa, then, posed a threat to Nijō's rule. Though Nijō could not directly attack the Kōben Palace, the demotion of Tokitada may have been one expression of his displeasure. (Adolphson, *Gates of Power*, pp. 130-131)

³² Also known as Kenshunmon'in 健春門院. 平滋子 Taira no Shigeko (1142-1176): She was the queen consort of Go-Shirakawa and mother of Takakura Tennō. Her father was a second-level manager in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Hyōbusho gon no daisuke*) in the Ministry of Military Affairs Taira no Tokinobu. In the 1st year of Ōho [1161], she gave birth to Takakura Tennō. In 1168, on the day of Takakura's accession to the throne, she became Go-Shirakawa's grand queen consort. On the 12th day of the 4th month of the 1st year of Kaō [1169], an order changing Shigeko's name to Kenshunmon'in was sent down. On the 10th day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of Angen [1176] she returned her title, sustenance households, and her right to present candidates for offices and ranks. On the 28th day of the same month, she took the precepts and became a lay nun, and on the 8th day of the 7th month she passed away at the Hōjū Temple hall. (*Nihon kokushi daijiten*)

³³ 上西門院 Jōsaimon'in, also known as Princess-of-the-Blood Muneko (統子内親王 1126-1189): Second daughter of Toba Tennō. Her mother was the daughter of Middle Counselor Fujiwara no Kinkata, Shōshi (also known as Taikenmon'in). Born on the 23rd day of the 7th month of the 1st year of Daiji [1126]. Original name Kōko. The following year, without courtly rank, she was recognized as a royal consort and named the Kamo princess-priestess. In 1143 she moved into the newly built Sanjō Karasumaru mansion. In 1145, after the death of her mother, Muneko moved into her place. In 1159 she received her title as Jōsaimon-in. In 1160 she took the precepts at Hōkongo-in, and took Buddhist name was Shinnyori. In 1182 she was adopted by the regent Fujiwara no Motofusa. She passed away in the 7th month of the 5th year of Bunji [1189] at the Rokujō-in. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

³⁴ This character was likely miscopied in the text as "Koretaka," and should be correctly read as "Nobutaka," as seen in the *Sonpi bunmyaku* and *Kugyō bunin*.

³⁵ 藤原信隆 Fujiwara no Nobutaka (1126-?): The son of Fujiwara no Nobusuke, he achieved the senior fourth rank lower and was made Potential Advisor (*hisangi*). Later he was appointed Captain of the Right Bureau of Horses in Kyūjū 3 (1156). (*Kugyō bunin* Vol. 1 p. 468)

³⁶ 藤原成親 Fujiwara no Narichika (1138-1177): He was the third son of Middle Counselor Fujiwara no Ienari. His mother was the daughter of Middle Counselor Fujiwara no Tsunetada. Given rank in the 1st year of Kenji [1142] at the age of five. He was demoted from his posts of Middle Captain of the Right Inner Palace Guards for siding with Fujiwara no Nobuyori in the Heiji Incident (1159), but he was pardoned from the death penalty because he was the son-in-law of Taira no Shigemori. He was involved in several incidents over the following decades and was demoted and reinstated several times. Narichika finally set his eyes on the post of Senior Captain of the Left Inner Palace Guards but, since Taira no Shigemori and Taira no Munemori were assigned as Senior Captains of the Right and Left Inner Palace Guards, Narichika did not attain his desired post. His dissatisfaction over this incident led Narichika to join the forces of Go-Shirakawa when they fought the Taira at the battle of Shishigatani in 1177. For his role in this incident he was arrested and exiled to Bizen province, where he was murdered in 1178. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

³⁷ 近習 (*kinjū*): Refers to serving near the sovereign. This term is seen in the Heian-period court, and in the Kamakura era a formal system was established in which a number of men served on a rotating basis. Also pronounced *kinshū*, *kinju* and *kinzu*. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

(10th month 19th day). As for the Inner Palace Minister [Munetaka]³⁸ and others, those wishing³⁹ to become provincial governors were to be discussed in the Hall of the Royal Intimates⁴⁰ [by the royal intimates]. <On this same day there was an appointment ceremony.⁴¹>

(1st day intercalary 2nd month Ōhō 2 [1162]) Provisional Primary Prelate⁴² Kakuchū⁴³ ([monk of] Onjōji,⁴⁴ son of the Great Lord⁴⁵ [Tadamichi]), was appointed as head abbot of the Tendai school.⁴⁶ The assembled monks of Enryakuji⁴⁷ massed.⁴⁸ Therefore

³⁸ 藤原宗能 Fujiwara no Muneyoshi (1083-1170): Son of Fujiwara no Munetada. He ascended to the post of Inner Palace Minister on the 13th day of the 9th month of 1161. He held senior second rank. (*Kugyo bunin* p. 400)

³⁹ 所望 (*shomō*): What is wished for.

⁴⁰ 殿上 (*denjō*): Hall of the Royal Intimates (as per McCullough, Shiryō Hensanjo Database)

⁴¹ 除目 (*jimoku*): Court ceremonies for the appointment of all but the most senior officials in the Heian Period (794–1185). The two principal ceremonies were for appointment to offices in the capital (the so-called *Tsukasameshi no jimoku*), and for appointing provincial officials (the *Agatameshi no jimoku*). These ceremonies began to lose their importance in medieval times. (*Encyclopedia of Japan*)

⁴² 僧正 (*sōjō*): The primary prelate in the Prelates' Office (*Sōgō*). There were two grades, *daisōjō* 大僧正, or senior primary prelate, and *shōsōjō* 小僧正, junior primary prelate.

⁴³ 覺忠 Kakuchū (1118-77). A monk of the Onjōji branch (as opposed to the Enryakuji branch) of the Tendai school and disciple of the monk Sōchi. He was known for being the *gojisō** for the Konoe, Nijō, and Rokujō sovereigns. *A *gojisō* is defined as, “A priest who protects”; ... a high priest entrusted with the task of praying at night in the imperial palace for the good health of an emperor.” (Inagaki, Isao. *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007, p. 72)

⁴⁴ 園城寺 Onjōji: Located in Ōmi province, Shiga district, modern-day Shiga prefecture Ōtsu city, Ōnjōji-chō. The head temple of the Tendai Jimon faction, it is also called Miidera. The name Jimon (Temple School) is used for the temple in contrast to the Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei which is called Sanmon (Mountain Temple). The temple was first built in 674 by Prince Ōtomo and revived by Enchin in 858, when it was made a branch temple of Enryakuji (Inagaki, Hisao. *Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007, p. 240).

⁴⁵ 大殿 (*ōi no tonō*) is equivalent to *daijin* (minister), which in this case refers to the regent Fujiwara no Tadamichi.

⁴⁶ 座主 (*zasu*): Refers to the head abbot of the Tendai school. From the early Heian Period, this was used as the name of the post for the overseer of affairs at the major temples. The first such post for the Tendai school, also called the *san no zasu* (山の座主), was established at Enryakuji. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

⁴⁷ 延暦寺 Enryakuji is the main temple of the Tendai school, located on Mt. Hiei in Ōtsu City, Shiga Prefecture. As the northeastern area of Heian-kyō was considered to be the gateway for demons, it was the protector of the royal house. Enryakuji was founded by the monk Saichō in 788 (Enryaku 7). Less than a century after its founding, by the mid-ninth century Enryakuji had already become the most influential temple in the Buddhist world. At the beginning of the 10th century, in 905 after Retired Tennō Uda received the religious precepts there, the royal house and the regents became affiliated with it. In the mid-tenth century during the era of Ryōgen at the head of the school, in 966 many of the buildings on the mountain were burned, but it was soon rebuilt, it is said that three thousand monks assembled and the temple flourished. However, from around this time the differing theories of the monks Ennin and Enchin became more pronounced, and in 993 the monk Keiso and a thousand of his followers left the temple and went to Onjōji (Miidera). The division between Enryakuji and Miidera began here and continued through the end of the Kamakura era, during which the monks at Enryakuji burned Onjōji seven times. The tyranny of the armed monks was most pronounced during the period of governance by retired *tennō*, and they would

Kakuchū submitted his resignation. Due to this, Chōyu⁴⁹ was appointed [head abbot of the Tendai school].

(9th day 6th month Chōkan 1 [1163]) The assembled monks of Enryakuji headed for Onjōji and burned down the Main Hall⁵⁰ and other buildings. The reason for this was that in response to the matter of the Tendai Head Abbot - Senior Prelate Kakuchū in the past 3rd month, the Onjōji assembled monks had attacked Ōtsu's eastern bay⁵¹ and took shrine dependents' heads.

(13th day, same month) The Inner Palace Minister and others conferred in the Hall of the Royal Intimates and memorialized to the throne about the matter of the arson at Onjōji.

(10th day, 7th month) The monks of Enryakuji and the people of the Hie Shrine entered the capital in an unruly fashion, and there was an order to tie up and send in those who went around cruelly forcing the return of the loans.⁵²

continually protest the appointment of the head of the school and problems of the temple property to the court. In 1095, it became usual to carry the Hiei palanquin during protests. The armed monks of Enryakuji during this period were the reason for Retired Tennō Shirakawa referring to the “mountain monks” as one of the *tennō's* three great trials. (*Nihonshi daijiten*, Vol. 1 p. 960)

⁴⁸ 蜂起 (*hōki*): A metaphor comparing the monks to a group of bees that suddenly bursts forth and wreaks havoc.

⁴⁹ 重愉 Chōyu (1096-1164): An Enryakuji monk during the late Heian Period. He was a grandson of Royal Advisor Fujiwara no Yorizane and son of Fujiwara no Shigetaka, Provisional 1st Lieutenant of the Right Gate Guards, but calls Yorizane his father. He was taught by Senior Prelate Ninjitsu. In 1153 he was made Master of Discipline. In 1157 he became a junior secondary prelate (小僧都, *shōsōzu*). The following year he was appointed, “Dharma Seal” (法印 a rank corresponding to Primary Prelate).

⁵⁰ 本堂 (*hondō*): The building where the main idols of a temple are housed.

⁵¹ 大津東浦 Ōtsu Higashi no Ura: It is unclear exactly where the modern-day location of this cove is. An entry in the *Nihon kiryaku* from the 16th day of the 2nd month the 2nd year of Kanna (986) states that the area where Higashi no Ura (Eastern Bay) is located, north of Ōtsu and south of the township of Kinugawa, became a protected area where killing of living beings was forbidden and that Enryakuji was in charge of the area. From around the second half of the eleventh century Enryakuji and Onjōji the tensions between the temples became overt and the inhabitants of Ōtsu and Ōtsu no Ura were soon wrapped up in it. The control of Ōtsu no Ura by Enryakuji and Hie Jinja was a system in which the land was not under the auspices of the organizational structure of the Hie shrine dependants, but in an entry from the *Chūyūki* (12th day, 3rd month of the 2nd year of Eikyū (1114)) we see that there were Ōtsu shrine attendants who were called the Hie palanquin bearer shrine dependants. Around this time the inhabitants of Ōtsu no Ura were separated into the Sanmon faction (Enryakuji is the Sanmon) and the Jimon faction (Onjōji). In the 1st year of Hoan (1120), during the widening of a new road for the royal progress of Go-Sanjo Tennō, a *torii* (a gateway to a Shinto shrine) was built by those of the Sanmon faction who lived on the Ōtsu beach, however this *torii* was destroyed by Onjōji (*Chūyūki*, 28th day, 4th month, 2nd year [1121]). In a royal decree concerning Hie Shrine from the 9th day of the 6th month of the 2nd year (1121) we see “the dependants of Higashi no Ura of Ōtsu of the territory of this [Hie] Shrine”, thus verifying that Ōtsu Higashi no Ura is the territory of the Sanmon faction. We can assume that the Nishi no Ura (Western Bay) of the Jimon faction was also established around this time. (*Heian jidaishi jiten*)

⁵² 出挙 (*suiko*): These were government loans, often seed rice, made to peasants in Japan from the 7th through 12th centuries. Interest rates varied from 30 to 100 percent annually. The loans originated with the

追加資料①

定(さだめ)

上卿が天皇・院の下問を受けて、一堂に会し、各自を述べるもの。行った場所により陣定(右・左近衛陣)・殿上定(清涼殿殿上間)、諮問内容により諸国条事定・受領功過定・神鏡定などと呼び分けられた。この会議は決定的に政策を決まったことではないが、意見が「定文」(さだめぶみ)という文書に記して、天皇の場合に蔵人頭を通じて、天皇に奏覧した。(岩波日本史辞典)

Sadame

A meeting of the senior nobles in which they took a question handed to them by the *tennō* or the retired *tennō*, met in one room, and gave their opinions of the matter. Such meetings were differentiated according to where they were held (as in the case of a *jin no sadame* [meeting at the guard post]) or by the substance of the question at hand. The result of such a meeting was not a final decision of court policy, but rather a document, called a *sadamebumi*, which listed the various opinions. In the case of a question handed down for discussion by a *tennō*, the results were passed to the head of the Royal Secretariat, who in turn memorialized it to the throne.

殿上定(てんじょうさだめ)

清涼殿(せいりょうでん)殿上間(てんじょうのま)に行われた定。

Tenjō no sadame

A *sadame* held in the Chamber of Royal Intimates (*tenjō no ma*) of the Hall of Cool and Refreshing Breezes (*Seiryoden* as per McCullough).

定文(さだめぶみ)

定の結果を記した文書。上卿の意見が書いていたもの。

Sadamebumi

A document in which the results of a *sadame* are recorded. The opinions of the senior nobles are written therein.

陣定(じんのさだめ)

右・左近衛陣に行われた定。弘仁元年(810)に始めた。

need to lend food and seed to peasants as relief in the spring and summer. Many borrowers were forced to sell their lands to pay off their debts to private lenders. Interest from the loans was originally used for provincial administration expenses or to pay taxes to the central government. The heavy burden of interest caused many peasants to abandon their land and flee to other districts. Repeated government measures to deal with this problem by prohibiting private loans (*shisuiko*) or by offering compensatory tax reductions generally failed. (*Encyclopedia of Japan*; Cornelius J. Kiley "Provincial Administration and Land Tenure in Early Heian" *Cambridge History of Japan* Vol. 2 p. 266). In this case, it refers to goods that the shrine dependents of Hie lent to the people of Kyōto

Jin no sadame

A *sadame* undertaken at the left or right guardposts of the Palace Bodyguards. First undertaken in *Kōnin* 1 (810).

院御所定 (いんのごしょさだめ)

上皇の御所で行われる公卿などにより議定。当初は、上皇の家政に関わるものであったが 1107 年幼主鳥羽天皇の即位した以後、国政に関わる重要事項が審議されるようになった。メンバーは院司に限定されない。(美川圭「白河法皇」NHK ブックス)

In no gosho sadame

A discussion conducted by the nobility at the palace of the retired *tennō*. At its origins, it concerned itself with the household policies of the retired *tennō*, but in 1107, after the ascension of the new Toba Tennō, matters of importance to countrywide policies came to be discussed. Members were not limited to those of the royal family. (Mikawa Kiyoshi, *Shirakawa hōō*, NHK Books)