

平泉以前の地方政治拠点

古代城柵から有力者居館へ

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はじめに

平泉が政治拠点として始動する以前の陸奥・出羽の地方政治拠点は、8 世紀～9 世紀に設置された古代城柵官衙遺跡であった。陸奥側の拠点は南半の陸奥国府（多賀城）と北半の鎮守府（胆沢城）、出羽側の拠点は南半の出羽国府（城輪柵跡）と北半の秋田城、そして内陸の雄勝城（払田柵跡）という五つの拠点からなるものであった。これらの拠点のあり方と変遷は、陸奥国府多賀城とそれ以外とで大きく異なっていた。陸奥国府（多賀城）が政治拠点として 8 世紀～12 世紀まで存続したのに対し、それ以外の城柵（胆沢城、城輪柵、秋田城、払田柵跡）は 10 世紀後半代には機能を停止し、拠点機能は移転したとみられる。

陸奥北半部の鎮守府胆沢城の拠点機能は、11 世紀には安倍氏の居館跡とされる岩手県金ヶ崎町鳥海柵跡に移転したとみられている（浅利 2022）。また、出羽北半部の秋田城、払田柵跡等の拠点機能に関しては、8 世紀～10 世紀の出羽国府の複雑な移転経過とともに諸説あるが、11 世紀には清原氏宗家の居館跡とされる秋田県横手市大鳥井山遺跡にそれらの拠点機能が集約されたとみられている（島田 2022）。

以上のように、陸奥・出羽北半部の古代から古代末にかけての地方政治拠点のあり方を概観すると、古代の城柵官衙遺跡が 10 世紀後半には衰退し、11 世紀代にはそれらの拠点機能が在地有力氏族の居館へと移転したとみられる（表 1）。そして、12 世紀後半には、これら陸奥・出羽北半部の拠点機能を集約し、さらに陸奥国府多賀城の拠点性をも接收した平泉藤原氏の居館＝平泉館が、奥羽の拠点機能を一元的に掌握する形で新たな地方政治拠点として出現した、と整理することができる（表 1）。以下では、与えられた指標に従って、その変遷過程を概観する。

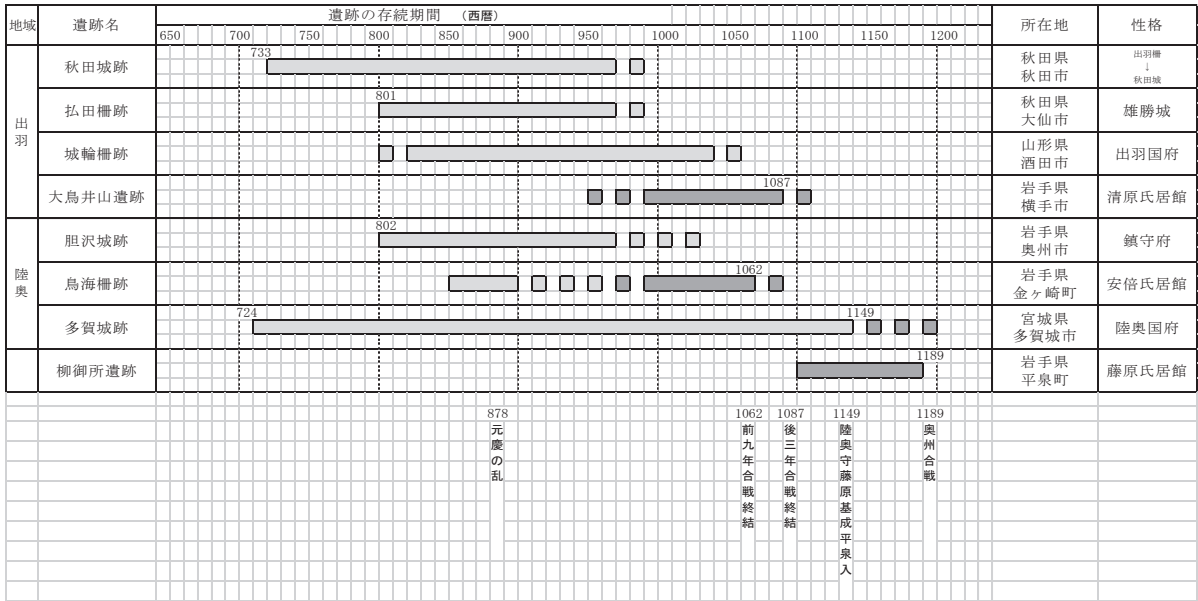


表 1 古代～古代末 東北地方の拠点遺跡の存続年代

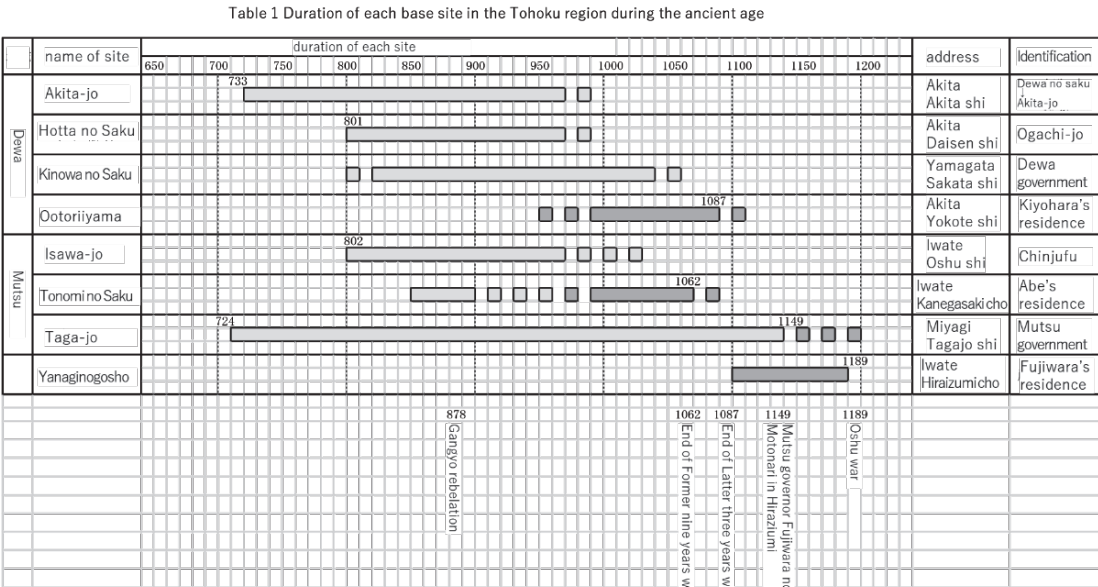
Local political bases before Hiraizumi:
from ancient fortified government offices to the residences of powerful people
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Introduction

Before Hiraizumi began its political history, the local political bases of Mutsu and Dewa were the remains of the ancient fortified government offices established in the 8th and 9th centuries. The Mutsu side consisted of five bases: the Mutsu Kokufu (Taga-jō, provincial government office) in the southern half and the Chinjufu (Isawa-jō, fortified government office) in the northern half, while the Dewa side consisted of the Dewa Kokufu (Kinowa no Saku ruins) in the southern half and Akita-jō in the northern half, and Ogachi-jō (Hotta no Saku ruins) inland. The nature and transition of these bases differed greatly between the Mutsu Kokufu (Taga-jō) and the others. While the Mutsu Kokufu (Taga-jō) continued to exist as a political base from the 8th to the 12th centuries, the other fortified government offices (such as Isawa-jō, Kinowa no Saku, Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku) ceased to function in the latter half of the 10th century, and their base functions are thought to have been relocated.

The base function of Isawa-jō, the Chinjufu in the northern half of Mutsu, is believed to have been transferred to the Tonomi no Saku ruins in Kanegasaki Town, Iwate Prefecture, which is believed to be the site of the Abe clan's residence, in the 11th century (Asari 2022). Regarding the base functions of Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku ruins, etc. in the northern half of Dewa, there are various theories about the complex relocation process of the Dewa Kokufu from the 8th to 10th centuries, but it is believed that in the 11th century, their base functions were consolidated at the Ootoriiyama site in Yokote City, Akita Prefecture, which is believed to be the site of the residence of the head family of the Kiyohara clan (Shimada 2022).

As mentioned above, when we take an overview of the state of local political bases in the northern half of Mutsu and Dewa during ancient times, it is believed that the ancient fortified government offices declined in the late 10th century, and in the 11th century, their base functions were transferred to the residences of local powerful clans (Table 1). In the second half of the 12th century, Hiraizumi no Tachi, the residence of the Fujiwara clan of Hiraizumi, which consolidated the base functions of the northern half of Mutsu and Dewa also took over the base functions of Taga-jō, the Mutsu provincial capital, emerged as a new local political center with unified control over the base functions of Ōshū (Table 1 Duration of each base site in the Tohoku region during the ancient age). Below, we will provide an overview of the process of change according to the given indicators.



1. 多賀城跡の変遷

陸奥国府多賀城は、神亀元（724）年に陸奥出羽按察使大野東人によって創建された。単に令制国一国の拠点としてだけでなく、より広域的・多面的（軍事的・行政的）な権限を国家から付与された政治拠点として創出された。9 世紀～10 世紀前半には、中央集権的な律令国家体制の下で城下街区（山王・市川橋遺跡ほか）も含めた古代の地方拠点都市として最盛期を迎えた。10 世紀後半には、他の城柵官衙と同じく政庁の律令制に基づく実務的な使用や城下街区の集住機能は減衰したが、その後も王朝国家体制の下で政庁は政治拠点として象徴的に使用が継続され、受領の経済基盤である国衙機能も形を変えながら多賀城内で保持され 11 世紀以降も政治拠点存続したとみられる。以下では、多賀城の拠点性の実態と変遷を確認する。

（1）多賀城の為政者

古代の国司は律令国家の頂点に君臨する天皇の権力を代行する中央派遣官であり、陸奥国府多賀城で国司を総括したのは「陸奥守」であった。陸奥守は辺境政策等の広域の任務も負ったため、「按察使」、「征東將軍」、「鎮守府將軍」等の奥羽全域の行政や軍事的な官職も兼ねることがあった。陸奥国司は任期付き（6～4 年）の派遣官であったが、在任中に在地有力者＝郡司層と姻戚関係を結び、10 世紀後半以降はその子孫が在地支配階層を構成し、受領（陸奥守）や在地有力者相互の利害対立が顕在化していった。『今昔物語』本朝世俗巻二十五第五「維茂藤原諸任を罰つ語」に登場する余五（平維茂）、沢股（藤原諸任）、大君（橘好則）や、前九年合戦に登場する藤原経清・平永衡など中央貴族の姓を名乗る陸奥国府の在庁官人とみられる人々はその一例で、彼らの末裔が 11・12 世紀の奥羽の支配階層として成長していった。

（2）多賀城の支配領域

陸奥守の支配権が及ぶ領域は東北地方の太平洋側を占める陸奥国全域であった。その象徴として多賀城政庁では、これらの地域から参集した郡司を前に、陸奥守が天皇の権力代行者として朝拝が催行された（古瀬 1998）。また、蝦夷・俘囚の族長を集めた蝦夷服属儀礼も催行されたと考えられる。前者は陸奥南半部（現在の福島・宮城県域）、後者は陸奥北半部（現在の岩手・青森県域）の在地有力者層で、領域内の地域支配方式が南半部と北半部とで異なっていた。このような異なる支配構造が、辺境に位置する古代陸奥・出羽国の地域支配の特色と言える。9 世紀以降、北半部の直接的な支配権は鎮守府將軍（胆沢城）が掌握し、陸奥守の陸奥北半部に対する権限は間接的なものとなったが、基本的な支配権は陸奥守が引き続き掌握した。

（3）多賀城の政治拠点の範囲

陸奥国府の政治・行政実務を担当した中枢官衙＝曹司は、政庁を中心に外郭施設で囲まれた 1km 四方の低丘陵上に分散して配置されていた。城前・作貫・大畑・金堀・五万崎・六月坂などいずれの地区でも 8 世紀～12 世紀の古代の実務官衙＝曹司と、その機能を継承した国衙組織＝所が存続したとみられる（宮多研 2019）ことから、多賀城の政治的拠点性は維持されたとみられる（古川 2020）。この外郭施設で囲まれた範囲が陸奥国府の中核的な政治拠点の範囲であった。さらに、多賀城周辺の半径およそ 6km 圏内には 8 世紀から 12 世紀に形成された「多賀城を支えた」遺跡が分布している。中でも城下南方の山王・市川橋遺跡には 8 世紀後葉～10 世紀中葉に方格地割の街区が形成され、国司館や城外官衙が配置され、東国の一大政治拠点に相応しい都市的景観が広がっていた（図 1）。西沢遺跡、新田遺跡、小沢原、八幡沖遺跡、中野高柳遺跡など、在庁官人の居館とされる遺跡もこの範囲内に集中していた。その結果、この領域は理想的な政治拠点として中世以降も意識され「陸奥国府中」と呼ばれ争奪戦が繰り広げられた。

以上のように、陸奥国府の政治拠点の範囲は、中核部は多賀城内の 1 km 四方に限定されるが、多賀城周囲 6km 圏内が国府域として捉えられ、他の城柵官衙や有力者居館とは異なる広域の政治拠点としての認識が中世まで受け継がれたものと言えよう。

1. Changes in the Taga-jō ruins

Taga-jō, the Mutsu Kokufu, was founded in 724 by Ōno Azumando, the Mutsu Dewa Azechi. It was created not just as a base for a single province in the Ritsuryo state system, but as a political base with broader and more diverse (military and administrative) authority granted by the state. From the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century, it reached its peak as an ancient regional center city, including the surrounding district (Sannō site, Ichikawabashi site, etc.), under the centralized Ritsuryo state system. In the second half of the 10th century, like other fortified government offices, the practical use of the government office based on the Ritsuryo system and the residential function of the surrounding district declined, but the government office continued to be used symbolically as a political base under the imperial state system, and the provincial government function, which was the economic base of the Zuryo (chief administrative officer), was maintained within Taga-jō, albeit in a changed form, and it is believed to have continued as a political base after the 11th century. Below, we will confirm the actual situation and changes in Taga-jō's role as a political base.

(1) Rulers of Taga-jō

In ancient times, Kokushi, rulers of the province, were central government officials who acted on behalf of the Emperor, who reigned at the top of the Ritsuryo state, and the person who oversaw the Kokushi at Taga-jō, the Mutsu Kokufu, was the "Mutsu no Kami". As the Mutsu no Kami also had wide-ranging duties such as border policies, they sometimes held administrative and military positions throughout the Ōshū region, such as Azechi, Seitō Shogun, and Chinjufu Shogun. Mutsu Kokushi were term-limited (4 to 6 years) officials, but during their term of office they formed marriage ties with local influential people, i.e. the Gunji class, and from the second half of the 10th century onwards their descendants formed the local ruling class, and conflicts of interest between the Zuryo (Mutsu no Kami) and local influential people became apparent. Examples of this are the people who are thought to be government officials of the Mutsu Kokufu, who took the surnames of central aristocrats, such as Yogo (Taira no Tomomori), Sawamata (Fujiwara no Morotō), and Ōkimi (Tachibana no Yoshinori), who appear in the fifth chapter of the “Konjaku Monogatari,” "The Tale of Tomomori's Punishment of Fujiwara no Morotō," and Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo and Taira no Nagahira, who appear in the Zenkunen War. Their descendants grew to become the ruling class in Mutsu and Dewa in the 11th and 12th centuries.

(2) The area under the control of Taga-jō

The area under the control of Mutsu no Kami was the entire Mutsu province, which occupies the Pacific coast of the Tohoku region. As a symbol of this, in the Taga-jō government office, in front of Gunji, the district governors, who had gathered from these regions, Mutsu no Kami held a morning worship service as the Emperor's representative (Furuse 1998). It is also thought that a subjugation ceremony of the Emishi was held, in which the chiefs of the Emishi and Fushu (Emishi forced to surrender and emigrate) were gathered. The former were local influential people in the southern half of Mutsu (present-day Fukushima and Miyagi prefectures), and the latter were local influential people in the northern half of Mutsu (present-day Iwate and Aomori prefectures), and the regional rule methods within the territory were different in the southern and northern halves. Such different rule structures are characteristic of the regional rule of the ancient Mutsu and Dewa provinces, which were located on the border. From the 9th century onwards, direct control of the northern half was held by the Chinjufu Shogun (in Isawa-jō), and the authority of the Mutsu no Kami over the northern half of Mutsu became indirect, but the Mutsu no Kami continued to hold basic control.

(3) The scope of the political base of Taga-jō

The central government office, or Zoshi, responsible for the political and administrative affairs of the Mutsu Kokufu, was allocated on a low hill of 1 km square, surrounded by outer facilities with the government office at the center. In all areas, such as Jōmae, Sakkan, Ohata, Kanabori, Gomanzaki, and Rokugatsuzaka, the ancient government office, or Zoshi, which was in charge of the practical affairs of the 8th to 12th centuries, and the provincial government organization, or Sho, which inherited its functions, are believed to have continued to exist (Taga-jō Inst. 2019), so it is believed that Taga-jō maintained its status as a political base (Furukawa 2020). The area surrounded by these outer facilities was the scope of the core political base of the Mutsu Kokufu. Furthermore, within a radius of approximately 6 km around Taga-jō, there are ruins that were formed between the 8th and 12th centuries and supported Taga-jō. Particularly, at the Sannō and Ichikawabashi sites in the southern part of the castle town, square blocks were formed between the late 8th century and the mid-10th century, and the residence of Kokushi and exterior government offices were located, creating an urban landscape suitable for a major political base in the eastern provinces (Figure 1 Grid city plan of the vicinity of Taga-jo). These archaeological sites believed to be the residences of local government officials, such as the Nishizawa site, Nitta site, Ozawabara site, Yawataoki site, and Nakano Takayanagi site, were also concentrated within this area. As a result, this area was recognized as an ideal political center even after the Middle Ages, and was called Mutsu Province Fuchū, and a great struggle was waged over it.

As mentioned above, the area of the political base of Mutsu Kokufu was limited to a 1 km square area within Taga-jō in the core, but the area within a 6 km radius of Taga-jō was considered to be the provincial government area, and it can be said that the recognition of it as a wide-area political center different from other fortified government offices and influential people's residences was inherited until the Middle Ages.

(4) 多賀城の権力を表徴する構造物

律令国家側の視点からみたとき、城柵官衙が政治拠点として存立する基盤には領域住民の服属意識が必要不可欠であった。住民に、律令国家に対する畏敬・崇敬の念を抱かせるような演出が古代城柵官衙や各国府の建造物や儀式に組み込まれていたことは、多くの論考が指摘するところである(田中 2008p119 ほか)。多賀城においても、仙台平野のどこからでも視認できた施設群がその象徴と言える。住民を視覚的に圧倒することで、服属意識を勝ち取るという方法は、武力に頼らない優れた戦略だったと思われる。

具体的には政庁、政庁南大路、外郭施設、実務官衙、付属寺院、総社、などの構造物があげられる。中でも象徴的なのは政庁南大路である。この大路は、政庁の南門と外郭南門とを結ぶ長さ約 300m、路幅 14 m (奈良時代) ~22m (平安時代) 前後の城内道路で、多賀城正面の象徴的な景観であった。この大路の廃絶時期は 12 世紀中葉で、いわゆる平泉セットの土器(八重樫 2019p294) が出土した平場の造成により破壊された(宮多研 2021)。

外郭施設は、政庁を中心とした丘陵上の 1km 四方を取り巻く遮蔽施設で、高さ 4m もある築地塀と材木堀からなり、要所に門と櫓が取り付く。陸奥・出羽以外の他の国府にはない施設で、丘陵上に位置し遠方から視認できる瓦葺きの門と櫓と築地塀が一体となった外観は、その威光を人々に強く印象付ける効果があったとみられる。しかし 10 世紀前葉以降、これらの施設の維持管理を担った軍団兵士の徴発が滞り、施設は荒廃に向ったとみられる(宮多研 2017)。

(5) 多賀城の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

多賀城周辺の発掘調査出土物の中で、政治拠点としての象徴とみなせる事物として、時の支配を示す遺物(漏刻・具注暦)、文字関係資料(木簡、漆紙文書、印章、墨書・刻書土器、硯)、身分・財力を表徴する遺物(腰帯具、陶磁器、金泥付着転用硯)などがある。

(4) Structures that symbolize the power of Taga-jō

From the perspective of the Ritsuryo state, the sense of subordination of the residents of the area was essential for the existence of the fortified government offices as political bases. Many studies have pointed out that the buildings and ceremonies of ancient fortified government offices and provincial government offices were designed to inspire a sense of awe and reverence for the Ritsuryo state (Tanaka 2008, p. 119, etc.). In Taga-jō, the facilities that could be seen from anywhere in the Sendai Plain can be said to be a symbol of this. The method of visually overwhelming the residents to win their sense of subordination was thought to be an excellent strategy that did not rely on military force.

Specific examples include structures such as the government office, the south main street of the government office, the outer facilities, the practical government offices, the attached temples, and the main shrine. The most symbolic of these is the south main street of the government office. This main road was an internal road about 300m long and 14m (Nara period) to 22m (Heian period) wide, connecting the south gate of the government office and the south gate of the outer wall, and was a symbolic sight in front of Taga-jō. This main road was abandoned in the mid-12th century when it was destroyed by the construction of the flat area where the so-called Hiraizumi set of pottery (Yaegashi 2019 p. 294) was excavated (Taga-jō Inst. 2021). The outer wall facility is a shielding facility that surrounds the government office on a hill for 1km square, and consists of a 4m-high earthen wall and timber wall, with gates and turrets at key points. It is a facility that was not found in any other provincial capital except Mutsu and Dewa, and its exterior, which is located on a hill and can be seen from afar, and is made up of a tiled gate, turret, and earthen wall, is thought to have had the effect of leaving a strong impression on people of its majesty. However, after the first half of the 10th century, the recruitment of legionnaires to maintain these facilities laxed, and the facilities fell into disrepair (Taga-jō Inst. 2017).

(5) Objects symbolizing the legitimacy of Taga-jō's rule

Among the artifacts unearthed during excavations around Taga-jō, there are objects that can be considered symbols as a political base, such as artifacts showing the rule of the time (water clocks and calendars), writing-related materials (wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, seals, earthenware with ink writing and engravings, inkstones), and artifacts representing social status and wealth (belt equipment, ceramics, and repurposed inkstones with gold paint).

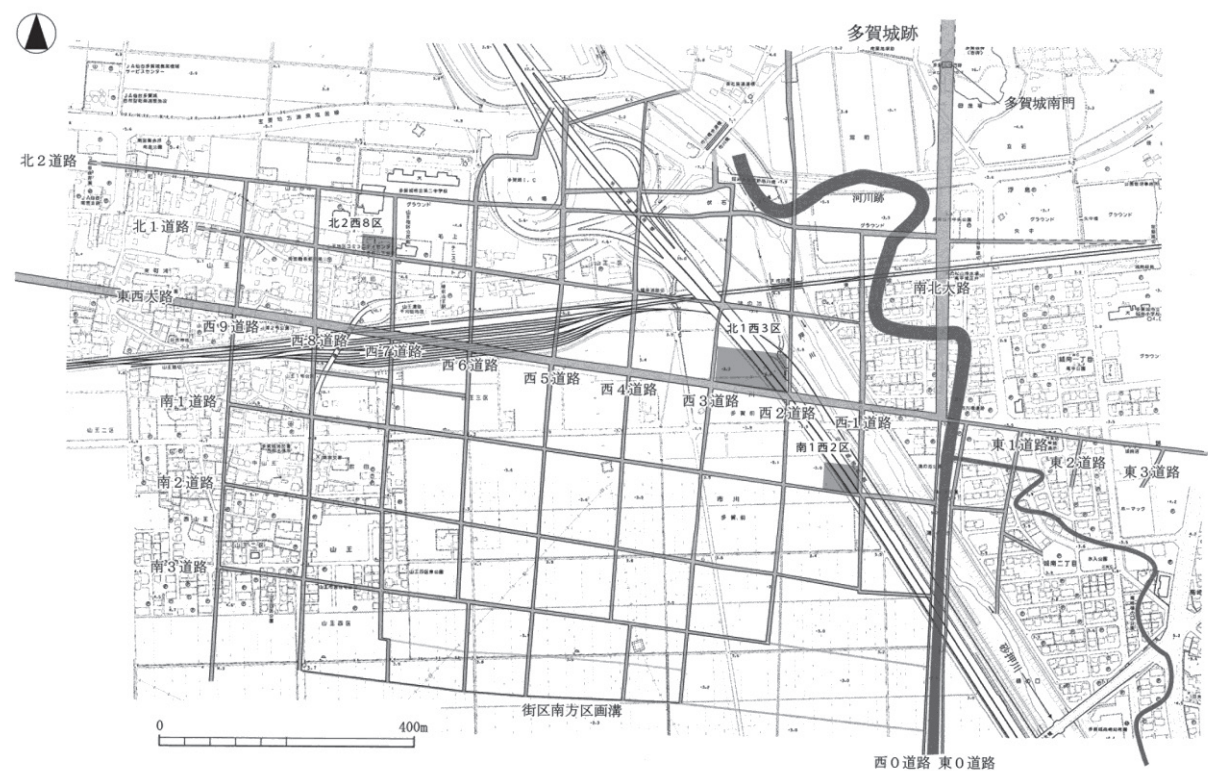


図1 多賀城下方格地割の街区構成図

漏刻・具注暦は、天皇の権力の一つである「時の支配」（木下 2020）を象徴するものであった。具体的には陰陽寮による時を司る権限の一部として陸奥国府に委託されたのが具注暦頒布と漏刻設置であった。

文字関係資料としては印章、木簡、漆紙文書、墨書・刻書土器などがある。律令制度の円滑な運営には文書行政が不可欠であり、膨大な文字関係資料の存在は政治的・軍事的拠点の象徴と言える。なかでも「国印」は文書発給や国司交代に欠かせない政治拠点を象徴する必須アイテムであった。『日本三代実録』貞観十一（869）年三月十六日条には陸奥国印が摩耗したため新たに国印を鑄造し支給したとの記事があることから、国印は単に象徴的なものではなく、実用的な印章として扱われたことが知られる。

身分・財力を表徴する遺物として腰帯具・陶磁器・馬関係資料・金泥が付着した転用硯がある。多賀城下では様々な儀式や宴会が催行されたが、その際、参加者が着用する衣服や使用する食器は位階や役職によって差別化され身分秩序が明示されていた（田中 2008p109）。一例をあげれば、国司館の存在が想定される五万崎地区において、宮廷行事に供されたのと同等の緑釉陶器や白色土器が出土している（図 2）。こうした宮廷に直結する高級陶磁器を儀式や宴会の席で披露することで、派遣官である国司は、在地有力氏族（郡領・郷長）に対する経済的優越性や社会的地位の上下関係を明示したと考えられる。

（6）多賀城の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

派遣官である国司は、任期を終えると原則として京に戻ったので、赴任地である陸奥国での居所は、自ら領有する土地や宅地ではなく、任期中に班給を受けた城下の土地の官舎での仮住まいであったと考えられる。発掘調査で 9・10 世紀代の国守館とされる山王遺跡千刈田地区（北 1 西 7 区）や館前地区が、豪壮な施設であるにもかかわらず短期間の使用で終わったとみられるのもこうした背景によるものであろう。

墓所・廟についても、国司の本貫地は京であることから基本的に任国に墓所があることはない。例外的に任地で不慮の死を遂げた陸奥国司「藤原実方」の墓とされる遺蹟が国府から離れた名取市笠島に所在するが、これも多分に伝説的で確実な国司相当の人物の墓所は確認されていない。また、多賀城外南西隅の勿来川河川敷で古代の墓域（土坑墓群）が発見されているが、副葬品が少なく造営時期や被葬者の性格、国府との関係についても不明な点が多い。

為政者の祈りや信仰に関わる施設として、国府付属寺院である多賀城廃寺と陸奥国内の式内社 100 座を合祀した陸奥奏社（総社）がある。多賀城廃寺では国家鎮護の法会が国内の僧綱が参集して開催されたほか、万灯会や泥塔供養などの行事が催行されたことが出土遺物から確認される（堀 2022）。

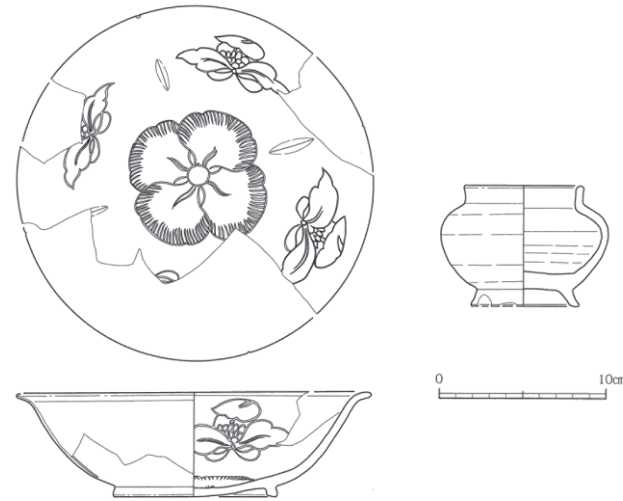


図2 多賀城跡第 84 次調査区出土緑釉陶器輪花中碗（左）・白色土器壺（右）

The water clock and the Guchu calendar symbolized one of the powers of the Emperor, "The Control of Time" (Kinoshita 2020). Specifically, the distribution of the Guchu calendar and the installation of the water clock were entrusted to the Mutsu Kokufu as part of the authority of the Onmyo-ryo department to control time.

Materials related to writing include seals, wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, and ink-written and engraved pottery. Written administration was essential for the smooth operation of the Ritsuryo system, and the existence of a huge number of materials related to writing can be said to be a symbol of a political and military base. Among them, the provincial seal was an essential item that symbolized a political base, indispensable for issuing documents and changing Kokushi (provincial governors). The entry for March 16, 869, in the "Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku" (Chronicles of Three Generations of the Emperor), states that a new provincial seal was cast and issued because the provincial seal of Mutsu had worn out, so it is known that the provincial seal was not simply symbolic but was treated as a practical seal.

Artifacts that represent status and wealth include belts, ceramics, horse-related materials, and repurposed inkstones with gold paint. Various ceremonies and banquets were held under Taga-jō, and the clothing worn and tableware used by participants at these events were differentiated according to rank and position, clearly indicating the social hierarchy (Tanaka 2008, p. 109). For example, in the Gomanzaki area, where the Kokushi's residence is thought to have existed, green-glazed pottery and white earthenware equivalent to those used at court events have been excavated (Figure 2 Green glazed bowl with engraved flower and small white pot excavated from Taga-jo ruins 84th survey). By displaying such high-quality ceramics directly connected to the court at ceremonies and banquets, the Kokushi, who were dispatched officials, are thought to have clearly indicated their economic superiority and social hierarchical relationship with local powerful clans (Gunryo and Gocho).

(6) Residences, tombs and mausoleums of the rulers of Taga-jō

As a rule, the dispatched Kokushi returned to Kyoto after the end of their term of office, so it is believed that their residence in Mutsu province, where they were assigned, was not on land or residential land that they owned, but on temporary residences in official buildings on land in the political center that they were assigned to during their term of office. This is probably why the Sengarita area (Kita 1 West 7) and Tatemaie areas of the Sannō site, which have been excavated to be residence of Kokushi from the 9th and 10th centuries, are thought to have been used for only a short time despite being magnificent facilities.

As for tombs and mausoleums, since the Kokushi's main residence was Kyoto, they generally did not have tombs in the provinces they were assigned to. As an exception, the remains of the Mutsu Kokushi "Fujiwara no Sanekata," who died unexpectedly in his post, located in Kasashima, Natori City, far from the provincial capital, but these are also largely legendary, and no graves of people equivalent to Kokushi have been confirmed. Additionally, an ancient burial site (a group of pit graves) was discovered on the banks of the Nakosogawa River in the southwest corner of Taga-jō, but there are few burial items, and many unknowns remain about the construction period, the nature of the deceased, and the relationship with the provincial government.

Facilities related to the prayers and faith of rulers include the Taga-jō, a temple attached to the provincial government, and Mutsu Sōja (integrated shrine), which enshrines 100 shrines named in Engi Shiki from within Mutsu province. Excavated remains have confirmed that Taga-jō Haiji held a ceremony to protect the nation, attended by monks from across the country, and events such as the Manto-e and Deito-kuyo were also held there (Hori 2022).

2. 胆沢城から鳥海柵へ

古代陸奥国北半部の政治拠点である鎮守府胆沢城は、征夷大將軍坂上田村麻呂によって延暦二十一（802）年に創建された。多賀城に置かれた鎮守府をおよそ 100km 北の胆沢城に移し、9 世紀前半には 50km 北に設置されていた志波城、徳丹城の機能を糾合することで、陸奥国北部の拠点として整備された。

しかし、10 世紀後半以降、鎮守府の在庁官人であったとみられる安倍氏が鎮守府の支配権を接收し、11 世紀には政治拠点の機能が安倍氏一族の居館に移行したとみられている。中でも胆沢城の北西約 2km に位置する金ヶ崎町鳥海柵跡（図 3）は安倍氏の拠点的な居館であったとされる（浅利 2022）。北上市黒沢尻柵跡、盛岡市厨川柵跡なども安倍氏一族の重要拠点とされるが、いずれも未調査であり実態不明である。

（1）胆沢城・鳥海柵の為政者

鎮守府胆沢城を指揮する鎮守府將軍も国司と同じく任期付きの中央派遣官であった。承和元（834）年以降は、陸奥国印に代わり鎮守府印の使用が認められ、陸奥国北半の実質的な支配権限は鎮守府將軍によって掌握された。

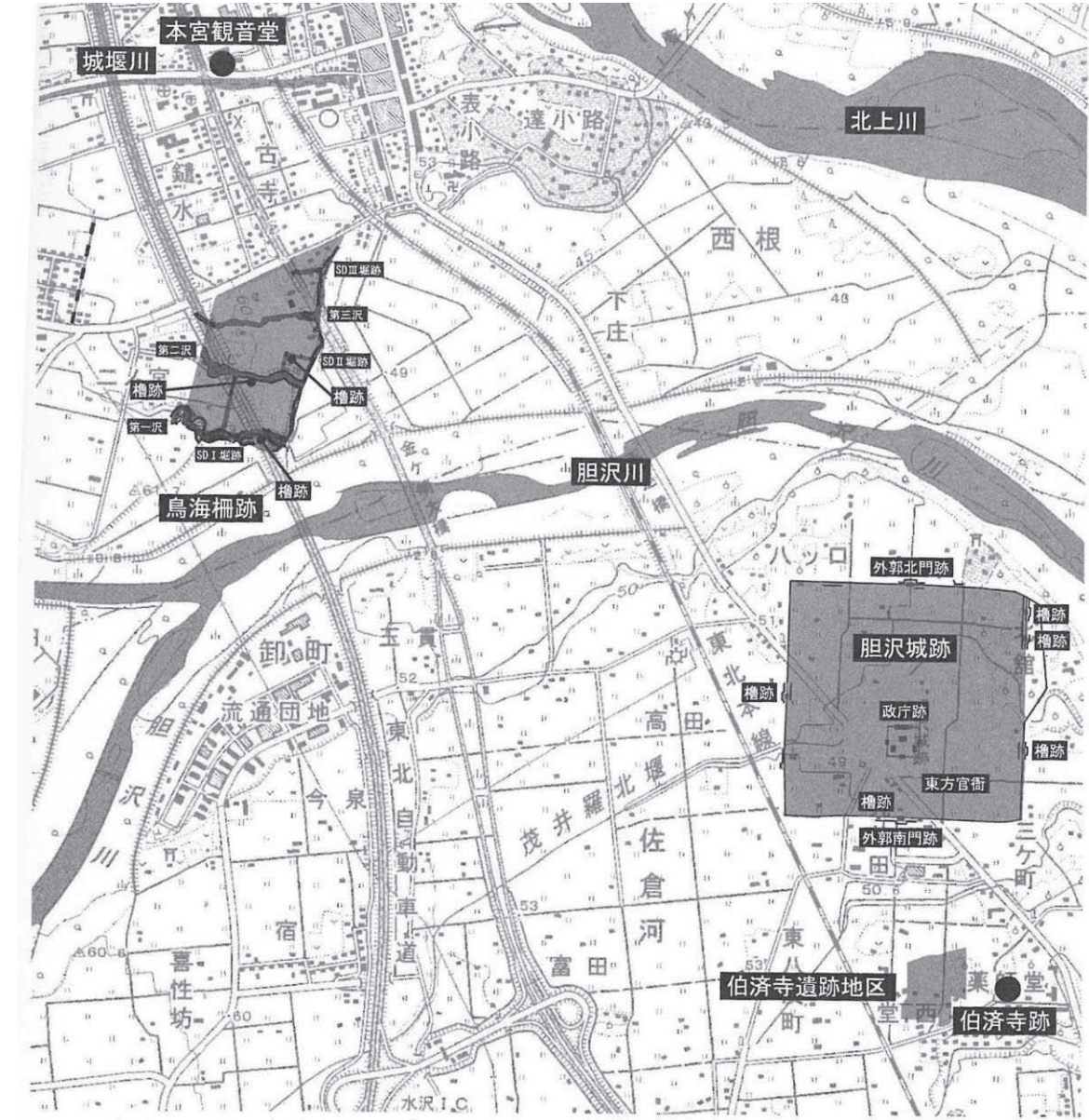


図3 胆沢城と鳥海柵の位置関係

2. From Isawa-jō to Tonomi no Saku

Isawa-jō, the Chinjufu, a political base in the northern half of ancient Mutsu province, was founded in 802 by Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, the Seii Tai Shogun. The Chinjufu, which is located in Taga-jō, was moved to Isawa-jō, about 100 km north, and the functions of Shiwa-jō and Tokutan-jō, which were located 50 km north in the first half of the 9th century, were integrated to develop it as a base in the northern part of Mutsu province.

However, from the second half of the 10th century onwards, the Abe clan, who are believed to have been the resident officials of the Chinjufu, seized control of the Chinjufu, and in the 11th century, the function of the political base is believed to have been transferred to the residence of the Abe clan. In particular, the remains of Tonomi no Saku in Kanegasaki Town (Figure 3 Positions of Isawa-jo and Tonomi no Saku), located about 2 km northwest of Isawa-jō, are said to have been the base residence of the Abe clan (Asari 2022). The remains of Kurosawajiri no Saku in Kitakami City and the remains of Kuriyagawa no Saku in Morioka City are also said to be important bases for the Abe clan, but neither have been investigated and their actual status is unknown.

(1) The rulers of Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

The Chinjufu Shogun, who commanded at Isawa-jō, the Chinjufu (government military administration office), was a term-limited central dispatched official, just like the Kokushi. After the first year of the Jōwa era (834), the Chinjufu seal was allowed to be used instead of the Mutsu Kokufu seal, and the Chinjufu Shogun took control of the actual control of the northern half of Mutsu province.

その後、10 世紀後半から 11 世紀中頃の前九年合戦前夜にかけての時期に、安倍氏が在庁官人として鎮守府の実質的な支配権を掌握していったとされるが、その間の安倍氏の具体的動向は明確ではない。安倍氏の出自に関しても鎮守府に関わった安倍姓の中央貴族として貞観十八（876）年、鎮守府将軍に就任した安倍比高、同じく元慶八（864）年の安倍三寅などが注目され、あるいは長元九（1036）年、陸奥権守に就任した安倍忠好（良）が安倍頼時の父であったとする説などがあるが確定的なものではない。後に見る出羽の清原氏と同じように、これら京下りの中央貴族との姻戚関係をもった在地有力氏族が在庁官人として活動の幅を広げ、鎮守府の権力を掌握していったものとみられる（樋口 2011）。

（２）胆沢城・鳥海柵の支配領域

9 世紀から 10 世紀前半、鎮守府胆沢城の支配権が及ぶ領域は陸奥国北半部（現在の岩手・青森県域）であった。その中でも北上川沿いの内陸盆地には奥六郡が設置され郡制が施行されたが、それ以外の地では蝦夷・俘囚の村を単位とした緩やかな領域支配が行われていたとみられる。

10 世紀後半以降、鎮守府領を手中にした安倍氏の支配領域も、前九年合戦時の柵（安倍氏十二柵）の設置状況からみて奥六郡の郡制施行地域にほぼ限定されていたと推定される。それ以外の地域は前代と変わらぬ状況にあり、鎮守府の支配領域と支配体制がそのまま引き継がれたとみられる。『陸奥話記』に登場する安倍氏十二柵は、主に居住施設や軍事施設としての側面が強調されがちであるが、これらの柵は、磐井郡や古代末の奥六郡（胆沢・江刺・和賀・紫波・稗貫・岩手）の古代の拠点遺跡や河川合流点に近接している（浅利 2022）ことから、行政の中核としての郡家や、交通・物流の拠点としての駅家・河湊等の機能を意識して配置されていた可能性が想定される。

（３）胆沢城・鳥海柵の政治拠点の範囲

胆沢城の中枢部は、築地と堀からなる外郭施設で囲まれた 668m 四方の範囲内にあり、政庁を中心としてその北方、東方、西方などに官衙群が配置されていた。この外郭施設で囲まれた範囲が鎮守府の中核的な政治拠点の範囲とされる。さらに、胆沢城南方約 40m に位置する伯済寺遺跡は 10 世紀後葉以降の上級官人の居館跡とみられる施設が整備され、拠点の範囲が外郭施設外に拡大されたことが確認されている（高橋 2024）。

鳥海柵の範囲については南側と東側が段丘崖によって明確に区画されているが、西側と北側の範囲は明確でない。東側でみると南東端の二ノ宮後区域から北端の縦街道南（伝三の丸）区域北側の SDⅢ堀まで約 550m あるが、さらにその北側に遺跡が広がる可能性もある。南側でみると二ノ宮後区域から鳥海（伝本丸）区域西部まで約 250m ある（図 4）。ただし、こちらもさらにその西側に広がり、東西 600m に及ぶ方形区画の可能性（図 3）が想定されており（浅利 2022p116）、その面積は胆沢城跡にほぼ匹敵する。

（４）胆沢城・鳥海柵の権力を表徴する構造物

胆沢城の権力を象徴する構造物として 9 世紀中～後葉に瓦葺となった政庁正殿と外郭南門があげられる。さらに外郭南門と政庁南門の間に設置された中郭南門（殿門）は政庁正面の重厚感と威圧感を引き立てている。異なる様式の三つの門が連なる光景は、隣接する東方官衙南地区で催行された俘饗に参加した蝦夷族長たちに絶大な視覚的効果をもたらしたであろう。

胆沢城南方約 40m に位置する伯済寺遺跡では 10 世紀後葉に五間四面の庇付建物を中心とした上級官人の居館跡とみられる施設が整備され、これらも権力を表徴する構造物として機能したとみられる。

11 世紀に入ると胆沢城、伯済寺遺跡での顕著な遺構は確認できなくなり、代わって安倍氏の居館とされる鳥海柵で時期の異なる四面庇建物が複数地点で確認されている。11 世紀前半の縦街道南区域 SB01、11 世紀中頃の下原添下区域 SB01・02、さらに 11 世紀代の鳥海区域四面庇建物 SB01・02 などである（図 4）。これらの建物跡が安倍氏の政治拠点の中枢部の建物として機能したとみられている（浅利 2022）。

After that, from the late 10th century to the mid-11th century, on the eve of the Zenkunen War, the Abe clan is said to have gained effective control of the Chinjufu as local government officials, but the specific movements of the Abe clan during that time are unclear. Regarding the origins of the Abe clan, Abe no Koretaka, who became Chinjufu Shogun in 876, and Abe no Mitora, who also became Chinjufu Shogun in 864, are notable as central aristocrats with the Abe surname who were involved with the Chinjufu. There is also a theory that Abe no Tadayoshi, who became Mutsu Gon no Kami (tentative head of the governors) in 1036, was the father of Abe no Yoritoki, but this is not conclusive. As with the Kiyohara clan of Dewa, which we will see later, it is believed that local powerful clans who were related by marriage to these central aristocrats who came down from Kyoto expanded the scope of their activities as local government officials and gained control of the Chinjufu (Higuchi 2011).

(2) The area controlled by Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

From the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century, the area controlled by the Isawa-jō, Chinjufu, covered the northern half of Mutsu province (present-day Iwate and Aomori prefectures). Among them, the Okurokugun (inner six districts) was established in the inland basin along the Kitakamigawa River, and the district system was implemented, but in other areas, it is believed that loose territorial control was exercised based on the villages of Emishi and Fushu.

From the second half of the 10th century onwards, the area controlled by the Abe clan, who had taken control of the Chinjufu territory, was also estimated to have been limited to the area where the district system was implemented in the Okurokugun districts, judging from the establishment of the forts (the Twelve Abe Clan Forts) at the time of the Zenkunen War. The other areas were in the same condition as the previous era, and it is believed that the area controlled by the Chinjufu and the system of control were inherited as they were. The Twelve Abe Clan Forts, which appear in the “Mutsu Waki”, tend to be emphasized primarily as residential and military facilities, but since these forts are located close to ancient base ruins and river confluences in Iwai district and Okurokugun (Isawa, Esashi, Waga, Shiwa, Hienuki, and Iwate) from the end of ancient times (Asakari 2022), it is possible that they were placed with consideration for their functions as district offices as the administrative cores, and as post offices and river ports as transportation and logistics hubs.

(3) The scope of the political base of Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

The central part of Isawa-jō is within a 668m square area surrounded by an outer facility consisting of a moat and a levee, and government offices were located to the north, east, and west of the government office. The area surrounded by this outer facility is considered as the core political base of the Chinjufu. In addition, the Hakusaiji site, located about 40m south of Isawa-jō, has been developed as a facility believed to be the remains of a residence of a high-ranking official from the late 10th century onwards, and it has been confirmed that the scope of the base has expanded beyond the outer facility (Takahashi 2024).

The scope of Tonomi no Saku is clearly demarcated on the south and east sides by terrace cliffs, but the scope on the west and north sides is unclear. Looking at the east side, it is about 550m from the Ninomiyaushiro area at the southeast end to the SD III moat on the north side of the Tatekaidōminami (possible Sannomaru) area at the northern end, but it is possible that the ruins extend further north. Looking to the south, it is about 250 m from the Ninomiyaushiro area to the western part of the Tonomi (presumably Honmaru) area (Figure 4). However, it is also assumed that this area extends further westward, forming a square section stretching 600 m from east to west (Figure 3) (Asari 2022 p. 116), the area of which is roughly comparable to the ruins of Isawa-jō.

(4) Structures that represent the power of Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

Structures that symbolize the power of Isawa-jō include the main hall of the government office, which was tiled in the middle to late 9th century, and the outer bailey south gate. Furthermore, the central bailey south gate (main gate), installed between the outer bailey south gate and the government office south gate, enhances the sense of solidity and intimidation of the front of the government office. The sight of three gates of different styles lined up in a row would have had a tremendous visual effect on the Emishi chiefs who participated in the banquet held in the neighboring eastern government office south area.

At the Hakusaiji site, located about 40m south of Isawa-jō, facilities thought to be the remains of the residences of high-ranking officials, centered around a five bays, four-sided eaves building, were developed in the latter half of the 10th century, and these are also thought to have functioned as structures symbolizing power.

In the 11th century, no significant remains were found at Isawa-jō or the Hakusaiji site, but instead, four-sided eaves buildings from different periods were found at more than two locations in Tonomi no Saku, which is thought to be the residence of the Abe clan. These include SB01 in the Tatekaidōminami area from the first half of the 11th century, SB01 and 02 in the Harasoeshita area from the mid-11th century, and SB01 and 02 four-sided eaves buildings in the Tonomi area from the 11th century (Figure 4 Map of remains at Tonomi no Saku). The remains of these buildings are thought to have functioned as the central buildings of the Abe clan's political base (Asari 2022).

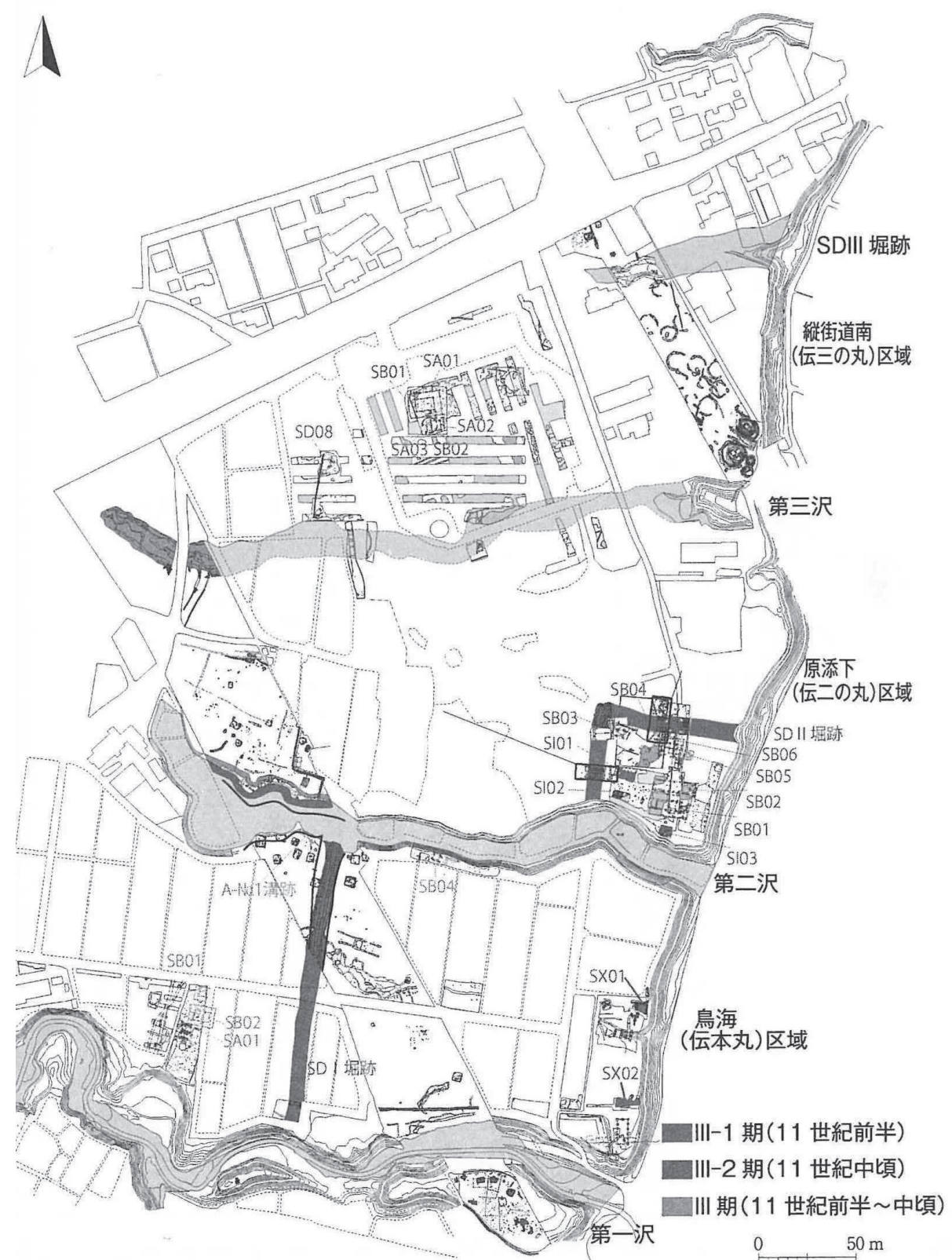


図4 鳥海柵跡遺構位置図

（５）胆沢城・鳥海柵の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

胆沢城跡の政治拠点性を象徴する遺物として、多賀城と同様、具注暦、木簡、漆紙文書、墨書土器、硯、腰帯具、陶磁器などがある。とくに胆沢城跡東方官衙南地区で多くの施釉陶器、中国産磁器が出土したことから、この地で蝦夷の服属儀礼を含む饗宴が催行されたとみられている（高橋 2024）。同じく上級官人の居館とされる伯済寺遺跡でも、9 世紀後半以降、施釉陶器が出土していることから政治拠点における饗宴が継続的に催行されたとみられている。このほか、伯済寺遺跡東地区では石帯や「守」墨書土器など饗宴に参加した官人や国司に関わるとみられる遺物が出土している（奥州市 2013）。

鳥海柵跡南西部の鳥海区域では、安倍氏の居館として整備される以前の 9 世紀後半の堅穴建物から緑釉陶器唾壺、越州青磁、「介」墨書土器などが出土したことから、安倍氏居宅成立前のこの地に胆沢城に出入りすることのできた在地有力者が居住していたと推定されている（浅利 2022）。この人物が、9 世紀後半の鎮守府将軍（安倍比高？）との姻戚関係を獲得し、やがて在庁官人として奥六郡の支配権を掌握する安倍氏一族繁栄の礎を築いた人物である可能性が高いと考えられる。

11 世紀の政治拠点とみられる鳥海柵跡の四面庇建物跡周辺からは宴会儀礼で使用された土器が多数出土している。これらは政治拠点の盛大な宴会儀礼催行の痕跡として注目される（井上 2011）。

（６）胆沢城・鳥海柵の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

派遣官である鎮守府将軍は、陸奥守と同じく任期を終えると京に戻るのが前提であった。このため墓所、廟についても、任地である胆沢城周辺にその痕跡は一切残されていない。鎮守府将軍の居所については、9 世紀後半の伯済寺遺跡西地区 SB019・020 四面廂建物跡がその候補として挙げられる。

安倍氏居館の鳥海柵跡において発見された四面廂建物跡を為政者との年代的並行関係でみると、11 世紀前半の縦街道南区域 SB01 は陸奥権守安倍忠良、11 世紀中頃の前添下区域 SB01・02 は安倍頼時に対応する。安倍氏一族の墓所は不明であるが、安倍氏とともに前九年合戦を戦った平泉藤原氏の祖、藤原経清一族の墓所とされる五位塚墳丘群が、経清・清衡の居所とされる豊田館跡の東方約 500m に所在する。

胆沢城と仏教の関係についてみると、『三代実録』貞観十八（876）年、鎮守府にて最勝王経・吉祥悔過を修するとの記事がある（当時の鎮守府将軍は安倍比高）。鎮守府支配領域の中核である奥六郡の北上川流域には古代の寺院群（どじの沢遺跡、国見山廃寺、白山廃寺、横町廃寺、大竹廃寺、泥田廃寺）が分布している。これら寺院と鎮守府との関係については不明な部分も多いが、鎮守府在庁の安倍氏一族がこれら寺院の造営に関わった可能性が指摘されている（杉本 2020）。また、11 世紀中頃の鳥海柵跡原添下区域南東部 SB01・02 建物跡（図 5）は双堂式の仏堂とされ（箱崎 2018）、仏教文化重視の姿勢が安倍氏の時代から培われていたとする指摘がある（菅野 2015）。

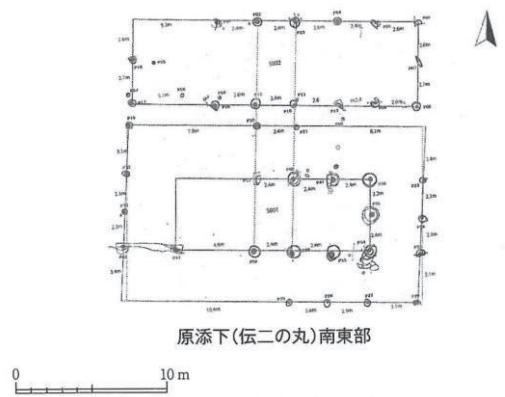


図 5 鳥海柵原添下区域南東部 SB01・02 建物跡

(5) Items symbolizing the legitimacy of the rule of Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

Relics symbolizing the political base of Isawa-jō, like those of Taga-jō, include calendars, wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, ink-written pottery, inkstones, belts, and ceramics. In particular, many glazed pottery and Chinese ceramics have been excavated in the eastern government office south area of Isawa-jō, suggesting that banquets, including ceremonies for the placation of the Emishi, were held here (Takahashi 2024). At the Hakusaiji site, which is also believed to be the residence of a high-ranking official, glazed pottery has been excavated since the late 9th century, suggesting that banquets were held continuously at political bases. In addition, artifacts thought to be related to officials and provincial governors who participated in banquets, such as stone belts and ink-written pottery with the character for Kami (governor), have been excavated in the eastern area of the Hakusaiji site (Ōshū City 2013).

In the Tonomi area, southwest of the Tonomi no Saku ruins, a green-glazed pottery spit jar, Eshshu celadon, and ink-written pottery with the character for Suke (associate governor) excavated from a pit building from the late 9th century, before it was developed as the Abe clan's residence, and it is assumed that a local influential person who had access to Isawa-jō lived here before the Abe clan's residence was established (Asari 2022). It is highly likely that this person was the one who established the foundation for the prosperity of the Abe clan, who became related by marriage to the Chinjufu Shogun (Abe no Koretake?) in the late 9th century and eventually gained control of the Okurokugun as a local government official.

A large number of pottery vessels used in banquet ceremonies have been excavated around the remains of a four-sided eaves building at Tonomi no Saku ruins, which is thought to have been a political base in the 11th century. These are attracting attention as traces of grand banquet ceremonies held at the political base (Inoue 2011).

(6) Residences, tombs and mausoleums of rulers of Isawa-jō and Tonomi no Saku

The Chinjufu Shogun, who was a dispatched official, was expected to return to Kyoto after the end of his term, just like the Mutsu no Kami. For this reason, no traces of his tomb or mausoleum remain in the area around Isawa-jō, where he was stationed.

The remains of the four-sided eaves building in the west area of the Hakusaiji site, SB019 and 020, from the second half of the 9th century, are one possible candidate for the residence of the Chinjufu Shogun.

If we look at the remains of the four-sided eaves building discovered at the remains of the Tonomi no Saku residence of the Abe clan in chronological parallel relationship with the rulers, SB01 in the south area of Tatekaidominami district in the first half of the 11th century corresponds to Abe no Tadayoshi, the Mutsu Gon no Kami, and SB01 and 02 in the Harasoeshita area in the mid-11th century correspond to Abe no Yoritoki. The tombs of the Abe clan are unknown, but the Goizuka burial mounds, believed to be the tombs of the Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo family, ancestors of the Hiraizumi Fujiwara clan who fought alongside the Abe clan in the Zenkunen War, are located about 500 meters east of the Toyoda no Tachi ruins, believed to be the residence of Tsunekiyo and Kiyohira.

Regarding the relationship between Isawa-jō and Buddhism, there is an article in the “Sandai Jitsuroku” that in 876, the Saishō-ō Sutra and Kisshō-Keiga were performed at the Chinjufu (the Chinjufu Shogun at the time was Abe no Koretake). In the Kitakamigawa River basin in Okurokugun, which is the core of the Chinjufu's territory, there are ancient temples (Dojinosawa site, Kunimiyama abandoned temple, Hakusan abandoned temple, Yokomachi abandoned temple, Ōtake abandoned temple, and Dorota abandoned temple). Although much is unknown about the relationship between these temples and the Chinjufu, it has been pointed out that the Abe clan, who were based at the Chinjufu, may have been involved in the construction of these temples (Sugimoto 2020). In addition, the remains of buildings SB01 and 02 in the southeast part of the Harasoeshita area at the site of the Tonomi no Saku ruins from the mid-11th century (Figure 5 SB01 and 02 buildings in the south-east part of Harasoeshita area of Tonomi no Saku) are believed to be a twin-hall Buddhist temple (Hakozaki 2018), and it has been pointed out that an emphasis on Buddhist culture had been cultivated since the time of the Abe clan (Kanno 2015).

3. 秋田城・払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡へ

古代出羽国北半部の政治拠点
は秋田城・払田柵跡であった。秋
田城は、天平五（733）年「出羽
柵」として創建されたが天平宝字
年間頃に「秋田城」と改称された
（伊藤 2024）。払田柵跡は、天平
宝字三（759）年に横手盆地のい
ずれかの地に創建された雄勝城
が延暦二十（801）年に当該地に移
転した城柵とみる説（第二次雄
勝城説）と、延暦二十三（804）
年の秋田城停廃に伴う国府の移
転先とみる説（河辺国府説）とが
ある（谷地 2024）。以上の名称を
めぐる諸説に関わらず、秋田城・
払田柵跡が古代出羽北半の政治
拠点であったことについて、考古
学的な所見からの異論はない。

10 世紀後葉以降、秋田城・払
田柵跡の拠点機能は清原氏一族
の居館へと移行したと考えられ
ている。払田柵跡のおよそ 15km
南に位置する（図 6）横手市大鳥
井山遺跡が清原氏宗家の居館と
して出羽北部の新たな政治拠点
になったと推定される（島田
2022）。清原氏一族もしくは姻戚
関係にある一族の居館として美
郷町鎧ヶ崎城、横手市金沢柵（信
太 2011）、同沼柵跡（信太 2011）、
秋田市虚空蔵大台滝遺跡（信太
2011）なども重要な拠点であつた
とみられるがこれらはいずれも
一部の調査にとどまり実態解明
の途上にあるためここでは触れ
ない。



図 6 払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡・金沢柵跡の位置

3. From Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku to the Ootoriyama site

The political base of the northern half of ancient Dewa province was Akita-jō and the remains of Hotta no Saku. Akita-jō was founded in 733 as "Dewa no Saku" but was renamed "Akita-jō" around the Tenpyōhōji era (Ito 2024). There are two theories about the remains of Hotta no Saku: one is that Ogachi-jō was founded somewhere in the Yokote Basin in 759 and moved to the site in 801 (Second Ogachi-jō theory), and the other is that it is the location where the provincial government was relocated when Akita-jō was abolished in 804 (Kawabe provincial government theory) (Yachi 2024). Regardless of the various theories about the name, there is no disagreement from archaeological findings that Akita-jō and the remains of Hotta no Saku were the political base of the northern half of ancient Dewa province.

It is believed that after the late 10th century, the base function of Akita-jō and the remains of Hotta no Saku were transferred to the residence of the Kiyohara clan. The Ootoriyama Site in Yokote City, located about 15 km south of the remains of Hotta no Saku (Fig. 6 Location of Hotta no Saku, Ootoriyama Site and Kanesawa no Saku), is estimated to have become a new political base in northern Dewa as the residence of the head family of the Kiyohara clan (Shimada 2022). Yoroigasakijō Site in Misato Town, Kanesawa no Saku ruins in Yokote City (Shinoda 2011), Numa no Saku ruins in Yokote City (Shinoda 2011), and the Kokuzō Ōdaitaki Site in Akita City (Shinoda 2011) are also thought to have been important bases for the residence of the Kiyohara clan or families related by marriage, but these have only been partially investigated and are still in the process of being clarified, so we will not discuss them here.

（１）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の為政者

秋田城・払田柵跡を専属で管理する任務を帯びた国司は、出羽国府の国司の中から選任された任期付きの中央派遣官であった。秋田城を指揮したのは鎮秋田城国司で、出羽介もしくはそれ以下の出羽国司が秋田城を専属で管理する城司の任務にあたった。その後、元慶の乱（878 年）以降は「出羽城介」という令外官、受領として鎮守府将軍と並ぶ北方防衛任務を帯びた。文献に名が現れない払田柵跡については為政者の具体的な地位や職名を特定できないが、秋田城と同様の専管の国司が任命されその運営にあたったと考えられる。

元慶の乱の後、清原氏が在庁官人として秋田城・払田柵跡の実質的な支配権を強化していったとみられるが、その間の清原氏の動向は明確ではない。清原氏の出自に関しても明確でないが、元慶の乱の際に「出羽権掾」として派遣され、乱後、秋田城司となり城介の代行も務めた清原令望を祖とする説が有力である（太田 1963、樋口 2011）。いずれにしても、京下りの清原氏との姻戚関係を獲得した在地有力氏族が清原氏を名乗る在庁官人として成長し、大鳥井山遺跡に居を構え、秋田城、払田柵跡の拠点機能を自らの居館に移行させていったとみられる。

（２）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の支配領域

9 世紀から 10 世紀前半、秋田城・払田柵跡の支配権が及ぶ領域は出羽国北半部（現在の秋田県・青森県域）であった。郡制施行の領域として、秋田城は秋田・河辺の二郡、払田柵跡は山北三郡（雄勝・平鹿・山本）が主な支配領域であった。さらに秋田城は男鹿嶋から八郎潟周辺、米代川流域の俘囚村、津軽の蝦夷村までも支配領域もしくは交易相手として取り込んでいたとみられている（島田 2022）。

10 世紀後半以降、秋田城・払田柵跡の支配権を受け継いだ清原氏一族による 11 世紀中頃の支配領域は、前九年合戦時の清原軍の陣立から、秋田城下の秋田郡は橘氏、河辺郡は吉彦（吉美候）氏、山北三郡は同族配下の大伴・深江氏など、古代以来の郡単位の地域支配を姻戚関係にある在地有力者に委ね、清原宗家（清原頼遠）がその頂点に立つ、という形であったと推察されている（島田 2022）。

（３）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の政治拠点の範囲

秋田城の中枢施設は、瓦葺の築地塀からなる外郭施設で囲まれた東西南北 550m の範囲内にあり、政庁を中心に施設が配置されていた。特徴的なのは 9 世紀代の城内大畑地区に生産施設が配置されていた点で、同様の施設を城内に有する払田柵跡とともに出羽北部城柵の特徴とされている（伊藤 2024）。9 世紀末以降は大畑地区中央部の官衙域が整備され、元慶の乱後の政治拠点としての実務機能が充実したと考えられる。

払田柵跡内部は、政庁が位置する東側の長森地区の丘陵と、墓域が形成される西側の真山地区の丘陵とに分かれている。外周施設は、長森・真山の両地区を含め東西 1370m、南北 780m の範囲全体を材木堀で囲い込んだ外柵と、東側の長森地区の丘陵裾を東西 765m、南北 320m の範囲で築地堀、材木堀、石塁により囲んだ外柵とによって構成されている。外柵は 9 世紀後半以降に失われ、外郭の材木堀のみとなり、この範囲が払田柵の中枢施設として捉えることができる。長森西方地区に生産施設が配置され、外郭南門前方地区は大型建物と広場からなる饗給エリアが設定されていたと推定されている（谷地 2024）。10 世紀初頭～中葉には長森東方地区に官衙施設も整備された。

秋田城・払田柵跡の拠点機能を継承したとみられる清原氏の居館が大鳥井山遺跡である。大鳥井山遺跡は南側の大鳥井山と北側の小吉山という独立丘陵上にまたがって立地し、その範囲は東西 160m、南北 570 m である。ただし、清原氏の拠点として捉えるならば、羽州街道を挟んで東側に所在する台処館跡もこれに加える必要がある（富樫 2011）。台処館跡を加えた遺跡の広がりは、およそ東西 500m、南北 600m の範囲となり、面積でみれば外郭施設で囲まれた秋田城の規模にほぼ匹敵する（図 7）。

(1) The rulers of Akita-jō, the Hotta no Saku, and the Ootoriiyama Site
The Kokushi who were tasked with the exclusive management of Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku were term-limited central dispatched officials selected from among the Kokushi of the Dewa Kokufu. Akita-jō was commanded by the Chin Akita-jō Kokushi, and Dewa no Suke or lower rank Dewa Kokushi were tasked with the exclusive management of Akita-jō. After the Gangyō Rebellion (878), they were given the role of "Dewa-jō no Suke" as a non-regulation official rank and as a Zuryo (senior governor) with the task of defending the north on a par with the Chinjufu Shogun. The specific rank and title of the ruler of Hotta no Saku, whose name does not appear in the documents, cannot be determined, but it is thought that a Kokushi with exclusive management, like that of Akita-jō, was appointed and managed it.

After the Gangyō Rebellion, the Kiyohara clan is thought to have strengthened its actual control over Akita-jō and the Hotta no Saku as a resident official, but the actions of the Kiyohara clan during that time are unclear. The origins of the Kiyohara clan are also unclear, but the prevailing theory is that they were descended from Kiyohara no Yoshimochi, who was dispatched as a "Dewa Gon no Jō" during the Gangyō Rebellion and became the governor of Akita-jō after the rebellion. He also served as a substitute for the government office (Ota 1963, Higuchi 2011). In any case, it is believed that a local powerful clan that acquired a marriage relationship with the Kiyohara clan who had come down from Kyoto grew up as a local government official who called himself the Kiyohara clan, established a residence at the Ootoriiyama site, and transferred the base functions of Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku to their own residences.

(2) The area under the control of Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku, and Ootoriiyama site
From the 9th century to the first half of the 10th century, the area under the control of Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku was the northern half of Dewa province (present-day Akita Prefecture and Aomori Prefecture). Under the district system, Akita-jō controlled the two districts of Akita and Kawabe, while the remains of the Hotta no Saku controlled Senbokusangun (Ogachi, Hiraka, and Yamamoto). Furthermore, Akita-jō is believed to have included areas from Ogashima to the area around Lake Hachirōgata, subjected Emishi villages in the Yoneshirogawa River basin, and Emishi villages in Tsugaru as either its territory or trading partners (Shimada 2022). From the second half of the 10th century onwards, the Kiyohara clan, who inherited control of Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku, assumed that in the mid-11th century, the Kiyohara clan's territories were dominated by local influential people related by marriage, such as the Tachibana clan in Akita district under Akita-jō, the Kimiko clan in Kawabe district, and the Ōtomo and Fukae clans under the same clan in Senbokusangun, with the head of the Kiyohara clan (Kiyohara no Yoritou) at the top of the regional rule of the counties that had existed since ancient times (Shimada 2022).

(3) The scope of the political base of Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku ruins, and the Ootoriiyama site
The central facilities of Akita-jō were located within a 550m area from east to west and north to south, surrounded by an outer facility consisting of a tiled tsuiji wall, and the facilities were arranged around the government office. A distinctive feature is that production facilities were located in the Ōhata area of the castle in the 9th century, which is considered to be a characteristic of fortified governmental office in northern Dewa, along with Hotta no Saku, which have similar facilities within the site (Ito 2024). After the end of the 9th century, the government office area in the center of the Ōhata area was developed, and it is thought that the practical functions as a political base after the Gangyō Rebellion were enhanced.

The inside of the remains of Hotta no Saku is divided into the hills of the Nagamori area on the east side, where the government office was located, and the hills of the Mayama area on the west side, where the burial grounds were formed. The outer perimeter facilities consist of an outer fence that encloses the entire area of 1,370 m east to west and 780 m north to south, including both the Nagamori and Mayama districts, and an outer enclosure that encloses the foot of the hills in the eastern Nagamori district with an area of 765 m east to west and 320 m north to south, using earthen walls, timber walls, and stone ramparts. The outer fence was lost after the second half of the 9th century, leaving only the outer fence with its timber walls, and this area can be considered the central facility of the Hotta no Saku. It is estimated that production facilities were located in the western area of Nagamori, and a supply area consisting of large buildings and a plaza was set up in the area in front of the southern gate of the outer fence (Yachi 2024). In the early to mid-10th century, government facilities were also developed in the eastern area of Nagamori.

The Ootoriiyama site is the residence of the Kiyohara clan, which is thought to have inherited the base function of the remains of Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku. The Ootoriiyama site is located on top of two independent hills, Ootoriiyama to the south and Kokichiyama to the north, and cover an area of 160m east to west and 570m north to south. However, if it is to be considered as the base of the Kiyohara clan, it is necessary to include the remains of the Daidokorodate site, located on the east side across the Ushū Kaido road (Togashi 2011). The site including the Daidokorodate site, extends to an area of approximately 500m east to west and 600m north to south, which is roughly equivalent in area to the size of Akita-jō surrounded by its outer facilities (Figure 7 Ootoriiyama site and Daidokorodate).

（４）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の権力を表徴する構造物

秋田城の外郭施設は奈良時代には高さ 4m 近い瓦葺の築地塀であった。古代日本では最北の瓦葺建築物であり、その外観は秋田城を訪れたであろう蝦夷・俘囚村の族長たちに大きなインパクトを与えたに違いない。また、秋田城内北西部の焼山地区では大規模な倉庫群が発見され、蝦夷の朝貢・饗給の場、北方交易の枢要施設とみられている。城外東方の鶴ノ木地区には奈良時代に渤海など大陸からの来訪者のための迎賓館的な施設が設置され水洗トイレも備えられていた。こうした特徴的な施設群は、秋田城跡が政治的な支配拠点であると同時に、大陸や北方地域との交流交易拠点としてより大きな役割を担っていたことを示しており、他の城柵とは異なった拠点としての側面をみることができる（伊藤 2024）。

払田柵跡の瓦葺建物は創建時の外郭南門の熨斗棟もしくは薨棟とみられるもののみであり、外観を重視したものと推定されている（高橋 2011）。さらに払田柵跡の当初の外周施設は、外側の材木堀からなる外柵と、内側の築地塀、材木堀、石塁からなる外郭施設からなる二重の構成であった。これらの外周施設に囲まれた長森地区の政庁は、律令制国家の権力を表徴する構造物として目に映ったであろう。また、元慶の乱後の 10 世紀初頭から前葉には、政庁規模を拡大し儀式・儀礼機能を強化し、外郭南門前方地区の広場を拡大し饗給機能を拡充するなど、地域支配の拠点機能を構造物整備によって実現しているようにみえる。

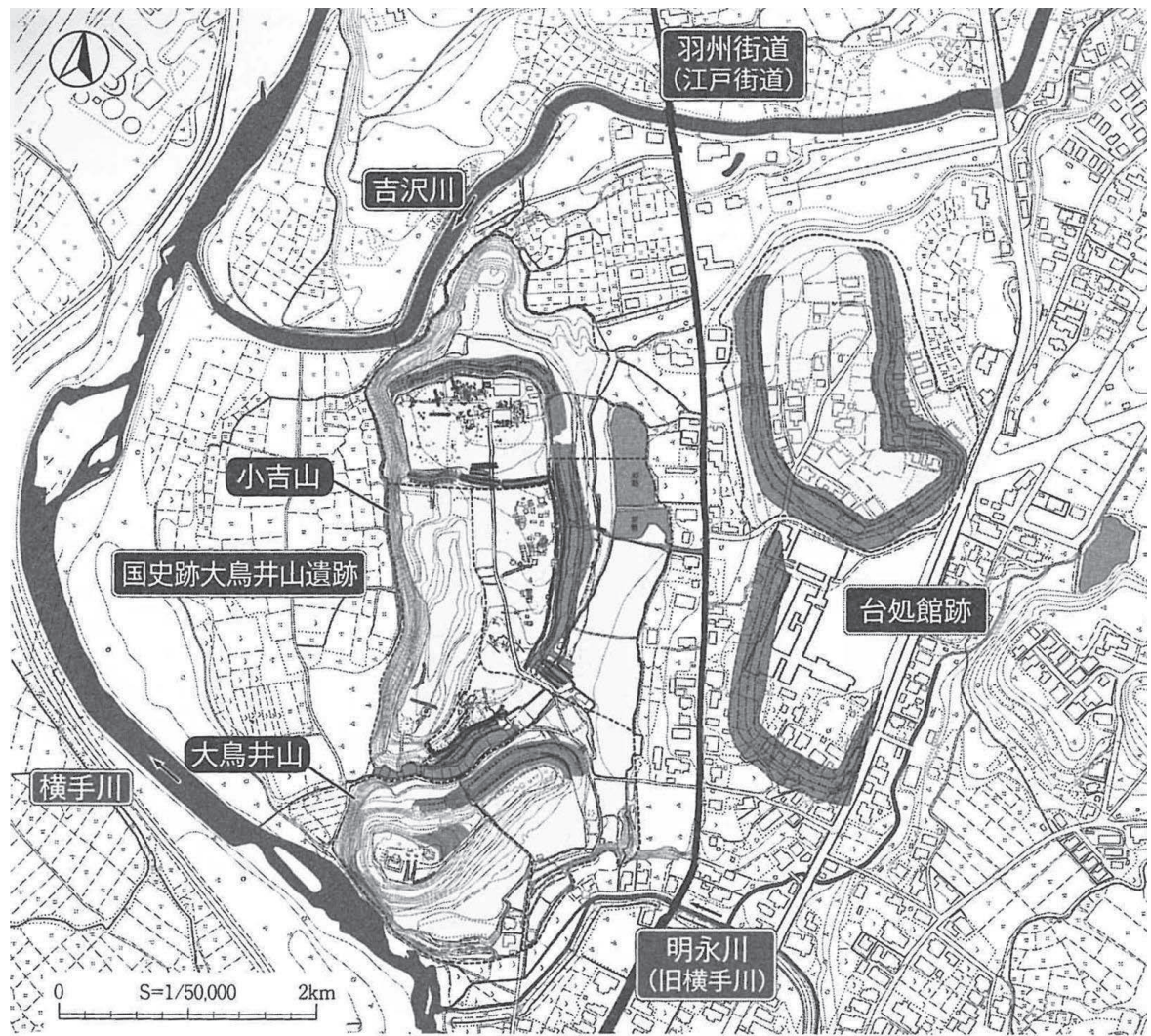


図 7 大鳥井山遺跡と台処館跡

(4) Structures that represent power at Akita-jō ruins, Hotta no Saku ruins, and Ootoriiyama site

During the Nara period, the outer facilities of Akita-jō were tiled tsuiji walls that were nearly 4 meters high. It was the northernmost tiled building in ancient Japan, and its appearance must have made a great impression on the leaders of the Emishi and Fushu villages who would have visited Akita-jō. In addition, a large group of warehouses was discovered in the Yakeyama area in the northwest of Akita-jō, and it is thought to have been a place for Emishi tribute and feasting, and a key facility for northern trade. In the Unoki area to the east of the site, a guesthouse-like facility for visitors from the continent, such as Bokkai, was installed during the Nara period, and was equipped with flush toilets. These distinctive facilities indicate that Akita-jō played a major role as a political base of control, as well as a base for exchange and trade with the continent and northern regions, and show a different side as a base from other fortified governmental offices (Ito 2024).

The only tiled building at Hotta no Saku ruins is what appears to be the tile-roofed ridgepole of the outer south gate at the time of construction, and it is presumed that the exterior was the focus of attention (Takahashi 2011). Furthermore, the original outer perimeter facilities at the remains of Hotta no Saku were a two-tiered structure consisting of an outer timber wall and an inner perimeter facility consisting of a tsuiji wall, timber wall, and stone ramparts. The government office in the Nagamori area surrounded by these outer perimeter facilities would have been seen as a structure that symbolized the power of the Ritsuryō state. In addition, from the beginning of the 10th century to the early 11th century after the Gangyō Rebellion, the government office was expanded to strengthen its ceremonial and ritual functions, and the square in front of the outer south gate was expanded to improve its food supply functions, and it appears that the development of the structures was used to realize the function of a base for regional control.

大鳥井山遺跡では、小吉山北部の 11 世紀後葉の SB32 四面庇建物が、規模・構造的に安倍氏の鳥海柵縦街道南区域 SB01 に類似するとの指摘がある。11 世紀の奥羽北部における安倍氏と清原氏の政治拠点で、主殿が類似した規模の 2×3 間の四面庇建物（八重樫 2011）であることは注目される。これに対し大鳥井山西部地区 9SB01 四面庇建物は五間四面の仏堂とみられる建物跡で、これについても鳥海柵原添下区域 SB01 との類似性が指摘され居館に付属する仏堂の存在が共通する点で注目される（島田 2022p241）。

（５）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の支配の正当性を象徴する事物

秋田城の出土遺物で、政治拠点の象徴とみられる事物として、多賀城・胆沢城とほぼ同じく、具注暦、木簡、漆紙文書、墨書、硯、腰帶具、陶磁器などがあげられる。

払田柵跡では、南部に隣接する厨川谷地遺跡で 9 世紀末～10 世紀初頭の祭祀遺構群が発見され、墨書土器・燈明皿・形代・斉串・呪符木簡等が出土し、律令祭祀が催行されたことが知られている（五十嵐 2005）。出土遺物から陰陽師の関与が想定され、時期的に元慶の乱直後の時期であることから、国家が関与した祭祀が執り行われたものとみられる。

政治拠点としての清原氏の居館での象徴的な遺物として、鳥海柵と同様、宴会儀礼で使用された土器がある（井上 2011）。また、清原氏の支配権を象徴する事物として平安鏡（鏡像）があげられる。清原氏の支配領域では、奥六郡安倍氏の領域に多い平安時代の寺院や仏像が少ない反面、鏡像（図 8）が発見され、大きな違いをみせている。国家鎮護の仏教とは異なる「清原氏独自の仏教との向き合い方」が垣間見られるとの指摘（島田 2022p197）は重要である。

（６）秋田城・払田柵跡と大鳥井山遺跡の為政者の居所・墓所・廟

秋田城・払田柵跡で国司館、墓所等は確認されていない。払田柵跡西部の真山地区では 10 世紀代の竪穴建物跡と火葬墓が発見され、この地が墓域として使用されたことが知られるが、外柵が廃止された 9 世紀後半以降の真山地区は材木堀で囲まれた長森地区からみると外郭の外側になるため、墓域を営んだ集団と払田柵跡との関係は必ずしも明らかでない。

大鳥井山遺跡では、小吉山北部で複数の庇付建物跡が発見されており、これらが清原氏居館の一連の主殿と想定されている。小吉山西部では石櫃や積石塚、火葬墓などが発見されているが年代が不明で、清原氏居館との関係も不明である。清原氏の居館である大鳥井山遺跡 9SB01、金沢柵陣館遺跡 5SB01 で検出された仏堂については、平泉中尊寺金色堂との立地の類似性を指摘する見解（島田 2022p262）がある。これらについては祖廟的な性格の建物であった可能性もあり今後検討されるべき課題である。

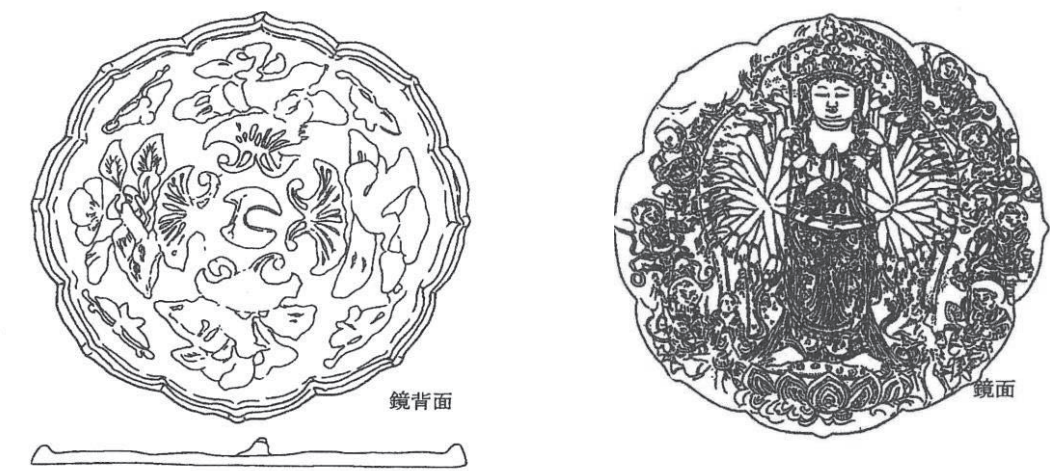


図 8 大仙市水神社所蔵 国宝 空花蝶鳥八稜鏡

At the Ootoriiyama site, it has been pointed out that the SB32 four-sided eaves building from the late 11th century in the northern part of Kokichiyama is similar in size and structure to SB01 in Tatekaidōminami area of the Tonomi no Saku of the Abe clan. It is noteworthy that it was the political base of the Abe clan and Kiyohara clan in northern Ōshū in the 11th century, and the main hall is a similarly sized 2 x 3 bays four-sided eaves building (Yaegashi 2011). In contrast, the SB01 four-sided eaves building in the western area of Ootoriiyama is the remains of a building that is thought to be a five bays, four-sided eaves Buddhist hall, and similarities have also been pointed out with SB01 in the Harasoeshita area of Tonomi no Saku, and the existence of a Buddhist hall attached to the residence is noteworthy in common (Shimada 2022 p. 241).

(5) Items symbolizing the legitimacy of rule at Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku ruins, and the Ootoriiyama site Among the artifacts excavated at Akita-jō, there are a lot of items considered to symbolize a political base, such as hand-written calendars, wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, ink inscriptions, inkstones, belts, and ceramics, similar to those from Taga-jō and Isawa-jō,

At the southern part of Hotta no Saku ruins, a group of ritual remains from the late 9th century to the early 10th century was discovered at the Kuriyagawa Yachi site adjacent to the site, where ink-written earthenware, lantern plates, katashiro, skewered figurines, and wooden tablets of talismans were excavated, indicating that Ritsuryō rituals were held (Igarashi 2005). The excavated artifacts suggest the involvement of Onmyoji, and since the period is immediately after the Gangyō Rebellion, it is believed that rituals were held with the involvement of the state.

As a symbolic relic from the residence of the Kiyohara clan as a political base, there is pottery used in banquet ceremonies, just like at Tonomi no Saku (Inoue 2011). In addition, a Heian mirror (image carved on a mirror) is cited as an object symbolizing the Kiyohara clan's sovereignty. In the territory controlled by the Kiyohara clan, there are few temples and Buddhist statues from the Heian period, which are common in the territory of the Abe clan in the Okurokugun region, but an image carved on a mirror (Figure 8 A bronze mirror with eight petals engraved flower, butterfly, bird and sky; stored at the Sui shrine in Daisen) has been discovered, showing a major difference. It is important to point out that this gives a glimpse of the "Kiyohara clan's unique way of dealing with Buddhism," which is different from the Buddhism that protects the nation (Shimada 2022 p. 197).

(6) Residences, tombs, and mausoleums of rulers at Akita-jō, Hotta no Saku and the Ootoriiyama site No residence of Kokushi or tombs have been confirmed at the remains of Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku. In the Mayama area west of the Hotta no Saku ruins, the remains of a pit dwelling and cremation tombs from the 10th century were discovered, and it is known that this area was used as a burial site. However, since the outer fence was abolished in the second half of the 9th century, the Mayama area is outside the outer wall of the Nagamori area, which is surrounded by a timber wall, so the relationship between the group that operated the burial site and Hotta no Saku ruins is not necessarily clear.

At Ootoriiyama site, the remains of several eaves-covered buildings have been discovered in the northern part of Kokichiyama, and these are assumed to be a series of main halls of the Kiyohara clan residence. In the western part of Kokichiyama, stone chests, piled-stone mounds, cremation tombs, etc. have been discovered, but their ages are unknown, and their relationship to the Kiyohara clan residence is also unknown. Regarding the Buddhist halls discovered at the Ootoriiyama site 9SB01 and the Kanesawa no Saku Jindate site 5SB01, which are the residences of the Kiyohara clan, there is an opinion that points out the similarity in location to the Konjikidō of Chūson-ji Temple in Hiraizumi (Shimada 2022 p. 262). These may have been buildings of an ancestral shrine nature, and are issues that should be examined in the future.

4. 政治拠点の変化

(1) 為政者の変化

古代北奥羽における胆沢城・秋田城・払田柵跡などの政治拠点は、城柵専管の国司や鎮守府将軍など任期付きの中央派遣官によって統率されていた。その下に出仕・在勤した郡司や蝦夷・俘囚の族長ら在地有力氏族は、派遣された貴種（胆沢城鎮守府将軍：安倍比高、秋田城司：清原令望など）と姻戚関係を結び、中央貴族の姓（安倍氏、清原氏）を名乗ることで地方での権威を高めていった。そして 10 世紀後半以降、派遣官の任命・着任が曖昧になる中、在地有力氏族が世襲的な在庁官人として地方政治の実権を掌握し、やがて古代末の為政者となったとみられる。

多賀城においても、10 世紀後半以降、在地有力氏族が国衙所職の世襲化を進め、在庁官人として力を蓄えていった。ただし、基本的な国府の政権は派遣官である陸奥国司側にあり、後三年合戦収束後も政権はあくまでも陸奥守にあった。この状態が転換したのは、康治二（1143）年の陸奥守兼鎮守府将軍藤原基成が平泉に居を据えた時点であった。国家で言えば「遷都」に相当するこの出来事により、陸奥国の政治拠点は多賀城から平泉へと名実ともに移行した。そして、これを機に、藤原基衡は律令制の位階や官職に関わらず、陸奥守の「摂政的」な立場で政権を掌握した。

(2) 支配領域の変化

古代北奥羽における胆沢城・秋田城・払田柵跡などの支配領域を引き継いだ 11 世紀の鳥海柵跡・大鳥井山遺跡にあっても、実質的な支配領域は奥六郡や秋田二郡・山北三郡などの郡制施行地域に限定され、それ以北の郡制未施行地域（上津野、津軽、仁土呂志、鉾屋、衣曽別島など）の支配は蝦夷・俘囚村の族長を介した不安定なものであったとみられる。これらの地域で 9 世紀後半から 11 世紀中頃に消長した「防御性集落」の動向が、その実態を物語っている（坂井 2011）。北方交易や馬産の確保を目的としたこれら地域の支配権が安定するのはカワラケや輸入・国産の陶磁器の出土状況からみて 12 世紀中頃の藤原基衡の時代と考えられている（斉藤 2014）。

(3) 政治拠点の範囲

古代城柵の平面形と規模を比較すると（図 9）、まず多賀城は、外郭施設で囲まれた一辺約 1km の不整形な方形、胆沢城は外郭施設で囲まれた一辺 668m の平面正方形、払田柵跡は長森地区の丘陵裾を外郭で囲んだ東西 765m、南北 320m の楕円形である。単純に面積のみ比較すると、多賀城跡は約 100ha、胆沢城跡は約 45ha、秋田城跡は 30ha、払田柵跡は 25ha である。

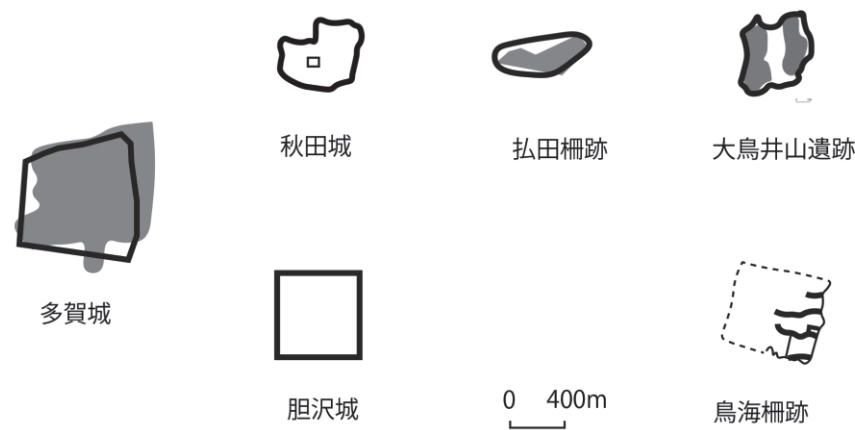


図9 古代城柵官衙と鳥海柵跡・大鳥井山遺跡の平面規模比較

4. Changes in political bases

(1) Changes in rulers

Political bases in ancient northern Ōu, such as Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and Hotta no Saku, were led by term-determined central dispatched officials, such as the Kokushi (provincial governor) and the Chinjufu Shogun (commander of the military). Locally powerful clans, such as the district governors, Emishi and Fushu chiefs who served under them, formed marriage ties with the dispatched nobles (such as Abe no Koretaka, the Chinjufu Shogun of Isawa-jō, and Kiyohara no Yoshimochi, Kokushi of Akita-jō), and increased their authority in the provinces by taking the surnames of the central aristocrats (the Abe clan, the Kiyohara clan). Then, after the second half of the 10th century, as the appointment of dispatched officials became unclear, local powerful clans took control of local politics as hereditary local government officials, and are thought to have eventually become the rulers of the late ancient period. In Taga-jō, from the second half of the 10th century onwards, local powerful clans promoted hereditary succession of provincial government positions and built their power as local government officials. However, the basic administration of the provincial government was in the hands of the Mutsu Kokushi, who was the dispatched official, and even after the end of the Gosannen War, administration remained in the hands of the Mutsu no Kami. This situation changed in 1143 when Mutsu no Kami and Chinjufu Shogun Fujiwara no Motonari established his residence in Hiraizumi. This event, which is equivalent to a capital relocation in a nation, shifted the political base of Mutsu province in both name and reality from Taga-jō to Hiraizumi. This was the opportunity for Fujiwara no Motohira to seize power in a regent-like position as Mutsu no Kami, regardless of rank or official position under the Ritsuryo system.

(2) Changes in the controlled area

Even in the 11th century Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site, which took over the controlled areas of Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and Hotta no Saku ruins in ancient northern Ōu, the actual controlled area was limited to the areas where the district system was implemented, such as the Okurokugun districts, the two districts in Akita, and the Senbokusangun, and the control of the areas to the north where the district system was not implemented (Kazuno, Tsugaru, Nitoroshi, Kanaya, Ezo no wakeshima, etc.) was unstable through the chiefs of the Emishi and Fushū villages. The trends of defensive settlements that rose and fell in these areas from the late 9th century to the mid-11th century tell us the reality (Sakai 2011). Based on the excavation status of earthenware and imported and domestic ceramics, it is believed that the control of these areas, which aimed to secure northern trade and horse breeding, became stable in the mid-12th century during the time of Fujiwara no Motohira (Saito 2014).

(3) Scope of the political bases

Comparing the plan shapes and scales of ancient fortified government offices (Figure 9, Comparative figures on ancient fortified offices and Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site), Taga-jō is an irregular rectangle with sides of about 1 km surrounded by outer facilities, Isawa-jō is a square with sides of 668 m surrounded by outer facilities, and the remains of Hotta no Saku are an oval with an outer wall of 765 m east to west and 320 m north to south, surrounding the foot of the hills in the Nagamori area. Comparing simply the areas, the remains of Taga-jō are about 100 ha, the remains of Isawa-jō are about 45 ha, the remains of Akita-jō are 30 ha, and the remains of Hotta no Saku are 25 ha. In contrast, the remains of Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site do not have any outer walls that

これらに対し、鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡では、全体を囲むような外郭施設がみられず段丘崖や丘陵斜面など自然地形を利用している。このため、平面形状は不整形で範囲の捉え方も難しいが、鳥海柵跡は段丘崖と解析谷を利用した東西南北約 600m の方形の範囲と想定され（浅利 2022）、大鳥井山遺跡は東側の台処館跡を含む低丘陵を利用した東西 500m、南北 600m の範囲と想定されている（島田 2022）。面積で比較すると、鳥海柵跡は約 36ha、大鳥井山遺跡は約 30ha であり、古代城柵と比較して遜色ない（図 9）。

（４）権力を表徴する構造物

多賀城・胆沢城・秋田城・払田柵跡など古代城柵の中心建物である政庁正殿は 2×5 間の庇付の建物で、正殿の南面を荘厳する瓦葺の門や周囲を圍繞する築地塀などを含めたこれらの建物群が権力を表徴する構造物であった。しかし、古代の屋根瓦の生産は 9 世紀末頃には終了し、瓦葺の建造物は東北地方から姿を消した。代わって 10 世紀以降には 2×5 間の四面庇建物が多賀城下の国司館や胆沢城南方の伯済寺遺跡など国司クラスの居館もしくは政庁の主殿として造営された。

11 世紀以降には鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡等の居館、もしくは政庁の主殿として 2×3 間の四面庇建物が造営された。これらが前代の国司クラス居館の 2×5 間より格下の 2×3 間の規模であることは鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡の館主が国司よりも下位の身分にあったことを示すとする見解もある（八重樫 2011）。一方で、同じ鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡では、五間四面の建物も造営されている。双堂形式の仏堂とみられる鳥海柵原添下区域 SB01・02 と、五間四面で同じく仏堂とみられる大鳥井山西部地区 9SB01 である。こられが格式高い 2×5 間の四面廂建物であることは、居館の祖廟等の象徴的な建物として造営された可能性を示している。

なお、鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡においては、大規模な堀と土塁、柵木列、櫓等も象徴的な構造物とする見方もある。しかし、これらはあくまでも戦乱時に付加もしくは増設された臨時的な施設であり、権力拠点を表徴する構造物とみることはできない。類似した施設は 9 世紀以降の古代城柵や北奥羽の「防御性集落」にもみられるものである（坂井 2011、岡 2011）。

（５）支配の正当性を象徴する事物

古代城柵の出土遺物で、政治拠点としての象徴とみなせる事物として具注暦、木簡、漆紙文書、墨書、硯、腰帯具、陶磁器などがあげられた。また、払田柵跡では、律令的祭祀遺物（墨書土器・燈明皿・形代・斉串・呪符木簡等）が国家の関与した祭祀遺物として抽出された。

11 世紀以降の安倍・清原氏の居館では、こうした律令制的な遺物は見られなくなる一方、宴会で使った多量の土器の一括廃棄が確認されている。土器を一括廃棄する行為は城柵官衙の儀式や万燈会などの仏教行事でも確認されているが、11 世紀以降は、宴会儀礼参加者の身分秩序確認のための儀器として位置付けられ、政治拠点を象徴する遺物とみなされている（飯村 1998）。他に、権威を象徴する遺物として、安倍氏の平安仏、清原氏の平安鏡（鏡像）も注目されるが、その背景については不明な点が多い。

（６）為政者の居所・墓所・廟

城柵官衙の為政者である国司や鎮守府将軍は任期付きの派遣官であったため、永続的な居所や墓所・廟は不要であった。これに対して鳥海柵跡、大鳥井山遺跡の館主たちは、自らの支配権の根源として、古代城柵支配で活躍した中央派遣官の貴種との姻戚関係を重視し、政治拠点周辺に祖先崇拜の対象となる墓所や宗廟（仏堂）の設置が必要になったと考えられる。清原氏の居館である大鳥井山遺跡 9SB01 や、金沢柵陣館遺跡 5SB01 については、平泉中尊寺金色堂との立地の類似性を指摘する見解（島田 2022p262）もあり注目される。さらに、安倍氏の居館である鳥海柵原添下区域南東部 SB01・02 建物跡についても双堂形式である可能性が指摘され（箱崎 2018）、宗廟的な仏堂の造営が 11 世紀代の安倍氏居館の段階まで遡る可能性も指摘できる。

completely enclose the area, and instead make use of natural topography such as terrace cliffs and hill slopes. For this reason, the planar shape is irregular and it is difficult to grasp the extent, but Tonomi no Saku is assumed to be a rectangular area of about 600 m north-south and east-west using the terrace cliffs and the decomposed valley (Asari 2022), and Ootoriiyama site is assumed to be an area of 500 m east-west and 600 m north-south using the low hills including Daidokorodate ruins on the east side (Shimada 2022). Comparing the areas, Tonomi no Saku is about 36 hectares and Ootoriiyama site is about 30 hectares, which are comparable to ancient fortified government offices (Figure 9).

(4) Structures that represent power

The main hall of the government office, which is the central building of ancient fortified government offices such as Taga-jō, Isawa-jō, Akita-jō, and Hotta no Saku ruins, is a 2 x 5 bays building with eaves, and these buildings, including the tiled gate that decorates the south side of the main hall and the tsuiji wall that surrounds it, were structures that represented power. However, the production of ancient roof tiles ended around the end of the 9th century, and tiled buildings disappeared from the Tohoku region. Instead, from the 10th century onwards, 2x5 bays, four-sided eaves buildings were built as residences or government offices for Kokushi-class officials, such as the residence of Kokushi below Taga-jō and the Hakusaiji site south of Isawa-jō.

From the 11th century onwards, 2x3 bays, four-sided eaves buildings were built as residences or government offices, such as the Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site. Some have suggested that the fact that these are 2x3 bays in size, lower than the 2x5 bays of the previous Kokushi-class residences, indicates that the lords of Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site were of lower rank than Kokushi (Yaegashi 2011). On the other hand, five bays, four-sided eaves buildings were also built at the same Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site. These are SB01 and 02 in the Tonomi no Saku Haraoeshita area, which are thought to be twin-hall style Buddhist temples, and 9SB01 in the Ootoriiyama West area, which is also thought to be a Buddhist temple, with five bays, four-sided eaves structure. The fact that these are prestigious 2 x 5 bays, four-sided eaves buildings suggests that they may have been constructed as symbolic buildings such as ancestral shrines for the residence.

At Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site, some also consider the large-scale moats, earthworks, wooden fence rows, and turrets to be symbolic structures. However, these are merely temporary facilities that were added or expanded during times of war, and cannot be seen as structures that represent power bases. Similar facilities can be seen in ancient fortified government sites from the 9th century onwards and in "defensive settlements" in northern Ōu (Sakai 2011, Oka 2011).

(5) Objects symbolizing the legitimacy of rule

Among the artifacts excavated from ancient fortified governmental sites, items that could be considered symbols of a political base include calendars, wooden tablets, lacquered paper documents, ink writings, inkstones, waist accessories, and ceramics. In addition, at the remains of Hotta no Saku, ritual artifacts based on the Ritsuryō system (ink-written earthenware, lamp plates, katashiro, skewered figurines, and wooden talisman tablets, etc.) were identified as ritual artifacts related to the state.

In the residences of the Abe and Kiyohara clans from the 11th century onwards, such Ritsuryō -related artifacts were no longer found, but the disposal of a large amount of earthenware used at banquets has been confirmed. The act of disposing of earthenware has also been confirmed in ceremonies at the fortified government office and Buddhist events such as the Mantō-e ceremony, but from the 11th century onwards, it was positioned as ritual implements for confirming the status and order of participants in banquet ceremonies, and is considered to be artifacts symbolizing a political base (Iimura 1998). Other notable relics symbolizing authority include the Abe clan's Heian Buddha and the Kiyohara clan's Heian mirror (image carved on a mirror), but there are many unknowns about their background.

(6) Residences, tombs, and mausoleums of rulers

The Kokushi and Chinjufu Shogun, who ruled the fortified government offices, were term-limited dispatched officials, so they did not need permanent residences, tombs, or mausoleums. In contrast, the owners of Tonomi no Saku and Ootoriiyama site placed importance on their marriage ties with the nobles who were central dispatched officials active in ancient provincial government rule as the source of their own rule, and it is thought that they needed to establish tombs and mausoleums (Buddhist temples) for ancestor worship near their political bases. Ootoriiyama site 9SB01 and Kanesawa no Saku and Jindate site 5SB01, the residences of the Kiyohara clan, are also noteworthy, as there is an opinion (Shimada 2022 p. 262) that points out the similarity in location to the Konjikidō of Chūson-ji Temple in Hiraizumi. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the remains of buildings SB01 and 02 in the southeastern part of the Tonomi no Saku Harasoeshita area, which was the residence of the Abe clan, may also have been of the twin hall type building (Hakozaki 2018), and it is possible that the construction of a Buddhist temple as an ancestral shrine back to the time of the Abe clan residence in the 11th century.

5. まとめ

以上、概観したように、北奥羽における安倍、清原、奥州藤原氏による権力掌握は、前九年合戦（1051～62）・延久二年北奥合戦（1070）・後三年合戦（1083～87）を経て、嘉応二（1170）年の秀衡鎮守府將軍就任、養和元（1181）年の陸奥守就任により達成された（樋口 2011）。

この間、東北地方の政治拠点とは、大筋では陸奥守の居所である国府多賀城にありながら、陸奥北部の拠点は胆沢城から鳥海柵跡へ、出羽北部の拠点は秋田城・払田柵跡から大鳥井山遺跡へと移行し、最終的には多賀国府の拠点性も平泉館（柳之御所遺跡）へと移転した。これらの変遷は、古代律令国家の辺境地域支配拠点として設置された官衙施設＝城柵官衙から、中世封建社会の萌芽とも言える有力氏族宗家の居館へ、という一連の流れとして捉えることができる（図 10）。さらに、視野を広げてみれば、平安宮から鎌倉大倉御所へ、という、日本列島そのものの政治拠点の移動の先駆けとみなすことができ、古代末から中世初頭に起きた「官衙から有力者居館へ」という政治拠点の移動が、東北地方、北奥羽の地でいち早く始まり、それが波紋のように日本列島全体に波及していったとみることができる。

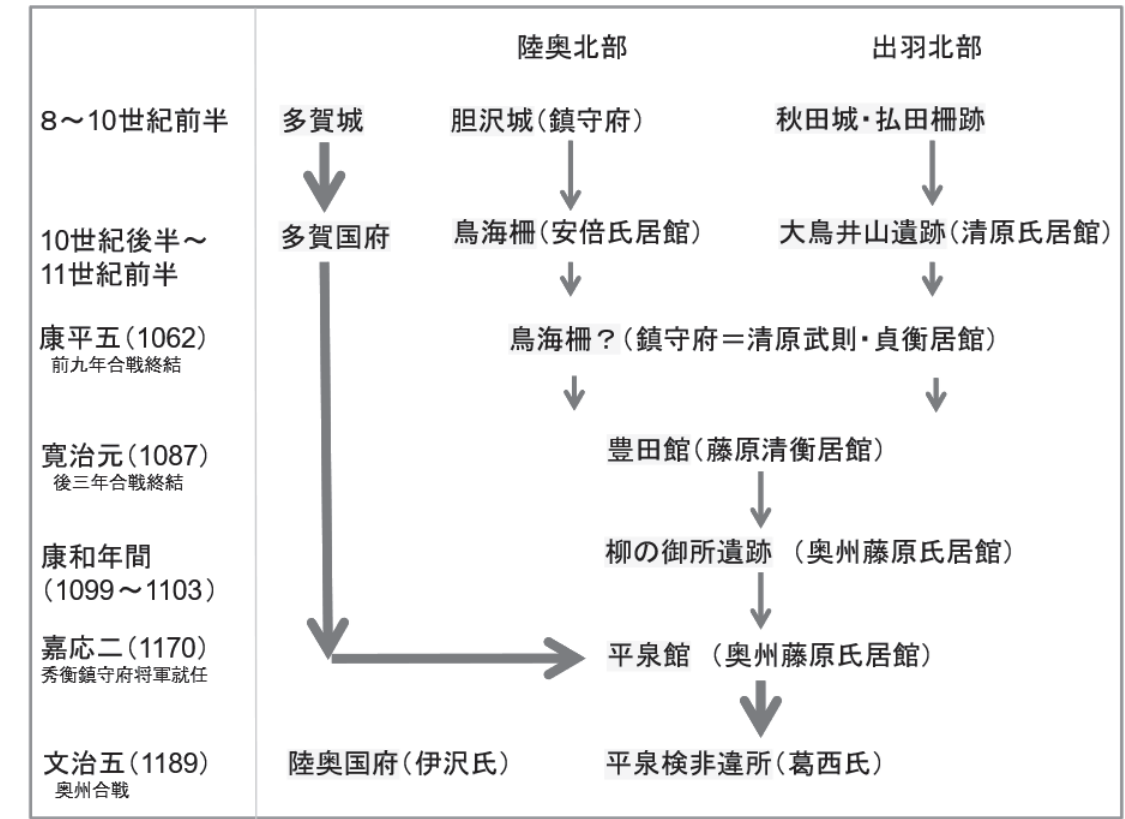


図 10 古代から中世初頭の東北地方の政治拠点の変動

5. Summary

As outlined above, the Abe, Kiyohara and Ōshū Fujiwara clans gained power in northern Ōshū through the Zenkunen War (1051-62), Enkyuninen Hokuō War (1070) and Gosannen War (1083-87), and were achieved when Hidehira became the Chinjufu Shogun in 1170 and Mutsu no Kami in 1181 (Higuchi 2011). During this time, the political base in the Tohoku region was largely in the provincial capital of Taga-jō, the residence of the Mutsu no Kami, but the base in northern Mutsu shifted from Isawa-jō to Tonomi no Saku, and the base in northern Dewa shifted from Akita-jō and Hotta no Saku to Ootoriiyama site, and finally the base of the Taga-jō provincial capital was also relocated to Hiraizumi no Tachi (Yanaginogosho site). These changes can be seen as a series of events that took place from government offices (fortified government offices), which were established as bases for controlling the border regions of the ancient Ritsuryō state, to the residences of powerful clans, which could be said to be the beginnings of medieval feudal society (Figure 10, Transition diagram of the political base in Tohoku region from ancient to medieval age). Furthermore, if we take a broader view, we can see them as a precursor to the shift in the political base of the Japanese archipelago itself, from Heian Palace to the Ōkura Palace in Kamakura, and we can see that the shift in political bases from government offices to residences of powerful people that took place from the end of ancient times to the beginning of the Middle Ages began early in the Tohoku region and northern Ōu, and then spread like ripples throughout the Japanese archipelago.

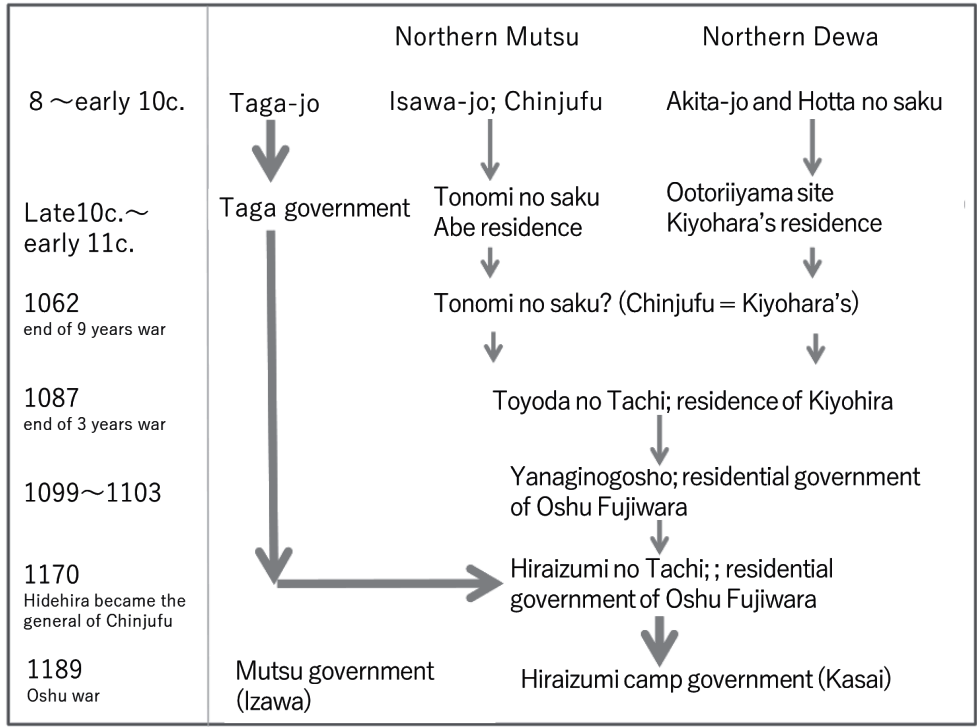


Figure 10, Transition diagram of the political base in Tohoku region from ancient to medieval age

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